

REVISITING CLASSIC NEEDS THEORY: DOES MASLOW EXPLAIN MEXICO'S MAQUILADORA WORKERS' NEEDS?

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Abstract

Maslow's hierarchical theory of needs has considerably influenced additional research streams that base needs as forces of human behaviour. While the applicability of Maslow's hierarchy has been scrutinized throughout the needs research, it still stands as the most researched and most cited needs theory in existence. The purpose of this recent attention to a needs theory is to "test" the applicability of Maslow's Hierarchy to a sample of maquiladora workers and their needs. A qualitative field study was conducted to discover the applicability of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs to the needs of maquiladora workers. Semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions were used in gathering responses from lower-level maquiladora workers. Content analysis was used. According to the qualitative results, Maslow's Hierarchy does not explain the needs of lower-level maquiladora workers. In addition, actual needs based on the interviews were uncovered and discussed.

Keyword: *Maquiladoras, Maslow's hierarchy, needs theory, Mexican workers.*

Introduction

Maslow's hierarchical theory of needs has considerably influenced additional research streams that base needs as forces of human behaviour. While the applicability of Maslow's hierarchy has been scrutinized throughout the needs research, it still stands as the most researched and most cited needs theory in existence. As motivation theories, need theories suggest the kinds of things people desire from life or work. Needs may be defined as internal states experienced by an individual that shape and control behaviour. Need theories tell us that different things energize people to do something; the theories do not indicate what people do. They particularly focus on what needs people are attempting to satisfy and what from the

organization will satisfy those particular needs. One particular theory integrates something from each of those types of theories and has set the foundation in the subsequent development of other theories in the management literature. This theory is the hierarchy proposed by Maslow (1970) as a general theory of personality development (Schneider & Schmitt, 1986).

Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

While Maslow's need hierarchy theory is widely acknowledged, there is minimal research evidence to support it (Fey, 2005; Udechukwu, 2009; Wahba & Bridwell, 1976). Its attractiveness is that it makes available both a theory of human motives by classifying basic human needs in a hierarchy, and a theory of human motivation that relates these needs to general behaviour. Maslow (1970) proposed that his need categories are structured in a hierarchy based on the probability of importance. The hierarchy of needs is as follows, in ascending order: the physiological needs, the safety needs, the belongingness or love needs, the esteem needs, and the need for self-actualization (Maslow, 1970, pp. 35–47). The model also stipulates that although individuals pursue self-actualization levels, they do so only after the lower level needs have been met. Thus, explaining why Maslow hierarchically categorizes needs according to their priority for satisfaction. Table 1 identifies and defines each factor.

Determining these particular needs is necessary in predicting an individual's behaviour whether attraction will occur and if retention can be sustained. Maslow argued that the five basic needs are "instinctoid" and that his needs are "more universal" for all cultures than other desires or behaviours (Maslow, 1970, pp. 54).

Table 1

Maslow's Need Hierarchy Model (Maslow, 1970)

Maslow's Need Levels	Description
Self-actualization	The ultimate need that dominates once lower-level needs are met. This need motivates an individual to realize his or her potential, continue self-development, and be the best one can be.
Esteem	The need for recognition and status. This need drives an individual to want to be respected by other, self-confident, and appreciated.

(continued)

Maslow's Need Levels	Description
Affiliation (Social)	The need for belonging, for giving and receiving attention, and for friendship.
Security	The need for personal safety, security, and protection.
Physiological	The need for basic needs, like food, water, shelter, and clothing.

Unfortunately, Maslow based his statements entirely on the assumption of U.S. individual's needs. In an early and only review of the research on Maslow's model, Wahba and Bridwell (1976) determined that "there is no consistent support for the hierarchy proposed by Maslow" (pp. 224). They follow this statement by emphasizing that there is "no clear evidence that human needs are classified in five distinct categories, or that these categories are structured in a special hierarchy" (Wahba & Bridwell, 1976, pp. 224).

However, to completely ignore Maslow's model is not the solution. The results of the review should be viewed with caution, partly because the nature of the theory makes it difficult to test empirically as well as methodological and measurement problems of the studies. For instance the majority of the studies reviewed used a rank-order system in categorizing needs. Based on Wahba and Bridwell (1976), this may not be a "valid test of Maslow's need hierarchy, since rank ordering is not a Maslow concept". In addition, the scales used did not indicate acceptable reliability coefficients and their construct validity was questionable. As a result, modifications of the model may be necessary when applying the model to other individuals from other countries. In relating U. S. individuals' needs to inducements offered by the organization, Maslow's hierarchy can be used to identify what types of inducements may satisfy an individual's particular need. In addition, the need hierarchy theory has tried to explain the dominance of particular needs between different people at the same time, as well as within an individual over time (Wanous & Zwany, 1977). This theory can prove indispensable when focusing on the needs of employees and ultimately in the retention of employees in the organization.

International Need Studies

In the international realm, needs investigation utilizing Maslow's Hierarchy has been conducted. For instance, Slocum, Tapichak, and Kuhn (1971) conducted a classic research that was to be the first

empirical study using operative (non-supervisory) employees in two countries, U.S. and Mexico. Prior to this, cross-cultural studies were limited to upper-level managers and supervisors (Haire, Ghiselli, & Porter, 1965; Ivancevich, 1969). Slocum et al., (1971) specifically examined the effect of culture on operatives' need satisfaction. Using the Porter need satisfaction questionnaire (1961) based on Maslow's theory of needs, workers from both countries were asked to rate "characteristics or qualities" related to their job (Slocum et al., 1971, pp. 438). For each item (12 in all), the workers were asked to rate his or her answer on a seven-point scale answering the following: How much of the characteristic do you think should be connected with your job?; How much of the characteristic is there now connected with your job?; How important is this characteristic to you? The first question's rating was to measure the worker's expected level of rewards. The second was to measure need fulfillment, and the third was taken as an indicator of importance placed on each item. The results indicated that the U.S. workers were "generally much less satisfied than their Mexican counterparts" (Slocum et al., 1971, pp. 439).

Differences were found in the average need importance scores in all 12 need items. The Americans, stated self-actualization needs as not very well satisfied ranking it fourth; whereas, the Mexican workers considered self-actualization need to be highly satisfied and ranked it first. Social need was ranked first by the U.S. workers and third by the Mexicans.

With regards to importance, security need was ranked as most important in both countries and the self-actualization need came in second. Interestingly, social needs was the least important to the Mexicans and third most important to the Americans. This study introduced the concept that operatives' (lower-level workers) responses differ from managers based on the same need satisfaction questionnaire. In addition, the data from these two groups of operatives differ from Maslow's hierarchy of needs and results from managers' need as stated by previous studies (Haire, Ghiselli & Porter, 1965; Ivancevich, 1969). More importantly, these results indicate that "culture significantly affects need satisfaction and importance for operative employees" (Slocum et al., 1971, pp. 443).

However, methodological issues play a major part in validating this and other cross-cultural studies. Slocum et al., (1971) merely translated U.S. based questionnaire, and distributed it to plant employees in Mexico. This action defies all procedures related to conducting cross-cultural research. Nevertheless, its exploratory and groundbreaking findings outweigh this limitation.

Fey (2005) utilized Maslow's need theory to determine motivation levels of Swedish and Russian middle managers. In the lower levels of Maslow's hierarchy, Russian managers, are motivated by salary level; whereas Swedish managers, who further up in the hierarchy, are motivated by having an enjoyable working environment. Thus, these results provide strong support for Maslow's hierarchy theory.

Pathak and Tripathi (2010) in their research on Indian workers used Maslow's hierarchy in attempting to understand turnover in the insurance industry. They determine that Indian workers pursued to satisfy "multiple levels of needs simultaneously" primarily seeking social and esteem needs (pp. 16). They conclude an individual's motivation varies according to the "nature and potency of the unsatisfied portion of his/her individual hierarchies of needs" (pp. 16). This conclusion is contradicting based on Maslow's regression principle.

Rajagopal and Abraham (2009) also utilized Maslow's hierarchy in predicting the higher order needs of Indian information technology (IT) employees. They also concluded a contradiction to Maslow's theory due to the importance of higher-order needs of IT employees prior to satisfying lower-order needs.

Clark and McCabe (1972) studied the importance Australian managers placed on the various needs they are attempting to satisfy through their jobs and the extent to which the needs are being satisfied. Utilizing the same questionnaire as in Slocum et al., (1971), based on Maslow's need classification system initiated by Porter (1961), the job characteristics were exactly like the previous studies (Slocum et al., 1971) with the exception that an additional characteristic was entered in the "Autonomy Need," that of "Opportunity for participation in methods and procedures".

For each item (13 in all), the manager was asked to rate his answer on a seven-point scale answering the following: How much is there now?; How much should be there?; How important is this to me? Similar to a study replicated (Haire, Ghiselli & Porter, 1963), Australian managers viewed self-actualization as the most important need. Like the previous study, for all managers including Australia, self-actualization was the least satisfied. This was followed in order by autonomy, social, security, and esteem. According to the authors of the study, Maslow's classification of needs appears to "fit the human condition" (Clark & McCabe, 1972, pp. 632). Nevertheless, there were many disparities with lower-level needs among the fifteen countries.

Similarities were clearly seen among the Anglo-American countries: England, US, and Australia.

Blunt (1973) replicated an earlier study (Clark & McCabe, 1972) by conducting a study using managers from South Africa. Compared to the previous studies of other managers surveyed, Blunt's (1973) study found that South African managers were much less satisfied than managers from USA, Australia, Denmark, Germany, France, and Italy. In addition, security needs caused more dissatisfaction than social ones. As Maslow's theory predicted, South African managers attached the greatest importance to self-actualization needs. Interestingly, South African managers did not differ from managers in other countries with regard to the ordering of need importance.

Howell, Strauss, and Sorenson (1975) conducted a study similar to Blunt's (1973) and Clark and McCabe's (1972) using middle managers in Liberia as their sample. Security need had the largest dissatisfaction as well as the highest need importance score. The results of this study indicate that need importance rankings are similar to those in earlier studies; however, need satisfaction ranking scores are not.

Reitz (1975) tested Maslow's hierarchy of needs hypothesis that "higher-order" needs are more important than "lower-order" needs. Using blue-collar workers at twenty-six industrial plants across eight countries-United States, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Venezuela, Japan, Thailand, Turkey, and Yugoslavia, he found that the need for self-actualization was ranked as most important across all twenty-six plants. In addition, in each of the eight countries, more educated workers tended to rank security needs as less important than did their less-educated workers. Results have to be cautiously viewed since the same survey, the Need Preference Inventory developed by Beer (1968), was used in all eight countries. This instrument consisted of 30 items and each item was related to one of the five categories of needs suggested by Maslow (1970). This study did not consider the importance placed on including other items that may be deemed important to the particular culture being investigated.

In response to a previous study that showed that managers from India attached moderate to high importance to higher-level needs (Haire et al., 1963), Jaggi (1979) conducted an empirical study to invalidate the earlier study. His hypothesis for the study was: Indian managers attach greater importance to lower-order needs than higher-order needs. Utilizing a modified version of Porter's questionnaire based on Maslow's need hierarchy, Indian managers were asked to indicate what they considered to be their most important reason(s) for working

in the current firm. The hypothesis was rejected due to results indicating that neither the higher-order nor the lower-order needs are likely to be dominant for the sample. The Indian managers ranked the needs in the following order: autonomy, physiological, esteem, social, and security. However, a problem found in the study creates a ranking problem; thus results should be viewed cautiously. To facilitate codification, authors assumed that if a respondent identified levels four and five (upper-level needs) as his highest level of need, then needs at lower levels were fulfilled and his need expectation had reached the higher-order level. This assumption is one of the major flaws of Maslow's hierarchy as indicated by motivation literature (Wahba & Bridwell, 1976; Lawler & Suttle, 1972; Wanous & Zwany, 1977). It states that higher-level needs will be pursued only if lower-level needs have been satisfied.

In investigating need satisfaction among 248 Mid-eastern managers, Badawy (1980), utilized Porter's need satisfaction instrument that contains thirteen items categorized into a Maslow-type hierarchy of needs and relating to general characteristics of the respondent's work environment using a seven-point Likert type rating scale. The job characteristics are exactly like the previous studies (Slocum et al., 1971; Clark & McCabe, 1972; Blunt, 1973) with the exception that an additional characteristic was entered in the "Autonomy Need," that of "Opportunity for participation in methods and procedures". Findings revealed that Mid-eastern managers were highly dissatisfied with the 'opportunity to participate in setting goals'. Maslow's (1970) need of autonomy was considered the least satisfied need, followed by self-actualization, esteem, social, and security needs. Self-actualization was considered the most important need and it was also the second most dissatisfied need. The need hierarchy is clearly not cross-culturally based and that culture affects the hierarchy of needs for managers (Badawy, 1979).

Global Applicability of Needs Theories

In the global arena, managers must avoid imposing domestic American management practices and theories on their international business practices (Adler, 1997). Since motivation and work behaviour issues are not restricted to cultural boundaries, the effect of motivational aspects on an individual's job performance needs to be reexamined. Tannebaum (1980), discussing the difficulty surrounding the analysis cross-cultural research, stated that even the assumption that members of an organization are motivated by the organization's rewards and incentives may not apply in all cultures.

Along these lines, Hofstede (1980) argues that many Western terms (for instance, “achievement”) cannot even be translated into other languages, thus an indication of their lack of appropriateness for use in those cultures. An example of this is in McClelland’s (1961) cross-national study, where he measured motivation for achievement to be higher in the United States than in Turkey. The measure captures what appears to be a U.S. concept of achievement in terms of material and career success. Country to country, the cultural differences can affect job performance (Silverthorne, 1992). In the international spotlight, research has focused on comparing motives between American and Chinese employees (Fisher & Ya Yuan, 1998), as well as U.S., Russia, and the Republic of China employees and managers (Silverthorne, 1992).

With regard to needs, international studies include Reitz’s (1975) examination of the importance of five categories of needs among workers in eight countries (U.S., Mexico, Puerto Rico, Venezuela, Japan, Thailand, Turkey, and Yugoslavia); Badawy’s (1980) investigation of Mideastern managers’ needs; Stephens, Kedia, and Ezell’s (1980) comparative study of U.S. and Peruvian managers; Jaggi’s (1979) study of Indian managers’ need importance; and Buera and Glueck’s (1979) need satisfaction study of Libyan managers. To date, there is limited research that looks specifically at what actually attracted current employees to select the organization they are currently in as well as what aspect of the organization or job motivates them to remain in their current position (Pathak & Tripathi, 2010). As a result determining which needs individuals are trying to satisfy becomes important and worthy of investigation.

In sum, research involving these theories concentrated on their applicability to current employees. Their focus was that in order to motivate a current employee to contribute effective input to a job and perform at a high level, their supervisor must determine what needs the employee is trying to satisfy at work and make certain that the employee receives outcomes that help satisfy those needs. Thus, most studies had employees rank job attributes in order of most important (Jurgensen, 1978; Feldman & Arnold, 1978), or asking employees what motivates them and comparing it to what managers thought their employees would say (Kovach, 1987).

With regard to international applicability, Hofstede (1980) reports the development of a “motivational map of the world” that does not support the idea of a universal order of needs. Jelavik and Ogilvie (2010) specifically question Maslow’s global generalizability while

Redding (1980) also addresses the applicability of Western-derived theories that focus on the individual (through the esteem and self-actualization concepts) to non-Western cultures in which the focus is on affiliation and relationships.

Thus, organizational strategies will have different effects in different countries. These differences may not only affect the initial attraction but also affect an individual's turnover intentions. Organizations must be sensitive to the real needs of potential applicants and attempt to monitor them continually in order to attract and eventually maintain lower turnover rates. Thus, in order to test Maslow's applicability to another culture and level of workers, no lists or surveys were given like in previous studies, but actual interviews were conducted with lower-level maquiladora workers in Mexico. With the upcoming plans to increase auto manufacturing plants in Mexico (Black, 2010), understanding workers' needs is more critical than ever.

Data Collection and Sample

The data collection instrument in this study was one-on-one semi-structured interviews with 75 lower-level maquiladora workers. The interviews were conducted in Spanish and tape-recorded. Since qualitative studies investigating lower-level workers were limited (Sargent & Matthews, 1997; Kenney, Goe, Contreras, Romero & Bustos, 1998), the questions developed are based on relevant literature and similar studies. The open-ended interview questions used in the study are in Appendix A (English version) and Appendix B (Spanish version). The maquiladora plants selected were a convenience sample of five. The seventy-five workers (15 workers from each plant) were selected by a systematic random method from the five maquiladoras. A systematic sampling plan was followed in order to randomly select fifteen workers from each of the five plants resulting in a total of seventy-five interviewed workers. A modification of the sample process was made using purposive sampling in order to obtain gender diversity to best reflect the actual lower-level workers' workforce gender ratio. The sampling frame consisted of a list of lower-level workers obtained from the plant or HR manager one week prior to interviews were conducted; and sample members were identified by selecting every *k*th person in the sampling frame. When a "selected" employee was absent, the next name on the list was selected. As a result, 46 females and 29 men were identified as study participants. Interviews were translated and transcribed by the researcher. A back-translator was also used to ensure the accuracy of the translations.

Results

In doing a qualitative study it is important to find the “meaning” of these findings derived from our data through theoretical comparisons (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Considering that no formal hypotheses were given, a general discussion of the findings coupled with the theory in question will be discussed.

Physiological Needs

Maslow describes physiological needs as “homeostasis” such as hunger and thirst. He does not go into a “laundry list” of what entails physiological needs, but he does mention “these needs are the most preponent of all needs” (pp. 37). With respect to our particular sample, they are indeed “preponent.” Based on the interviews, the worker’s basic needs include monetary-type inducements (i.e. pay, benefits, bonuses, overtime) as well as transportation, job availability, health and cafeterias.

Regardless of which maquiladora I was in, the interviews were encompassed with the pleas of how basic needs were not being met and the workers’ desire for the plant management to focus on these particular insufficiencies. A female worker commented on the situation, “I don’t think I am ever going to make enough.” In U.S. literature, this demand would be considered “ground-breaking” since basic necessities are considered “adequately satisfied” (Porter, 1961, pp. 1). Even so, in maquiladora literature, pay was not seen as a retention method (Miller, Hom & Gomez-Mejia, 2001). This is contradicting the interviewed workers’ comments that repeatedly stated that low pay (a lack of a basic necessity) was the driving force to leave a particular maquiladora and that a higher pay was an attraction to go to another plant. A female worker stated, “This friend (in the plant) told me that we should go to the other plant that paid more money and so we went. I had to go to the plant that paid the most.” An increase in monetary-related inducements like pay, bonuses, and overtime were continuously mentioned as “needed” for survival and for thoughts of leaving not to surface. Additional comments focused on the workers’ pressures to not have their pay reduced, for instance, a male worker mentions the following, “I don’t want to be late, or absent or do anything that will decrease my pay. I really need the money.”

Safety Needs

Maslow (1970, pp. 39) mentions safety needs as “security; stability; dependency; protection; freedom from fear, from anxiety and chaos;

need for structure, order, law, limits; and strength in the protector.” To a certain extent, some of these elements may be characterized under the need for patronage (i.e. dependency, protection, and strength in the supervisor). One can make the comparison between those specific factors and the supervisor’s obligation and dutiful responsibilities to the workers that are apparent with this particular sample.

Belongingness and Love Needs

Considering all the inducement categories that involve a familial or affiliation aspect (co-workers, family, social events, and networks), there is no doubt that this particular need is very important to the worker. Earlier sections have brought to terms the collective nature of Mexicans and this particular characteristic is carried into the workplace. Workers enjoy a good time in the workplace and enjoy being with their co-workers “outside” of work like during breakfast, lunch and afternoon breaks. Due to the long hours of work involved in a maquiladora, this time given to interact with each other is the only time they have to relax with their friends. After-work social activities are virtually none, especially for the women with the added responsibilities of child-care and home maintenance.

However for the men, a new trend is surfacing due to the demands of work endured by both the husband and the wife. For many working couples, child-rearing responsibilities have to be shared equally. They rely on working in different shifts (preferably in the same plant, since shift hours differ among plants) in order to take turns caring for their children without the expense of child-care. As a result, the need for “adult” conversation and social activities during working hours is necessary.

Esteem Need

Maslow (1970, pp. 45) claimed “all people in our society have a need for a stable, firmly based, usually high evaluation of themselves for self-respect, or self-esteem, and for the esteem of others.” This need includes the desire for recognition, attention, importance, status, and appreciation. If this need is not met, feelings of helplessness and failure develop (Maslow, 1970).

These feelings of helplessness and failure were unfortunately present while speaking to the workers. The sentiments of “failure” and “lost opportunities” filled the majority of the conversations. Many of the male workers desired opportunities to perform other more challenging jobs; specifically for the recognition they felt they deserved for their

continuous high levels of work performance and seniority. For many workers, several years had gone by without an indication of how they were doing or even an opportunity to do something else. For instance, a female worker stated the following, "There are people here that have been here for 5–6 years and they are in the same position." More importantly, for these workers who are members of a very low socio-economic class in Mexico, their desire for recognition or promotion was based mainly on the monetary increases that go along with these inducements. A male worker commented the following, "The weekly pay we get is barely enough for the necessities, so we depend on the over-time to buy other things." One could argue that for these workers recognition and promotion are just a means to fulfil lower level physiological needs. The following comment expressed by a male worker sums it up, "This (monetary bonuses) also motivates us to work harder. We know that if we work harder and make more production, we can receive more money."

Self-actualization Need

According to Maslow (1970, pp. 46), self-actualization refers to a "man's desire for self-fulfillment, namely to the tendency for him to become actualized in what he is potentially." While the need to self-actualize was not expressively clear throughout the interviews, there was a clear indication that a need to learn and develop was present. The idea of improving oneself was apparent in many of the interviews. To become "self-actualized" is for the individual to perform at high levels in what the person is "fitted" for and to be content (Maslow, 1970). Unfortunately, for many lower level maquiladora workers, they are not contented with what they are doing. This is clear due to the high negative responses in the "Job" inducement category. For the majority of the maquiladora workers this level may never be reached due to their discontent of the job and not having a choice in the job they are performing. Relating to this theme, a woman worker stated the following comment, "Many don't like it here, but where else are we going to work?"

Summary of Maslow's Hierarchy

While Maslow never claimed his theory to generalize all cultures, he did have confidence in that his proposed needs would be similar. Thus, it is clear that one could fit Maslow's needs to "coincide" with the needs evident in the workers' interviews. But what is important to emphasize is that unlike US –based samples who seek upper-level

satisfaction like esteem and self-actualization needs (Kovach 1987; Slocum et al.,1971; Wanous & Zwany, 1977) this particular sample seeks lower-level physiological needs. Thus, for this theory to be useful to lower-level workers, lower-level needs must be emphasized. The needs expressed by the workers were overwhelmingly concentrated on basic necessities. A worker commented, "The thing is that in Mexico it is just for the food. You earn just to get by, just for food." Another worker stated a similar conclusion, "I have a responsibility to myself, I need to work in order to eat." As mentioned earlier, this particular need is usually "forgotten" or assumed met by organizational leaders.

While an attempt was made to try to apply a current needs theory to this particular sample, it was unsuccessful. It is clear that these theories are not totally applicable to this sample and should not be applied. Any prescription for attempting to satisfy the needs of the lower-level maquiladora workers should adhere specifically to the specific worker's characteristics (Hulin & Triandis, 1981).

The Discovery of Maquiladora Workers' Needs

In conducting this qualitative study, the underlying needs of the lower-level maquiladora workers were uncovered. By way of the interviews and transcripts, an attempt was made through the mode of discovery in determining the maquiladora workers' needs. The needs developed are "Need for Basic Necessities," "Need for Patronage," "Need for Relationships," "Need for Stability/Order," and "Need for Development." These needs will be discussed in the following sections.

Need for Basic Necessities

This need was developed due to the obviously low standards of living experienced by all lower-level maquiladora workers. Their claims and pleas for the inability to make ends meet was unmistakably clear throughout the interviews. For instance, a woman stated her need for additional money, "Everything I make goes to pay the (children's) school and the day care also. I will not have any money left after making those expenses." Another worker stated, "Well, the workers need money, it really is not enough to live." But what are "basic necessities" for the maquila worker?

Based on the interviews, basic needs are anything related to money (pay, bonuses, overtime, and benefits), health (health, medical facilities, and plant conditions), job (transportation, job availability,

and security), and food (cafeteria). A male worker stated his frustration in providing for his family, "Pay has not changed much in nine years." Another worker stated her lack of providing the basic necessities for her family, "What they pay us is not enough."

Need for Patronage

The "need for patronage" or sponsorship was clearly detrimental in predicting the likeliness for a worker to remain in the plant. Confidently one can state that "need for patronage (sponsorship)" is extremely high and very important for lower level workers in the workplace. A male worker made the following comment, "Supervisors and managers need to keep their eyes open to what is going on with the workers."

For the maquiladora workers, the supervisor is expected to provide for them and look after them like a "father-figure." A worker mentioned his thoughts on supervisors, "I think if it is going to affect us, they (supervisors) need to tell us. Even if they think it may not affect us, they need to let us know." The more assistance, respect, and attention they receive from their immediate "leader," the more the workers' trust and admiration strengthens towards him. A worker mentioned the following advice to supervisors, "Getting to know the worker better makes the worker trust you and want to work for you." A male worker mentioned what he would do with his workers if he were a supervisor, "I would listen to them and take what they say into consideration. I would trust them in what they say and I would try to work with them as much as possible."

Need for Relationships

The importance of this need to the workers is highly significant according to the interviews. For many of the maquiladora workers, relationships and camaraderie amongst each other is of major importance. For especially the female workers, the friendships gained with their co-workers are most essential to their job satisfaction. A female worker stated her motivation to come to work, "I'm already getting used to the job and especially my friends. That's what makes me get up early and come to work." Co-workers have influence in making the workplace a good or bad place to work in. A female worker stated, "We work many hours together, so we cherish our friendship for the sake of our job." Another worker mentioned, "I like my work, but the relationship I have with my co-workers is very important to the job and if they don't respect me I don't need to be

here." Having social events like Halloween and anniversary parties, and providing soccer teams are events that the workers look forward to participate in.

Need for Order (Stability)

Lower-level workers certainly place importance on stability and order in the workplace. Throughout the interviews, workers consistently frown on uncertainty of rewards and changes in their work environment.

In the interview conversations, anxiety and nervousness were clearly indicated based on changes in policies, layoffs, or merely uncertainty of receiving rewards. A worker stated her feelings about the uncertainty of layoffs, "We did not know anything about the layoffs, and who was next." A worker expressed her thoughts, "They tell us to be patient and that there will be changes. What changes will occur? They haven't told us anything, so many grow impatient and leave. They should give us a time frame, so we know."

Need for Development

The last dimension extracted from the interviews is "need for development." One can safely state that lower-level workers want to improve their lives through being promoted, being moved to new and different positions, and being involved classes inside or outside of the plant. A male worker expressed his desire to move to a higher position, "Well, I do like it here and I do plan on staying here. There is going to be opportunities for better positions with more pay later. So I want to "*superar*", move up to a higher post. I know that I can do it." This was for the sake of learning new and different tasks and ultimately being rewarded financially (we are back to basic necessities). A male worker stated, "I would like an opportunity to move up. I don't want to stay in the same level." A female worker stated, "I want to improve myself, for my family and their well-being." This desire to improve their proficiency and knowledge was clear in the majority of the interviews. A male worker stated the following, "For the '*confianza*' people, they do pay all the school costs. And that's my goal. I want to move up to a '*confianza*' position so that they will pay all my school costs in order to learn English."

While some, especially women, seemed satisfied in their present situation, they expressed their desire to gain from their experiences in the maquiladora. A female worker stated, "I like to be moved to

different jobs, that way I can learn new things." A female worker thought about the possibility of moving to a higher position upon receiving more education, "With more education and the years I have here, I think that I would take a higher position. I know that my supervisor values the work I do."

Summary and Conclusion

The dimension of the needs of lower-level workers extracted by way of the interviews is as follows in order of importance.

Need for Basic Necessities

Need for Order/Stability

Need for Patronage

Need for Development/Improvement

Need for Relationships

Only one need, Need for Relationships, is exactly the same as the "belonging and love needs" as stated by Maslow (1970). While the others may show "some" similarities (i.e. safety needs has qualities as "need for patronage"), the bottom line is that the needs dimensions extracted from the interviews and categories are distinctive and unique to this particular sample.

Based on the consistent remarks referring to basic needs, this particular need is of the highest importance to the workers and based on the findings, these needs are not being met by the maquiladoras. This finding contradicts a previous statement, "organizations have done a better job of satisfying the basic needs of their workers" (Kovach, 1987, pp. 59).

Many studies, unfortunately, have not tested an organization's attempt to satisfy "physiological needs." For instance, Porter (1961, pp. 1) did not include any questions relating to "the most preponent needs, physiological needs" in his study due to those particular needs being "so adequately satisfied". Thus, how does one imply that basic needs like physiological needs are satisfied if the questionnaires/survey surrounding the studies are not addressing these particular needs? In this study it was evident, based on the interviews, that basic needs were not being met by the maquiladoras.

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Appendix A

Interview Questions (English version)

Demographics

Gender
 Age
 Marital status
 Children or dependents
 Education

Previous Employment

1. How many jobs and types of jobs have you had including this one?
2. Is this your first maquiladora job? If not, how many have you worked in?
3. What was your previous job? How long was your stay?
4. What did you like about your previous job?
5. What did you dislike about your previous job?
6. Why did you leave?

Current Employment

7. Why did you want to work in a maquiladora?
8. How long have you worked in this maquiladora?

9. How did you hear about this job?
10. Why did you want to work at this particular maquiladora?
11. What did you find attractive about this particular maquiladora?
12. Tell me some things you like about your job.
13. Tell me some things you do not like about your job.
14. If you could change something about your job, what would it be?
15. Do you have relatives/friends working in this firm?
16. Why do you think they work here?
17. Have you had friends/relatives that have left this maquila?
18. If yes, why did they leave?
19. Do you have relatives/friends working in other maquiladoras?
20. Why do you think they work there?
21. What are some good things that they have mentioned about their jobs?
22. What are some bad things that they have mentioned about their jobs?
23. Do you have relatives/friends working in other types of jobs instead of maquiladoras?
24. What are some good things that they have mentioned about their (non-maquila) jobs?
25. What are some bad things that they have mentioned about their (non-maquila) jobs?

Organization

26. What are some things that you like about the maquila you work at?
27. What are some things that you do not like about the maquila you work at?
28. If you could make changes, what would they be?
29. Regarding friends or relatives that have left the maquila, what could the organization have done to keep them from leaving?

Future

30. How likely is it that you will stay in this maquila?
31. Where do you see yourself in three years?
32. What would you like to learn?
33. What would your friends in the maquila like to learn?
34. What position would you like to have?
35. What position would your friends like to have?

Appendix B
Interview Questions (Spanish version)

Características Generales

Genero
Edad
Estado Civil
Ninos o dependientes?
Nivel de educacion

El Empleo Previo

1. ¿Cuántos y que tipo de empleos tuvo en el pasado?
2. ¿Es su primer trabajo con una maquiladora? (¿Si no, cuántos?)
3. ¿Qué era su ultimo trabajo? ¿Cuánto tiempo estuvo en su ultimo trabajo?
4. ¿Qué apreció usted acerca de su ultimo trabajo?
5. ¿Qué no apreció usted acerca de su ultimo trabajo?
6. ¿Por qué se salió?

El Empleo

7. ¿Por qué quiso usted trabajar en una maquiladora?
8. ¿Cuánto tiempo tiene trabajando en esta maquiladora?
9. ¿Cómo oyó usted acerca de este trabajo?
10. ¿Por qué quiso usted trabajar en esta maquiladora particular?
11. ¿Qué encontró usted atractivo acerca de este maquiladora particular?
12. Dígame diez cosas que le gusta acerca de su trabajo.
13. Dígame diez cosas que no le gusta acerca de su trabajo.
14. ¿Si podría cambiar usted algo acerca de su trabajo, qué sería?
15. ¿Tiene usted parientes/amigos que trabajan en esta maquiladora?
16. ¿Por qué piensa usted que ellos trabajan aquí?
17. ¿Ha tenido usted amigos/parientes que han dejado este maquila?
18. ¿Si sí, por qué se salieron?
19. ¿Tiene usted parientes/amigos que trabajan en otras maquiladoras?
20. ¿Por qué piensa usted que ellos trabajan allí?
21. ¿Qué son algunas cosas buenas que ellos han mencionado acerca de sus trabajos?
22. ¿Qué son algunas cosas malas que ellos han mencionado acerca de sus trabajos?

23. ¿Tiene usted parientes/amigos que trabajan en otros tipos de trabajos en lugar que maquiladoras?
24. ¿Qué es algunas cosas buenas que ellos han mencionado acerca de sus trabajos?
25. ¿Qué es algunas cosas malas que ellos han mencionado acerca de sus trabajos?

La Organización

26. ¿Qué son algunas cosas que usted aprecia acerca de la maquila en la que usted trabaja?
27. ¿Qué son algunas cosas que usted no aprecia acerca de la maquila en la que usted trabaja?
28. ¿Si podría hacer usted cambios, qué serían?
29. ¿Con respecto a los amigos o parientes que han dejado esta maquila, qué podrían haber hecho los directores para mantenerlos como empleados?

Futuro

30. ¿Que probable es que usted permanecerá en esta maquila? (¿Qué es la probabilidad que usted permanecerá con la organización?)
31. ¿Dónde se ve usted en tres años?
32. Que te gustaria aprender?
33. Amigos en esta maquila: que les gustaria aprender?
34. Qual posicion te gustaria tener?
35. Amigos en esta maquila: Qual posicion les gustaria tener?