SUBJECTIVE WELL-BEING AND SELF-ESTEEM
IN A DISADVANTAGED COMMUNITY

by

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Declaration

I declare that subjective well-being and self-esteem in a disadvantaged community is my own work and that all resources used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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SIGNATURE                                                    DATE

(MISS C S MALUKA)
In memory of my grandmother, Grace Maluka
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Abstract

As people meet their basic biological needs, they become increasingly concerned with higher level needs, such as personal development and positive well-being. The term “subjective well-being” (SWB) refers to people’s evaluations of their lives and although relatively stable, people’s levels of SWB are influenced by life events. The high position of esteem needs in Maslow’s hierarchy of needs reflects the importance of self-esteem in people’s judgement of their quality of life. A one group post test only, analytical research design was utilised with 570 residents of an informal settlement in Soweto. A structured questionnaire was designed to obtain information on demographic variables, levels of SWB and levels of self-esteem. The levels of SWB and self-esteem within the community were relatively high. Multiple regression analyses models confirmed that demographic factors are weakly correlated with SWB and self-esteem. Self-esteem was highly correlated with life satisfaction.

Key terms

Subjective well-being, Self-esteem, Personal quality of life scale, Satisfaction With Life Scale, Rosenberg Self-esteem Scale, Demographic variables, Disadvantaged community, Culture, Subjective variables, Objective variables.
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Since the dawn of civilization, great thinkers have discussed the quality of human existence and “that which fulfils people’s lives” (Diener, 1984; Maslow, 1970; Rogers, 1961). To some individuals the ideal state is one of wealth, to others, having significant relationships, while others consider being able to help those in need as being important in their lives. These individuals vary in external circumstances, yet they may share a subjective feeling of well-being.

The term “subjective well-being” (SWB) refers to people’s evaluations of their lives. It includes cognitive judgements, such as life satisfaction, affective evaluations (moods and emotions), such as positive and negative emotional feelings and personal quality of life (satisfaction with specific personal domains of SWB, for example, with the self, partner and family) (Diener, Eunkook, & Shigehiro, 1997). People are said to have high SWB if they are satisfied with their life conditions and experience frequent positive emotions and fewer negative emotions (Diener et al., 1997). SWB is the psychological term for “happiness” and is preferred because of the many connotations of the latter term (Diener, 1984). Within the literature, the terms are used interchangeably. As discussed earlier, life satisfaction and personal quality of life both measure different aspects of SWB. In the present study, life satisfaction and personal quality of life will be used as measures of SWB, in order to determine how individuals generally
evaluate their lives and also to investigate which personal aspects of their lives affect their SWB.

The scientific study of subjective well-being has received increasing interest in the past two decades as psychology progressed from radical behaviourism and emphasis on negative states (for example, psychological articles researching negative states outnumber those examining positive states by a ratio of 17 to 1 (Myers & Diener, 1995) to emphasis on personal development and positive states of well-being. The full range of psychological well-being thus needs to be explored, so that the focus is upon factors that keep one from being depressed and factors that lead one to becoming elated. It is a common belief that positive well-being is a major goal for most people (Diener et al., 1997). Emphasis should thus be placed on understanding the processes which underlie positive well-being and in turn, people’s goals, coping efforts and dispositions.

The positive psychology movement was started in the U.S.A. by Martin E. P. Seligman (Seligman & Csikszentihalyi, 2000) and was devoted to increasing the scope of psychological research and practice so that it focuses not just on problem alleviation, but also on helping people to enhance their lives, for example experiencing greater SWB. The idea is that people can be aided to have more satisfying lives, which include more rewarding marriages and family life, work and recreation as well
as friendships, and not just strive to solve problems (Diener & Biswas-Diener, 2000).

The need satisfaction approach is one way of analysing general determinants of well-being. According to this approach, well-being is largely determined by the extent to which people meet the basic needs of experiencing a positive self. Positive experience of the self is contingent on a social environment that provides opportunities for belonging, acting or contributing and of receiving favourable feedback (Siegrist, 2003). The social structure that excludes individuals from belonging, acting or contributing, diminishes or even destroys a positive experience of the self (Siegrist, 2003). One aspect of positive self experience that is important for well-being is self-esteem, that is, the continued positive experience of a person’s self-worth (Pearlin, 1989). A social environment conducive to self-esteem enables the person to connect himself or herself with significant others and to receive appropriate feedback for well accomplished tasks (Pearlin, 1989). Self-esteem strengthens feelings of belonging, approval and success. Well-being across different life domains is critically enhanced if these domains offer opportunities of experiencing self-esteem in core social roles.
The interaction of one’s personality, self-esteem, personal goals and available resources affects SWB and highlights the importance of these variables across the life span. People’s wants and resources to accomplish goals change over time and offer insight into the role these domains play in SWB (Diener et al., 1997).

External, demographic factors which change across the life span, such as income, health and social contacts, have surprisingly little effect on SWB. Diener and Suh (1998) revealed that from the ages of 40 to 90, the average income and percentage of people who are married drop steadily, yet mean levels of life satisfaction remain stable across age groups.

As many nations of the world enter an era of post-materialism in which basic survival needs are met, interest in SWB is likely to grow, affecting the ways in which policy makers govern. Continued research into SWB may ultimately answer the question of what comprises having a good life.

1.1 Motivation for the study

Over the last decade, South Africa has made a successful transition to become the democratic country that it is today. As people in the country meet their basic biological needs, for example the right to freedom, shelter, food and clothing, they become increasingly concerned with
higher level needs, such as personal development and life satisfaction (Diener & Biswas-Diener, 2000).

SWB is increasingly important in a democratic world where there is a need for people to live fulfilling lives as evaluated by themselves, and not simply as judged by policy makers, autocrats, or experts (Diener & Biswas-Diener, 2000). In an international survey of college students (Diener, 2000), it was found that positive well-being in the form of life satisfaction was rated as more important than money. It is therefore important to note that a new direction in which psychologists can expand their activities is in helping people live more rewarding lives. Although the image of having a good life is bound to vary somewhat across cultures, to some extent it will probably always include close relationships, responsibilities to one’s own family and enjoyment of one’s life.

Much work has been done in the western nations such as the U.S.A. on subjective well-being (Diener, 1984; Diener & Biswas-Diener, 2000; Emmons & Diener, 1985; Seligman & Csikszentihalyi, 2000). Research has also been done in South Africa in middle class communities (Moller & Jackson, 1997). However, there is a paucity of research in South Africa that specifically looks at subjective well-being and self-esteem in disadvantaged communities. Since SWB and self-esteem are important factors in quality of life research (Diener, 1984; Emmons & Diener, 1985; Lewinsohn, Redner & Seeley, 1991; Myers & Diener, 1995;
Schmitt & Bedeian, 1982), it is the aim of the present study to investigate the relationship between SWB and self-esteem in a community that differs from those reported and studied in the literature. It also aims to investigate the manner in which disadvantaged communities experience SWB (in the form of life satisfaction and personal quality of life) and self-esteem. Members of a disadvantaged community in Doornkop, South of Johannesburg, participated in the present study.

The results of the study may assist the government in policy making and intervention programmes in order to assist communities in need. The study can also add to available knowledge on the topic to non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other groups working in this field.

1.1.1 Involvement of policy makers in SWB and self-esteem

Subjective well-being is important to policymakers because people who are satisfied with life in general are also more likely to feel satisfied with other specific areas of life. For example, research into the effects of levels of trust on life satisfaction shows that those who believe it is wrong to cheat on their taxes and those who believe people can generally be trusted are more satisfied with their lives (Donovan & Halpern, 2002). It is possible that here the causality runs in both directions- that living in societies with high levels of inter-personal
trust causes higher levels of well-being and that more trusting people are more optimistic and satisfied. Also, satisfaction can be seen in attitudes towards public services. One’s general mood and outlook on life turns out to affect one’s perceptions more generally, even if the objective quality of the service or stimuli is identical: the world looks good to people who are happy, and bad to people who are miserable (Donovan & Halpern, 2002). This might explain why objectively similar services in relatively poor and deprived areas are typically associated with lower satisfaction ratings than those in more comfortable areas.

The main point is that SWB is a valued outcome in itself. One could argue that life satisfaction is the ultimate yardstick by which the success or failure of governments should be judged. Another point is that levels of SWB are changeable. If SWB was entirely determined by genes, such that an individual’s well-being was as predetermined as whether one is born short or tall, then there would be little that anyone could do to affect it. However, the evidence is that SWB is affected by many social, economic and institutional factors and is therefore subject to being influenced by government action, at least in principle. If it is accepted that SWB is an important objective and can be influenced, then a fundamental challenge is thrown to policy makers.

In conclusion, subjective well-being is a relevant dimension of assessing the quality of life both at the individual and collective level. This is mainly due to its importance in supplementing existing economic and
social indicators of a nation's overall performance and development and to its favourable effects on health which, in turn, contribute to economic and social welfare. Despite its relevance, measuring subjective well-being confronts research with a series of methodological and conceptual challenges.

1.2 The research questions

What are the levels of subjective well-being and self-esteem of a disadvantaged community in South Africa?

Is self-esteem positively related to subjective well-being?

Do demographic characteristics affect self-esteem and subjective well-being?

1.3 Dissertation outline

This dissertation consists of the following chapters and an appendix:
Chapter 1 introduces the research report.
Chapter 2 consists of a comprehensive literature review pertaining to the topic.
Chapter 3 addresses the research design, methodology and data analysis.
Chapter 4 addresses data analysis and the results.
Chapter 5 will present a discussion of the results obtained in chapter 4 of the study.

Chapter 6 concludes the research report with conclusions and recommendations.

The list of references follows chapter 6, followed by appendix 1 (the consent form and the questionnaire).
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

As discussed earlier, the purpose of the present research project is derived from two research questions and these were to ascertain the relationship between SWB and self-esteem and to investigate the manner in which disadvantaged communities experience SWB (in the form of life satisfaction and personal quality of life) and self-esteem. Due to a paucity in the South African literature on SWB and self-esteem in adults, much of the literature discussed in chapter 2 will be based on international studies.

This chapter will present a review of the available literature on SWB and self-esteem. Studies on SWB (the definitions, components and demographic effects) will be investigated first followed by self-esteem studies.

2.2 Subjective well-being (SWB)

A person's evaluation of his or her well-being may be in the form of cognitions or affect (Diener et al., 1997). Cognition refers to persons’ conscious evaluative judgments about their satisfaction with life as a whole, or evaluative judgments about specific aspects of their life, such as their partner, income, family or self. Evaluation in the form of affect refers to people’s experience of unpleasant or pleasant moods and
emotions in reaction to their lives. Thus, a person is said to have high levels of positive subjective well-being (SWB) if she or he experiences life satisfaction and frequent joy, and only infrequently experiences unpleasant emotions such as sadness and anger. Contrary to this, a person is said to have low levels of satisfaction with life if he or she is dissatisfied with life, experiences little joy and affection, and frequently feels negative emotions such as anger or anxiety. (Diener et al., 1997).

The cognitive and affective components of SWB are highly interrelated, and researchers have only recently begun to understand the relations between various types of SWB (Diener et al., 1997).

2.2.1 Components of SWB

SWB is composed of several major components, including life satisfaction, contentment with specific life domains, the presence of frequent positive affect (pleasant moods and emotions), and a relative absence of negative affect (unpleasant moods and emotions) (Diener et al., 1997).

The major components of SWB can be further reduced to more specific elements. Positive affect is commonly divided into joy, elation, contentment, pride, affection, happiness and ecstasy (Diener et al., 1997). Negative affect is separated into guilt, shame, sadness, anxiety, anger, stress, depression and envy (Diener et al., 1997). Positive SWB
is categorised by satisfaction with oneself, satisfaction with current life, satisfaction with past life, satisfaction with the future, satisfaction with meaningful relationship with significant others and a desire to change life. The various domains of life satisfaction are composed of work, family, leisure, health, finances, self, and one’s group (Diener et al., 1997).

The field of SWB has several cardinal characteristics (Diener, 1984). Firstly, it is concerned with well-being from the perspective of the respondent, hence, importance is granted to the respondents’ own views of their lives. Secondly, the research is mainly concerned with long term levels of satisfaction and affect, though short term moods and emotions are studied as well. For example, a person who has just won a lump sum of money and suddenly is a millionaire will be examined longitudinally for stable and permanent changes in mood and life satisfaction. Thirdly, healthy personality variables are researched, not only negative states such as depression and anxiety. Attainment of SWB involves not only avoiding sadness, but also experiencing life satisfaction and pleasant emotions.

Transient factors such as current mood (how a person feels at a particular given moment) and even current weather conditions affect judgment of life satisfaction (Schwarz & Strack, 1991). However, despite these temporary perceptions, SWB is moderately stable across situations (Diener & Larsen, 1984) and across the life span (Costa &
McCrae, 1988; Magnus & Diener, 1991). Hence, as people move through life their goals and needs change but their SWB remains somewhat stable.

A significant proportion of a stable sense of SWB is due to personality factors. Research supports this notion that pleasant or unpleasant emotion and life satisfaction vary more in accordance with temperament than life circumstances or momentary factors (Baker, Cesa, Gatz, & Mellins, 1992). For example, studies by Campbell, Converse, and Rodgers (1976) and Argyle (1999) found that external circumstances like the demographic factors of age, sex, income, race, education, marital status bear very little relation to SWB. It is thus concluded that a person’s interactions of and reactions to life’s circumstances are more important than the events themselves and that personality affects one’s reactions. In fact, personality is one of the strongest and most consistent predictors of SWB (Costa & Macrae, 1980; DeNeve & Cooper, 1998; Diener, Sandvik, Pavot & Fujita, 1992; Fujita, 1991; Watson & Clark, 1997)

2.2.2 Demographic factors and SWB

Extensive research exists on the relation of demographic and other environmental factors with SWB. These findings started with Cantril’s (1965) study of 23,875 people in 11 countries, the research of Bradburn (1969) and Campbell et al., (1976) in the United States and Inglehart’s
(1990) analysis of Eurobarometer studies of 16 countries with over 163,000 respondents. Veenhoven (1994) later reviewed 603 of such studies from 69 countries. It is concluded that demographic and environmental factors affect happiness at varying levels, but to a lesser degree than personality.

2.2.2.1 Gender differences

Sex differences in SWB are small or nonexistent in western nations. The greatest data comes from the World Value Survey (Inglehart, 1990) in which approximately 170,000 representatively sampled respondents from 16 nations were surveyed. The differences in SWB between men and women were very small. Michalos (1991) studied 18,000 college students in over 30 nations and found very small sex differences in life satisfaction and positive well-being.

Due to the breaking down of traditional sex roles for men and women, the trait which was formally called ‘masculinity” is now called “agency”, and the trait formerly known as “femininity” is now called “communion” (Michalos, 1991). Communion includes characteristics such as warmth, concern for others and understanding. Agency includes independence, self-confidence and decisiveness (Michalos, 1991). These new terms are preferred to old terms because they recognise that both men and women possess either set of characteristics. Although men do not report higher SWB than women, men and women who are
agentic have higher SWB, and men and women who are low in agency have lower SWB (Michalos, 1991).

Another interesting finding is that women report more negative affect and depression than men and are more likely to seek therapy for this disorder; yet, men and women report approximately the same levels of global well-being (Michalos, 1991). One explanation is that women more readily admit to negative feelings whereas men either deny or do not express such feelings. Thus, it is possible that both sexes experience similar levels of negative affect and depression, but women report these feelings and seek professional help more often. Another explanation for the paradoxical findings regarding sex differences in SWB is offered by Fujita, Diener and Sandvik (1991). They suggest that in the social role of nurturer, women are socialised to be more open to emotional experiences, including both positive and negative emotions. In turn, they may experience more positive and more negative affect. Their research reveals that women report greater amounts of positive affect as well, thus it may be that women experience, on average, both positive and negative emotions more strongly and frequently than men. These researchers also discovered that gender was responsible for less than 1% of the variance in happiness but over 13% of the variance in the intensity of emotional experience. Fujita et al. (1991) hypothesized that, on average women’s, openness to intense emotional experiences, creates a vulnerability to depression in the presence of many bad events, but also creates
opportunities for intense levels of happiness when encountering good events.

2.2.2.2 Age

Campbell (1981) stated that “the literary image of the crotchety old person, dissatisfied with everything, is not a very realistic picture of older people” (p.203). This pleasant finding may be due to older people now being healthier and staying involved in more life domains compared to past generations (Bass, 1995). Current studies agree that life satisfaction often increases (or at least does not necessarily drop) with age (Haring-Hidore, Stock, Okun & Witter, 1985; Herzog & Rodgers, 1981; Larson, 1978; Stock, Okun, Haring & Witter, 1983). This is confirmed by findings of international studies of representative samples from multiple countries that life satisfaction does not decline with age (Butt & Beiser, 1987; Inglehart, 1990; Veenhoven, 1984). Diener and Suh (1998) surveyed 60,000 adults from 40 nations and discovered a slight upward trend in life satisfaction from people in their twenties to their eighties, and little change across age cohorts with respect to the experience of negative affect. In contrast, pleasant affect may decline with age. Although, Okma and Veenhoven (1996) found no evidence of a decrease in life satisfaction across the life span, they did observe a small decline in mood. The reported age declines in positive affect may
disappear, however, if lower arousal states such as contentment and affection were studied rather than the standard higher arousal states of being energetic. Supporting this belief is the finding that emotional intensity declines with age (Diener, Sandvik & Larsen, 1985)

The lack of a significant decrease in life satisfaction across the life span suggests that people are able to adapt to their conditions. Declines in income and marriage occur across age cohorts in later adulthood, yet life satisfaction is stable. Some researchers have suggested that these findings serve as evidence that people readjust their goals as they age (Campbell et al., 1976; Rapkin & Fischer, 1992). Supporting this theory is Ryff (1991) who found that older adults, compared with younger people, demonstrate a closer fit between ideal and actual self-perceptions. Brandtstädter and Renner (1990) believe that overcoming adversities is performed either by changing life circumstances to personal preferences (assimilative coping) or by adjusting personal preferences goals to given situational constraints (accommodative coping). Both types of coping strategies were related to life satisfaction, but they found a gradual shift from the assimilative to the accommodative style with increasing age. This supports Campbell et al.’s (1976) conclusion that the gap between one’s goals and circumstances decreases with age.
2.2.2.3 Education

Studies have shown a small but significant correlation between education and SWB (Cantril, 1965; Campbell et al., 1976; Diener, Sandvik, Seidliz & Diener, 1993). In a meta analysis of the literature, Witter, Okun, Stock and Haring (1984) observed a median effect size of 0.13. This effect size was similar to education’s influence upon life satisfaction (0.15), morale (0.15) and quality of life (0.12). There is a greater correlation between education and SWB for individuals with lower incomes (Campbell, 1981; Diener et al., 1993) and in poor countries (Veenhoven, 1994). In the former case this is possibly due to the idea that education creates wider leisure interests, resulting in other sources of happiness, and in the latter case due to the social status conveyed by education. The effect of education on SWB has become weaker over time in some western counties like the United States. Campbell (1981) notes that in 1957, 44% of college graduates reported having more positive well-being compared to 23% of those with no high school education, while in 1978, the corresponding percentages were 33% and 28%.

Much of the relationship between education and SWB results from the correlation of education with occupational status and income (Campbell, 1981; Witter et al., 1984). Hence, education seems to be
indirectly related to well-being. Education may even potentially interfere with SWB if it leads to expectations which cannot be met, thus increasing the goal-achievement gap.

2.2.2.4 Income

Overall, a small but significant correlation of 0.12 between income and SWB was found in a nationally representative sample in the United States (Diener et al., 1993). The effects of income on happiness seem to be small even when examining extremely wealthy individuals. Individuals with a net worth of over $125 million were compared to randomly selected controls from the same geographical areas. Results showed the very rich to be, on average, somewhat happier than the mean of national samples, but there was considerable overlap in the distributions of wealthy and not wealthy groups (Diener, Horwitz & Emmons, 1985). Generally, wealthier people report more positive well-being than poor people, although the effects are small. Brickman, Coates and Janoff-Bulman (1978) determined that lottery winners were happier than controls but not significantly so. Smith and Razzell (1975) studied individuals who won large amounts of money in the British football pools and found that 39% described themselves to be very happy compared to 19% of the controls. Unexpectedly, some negative affect also surfaced as the winners quit their jobs and then experienced lost relationships and decreased feelings of
accomplishment, as well as some tension from family and friends who expected financial assistance.

Income change at the national level, as with the personal level, shows little effect upon SWB. Despite strong economic growth in France, Japan and America from 1946 to 1990, there was no increase in mean reports of SWB (Diener & Suh, 1997). Disposable income rose dramatically, but well-being levels remained stable. Oswald (1997) studied nine European nations during a time of rapid economic growth and also found almost no increase in SWB. Therefore, it seems as though the relationship between economic growth and SWB is not particularly strong. On the contrary, a correlation of approximately 0.50 was found between Gross National Product (GNP) per capita and life satisfaction across 39 nations (Diener et al., 1993). These results were supported by a sample of 55 nations using both GNP and purchasing power as indicators of national financial status (Diener, Diener & Diener, 1995). The relation between national wealth and SWB may be due, in part, to other benefits received by people of wealthier countries such as democracy, hence, the direct effect of wealth itself may not be the only determining factor.

When examining the effect of materialistic goals themselves upon SWB, Richins and Dawson (1992) found that people who value money
more highly than other goals are less satisfied with their standard of living and with their lives, and this association persists even when income is controlled (Crawford, 1998). Several theories attempt to explain why materialism is a negative predictor of SWB. Materialistic pursuits may be counterproductive because they interfere with other pro-social and self-actualisation goals (Scitovsky, 1976), and the extrinsic goal of money is not conducive to meeting inherent needs in economically advanced societies (Kasser & Ryan, 1996).

Thus, findings do not support a strong causal link between income and SWB. Wealthy people are only somewhat happier than poor people in rich nations, although wealthy nations appear much happier than poor nations, and changes in income may sometimes have negative effects. Studying expectations and material desires would be beneficial in explaining these patterns. For example, wealth affects SWB more in countries where basic needs of food, shelter and health care are of concern, but has a much smaller effect within countries where basic needs are met (Scitovsky, 1976).

2.2.2.5 Marital status

The positive relation between marriage and SWB has been consistently reported in the United States (Glenn, 1975; Gove & Shin, 1989), and in
international studies (Diener, Gohm, Suh & Oishi, 1998). These large-scale surveys indicate that married people report greater happiness compared to those who were never married or are divorced, separated or widowed. Those who live with a partner and are not married are significantly happier than those living alone (Kurdek, 1991; Mastekaasa, 1995). Marriage and well-being correlate significantly even when age and income are controlled (Glenn & Weaver, 1979; Gove, Hughes & Style, 1983). A meta-analysis by Haring-Hidore and his colleagues (1985) determined an average correlation of 0.14 between marital status and SWB. Lee, Seccombe & Shehan (1991) studied the differences between married and non-married men and women from 1972 to 1989 and found that married women were consistently happier than unmarried women and married men were consistently happier than unmarried men. Diener et al. (1998) discovered that marriage offers greater benefits for men than for women in terms of positive emotions, but married men and women do not differ in life satisfaction.

Many researchers believe that marriage serves as a buffer against the hardships of life and it provides emotional and economic support which produces positive states of well-being (Coombs, 1991; Gove, Style & Hughes, 1990; Kessler & Essex, 1982). In a longitudinal study, Headey, Veenhoven and Wearing (1991) found that among six life domains they studied (for example, job, health), only marital satisfaction had a significant causal influence on global life satisfaction.
Marriage itself may not be the important factor. For example, happy people may have a better chance of getting married. Once married, the benefits of companionship can further increase SWB. Thus, both selection effects and the benefits of marriage may underlie the relation between marriage and SWB (Mastekaasa, 1995). The quality of the marriage is obviously also a predictor of life satisfaction. Variables including the structure of interactions (Gottman & Levenson, 1986), emotional expressiveness (King, 1993), and role sharing (Hendrix, 1997) are related to more satisfying marriages.

2.2.2.6 Job satisfaction

Tait, Padgett and Baldwin (1989) performed a meta-analysis of 34 studies and determined an average correlation of 0.44 between job satisfaction and life satisfaction. They also discovered a stronger relation between job and life satisfaction for women in recent decades as their societal roles have changed and career choice has expanded. Work is thought to be related to SWB because it offers an optimal level of stimulation that people find pleasurable as well as positive social relationships and a sense of identity and meaning (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990; Scitovsky, 1976).
Characteristics of satisfying jobs have been extensively researched; for example, person-organisation fit generally correlates with job satisfaction (Bretz & Judge, 1994), and intrinsic rewards and social benefits are significant predictors of satisfaction (Mottaz, 1985). People who are satisfied with their lives generally find more satisfaction with their work (Stones & Kozma, 1986) suggesting that the relationship between job and life satisfaction may reflect internal personality factors.

2.2.2.7 Employment status

An abundance of existing literature (Dooley, Catalano & Rook, 1988; Iverson & Svend, 1988; Jackson & Warr, 1984; Kessler, Turner & House, 1987, 1989; Larson, 1984; O’Brien, 1986) has stressed the theoretical importance of investigating the effects of current employment status on psychological stress. These studies have suggested key areas, such as social integration, in which effects of current job status would be particularly important. Work is not only a means to earn money, which means that unemployed workers are under great financial stress, but is also a source of self-esteem as well as a mechanism for integrating an individual into the community (Johoda, 1979, 1981, 1982). Unemployment could create problems in social integration, which in turn, could affect their SWB (Clark, 1998). Oswald (1997) found that unemployed people have higher distress,
lower life satisfaction and higher rates of suicide than employed individuals.

### 2.2.3 Traits associated with SWB

Traits are behavioural response tendencies which show a degree of consistency across situations and stability over time (DeNeve & Cooper, 1998). DeNeve and Cooper (1998) identified 137 personality traits correlated with SWB constructs, therefore it is difficult to identify the most important traits needed for subjective well-being. The following are four of the most popular traits discussed in the SWB literature, that is, positive illusion, optimism, self-efficacy and self-esteem.

#### 2.2.3.1 Positive Illusions

Taylor and Brown (1988) noted that many people possess positive illusions which include unrealistically positive self-perceptions, overly optimistic views of the future and overestimates of environmental control. Surprisingly, these illusions foster SWB as well as caring for others and the ability to engage in productive work. Taylor and Armor (1996) observed that positive illusions correlate with successful
adjustment to stressful circumstances, including extreme adversity.

Erez, Johnson and Judge (1995) found that individuals with a positive
disposition tended to use more self-deception, which in turn increased
their SWB. Similarly, Lightsey (1994) indicated that negative events
have a weaker relation to depression among people with automatic
positive cognitions. Therefore, it seems as though a person’s ability to
encode life events in a positive way can serve as a buffer when dealing
with stressful or unpleasant circumstances.

2.2.3.2 Optimism

Scheier and Carver (1985) developed a theory of dispositional
optimism in which optimism is defined as a generalised tendency to
expect favourable outcomes in one’s life. Hence, specifically those who
believe that positive outcomes will follow while working towards a
good are more likely to achieve their goal, whereas those who expect
failure are more likely to disengage from their goal. This pattern leads
optimists to achieve their goals more often than pessimists.

Lucas, Diener and Suh (1996) revealed that optimism correlates with
measures of SWB such as life satisfaction, pleasant affect and
unpleasant affect. Scheier and Carver (1993) reviewed findings
showing that optimists maintain higher levels of SWB when facing a
stressor. Evidence showing the underlying mechanisms of optimism is offered by Scheier, Weintraub and Carver (1986) who found that optimists tend to use problem-focused coping, seek social support and emphasise positive aspects of the situation upon encountering difficulties. Pessimists tend to use denial, focus on stressful feelings and disengage from relevant goals. It appears that those who think positively use more effective forms of coping.

2.2.3.3 Self-efficacy

The feeling of self-efficacy (that is, that an individual possesses what is needed to accomplish important goals) predicts life satisfaction and positive emotions (Feasel, 1995). Feasel (1995), also observed that a greater sense self-efficacy regarding more important goals was a stronger predictor of well-being than self-efficacy regarding less important goals. This demonstrates that feeling efficacious is important to well-being but also highlights the need to feel competent in areas of life that one feels are significant.

2.2.3.4 Self-esteem
Many clinicians believe that self-acceptance is mandatory for psychological well-being. In support of this, Lucas, Diener and Suh (1996) found that self-esteem strongly predicted SWB in western cultures. On the other hand, self-esteem is not a universal determinant of SWB. Diener and Diener (1995) determined that self-esteem is a weak correlate (0.80) for women in collectivist societies where the family is valued over the individual. Likewise, Kwan, Bond and Singelis (1997) revealed a strong relation between self-esteem and life satisfaction in America but also discovered that group harmony was a predictor of life satisfaction in Hong Kong. Hence, self-esteem may not be a strong predictor of SWB in cultures which value the group above the individual but is significant in western societies.

2.2.4 Personality and SWB

Personality is defined as characteristic response tendencies in adults and is composed of biological and learned components (Costa, 1994). Stability across time in SWB should predictably exist if personality is a major influence upon this concept. Costa (1994) observed that over a period of 30 years, adults have stable personalities. This supported by Magnus and Diener (1991).
The affective components of SWB (pleasant and unpleasant affect) are also stable over time (Costa & McCrae, 1988). An alternative explanation that SWB stability is due to consistency in people’s external conditions is not supported by research into changing conditions across the life span. Costa, McCrae and Zonderman (1987) studied people living under relatively stable circumstances versus those living in changing conditions such as divorce or becoming widowed. The high change group demonstrated only slight lower SWB stability estimates than the low-change group. Diener et al. (1993) discovered that people had approximately the same level of SWB over a ten year period regardless of their income increasing, decreasing or staying the same. This suggests that personality plays a more significant role than specific life events in determining SWB. Magnus and Diener (1991) found that over a four-year period, personality measured during the initial phase of the study predicted life satisfaction during the second phase, beyond the effect of intervening life events. Furthermore, highly valued resources such as wealth (Diener et al., 1993) and objective health (Okun & George, 1984) barely correlated with SWB.

These studies reveal that SWB, like personality, demonstrates some stability over time. Hence, the amount of pleasant affect, unpleasant affect and life satisfaction one experiences in early adulthood is likely to remain moderately stable and unrelated to future events such as marriage, divorce, finding a job or becoming unemployed. Diener and
Larsen (1993) report that average levels of pleasant mood in work situations correlated 0.70 with average levels of pleasant mood in recreation situations. Average levels of unpleasant affect in work situations correlated 0.74 with mean levels of unpleasant affect in recreation situations. Similar consistency levels for pleasant and unpleasant affect were noted across social versus alone situations, and novel versus ordinary situations. Mean levels of life satisfaction were even more consistent with stability coefficients in the 0.95 range. Thus, people display consistent characteristic emotional responses to their environments even when the environment changes.

**SWB remains moderately stable despite changing life conditions.**

Moreover, evaluations of specific events and life domains in one’s life are affected by one’s overall level of SWB. Kozma (1996) noted that judgement of satisfaction with life domain (work, home, relationships) were correlated but when overall SWB was controlled, correlations between the different domains were no longer significant. From the above literature, it seems that overall SWB influences feelings about specific domains and satisfaction with specific domains is a function of specific factors within the domain as well as one’s general level of SWB.

Due to the objectives of the present study, personality is briefly included in the literature review of SWB (because it is one of the
important aspects in studies of SWB) to indicate its significance, but will not be included in the discussion chapter of the study.

2.2.5 Theories relating to the attainment of SWB.

Identifying theories which are related to SWB, their direction of causality and the processes that underlie these relations is considered important in attaining a complete scientific understanding of the concept of SWB. In this section, theories that contribute to attaining high levels of SWB are explored. The section also explores established theoretical models that explain the relationship between personality and SWB.

2.2.5.1 Return to baseline model

Heady and Wearing (1989) believe that a person’s baseline level of happiness (and therefore also SWB) is determined by their temperament. More specifically, extroversion and neuroticism determine one’s baseline level of happiness through the strength of their reward and punishment systems. Though life circumstances temporarily move people away from their baseline, their reward and punishment systems will ultimately return them to their baseline level.
For example, being promoted to a high paying position at work will move a person above his or her normal state for a period of time, but slowly the person will adapt and move back to the baseline as determined by temperament and the work position or the money will not affect the person’s happiness. Likewise, a bad event such as the loss of a loved one will move a person below the baseline, but after time needed to adapt, return to the prior baseline will occur. Due to biologically determined “set-points” of reactivity to stimuli, one’s reward and punishment system adapts to positive or negative stimuli, causing a return to one’s baseline.

Heady and Wearing (1989) determined that baseline levels of well-being were predicted by extroversion and neuroticism, even over a number of years, and that people did return to previous levels of positive and negative affect after good and bad events. Suh, Diener and Fujita (1996) replicated this finding, showing that people adapt to most life events in a surprisingly short period of time. Silver (1980) found that quadriplegics and paraplegics adapted to their spinal cord injury in short time frames.

The concept of habituation underlies the idea of one’s affect returning to baseline, however research shows that people do not habituate to all events. For example, Mehnert, Krauss, Nadler, and Boyd (1990) found
that a representative sample of people with disabilities was less satisfied with life than a representative sample of the non-disabled. Furthermore, respondents in very poor countries, such as India and Nigeria, reported much lower SWB than people in highly industrialized nations, such as northern Europe (Diener, Diener & Diener, 1995). Therefore, personality provides a long term baseline effect on SWB but some life conditions also influence the baseline.

\subsection{2.2.5.2 Person-environment fit}

The central idea behind this model’s attempt to explain the connection between personality and SWB is that a person will experience SWB to the degree that he or she finds the environment rewarding and that environments are most rewarding when the individual’s personality ‘fits” the situation. Thus, individuals in life circumstances that fit their personalities should experience higher SWB than those in life situations not fitting their personality.

Supporting this model, Brandstätter (1994) found that extroverts are happier in high-stimulation situations whereas this was not true for introverts. Diener, Sandvik, Pavot and Fujita (1992) determined that extroverts less often live alone and more frequently work in social occupations.
Nonetheless, the person-environment model has received only mixed empirical support (Diener, Larsen & Emmons, 1984; Furnham, Toop, Lewis & Fisher, 1995). Although people sometimes respond positively to an environment that is conducive to their personality, the effects of personality on SWB are not fully explained by this model (Diener et al., 1984).

2.2.5.3 Goal theories

Theorists such as Cantor (1994), Emmons (1986) and Kasser and Ryan (1993) believe that personality includes traits as well as goals for which one is striving. The content of goals, how they are approached, and resulting success or failure affects well-being. Goals are considered to serve as a reference standard for the affect system. In this model, goals can be studied at a broad level (values), or at a narrower level (life tasks and current concerns).

Emmons (1986) found that positive affect is related to the degree to which people accomplish their goals, while negative affect is related to the individual’s ambivalence about their goals and conflict between their goals. Life satisfaction was highest for those who had goals that were very important to them. Cantor (1994) suggests that an individual’s goals are determined by life circumstances, expectations of the culture, and the person’s idiosyncratic needs. Cantor (1994), believes that people can accomplish their goals in a variety of ways,
but those with high SWB have developed effective strategies for meeting their needs within the constraints of cultural expectations and life circumstances.

Kasser and Ryan (1993, 1996) report that all goals are not equal and that working toward intrinsic goals is more beneficial to SWB than pursuing extrinsic goals. They believe that intrinsic goals reflect inherent growth tendencies and satisfy inherent psychological needs whereas extrinsic goals are imposed on the individual by society and are sought for the approval of others. Specifically, the extrinsic goals of desire for material goods and social recognition were associated with lower levels of well-being, while the intrinsic goals of self-acceptance, helping the community, affiliation and physical health were positively correlated with SWB.

2.2.6 Contextual theories of SWB

Some theorists such as Veenhoven (1991) and Maslow (1970), maintain that SWB is brought about by the satisfaction of basic, universal human needs. They maintain, for example, that people can only be happy if needs such as hunger, warmth, and thirst are fulfilled. In contrast, context theories emphasize that the factors that influence SWB are variable across both time and individuals, and that how good or bad life events are considered to be is based on the circumstances in which people live.
The context varies in different theories. In adaptation theory, for example, the relevant context is the person's past life, whereas in social comparison models the context is considered to be social others of whom the target individual is aware (Diener et al., 1997). Other contexts that could influence SWB are the person's ideals, and imagining counterfactual alternative situations. Finally, in the goal approach, the context is believed to be the person's conscious aims. In each of the context models, whether something is good or bad, and how good or bad it is, is thought to be based on changeable factors rather than on biological universals (Headey & Wearing, 1989).

2.2.7 Social comparison and SWB

According to the social comparisons theory (Festinger, 1954) SWB is, in part, a consequence of individuals’ comparing themselves with others and making positive or negative self-evaluations. If a community is experiencing low levels of social and economic achievement and people recognise that their status is worse than those who are economically better off than them, this should lead to low levels of SWB. Instead, evidence shows that people with similar characteristics who live in close proximity to fortunate or unfortunate others do not differ as predicted by the idea of imposed social comparisons (Diener et al., 1993). For example, in a study by Diener et al. (1993), people who had a moderate
income were equally happy whether they lived either in a poorer or wealthier geographic area.

In 1974, Richard Easterlin (1974) proposed that there are greater SWB differences within nations than between. Easterlin (1974) suggested that different nations do not differ in SWB because people within nations compare each other on attributes such as income. Therefore, although richer people within a nation are likely to be happier than poorer people in that country, nations do not necessarily differ in SWB (Easterlin, 1974). Furthermore, based on the imposed social comparisons approach, the average person in any nation ought to be neutral in SWB because about half of the people will be above average and about half will be below average. Research demonstrates, however, that most people have SWB above neutral (Diener & Diener, 1996). In South Africa for example, about 80% of South African black respondents reported a positive level of satisfaction with life in 1994 (Moller, 1996). These results were mainly attributed to the first national elections. In some domains such as family life, even higher percentages reported life satisfaction. For global SWB, investigators have replicated the "most people are happy effect" using measures other than global self-reports (for example, memory measures, experience sampling, and informant reports). It is surprising that even disadvantaged persons such as the disabled and people who live under very difficult life conditions also report SWB above the neutral point. It therefore seems that these data cast doubt on Easterlin's (1974) theory.
2.2.8 Summary

The causes of SWB have been shown to be complex. Research suggests that marriage, unemployment and physical disability exert a causal influence on levels of SWB (Crawford, 1998; Diener et al., 1993; Diener et al., 1998). Studies of coping and meditation offer evidence that cognitive factors are important (Strawbridge, Shema, Cohen, Roberts & Kaplan, 1998). Examining people with disabilities demonstrates that objective factors such as income can matter. Fortunately, people generally adapt their goals to what is possibly attainable for them and they implement coping strategies. Cross-cultural studies show that different factors contribute to SWB in different societies, and according to individuals’ unique values and goals (Diener & Diener, 1995; Diener, 1998). Different strategies may work better in different circumstances for different people. Therefore, there is not one cause of SWB, but it is influenced by the presence of situational, personality, cultural factors, the level of one’s self-esteem as well as coping strategies and goals.

2.3 Self-esteem

There are several definitions of self-esteem in the literature. Although these definitions arise from different theories and viewpoints, they all appear to be describing the same thing. For example, Rosenberg (1965)
defines self-esteem as a positive or negative orientation toward oneself and an overall evaluation of one’s worth and value. Rosenberg (1965) further states that people are motivated to have high self-esteem, and having it indicates positive self-regard and not egotism. Self-esteem is only one component of the self-concept, which Rosenberg (1965) defines as the “totality of the individual’s thoughts and feelings with reference to himself as an object.” Joubert (1990) defined self-esteem as a personal judgment of general self-worth that is a product of an implicit evaluation of self-approval or self-disapproval made by the individual.

The high position of esteem needs in Maslow’s (1970) hierarchy of needs reflects the importance of self-esteem in people’s judgement of quality of life. Without self-esteem, people cannot, according to Maslow (1970), proceed to realize their full potential (‘self-actualisation’). Equally, the importance of self-actualisation is reflected in the work of another great humanist psychologist, Carl Rogers, who was concerned with affording his clients “unconditional positive regard” (Rogers, 1961). In his view, this is a fundamental human need. Before a person can accept himself or herself, he or she needs to see that others accept him or her (Rogers, 1961).

2.3.1 Defining self-esteem

Self-esteem could best be described as a set of unconscious self-beliefs, formed over a life time, reflecting people’s perceptions of their abilities
(self-efficacy), their lovability (a sense of belonging), and how they attribute causality for the events in their lives (locus of control) (Shindler, 1996). These unconscious self-perceptions have been burned, often deeply, into a person’s very being and therefore can only be altered by significant and repeated new experiences that recondition his or her mind and heart. A person’s self-esteem affects his or her behaviour, his or her understanding of how the world works and where he or she fits into it.

Although there is no single or universal way to define self-esteem, the available definitions seem to be derived from examining the fundamental traits with which self-esteem has been found to correlate (that is, locus of control, sense of belonging and acceptance, and sense of self-efficacy). These traits are interrelated, but can be examined as independent factors (Shindler, 1996)

2.3.1.1 Locus of control

Locus of control is defined as an individual’s generalized expectancies regarding the forces that determine rewards and punishments (Rotter, 1966). An internal locus of control can be defined as the belief that one is the author of one’s own fate. It is in contrast to an external locus of control, that is an orientation that views cause as an external factor, in which life “happens to us”. An internal locus of control comes from having a causal understanding of behaviour and effect. It is learned from
freely making choices and taking responsibility for the consequences of those choices. The way individuals interpret events has a profound effect on their psychological well-being. If people feel they have no control over future outcomes, they are less likely to seek solutions to their problems. The far reaching effects of such maladaptive behaviours can have serious consequences, which has led many social psychologists to examine the origin of locus control and its impact on the social world. Locus of control is a concept that plays an important role in several psychological theories. It is central to Seligman’s (1973) probability analysis of control, theories of learned helplessness and emotion and it is the key concept in Bandura’s (1977b) self-efficacy theory.

The psychologist Julian Rotter noted that some people believe they are autonomous (Rotter, 1966). They believe that they are in control of their lives and take responsibility for what happens to them. They believe, in other words, that the locus of control is internal to them and not external. There is evidence that it is stressful for people who believe that they have no control over their lives (that the locus of control is external to them) (Rotter, 1966).

A person whose self-esteem is low will tend to feel that what happens to them is beyond their control, even any successes they have. Research has also drawn a strong relationship between higher levels of self-esteem and sense of an internal locus of control (Fitch, 1970; Hagborg,
1996; Klein & Keller, 1990). In addition, studies have shown repeatedly that people with greater internal locus of control demonstrate higher levels of achievement (Auer, 1992; Bar-Tal & Bar-Zohar, 1977). In fact, having high levels of internal locus of control has shown to be an even more significant variable than intelligence or socio-economic status in determining one’s level of self-esteem.

2.3.1.2 A sense of belonging and acceptance

A sense of belonging and acceptance is essential to people’s mental health and the ability to trust and take risks (Inderbitzen & Clark, 1986). Without the experience of acceptance and a feeling of belonging, people are unable to love and accept themselves (Rogers, 1961). In an environment where there is emotional support, people feel empowered to express themselves and persist in the face of difficulty (Sarokon, 1986). Research has shown a relationship between a sense of belonging and acceptance and self-esteem (Davis & Peck, 1992; Washiawotok, 1993). Building a sense of belonging and the sense of self and peer acceptance has been shown to promote greater achievement and positive self-esteem (Washiawotok, 1993)

2.3.1.3 Self-efficacy

A sense of self-efficacy could be defined as one’s belief in one’s competence in a given domain (Shindler, 1996). When people feel
competent, they try harder and more readily trust themselves in the process. Self-efficacy does not come from compliments or being spared failure, it comes from evidence. In other words it is the degree of expectancy that one will succeed in a given task. For example, if a person obtains feedback that he or she has succeeded in a task or has demonstrated a talent, he or she will be confident in applying that ability in the future.

Bandura (1977b) states that a strong sense of efficacy enhances human accomplishment and personal well-being in many ways. People with confidence in their capabilities approach difficult tasks as challenges to be mastered rather than as threats to be avoided. They approach threatening situations with assurance that they can exercise control over them. This outlook produces personal accomplishments, reduces stress and lowers vulnerability to depression. People who doubt their capabilities shy away from difficult tasks they view as personal threats. They tend to have low aspirations and weak commitment to the goals they choose to pursue. When faced with difficult tasks, they dwell on their personal deficiencies, on the obstacles they will encounter, and all kind of adverse outcomes rather than concentrating on how to perform successfully. They slacken their efforts and give up quickly in the face of difficulties. It does not require much failure for them to loose faith in their capabilities, thus they are vulnerable to stress and depression. (Bandura, 1977a). Research shows clearly that individuals with high levels of self-efficacy have correspondingly high degrees of self-esteem
(Bandura 1977a & b, Klein & Keller, 1990). Moreover, self-efficacy is related to attributions of an internal locus of control (Auer, 1992) and positively correlated with achievement (Auer, 1992; Bandura, 1977b).

### 2.3.2 Demographic effects and self-esteem

The relationship between demographic variables and self-esteem is a very complex one. While studies have shown that a high level of education (Jordan & Kelly, 1990), masculinity (Kling, Hyde, Showers & Bushwell, 1999), the older one is (Harter, 1990) and being employed (Casper & Fishbein, 2002) have a positive effect on individuals’ level of self-esteem, other studies have attributed the high levels of self-esteem in individuals to personality characteristics. For example, studies have shown that individuals with high self-esteem are more likely to persist at challenging tasks (Greenwald & Pratkanis, 1984), resist conformity pressure (Costanzo, 1970) and are more likely to be independent and less sensitive to criticism (Coopersmith, 1967) than those with low self-esteem. Self-esteem levels may be self-maintaining. For example, individuals may promote high self-esteem by pursuing challenges, overlooking mistakes and criticism, and eventually attaining their goals.
2.3.2.1 Gender differences

The relationship between gender and self-esteem has been well established (Bologini, Plancherel, Bettschart & Halfon, 1996; Brage & Meredith, 1994; Chubb, Fertman & Ross, 1997) with men consistently outscoring females on global measures of self-esteem (Kling et al., 1999).

Throughout the years, researchers have investigated the reasons for these differences as well as the domains of self-esteem in which these differences occur. For example, Cairns, McWhirter, Duffy and Barry (1990) found that boys exceeded girls in the athletic/physical competence domain of self-esteem. They further discovered that cognitive competence was more closely tied to self-esteem in girls than in boys. Allgood-Merton, Lewinsohn and Hops (1990) found that high school girls’ body image affected self-esteem. Stein, Newcomb and Bentler (1992) showed that self-esteem in both males and females was positively related to measures of masculinity. Knox, Funk, Elliot and Bush (1996) investigated the relationship of “possible selves” (categories of self-concept) to global self-esteem and found that females’ self-esteem is related to multiple domains of possible selves, whereas males’ self-esteem is related to only one domain.

Much of the available literature on gender differences in self-esteem is based on studies of adolescents (Cohen, 1977; Major, Barr, Zubek &
Babey, 1999). When compared to adults, gender differences in adolescents’ self-esteem are small but statistically significant. Self-esteem in adolescence tends to persist into adulthood, where men continue to enjoy the same or slightly higher self-esteem than their female peers (Major et al., 1999).

2.3.2.2 Education

Research into the effects of self-esteem on education level has shown that those with a higher level of self-esteem tend to do better in school and have a higher level of education (Jordan & Kelly, 1990; Kingsbury, Maruyama & Rubin, 1981). This further indicates that those with a higher level of education have a higher level of self-esteem. There have been many studies of the relationship between these two variables (Colardarci, McCaul, Donaldson & David, 1992; Kingsbury et al., 1981; Tootoonchi, 1993).

Various studies have shown that people with low self-esteem try to avoid exposing their unfavourable characteristics (Colardarci et al., 1992; Kingsbury et al., 1981; Tootoonchi, 1993). In order to do this, they avoid anything that may risk revealing their flaws and do not take on any challenges that may also bring rewards, such as furthering their education (Gaus, Wood, Beech, Taylor & Michela, 1994).
A study by Jordan and Kelly (1990), looked at the self-esteem levels of adolescents with a very high degree of academic achievement. The results showed that the level of academic self-esteem seemed to match the level of academic achievement. This study also noted that there are many other important variables related to self-esteem, such as quality of family life, work experience and participation in extracurricular activities.

If individuals with higher levels of education have a higher level of self-esteem, the question arises regarding the self-esteem of people who do not finish high school. Colardarci and his colleagues (1992) conducted a study to examine this question. High school dropouts and graduates with no post high school education were compared on the following: Self-esteem, satisfaction with work and social participation. High school dropouts differed from graduates on every personal and social adjustment measure. Differences on these measures were much more significant in males (dropouts vs. graduates), than females (dropouts vs. graduates).

It therefore seems that education and self-esteem are positively correlated. One must however be cautious in making conclusions about a causal relationship between the two variables. As it was noted earlier, variables such as quality of family life (Jordan and Kelly, 1990) and personality characteristics (Gaus et al., 1994) also play a role.
2.3.2.3 Age

Several studies indicate that self-esteem affects how individuals think, feel and behave in different contexts. Harter (1990) found that children’s and adolescents’ self-esteem affected their emotional experiences (depression, cheerfulness), which in turn influenced their motives to engage in a variety of age appropriate activities. In general, self-esteem is expected to be somewhat stable over time within major developmental periods of life, but less stable between developmental periods, for example from middle childhood to adolescence (Harter, 1990; 1993). During middle childhood, children’s conceptions of themselves undergo a lot of change (Wigfield, Eccles, Yoon, Arbreton, Freedman & Blumenfield, 1997). During this period of life, when children begin the transition from childhood to adolescence, new cognitive abilities emerge (Case, 1996). These include the ability to integrate both positive and negative concepts of the self, as well as thinking about the self at a more theoretical level (Case, 1991; Marini and Case, 1994). During this period, self perceptions are thought to become both more balanced and more highly differentiated. Thus children’s self-perceptions tend to become more consistent with the views that others have of them (Harter, 1990; 1997).

Bachman and O’Malley (1997) examined boys’ self-esteem in an 8-year longitudinal study based on the Youth and Transition data. They found
that self-esteem increased linearly by about 0.1 standard deviation between 10\textsuperscript{th} grade and 5 years after high school graduation. O’Malley and Bachman (1983) found similar results for boys and girls in the 5-year National Longitudinal Study between 1976-1979 and followed up either one or two years later. They again found systematic increases in self-esteem of about 0.1 standard deviation per year. These findings based on large, nationally representative random samples provide evidence that general self-esteem increases steadily during late adolescence and the early adult period.

2.3.2.4 Employment status

The relationship between self-esteem and employment status is a complex one. Being employed may provide an additional base for possible self-esteem enhancement (Casper & Fishbein, 2002). However, it was also pointed out that employment only has the potential for improving self-esteem and does not guarantee enhanced self-esteem (Casper & Fishbein, 2002).

Job satisfaction and job success have been known to act as important moderators of self-esteem. Depending on one’s level of personal satisfaction, individuals who are unemployed could potentially have similar or even higher levels of self-esteem than unemployed individuals. (Casper & Fishbein, 2002; Torrey, McHugo & Drake, 2000). Employment may also have a harmful effect on self-esteem
(Casper & Fishbein, 2002). While satisfying and successful work experiences may increase self-esteem, unsatisfying and unsuccessful work experiences can diminish self-esteem.

2.3.3 Summary

Positive experience of the self is evident in a social environment that provides opportunities of belonging, acting or contributing and of receiving favourable feedback. Likewise, a social structure that excludes individuals from belonging, acting or contributing and that prevents them from receiving favourable feedback may diminish or even destroy positive experience of self (Schimmack & Diener, 2003).

A social environment conducive to self-esteem enables a person to connect him or herself with significant others and to receive appropriate feedback for well accomplished tasks. Self-esteem strengthens feelings of belonging, approval and success. well-being across different life domains is critically enhanced if these domains offer opportunities of experiencing self-esteem in core social roles, such as work and family roles, in particular if efforts spent are reciprocated by adequate rewards.

The relationship between self-esteem and demographic variables was found to be a complex and interesting one. Studies in the literature have revealed that gender does play a role in levels of self-esteem.
(Allgood et al., 1990; Cairns et al., 1990; Stein et al., 1992). Males are reported to have higher levels on self-esteem than females. These results however, are not cast in stone. Factors such as the different domains of self-esteem (for example, the athletic/physical competence domain of self-esteem, cognitive competence and body image) and social support play a role in gender differences in self-esteem.

A positive correlation was found between education and self-esteem. Highly educated individuals scored higher than less educated individuals. Again, factors such as quality of family life and personality characteristics were found to act as moderating variables. Age appeared to play a role in self-esteem. Although self-esteem was expected to be somewhat stable over time, it was also less stable between developmental stages, for example from middle childhood to adolescence. Employment status was found to provide an additional base for possible self-esteem enhancement (Casper & Fishbein, 2000; Torrey et al., 2000). However, it was also pointed out that employment only has the potential for improving self-esteem and does not guarantee enhanced self-esteem. Job satisfaction and job success were found to act as important moderators within the employment status and self-esteem relationship.
2.4 SWB and self-esteem

Self-esteem has also been found to covary with SWB, although this relation is stronger in individualistic societies where the "self" stands out as more important than the community (Diener & Diener, 1995). In collectivist cultures, self-esteem and life satisfaction are typically related, but not as strongly as in individualistic western nations (Diener et al., 1997). It has been consistently reported that life satisfaction is positively related to self-esteem (Diener, 1984; Emmons & Diener, 1985; Lewinsohn et al., 1991; Schmitt & Bedeian, 1982). Schmitt and Bedeian (1982) further stressed that self-esteem is one of the determinants of life satisfaction in their conceptual model of life-job satisfaction. In adults, optimism, self-esteem, and extraversion are some of the personality traits possessed by happy people (in SWB research, happiness is regarded as one of the effective characteristics of SWB) (Siegrist, 2003).

2.5 Conclusion

Chapter 2 has provided a review of the SWB and self-esteem literature. The fundamental principles and the theoretical basis behind the constructs of SWB and self-esteem were discussed and explained in detail. Literature reveals that there is not one cause of positive SWB or self-esteem. For example, not all demographic variables affected SWB and self-esteem. Instead, SWB was found to be influenced by the presence of situational, personality, cultural
factors, the level of one’s self-esteem as well as coping strategies and goals, while factors such as quality of family life and personality characteristics acted as moderating variables in levels of self-esteem. In conclusion, self-esteem has also been found to covary with SWB, suggesting a strong relationship between the two constructs. The following chapter (chapter 3) will deal with the methodology.
3.1 Introduction

The overall aim of the present study is to determine the levels of subjective well-being (SWB) and self-esteem within a disadvantaged community.

The present study is a one group post-test only study. It forms part of a larger cross-sectional study conducted in an informal settlement in Soweto, where improved housing projects (for example, tenure allocation) and infrastructure provision are being planned and implemented. A structured questionnaire was designed to obtain information on demographic and socio-economic characteristics. Three measuring scales were used to measure personal quality of life, life satisfaction and self-esteem. For the baseline study in 1999, a stratified random sample of 250 stand numbers was drawn from the 12 Blocks in the area. The stand numbers of all households due to be relocated were obtained from the Housing Department (Region 6, City of Johannesburg). There were 222 stand numbers. Two random samples of 250 stand numbers were drawn from the squatter camp area in Block 9 and Blocks 1 to 12 (tenure allocated). Housing quality was used as an indication of socio-economic status in the larger study (Arias & de Vos, 1996).

As discussed in chapter 2, SWB consists of people’s own evaluations of their lives. To capture this subjective element, SWB researchers
examine individuals’ thoughts and feelings about their lives (Diener, Suh, Lucas & Smith, 1999; Lucas, Diener, & Suh, 1996; Myers & Diener, 1995). Methodologies used to assess SWB include national surveys, daily experience sampling, longitudinal studies and controlled experiments. The available literature reveals that the majority of people report positive SWB most of the time (Diener & Diener, 1996). In a national American survey, Andrews (1991) found that people from all age groups, socio-economic groups and ethnic groups tended to report satisfaction levels above neutral.

Over the last hundred years, self-esteem has been measured consistently by social psychologists (Cooley, 1902; Rosenberg, 1995; Schwalbe, 2000). The Rosenberg’s ten item self-esteem scale (which measures global self-esteem), remains the most widely-used scale of self-esteem by social psychologists today, despite almost four decades having passed since its formation. Although using the scale cross-culturally can create methodological concerns, for example, translation and response bias (Portes & Ruben, 2001), the scale has been successfully used across cultures (Westaway, Viljoen & Rheeder, 1998; Westaway, Maritz & Golele, 2003).

For the purposes of the present study, it is hypothesised that: (1) demographic variables affect SWB and self-esteem and (2) there is a significant positive relationship between self-esteem and SWB.
3.2 The sample

Sample size calculations were carried out by the Pretoria Medical Research Council’s (MRC) Biostatistics Unit, using the Sampsi command in the statistical package STATA. Details of the methodology used are given by Daly, Bourke and McGilvary (1991).

The questionnaire was administered to 462 participants. Participants were aged between 21 and 94 years with an average age of 42.0 (sd = 12.02). There were 174 males and 288 females.

Educational levels ranged between none and Grade 12. The average number of years of schooling was 8.9 (sd = 2.9), indicative of low levels of education. Only 16% of the participants had post-school qualifications.

The majority of the participants spoke Zulu (48%) as their first language, followed by Sotho (27%). Over half of the participants were single (55%), 31% were married and a further 14% were either widowed, separated or divorced.

Only 37% of the participants were employed. Of those who were employed, 72% worked as unskilled manual and menial labourers like domestic workers with the remaining 24% working in semi-skilled manual employment (for example, builders) and 4% working as
professionals (for example, nursing and teaching). Occupational status was measured using the guide to the coding of occupations in South Africa index (Schlemmer & Stopforth, 1979). The unemployed participants supported themselves by either doing casual work (36%), accessing government grants like the child support grant (14%), old age pension (12%) and the disability grant (3%), or were assisted by relatives (13%), parents (11%) or a working spouse (11%).

3.3 Research design

A one-group post-test only design was used. The results on SWB and self-esteem found in the present study will be compared with other SWB and self-esteem findings found elsewhere (both in local and international studies). Age has been found to have an effect on levels of SWB and self-esteem (Bass, 1995; Campbell, 1981; Diener & Suh, 1998; Harter, 1990). The above literature stated that older people experience higher levels of SWB and self-esteem than younger people. The questionnaire was thus administered to adults (21 years and older) in order to determine the role of age in levels of SWB and self-esteem within the community in the present study.

3.3.1 Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were investigated:
Hypothesis 1: Demographic characteristics [age, employment status, education, marital status, occupational status (unskilled, semi-skilled manual or professional employment status), gender and economic dependency status (economic assistance if not working)] are significantly related to SWB and self-esteem.

Hypothesis 2: There is a significant positive correlation between self-esteem and SWB.

3.4 Measuring instruments

A structured questionnaire (Appendix 1), that was piloted in 2003 on a small convenience sample in a South African population (Westaway et al., 2003) was used. Information was obtained on demographic variables (age, gender, education, marital status, employment status, occupational status, dependency status and housing type), a personality variable (self-esteem) (see 3.3.1), and two SWB variables: Life satisfaction (measures global cognitive judgements of one’s SWB) (see 3.3.2) and personal quality of life (PQoL) (measures evaluations about specific personal aspects of a person’s SWB) (refer to 3.3.3) were obtained.

PQoL and life satisfaction both measure different but integral parts of SWB and both variables are included in order to achieve a more encompassing sense of SWB within the community (see chapter 2).
3.4.1 The Rosenberg self-esteem scale (RSE)

The 10-item RSE scale measures the self-acceptance aspect of self-esteem. Reliability (internal consistency) for black South Africans has been found to range between 0.78 and 0.92 (Westaway & Wolmarans, 1992; Westaway, Rheeder, van Zyl & Golele, 2000). The investigation of the scale’s reliability, temporal stability (r = 0.85), convergent validity (r = 0.59) and construct validity relationships indicate that the scale is a suitable measure of self-esteem which can be used across cultures (Robinson & Shaver, 1973; Rosenberg, 1965; Silber & Tippett). Each item was scored from 1 to 4 and summed. Five of the items were reverse scored. The scores were transformed linearly from 0 to 100; the higher the score, the better the self-esteem.

3.4.2 The Satisfaction with life scale (SWLS)

Designed by Diener, Emmons, Larsen and Griffin (1985), the SWLS is a short, 5-item instrument designed to measure global cognitive judgements of SWB. The scale comprises five uni-directional attitude expressions. Each expression is evaluated based on a 7-point scale (1: strongly disagree – 7: strongly agree). In their review of the scale, Pavot and Diener (1993) reported normative data for diverse populations, stability and sensitivity, the factor structure of the scale.
and construct validity. The scale’s internal reliability was indicated by coefficient alphas between 0.79 and 0.89 (Pavot & Diener, 1993).

A South African study showed very strong internal reliability, with an alpha coefficient of 0.92 (Westaway et al., 2003). Larsen, Diener and Emmons, (1983) found that all items of this scale showed high factor loadings on a single common factor and Westaway et al. (2003) confirmed this. Scores were summed and linearly transformed from 0 to 100, the higher the score, the greater the satisfaction with life.

3.4.3 Quality of life-personal domain (PQoL)

A 9-item scale, adapted from Adams’ scale (Adams, 1992), which measures specific personal cognitive judgements of one’s SWB (for example, satisfaction with self, partner, family) was used. Together, the nine items are intended to represent satisfaction with life as a whole. A feature of this scale is that it increases the degree of a specific domain’s importance and satisfaction (Adams, 1992). In other words, it allows the satisfaction that a person experiences with any domain to be ‘weighted’ by the importance they allocate to the domain. Since the nine domains are fixed, all respondents are forced to register a satisfaction rating against each one. Thus, it may be the case that someone can be satisfied with a domain (for example, their income), even though they do not value the domain (for example, they are against using material wealth as a measure of life satisfaction).
Coefficient alpha was 0.76 in Adams’ study, indicating adequate reliability (Adams, 1992). The scale was adapted for a South African population and the South African form of this scale showed very high levels of reliability (0.81) and item convergent validity ($r = 0.59$) (Westaway & Maluka, 2004). Each item is scored from 1 (completely dissatisfied) to 5 (completely satisfied), summed and transformed linearly from 0 to 100, the higher the score, the better the perceived PQoL.

### 3.5 The study site

The present study was undertaken in an informal settlement in a low socio economic area in Soweto, south of Johannesburg. From the beginning of 1996, there have been efforts in the area to improve services and re-house residents. There are now schools (one high school and two primary schools), a community centre and two clinics, which offer primary health care predominantly for women and children.

With regard to housing, plans have been undertaken to relocate households that have built their homes in the dolomite areas and below the flood-line in Blocks 2 and 3. With the exception of the squatter areas, tenure was allocated to the rest of the stands in the twelve blocks.
Over 90% of the residents previously lived in Soweto (Westaway, Masemola & Becker, 1998). Formal schooling levels tend to be low, with high unemployment rates (Westaway et al., 1998). Residents who are employed work in low level occupations such as cleaning and domestic service. Some residents are employed in casual labour such as part time gardening and selling fruit, vegetables and alcohol (Westaway et al., 1998).

3.6 Procedure

The researcher together with twelve paid and trained multi-lingual fieldworkers (who were residents of the informal settlement) administered the questionnaire during face to face interviews. As a result of the questionnaire being in English and the participants speaking African languages, the interviewers were required to verbally translate the questions into the participants’ preferred language. Participants were required to sign a consent form indicating voluntary participation, their right to confidentiality, anonymity and withdrawal from the study. The researcher was responsible for the fieldworkers and the quality of data collection. The questionnaire was administered during the period March to July 2003.

3.7 Data analysis

The SPSS (version 11.5) (SPSS Inc.) statistical package was used to analyse the data.
Descriptive statistics were the first step for data analysis. To test hypothesis 1, t-tests were used to ascertain differences between the employed and the unemployed, and between males and females. Pearson Product-moment correlation coefficient (Pearson’s r) was used to test for age and education effects. One-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to test for effects of occupational status, marital status, dependency status and housing type on self-esteem and SWB. To test hypothesis 1, Pearson’s r was used.

Multiple regression analysis was used to test for the best predictors of SWB (in the form of life satisfaction) using demographic variables, self-esteem and PQoL.

Coefficient alpha was used to ascertain the reliability of the Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS), the 9-item PQoL scale and the Rosenberg self-esteem (RSE) scale.

Factor analysis was used to test for construct validity by determining the extent to which the items in the scales are tapping into the underlying dimensions of self-esteem, life satisfaction and PQoL constructs. Item convergent validity was assessed from corrected item-total correlation coefficients.
3.7.1 Investigation of the reliability of the measuring scales

The reliability of the items used in the three scales (i.e. the Rosenberg’s self-esteem scale, the SWL scale and the PQoL scale) was investigated. A measure is reliable when it yields similar results when different people administer it and when alternative forms are used. Chronbach's alpha coefficient is an index of reliability based on the internal consistency of the scales. That is, it is based on the average correlation of items within a test. It is assumed that the items on a scale are positively correlated with each other because they are measuring, to a certain extent, a common entity.

The corrected item-total correlation is the Pearson’s correlation coefficient of the relation between the item and scale controlling for all the other items in the scale.

The Alpha correlation if an item is deleted (which is accomplished by calculating the Chronbach's alpha when each of the items is removed from the scale) is used to ascertain how each of the items affects the reliability of the scale. For example, if the overall alpha value of the measurement increases when one of the items is excluded, then that could suggest that the excluded item was somehow interfering with the overall reliability (for example, the items’ homogeneity) of the measure.
3.7.2 Statistical procedures in factor analysis

A principal components analysis, followed by an orthogonal (VARIMAX) rotational solution, was conducted on the SWLS, PQoL and the RSE measures. Principal components analysis is a method designed to transfer a set of interrelated variables into a new set of uncorrelated components that account for all the variance in the original variables (Norusis, 2001). Two tests are used to determine whether factor analysis is the correct procedure for the data [the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of item sampling adequacy and Barlett’s test of sphericity].

The KMO measure of item sampling adequacy is used to compare the magnitudes of the observed correlation coefficients (Kaiser, 1974). Large values for the KMO measure indicate that factor analysis of the variables is a good approach. Kaiser (1974) characterises measures with coefficients greater than 0.90 as marvellous, between the 0.80 and 0.89 as meritorious, between 0.70 and 0.79 as middling, between 0.50 and 0.69 as miserable and below 0.50 as unacceptable.

Another indicator of the strength of the relationship among variables is Bartlett’s test of sphericity (Norusis, 2001). Bartlett’s test of sphericity is used to test the null hypothesis that the variables in the population correlation matrix are uncorrelated. An observed significance level of
less than 0.05 indicates that the level of significance is small enough to reject the hypothesis (Norusis, 2001). In other words, it is concluded that the strength of the relationship among the variables is strong, and that it is a good idea to proceed with factor analysis of that data.

Communalities are the squared multiple correlation coefficients between a variable and all other variables; they provide information about the strength of the linear relationship among the variables. Only items with communality estimates (common factor variance) $0.30$ should be taken into consideration, as items with unique variance (specific variance + error variance) $> 0.70$ tend to be unreliable (Child, 1970).

In factor analysis, the eigenvalue is the total variance explained by each factor. Kaiser (1974) suggests that only factors whose eigenvalues are greater than 1 should be retained. Lastly, the scree plot shows a distinct break between the steep slope of the first factor and the gradual trailing off of the rest of the factors.

### 3.8 Ethics

Ethical approval for the study was obtained by Prof. M. S. Westaway (MRC) from the Faculty of Health Sciences Ethical Committee, University of Pretoria. Doornkop councillors and the Housing
Department (Region 6, City of Johannesburg) personnel were consulted. Participation in the study was completely voluntary. Respondents were informed of their rights to confidentiality and anonymity and of the right to withdraw from the study at any time they chose to do so. No time limit was imposed for the completion of the questionnaire.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter covered the methodology used for data collection and analysis. The results and a discussion of the results as well as limitations of the present study will be dealt with in the following chapter (Chapter 4).

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will present a tabulation of the research results obtained from data analysis. The results of demographic and socio-economic
information will be presented first followed by an examination of the psychometric properties of the measurements used in the study. The chapter will conclude with the testing of the two hypothesis set out in chapter 3.
### 4.2 Demographic information

Table 4.1 Demographic characteristics for the sample (N = 570)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographic characteristics</th>
<th>N (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender:</strong> Male</td>
<td>211 (37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>359 (63)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Schooling:</strong> None</td>
<td>12 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>143 (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some secondary</td>
<td>292 (51)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed high school</td>
<td>123 (22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Academic qualifications:</strong> Diploma</td>
<td>16 (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree</td>
<td>44 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Certificate</td>
<td>91 (16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age groups:</strong> 21-35 years</td>
<td>196 (34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-46 years</td>
<td>195 (34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47-59 years</td>
<td>121 (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-94 years</td>
<td>58 (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marital status:</strong> Single</td>
<td>371 (66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>173 (31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>36 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated/divorced</td>
<td>29 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Employment status:</strong> Unemployed</td>
<td>362 (64)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>208 (36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type of employment:</strong> Unskilled Manual (cleaner, domestic, gardening)</td>
<td>153 (74)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled Manual (cashier, driver)</td>
<td>48 (23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional (nurse, teacher, engineer)</td>
<td>7 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dependency status:</strong> Child and disability grants</td>
<td>61 (18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual labour</td>
<td>128 (37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives and parents</td>
<td>87 (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse</td>
<td>41 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old age pension</td>
<td>45 (11)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1 provides the descriptive data relating the demographic variables. The questionnaire was administered to 570 participants.
Participants were aged between 21 and 94 years of age, with an average age of 42.0 (sd = 12.1). There were 211 males and 359 females.

Educational levels ranged between none and Grade 12. The average number of years of schooling was 8.9 (sd = 2.9). As few as 111 participants had post-school qualifications. Males were more likely to have more years of schooling than females (t = 0.57, p = 0.004), while more women had some kind of an academic qualification (t = 1.04, p = 0.03). Levels of education were negatively related to age (r = -0.55, p < 0.01), indicating that older participants were less likely to have opportunities for education than their younger counterparts.

Over half of the participants were single (56%), 33% were married, 6% were widowed, and a further 5% were either separated or divorced. There were no significant differences between men and women on marital status (t = 0.45, p = 0.20). However, women were more likely to be widowed than men (Chi-Square = 10.49, p = 0.02). The majority of the participants spoke Zulu (46%) as their first language, followed by Sotho (26%).

### 4.3 Socio-economic information

Only 37% of the participants were employed. Men were more likely to be employed than women (t = 2.53, p = 0.00). The employed group were significantly younger than the unemployed group (r = -0.14; p < 0.01). Levels of education had no effect on employment status (t = 2.81, p = 0.12). Of those who were employed, 74% worked in unskilled
manual and menial labour employment such as domestic work, with the remaining 23% working in semi-skilled manual and 3% employed in professional work (see Figure 4.1). No gender (Chi-Square = 2.77, p = 0.25) or age ($F(2,205) = 0.34$, p = 0.71) differences were found on occupational status.

The unemployed participants supported themselves by either doing casual work (37%), accessing government grants like the child support grant (15%), old age pension (11%) and disability grant (3%), or were assisted by relatives (14%), parents (11%) or a working spouse (9%). Women were more likely to rely on government funds than men (Chi-Square = 42.99, p = 0.00). Employment and occupational status were used as the socio-economic measures to classify the community in the present study as disadvantaged.

**Figure 4.1: Levels of occupational status**
4.4 Psychometric properties of the measurements

4.4.1 Reliability of the measures

The reliability of the items used in the three scales (i.e. the RSE scale, the SWL scale and the PQoL scale) was investigated.

4.4.1.1 The Rosenberg self-esteem scale

Ten items were used to measure self-esteem. By reverse scoring five of the items of self-esteem and summing the scores, an overall self-esteem score was obtained. The average score for the sample was 76.4 (sd = 23.2). Coefficient alpha was 0.98, an excellent reliability coefficient (Arias & de Vos, 1996). All corrected item-total correlation coefficients exceeded the criterion of 0.40 (Stewart, Hays & Ware, 1988) and ranged between 0.80 and 0.93. The alpha correlation with an item deleted was examined. Each alpha value decreased if items were excluded or deleted from the scale. This indicates that all items in the scale were necessary for inclusion to ensure the scale’s homogeneity.

4.4.1.2 The Satisfaction with life scale

Coefficient alpha was 0.77 on the 5-item Satisfaction With Life scale. The average score for the sample was 59.1 (sd = 19.5). Only items (“if I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing”) did not meet
the corrected item-total correlation coefficient criterion of 0.40. An overwhelming majority of the participants (73%) answered "strongly disagree" on this item (irrespective of life satisfaction or dissatisfaction). The problem was also evident when looking at the alpha correlation when the item was deleted. All alpha values decreased when the first four items were deleted, and increased when item 5 was excluded (possible methodological reasons concerning this item will be discussed in the next chapter). All the five items in the scale are supposed to be unidirectional (Diener et al., 1985). The problem with item 5 is that it failed to distinguish between positive and negative attitudes toward life satisfaction. This item was removed from the scale and a second reliability analysis was conducted. Coefficient alpha for the 4-item scale was 0.83. The corrected item-correlation coefficients ranged between 0.40 and 0.80. The exclusion of item 5 from the scale increased the homogeneity of the remaining four items, thereby also increasing the measures overall reliability.

4.4.1.3 Personal quality of life (PQoL) scale

Nine items were used to measure PQoL. Satisfaction with self, partner, family life, friends, time to do things, neighbours, income, social life and health was rated on a scale of 1 (lowest) to 5 (highest). Scores were summed and transformed linearly from 0 to 100. The average group score for the sample was 59.1 (sd = 19.5). Coefficient alpha was 0.81, an excellent reliability coefficient (Table 4.4). All corrected
item-total correlation coefficients (except item 7) exceeded the
criterion of 0.40 and ranged between 0.43 and 0.63. As in the case of
item 5 in the SWLS, item 7 (satisfaction with income) failed to
discriminate between high and low levels of PQoL (possible
methodological reasons concerning this item will also be discussed in
the next chapter). Eighty eight percent of the participants were
dissatisfied with their income, irrespective of being satisfied or
dissatisfied with the other eight personal domains.

4.5 Exploring the underlying dimensions of life
satisfaction, self-esteem and PQoL constructs

4.5.1 Life satisfaction

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy of the
SWL scale's sampling adequacy scale was 0.76 which according to
Kaiser (1974) is middling. Although the KMO was not that high, the
measurement is nevertheless acceptable for measuring satisfaction with
life. The observed significance level on the Barlett's test of sphericity
was 0.00, an indication of a strong relationship amongst the variables.

Item 5 "if I could live my life over, I would change nothing" in the
SWL scale did not meet the communality estimation criterion (0.3)
(Table 4.2). Factor analysis was run again on the SWL scale and
excluding item 5. When item 5 was excluded, the KMO sampling
adequacy rose to 0.79 slightly increasing the construct validity of the
scale (possible methodological explanations concerning item 5 will be discussed in chapter 5).

Table 4.2

Communality estimates on the SWL scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Extraction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SWL1</td>
<td>1,00</td>
<td>0,80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWL2</td>
<td>1,00</td>
<td>0,79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWL3</td>
<td>1,00</td>
<td>0,83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWL4</td>
<td>1,00</td>
<td>0,34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWL5</td>
<td>1,00</td>
<td>-0,38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Extraction Method: Principle Component Analysis

Only one factor component was extracted from the SWL scale. The total variance explained by the factor was 55.7%.

The plots on the SWL (Figure 4.2) scale show only one factor. This finding suggests that life satisfaction is a unidimensional construct. This finding is supported by existing literature (Larsen et al., 1983, Westaway et al., 2003).
4.5.2 Personal quality of life

A factor analysis with a direct solution (principal components analysis), followed by an orthogonal (VARIMAX) rotational solution, was conducted on the 9-item scale. The communality estimates of the PQoL scale as shown in Table 4.3 except for item 7 (satisfaction with income), exceeded the criterion of 0.30 and ranged between 0.39 and 0.74 (Child, 1970). Item 7 also failed to discriminate between high and low levels of personal quality of life. An overwhelming majority of the respondents were highly dissatisfied with their income in spite of being very satisfied or dissatisfied with their overall PQoL. The KMO measure of sampling adequacy (Kaiser, 1974) of the nine items was
0.84, falling in the meritorious range according to Kaiser (1974), while the level on the Barlett’s test of sphericity was 0.000. These results confirmed that factor analysis was the correct procedure for the data. In addition, this measure of item sampling adequacy fulfilled Sitzia’s requirement for content validity (Sitzia, 1999).

Table 4.3
Communality estimates on the PQoL scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Extraction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family life</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbours</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social life</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Extraction Method: Principle Component Analysis

Two factors were identified. The total variance extracted was 55.2%, with Factor I accounting for 31.2% and Factor II accounting for 24.0% of the variance. Factor I contained five significant loadings: satisfaction with family life, friends, leisure, neighbours and social life. These items were grouped together and were interpreted as the social dimension of personal quality of life (Table 4.4). Factor II
contained satisfaction with self, partner and health, representing a more personal dimension.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Factor I</th>
<th>Factor II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with oneself</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with partner</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>0.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with family life</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with friends</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>0.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with leisure</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>0.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with neighbours</td>
<td>0.77</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with income</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with social life</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>0.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with own health</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Respondents who rated their satisfaction with their family life, friendships and social life as high had a significantly better PQoL than those who were dissatisfied in these domains (p > 0.01). These findings confirmed that social interaction, for example, supportive relationships with significant others, is an important factor in SWB.
4.5.3 The Rosenberg self-esteem scale

The KMO of the self-esteem scale's sampling adequacy scale was 0.93, which according to Kaiser is “marvellous”. The observed significance level on the Barlett’s test of sphericity was 0.000, indicating a strong relationship among the variables. Both these results (the KMO and the Barlett’s test of sphericity) indicated that factor analysis was the correct procedure. All communality estimates of the items on the self-esteem scale were above 0.3 and ranged between 0.7 to 0.9 (see Table 4.5). Only one component was extracted from the self-esteem scale. The total variance explained by the factor was 83%.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Communality estimates on the self-esteem scale</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Extraction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SELF1</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SELF2</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SELF3</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SELF4</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SELF5</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SELF6</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SELF7</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SELF8</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SELF9</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SELF10</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Extraction Method: Principle Component Analysis
The plots on the self-esteem (Figure 4.3) scale show only one factor. This finding also confirms that self-esteem is a unidimensional construct.

**Figure 4.3: The variance accounted by the component on self-esteem**

4.6 Levels of SWB (life satisfaction and PQoL) and self-esteem

4.6.1 Levels of life satisfaction

Scores on the life satisfaction scale were negatively skewed (mean = 61.13, sd = 26.37), suggesting high levels of satisfaction (Figure 4.4).
4.6.2 Levels of personal quality of life

Figure 4.5: Levels of PQoL
Figure 4.5 represents an approximate normal distribution on PQoL (i.e. satisfaction with self, partner, family life, spare time, neighbours, income, social life and health). Satisfaction ratings ranged between 1 and 5. The distribution was approximately symmetrical, with an average group score of 59.1 (sd = 19.5) and median of 56.6. Respondents were most satisfied with themselves, their family life and health and least satisfied with their income (Figure 4.6).

**Figure 4.6: Satisfaction with the 9 PQoL domains**
4.6.3 Levels of self-esteem

The average score on the self-esteem scale score was 76.4 (sd = 23.2). Again, the distribution was negatively skewed, indicating high levels of self-esteem (Figure 4.7).

Figure 4.7: Levels of self-esteem

4.7 Demographic effects on SWB and self-esteem

To investigate the relationship between demographic variables and life satisfaction and self-esteem, correlation coefficients, t-tests and ANOVAs were conducted. There were significant effects between life
satisfaction and self-esteem and some demographic variables. These results could only lend partial support to hypothesis 1.

4.7.1 Age

Older respondents were less satisfied with life than younger respondents ($r = -0.18; p < 0.01$) (Table 4.6). This finding is contradictory to findings in America and Britain (Herzog & Rodgers, 1981; Horley & Lavery, 1995; Larson, 1978; Stock, Okun, Haring & Witter, 1983). Younger participants had higher self-esteem than the older participants ($r = -0.15; p < 0.01$) (Table 4.6). This finding is also contradictory to international findings (Harter, 1990; 1997; O’Malley & Bachman, 1983). In their studies O’Malley & Bachman (1983) found that ageing has a positive effect on individuals’ levels of self-esteem.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The relationship between age, education, life satisfaction and self-esteem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life satisfaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-esteem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)
4.7.2 Gender

Although differences were found in the average scores obtained by both gender groups on self-esteem and life satisfaction, these differences were not significant (Table 4.7). The average score for males on self-esteem was higher than females. Females on the other hand, scored slightly higher on life satisfaction than males.

Table 4.7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>sd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life satisfaction</td>
<td>59,3</td>
<td>25,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-esteem</td>
<td>75,59</td>
<td>23,9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The mean scores on life satisfaction for males and females are 59,3 (sd = 25,6) and 60,2 (sd = 26,5), while the mean scores on self-esteem for males and females are 75,6 (sd = 23,9) and 72,2 (sd = 25,7).

Gender had no effect on life satisfaction (t = 0,42; p = 0,78). This finding is consistent with existing literature (Inglehart, 1990; Michalos, 1991). There was also no significant relationship between gender and self-esteem (t = 1,57; p = 0,1) (Table 4.7). These findings are contradictory to those reported in the literature, where men are
reported to have higher levels of global measures of self-esteem than women (Cairns et al., 1990; Knox et al., 1996)

4.7.3 Level of education

Respondents with higher levels of education were more satisfied with life \( (r = 0.29; p < 0.01) \) (Table 4.6) than those with less education. This finding supports findings cited in the literature (Cantril, 1965; Campbell et al., 1976; Diener et al., 1993). Participants with higher levels of education also had high levels of self-esteem \( (r = 0.14; p < 0.01) \) (Table 4.6). This finding supports findings cited in the literature (Jordan & Kelly, 1990; Tootoonchi, 1993)

4.7.4 Academic qualification and economic dependency

Academic qualification had no effect on life satisfaction \( (F (2,107) = 0.2, p = 0.80) \) and self-esteem \( (F (2,108) = 0.0, p = 1.01) \). However, although there was no significant relationship between economic dependency status and life satisfaction \( (F (6,352) = 0.7, p = 0.67) \), there was a significant relationship between economic dependency status and self-esteem \( (F (6,352) = 2.3, p = 0.04) \).
Those who supported themselves by doing casual labour had higher average scores on self-esteem than those who were economically dependent on either family members or government grants. This finding is not surprising since it has already been established that even though being employed (whether temporary or permanently) doesn’t necessarily increase levels of self-esteem. It does however serve as a buffer against low levels of self-esteem (Casper & Fishbein, 2000; Torrey et al., 2000).

### 4.7.5 Marital status

There was no significant relationship between marital status and life satisfaction ($F(3,547) = 2.1$, $p = 0.11$). These results are contradictory to those reported in previous international studies, which suggest that a positive relationship exists between marriage and life satisfaction (Diener, Gohm, Suh & Oishi, 1998; Glenn, 1975; Gove & Shin, 1989). These surveys indicated that married people reported greater satisfaction with life compared to those who were single, divorced, separated or widowed. In the present study, marital status ($F(3,550) = 1.43$, $p = 0.23$), also had no affect on self-esteem. Although this finding is not supported by most literature (Gove, Hughes & Style, 1983; Gove, Style & Hughes, 1990; Mirowky & Ross, 1989), there is some evidence that marital status has no effect on individual’s levels of self-esteem (Ross, 1995, Westaway et al, 2003).
Research examining whether the psychological benefits of marriage are greater for men or women has yielded mixed results. Gove and Tuder (1973) found that marriage protected the mental health of men more than women. Yet, Fox (1980) found contrary evidence, suggesting that women benefited more from marriage. A recent analysis by Ross (1995) found no gender differences. However, all of these studies investigated psychological distress as an outcome.

4.7.6 Employment status

Employed respondents had significantly greater satisfaction with life than the unemployed group (p < 0.01, see Table 4.8). While it plays a major role in life satisfaction, employment status had no significant relationship to levels of self-esteem (t = 4.17; p = 0.07). This finding is similar to international findings where it is reported that employment only has the potential for improving self-esteem and does not guarantee its enhancement (Casper & Fishbein, 2000; Torrey et al., 2000).
Table 4.8

Employment status effects on life satisfaction and self-esteem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment Status</th>
<th>Life satisfaction</th>
<th>Self-esteem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>Mean 66.4</td>
<td>Mean 70.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sd 22.5</td>
<td>sd 25.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Mean 56.1</td>
<td>Mean 70.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sd 27.4</td>
<td>sd 25.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.7.7 Occupational status

Those with better jobs, for example nurses and teachers, had higher mean scores on life satisfaction than those working in lower-level jobs for example, domestic workers and cashiers (Table 4.9). These results were also identical to those found in other studies (Dooley et al., 1988; Oswald, 1997). Differences were also found between occupational status and self-esteem ($F(2,205) = 5.16$, $p = 0.007$). The professional workers had higher self-esteem than those who were semi-skilled or unskilled workers (Table 4.14). These results are not surprising since job satisfaction and job success have been known to act as important moderators of self-esteem (Casper & Fishbein, 2002).
Table 4.9
Comparisons of life satisfaction and self-esteem by occupational status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>sd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Life satisfaction:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled manual labour</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>65.8</td>
<td>23.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled manual</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>67.6</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional labour</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>70.2</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>207</td>
<td>66.4</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Self-esteem:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled manual labour</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>76.1</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled manual</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>87.2</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional labour</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>89.6</td>
<td>24.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>208</td>
<td>79.1</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.8 Predictors of SWB and self-esteem

4.8.1 Life satisfaction

The Stepwise and Enter multiple regression analyses were used to test for the effects of age, marital status, employment status, gender, education, PQoL and self-esteem on life satisfaction. Six variables (marital status, employment status, gender, education, PQoL and self-esteem) explained 41% of the variance in life satisfaction (Table 4.10). PQoL was the most important variable, accounting for 32% of the variance in life satisfaction. The strong relationship between PQoL and life satisfaction was not surprising since both were measures of SWB. Self-esteem was the second predictor, explaining a further 5% of the variance. Being employed explained 3% of the variance in life satisfaction.
satisfaction, while one’s level of education only explained 1%. The variables, age, marital status and gender did not explain any of the variance in the prediction model.

Table 4.10

Effects of demographic variables, self-esteem and PQoL in predicting life satisfaction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictors</th>
<th>Adjusted R²</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PQoL</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>13.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-esteem</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>6.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment status</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>2.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of education</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>3.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$F(4,560) = 99.1, p<0.01$

Demographic factors are often reported as being weakly correlated with SWB. The results in this study are therefore consistent with those reported in the literature (Campbell, Converse & Rodgers, 1976; Diener et al., 1997). Although the variance explained by self-esteem was not as high, it nevertheless came out as the second predictor of SWB. This finding was not surprising. Studies conducted on effects of self-esteem and SWB have consistently reported that the relationship between self-esteem and SWB is stronger in individualistic societies like
America and Europe than in collectivist societies like Africa (Diener & Diener, 1995; Diener et al., 1997; Schmitt & Bedeian, 1982).

A second regression analysis was conducted with the same variables excluding only PQoL. The total variance explained by the five variables was 16% (Table 4.11). Self-esteem alone accounted for 12% of the variance, lending yet further support for hypothesis 2. The effects of the demographic variable remained the same as in the first analysis (i.e. 3% for employment status and 1% for level of education). It appears that subjective variables (for example, satisfaction with oneself, partner, social support etc.) rather than objective factors (demographic characteristics) are the most important determinants of global life satisfaction.
Table 4.11

Effects of demographic variables and self-esteem in predicting life satisfaction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictors</th>
<th>Adjusted R²</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-esteem</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>7.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment status</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>2.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of education</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>3.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.8.2 Life satisfaction and PQoL

Stepwise multiple regression was used to further investigate the relationship between the two measures of SWB (i.e. personal quality of life and global life satisfaction). The 9 items from the personal QoL scale were regressed on global life satisfaction. Four items in the PQoL scale explained 45% of the variance in life satisfaction. Satisfaction with oneself was explained by 34% of the variance; an additional 6% was accounted for by income, 3% by health and a further 2% by social life (Table 4.12). These findings suggested that achieving high levels of life satisfaction was a function of satisfaction with specific personal domains in one's life. Satisfaction with the self specifically, plays an
integral role in bringing about high levels of global satisfaction. This information provided some justification for the researcher's decision to use both life satisfaction and PQoL to measure overall SWB.

Table 4.12
Effects of PQoL in predicting life satisfaction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictors</th>
<th>Adjusted $R^2$</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>8.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>5.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>4.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social life</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>4.59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.8.3 Self-esteem

The two measures of SWB (PQoL and life satisfaction) and demographic variables (age, marital status, employment status, gender and level of education) were regressed on overall self-esteem. Five of the entered seven items explained 19% of the variance in self-esteem (Table 4.13). Life satisfaction accounted for 17% of the variance, the additional 2% was made up of four of the demographic variables entered (employment, marital
status, gender and level of education. These findings indicated that overall life satisfaction (rather than satisfaction with specific personal domains in one's life) is the more important element in self-esteem in the present study. This finding is supported in the SWB literature by writers such as Bowling and Widsor, (2001).

Table 4.13
Predictors (demographic variables, PQoL and life satisfaction) of self-esteem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictors</th>
<th>Adjusted $R^2$</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Life satisfaction</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>8.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>-1.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of education</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>-0.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
<td>-2.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment status</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>1.85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.9 The Relationship between SWB and self-esteem

Self-esteem has been found to covary with SWB (Diener & Diener, 1995; Diener et al., 1997). With a reported correlation coefficient of above 0.50, the relation is said to be stronger in individualistic than in collectivistic societies (Diener et al., 1997). In the present study, the Pearson Product-moment correlation coefficient (Pearson's $r$) was used to ascertain the relationship between self-esteem and SWB (in the form
of life satisfaction and PQoL). Self-esteem was positively correlated with both the measures of SWB i.e. life satisfaction (r = 0.39; p < 0.01) and PQoL (r = 0.27; p < 0.01). A positive correlation of 0.57 (p < 0.01) was found between the two measures of SWB, suggesting a very strong relationship. These findings provide support for existing literature (Diener & Diener, 1995; Diener et al., 1997; Schmitt & Bedeian, 1982) and hypothesis 2.

4.10 Summary

The participants in the present study were mostly middle aged (mean = 42, sd = 12.4) women. Educational levels tended to be low, for example, approximately 22% of the participants had completed Grade 12 and only 19% had tertiary level qualifications. Unemployment (64%) seemed to be one of the major problems facing the community. Of those who were employed, 74% were employed in unskilled labour like domestic work. Casual labour was the main source of income for the unemployed. Government grants like the old-age pension (11%), child support (15%) and disability grants (3%) were also important sources of income.

A positive relationship was established between self-esteem and SWB. The findings further suggested that subjective variables (self-esteem) rather than objective variables (demographic characteristics) are important determinants of SWB. Stepwise multiple regression analyses
also showed that SWB was a stronger predictor of self-esteem than demographic variables.

SWB and self-esteem were positively related to some demographic variables. For example, education and occupational status were positively correlated with SWB and with self-esteem. These findings could only provide partial support for hypothesis 1. Contrary to reported studies, age was negatively related to SWB and self-esteem. Neither gender nor marital status had an effect on levels of SWB and self-esteem. Employment status was positively related with SWB but had no effect on self-esteem. Multiple regression analyses also showed that demographic factors were weakly correlated with SWB. For example, all demographic factors combined in the study accounted for less than 12 percent of the variance in both SWB and self-esteem.

Previous studies have shown that people in poor nations show average or slightly below average scores on SWB (Diener, Diener & Diener, 1995; Diener et al., 1997). The results of the present study were in conflict with what has been reported. In spite of their disadvantaged status, levels of SWB (and self-esteem) within the community were relatively high.

This section completes chapter 4. A discussion of the results follows in the next chapter. Then, the conclusions and future recommendations will be examined in chapter 6 to conclude the thesis.
CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

This chapter will present a discussion of the results set out in chapter four of the present research study. The discussion will be concluded by a consideration of research limitations.

5.1 Demographic details

5.1.1 Educational levels

The subjects’ average number of years of schooling was 8.9 (sd = 2.9), indicative of low levels of education, predominantly at a primary school level. Women and older people were less likely to be educated than men and younger people. This finding was not surprising since globally there are an estimated 802 million illiterate adults in the world, 70% of whom are women (Natiomaster, 2003). In South Africa, the average years of schooling of adults is 6.1 (Natiomaster, 2003), indicative of functional illiteracy (Ulli Bleibaum Associates, 1997). An estimated 15% of the population 15 years of age and older is illiterate. Women make up 52% of the illiterate population (Census, 2001).

South African society emerges from a political legacy that implemented an official policy of racial discrimination, the effects of which can be observed in education amongst others. The Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953 helped pave the way for labour strife in
the 1980s and 1990s by institutionalising a plan to restrict black workers to low-paid jobs through deliberately inferior education. During the 1960s and 1970s, education was compulsory for white people but not for black people. Furthermore, per capita spending on white pupils was approximately ten times greater than education spending on black pupils (Price, 1991). By the early 1990s, the gap had been reduced by half, but in general, standards for teacher qualifications and facilities in black schools continued to be inferior to those in white schools (Price, 1991). The challenge faced by the new government is to address adult basic literacy. An impressive budget allocation to education in recent times has helped primary education, but less is available for secondary school education where drop out and failure rates are high (Lehohla & Jenneker, 2000).

As mentioned previously, women tend to be less educated than men. The Constitution of South Africa guarantees every citizen equality before the law (Human rights commission Act No. 54 of 1994). However, socio-cultural systems and attitudes inherited from years ago hinder women from benefiting from the mechanisms and policies put in place to advance their status. Traditional norms have in the past placed the role of a woman as a home maker. Men were encouraged to go to school so that they were able to find well paying jobs that would enable them to financially take care of their families (SARDC & UWC, 1997). Even in modern day South Africa where roles of women are
changing positively, customary law is still in practice in some areas and women who live under this system do not enjoy full equal rights under the country’s civil code. For example, although the male to female ratio of enrolment at primary and secondary school levels shows little difference between males and females, the female pass rate in secondary school is lower (SARDC & UWC, 1997), suggesting that there is greater financial and parental support for males to study.

On a more positive side, the Census 2001 report suggests that South Africa is winning the fight against illiteracy. With increased access to education in all nine provinces, and a 6% to 8% increase in access to tertiary education in 2001 from 1996 (Census, 2001), more and more South Africans are receiving formal education. According to the 1996 Census report, over 90% of children of school age had enrolled to attend school. In 2001, this figure had increased to approximately 95%. This growth is attributed directly to the government’s policy of free, compulsory education for all children from the age of six (Lehohla & Jenneker, 2000).

5.1.2 Marital status

Over half of the participants were single (56%), 33% were married, 6% were widowed and a further 5% were either separated or divorced. Women were more likely to be widowed than men. In general, there are more widows than widowers in South Africa (Census, 2001). This is
partly because longevity is greater for women and partly because men aged 65 and older are less likely than a woman of the same age range to survive after the death of a spouse (Milevsky & Robinson, 1994). Another contributing factor is the greater probability of remarriage by widowers than widows (Milevsky & Robinson, 1994).

The results in the present study implied that perhaps more people were choosing to remain single than to get married. These results suggest that marriage in general is no longer a priority for most people, especially for women. A recent published study indicated that in America, people are either marrying later or not at all (Hayden, 2003). South Africans seem to be following the same trend (Berger & White, 1999).

The changes in views about marriage could be attributed to the changing role of women in society as well as cultural transformation. The newly liberated, independent women are nowadays questioning the benefits of marriage. Pre-colonial marriage in Africa was an alliance between two family groups, rather than two individuals (Berger & White, 1999). Parents rarely deferred the decision for marriage to the woman; she was meant to accept her parents wishes. Marriage was a financial transaction between two family groups, rather than two individuals who happened to be in love. Furthermore, being a wife to someone was both a status symbol and prestige. Women who were not married were a financial burden for the family because in those days
women did not have to work, they relied on their husbands for income. Pre-colonial marriage in Africa subordinated the desires of the individual as second to those of the collective, a custom that was disturbed when African culture absorbed European values during the colonial period. Unlike pre-feminist generations, African women today are stepping out of the household and into the job market. They are not afraid to be on their own because they are able to stand on their own financially, even in the case of a divorce (Hayden, 2003).

Another contributing factor in the decreasing number of people who are getting married could be the shift from how today’s society defines the concept of a family (Hayden, 2003). Traditional family values have always maintained that having both a father and a mother in a family is an integral part of the family make up. However, in today’s society the traditional concept of a family is being challenged. There are people who choose to live together without getting married, single parent families (whether as a result of a divorce or by choice), and homosexual partners, whose union is not at present legally recognised in South Africa (but none the less live together as a family). These unconventional families are quickly being accepted as normal families. Experts have indicated that within the next decade, the number of unconventional families will outnumber “traditional” ones (Hayden, 2003).
It should be noted however, that even though the number of people who are not getting married has risen, there are still a substantial number of people who still choose to get married. It seems to be ingrained in the African culture, that a marriage with children is a necessary part of adult life.

5.2 Socio-economic status

5.2.1 Levels of employment

One of the most serious problems confronting South Africa is the chronic level of unemployment. Only 37% of the participants in the present study were employed. Women were less likely to be employed than men, indicative of gender inequalities in labour force.

These results are consistent with reports on employment levels in South Africa (Haarman & Haarman, 2001). In the last two or more decades, Africa has been confronted with a multi-dimensional crisis, with poverty being one of the major problems. Underlying the problem of poverty is the phenomenon of unemployment (Sarr, 2000). The Census 2001 report indicated that 28.2% of South Africans were unemployed, with an estimation of at least 22 million people –almost half of the population- living in poverty (Haarman & Haarman, 2001).

While employment creation is part of macroeconomic policy, special attention needs to be given to female unemployment. It has been
reported that households below the poverty line are twice as likely to be headed by women as by men (African Centre for Gender and Development, 2002; Katepa-Kalala, 1999; Okojie, 2000). There are wide variations in female labour force participation between and within countries in Africa. Available statistics show that labour force participation rates are lower for women than for men (SARDC & UWC, 1997. In South Africa, the female labour force participation rate was 44% for females as compared to 56% for males in the year 2001 (Census 2001). Furthermore, women generally hold lower-paying jobs (for example, domestic work and clerical positions) than men and continue to be paid less in comparable jobs (Equal Opportunities Commission, 2003).

The increasing participation of women in the labour market and economy in general is essential for developing a strong broad skills base for the economy. Women’s employment has wide implications for households and the community, as their incomes usually contribute to family welfare. They should therefore continue to be included as a target for employment policies. The challenge is to ensure that this leads to women’s economic empowerment and does not further exacerbate inequalities between women and men. Ensuring gender equality is a social and constitutional imperative for individuals and business entities alike.
5.2.2 Occupational status

Of those who were employed in the present study, 74% worked in unskilled manual labour (such as labourers and domestic workers) with the remaining 23% working in semi-skilled manual employment (for example, cashiers and drivers) and 3% working as professionals (for example, nursing and teaching). With the low levels of education (discussed previously) as well as previous South African labour policies, these results are not surprising.

Even before Apartheid restrictions were imposed during the 1950s, government policies, rather than market principles, determined many aspects of labour-management relations (Price, 1991). From the 1950s until the early 1990s, black workers suffered systematic discrimination. The Apartheid legislation authorised the “reservation” of many skilled jobs and managerial positions for whites; qualified blacks were legally excluded from most senior-level jobs. Black people’s education standards were so inferior to those of white people that few black people were qualified for well-paid jobs. In 1997, a large proportion of black people were working in low paying unskilled jobs (35% of all working black women and almost a quarter of all employed coloured women were employed as domestic workers) and only a few in professional labour (SARDC & UWC, 1997).
The newly elected government has put in place measures to redress these problems with affirmative action. Affirmative action focuses specifically on education, capacity development and employment. The emphasis is on taking active measures to ensure that women and previously disadvantaged people enjoy the same opportunities for promotions, salary increases, career advancement, school admissions, scholarships, and financial aid that had been mainly in the domain of white people.

5.2.3 Social security

Social security payments play an important role in the household income of many poor South African families (Lund Committee Report, 1996). In the present study, although the majority of the unemployed participants (37%) supported themselves by working in casual labour, approximately 30% of them were economically dependent on accessing government social security grants such as the child support grant, old age pension and the disability grant for their livelihood. Women were more likely to rely on government grants than men, indicative of gender inequalities in poverty levels. Research increasingly demonstrates the vital role that social security benefits play in alleviating poverty (Black Sash, 1997, Van der Kooy, 1997, Wilson & Ramphele, 1989). Surveys show that grants for the elderly and disabled people have a significant impact on the incomes of households that receive these grants (Social Welfare, 1997). In their book “Uprooting
Poverty”, Wilson and Ramphele (1989) note that perhaps the most striking aspect of poverty uncovered in the course of the Carnegie inquiry was the extent to which the sole source of income of families, and often extended families (especially in the rural areas), was the pitiful pension paid once a month to an elderly member of the household.

The government seems to be committed to providing a comprehensive national social security system. In 1997 and 1998 the welfare budget was 8.7% of total government expenditure and 2.6% of the gross domestic product (GDP) (Social Welfare, 1997). This was an increase of 14.7% over the 1996-1997 welfare budget. Recently, a growing number of organisations have begun to call for the introduction of a national Basic Income Grant to alleviate poverty in South Africa (Haarman & Haarman, 2001). This grant is aimed at providing all households with a minimum level of income of R100 per person per month on introduction. Benefits thus seem to be relatively well-targeted for households in poverty, reaching those who are in need, especially women and children.

Social security payments thus have an important distributional impact and play a vitally important role in providing food and general security. It has been estimated that each pensioner helps provide an income for 7 to 11 people; this means that 7 million South Africans
benefit from the system, making it the most effective poverty alleviator (Seery, 1996).

5.3 Psychometric properties of the measures

5.3.1 Reliability

The reliability of the measures was satisfactory. Coefficient alpha was 0.98 for the RSE, and 0.77 for the SWLS, slightly lower than was found previously (Pavot & Diener, 1993). The differences in the coefficient alphas between the present study and the previous Pavot and Diener (1993) study could be attributed to the sample and methodological procedures. Coefficient alpha for the PQoL scale was 0.81. The coefficients for the RSE and the PQoL were indicative of very good scale reliability (Arias & de Vos, 1996; Nunnally, 1978).

5.3.2 Construct validity and the underlying dimensions of SWB and self-esteem

Carmines and Zeller (1979) initially found self-esteem to be a bi-dimensional construct with two distinguishable factors. Items in factor I were referred to as positive self-esteem, while factor II was negative self-esteem. In contrast with Carmines and Zeller’s (1979) findings, only one substantial factor emerged in the present study. This factor explained 83% of the variance on the RSE scale and indicated that the
items on the RSE scale were an empirical representation of a single concept. It is possible that these conflicting findings were due to reversing scores on items 2, 4, 6, 7 and 9: Carmines and Zeller’s (1979) negative self-esteem factor. All item-factor loadings on the RSE were above 0.7, contributing to a “strong” single factor structure (Nunnally, 1978).

One factor explained 56% of the variance in the SWLS, 10% less than was found previously (Diener et al., 1985). These analyses substantiated Pavot and Diener (1993) and Rosenberg’s (1965) theoretical perspectives on the unitary dimensions of life satisfaction and self-esteem and provided evidence for the scales’ construct validity.

Two factors explained 55.2% of the variance in PQoL, 5% more than was previously found (Westaway & Maluka, 2004). One item on each of the SWLS and the PQoL scales did not meet Nunnally’s (1978) criteria (30, 50).

These two items (item 5 on the SWLS and item 7 on the PQoL scale), failed to discriminate between high and low levels of satisfaction. It is possible that respondents were not satisfied with item 5 on the SWLS because people are always striving to better their lives. Irrespective of whether a person has lived an ideal life, he or she may still feel that there are things that they could have done better. Perhaps
methodological problems like translation (discussed below in research limitations) could be a contributing factor. It was not surprising that item 7 on the PQoL scale (satisfaction with income) failed to distinguish between high or low levels of satisfaction since most people are generally not happy with their incomes. However, specific to the sample used in the present study, the reasons could also be attributed to the high levels of unemployment as well as the high number of participants who were employed in unskilled labour, which is usually low paying.

5.4 Levels of SWB (life satisfaction and PQoL) and self-esteem within the community

Previous studies have shown that people in poor nations show average or slightly below average scores on SWB (Diener, Diener & Diener, 1995; Diener et al., 1997). On the assumption that poor nations elsewhere in the world and South African disadvantaged communities share similar characteristics, similar results supporting the above-mentioned literature were expected in the present study. However, in spite of their disadvantaged status, levels of life satisfaction and self-esteem within the community of the present study were relatively high, while PQoL levels were normally distributed. Studies have shown that there are factors that can serve as a buffer against low levels of SWB. Factors such as adapting to one's situation (McCrae & Costa, 1986), concentrating only on attainable goals (Emmons, 1986, 1992), the possession of positive illusions (Taylor & Armor, 1996), political
change or the perception of positive political change (Moller, 1996) and even the belief in a larger meaning in the universe (religion) (Scheier & Carver, 1993) could have played a role in explaining the high levels of SWB found in the community.

These findings can possibly be an indication of the resilience in people, despite difficult life situations. Perhaps the extent to which this group attribute causality for the events that occur in their lives (locus of control) could play a role. The results indicated that, instead of waiting for things to happen, some participants continued to support themselves financially by for example, domestic work or by being self employed (for example, selling fruit and vegetables). They tried to improve their lives without outside (for example, the government) help.

Having said all of the above, it is important to note that different cultural beliefs and practices between and within poor nations (international and local) could also be responsible for the difference. In order to find probable explanations, studies specifically concentrating on cultural influences on the SWB of disadvantaged South Africans will have to be conducted. Constructs such as people's resilience and history, values and norms, individual personalities and locus of control might aid in the understanding of these differences.
5.5 Demographic effects on SWB and self-esteem

Age, education, employment status and occupational status significantly affected SWB, providing support for previous research (Campbell et al., 1976; Diener et al., 1993; Dooley et al., 1988; Oswald, 1997). Some demographic variables, for example education and age seemed to play a role in levels of self-esteem, while others (for example, gender, employment and marital status) did not. As SWB and self-esteem was not affected by marital status and gender (supported by previous studies by Fujita, Diener & Sandvick, 1991), hypothesis 1 received partial support.

5.5.1. Age

Contrary to previous studies, age was negatively related to SWB (Herzog & Rodgers, 1981; Horley & Lavery, 1995; Larson, 1978; Stock, Okun, Haring & Witter, 1983). In the above-mentioned studies, SWB was found to either increase with age or to remain the same as people get older. Staying involved in more life domains, being able to adapt to life conditions and the ability to readjust goals as people get older were some of the reasons cited for these findings.

Perhaps differences between the Western (individualism) and African (collectivism) culture play a role in these conflicting findings. As suggested previously, older people have more liberty to follow their
own interests and desires (Diener, Eunkook & Shigehiro, 1997). However, people in collectivist cultures consider the group to be more important than the individual (Diener et al., 1997). Thus, they may not be at liberty to make decisions that would benefit themselves and they may have to consider the group as a whole prior to making important decisions.

If the ability to readjust one's goals to fit one's current life situation plays a role in increasing one's level of SWB, then clearly this could be a problem within an African context. In the present study, younger African people appear to be more satisfied with their lives than older people within a collectivistic culture. With the abolishing of the Apartheid system, the younger South African generation were provided with an opportunity to interact with other races, thereby embracing both social and political change through acculturation. It is therefore possible that, as a result of the younger generation being acculturated, older people might still have stronger ties with their culture than younger people. If this is the case, then older people will feel less inclined to readjust their goals to fit with their individual needs.

Younger participants also had higher self-esteem than the older participants. Again, this finding was contradictory to international findings (Harter, 1990; 1997; O’Malley & Bachman, 1983). These studies reported that ageing had a positive effect on individuals’ levels
of self-esteem. As discussed above, possible explanations could be attributed to cultural differences.

5.5.2 Gender and marital status

Neither gender nor marital status had an effect on levels of SWB or self-esteem, similar to previous research (Fujita et al., 1991). Because of women's higher risk of being widowed, having health problems and needing care, one might expect them to have a more negative self-concept and lower SWB. However, women may also have greater access to sources of SWB (for example, relations to family) than men and may engage in processes to protect the self (for example, lowered career aspirations).

Empirical literature cites two reasons against gender differences in SWB. Firstly, research on the protection on positive self-esteem in adults has shown considerable resilience of the self because of previous life experience (Brandtstädter, Wentura & Greve, 1993). Wills (1992) for example, suggested that social comparisons mediate between objective circumstances of life and SWB. When adults are compared with persons of the same sex, gender differences in health problems, socio-economic status and marital status are irrelevant for the psychological outcomes of social comparisons. In addition, discrepancies between aspirations and success have been suggested as an important source of SWB (Brandtstädter et al., 1993). Thus lower
aspirations in women compared to men may reduce gender differences in SWB. A second reason why men and women may not differ in SWB is that they may have different sources of SWB. Women’s identities may tend to be more strongly tied to social network events, whereas men’s identities may be more strongly tied to their career (Golombok & Fivush, 1994; Whitbourne & Powers, 1994). This literature therefore, suggests that the low levels of career success, educational attainment, income and other disadvantages that women may experience, may not result in lower levels of SWB as with men.

Marital status had no significant effect on SWB in the present study. These results were contradictory to those reported internationally, where married people are found to have high levels of SWB (Diener et al., 1998; Gove & Shin, 1989). Recent local studies however, have also found that people’s marital status had no effect on levels of SWB (Westaway et al., 2003). Perhaps these differences are influenced by societal changes discussed previously in point 5.1.2.

As in the case of SWB, marital status had no effect on self-esteem irrespective of gender in the present study, providing support for previous research (Fujita et al., 1991). Most studies examining marital status and psychological distress have concluded that married men and women have higher levels of self-esteem in contrast to their unmarried peers (Gove et al., 1983; Gove et al., 1990; Mirowsky & Ross, 1989). Other research studies have argued that people with higher levels of
self-esteem are more likely to get married, since they are confident enough with themselves to be able to cope with the basic challenges that comes with marriage (Brandon, 1994). However, recent analyses by Ross (1995) and Westaway and colleagues (2003) found no differences in self-esteem by marital status. Divorced and widowed persons typically report poorer well-being and lower self-esteem than never married persons (Gove & Shin, 1989).

There has been an abundance of research that indicates the psychological benefits of marriage for males and females (Fox, 1980; Gove & Tudor, 1980; Ross, 1995). Some found that marriage protects the mental health of men more than women while others suggest that women and not men are benefited more by marriage (Fox, 1980; Gove & Tudor, 1980; Ross, 1995). However, as mentioned previously in chapter 4, all of these investigations used psychological distress or other psychological dysfunction measures as outcomes. There is less evidence concerning the potential gender differences in positive psychological well-being associated with marriage.

It seems that these inconsistencies in patterns across cultures and outcomes suggest that marriage is not a universal beneficial determinant of positive self-esteem. Therefore, it appears reasonable, to continue evaluating the effects of marital status on well-being with a multidimensional lens whenever possible, so that a more precise
understanding can be obtained of how and when marital status is important for well-being.

5.5.3 Education

Respondents with higher levels of education were more satisfied with life than those with less education. Most of the variance in SWB comes from the inter-correlation between education, occupational status and income (Campell, 1981, Witter et al., 1984). Hence, education seems indirectly related to well-being. Unlike first world countries, within a third-world context, education acts as a socio-economic and political status indicator (Stumf, 2001; The Bantu education Act No. 47 of 1953). Therefore, it is possible that within the context of the current study, the relationship between education and SWB could be even stronger (see previous discussion in point 5.1.1).

Education was also positively related to self-esteem, providing support for findings cited in the literature (Jordan & Kelly, 1990, Tootoonchi, 1993). Education increases people’s self-esteem because, as people’s levels of education increase, so does their understanding of political, economic and social conditions. People can, therefore, rise to the challenges in their lives and discover the value for the advancement of their knowledge and personal growth (Jordan & Kelly, 1990).
5.5.4 Employment status and occupational status

Employed respondents had significantly greater levels of positive SWB than the unemployed group. Being employed and having job satisfaction are related to SWB because they offer optimal levels of stimulation that people find pleasurable (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990; Scitovsky, 1976). Having a job can also aid individuals to have positive social relationships and a sense of identity and meaning (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990; Scitovsky, 1976).

It was not surprising to also find in the present study that those who were employed in higher paying positions had higher levels of SWB than those in unskilled positions. Characteristics of satisfying jobs have been extensively researched, for example, levels of autonomy in one’s job, intrinsic rewards and social benefits (belonging to a high level socio-economic class) are significant predictors of job satisfaction (Mottaz, 1985). People who are satisfied with their lives generally find more satisfaction in their work (Stones & Kozma, 1986). Revealing the relationship between job and positive well-being may reflect internal personality factors.

Unemployed people have higher distress and lower levels of SWB than employed individuals (Oswald, 1997; Platt & Kreitman, 1985). Since being employed offers individuals a sense of identity and meaning,
unemployment has been found to typically contribute to lower SWB (Clark, 1998).

Employment status had no significant relationship to self-esteem. This finding was similar to international findings where it is reported that employment only has the potential for improving self-esteem and not to guarantee its enhancement (Casper & Fishbein, 2000; Torrey et al., 2000). Differences were, however, found between occupational status and self-esteem. Professional workers had higher self-esteem than those who were semi-skilled or unskilled, since it provides people with a sense of autonomy in work-related decision making (Mottaz, 1985). As in the case of SWB, the role of job satisfaction is of great importance in self-esteem since it acts as a moderator of well-being.

5.5.5 Summary

Studies report that demographic characteristics within countries often explain a very low proportion of the variance in well-being (Cantril, 1965; Campbell et al., 1976; Inglehart, 1990). In the present study, multiple regression analyses showed that demographic factors were weakly correlated with SWB and self-esteem. For example, all demographic factors combined in the study accounted for less than 12% of the variance in both SWB and self-esteem. These results also showed that subjective variables (for example, satisfaction with
oneself, partner, family etc.) rather than objective factors (demographic characteristics) were the most important determinants of well-being. Interpreting these results may lead public policy makers as well as individuals to question the value of pursuing ever greater objective rewards (such as large incomes). The sacrifice of important values such as self-growth, leisure time and significant relationships to attain more wealth may interfere with happiness rather than enhance it.

5.6 The Relationship between SWB and self-esteem

A positive relationship was found between SWB and self-esteem in the present study. This finding provided considerable support for hypothesis 2, and substantiated research by Diener and Diener (1995), Emmons and Diener (1985) and Lewinson and co workers (1991).

The continued positive experience of a person’s self-worth is an important aspect of SWB (Pearlin, 1989). A social environment conducive to self-esteem enables a person to connect him or herself with significant others and receive appropriate feedback for well accomplished tasks. Self-esteem strengthens feelings of well-being, approval and success (Diener & Diener, 1995). If experienced in core social roles, control and reward act as powerful determinants of well-being as they increase positive self experience in terms of self-esteem.
The relationship between SWB and self-esteem in the present study, was lower than was found previously in western countries such as America (Diener & Diener, 1995; Kwan, Bond & Singelis, 1994; Suh, 2000). This relationship is said to be stronger in individualistic societies where the “self” stands out as more important than the “community” (Diener & Diener, 1995). In collectivist cultures, SWB and self-esteem are reported to be related, but not as strongly as in individualistic western nations (Diener et al., 1997). In highly individualist cultures (for example, America and Western/Northern Europe), each individual's right, freedom, and unique feelings are emphasised over the expectations and needs of the group, such as family. In more collectivist societies (for example, Africa), the goals and needs of a significant in-group tend to take priority over the thoughts, values, and preferences of an individual (Suh, 2000). In theory, there are costs as well as benefits associated with personal freedom. In individualist cultures (high freedom), people freely choose personal goals and lifestyles but, because of the lack of strong social support, adverse life events might have severe negative consequences (such as suicide) (Suh, 2000). In collectivist cultures, on the other hand, strong social support may buffer stressful events, but the drawback is that there is less freedom to pursue personally rewarding goals (Suh, 2000).

When it comes to positive SWB, it appears that having a greater sense of personal choice and freedom is more critical than having a reliable
social safety net during difficult times (Diener & Diener, 1995; Kwan, Bond & Singelis, 1994). After all, harmful life events happen only occasionally, whereas personal goals constantly affect the quality of daily experience. Another possibility is that the desire to be happy might be stronger in individualistic than in collectivistic cultures. In individualistic cultures where personal freedom and opportunities are available, each person is highly accountable for his or her happiness. Being unhappy, in such a cultural context, can be indirectly admitting that one has not been able to make the most out of life opportunities, talents and capabilities (Diener & Diener, 1995; Kwan et al., 1994). In many collectivistic African cultures, people are believed to have only limited control over happiness (Suh, 2000). Various factors beyond personal control, such as luck or family background, are thought to play significant roles in determining the ultimate happiness of an individual (Suh, 2000). Because the responsibility to be happy relies more on the person in individualistic than in collectivistic cultures, it is possible that people try harder to be happy in the former culture. Being more eager to be happy, individualists might organise their lives in ways that would give them the best chance to be happy (Suh, 2000).

Psychological attributes characterising the self (e.g., self-esteem, self-consistency) thus appear to be more relevant to the positive well-being of Western individualists than to the positive well-being of collectivists. Self-evaluation of positive SWB relates to different types of ideals and experiences across cultures. Therefore, although culture
appears to play an important role in shaping people’s levels of SWB, unfortunately little is known about the details of this important human experience that seem to make such a difference in people’s lives.

5.7 Research limitations

5.7.1 Methodological challenges

The use of reverse scored measures of self-esteem was problematic because participants tended to contradict themselves. There was also a lack of consistency in the participants’ responses on the life satisfaction questionnaire. For example, even though participants answered that in most ways their lives were close to their ideal, they would then answer that so far they haven’t gotten the important things in their lives. Participants also had a problem with understanding responses like slightly agree/disagree and slightly satisfied/dissatisfied, on the questionnaires. It is possible that, participants could not understand the meaning of the word “slightly”. Using numbers (as in the case of the PQoL scale), for example, where 1 represents high levels of dissatisfaction and the highest number on the scale representing high levels of satisfaction, was a better method of receiving consistent responses from the respondents.
5.7.2 Language challenges

The questionnaire was in English and not translated into the sample’s languages (which were mainly Zulu and Sotho). The interviewers verbally translated the questions into the participants’ preferred language. This can have problematic consequences. For example, the interviewer’s interpretation of the questions might be different when translated into a different language. The same problem could occur even if the participants were translating the questions themselves. The questions’ intended meaning could be lost between the translations.

The second problem with translation is that Soweto, like many townships in Gauteng, is a polyglot community. Since the abolition of the Groups Area Act which defined areas for ethnic groups to live (created in the 1950s), people have been moving across boundaries. This has resulted in multicultural communities within South Africa, each with their own different dialect. Even with purely Zulu or Sotho translated questionnaires, respondents might not understand some of the translated words because they speak a Zulu language, for example, that is a mixture of Xhosa and the Ndebele languages (or Sotho that is mixed with Tswana, Pedi and South Sotho). This can create major difficulties in conducting self-administered questionnaires, even translated ones.

Due to factors such as geographic location, sample size and method of analysis (quantitative statistical procedures), the results cannot claim
to be representative of SWB and self-esteem in all disadvantaged communities in South Africa. The study used a quantitative approach only in collecting (for example, a structured questionnaire) and analysing the data. This could have had a limiting effect on the interpretation of the results. The inclusion of a qualitative approach could assist in more holistic interpretations.

5.8 Conclusion

Despite limitations such as these, the results of study are of interest because they can assist the government in policy making and in intervention programmes for communities in need. The study can also add knowledge on the topic to non governmental organizations (NGOs) and other groups working in the quality of life field. Research conclusions and recommendations will be presented in chapter six.
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study ascertained the effects of demographic variables on subjective well-being (SWB) and self-esteem, and the relationship between SWB and self-esteem within a disadvantaged South African community. As discussed in chapters one and two, positive SWB and self-esteem are the major goals for the majority of people. By studying the levels of both SWB and self-esteem and the demographic effects within a disadvantaged community (which are often overlooked), the researcher hoped to place an understanding of the processes which underlie positive well-being and in turn, people’s goals and coping efforts. People can be aided to have more satisfying lives, which include more rewarding marriages and family life, work and recreation as well as friendships, and not just to strive to solve problems by for example, trying to earn more money or fall victim to helplessness.

In spite of their disadvantaged status, levels of SWB and self-esteem within the community were relatively high. A positive relationship was found between self-esteem and SWB, supporting existing research (Diener & Diener, 1995, Diener et al., 1997).
Multiple regression analyses in the present study provided support for existing research which indicates that demographic factors are often weakly correlated with SWB and self-esteem (Campbell et al., 1976, Diener et al., 1997). The findings of the present study suggested that satisfaction with subjective variables, such as oneself and self-esteem, are much more important for positive SWB than socio-demographic characteristics (Campbell et al., 1976, Diener et al., 1997).

The reliability (internal consistency) coefficients for the measures attested to their usefulness in the study of well-being. The results on the PQoL and the RSE measurements show particular promise for measuring SWB and self-esteem in cross-cultural settings.

6.1 Recommendations

It is recommended that the research study be repeated in other South African disadvantaged communities in order to improve the generalizability of the research findings. It is also recommended that studies should be repeated with a longer time frame between pre- and post-testing within the different disadvantaged communities. The SWLS measurement needs to be revised (where methodological issues of translation and item response will be investigated) if it is to be used cross-culturally. A qualitative study using qualitative data collection methods such as focus groups and in-depth interviews could give researchers an insight on the
salient issues regarding the quality of life in different communities.
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**Group Areas Act** No 41 of 1950


Human Rights Commission Act No. 54 of 1994


Annual Meeting of the Midwestern Psychological Association, Chicago (May 2-4).


SPSS Inc., 233 South Wacker Drive, 11th floor, Chicago, IL 60606-6412.


APPENDIX I

Informed consent.

Authorisation to participate in the research project

**Title of the study:** Subjective well-being and self-esteem in a disadvantaged community.

Dear Mr/Mrs/Ms................................date...../...../....

The nature and the purpose of the study

The overall aim of the study is to ascertain the relationship between subjective well-being (SWB) and self-esteem among the residents of a disadvantaged community in South Africa.

2. Explanation of procedures to be followed

For this study we will ask some personal questions concerning you. The questions will be asked in a language that you understand. The questionnaire will take approximately 15 minutes of your time.

3. Possible benefits of the study

This study will provide: a better understanding of the concerns and problems faced by Doornkop residents, services needed to improve quality of life, promotion of integrated approaches to
planning, implementation and evaluation, and guidance for planners and policy makers.

4. Information

If I have any questions concerning this study, I should contact Ms. C Maluka (Tel: (012) 339 8534) of the Medical Research Council.

5. Voluntary participation

Participation in this study is voluntary. No compensation for participation will be given. You are free to withdraw your consent to participate in this study at any time. Refusing to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits.

6. Confidentiality

All records obtained in this study will be regarded as confidential. Results will be published or presented in such a fashion that no person will be identified by name. Feedback on the results will be presented to the community, planners and policy-makers.

7. Consent to participate in the study

I have read or had read to me in a language that I understand the above information before signing this consent form. The content and meaning of this information have been explained to me. I
have been given the opportunity to ask questions and am satisfied that they have been answered satisfactorily. I hereby volunteer to take part in this study. I have received a signed copy of this informed consent agreement.

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

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

Interviewee signature Date

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

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

Witness Date
STUDY NUMBER

Socio-Demographic Information

1. Age

2. Gender  1 = male       2 = female

3. Years of schooling

4. Academic qualifications (degree, diploma)
   1 = Diploma       2 = Degree
   3 = Certificate

5. Home (preferred) language
   1 = Zulu       2 = Sotho       3 = Xhosa
   4 = Tsonga      5 = Pedi       6 = Venda/Ndebele/Swazi
   7 = Afrikaans   8 = English

6. Marital status
   1 = Single       2 = Married
   3 = Widowed      4 = Separated/divorced

7. Address________________________________________________

8. Do you own this house?  1 = Yes       0 = No

9. Do you rent this house?  1 = Yes       0 = No

10. What are the walls made of?
    2 = Masonry (brick, cement blocks) 1 = Metallic sheet (zinc), wood
    0 = Non-durable material (plastic bags, cardboard)

11. What is the floor made of?
    1 = Cement, brick, tiles, wood, zinc 0 = Mud, dirt

12. What is the roof made of?
    2 = Roof tiles, cement, brick 1 = Metallic sheet (zinc), wood
    0 = Non-durable material (plastic bags, cardboard)
13. How long have you lived here (years)?
______________________________________________

14. How many people live with you now (adults and children)?
____________________________________

15. Are you working? 1 = Yes 0 = No

16. If yes, what kind of work? _______________________

17. If no, how do you get money to live?
_____________________________________________________

18. Where is your water supply (inside, outside in yard, in street)?
2 = Inside 1 = Outside 0 = In street/Neighbour

19. Where is your toilet?
2 = Inside 1 = In yard 0 = In street/Neighbour

20. What kind of a toilet do you have?
2 = Flush 1 = Non flush 0 = Hole in ground/ no system

21. Do you have electricity? 1 = Yes 0 = No

Satisfaction With Live

**STD** = Strongly Disagree; **D** = Disagree; **SLD** = Slightly Disagree;
**N** = Neither Agree or Disagree; **SLA** = Slightly Agree; **A** = Agree; **STA** = Strongly Agree

<p>| | | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>In most ways my life is close to my ideal</td>
<td>STD</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>SLD</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>SLA</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>The conditions of my life are excellent</td>
<td>STD</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>SLD</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>SLA</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>I am satisfied with my life</td>
<td>STD</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>SLD</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>SLA</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>So far I have gotten the important things I want in life</td>
<td>STD</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>SLD</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>SLA</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing</td>
<td>STD</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>SLD</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>SLA</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Personal Quality of Life (PQoL)

27. Please rate on a scale from 1 (completely dissatisfied) to 5 (completely satisfied) how satisfied you are with:
   Yourself________________________________
   Your partner ____________________________
   Your family life _________________________
   Your friends _____________________________
   Your time to do things ____________________
   Your neighbours _________________________
   Your income_____________________________
   Your social life__________________________
   Your health_____________________________

Self-Esteem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28. I feel that I’m a person of worth at least on an equal basis with others.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. I am able to do things as well as others.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. I take a positive attitude towards myself.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. I wish I could have more respect for myself.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. I certainly feel useless at times.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. At times I think I am no good at all.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION
IN COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE