

**The Value and Function of Bernard Shaw's Prefaces:
A Study in the relation between the Social Reformer and the Dramatic Writer
with Special Reference to Major Barbara.**

Sofia A. Ahmed

To Prof. Lotfy A. Yehia, with gratitude

This paper deals with the prefaces of Bernard Shaw, who was very concerned about these prefaces a fact which induced me to write about them for more than one reason. First, he wrote most of them long after or before the text itself, because in his own opinion he did not trust himself very much as a novelist and playwright. He wrote in one of his novels, "The Immaturity", that he employed himself in novel writing because nobody would accept him in any other sort of writing.¹ Next, these prefaces contain most of his principles and ideas which in most of his plays have no relation with the events of the play itself. Add to that, the prefaces are very long, sometimes they count up to 40 pages- like that of "Major Barbara". Rarely, he wrote short prefaces, which are unusual, like that of his "Pygmalion" (only 3 pages). They are also considered very important document for Shaw's ideas and thought not only as a dramatist, but also as a socialist. More than that, the prefaces constitute valuable social, political and economic documents for the nineteenth century. As Colin Wilson says the air of Shaw's period was seething with social political and intellectual changes.²

These changes comprised Feminism, Socialism, the rise of Marx's philosophy, modern imperialism, dictatorship, the ideas of philosophers like Darwin³ and

Lamarck, and dramatists like Ibsen and Strindberg. One could also notice that Shaw's plays varied between plays with social tendencies like "Major Barbara", "Man and Superman", "Mrs. Warren's Profession", political plays like "Family Life in Germany under the Blockade", "Too True to be Good", and plays with religious themes like "Androcles and the Lion", "St. Joan"; in all these different types of plays he wrote long prefaces. And last but not least, Shaw included these prefaces in all his plays and novels, which goes to prove that it is his style of writing to explain his ideas. In his novel "Byron's Profession" the preface was about 11 pages and in "Immaturity" it was 40 pages,⁴ while in "Back to Methusalem" it reached a total of 70 pages.

Shaw was born on July 26 1856. At the time of his birth, Ireland was suffering from the effect of famine which is still known among country people as the Great Hunger.³ At the beginning of his life he suffered from poverty. He used to go to the library of the British museum, read and write papers and which he later turned into prefaces to his plays. That is clearly explain the reason of the differences between the ideas of the prefaces and those of the texts themselves.

Shaw was one of the original Fabians.⁶ The heart of Fabian ethics was an overwhelming sense of public duty. That is why he did not write plays depending on the passionate relationship between men and women. In each play Shaw seized up on a familiar motive of genre, criticising the relationship between classes to point out social and psychological realities.⁷ Even in his novel "An Unsocial Socialist" which was written in 1883, Shaw presented a political document because of its reflection on the conditions of society and social

movement.⁸ He felt, in a way, that he had on his hands the huge task of reconstructing the world. It was this which gave purpose and meaning to human existence. It is precisely this self imposed ideal which makes a Fabian remote from us.

This in turn has been part of real liberation of self from the Puritan instructions of the nineteenth century. The Fabians wanted to redirect the Puritans' ideal from the service of God to the service of humanity.⁹

Shaw knew he was one of the creators of modern consciousness and modern conscience. He told us that, himself, many times with perfect seriousness. Shaw placed economics above "Eros" as the source of good and evil, happiness and misery. He said in the preface of his play "Mrs. Warren's Profession": "I have spared no pains to make known that many plays are built to induce voluptuous reverie, but Intellectual Interest."¹⁰ Gassner sees that Shaw introduces here himself clearly in his prefaces as well as in his plays. I think he is blaming Shaw for representing art as the hand maiden of preaching. It is certainly impossible to say, with respect to his principle which he introduced in his prefaces or in his plays, that one side of him was the reformer, and the other side was the comedian, or that one side of him was the thinker and the other side was the artist. It is a valid conclusion that Shaw the thinker and Shaw the artist are one and the same person.¹¹ Shaw believed that a play should present something to the people. That is why he introduces his play with these long prefaces. His introduction and explanation of them do more for us than the visible character on the stage.¹²

When he introduced his plays, people saw them in a new and different light. For example, when his play "John Bull's Other Island" was written, C.K. Shorter said that it was not a play at all.¹³ Shaw wrote in Gazette on 26 of November 1904: "People talk all this about my plays, because they have been to the theatre so much that they have lost their sense of reality. They take stage human nature for real human nature whereas of course real human nature is bitterest satire on stage human nature. The result is that when I try to put real human nature on the stage they think that I am laughing at them-for am not thinking of them at all. I am simply writing natural history very carefully and they expected something else. It is not my object in the least to respect people as hypocrites and humbugs".¹⁴ Shaw had got most of the ideas of his plays long before he wrote the play as a dramatic text. For example, he had already the idea of his play "John Bull's other Island" and its preface seven years before it was written.¹⁵

The prefaces of Shaw sometimes present problems and burdens of the society which could never be denied. Through revealing these burdens one has to resolve his social problems. One should not stand watching and as Shaw believed and said in the preface of his play "The Apple Cart": "Man should not be a puppet but a human being".¹⁶

It is not easy to study the prefaces of Shaw because he liked indeed the very elaborate ones of them. He always gives his reader the explanation before the event. According to Shaw the philosophy of facts comes before the facts themselves. These prefaces seem to be one of the most difficult elements in

Shaw's work, because studies written about him have to put the preface before the play. That makes it a necessity to say something about what Shaw's experience means even before one says what it was. Shaw's life consists of three main conventional incidents which affected his work, especially his prefaces. These can never be ignored nor can one assist his work without looking at the background of his life in the nineteenth century. The three trends which affected Shaw's life were: The Irishman, the Puritan and the Progressive.¹⁷

Shaw's prefaces comprised a series of pamphlets and essays on current political and social problems and covered a period of nearly thirty years. Most of them should by this time be left completely behind the march of Shaw's supposedly progressive civilization. However, they deal with very recent problems. Through them we see Shaw as if he could foresee social and political circumstances of the modern world. In the collection of his prefaces he wrote: "I dare say many of their new readers will conclude that I am a daring young innovator of eighteen instead of what I am in fact". Because Shaw believed that there is no use or value for books unless they present something to the people, these prefaces revealed the contrast between the ideal wisdom of literature through facts and characters in art and the folly of rulers and voters who speak in the name of their people. In this case of ideal literature people get nothing out of books except exploding their prejudices and rebuking their villainies.

Shaw described his prefaces as being no more out of date than the Gospels or Utopia or the plays of Aristophanes or Euripides and the Socratic dialogues of Plato.¹⁸ He found that it was necessary to remind the critics of his theatre that

his prefaces had nothing to do with the theatre because most of them were written before or after the play in order to give it its own value through different means which sometimes had no relation with the text itself.

In "Pygmalion", Shaw uses a classical title to remind his audience that he is himself a dramatist in the classical tradition and that this play too is a play of ideas like his other plays. Shaw triumphantly proclaimed in his preface: "I wish to boast that *Pygmalion* has been an extremely successful play all over Europe and North America as well as at home. It is so intensely and deliberately didactic, and its subject is esteemed so dry, that I delight in throwing it at the heads of the wisecracks who repeat the parrot cry that art should never be didactic. It goes to prove my contention that art should never be anything else".¹⁹ When Shaw wrote such long social and political prefaces it was said that he never ceased to be a dramatist. In the preface of *Pygmalion* he said that the play is didactic, but what does it teach. It is clear that the play deals with the everlasting conflict between different classes of each society.

Eric Dentley best demonstrated that Shaw viewed himself as a prose prophet in direct succession to Carlyle and Morris. That is the Shaw of the preface, of essays in *Fabian Socialism*. Only the prefaces to the plays are still read, or at least they are read separately, and of course they are not prefaces to the play in the strict sense of the word.²⁰ They expound Shaw's very odd personal religion, the rather cold worship of Creative Evolution. It was certainly due to these prefaces which presented his views, and to their attachment to his play that Shaw was criticised by some critics. G.K.Chesterton mentioned in his

book on Shaw in 1909: "Shaw was neither a Darwinian nor a Freudian and I think he was a bad Nietzschean. In his life he suffered an inadequate father..., he was not a stylist, not a thinker, not a psychological and utterly lacked even a iota of the uncanny Shakespearean ability to represent character and personality with overwhelming persuasiveness..., the way he presented his ideas is too often wearisomely simplistic".²¹

The topic of this paper aimed to cover the prefaces of the most famous plays of Bernard Shaw, but for research necessities based on the huge output of Shaw, each of which needs a study in itself to deal with the issues included in it, the present writer limits herself to throwing some light on the preface of *Major Barbara* as an outstanding example of Shaw's prefaces. Shaw initially planned to call *Major Barbara* by the rather more imposing title ritual of *Andrew Undershaft's Profession*. Undershaft may be the Archetype of Capitalist as a moral munitions-monger, but his arms establishment dangerously resembles a benign state socialism and the drama moves finally in a direction equally available for interpretation by extremes Left or right.²² *Major Barbara* is the story of a woman who lives her religion and loses it, who after enduring the desolation of seeing her own world's hope hangtorn before her eyes finds at last a belief her passionate heart can live by. Barbara is the daughter of the chief partner in the biggest cannon manufactory in the world. Her mother is a lady by birth and position. Barbara has a genius for saving souls and is already a prominent officer in the Salvation Army. She wants her father to give up manufacturing the means of death but the army does not care about Barbara's desire to save her father's

soul. They agreed to take the money which rose to £ 5000. The army accepted them which was a terrible shock to Barbara. When she realised that the army rests on support of its worst enemy she took off her army suit and devoted herself to fight Capitalism and stand by the claims for workers' rights.²¹

That was the story of Major Barbara which is not actually my main concern, I turn now to the preface of the play. As usual it was a long one (about 40 pages). Shaw started blaming his critics because when his views were declared in the preface, the critics concluded that he is echoing Ibsen, Strindberg and Tolstoy. Although this opinion flattered him as an artist and a philosopher, still he preferred to be Shaw himself not anyone else. And if his ideas appeared like the ideas of any other writer that is simply because they all discussed pieces of real natural as distinguished from funny story telling. They present their ideas like stones hitting each of us full in the conscience and pushing our self esteem to smart very shortly. Shaw said : " The pain in self esteem nowadays causes critics raise a cry of Ibsenism. I therefore assure them that the sensation first came to me from Liver and may have come to me from Dyle or at least of the Standalian atmosphere."²²

When Shaw criticized the romantic writers in their views which presented women as the most beautiful objects in nature and considered all women without sins- which of course was not Shaw's views- critics replied that he was not a playwright and his figures did not conform to living realities. They said that he was influenced by the thoughts of Strindberg. He said that he read the essays of Belfort Bax an English Socialist and philosophic essayist who handled

modern Feminism, and that all which he had read undoubtedly became a part of his ideas and thoughts.

In his preface, Shaw discussed the problem of slave morality as an invention of the superior white race to subjugate the minds of the inferior races. In the same preface Shaw introduces his ideas about poverty and ~~poverty~~ the critics to talk about Major Barbara. He introduces Undershaft as a man who is completely convinced that the greatest evil in our life is poverty (because Shaw himself suffered from poverty). Undershaft believes that a person's first duty towards himself is not to be poor. Shaw advised people not to be convinced by such silly phrases like "poor but honest" and "respectable poor".²⁵ According to his own view man can never feel secure with the existence of poverty hanging over everyone's head. It is quite unfair for a poor man to see his children starve, whilst rich people overfed pet dogs with what may feed and dress them. (Shaw discussed a very recent problem which the world suffered since the nineteenth century up to now).

Shaw believed that money means health, power, honor, but poverty means illness, weakness, villainy and sins.²⁶ He gathered up his philosophy in this sentence:

"Now what does this mean; let him be a poor man. It means let him be weak. Let him be ignorant. Let him be come a nucleus of disease. Let him be a standing exhibition and example of ugliness and dirt. Let him have rickety children. Let him be cheap and drag his fellows down to his price by selling himself to do his work. Let his habitation turn our cities into poisonous congeries of slums. Let his

daughters infect our young men in the streets and his sons revenge him by turning the nation's manhood into serfdom, cowardice, cruelty. ...Let the deserving lay up for himself not treasures in heaven but horrors in hell upon earth".²⁷ That was the result of being poor.

Shaw believed that overcoming the problem of poverty is the responsibility of the government and society. He discussed the relation between money and happiness in the preface of his play *Too True to be Good* as well as in *Major Barbara*. He thought that the social system was not fair to the poor and that was a sort of cruelty on the part of rich. Pitying for miseries did not resolve the problem.²⁸ Underhaft, the hero of *Major Barbara*, believed that poverty is a crime. Shaw liked to call him the wicked rich man and he introduces his personality as follows: "To be wealthy is with me a point of honor for which I am prepared to kill at the risk of my own life".²⁹ But of course this is not the case Shaw wanted to resolve the problem of poverty. It is, in his point of view, so stupid that good life could be achieved by robbing the rich in the Medieval way, although the rich sometimes silly and stupid occupying their minds with luxurious issues like romantic women, friendship of people in the streets, and the architecture of their neighbours' houses. The universal regard for money is the one hopeful fact in our modern civilization. He said: "Money is the most important thing in the world; it presents health, strength, honor, generosity and beauty and undeniably the want of it represent illness, weakness, disgrace and means of ugliness".³⁰

In his preface, under the title of "The Salvation Army" Shaw described the effect of *Major Barbara* on the stage upon people. It caused a great argument

between religious and philosophical thoughts and the Salvationists themselves. The Salvationists could not understand the act, they were absolutely shocked. They concluded that the whole play is an elaborate mockery of the army. Some of the Salvationists thought that the army should not have taken the money from a distiller and a cannon founder. All assumed more or less definitely that it reduced itself to absurdity by taking the money. One of the officers explain that they needed money and they would take it even from the devil; the army could not exist without money. From that point of view there was no difference between the money of Barbara's father or any other money consisting from rent, prostitution, interest, crime and all evil fruits of poverty. (Once again Shaw depicts the results of poverty which produce all kinds of sins).

Barbara after discovering the real nature of her father's accomplishment, got the idea that there was no Salvation from one's soul except through redemption of the whole nation from its vicious, lazy anarchy. Shaw was absolutely convinced that social problems clearly result from the wrong choice of the leader. There was, and there is, no use for the society to write about the social problems through pamphlets like that of Marx, Rousseau, Carlyle and Ibsen. He said: "In this case there is no hope, and man's present security is "nothing" and can be nothing but evil made irresistible."³⁴

The last title in this preface was "Sane Conclusion" Shaw talks about the importance of laws in society. According to him, laws should not be unjust. If not, the result will be an unbearable violation of private conscience of citizens, that is because most of people are anarchists with regard to laws against their

conscience. When the law lags behind the man, he becomes equally an anarchist. Laws should not be just conventions, but a part from the daily life of man, easy to understand. The ordinary man, uneducated in social theories, cannot set against all laws of his country and yet regard law in the abstract as vitally necessary to society. If there is no punishment according to the law there can be no forgiveness. We shall never have real moral responsibility until every one knows that his deeds are irrevocable and that his life depends on his usefulness.³² At the very end of the preface, Shaw returns back to the main point of his real concern- the poverty and how to overcome it. He declares that in spite of all his emphasis that poverty should disappear, and in spite of the hatred of it, we shall not tackle the poverty question seriously. He said sully: "Long time ago I eradicate the dangerous disease of hunger among children by placing good bread on public supply like drinking water. Neither government nor municipality has taken up that very sensible".³³

Conclusion: As we see the preface of Major Barbara was not completely separate from the main text of the play. Shaw interpreted the character of Undershaft as being the clue to his ideas of poverty and political issues. Shaw, in this preface, dealt with many other different issues like the position of man in modern society, how to defend his dignity and his human right. He also discussed the issues of the Salvation army which is the main subject of the play. He dealt with problem of money, law, traditions and socialism. In my opinion Shaw's preface is a complete social study for that important period in the history of Europe in the nineteenth century. The preface of Major Barbara as well as

Shaw's other prefaces presented his principles as being a unique social reformer and a dramatic writer in the history of the modern world.

NOTES

* I would like to thank Dr. Edward Burns, English Dept., University of Liverpool for reading the first draft of this paper.

¹ B. Shaw, *An Unsocial Socialist*, London (1958), p.V

² C. Wilson, *Bernard Shaw: The reassessment*, London (1969), p. 57.

³ He was different from Darwin in his theory of development, Shaw believes that the will of man should dominate his development. He discussed this idea in his play "Man and Superman".

⁴ Shaw, *Immaturity*, London (1931).

⁵ J. Irvine, *Bernard Shaw: His life, work and friend*, London (1956), p.J.

⁶ Fabian is an English society established in 1884, its members wanted to publish peacefully the socialistic principles.

⁷ R. Skidelsky, *The Fabian Ethic*. in: M. Harold, (ed.): *The Genius of Shaw: A Symposium*, London (1979), p.13.

⁸ *Ibid.* p.292.

⁹ J. Gassner, *Bernard Shaw, The Making of Modern Mind*. in: W. Smith, (ed.): *Bernard Shaw's plays with background and criticism*, London (1970). pp.291-292.

¹⁰ T.F. Evans, *Shaw. The Critical Heritage*, London (1976), p.138.

¹¹ A.M. Gibbs, *Shaw. Interviews and Recollection*, London, (1990), p.135.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 136-137.

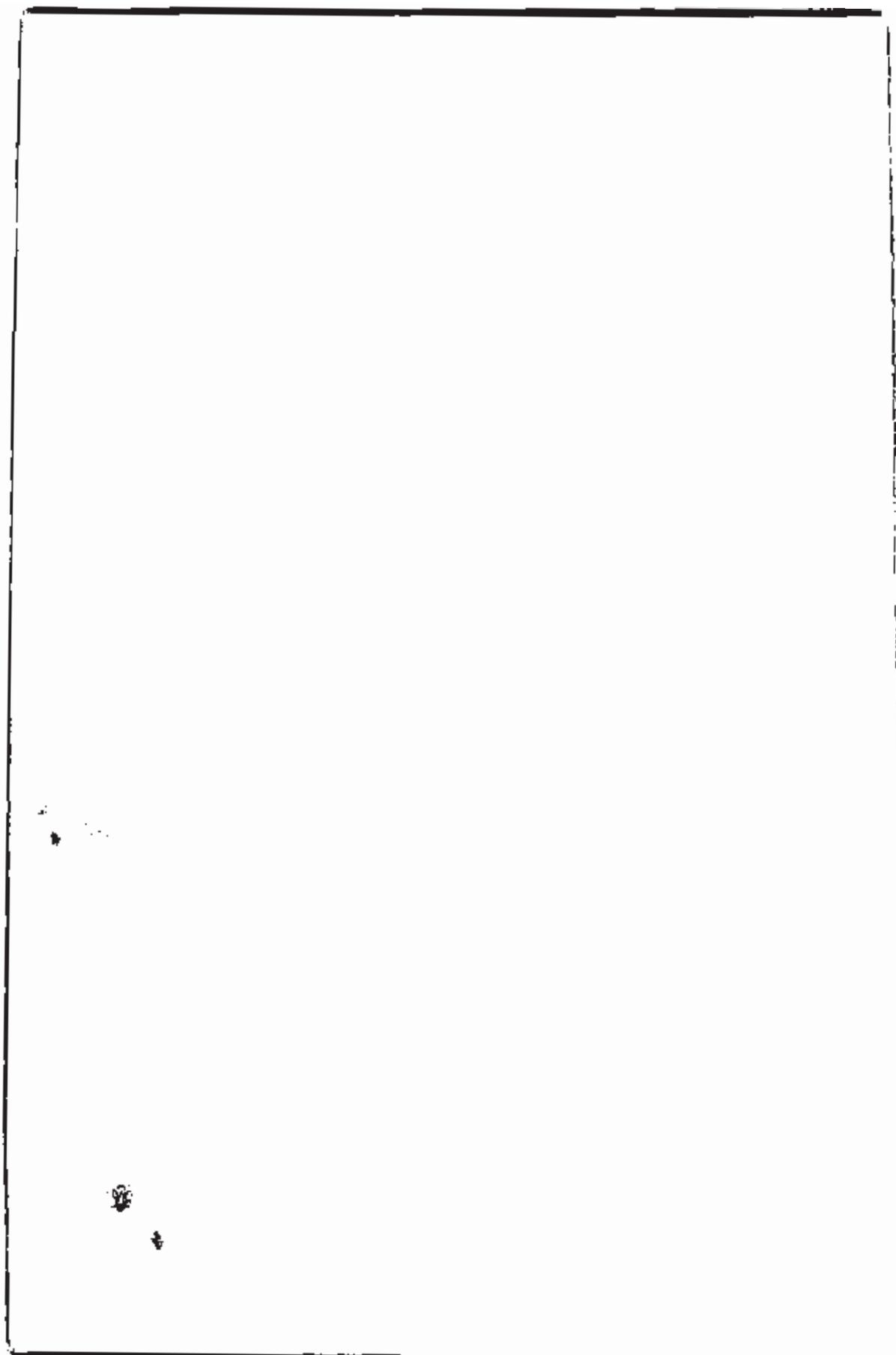
- ¹³ D. Laurence, & N. Grene, (eds.): *Shaw's Lady Gregory and Abby A Correspondent and Record*, London (1993), p. ix.
- ¹⁴ T. F. Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 140.
- ¹⁵ D.H. Laurence, *Bernard Shaw. Plays Political*, London (1986), p.11.
- ¹⁶ G.K.Chesteron, *George Bernard Shaw*, London (1948), pp.1-4.
- ¹⁷ G.B. Shaw, *Prefaces by Bernard Shaw*, London (1934), pp.vii-viii.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.773.
- ¹⁹ N. Alexander, *The Play of Ideas*, in H. Bloom (ed.): *Pygmalion*, New York (1988), p.20.
- ²⁰ Because of the lack of relationship between the issue of the text and the preface of some of his plays.
- ²¹ H. Bloom, *Modern Critic View*, New York (1987), p.2.
- ²² *Idem.*, *Modern Critical Interpolation*, New York (1988), pp. 6-7.
- ²³ R. Macarthy, *Shaw*, London (1951), pp. 44-46.
- ²⁴ *Shaw, Major Barbara*, London (1977), p.11.
- ²⁵ *Shaw, Too True To Be Good*, Edinburgh (1934), p.3.
- ²⁶ M.Z. Al-Shmawi, (*Al-masrah: Osouluh wa etjahatuh*, in Arabic); *The theatre: sources and directions*, Beirut (1992), p. 54.
- ²⁷ *Major Barbara*, p.17.
- ²⁸ *Too True To Be Good*, p.3.
- ²⁹ *The preface of Major Barbara*, p.30.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.20-22.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, p.130.

³² *Ibid.*, p.136.

³³ *Ibid.*, p.137.

Azza Mohamed Helmy El Kholy

**Department of English.
Faculty of Arts
University of Alexandria.**



The American Landscape Between Reverence and Exploitation: A Cultural Dichotomy.

The attitude to nature and the American landscape represents an intrinsic cultural difference between the European settlers and the native inhabitants of the land. To both peoples, the landscape meant power and life, but two very different concepts of power and life. To the white man it was the New World, the garden of Eden, the source of material and economic gain. On the other hand, the native American population of the continent viewed nature and the landscape as nurturing elements that empowered them to survive.

Hungering for political power and driven by a desire to increase their wealth, European states sent out their explorers to find westward routes to the Indies. Spain, hoping to maintain its political supremacy, saw it fit to best the Portuguese at sea; hence Columbus's voyage to the new world in 1492. Similarly, France and England sent out expeditions of their own to hit back at Spain and, simultaneously, partake of the riches of the new world. The result was a continuous showdown at sea and on the mainland.

With the first English settlement of Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, the North American continent became a colonized land with European colonists seeking to establish their homeland's claims over parts of America. Throughout this struggle for power and wealth, the natives of America were doomed to become the victims.

Practically secluded from the rest of the world and living in a vast land rich with forests, game and natural resources, and often occupied by tribal wars, the natives were far from prepared for the invasion of the white man with his advanced weapons and materialistic, profit-oriented culture. Hardly aware of the real intentions behind the white man's interest in their land they, more often than not, welcomed the conquerors, calling them "The People from Heaven" (Brogan p.56). However, by time, the heavenly race soon became "The Cut Throats" whose welcome was much regretted by the natives of the land as one Sioux chief points out: "Friends, it has been our misfortune to welcome the white man. We have been deceived." (Brogan p.51). Caught, unawares, within a conflict between European powers on the one hand, and discovering that their homeland was the object of strife, on the other, the native Americans found themselves dealing with a culture that was alien to them in every respect.

Although the Indians themselves had quite a few cultural differences, they shared some fundamental characteristics that developed from the similarity in their living conditions. In the end, however, whatever differences they had among themselves they were still one ethnic unity set apart from European culture as Newcomb explains:

In Contrast to Western nations, for example, they were technologically underdeveloped and socially less complex in that their relationships with one another were predominantly ordered by bonds of kinship rather than by differing occupations, classes, and wealth. Communication with their variously conceived supernatural universes was generally more direct, personal, and intimate than Western people's.
(Newcomb p.47)

The cultural dichotomy between the two peoples is clearly manifested in their respective attitude towards nature and the landscape. For some Europeans the American landscape represented a "promise that mankind could recapture the innocence, joys, and eternal life, as well as the freedom from cares and labor, that had existed in the Garden of Eden" (Lemay p.1). Yet, for most others it was the land of opportunity, the gold mine that would provide a source of wealth through trade. By

creating a permanent market for European goods in America in return for its products. Many noblemen and rich merchants, especially in England, saw a glorious opportunity colonizing the continent (Trevelyan p.224).

This materialistic approach and attitude of exploitation is clearly illustrated in early explorers' texts. The Spanish Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca in his "The Character of the Country" from *Relation of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca* (1542) clearly focuses on the economic potential of the land. He writes:

The country where we came on shore to this town and region of Apalachen, is for the most part level, the ground of sand and stiff earth. Throughout are immense trees and open woods, in which are walnut, laurel and another tree called liquidamber, cedars, savins, evergreen oaks, pines, red-oaks and palmitos like those of Spain. There are many lakes, great and small, over every part of it; some troublesome of fording, on account of depth and the great number of trees lying throughout them. (p.130)

He also adds that there are "many maize fields", and "fine pastures for herds. Birds of various kinds. Geese in great numbers. Ducks, mallards, royal-ducks, fly-catchers, night-herons and partridges abound. We saw many falcons, gerfalcons, sparrow-hawk, merlins, and numerous other fowl"(p.130). De Vaca's description reveals an exploitive view. He is not an admiring eye but rather an eye trained to see the potential of a place he is describing. For example, he does not simply describe the land as "level" but also points out that it is composed of "sand and stiff earth", therefore, it is not fit for agriculture. However, he highlights the natural resources of the province and makes even more appealing by likening parts of it to the Spanish landscape. Likewise, he describes the lakes as "great and small" yet he emphasizes the difficulty of crossing them or making use of them while simultaneously pointing out that despite all these difficulties there are fowls of every kind and fine pastures for herds.

Similarly, Pedro de Casteneda, another Spanish explorer, sustains this attitude in his *The Narrative of the Expedition of Coronado* (1540-1542). In "Chapter XXX: (How the Army Returned to Tiguex and the General Reached Quivira", the very first thing he notes as he describes the army's arrival is that "Neither gold nor silver nor a trace of either was found among these people. Their lord wore a copper plate on his neck and prized it highly"(p.161). Such a remark implies that identifying and finding the riches of the land are primary goals of the adventurers. Although Casteneda's main aim behind this particular narrative is to relate the journey of the army, he does not fail to note and describe the natural riches of the region.

In general, its banks are covered with a sort of rose bushes, the fruit of which tastes like muscatel grapes. They grow on little twigs about as high up as a man. It has the parsley leaf. There were unripe grapes and currants and wild marjoram (p.162).

Samuel de Champlain, the French explorer, views the American landscape pretty much the same manner as De Vaca and Casteneda, however, his colonial motives are more pronounced as is seen from his account "An Encounter with the Iroquois

from *The Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, 1604-1618*. Champlain's description of the land has an undertone of greed that emphasizes the idea of exploitation as a major aim. Moreover, his attitude towards the natives further illustrates this. Unlike De Vaca and Casteneda, the French explorer has a clearly defined hostile attitude towards the Indians. For while De Vaca, at his worst, admits that they have used the natives as sources of information and as guides¹, and describes a primitive fight, initiated by his group, he does, in a way, show some kind of admiration for the race. As he describes the natives, we feel that he can, at least, see some positive qualities in them.

The Indians we had so far seen in Florida are all archers. They go naked, are large of body, and appear at a distance like giants. They are of admirable proportions, very spare and of great activity and strength. The bows they use are as thick as the arm, of eleven or twelve palms in length, which they will discharge at two hundred paces with so great precision that they miss nothing. (p.131)

Champlain, in contrast, seems to have no qualms about constantly referring to the natives as "savages" throughout the text. Furthermore, he identifies his allies as "our allies, the savages" which emphasizes the writer's own practical, racist and imperialist ideology. In addition, he describes an incompatible encounter with the Iroquois, which leaves him and his company as victors, mentioning in all smugness and pride that his possession of a musket was what really determined on whose side the victory would be: "When I saw them making a move to fire at us, I rested my musket against my cheek, and aimed directly at one of the three chiefs. With the same shot, two fell to the ground...The Iroquois were greatly astonished that two men had been so quickly killed. This caused great alarm among them"(p.176).

This typical imperialist/exploiter viewpoint is further illustrated in his attitude towards the landscape. Champlain uses the word "abundance" to describe the natural resources of the land. This word, repeated twice within the text, implies in itself a justification for despoiling the land or partaking of its riches. For if there is "abundance" there is surplus, thus, there is no harm in sharing this surplus with the natives who are, after all, savages. He, therefore, not only describes the richness of the land, but also tells the reader that he establishes his right to partake of this "abundance" when he writes: "There are many pretty islands here, low, and containing very fine woods and meadows, with abundance of fowl and such animals of the chase as stags, fallow-deer, fawns, roe-bucks, bears, and others, which go from the main land to these islands. We captured a large number of these animals"(p.174). The writer then goes on to describe the richness of the natural resources, hinting at the possibilities of profit offered by the fruitfulness of the land. He talks of the water resources as exemplified by the lakes and rivers and the fact that they enhance the growth of vegetation: "There are also many rivers falling into the lake, bordered by many fine trees of the same kinds as those we have in France, with many vines finer than any I have seen in any other place; also many chestnut-trees on the border of this lake, which I had not seen before"(p.174). He also comments on the "great abundance of fish of many varieties"(p.174). Typically, Champlain's inquiries about the native population of the area leads to a focus on the economic potential of the land, he writes:

I made inquiry of the savages whether these localities were inhabited when they told me that the Iroquois dwell there, and that there were beautiful valleys in these places, with plains productive in grain, such as I had eaten in this country, together with many kinds of fruit without limit (p.174).

It is interesting to note here that the writer's imperialist motives are further emphasized in his use of the words "without limit", which echo his earlier employment of the word "abundance" to describe the natural products of the land.

Perhaps it is the English Captain John Smith's text, chapter two of book three from *The General Historie of Virginia, New-England and the Summer Isles* (1624) that illustrates the European colonial motives at their highest. In fact, Smith's text also illustrates what Greenblatt describes as a cultural text because, as the critic observes "texts are not merely cultural by virtue of reference to the world beyond themselves they are cultural by virtue of social values and contexts that they have themselves successfully absorbed"(Greenblatt, *Culture* p.227).

Thus, it is in Smith's text that we find clear indications of the conqueror's intentions and attitude towards the American landscape. For when the writer describes a bizarre trade transaction between the natives and the English settlers, we see a clear picture of exploitation by the white man. In return for two small cannons, Powhatan, the Indian chief, gives the English a large piece of land. Powhatan asks Smith to "send him two great gunnes, and a gryndstone, for which he would give him the Countrey of *Capahawosick*, and for ever esteeme him as his son *Nantaquoud*"(p.187). In return, Smith gives the Indians "two demi-Culverings" and "such toys"(p.187) and presents to gain their confidence. The result of this transaction is more land for the English as well as "so much provision, that saved many of their lives"(p.187).

Smith's practical attitude towards the natives as illustrated in his calculated dealings with them makes his text a perfect example of Western, materialistic culture. He will befriend the Indians and deal with them provided he gets benefits out of these dealings. And, although he describes Powhatan as being "more like a devill then [sic] a man", and persists in calling the Indians "Barbarians" (p.187), he, nevertheless, enacts the role of friend to maintain a continuous supply of provisions for the colony and to ensure that there would be no hostility from the neighboring natives.

This attitude is very much in keeping with the overall "mental outlook"(Trevelyan p.207) of the English towards the colonization of America as a means of material profit. For as G. M. Trevelyan, the renowned English historian, remarks "the greatest social change in Elizabeth's England was the expansion of overseas enterprise. In her reign our merchants found new and more distant markets"(Trevelyan p.207). America represented a market, another mercantilist opportunity to increase both national and individual wealth.

In Court and City, in Parliament and manor-house, in workshop and field-furrow, talk ran upon the ocean and the new lands beyond it, on Drake and Frobisher and Raleigh, on the romance and profit of the explorer's and privateer's life, on sea-power as England's wealth and safety, on the

prospect of colonization as a means of personal betterment and national strength (Trevdyan p.207).

This capitalist vision is also illustrated in the literature of the time. The American poet George Alsop expounds the philosophy of mercantilism in his poem "Traffique Earth's Great Atlas"(1666):

Traffique is Earth's great *Atlas*, that supports
The pay of Armies, and the height of Courts,
And makes Mechanicks live, that else would die
Meer starving Martyrs to their penury
None but the Merchant of this thing can boast,
He, like the Bee, comes laden from each Coast,
And to all Kingdoms, as within a Hive,
Stows up those Riches that doth make them thrive.
Be thrifty, *Mary-Land*, keep what thou hast in store,
And each years Traffique to thy self get more.(p.456)

The text speaks for itself, and commenting on it would be merely stating the obvious. However, one cannot help noticing the straightforward capitalist vision of the poet who hints that trade supports armies and courts, or his promotion of the notion of cultivation of the land when he writes: "Be thrifty, *Mary-Land*, keep what thou hast in store/ And each years Traffique to thy self get more".

Contrary to this materialistic outlook of the European conqueror, the Native American attitude towards nature and the landscape is characterized by feelings of harmony and reverence. Unlike the "civilized" white man, the Indians

regarded themselves as belonging to or as part of the natural world. Often the earth was regarded explicitly as Mother. Many consciously sought to live in harmony with the earth, with the animals it nurtured, and the forces that created it all. None regarded themselves as its conquerors or exploiters. (Newcomb p.48)

This harmonious relationship with nature and the earth is manifested in many of the Native American texts that have evolved from the oral tradition. The following poem "Moved", from Eskimo poetry, shows the interdependent relationship between man and nature.

The great sea sways me
The great sea sets me adrift.
It sways me like a wood
On a river stone.

The sky's height stirs me
The strong wind blows through my mind.
It carries me away
And moves my inward parts with joy (p.97)

As the text indicates, the poet identifies with her natural environment. In the first stanza she tells us how the sea affects her, prompts her movement and ultimately transforms her into a state of oneness with nature. Likewise, the second stanza shows how wind literally penetrates the human mind and helps transform the psychological state of the poet. It is in this total fusion between man and nature that we view the Native American attitude towards the earth and the natural surroundings. To them, these transforming agents powerful and good. The environment is not an obstacle to look at, explore, exploit or benefit materially from. On the contrary, it is an element that enhances their very existence and offers them a chance for regeneration and rebirth as Scarberry observes: "Relationships between living beings and the land, the sky are experienced as cyclic and enduring. Land and flesh are two expressions of the same reality" (Scarberry p.24).

Furthermore, many of the typical Native American texts show an inherent belief in the interdependence of man and nature. Characters often exchange their human identity with natural and/or supernatural elements and animals. This recurrent exchange of identity emphasizes the bond between man and nature in the Native American culture. In one Aleut story, "The Moon's Sister" (1840), we find a female figure, sister of the moon, consciously descending to the earth, living with two kavalak men, their wife, bearing their child, telling him the truth about her origin, sending him back to the sky to seek his uncle the moon and eventually assume his new identity as the Moon after his uncle's death. The story is direct and simple but, the very notion of interchangeable identity coupled with the supernatural element of the narrative content make it a document of cultural significance. The opening paragraph of the story shows this strange intermingling of the natural and supernatural:

The Moon's sister liked to eat lupine roots when she grew up. One time she was out digging lupine roots and pulled one out of the ground. A cold draft blew on her from the hole of the root, and when she looked down through the hole, she saw that there were villages down there (p.78)

The sister of the moon, clearly a supernatural figure, eats roots from the earth and can see, through the hole of one root, human communities that intrigue her and prompt her to descend and live amongst them. Moreover, the fact that she does eventually live with the two men she first sees and that she bears a semi-human, semi-elemental child emphasize this interchange of identities. The fate of this child, however, is what illustrates what Jehlen describes as a civilization "illuminated by a 'clarité naturelle' devoid of duplicity, codify[ing] the state of nature" (Jehlen p.119). The young man learns the secret of his origins from his mother before she dies and pursues his journey to re-instate himself into the world of natural phenomena. When he arrives at his uncle's house, the boy "approached the grass mat that he saw rolled up in the inner part of the house and unrolled it. But when a fire appeared and flew out of it and burned his face

e quickly covered it up. He saw that that was the one called down there at daytime the
um"(p.80). The ease with which these uncanny events are described and the
amorous fusion of the material with the abstract, determine this sense of intimacy
with nature which is typical of native American culture.

Furthermore, if, as Greenblatt points out⁴, it is the work of art that really
termines the cultural features of both its author and his/her society, then the Tlingit⁵
or "Raven and Marriage"(1850) becomes a vivid example of native American culture
he text clearly illustrates the intimacy between man and nature.

"Raven and Marriage" tells the story of a man called Raven who marries the
daughter of a chief and eventually mistreats her so she runs away and disappears into
the water. He then tries to get his wife back but her father refuses because he has been
ruined by her. Raven then travels around and tries to get another high caste wife but
never succeeds to do that because his cruelty to his wife haunts him. It is, however, a
ritual woman who refuses him, that he wishes to revenge upon. He makes a secret
potion that will transform an old and poor man into a handsome youth. He then induces
the old man to go and marry that girl who accepts him immediately because she falls in
love with him. She travels with her husband to his home. On the way, the disguise falls
off and he is once more a poor, old, ugly man. The girl weeps and everyone in her
husband's village makes fun of the two of them. People have no sympathy for her
because she has been arrogant and had refused to marry many of them. Eventually her
relatives come to visit and they discover the truth but, luckily for the old man,
supernatural elements intervene. He is transformed once again into a handsome young
man with riches and fur. The couple live a lavish life but fail to be fair or kind to others.
One day, as they were sitting speculating, the wife boasts that in all the flocks of birds she
has seen flying above her, there was a suitor who wanted to marry her. She is then punished
when the cranes kidnap her and leave her naked by a beach. She is rescued by an old
man who gives her fox-fur to cover herself. Wearing these furs she is transformed
into a fox and finally killed by her own father. Her parents discover this and start
mourning and fasting until she finally becomes a "shaman", or priestess, and claims to
possess the spirit of many animals.

The narrative delineates the inherent interchange of identity between man and
nature. Even the names of the characters are derived from the animal world, we have
"Raven" and his father-in-law who is called "Fog-over-the-salmon". There is also the
"Tsaywa'n", who follows Raven and tells the story of his cruelty to the people,
who, is ultimately described by Raven as: "a man from whom no good
thing comes"(p.63). Similarly, Raven's wife becomes untouchable because "she was the
daughter of a chief"(p.62), and many of the birds that fly above are originally suitors of the old man's
daughter. Typically too, the wife herself becomes a fox then a priestess. All these
transformational states signify the intimacy and closeness between man and his natural
 surroundings. Likewise, the supernatural occurrences that take place within the story
are narrated with both ease and lucidity without seeming to disturb the natural flow of
the narration:

His wife made a large basket and next morning washed her hands in it.
When she got through there was a salmon there. Both were very glad, and

cooked and ate it. Everyday afterward she did the same thing until their house was full of drying salmon. After that, however, Raven and his wife quarreled, and he hit her on the shoulder with a piece of dried salmon. Then she ran away from him, but, when he ran after her and seized her, his hands passed right through her body. Then she went into the water and disappeared forever, while all of the salmon she had dried followed her. He could not catch her because she was the fog (p.62).

This continuous state of transformation and re-incarnation seems to indicate a belief in a cyclical existence. This is, in itself, an indication of their reverence of earth and nature as sources of life and sustenance. As Newcomb points out, the earth a mother figure that gives life, nurtures and sustains man's existence. This notion further demonstrated in their dealings with the resources of the land which indicate belief in the generosity of nature. For example, Raven's wife obtains the salmon simply washing her hands in the water and the old man dips his basket into a spring a "when he drew it out, it was full of dentalia"(p.65). There is no sense of exploitation or greed, it is as if the land is full of riches enough to be shared by everyone.

Moreover, their belief in the concept of regeneration and rebirth challenges a European notion of the Indians as heathen savages. For it is in this belief as well as their intimacy with their natural surroundings that we find a definite center of religious thought that determines their view of the world. For example, the Oglala Sun Dance which Gill describes as "creat[ing] for the participants the experience of being in a center of the world in communion with all life-giving powers"(Gill p.33), is composed of several ritualistic steps that end in a prayer for whatever they wish to be granted. The dance originally begins when a man or any member of his family has been saved from some kind of problem like a close escape from death or a recovery from sickness. Usually a holy man is chosen to lead the dancers and he prays and selects a camp site. Later on there would be a lot of errands to run, feasting and dancing. This then followed by prayers, presents giving and finally a dance and a prayer. Thus, such generalizations about Indians' religious beliefs by the early explorers/exploiters are both prejudiced and untrue.

Columbus's description of the "los Indios" reads: "They have no religion and think that they would be very quickly Christianized"(Columbus p.3). Similarly, Vesputci, from his very narrow perspective, labels them as worse than heathen: "When among these people we did not learn that they had any religion. They can be termed neither Moors nor Jews, and they are worse than heathen: because we did not see that they offered any sacrifice, nor yet did they have [any] house of prayer..."(Vesputci p.5). Characteristically, the white Christian man defines religious belief from a Christian perspective and finds that the natives do not conform to his idea of a religious people. Therefore, he becomes very convenient to call them "heathen savages" and justify their mistreatment and the exploitation of their land.

Furthermore, the social structure of the native tribal communities poses a problem for the conqueror's assumption of the need for these people to be "civilized" as well as "Christianized". In "Raven and Marriage", for example, we see a sophisticated social structure manifested in the "caste" system of marriage. "I have to marry a woman of as high caste as my first wife"(p.62), says Raven and the village people tell the o

him: "What did you go and get that high-caste girl for? You knew that you couldn't lord it. Why didn't you get a poor person like yourself instead of a chief's daughter?" (p.64). Also, the treatment of women, as we see in the story, shows an advanced, rather progressive attitude as opposed to that of the European white man.

Earth and nature are viewed as feminine figures in native American culture as is tale *The Origin of Birth and Death* illustrates:

Once the tree and the Rock were pregnant and were about to give birth. The Tree woman held on to a stick or bar, as Indian women do, while the Rock woman used nothing to hold on to. Her child, when half born, turned into a rock and died. Raven came along shortly afterwards, and found the woman. He said, "Now people must die, because Tree gave birth, and Rock did not". If Rock had given birth, and Tree had not, people would never die. People would then have been like rocks, and lasted forever. As it is now, people are like trees. Some will live to be very old and decay and die, as some trees do; while others, when only partly grown, will die like young trees that die without decay and fall down... (Gill p.114)

Because of this feminine view of nature and earth, women seem to have acquired a respectable and important position within the native American culture.

In "Raven and Marriage", Raven is punished for his cruelty to his wife, and the heroine's father refuses to react violently to his daughter's marriage to a total stranger, linking, most sensibly, that "If she were already married it was of no use for him to be angry with her" (p.63). On the other hand, the European view of women, at the time, trays discrimination and sexism. A good example of this discrimination is found in *the Journal of John Winthrop (1826)* where the governor defines women's role within a Puritan society as that of subordinates, he writes:

The woman's own choice makes such a man her husband; yet being so chosen, he is her lord, and she is to be subject to him, yet in a way of liberty, not of bondage; and a true wife accounts her subjection her honor and freedom. Such is the liberty of the church under the authority of Christ, her king and husband; his yoke is so easy and sweet to her...and it through forwardness or wantonness, etc, she sake it off, at any time, she is at no rest in her spirit, until she take it up again; and whether her lord smiles upon her...or whether he frowns, or rebukes, or smites her, she apprehends the sweetness of his love in all, and is refreshed, supported, and instructed by every such dispensation of his authority over her. (Winthrop p.244)

Similarly, Vespucci describes the native American women from a sexist perspective as he focuses mainly on their sexuality and their desirability as sex objects:

They are women of pleasing person, very well proportioned...And although they go about utterly naked, they are fleshy women...they are no more ashamed (of their shameful parts) than we are in displaying the nose and

mouth. They show themselves very desirous of copulating with us Christians. (Vespucci p.5)

It is very interesting to note here that, after all, the people who have been considered "heathen" and "uncivilized" seem to have been in no need for either Christianization or civilization. Thus, the white man's justification for the conquest of America cannot really hold water. It is therefore more realistic to describe the conquest as political expansion and a quest for economic gains.

To solve its socio-economic problems and to compete politically with other states, each European state thought of the New World as an outlet. The damage however, to both land and people has been greater than the conquerors could have realized then. The white man's materialistic attitude as manifested in his view of nature and the landscape has determined his cultural characteristics as profit-oriented, authoritarian and political. On the other hand, the harmonious existence of the natives within their natural surroundings and their attitude towards the landscape as a life-giving force and a place of security emphasize their cultural consciousness, a consciousness that views "Land and human beings [as] one, bound together by the understanding that flesh takes many forms, that touch energizes the natural world. From birth to death, our bodies, as parts of nature, acquire new contours, reflecting our experience on earth. The earth nurtures us in our becoming"(Scarberry p.25).

It is this cultural dichotomy that determines the difference in attitude towards the American landscape, a cultural dichotomy between two peoples, one who view the land as a capitalist investment and one who view it as a force of life, one who view the natives as savages while the other learn to define themselves as different only by initiation from the colonizer as Roger Williams explains.

I cannot observe, that they ever had (before the coming of the *English, French* or *Dutch* amongst them) any *Names* to difference themselves from strangers, for they knew none; but two sorts of names they had, and have amongst themselves.

First, *generall*, belonging to all *Natives* which signifies *Men, Folke,* or *People*.

Secondly, particular *names*, of them amongst themselves...

They have often asked mee, why we call them *Indians Natives*, &c. And understanding the reason, they will call themselves *Indians*. in opposition to *English, &c.*(Williams p.170)

As the above quotation indicates, the natives regarded themselves as men and women of nature and only learned to separate themselves from the rest of humanity when the conqueror defined himself as different from and superior to them. When the white man decided to esteem his "self" by humiliating and degrading the "other", in this case the native American, the natives began to see themselves as different. Here, the white man becomes guilty of yet another crime against the native Americans: Racism.

In the end, as Appiah observes: "Differences among peoples...play a central role in our thinking about who "we" are, in structuring our values, and in determining the identities through which we live"(Appiah p.187). Thus, the difference in attitude

towards the landscape represents a binary opposition between two diverse cultures: a spiritual/political dichotomy or a civilization/nature dichotomy as Jehlen remarks (Jehlen p.119). Ultimately, it is a cultural dichotomy that colors one attitude with reverence and brands the other with exploitation.

¹ "We inquired of the cacique we kept and the natives we brought with us, who were the neighbors and members of these Indians" (p.131).

² From *Eduro Poetry from Canada and Greenland*. Trans. Tom Lowenstein (Pittsburgh: U Pittsburgh P, 1973). Uvavnak entered the hut singing this song. Afterward she explained that she had been looking up at the night sky when a star rushed down, struck her and gave her this song. References to the sea, wind, and sky all allude to *silap inue*, the "Great Weather", the supernatural being who animates the environment. In: Paul Lauter (ed), *The Heath Anthology of American Literature*, Vol. I, Lexington MA (D.C Heath & Co.), 1994.

³ An example of Aleut oral art before it was dominated by the Russians who conquered the area in 1745. The Aleut culture was based in the "Aleutian Islands and the mainland (farther east called Alaska...the land that eventually would constitute the greater Alaska purchased from Russia by the United States in 1857" In: Brian Swann (ed), *Coming to Light: Contemporary Translations of the Native Literatures of North America*, New York (Random House), 1994.

⁴ "the work of art is the product of a negotiation between a creator or class of creators, equipped with a complex, communally shared repertoire of conventions, and the institutions and practices of society" Greenblatt, *Poetics of Culture*, p 12)

⁵ "The Tlingit Indians are a northwest coastal group that occupied the southeastern coast of Alaska from Yakutat Bay to Cape Fox. Their abundant food supply from hunting, fishing, and gathering afforded the Tlingits ample time in winter to develop complex social systems and religious ceremonies. They lived in cedar plank dwellings, and they traded freely with the Russians, Americans, and English" (Lauter, *Heath Anthology*, 562)

Works Cited

- Alsup, George, "Traffique is Earth's Great Atlas", in Lauter.P (ed), *The Heath Anthology of American Literature*, Vol I,(Mass. D.C.Heath & Co, 1994).
- Appiah, Kwame.A, "Race", in Lentricchia.F & McLaughlin.T (eds), *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago P, 1990).
- Drogan, Hugh, *The Penguin History of the United States of America*, (London: Penguin, 1985).
- Columbus.Christopher,*The Four Voyages of Christopher Columbus*, translated by J.M Cohen (New York: Penguin Classics, Harmondsworth, 1969), in:Gill Sam.D, *Native American Traditions: Sources and Interpretations*, (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1983).
- De Casteneda,Pedro,*The Narrative of the Expedition of Coronado*, Chapter XXI, translated by George Parker Winship, 1904, in Lauter.P (ed), *The Heath Anthology of American Literature*, Vol I,(Mass: D.C.Heath & Co,1994).
- De Champlain, Samuel, *The Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, 1604-1618*, ed. W.L. Grant, 1907, "The Voyages to the Great River St.Lawrence: An Encounter with the Iroquois", in : Lauter.P (ed),*The Heath Anthology of American Literature*, Vol I, (Mass:D.C.Heath & Co,1994).
- De Vaca, Alvar.N.C,*Relation of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca*, Chapter VII, trans. Duckingham Smith,1871; rpt.1966. (First published in Seville in 1542), in: Lauter.P (ed), *The Heath Anthology of American Literature*, Vol I, (Mass:D.C.Heath & Co,1994).
- Gill, Sam D, *Native American Traditions: Sources and Interpretations*, (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1983).
- Greenblatt,Stephen, "Towards a Poetics of Culture", in :Veesev. Aram.H (ed), *The New Historicism*, (London: Routledge,1989).
- , "Culture", in Lentricchia.F & McLaughlin.T(eds), *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, (Chicago: Univ.of Chicago Press, 1990).
- Jehlen, Myra, "The Civilizations of the New World and the State of Nature", *Revue Francaise d'Etudes Americaines*, Nancy, France (RFEA), April-July, 1991.
- Lemay, J.A.Leo (ed), *An Early American Reader*, (Washington D.C. U.S.I.A, 1988).
- Newcomb,Jr.William,"Harmony with Nature, People, and the Supernatural", in: O'Connor.Rober.F, *Texas Myths*, (College Station:Texas A & M UP for Texas Committee for the Humanities, 1986).

- Scarberry, Susan, "Land into Flesh: Images of Intimacy", *Frontiers*, Fall, 1981
- Smith, John, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*, Book Three, Chapter 2, first published in London in 1624, in: Lauter, P (ed), *The Heath Anthology of American Literature*, Vol I, (Mass:D.C.Heath & Co,1994).
- Trevclyan, G.M, *English Social History*, (Middiesex: Penguin, 1942)
- Uvavuk "Moved", in Lauter, P (ed), *The Heath Anthology of American Literature*, Vol I, (Mass:D.C.Heath & Co,1994).
- Vespucci, Amerigo, *Letter to Piero Soderini, Gonzaloniere*, trans. & ed., George T Northup (Princeton: Princeton U. P, 1916), in: Gill, *Native American Traditions: Sources and Interpretations*, (Belmont, CA:Wadsworth, 1983).
- Williams, Roger, *A Key into the Language of America*, Preface, first published in London in 1643, in: Lauter, P (ed), *The Heath Anthology of American Literature*, Vol I, (Mass:D.C.Heath & Co,1994).
- Winthrop, John, *Winthrop's Journal: History of New England, 1630-1649*, James Kendall Hosmer (ed), in: Lauter, P (ed), *The Heath Anthology of American Literature*, Vol I, (Mass:D.C.Heath & Co,1994).

**The Relationship Between Worker Satisfaction and Their
Perception Of Organizational Effectiveness Among Saudi
Workers in The Private Sector***

**Dr. Abeid Abdullah Al-Amri
King Saud University
Social Studies Department**

In a culture where the firm is organization, the organization and
its members are tied in an exchange relationship. Each party makes
certain demands on the other while providing something in return.
(Argyle and Parry, 1981, p.1)

*Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, New York, August
16-20, 1996.

Introduction

Although worker satisfaction has been advocated as a vehicle to improve organizational effectiveness, studies to date on the subject are not yet conclusive. Literature review indicates that little research has been done on the relationship between job satisfaction and organizational effectiveness in western countries. There is an absence of empirical studies of this topic in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The rapid and continuous social and economic change in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia urge the needs for studies looking into the relationship between employee and their organization. Research, therefore, is needed to determine the factors prompting or inhibiting this relation. This study is to explore importance of certain factors to the relationship between worker job satisfaction and their perception of organizational effectiveness for Saudi Arabian Companies' employees.

Theoretical Introduction

The theoretical framework of this study will cover the following three interrelated points. First, Organizational effectiveness theory. Second, job satisfaction theory. The finally, Studies of the relationship between job satisfaction and organizational effectiveness.

Organizational Effectiveness Theories

Reviewing the literature on organizational effectiveness, it was found that there were three major approaches which had been used as the framework of analysis in organizational effectiveness.

The first approach is goal model. According to Mulford (1976) this approach is the most popular model which discusses effectiveness in term of goal accomplished. Therefore, this model consist that identifying an organization's goals and assessing how well the organization has accomplished those goals. Thus, this model defines organizational effectiveness as " the degree to which an organization realizes its goal (Etzioni, 1975, p.133). Daft (1989) concluded that this model is " a logical approach because organization do try to accomplish certain levels of output, profit, or client satisfaction. The goal approach measures progress toward attainment of those goals"(p.102). There are two kinds of organizational goals. These are official goals and operative goals. According to Daft (1989) " the important organizational goals to consider are operative goals. Efforts to measure effectiveness have been more productive using operative goal than using official goal. official goals tend to be abstract and difficult to measure. operative goals reflect activities the organization is actually performing " (p.102). The critics of the goal model, who are many, (Geogopoulos and Tannenbaum,

1957, Perrow, 1961, Warner, 1967; Yuchtman and Seashore, 1967; Seashore and Yuchtman, 1967, Katz and Kahn, 1967; Hall, 1970, and Price, 1972) point out that: (a) measures of organizational goals are often not reliable, system relevant, or derived from a common theoretical framework, (b) some organizational goals are quite intangible, (c) organizational goals change as organizational behavior change, and (d) it suggested that multiple measure of organizational goals to be used whenever possible (Mulford et al, 1976).

A second approach is the System Resource Model. This model was introduced by Yuchtman and Seashor (1967). Daft (1989) pointed out that the system resource model assumes that organization must be effective in obtaining resources inputs and in maintaining the organization system in order to be effective. This model defined organizational effectiveness as "The ability of the organization, in either absolute or relative terms, to exploit its environment in the acquisition of scarce and valued resources" (Yuchtman and Seashor, 1967, pp. 377-399). Mulford et al. (1976) cited that Price has noted that the research of Yuchtman and Seashore did not consider resource optimization, did not use general measures, and that their measures violated the basic rule of mutual exclusiveness (p.60). Efficiency and effectiveness are not separated under this model (Price, 1972). Moreover, this model is used to assist organizational effectiveness when considering nonprofit organizations (Molnar and Rogers, 1976).

According to Schulz (1986) although the goal and system resource models are similar in their focus on unitary criterion of organizational effectiveness, some theorists have suggested that an integration and extension of the models would provide amore comprehensive assessment of organizational effectiveness(p.61).

The third approach to organizational effectiveness was represented by Parsons (1960). Parsons developed a comprehensive analysis of organizational effectiveness by postulating that every society (or social system) must solve four problems in order to function. These four problems are adoption, goal achievement, integration, and latency. Adaptation is the ability of an organization to control its environment. Goal attainment is the decision-making processes. Integration is the relationships between units and go along with its environmet. Finally, latency is the process of developing individual loyalty to organization objectives. Accordingly, Hage (1965) developed an "axiomatic" theory of organization. His theory based on four means and four ends of organization. Through these four means - complexity, centralization, formalization and stratification - an organization achieves the four ends. He adapted the functional problems of Parsons as organizational ends: adoption as adapiveness, tension management as job satisfaction, integration as efficiency, and goal achievement as production.

According to Mumford (1976) the system model is more inclusive than the other two. the goal model and system resource model do not consider integration between the parts of the organization or the development of latent patterns and tension management for the participants as relevant facets of effectiveness (pp 125-127).

Job Satisfaction Theories

Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of human needs may be related to job satisfaction (Maslow, 1970, p. 3). This hierarchy consists of five levels (1) Physiological needs, (2) safety needs, (3) social needs, (4) esteem needs, and (5) self-actualization needs. According to Mumford (1973) , then, Maslow's theory is dynamic in that humans are seen as inherently unfulfilled beings constantly striving to fulfill needs in an ever-expanding needs system. For Grady (1984):

the organism's behavior is dominated by unsatisfied needs and its behavior organized only by unsatisfied needs. When one need is satisfied, the following preponent need in the hierarchy surfaces and tends to command the individual's attention. Consequently, gratified needs are no longer considered active motivates of behavior since the individual has gone on to striving to fulfill the next unfulfilled need in the hierarchy. (pp. 12-13).

One of the most discussed theories of job satisfaction was developed by Frederick Herzberg (1966), who identified factors related to job satisfaction and dissatisfaction among 200 accountants and engineers in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He found that job dissatisfaction is related to job environment but that job satisfaction is related to work itself. He characterized the first category as hygienes, or extrinsic factors, and the second category as motivators, or intrinsic factors. The former involve salary, organizational policies, supervision, physical working conditions, relationships, status, and job security. The latter involve achievement, recognition, work itself, advancement, and responsibility. In other words, motivators produce job satisfaction, whereas hygienes produce job dissatisfaction

Studies Of The Relationship Between Job Satisfaction and Organizational Effectiveness

Depending on the basic assumption of social exchange, job satisfaction is a function of the amount of rewards that the individual receives from his job. Friedlander (1963) identified three types of satisfactions.

the return in the form of monetary rewards and prestige;
intrinsic satisfaction, or the pleasure in a specific activity
and in the accomplishments of specific ends; concomitant

satisfactions, such as derived from working in a particular physical environment or with a particular group (p. 250).

It is believed that "the causes of job satisfaction are not in the job nor solely in the man, but lie in the relationship between them" (Locke, 1969, p. 319). That is why workers and organizations have to "give a little" in order to "profit from each other". According to Argyris (1964) that understandings of "incongruence" between the individual and the organization could form a basis for increased effectiveness both the worker and the system of enterprise.

Workers will join the organization and they will be more satisfied with their job because of rewards derived by joining the organization. The main and the most important benefit which workers are looking for is to meet or to satisfy their needs. Thus, by providing this important benefit and other benefits, workers will participate on the organization and they will be more satisfied with their job. Therefore, each individual tries to join a particular organization that will enhance his personal needs (or goals) to the greatest degree, just as the organizational body tries to recruit new members who will add to the collective worth of the organization. Finally, Ezziomi (1964) reported that by knowing the factors that increase worker satisfaction and decrease dissatisfaction and by being sensitive to change, an organization could better choose and place people to meet their goals and satisfy their needs and increase the organizational effectiveness. At the same time it could increase job satisfaction of individual staff members, by encouraging positive social environments in preference to "any deliberate efforts by the organization to shape personalities according to its needs" (p. 110).

According to Merton, the degree of integration in any system is a very important component in explaining the function of the system. This view implies that the various parts of a social system must show a high level of integration (Ritzer, 1988; Turner, 1986). So the satisfaction of the worker is seen to be important influence on the performance of the organization, and thus, it has become accepted that organization should consider the goals of their workers in relationship to the goals of the organization. To Perko (1985) the individual comes to the organization with goals or expectations and needs that may or may not mesh with the goals of the organization. He concluded that the workers affect the system as an individual and as a member of a group and group culture (p. 35). On the other hand, the organization or the system influence the workers' attitude and the group culture (Lieberman and Miller, 1978).

For Perko (1985), Davis (1981) and Childer and Podemski (1982) the interrelationships of influences result in formulated work attitudes and behavior, that are variables to be considered as the organization frames goals, strives to meet them, and

addressed plans for change or potential of the group enterprise. Perko (1985) concluded that organization is to consider how the goals of the worker may be integrated with the goal of the organization in mutual benefit. Similarly, Schulz (1985) concluded the high or low job satisfaction of teachers is related to their perceptions of the organizational effectiveness of the school.

In their study, alternate work schedules, Dunham, Pierce, and Castameda (1987) found that the characteristics of a work schedules would influence organizational effectiveness only to the extent that the schedule met organizational needs and constraints. Results indicated that factors related to organizational effectiveness were enhanced in cases in which specific organizational needs were met. In addition, interference with personal activities was reduced in situation in which employees had experienced specific difficulties. The most powerful effect was on worker attitudes toward specific work schedules.

Daley (1988) examined the impact of performance appraisal (quality, feedback, importance, and helpfulness) on perception of organizational success (effectiveness, responsiveness, and job satisfaction) He found that a moderate but positive relationship between performance appraisal process and perceptions of organizational success.

Elnuti and Stephen (1991) conducted a survey of employees with children under 12 years of age to investigate the child care issue. They concluded that: (1) employer-supported child care programs can improve employee job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and overall productivity (2) most human resource managers interviewed expressed strong support for employer-supported child care programs and believed that the child care centers in their firms were making a great contribution to their organizational effectiveness.

HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis 1: There is a positive relationship between job satisfaction and meeting workers' goal by the organization.

Hypothesis 2: Workers with high job satisfaction perceived their organization as more effective than workers with low job satisfaction

METHODS

The target population for this study was all ARAMCO employees in Riyadh during 1995. The sample selected by means of simple random sampling , 250 employees were randomly selected. On August, 10 , 1995, the public relation department and the

researcher distributed the questionnaires. The returned questionnaires were 229. Of these questionnaires, 219 were usable. The rest (21 questionnaires) are not returned.

A questionnaire was designed to address the theoretical concepts identified in this research. The questionnaire format is divided into three sections. The first section includes questions on workers' perceptions of organizational effectiveness. Questions related to job satisfaction are included in the second section. Finally, questions related to individual characteristics are included in the third section.

Organizational Effectiveness:

The dependent variables in the study was the workers' perceptions of organizational effectiveness, measured by the Index of Organizational Perceived Effectiveness (IOPPE), whose eight items are listed:

(Production: Quantity)

Thinking now of the various things produced by the people you know in your division, how much are they producing?

1. Their production is very low
2. It is fairly low
3. It is neither high nor low
4. It is fairly high
5. It is very high

(Production: Quality)

How good would you say is the quality of the products or services produced by the people you know in your division?

1. Their products or services are of poor quality
2. Their quality is not too good
3. Fair quality
4. Good quality
5. Excellent quality

(Production: Efficiency)

Do the people in your division seem to get maximum output from the resources (money, people, equipment, etc.) they have available? That is, how efficiently do they do their work?

1. They do not work efficiently at all
2. Not too efficient
3. Fairly efficient
4. They are very efficient
5. They are extremely efficient

(Adaptation: Anticipating Problems and Solving Them Satisfactorily)

How good a job is done by the people in your division in anticipating problems that may come up in the future and preventing them from occurring or minimizing their effects?

1. They do a poor job in anticipating problems
2. Not too good a job
3. A fair job
4. They do a very good job
5. They do an excellent job in anticipating problems

(Adaptation: Awareness of Potential Solutions)

From time to time newer ways are discovered to organize work, and newer equipment and techniques are found with which to do the work: How good a job do the people in your division do at keeping up with those changes that could affect the way they do their work?

1. They do a poor job of keeping up to date
2. Not too good a job
3. A fair job
4. They do a very good job
5. They do an excellent job of keeping up to date

(Adaptation: Promptness of Adjustment)

When changes are made in the routines or equipment, how quickly do the people in your division accept and adjust to these changes?

1. Most people accept and adjust to them very slowly
2. Rather slowly
3. Fairly rapidly
4. They adjust very rapidly, but not immediately
5. Most people accept and adjust to them immediately

(Adaptation: Prevalence of adjustment)

What proportion of the people in your division readily accept and adjust to these changes?

1. Considerably less than half of the people accept and adjust to these changes readily
2. Slightly less than half do
3. The majority do
4. Considerably more than half do
5. Practically everyone accepts and adjusts to these changes readily

(Flexibility)

From time to time emergencies arise, such as crash programs, schedules moved ahead, or a breakdown in the flow of work occurs. When these emergencies occur, they cause work overloads for many people. Some work groups cope with these emergencies more readily and successfully than other. How good a job do the people in your division do at coping with these situations?

1. They do a poor job of handling emergencies situations
2. They do not do very well
3. They do a fair job
4. They do a good job
5. They do an excellent job of handling these situations (Mott, 1972, pp 23-24)

The Index of Organizational Effectiveness was developed by Mott (1972) to measure subjective evaluations of organizational effectiveness. Mott integrated the concepts of productivity, efficiency, adaptability, and flexibility to determine the composite score of the effectiveness of the organization. Potential scores range from a low of 8 (connoting low organizational effectiveness) to high of 40 (connoting high organizational effectiveness). According to Mott (1972), the validity of the perception of organizational effectiveness scale was encouraging enough to warrant continued use. Moreover, Mott reported a preponderance of research data on indicators of the validity of the perception of organizational effectiveness scale in various settings (Schulz, 1986). The reliability

coefficients (Cronbach's alphas) of the present sample were .84 for the perception of organizational effectiveness scale.

Job Satisfaction:

The independent variables in the study was workers' job satisfaction, as measured by Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire (MSQ). In 1963 the University of Minnesota developed its satisfaction questionnaire according to Work Adjustment Theory. This theory holds that job satisfaction is a function of individual vocational needs and of work environment reinforcement (Weiss et al., 1967). Potential scores range from a low of 20 (connoting low job satisfaction) to high of 100 (connoting high job satisfaction). This study used the short form of the MSQ, whose twenty items are listed:

1. Ability utilization. The chance to do something that makes use of my abilities.
2. Achievement. The feeling of accomplishment I get from the job.
3. Activity. Being able to keep busy all the time.
4. Advancement. The chances for advancement on this job.
5. Authority. The chance to tell other people what to do.
6. Company policy and practices. The way the company policies are put into practice.
7. Compensation. My pay and the amount of work I do.
8. Co-workers. The way co-workers get along with each other.
9. Creativity. The chance to try my own methods of doing the job.
10. Independence. The chance to work alone on the job.
11. Moral values. Being able to do things that don't go against my conscience.
12. Recognition. The praise I get for doing a good job.
13. Responsibility. The freedom to use my own judgment.
14. Security. The way my job provides for steady employment.
15. Social service. The chance to do things for other people.
16. Social status. The chance to be "somebody" in the community.
17. Supervision—human relations. The way my boss handles his employees.
18. Supervision—technical. The competency of my supervisor in making decisions.
19. Variety. The chance to do different things from time to time.
20. Working conditions (Weiss, pp. 1-2).

Each item or statement requires that the respondent indicate satisfaction with a work reinforcer by means of a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 = very dissatisfied to 5 = very satisfied. A general satisfaction score was obtained by summing responses to all twenty items. Weiss et al. (1967) reported that "since the short form of MSQ is based on a subset of the long form items, validity for the short form may in part be inferred from validity of the long form" (p. 24). Reliability coefficients for general job satisfaction range from .87 to .92. The reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alphas) of the present sample were .92 for the general job satisfaction scale.

Because of the Index of Organizational Perceived Effectiveness (IOPE) and the Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire (MSQ) were developed in a highly industrialized society (USA), a pilot study was conducted to test the suitability of these measure to Saudi Arabia society. Therefore, the reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alphas) of the pilot study were .82 for the perception of organizational effectiveness scale and .93 for the general job satisfaction scale. Moreover, By using Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire, Al-Amri (1994) studied the relationship between job satisfaction and life satisfaction among Saudi workers. He reported that the reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alphas) of his sample were .93 for the general job satisfaction scale.

The study also used personal goals question, which asks employees to respond to this question: Did you meet your personal goals in this organization? (yes, no) Moreover, Respondents were asked to provide information about their age, working experience, salary, educational level, marital status. The statistical methods chosen for testing the correlative relation and analyzing the data in this study were the standardized regression, crosstabulation, Pearson correlation and t-test

FINDING

Findings of this study will be discussed in two sections. The first section presents the means, standard deviations, and frequency distributions of respondents. The second section reports results pertaining to hypothesis.

Descriptive findings:

Most respondents (68.4 %) were younger than 39 years (table 1). The smallest age group was the group (2.8 %) of 50 years or older, and the group (12.7 %) of 30 years or younger. Only 16 % of respondents were in the group of 40-49 years.

Table 1. Age of the respondents

Age	Frequency	Percent
Less than 30	27	12.7
30-39	145	68.4
40-49	34	16.0
50 or more	6	2.8
Total	212	100.0

Missing cases =7

Table 2 indicates that more than half the respondents (60.1%) had worked for 5 to 15 years, 23% for 5 years or fewer, 11.7% for 15-20 years and 5.2% for more than 20 years

Table 3 shows respondent frequencies according to salary. About 68 percent of the respondent of employees had monthly salaries of SR 5,000-9,999, 11.9% had salaries of SR 10,000-14,999, 10% had salaries of less than SR 5,000 and 10% had salaries of more than SR 15,000

Table 2. Working experience of the respondents

Working Experience	Frequency	Percent
Less than 5 years	49	23.0
5 years -10 years	47	22.1
11 years -15 years	81	38.0
16 years - 20 years	25	11.7
21 years or more	11	5.2
Total	213	100.0

Missing cases = 6

Table 3. Salary of the respondents

Salary	Frequency	Percent
Less than SR 5,000	22	10.0
5,000 - 9,999	149	68.0
10,000 - 14,999	26	11.9
15,000 or more	22	10.0
Total	219	100.0

Table 4 shows respondents frequencies according to educational background. About 52% of participants had pre-high school degree. Only 13.7% had bachelor's degree. Finally, the second largest category (29.7%) is those who had high school degree

Table 4. Educational background of the respondents

Educational degree	Frequency	Percent
Pre-high school degree	115	52.5
High school degree	65	29.7
Bachelor's degree	30	13.7
Master's degree	2	.9
Others	7	3.2
Total	219	100.0

Table 5 shows respondent frequencies according to marital status. Greater than 87 percent of participants were married, whereas approximately 26 participants (11.9%) were single. Only .5 % were widowed.

Table 5. Marital status of the respondents

Marital Status	Frequency	Percent
Married	191	87.6
Single	26	11.9
widowed	1	.5
Total	218	100.0

Missing cases = 1

Table 6 shows means and standard deviations for the organizational effectiveness and for the 8 IOPE subscores. Production quality, production quantity, and awareness of potential solutions scores were high, ranging from 3.80 to 4.04. Flexibility, anticipating problems and solving them satisfactorily, and production efficiency scores were moderate, ranging from 3.69 to 3.77. Prevalence of adjustment, and promptness of adjustment scores were low, ranging from 2.94 to 3.25.

Table 6. Rating for the organizational effectiveness scale

Variables	Means	Std. Dev.	range
Production quantity	3.96	.98	
Production quality	4.04	.72	
Production efficiency	3.77	.91	
Adaptation: anticipating problems and solving them satisfactorily	3.74	.81	
Adaptation: Awareness of potential solutions	3.80	.84	
Adaptation: promptness of adjustment	3.26	.82	
Adaptation: prevalence of adjustment	2.94	1.22	
Flexibility	3.69	.93	
General Organizational Effectiveness	29.19	4.99	25-60

Table 7 presents means and standard deviations for the general job satisfaction scale and for the 20 MSQ subscores. Compensation, co-workers, supervision-human relation, moral values, supervision-technical, independence, and activity scores were high, ranging from 3.46 to 3.63. Ability utilization, social status, variety, company policy and practices, authority, achievement, social service, and security scores were moderate, ranging from 3.03 to 3.26. Advancement, recognition, working condition, creativity, and responsibility scores were low, ranging from 2.58 to 2.97. General job satisfaction scores were moderate (64.18).

Table 7. Rating for the general job satisfaction scale

Variable	Means	Std. dev.	Range
Advancement	2.58	1.30	
Recognition	2.88	1.35	
Working conditions	2.96	1.29	
Creativity	2.96	1.07	
Responsibility	2.97	1.07	
Ability Utilization	3.03	1.28	
Social Status	3.04	1.26	
Variety	3.12	1.14	
Company Policy and practices	3.12	1.41	
Authority	3.13	1.25	
Achievement	3.21	1.20	
Social Service	3.26	1.21	
Security	3.26	1.24	
Activity	3.46	1.32	
Independence	3.48	1.18	
Supervision-technical	3.49	1.24	
Moral Values	3.49	1.16	
Supervision-human relation	3.53	1.17	
Co-workers	3.58	1.17	
Compensation	3.63	1.32	
General Satisfaction	64.18	15.49	71.00

Table 8 presents crosstabulation between organizational effectiveness and job satisfaction. It shows that there is a positive relationship between organizational effectiveness and job satisfaction over 26 % of those with high job satisfaction also indicated high perception of organizational effectiveness ($R = .40$, $P = .000$).

Table 9 presents crosstabulation between meeting worker's goal by the organization and job satisfaction. It shows that there is a positive relationship between meeting worker's goal by the organization and job satisfaction over 40 % of those meet their goals also indicated high job satisfaction ($R = .37$, $P = .000$).

Table 8. Crosstabulation between organizational effectiveness and job satisfaction

Organizational Effectiveness	Job Satisfaction			Total
	Low	Middle	High	
Low	1.4	4.1	0.0	5.5
Middle	18.7	21.0	14.2	53.9
High	4.1	9.6	26.9	40.6
Total	24.2	34.7	41.1	100.0

Table 9. Crosstabulation between workers' goal and job satisfaction

Worker's goals	Job Satisfaction			Total
	Low	Middle	High	
They meet their goals	15.1	21.9	40.2	77.2
They not meet their goal	9.1	12.8	9	22.8
Total	24.2	34.7	41.1	100.0

Results:

Hypothesis 1. The more the organization meet its workers' goal, the more satisfied the workers with their job.

Data in table 10 illustrate the relation between job satisfaction and workers' goal. Mean score for worker who meet their goal was 67.21 and that for worker who not meet their goal 53.94. The hypothesis was therefor supported ($F = 32.42$, $P = .000$)

Table 10. Job satisfaction by workers' goal

worker's goals	Mean	SD	N
They meet their goals	67.21	9.27	169
They not meet their goals	53.94	15.68	50

Hypothesis 2: Workers with high job satisfaction perceived their organization as more effective than workers with low job satisfaction.

The *F*-test ($F = 67.075$, $P = .000$) indicates that job satisfaction has a statistically significant positive effect on organization effectiveness ($t = 8.190$, $P = .000$). For each one unit increase in job satisfaction, the expected value of organization effectiveness increase .15652 unit. The standardized regression coefficient indicates that, for each standard deviation increase in job satisfaction the expected value of organizational effectiveness increases .4859 standard deviations. Job satisfaction is observed to have a moderate positive effective on organizational effectiveness. These empirical results are consistent with the stated research hypothesis.

DISCUSSION

The first hypothesis was that the more the organization meet its workers' goal, the more satisfied the workers with their job. The second hypothesis was that workers with high job satisfaction perceived their organization as more effective than workers with low job satisfaction. The data supported these hypotheses, and results agree with those of previous studies.

The direction of the relationship between job satisfaction and organizational effectiveness was identified. Thus, improving the quality of life in the workplace affects not only job satisfaction but also workers' perception of organizational effectiveness. Results imply that when the organization meets the needs of the workers, the workers' subjective evaluation of the overall effectiveness of the organization, in terms of a composite view of the organization productivity, efficiency, adaptability and flexibility, may be enhanced. Therefore, programs such as job redesign that attempt to enhance job satisfaction will improve not only the quality of work life but also the overall the quality of organization life in general.

This finding lend further credibility to the research of both Barnard (1968) who posited that the individual is always the basic strategic factor in any organization, and Etzioni (1964) who reported that by knowing the factors that increase satisfaction and decrease dissatisfaction and by being sensitive to change or need for change, an organization could better select and place personnel to meet its goal and increase its effectiveness. The results of this study imply that administrators who seek to implement change within their organization may direct their energies at improving conditions which promote the job satisfaction of workers. Moreover, understanding of "incongruence" between the workers and organization could form a basis for increased effectiveness both

the worker and the organization (Argyris, 1964). Therefore, worker tries to join the particular organization that will enhance his personal goals to the greatest degree, just as the organizational body tries to recruit new member who will increase the organizational effectiveness. Thus the integration of the worker goals and the organizational goals is the fundamental challenge . . . "as conflicting goals are a source of job stress" (Davis, 1981). An employee's satisfaction and organizational effectiveness are largely determined by the degree to which the worker's expectations match the organization (Childer and Podemski, 1982).

Therefore, and based on the findings, administrators of ARAMCO should examine the summary of this study to become aware of the factors influencing job satisfaction in order to improve employees' satisfaction and organization effectiveness. In order to enhance job satisfaction in this organization, they need to improve advancement, recognition, working condition, creativity, and responsibility. Finally, students preparing for careers should examine the summary of this study to become aware of the factors influencing employees' job satisfaction and their perceptions of organizational effectiveness.

Replication of the study with various organization or various groups may provide additional insights on the subject. What other job or personal factors may affect the job satisfaction of the employees and effectiveness of the organization? And what would be found if different measures of job satisfaction and organizational effectiveness were used? Future research should attempt to answer these questions.

In summary, the overall conclusion of the present study indicates that a significant positive relationship was found between workers' goals and job satisfaction and between worker job satisfaction and their perceptions of the organizational effectiveness. This conclusion supports the credibility of the complex interdependencies in the organization setting.

REFERENCES

- Agle, H., and James, Perry
1981 "An empirical assessment of organizational commitment and organizational effectiveness." *Administrative science Quarterly*, 26, 1-14.
- Al-zmri, Abed
1994 The relationship between job satisfaction and life satisfaction among saudi airline employees in the Jeddah Area of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Unpublish dissertation, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa.

- Argyris, C.
1964 *Integrating the Individual and the Organization*. New York: Wiley
- Biau, Peter M.
1964 *Exchange and Power in Social life*. Chicago: John Wiley and sons, Inc
- Childers, J. H. and Podemski, R. S
1982 "Confronting idealistic teacher expectations: Strategies for training"
Teacher Educator, 18, 2-10.
- Daft, Richard L.
1989 *Organization Theory and Design* 3ed ed. West Publishing Company.
St. Paul, MN.
- Daley, D
1988 "Performance Appraisal and organizational success" *Review of Public
Personnel Administration*, 9,(1), 17-27.
- Davis, F. w.
1981 "Job satisfaction and stress." *Journal of Physical Education—Recreation
and Dance*, 37-38.
- Dunhan, R., Price, Jan, and Castaneda, M.
1987 "Alternate work schedules: Two field quasi-experiments" *Personnel
Psychology*, 40,(2), 215-242.
- Elmuti, D., Payne, S
1991 "Are employer-supported child care programs worth the effort?" *Business
Form*, 16,(2), 22-27.
- Etzioni, Amitai.
1975 *Complex Organizations*. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 2nd ed.

1964 *Modern Organization*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: prentice-Hall.
- Friedlander, F.
1963 "Underlying sources of job satisfaction." *Journal of Applied Psychology*,
47, 246-250.
- Hage, Jerald
1965 "An axiomatic theory of organization." *Administrative science Quarterly*,
10, 289-320

- Herzberg, F.
1966 *Work and the Nature of Man*. New York: World.
- Lieberman, A., and Miller, I.
1978 "The social realities of teaching" *Teacher College Recorder*, 85, (1), 54-68
- Lock, E. A.
1969 "What is job satisfaction?" *Human Performance*, 4, (4), 309-336.
- Maslow, Abraham
1970 *Motivation and Personality*, (2nd ed). New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc.
- Moinar, Joseph J., and David C. Rogers
1976 "organizational effectiveness: an empirical comparison of the goal and system resource approaches." *Sociological Quarterly*, 17: 401-413.
- Mulford Charles L., Gerald Klomglan, Richard Warren, and Janet Padgirt.
1976 "A Multidimensional Evaluation of Effectiveness in a Non-Economic Organization". *Organization & Administrative Sciences* vol. 7, no. 4:125-43.
- Mumford, E.
1973 *Job Satisfaction*. London: Longman Group Press
- Parsons, T.
1960 *Structure and Process in Modern Societies*. New York: Free press.
- Perko, L. L.
1985 *Job Satisfaction of Teachers in the Portland Metropolitan Area*. Ed.D. dissertation. Portland State University and University of Oregon
- Poisma, Margret
1979 *Contemporary Sociological Theory*. New York: MacMillan Publishing Co
- Price, James L.
1972 "The study of organizational effectiveness" *Sociological Quarterly*, 13: 3-13
- Ritzer, George
1988 *Sociological Theory* (2nd ed.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc

- Schulz, Irene D.,
 1986 **A Study Of The Relationship of Teachers' Job Satisfaction and Their Perception of Principals' Use of Power and Organizational Effectiveness.** Ph.D. dissertation University of New Orleans
- Turner, Jonathan H.
 1986 **The Structure of Sociological Theory** (4th ed.) Chicago: The Dorsey press
- Weiss, D. , Dawis, R. V , and England, G. W
 1967 **Manual for the Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire.** Minneapolis Industrial Relations Center, University of Minnesota
- Yuchtman, Ephraim, and Stanley E. Seashore
 1967 **"A System Resource Approach to Organizational Effectiveness."** *American Sociological Review*, 32, 891-903.

SEX-ROLE TYPING AND I-E LOCUS OF CONTROL

JASEM M.A. AL-KHAWAJA (Ph.D.) & RAMADAN A. AHMED (Ph.D.)
KUWAIT UNIVERSITY, KUWAIT. AL-MONOFIA UNIVERSITY, EGYPT.

SEX-ROLE TYPING AND I-E LOCUS OF CONTROL

Abstract :

The aim of this study is to examine the relationship between the four sex-role typings (Androgynous, masculine, feminine and undifferentiated) and internal-external locus of control. A sample of 524 students was employed. The sample included one group from the Sudan and two different groups from Kuwait (Kuwaiti and Arabs residing in Kuwait). Two scales were used: the Kuwait Sex role Inventory and Ried-Ware Three Factors I-E Locus of Control Scale. Results show that androgynous and masculine persons scored lower on externality than feminine and undifferentiated individuals in the three samples. Results are discussed in view of the influence of social traditions on personality.

SEX-ROLE TYPING AND I-E LOCUS OF CONTROL

Sex-role typing and Internal-External locus of control have been examined by many researchers using different theoretical backgrounds. However, only a few studies have focused on the relationship between sex-role typing and I-E locus of control from a cross-cultural perspective. In the Arab World, such studies are not yet known. The present study concentrates on the relationship between sex-role typing and I-E locus of control in subjects from the Sudan and Kuwait.

Sudan and Kuwait are both Arabic countries but the differences between them can be seen in the surrounding environment. Sudanese live in an agriculture environment while Kuwaitis live in a desert and a coastal environment. A second difference between Sudan and Kuwait is created by using different technological equipment. The technical equipment used by both countries are influenced by the environment they live in. The third difference can be found in the economic systems and levels of income. The Sudan has more or less a socialist economical system and Sudanese have low income compared to Kuwait. The last difference is manifested in traditional society in Kuwait which is controlled by male, while in the Sudan the female has a larger role in society.

This study aims how two cultures which have many similarities, but also have several key differences between them which may influence I-E locus of control and sex-roles and the relationship between them. This study will also help to understand how two countries share many aspects of culture (e.g. language, religion, etc.), but have at the same time many differences in environment, technology and economy which may influence the relationship between locus of control and sex-role typing.

There are several studies which support the present study in looking at the influence of different cultures of sex-role typing. Tzuriel (1984) developed a sex-role scale for the Israeli culture to examine sex-role typing in Israel. In the same regard, both AL-Qatac (1984) and AL-Khawaja (1988) used Saudi and Kuwaiti subjects, respectively to develop a scale for both cultures. Comparing the items of the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) and Tzuriel (1988), AL-Qatac (1988) and AL-Khawaja (1988) and AL-Khawaja and Breakwell (1993) show some differences in the items which were analyzed by each researcher. In the same line of investigation, Harris (1994) found when he examined the items selected for the Bem Sex-role Inventory, that BSRI items met the American cultural definition of masculinity and femininity, but it did not meet the African-American and Hispanic-American definition of masculinity and femininity. If that is true in different cultures within American culture, then is it could be true within Arabic culture? These differences may influence the relationship between sex-typing and internal-external locus of control.

Rotter (1966) began a series of studies to determine the relationship between I-E locus of control and some other psychological aspects. According to Rotter, a person who will take full responsibility of what has happened to him or her will be considered as highly internally oriented. On the other hand, a person who will put the full responsibility of what has happened to him or her on the shoulders of others will be considered as highly externally oriented.

The studies which investigated the relationship between sex-role stereotyping and I-E locus of control have shown some disagreements in their findings. Persons who have higher degrees of androgyny or masculinity scored lower on externality, while

persons who have higher degrees of femininity or undifferentiated, scored higher on externality. Long (1991) reported that persons with higher degrees of masculinity rather than androgyny or femininity, have a strong and positive relationship with internality. Kapalka and Lachenmayer (1988) concluded from their study that masculinity correlated positively with internal locus of control. Findings of Campbell, Olson and Klein (1989) showed that attractive women have adopted traditional sex-role orientation, and as a result, they score higher than other women on externality. Campbell et al. (1989) also pointed out that attractive men have adopted traditional sex-role orientation too and therefore they tend to score higher on internality than other men. However, there are more studies which do not support the results of Campbell et al. (1989). For instance, the study of Mulis and McKinley (1989) and Braun (1989) showed no relationship between sex-role typing and I-E locus of control.

As for the relationship between cultural aspects and both sex-role typing and I-E locus of control, Lee and Dengarink (1992) examined the relationship between I-E locus of control and gender differences from a cross-cultural perspective. They investigated the performance of the American and Swedish male and female university students on a scale of I-E locus of control. Results showed that Swedish women scored significantly higher on externality than American men and women and also higher than Swedish men.

The aims of the present study are:

- 1) to assess the relationship between sex-role typing and I-E locus of control,
- 2) to find out whether there are differences among the Sudanese, Kuwaiti, and Arab subjects who resided in Kuwait at the time of the present study,

3) to investigate gender differences in each of the three empirical groups.

Hypotheses:

Based on the results of the previous studies on the relationship between sex-role types and I-E locus of control which have been carried out in several cultures, the following four hypotheses were tested:

1. Persons who score higher on androgynous and masculinity will score lower on externality.
2. On the other hand, persons who score higher on femininity and undifferentiated will score higher on externality.
3. There are significant differences between Sudanese, Kuwaiti and Arab subjects who resided in Kuwait at the time of the present study, concerning their performance on the I-E locus of control scale.
4. There are gender differences in I-E locus of control, where females will score higher than males on externality.

Sample and Method

Sample:

Three groups of male and female secondary school students from Sudan and Kuwait participated in the study. The secondary school students were selected for several reasons. First, these students have developed their sex-typing roles. Second, in comparing secondary school students in both countries it is assumed that they went through the same level speed of development which tookplace within their countries. The total number of subjects was 524, consisting of 215 males and 309 females. The average

age was 18.17 and SD of 1.19 years. Sudanese sample (SU group) consisted of 141 subjects, 62 males and 79 females, with an average age of 18.12 and SD of 0.83 years.

The Kuwaiti sample (KU) consisted of 180 subjects, 64 males and 96 females, with an average age of 18.43 and SD of 1.39 years. As for the Arab subjects who resided in Kuwait (AR), the number of male and female subjects was 69 and 134, with an average age of 17.98 and SD of 1.17 years.

Scales:

Two scales have been used in the present study to measure sex-role and I-E locus of control. Both scales were standardized by using an Arabic sample (Al-Khawaja 1988, Al-Khawaja and Breakwell 1993).

A) Kuwait Sex-Role Inventory (KU-SRI) developed by Al-Khawaja

(Al-Khawaja, 1988; 1990; Al-Khawaja and Breakwell, 1993). The KU-SRI consisted of 60 items, 20 of which measure masculinity, 20 femininity, while the remaining 20 are filler items. Bem's method (1978) was used to produce the four sex-tying (Androgynous, masculine, feminine and undifferentiated). The person who scores high on masculine item considered masculine sex-role; the person who scores high on feminine items considered feminine. The person who scores high on both masculine and feminine items considered androgynous and the opposite considered undifferentiated. The Cronbach Alpha reliabilities of KU-SRI are 0.84; for the Sudanese subjects (SU); 0.87; 0.84; 0.81 for the three groups (SU, KU, and AR) respectively.

B) The Reid-Ware Three Factor I-E Locus of Control Scale (Reid, Ware, 1974). The scale includes 48 items, 32 of which measure the locus of control (Self control, social system control, and fatalism). The other 13 items are filler ones. The scale was translated

into Arabic and used by Al-Khawaja (1988). A high individual score correlates with high externality and a low individual score corresponds with high internality. The Cronbach Alphas in the present study were as follows: total group Alpha was 0.67 and 0.68, 0.57, and 0.65 for the SU, KU and AR groups respectively

Procedure :

A number of secondary school boys were selected randomly from both countries then random classrooms were selected in each school. One researcher traveled to Sudan to administer the scales. Both researchers were in the classrooms when the scales were administered .

Results

To identify the four types of sex-roles (Androgynous, masculine, feminine and undifferentiated), the following method was used. Persons who scored higher than the mean of the scores on both masculinity items and femininity items were considered androgynous. Persons who scored higher than the mean of the scores on masculinity items and lower than the mean of the scores on femininity items were considered masculine. Persons who scored lower than the mean of the scores on the masculinity items and higher on femininity items were considered feminine. Finally, persons who scored lower than the mean of the scores on both masculinity items and femininity items were considered undifferentiated (Table 1).

Insert Table 1 about here

Table 2 presents the means and standard deviations for externality produced by the

four types of persons in the three groups (SU, KU, and AR), and also for the total sample (N=524). Table 2, shows that persons in sex-types of androgyny and masculinity scored lower than the persons of sex-types of femininity and undifferentiated on externality locus of control.

Insert Table 2 about here

Table 2 shows that in each of the three groups (SU, KU, and the AR) androgynous and masculine persons scored lower on externality than feminine and undifferentiated persons did. Androgynous persons were the lowest on externality, and undifferentiated persons were the highest, except the Kuwaiti group, in which feminine persons were the highest on externality followed by the undifferentiated persons.

In addition, it could be concluded from Table 2 that the number of subjects in each of the four sex-types, in males and females, in all three groups, were uneven and small. Therefore, one-way analysis of variance was used to obtain the significance of differences between the performance of both males and females together in each of the four stereotypes (Androgynous, masculine, feminine, and undifferentiated) on I-E locus of control.

Insert Table 3 about here

Comparisons between the individuals in all three groups (SU, KU, and AR) categorized into the four sex-role types, revealed significant differences concerning their responses on externality ($F=12.041$, $df=3$, $P=0.000$). The Scheffe test showed that feminine and undifferentiated subjects scored significantly higher than androgynous

and masculine subjects on externality. Androgynous subjects were the lowest on externality, while feminine subjects were the highest on internality.

In the Sudanese group, one-way analysis of variance showed significant differences ($F=6.067$, $df=3$, $P=0.007$). The Scheffe test showed that undifferentiated subjects scored significantly higher on externality than androgynous ones.

In the Kuwaiti group (KU), one way analysis of variance showed significant differences ($F=12.36$, $df=3$, $P<0.000$). The Scheffe test showed that both of the undifferentiated and feminine subjects scored significantly higher than masculine subjects on externality. At the same time, feminine subjects scored significantly higher than androgynous ones on externality.

As for the Arab residents in Kuwait (AR), one way analysis of variance showed no significant differences between the four sex-stereotypes concerning their performance on the scale of I-E locus of control.

The t-test showed no significant differences between males and females in the (SU) and in the Arab residents sample (AR) concerning their performance on the I-E locus of control. Only in the (KU), did females score significantly higher than males on externality.

By using one way analysis of variance, results showed significant differences between the three group concerning their performance on externality ($F=14.99$, $df=2$, $P=0.000$). The Scheffe test showed that Sudanese subjects scored lower than both KU and AR subjects.

The three-way analysis of variance shows no significant interaction within the three independent variables and dependent variables (sex-role types, gender and the three groups) on I-E locus of control.

On the basis of the above mentioned findings, it can be said that the first hypothesis (namely Androgyny and masculinity associated with lower externality, while femininity and undifferentiated are associated with higher externality) has been verified.

Results also showed that the four sex-role typings appeared in each of the three group. Hence, the second hypothesis has been confirmed.

The third hypothesis has been partially proven. Results showed that only Sudanese subjects scored significantly lower on externality than both KU and AR.

As for the fourth hypothesis (i.e. Sex differences on externality), in contrast to some previous research studies, our findings showed that differences were found only in the Kuwaiti group. Kuwaiti females scored significantly higher than Kuwaiti males on externality.

Discussion

Kuwaiti and Sudanese communities are considered traditional ones. The Sudanese style of living reflect characteristics of an agriculture communal society, while the lifestyle in the Kuwaiti community reflect different characteristics such as the Bedouin tradition, at the same time, there are fast changes in the direction of modernization. The characteristics of each community play an important role in shaping sex-roles for both sexes. The results showed that sex-role typing has appeared within both sexes in all three groups. It can be noted that a large number of individuals of both the Sudanese and Kuwaiti groups (and also the Arab residents in Kuwait) still hold and

adhere traditional sex-role typings for males as masculine and for females as feminine, which reflects the traditions of the community.

But, on the other hand, results showed that females tended more than males to describe themselves as androgynous. There are two possible explanations for these results. First, there is the effect of the educational system which supports females and helps them to reach higher degrees of independence in sex-stereotyping. The second reason is women's work for which females earn their income. Work gives women a feeling of self-satisfaction. On the other hand, males who have higher degrees of masculinity will be more acceptable to their community.

Concerning the relationship between the four sex-typings and I-E locus of control, results generally support our hypothesis. There is a positive and significant correlation between sex-typing and I-E locus of control. In general, androgynous and masculine subjects scored lower than feminine and undifferentiated subjects on externality. These results are in line with previous findings (see: Campbell, Olson and Klain, 1989; Kaparka and Leichman, 1988; Long, 1991).

The relationship between the four sex-types and I-E locus of control has been found in the Kuwaiti and the Sudanese groups. Kuwaiti and Sudanese androgynous and masculine subjects scored significantly lower than feminine and undifferentiated ones on externality.

On the other hand, the results of the Arab residents in Kuwait (AR), showed no relationship between sex-role typing and I-E locus of control. Some previous studies (e.g. the studies of Braun, 1989 and Mullis and Makinky, 1989) reached similar results.

The results of the Sudanese and Kuwaiti groups on the one hand juxtaposed with the results of the Arab residents in Kuwait on the other hand , confirm the influence of cultural factors concerning the relationship between sex-role typing and I-E locus of control. Looking at the Arab residents living in Kuwait (AR), it is noticed that they are highly motivated by their families, in addition to educational and work opportunities available to them in Kuwait. They face a challenge in their attempts to stay and survive in Kuwait . This has led them to be more responsible for what would happen to them, which leads them to score highly on internality.

The present results showed that only Kuwaiti women scored higher on externality than Kuwaiti males and also higher than men and women in both the Sudanese and Arab residents groups. These results are in line with results of Lee's and Dengerink's,(1992) study who found that Swedish women scored higher on externality than the Swedish men and American men and women. Kuwaiti women are still facing a very strong traditional community. The Kuwaiti society overprotects females. This overprotection will increase women's dependency on their fathers, brothers, or husbands. This would lead to a higher degree of externality.

References

- Al-Khawaja, J. M.A.(1988). *Psychosocial Correlates of Alienation in Kuwaiti Students*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Surrey, U.K.
- Al-Khawaja, J.M.A.(1990, April). *Kuwait Sex-Role Inventory*. Paper presented at the First Congress of Asian-Afro Psychology, Lahor, Pakistan.
- Al-Khawaja, J.M.A. and Breakwell, G.M.(1993). *Sex-role Typing and Self-Esteem in Kuwait*. *Egyptian Journal of Psychological Studies (Egypt)*, 6,1-7.
- Al-Qatao, A. (1984). *The Effect of Exposure of Western Cultures on the Sex-role Identity of Saudi Arabians*. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, 9, 303-312.
- Bem, S.L.(1978). *Bem's Sex-Role Inventory: Professional Manual*. California: Consulting Psychology Press.
- Braun, L.M.(1989). *Predicting Adaptation and Outcomes from Hassles and Other Measures*. *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality*. 4 (4), 363-376.
- Campbell, K.E.; Olson, K.R. and Klein, D.M.(1989). *Physical Attractiveness, Locus of Control, Sex role, and Conversational Assertiveness*. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 130 (2), 263-265.
- Dewar, D.H.(1978). *Images and Self-images of Males and Females in Morocco*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kapalka, G.M. and Lachenmeyer, J.R.(1988). *Sex-role Flexibility, Locus of Control, and Occupational Status*. *Sex Roles*, 19 (28), 417-427.

- Lee, V.K. and Dengerink, H.A.(1992). Locus of Control in Relation to Sex and Nationality: A Cross-Cultural Study. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 23 (4), 488-497.
- Long, V.O.(1991). Gender Role Conditioning and Women's Self-concept. *Journal of Humanistic Education and Development*, 30 (1), 19-29.
- Mullis, R.L. and McKinley, K.(1989). Gender-Role Orientation of Adolescent Females' Effects on Self-Esteem and Locus of Control. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 4 (4), 506-516.
- Reid, D.L. and Wara, E. E. (1974). Multidimensionality of Internal versus External control: Addition of Third Dimension and non-distinction of self versus other. *Canadian Journal of Behavior*, 6, 131-142.
- Rotter, J.B.(1966). Generalized Expectancies for Internal Versus External Control of Reinforcement. *Psychological Monographs*, 80 (1) (Whole No. 609).
- Tzuriel, D.(1984). Sex role Typing as Ego Identity in Israel, Orientation and Western Adolescents. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 44 (4), 765-778.
- Williams, J.L. and Best, D.L.(1982). Measurement of Sex Stereo-Types: A Thirty-Nations Study. London: Sage Publications.

Table (1)

Frequency of distribution of Sex-Role Typing (Number of subjects in each type of the sex-stereotypes :Androgyny, masculinity, femininity and undifferentiated. Subjects were classified according to their scores on masculinity and femininity scales, and according to national and sex.

Nation	Sex	Androgyny	Masculinity	Femininity	Undifferentiated
Sudanese	Males	16	29	1	16
	Females	35	2	23	19
Kuwaitis	Males	15	41	3	25
	Females	32	7	41	17
Arab Residents	Male	13	43	1	12
	Females	37	16	51	30
All Subjects	Male	44	111	4	56
	Females	112	24	111	62

Table (2)

Mean and Standard deviations of scores of the four Sex-Stereotypes in the three Samples on The Scale of I-E Locus of Control.

Nation	SU		KU		AR		ALL	
	N=141		N=180		N=203		N=524	
sex-typs	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
ANDR	42.47	4.41	45.61	3.79	45.90	4.23	45.69	4.46
MA	44.22	4.68	45.18	3.58	45.93	4.44	45.25	4.14
FEM	44.12	4.04	49.41	3.56	47.63	4.53	47.66	4.46
UND	46.60	4.40	47.54	3.87	47.52	8.64	47.24	6.14

Note: Andr=Androgynous, MA=Masculinity, FEM=femininity, and UND=Undifferentiated.

Table (3)

Analysis of Variance for all groups scores of I-E Locus of control by the four sex-stereotypes.

source	D.F.	Sum of Squares	MeanSquares	F Ratio	F Prob.
Between Groups	3	839.44	279.81	12.041	.000
Within Groups	520	12084.08	23.23		
Total	523	12923.53			