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FUNCTION AND MEANING OF WORK AND THE JOB:
A REPLICATION AND EXTENSION

By

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B.A. University of Montana, 1967

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Master of Arts

University of Montana

1977

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Function and Meaning of Work and the Job: A Replication and Extension (88 pp.)

Director: William H. McBroom *W.H.M.*

This study has two parts. For both, secondary analysis of the N.O.R.C. 1973 General Social Survey was employed. The first was a replication of a 1955 study of work orientation among full-time working men. Replication was undertaken to determine if changes are occurring in willingness to work.

The second phase was an extension designed to determine if work orientation differences existed among various segments of the working population. In the extension, female employees and non-full-time working statuses were also included.

The replication section of the study showed no statistically significant differences existed for the full-time working men in the two national samples. However, there were changes in work enthusiasm among young workers (ages 21-34) who reported decreased interest, and employees nearing retirement age (55-64) who indicated increased interest in continuing employment. There was an inverse relationship between respondent's age and work orientation. In addition, different patterns of work orientation were found between middle and working class male workers.

Extension indicated statistically significant differences in work orientation existed between male and female employees. Men and women reported differing responses that were influenced by work status, dependent children, and financial satisfaction. Highest work orientation was found among full-time working males and part-time female workers. The presence of dependent children was found to increase both male and female willingness to continue employment, but the influence was much stronger for men. One major difference was found for the influence of financial dissatisfaction on willingness to continue working. Full-time working men express willingness to continue although financially dissatisfied; however, full-time working women reported much greater willingness to accept a financially satisfying alternative.

This study left several unanswered questions. The apparent lack of influence of financial dissatisfaction on working men should be further considered. Also, the apparent increase in willingness to continue employment reported by middle class men approaching retirement is interesting in view of Disengagement Theory. A third question involves the reasons part-time employed women report higher work orientation than full-time working women.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

In industrial society, motivation to work is not easily explained by citing individual survival needs or the instrumental functions of money. The importance of individual and cultural values within this topic was early noticed by Max Weber (1958) in his examination of religious belief systems during the early period of industrial development. Weber indicated that religious motives could have a correspondence to an individual's reasons for participation in business and industry. This particular combination of factors may have been coincidental, but it showed that, at least for the Calvinists of that time, work meant more than physical survival.

Today's worker faces two major differences in circumstances compared to pre-industrial employment (Hall, 1969:10-11). The first is the separation of work from the remainder of the individual's life. This is thought to occur because life in mass society is segmental, and, to a high degree, work is isolated from all other activities. The second is the definitional distinction of work from leisure. These differences occur, in part, because work activities are centralized and the worker leaves his home to go to work.

The United States has entered a post-industrial economic period (Galbraith, 1967; Bell, 1976:14). Industry and business

organizations are hiring a higher percentage of geographically mobile, college or professionally educated, and occupationally flexible employees to meet labor requirements. Demographic characteristics of the working population also reflect increased representation, but by no means parity, of women and minorities in positions of high pay and responsibility.

The national labor pool is adapting and adjusting to meet changing occupational demands and there is no demonstrated reluctance to accept conventional work values. Studies consistently provide evidence of positive responses toward the general idea of work. Willingness to work was expressed by chronically unemployed (Kaplan and Tausky, 1972:469-483), former mental patients and other disadvantaged groups (Nagi, et al., 1972:21-34), blue collar workers (Tausky, 1969:49-55; Friedman and Havighurst, 1954), and white collar workers (Jakubowski, 1968). Although the Protestant Ethic is not the master motive or central life issue in contemporary society (Dubin, 1956: 131-421), people do, in fact, want to work.

According to one theory, a general acceptance of work is the result of a socialization process supportive of positive work attitudes. An example of this position can be noted in this opening statement to a Senate Subcommittee hearing: ". . . ours is a work-oriented society in which the individual derives his status and meaning from the position he holds, the kind of work he does, and the amount of money he earns (Mondale, 1967:2). There are numerous theoretical positions that suggest one's self-definition

stems from important roles, or is linked importantly to major life roles. Because we have clear evidence that roles change, it is reasonable to expect that self-definitions may concomitantly change.

During one's lifetime, an individual may have many work roles. The influence of work on self-definitions may result in a concurrent relationship between work roles and work definitions. One framework suggests individuals pass through five phases in their working life: the preparatory, initial, trial, stable, and retirement periods (Miller and Form, 1964:541-545). These phases are accompanied by differing status and meaning because of changing experience, age, and occupational development. The preparatory and initial phases are recognized as temporary and include part-time and summer employment. While these activities may help develop work habits, they are not considered an occupation by either the individual or his society. The trial and stable periods of a working life are performed by adult members of the society, yield directly or indirectly social and financial consequences, and are a major focus in the life of the adult (Hall, 1969:6). These are the two phases that constitute an individual's working role or identity.

The final phase, retirement, necessitates a complete reversal of individual expectations. Where prior working life decisions had been based upon maintaining or improving occupational status, at retirement the individual finds he must reconcile prior positive work orientation and a work-centered life pattern with the new status of non-worker.

Disengagement Theory

One theory which examines the retirement aspect of working life and the effects of changing societal expectations is called Disengagement Theory. It views the separation of the older individual from his prior routinized activities as a motivated withdrawal (Cumming and Henry, 1961). The individual and his society are assumed to be affecting a mutual withdrawal. For the individual this includes a reduction in both commitment to old roles and willingness to learn new ones. The society, for its part, withholds opportunities and pursues other discriminatory policies based upon age.

The work of others has questioned the extent to which the process of disengagement, or at least its timing, is determined by organic or personality variables as opposed to determination by opportunities, limitations, and pressures from the social context (Duncan, 1967:20). Cumming and Henry emphasized some combination of organic and personality characteristics of the individual in explaining the disengagement process, but other findings (Carp, 1967: 51), suggest the withdrawal process can be significantly modified by providing the individual a physically and socially adequate environment. The significance of external influences is suggested by using only social structure factors (Kutner, 1962:5-8; Rose, 1964: 46-50). Social pressures can possibly accelerate withdrawal from old roles although the individual has not lost requisite skills or capacities.

For the retired, disengagement processes require rejection of the working identity. Although studies have shown the importance of work as a source of identity and status (Miller, 1965:78; Maddox, 1966:117-136), attempts to associate work attitude with that of retirement produce little or no relationship among middle class workers. The influence of work orientation upon retirement attitude is largely restricted to high-status workers (Simpson, et al., 1966: 89). Generalization from attempts to relate high positive work orientation to retirement resistance may also be limited because there is so much internal variation for these topics that correlation between them is difficult to assess (Atchley, 1971:29-32).

One factor has been identified which influences retirement decisions. Katona and Morgan (1967:587-598) report that money seems to be the primary consideration in retirement decisions and individuals will retire early when assured an adequate income. Money also influences retirement decisions for the poor. Although retirement before age sixty-five is typically accompanied by reduced benefits, it is often chosen by those least able to afford the loss of future income (Carp, 1967:38). The consideration that resistance is actually a realistic fear of problems and poverty attendant upon retirement status (Glamser, 1976:105-107) perhaps indicates why a direct relationship was found by Katona and Morgan (1967:461) between assets and favorable retirement attitude for individuals from ages sixty through seventy-five. Also, a positive pre-retirement attitude and an accurate preconception of retirement are predictive of a favorable

retirement experience (Thompson, 1958:35-45). The availability of enough money eliminates concerns for work. "For people with enough money, the theories which link unhappiness in retirement to the need to work appear ludicrous" (Atchley, 1972:169).

In our industrial society self-definitions come from important life-roles, and occupation provides one of these roles. There is evidence that most people want to work, but as work circumstances change there can be concomitant alteration of work orientation. At retirement age the individual's concerns are financial and willingness to retire is an economic decision, unless the person has a high status job. How far can this money-based decision be generalized to groups other than those of retirement age, and what influence do variables such as occupation, sex, and age have upon the decision to work?

Morse and Weiss' Study (1955)

More than twenty years ago, Nancy C. Morse and Robert S. Weiss were concerned that workers in an increasingly complex and industrialized society would begin to view work as only a means of earning a living. They recognized that financial considerations were very important in an individual's decision to work, but questioned the logical extension that income provided the only reason. To examine the meaning of work, they wanted to know if men who were full-time employed would choose to continue working when given a financially secure alternative and, if they did, their reasons for this choice.

To examine these questions, responses of 401 working men selected in a national random sample were analyzed. The question:

If by some chance you inherited enough money to live comfortably without working, do you think that you would work or not?

was selected because it minimized economic concerns for the respondent.

Individuals responding affirmatively to this first question were asked the reasons for their preference, and the responses were separated into two categories: (1) positive reasons, which mentioned some positive component of work; and (2) negative factors, that named some negative consequence from not working. These men, who preferred to remain employed, were also asked what they would miss most if they discontinued working.

Respondents were grouped by age, and the relationship between desire to work and age cohort was examined. In addition, general enthusiasm for work was analyzed for occupational differences. Current job satisfaction, as indicated by willingness to remain at the same job, was also compared with the pro-work response.

For all occupations, the fact that men wanted to remain employed more than they wanted to continue their current employment implied that it is not a particular job, but working itself which is important. In response to the question of what they expected to miss most after quitting, 31 percent of the men who preferred to continue felt they would lose social contact with people known through or from work.

Morse and Weiss separated their male respondents into several age groups to determine any relationship between age and enthusiasm for continuing work. Responses from the groups indicated the youngest individuals (ages twenty-one through thirty-four) presented the highest rate of willingness to work. This group gave 90 percent affirmative answers. At each older age group, the rates of positive work orientation declined until reaching the lowest response level of 61 percent for males aged fifty-five through sixty-four. For individuals older than age sixty-four, however, this trend was reversed. Eighty-two percent of working men sixty-five years old and above favored continuing employment. In their study, the authors suggested the nearer the individual is to retirement age, the more likely he will not work except for economic reasons (1955:193). They also stated that the reversal of this trend at age sixty-five should be discounted because their sample contained only employed men and individuals over age sixty-five frequently have an option to continue or discontinue work.

The general interpretation of the findings provided by Morse and Weiss indicates that work provides more than a means of earning a living for a majority of working men, regardless of occupation.

Chapter 2

DATA AND METHOD

Changes in a population's attitude over time can be examined in at least two ways. One approach is to complete an initial survey and, at some later date, re-examine surviving members of the original group for the purpose of noting change. This is a true longitudinal design when used with a minimum of two observations of the respondents. A second method involves comparison of responses from a second, highly similar, group with the earlier opinions solicited from the initial survey. This is a quasi-longitudinal design or cohort study.

In the present situation, male worker orientation cannot be examined through re-interviewing original respondents. Morse and Weiss' data came from a survey conducted by the Survey Research Center in September, 1953. This national sample would, even if logistically possible, be extremely difficult to locate and re-interview. But, because this information came from a carefully designed national sample, it is not necessary to find the same people. By using a quasi-longitudinal research design, replication can be accomplished through use of a different national sample for which data was collected twenty years later than the Morse and Weiss information.

The critical question for Morse and Weiss' study concerned willingness to continue working when a hypothetical non-work alternative was provided. The question:

If by some chance you inherited enough money to live comfortably without working, do you think that you would work anyway or not?

determined the respondent's pro-work orientation and served as a basis for further discussion.

The research questions raised by Morse and Weiss' study require two different sets of data be available for analysis. The first set is provided by the findings of the original study (as reported in their 1955 publication). The second is a contemporary survey containing a similar work/non-work question. With these two data sets the study can pursue secondary analysis by using contemporary responses to compare with the original findings.

The contemporary data to be used in this study comes from the National Opinion Research Center's General Social Survey for July, 1973, which contains a nationally selected sample of 1,504 non-institutionalized individuals aged eighteen to older than eighty-nine. The survey contains approximately 220 variables, with many directly soliciting work orientation and work satisfaction responses. Within the N.O.R.C. General Social Survey is the question:

If you were to get enough money to live as comfortably as you would like for the rest of your life, would you continue to work or would you stop working?

This is highly comparable with the original Morse and Weiss question as both provide an economically secure hypothetical alternative while assessing willingness to continue working.

Morse and Weiss asked their questions only of full-time working makes at least twenty-one years old. For purposes of

replication, the N.O.R.C. data were adjusted to closely approximate original sample characteristics prior to analysis.

Adjustment of N.O.R.C. Data

For purposes of replication, the N.O.R.C. sample was restricted to include only full-time employed, working males at least twenty-one years old. The "full-time" employment status is provided by the interviewee's response to the question:

Last week were you working full-time, part-time, going to school, keeping house, or what? (Codebook for the Spring 1973 General Social Survey, July, 1973:18.)

This allows the identification of a sample of male workers working thirty to fifty hours per week.¹

Morse and Weiss separated their original sample into three occupational categories. These were:

1. Middle class: Professional, managers, and sales.
2. Working class: Trades, operatives, unskilled, service.
3. Farmers: Farmers.

They did not include clerical workers, self-employed managers, or government employees in their analysis.

¹This definition of working status leaves the determination of "full-time" to the respondents as there is no minimum hours requirement for a working period. However, examination of the 477 male respondents' answers showed that responses closely matched a forty-hour week. Only six individuals felt working fewer than thirty hours qualified them for full-time employment while 76.3 percent of the males who considered themselves full-time employees worked forty or more hours per week. In addition, of the 404 men who considered themselves "full-time" workers, only 1.3 percent worked between thirty to thirty-four hours and 6.6 percent worked thirty-five to thirty-nine hours.

The 1973 survey, from the National Opinion Research Center, separated its working individuals into conventional census occupational groups. While these are not identical with the 1955 study, they can be adjusted to allow comparison. Because of original category selection, clerical employees are not included in any phase of replication analysis within the present study. Table 1 shows the combinations of N.O.R.C. categories which were used to match the original Morse and Weiss employee groups.

TABLE 1
CENSUS OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS INCLUDED IN N.O.R.C. REPLICATION

Morse and Weiss Occupational Category	National Opinion Research Center Census Occupational Categories
Middle class	Professional, technical, and kindred. Managers and administrators (except farm), sales workers.
Working class	Craftsmen and kindred workers. Operatives, except transport. Transport equipment operatives; laborers (except farm). Service workers (including private household).
Farmers	Farmers, farm managers, farm laborers, and farm foremen.

The categories used to replicate the original sample are consistent with the rationale provided to support the initial division

into middle class, working class, and farmers (Morse and Weiss, 1955: 194). The original authors did not include government employees,² however, these have not been excluded from the N.O.R.C. sample because of the inability to identify them.

One of the major adjustments necessary for any replication of the earlier analysis involves matching of the distribution of occupational categories of the N.O.R.C. data with that of the Morse and Weiss sample. This adjustment was necessary to prevent over or under-representation of any group in the replication.

Morse and Weiss did not note any significant occupational differences in work orientation except for unskilled employees (1955: 193); however, because this replication is concerned with determining changing attitudes, the minor patterns of occupational viewpoint which were not statistically significant within the single study may become important when viewed over a twenty-year period. For this reason, the occupational categories within the N.O.R.C. analysis must be matched as closely as possible to the representation percentages which appeared in the 1955 report. As this is a quasi-longitudinal analysis, the populations being compared must be as closely matched demographically as possible, and this includes occupational representation.

Adjustment of occupational category differences was accomplished through a weighting procedure (see Appendix A), which

²Morse and Weiss did not include self-employed managers, clerical and government service because these groups may contain both middle and working class jobs (1955:195).

modified the proportion of each category within the total occupational group of the N.O.R.C. sample until it nearly equaled those of the original Morse and Weiss study. As an example, the 1955 middle class group represented only about 22 percent of the total male worker sample. But in the N.O.R.C. report, middle class individuals composed about 42 percent. By introducing a weighting factor to reduce the overall influence of the 1973 working class group on the total sample, an adjusted N.O.R.C. working class percentage is obtained which is very close to the 1955 report. After similar adjustments are made for the working class and farming groups, the total N.O.R.C. occupational representation percentage approximates the sample collected twenty years previously and used by Morse and Weiss.

The differences in occupational categories before and after introduction of the weighting procedure are shown in Table 2.

The adjusted N.O.R.C. sample continues to contain 394 cases after modification because the individual weight factors within the occupational groups allowed adjustment of the group influence upon the total sample, to produce occupational category percentages similar to Morse and Weiss. This weighting could have been designed to produce the same number of respondents within the categories as found in the earlier study; however, the percentage approach was chosen because of additional weighting for sex and specific occupations performed later in the extension phase of this study (Chapters 4 and 5). By choosing this technique which provides a nearly constant number of total responses for the N.O.R.C. sample, regardless of internal adjustment,

substantial change could be introduced to meet the theoretical requirements while leaving intuitively comparable sample size.

TABLE 2
OCCUPATIONAL GROUP PERCENTAGES AS ADJUSTED FOR REPLICATION

	Morse and Weiss ^a	N.O.R.C. (unadjusted)	N.O.R.C. (adjusted)
Middle class	22.1% (72)	41.9% (165)	22.1% (87)
Working class	64.7 (211)	54.8 (216)	64.7 (255)
Farmer	13.2 (43)	3.3 (13)	13.2 (52)
Total (no. cases)	(326)	(394)	(394)

¹The number of cases for Table 1 is 326. This is much fewer than the 401 male full-time workers within the total sample. The reason for this discrepancy is that Morse and Weiss presented occupational category information (1955:196-197) only when reporting tables for specific variables. These tables reported only 326 cases after exclusion of self-employed managers, clerical, and government service workers.

The representation of the three occupational categories is changed, because of requirements for increased or decreased numbers within the total sample, but the overall N.O.R.C. sample size stays about the same. As an example, for this replication, which requires the N.O.R.C. sample be adjusted to match Morse and Weiss' 1953 occupational category percentages, middle class individuals are

reduced in apparent numbers to about 50 percent of their unadjusted total. This is accomplished by giving them a weight factor (.5274) which reduces their influence to only 22.1 percent of total respondents within the N.O.R.C. sample. However, in the case of farmers, the N.O.R.C. sample was much smaller than required so a substantial weight increase (3.9976) was given to expand their representation about 400 percent.

Although weighting seems to rebuild the original sample, it does not invent or destroy information. It changes the amount of weight each respondent contributes but retains all information obtained prior to adjustment.

The weighting procedure was applied to all working males within the N.O.R.C. sample who met the criteria established by Morse and Weiss. Prior to this action, the sample had been corrected to eliminate all clerical employees and all individuals younger than age twenty-one. This was necessary because they were not included in the original study.

The result of these several adjustments is a sample of full-time working men, aged twenty-one years and above, with nearly identical occupational group percentages to the 1955 report. By comparing this adjusted N.O.R.C. sample with the Morse and Weiss information, it is possible to examine responses collected twenty years apart and look for changes in work orientation among full-time working men.

Chapter 3

REPLICATION FINDINGS

One of the most interesting areas of analysis permitted by the use of longitudinal, or in this case quasi-longitudinal, research design is the search for evidence of changes in attitude over time. In this particular study, the comparisons possible between the adjusted N.O.R.C. sample and the Morse and Weiss report can be used to suggest changes in work orientation for male workers.

According to the 1955 report, full-time working men overwhelmingly expressed willingness to continue working in preference to the hypothetical alternative presented in the interview. This expression of pro-work orientation is consistent with the findings of various other studies and can be expected from any group in the industrial society. This same question was presented within the interview schedule used for the 1973 N.O.R.C. sample, and although there is no reason for expectation of major changes in attitude among working men, comparison of these two sets of responses from full-time working male respondents will show if there is significant difference.

The results of this initial comparison are presented in Table 3. Although orientation does not provide a statistically significant difference at the .05 confidence level as measured by a

two-sample t-test of proportions, it does show an apparent decline in willingness to continue working. The lack of statistically significant difference does not indicate there has not been any change in work orientation, but only that not enough difference exists between the two samples to provide significant findings at the .05 percent level.

TABLE 3
WORK ORIENTATION RESPONSES FOR MALE FULL-TIME WORKERS^a

Work Decision	1953		1973	
	N	%	N	%
Would continue working	314	79.9%	299	75.9%
Would not keep working	79	20.1	95	24.1
Total responding	393	100.0	394	100.0
Not ascertained	8		12	
Total sample	401		406	

^aThe information used in this comparison was obtained from a Morse and Weiss table (1955:192). The table included all male respondents to the work orientation question used as a dependent variable in this study except clerical employees and individuals younger than age twenty-one.

The difference of four percentage points in work orientation response suggests some change in the direction of lowered work orientation. To pursue this possibility, the next comparison looks at occupational group differences for full-time working men.

Table 4 presents the work orientation responses for major occupational categories within the working male population. These occupational groups are obtained from the original Morse and Weiss study, as was necessary for replication. The occupational findings published in the original report (1955:197) cannot be compared at any more discrete, or specific, occupational level than those presented because of overlap in worker definitions between the two studies. The census occupational codes favored by N.O.R.C. are not identical with those selected by the Morse and Weiss report.

TABLE 4
WORK ORIENTATION RESPONSES FOR MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

Category	1953		1973	
	N	%	N	%
Middle class	72	86%	87	81%
Working class	211	76	255	71
Farmers	43	86	52	92
Total (no. of cases)	(326)		(394)	

This information presented in Table 4 shows the components of the net change noted in Table 3. The apparent lowering of total full-time working male orientation was due to the influence of middle class and working class declines which, although they do represent a

preponderance in numbers, cannot be shown to represent all opinions. The farming occupations reversed this trend with a substantial increase of six points.

There is a five percentage point difference between the 1953 and 1973 work orientation responses for middle and working class males in the direction of reduced work orientation. Comparison of the categories with a two-sample t-test of proportions indicates this difference is not statistically significant at the .05 confidence level. However, the percentage differences for both middle and working class respondents, when compared with the percentages from twenty years earlier, seem to indicate work orientation has decreased. The increase in willingness to continue working for farmers is interesting because they are the least industrialized segment of the working population and their group is decreasing in actual population annually.

Further consideration of work orientation for these full-time working men involves examination of changes in willingness to continue working as they increase in age and experience.

Age and Male Work Orientation

The influence of the worker's age on his work orientation was summarized by Morse and Weiss (1955:193):

The relationship of age to desire to keep working suggests that the nearer the individual is to retirement age (65), the more likely that he will say that he would not work if he did not need to for economic reasons.

Within their report is a table which seems to clearly show an inverse relationship existing between the respondent's age and his expressed desire to continue working (1955:193).¹ The analysis executed by Morse and Weiss shows male workers entering the job market present indications of high positive work orientation, but this enthusiasm gradually declines with increasing age.² In their original study, Morse and Weiss indicated (1955:193):

The kind of job which the individual now has does not influence strongly his feelings that he would want to keep working at some job even if he inherited enough money to live comfortably without working.

They offered the opinion that increased age among male full-time workers would be accompanied by decreasing willingness to continue working, except for economic reasons. This relationship was not felt to be strongly affected by the individual's current occupation.

Replication findings, as shown in Table 4, suggest that this separation between work orientation attitude and occupation may not, in fact, transcend all occupational categories. The complete reversal of trend for farmers, when compared with middle and working class individuals, indicates some occupational differences exist. Morse and Weiss may be correct in their general assertions, but

¹This information is presented as the 1953 data used for comparison in Table 5.

²Morse and Weiss' analysis was based on male workers ages twenty-one years and older. Because many individuals enter the job market, particularly in working class occupations, at an earlier age, much information concerning younger workers is not included in their analysis.

examination of occupational differences for work orientation by age seems appropriate.

Reconsiderations of the relationship between age and work orientation begins with a replication of the original study. The comparison of 1953 and 1973 samples is presented in Table 5. Examination of these findings seems to indicate the work orientation pattern for male full-time employees has changed during the twenty-year interval and collection of samples for male full-time workers, as presented in Table 4, is shown to be inaccurate due to over-generalization. Although the negative concomitant change continues to occur for the 1973 sample as expected, or in a pattern suggested by the 1953 information, the pro-work orientation among male workers aged fifty-five through sixty-four is stronger than previously indicated. The overall response patterns for male workers in the 1973 sample have changed from twenty years earlier.

Figure 1 provides a graphic description of responses by age. It may be noted that the pattern for both samples continue to show declining pro-work enthusiasm as the men get older. But comparison of the two surveys suggests important differences. The 1973 pattern is flatter than its predecessor. This is the result of changes at both ends of the working career. The youngest age group (twenty-one through thirty-four) shows decreased willingness to continue working as compared with the same age cohort from twenty years previous. However, the individuals approaching retirement age (fifty-five through sixty-four) show increased willingness. An indication of

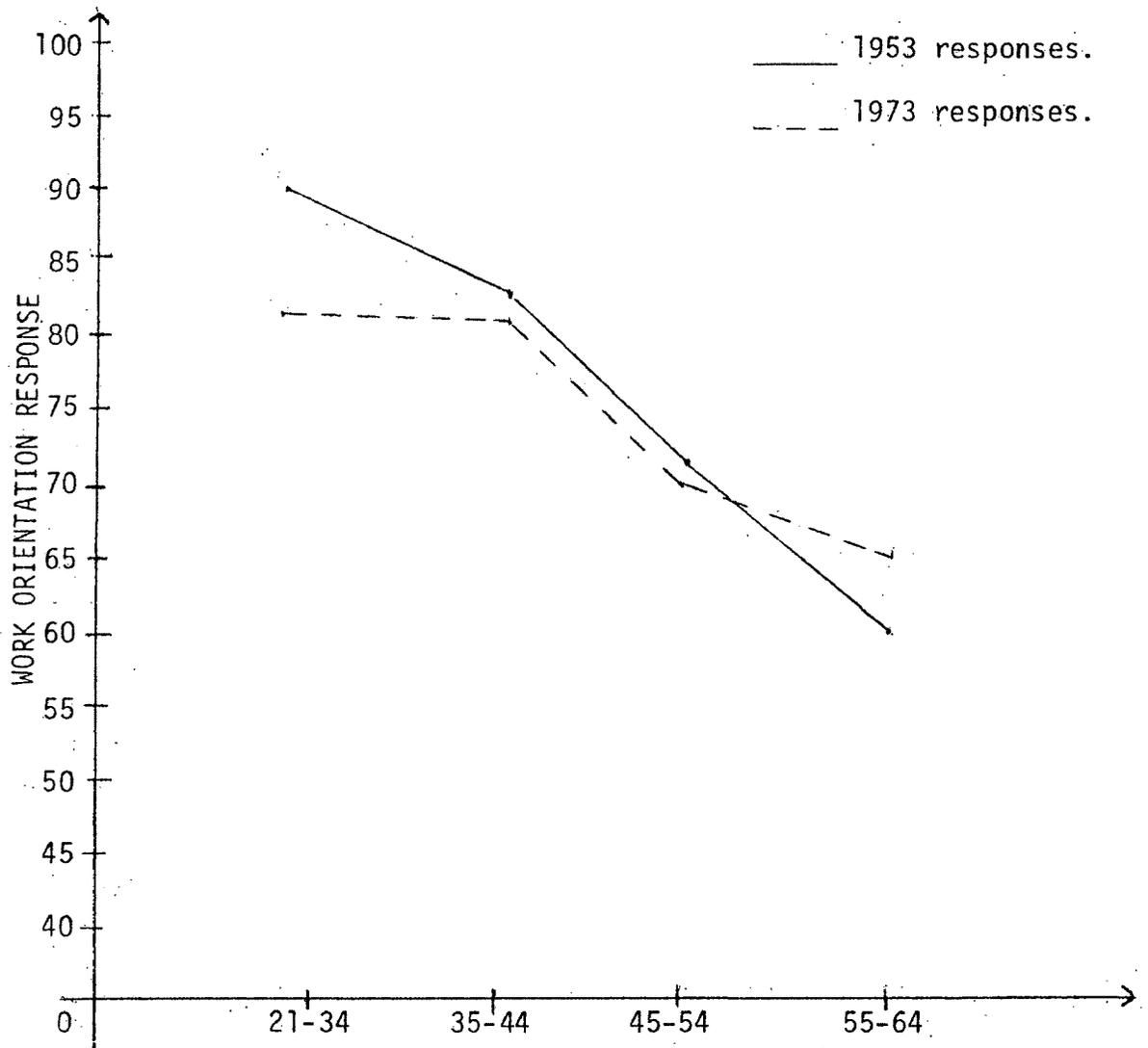
TABLE 5
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DESIRE TO CONTINUE WORKING AND RESPONDENT'S AGE^a

Age Category	Workers who want to continue. ^b					
	1953		1973		Difference 1953-1973	
	N	%	N	%		
21-34	106	90%	137	82%		-8%
35-44	123	83	103	81		-2
45-54	79	72	84	70		-2
55-64	46	61	63	65		+4
65 and over	38	82	[7]	[43%]		[-39%]
Total response	392		394			
Not ascertained	9		12			
Total sample	401		406			

^acases in brackets are based on fewer than 20 cases.

^bthe complement of 100 percent ("would not continue to work") is not shown for each cell.

FIGURE 1:
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DESIRE TO CONTINUE WORKING AND RESPONDENT'S AGE*



*For male full-time workers only (Morse and Weiss weighted sample).

the amount of difference can be shown by comparing the ranges of the two samples. The 1953 male work orientation percentages varied from 90 percent favoring continued work from the youngest workers to 61 percent positive responses from individuals approaching retirement. This gives a range of pro-work percentages of twenty-nine points. The 1973 sample varies from 82 percent positive for the youngest workers to 65 percent from the oldest. Their range of response percentages is seventeen points.

The difference in ranges of response for these two samples, collected twenty years apart, is twelve points. Because of previous demographic matching of the two samples, this response pattern difference suggests important changes in work orientation. Male workers are apparently entering the job market, as a group, with less enthusiasm in 1973 than did their counterparts in 1953. However, this initially lower level of pro-work response is followed by only a small change in work orientation during the first twenty-three years of employment. The persistence of pro-work orientation is indicated by a reduction of only 1 percent in work orientation (from 82 percent to 81 percent) for the 1973 sample, among workers aged twenty-one through forty-four. This small decline is very different from 1953 male full-time worker responses. During this same age period of twenty-three years the earlier group indicated decline work orientation of seven points (from 90 to 83 percent).

At the other end of their working lives, as the individuals approach retirement, another change in work orientation pattern seems

to have occurred. Although the 1953 sample shows a decline of 11 percent for male workers aged forty-five through sixty-four (from 72 to 61 percent), during this same age period the 1973 sample declined only five points (from 70 to 65 percent). The responses for the 1973 group indicate persistence in willingness to continue working as the individuals get older which was not as apparent twenty years previously.

Comparison of 1973 with 1953 responses seem to indicate contemporary workers enter the employment circumstance with more realistic expectations and their work orientation does not change very much during the first twenty years of employment. About 82 percent are willing to continue working regardless of hypothetical alternatives presented. From ages forty-five through fifty-four their rate of decline in work orientation parallels the earlier sample. However, ages fifty-five through sixty-four show much greater (four point difference) willingness to continue working, in this period preceding retirement age, than was indicated twenty years previously. The overall pattern shows a reduction in the range of percentage difference among the various age groups and indicates more uniformity of work orientation throughout the total span of working career.

Willingness to continue working beyond retirement age was felt to be extremely interesting because of the Disengagement Theory application. However, the N.O.R.C. sample did not ask the work orientation question, which is used as the dependent variable, (if you were to get enough money. . .") of retired workers, students, or

housewives. Because of this methodological decision, work orientation information from retired individuals with part-time work, part-time working students, and working women who identify themselves as housewives was not available for analysis.

Replication With Other Age Categories

A direct replication of the Morse and Weiss analysis, such as the one previously presented, matches original procedures as closely as possible. This provides information useful for longitudinal discussion of changing attitudes, but it can also lead to additional questions which extend beyond the available information and require adjustment of the analysis to approach the topic. Morse and Weiss presented their age categories as: twenty-one through thirty-four, thirty-five through forty-four, forty-five through fifty-four, fifty-five through sixty-four, and sixty-five and above. These were adequate for showing the existence of an overall inverse relationship between the worker's age and his work orientation, for male full-time workers, but the age groups selected lack sufficient precision to permit examination of changes which might occur within these large age spans. In addition, the original study was restricted to males ages twenty-one years and older. Limiting the replication phase of this study to these same criteria would discard information available within the N.O.R.C. sample from respondents younger than twenty-one. This would leave unanswered questions concerning work orientation among the youngest workers.

Analysis of the N.O.R.C. sample, which has been matched with Morse and Weiss' criteria, can be extended to include younger respondents. In addition, adjustment of the age groups selected allows examination of orientation changes which might not be apparent if the study used a wider range of ages in each grouping. Changing these features for additional analysis represents an extension beyond the Morse and Weiss study, as reported in their publication, but it does not initiate any procedures which could not have been completed with the original sample.

The relatively smooth or linear relationship which seemed to exist between age and work orientation during the analysis of the sample matched with Morse and Weiss' data (as presented in Figure 1) is representative of the total sample. For understanding of occupational differences among male employees, a modified sample must be studied.

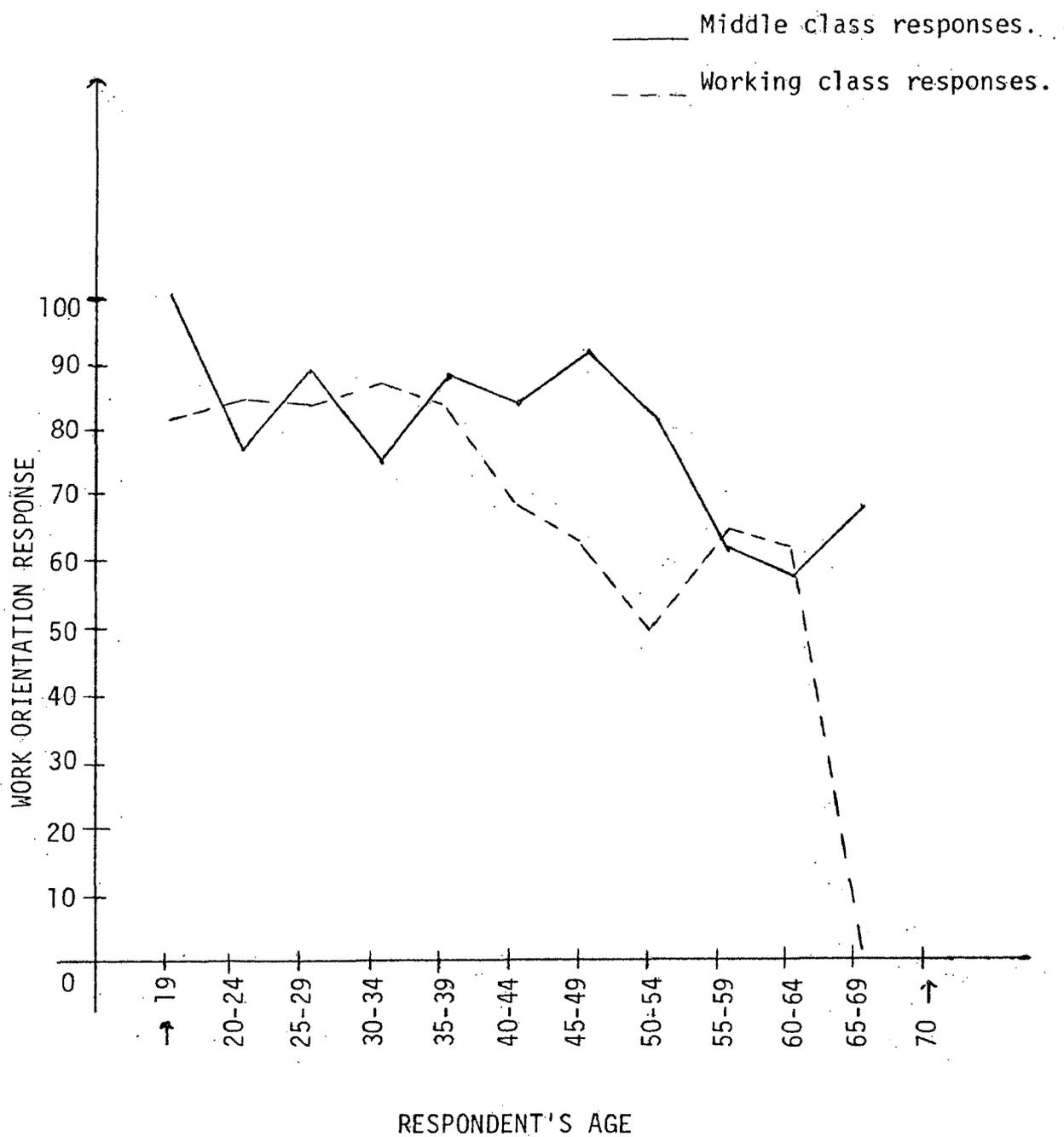
Consideration of occupational differences suggests a change in age groups to allow examination of age differences for male workers. This part of the study uses five-year intervals for the age categories. Five-year intervals allow sensitivity to changing viewpoint while providing a wide enough interval to permit several responses for each age category. Determination of occupational differences, in this phase, includes only middle and working class individuals.³

³Farmers are not included in this phase of the analysis because of the very small number in the total sample. Although weighting, to replicate Morse and Weiss, increases the usable sample size, this procedure cannot distribute small numbers of farmers across many age categories without leaving empty cells and possible distortion of findings.

The results of the comparison are presented in Figure 2. It may be noted the middle and working class males present very different patterns of work orientation throughout their span of employment. Working class respondents enter the working life, at age eighteen, with about 80 percent pro-work attitude. They continue to provide approximately the same level of work orientation through age thirty-four. During the years thirty-five through forty-nine a period of declining willingness to continue working is noted, but this is reversed at age fifty when pro-work responses indicate renewed interest in the working life. The responses to this sample indicate working class individuals show little interest in continued work beyond age sixty-four.⁴ Examination of Figure 2 shows middle class male workers fluctuate around 80 percent pro-work responses until age fifty-four. Beyond this point, they enter a decline in work orientation which continues until age sixty-four. After reaching retirement age (sixty-five), there is again an increase in willingness to continue working. This apparent increase in interest might be discounted because of the systematic bias in the original sampling methodology which eliminated a majority of individuals older than age sixty-five, i.e., retired.

⁴The decision, by N.O.R.C. to omit retired individuals from the sample answering the work orientation question leaves the upper age category distorted. Morse and Weiss were faced with a similar situation as their sample included only working males. To accurately evaluate work orientation, a sample should be used which asks about willingness to continue working without imposition of prior work status controls. This was not done in either of the samples used in this study and is necessary to obtain answers from working housewives, individuals with second careers, and working students.

FIGURE 2: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DESIRE TO CONTINUE WORKING AND AGE FOR MIDDLE AND WORKING CLASS MEN*



*For full-time workers only (N.O.R.C. sample weighted to Morse and Weiss population).

A major difference in the patterns of middle and working class responses is the persistence of willingness to continue working as the respective respondents increase in age. If an 80 percent pro-work response is used as the breaking point to establish substantial decline in group work enthusiasm, and both occupational groups are examined to note the age beyond which this level is not again exceeded, the patterns show middle class workers provide fifteen more years of enthusiastic work orientation prior to permanent decline than working class individuals.

The years preceding retirement age (sixty-five) show differences for these two groups of workers. Working class respondents indicate a renewed interest in continuing to work between ages fifty and sixty-four. However, upon reaching retirement age (sixty-five), there is no indication of willingness to continue employment if given the choice. In contrast, middle class men indicate a renewed interest between ages sixty and sixty-nine. They reach retirement age with many of the individuals willing to continue employment if given the opportunity.

Comparison of these respondents suggests the working class employee enters the job market with a high work orientation which continues for the first twenty years of employment. After age thirty-nine interest in continuing to work declines until about age fifty when renewed interest is indicated. There continues to exist a majority of pro-work opinion until retirement age (sixty-five) is reached. After this age little, if any, enthusiasm toward continuation

of employment, in preference to a financially secure alternative, is shown.

Middle class employees do not present as stable a work orientation attitude during the first twenty years of employment as was shown by working class individuals. However, they continue to provide indications of willingness to continue working for an additional fifteen years. Their decline in willingness to continue working occurs later in their careers but, once they decide to stop working, they provide lower orientation scores than working class men at ages fifty-five through sixty-four. The incidence of renewed interest in working is seen to occur at ages sixty-five through sixty-nine. This reassessment, or change in group willingness to continue working, is interesting in terms of Disengagement Theory.

As these workers approach retirement, they face the societally imposed age for withdrawal of the right to continue employment. This institutionalized event occurs as the worker is beginning to anticipate the advantages and disadvantages of retirement. The indication of increased willingness to work may be another measure of unwillingness to retire. The middle class respondent persists in pro-work orientation until reaching age forty-five, when he indicates a decline in enthusiasm. There is no upturn during the age interval when working class respondents demonstrate increased interest; in fact, there is a decline of about twenty points during this same age period in which working class employees provide an increase of twelve points.

The upward trend noted for middle class male workers, for ages sixty-four through sixty-nine, seems important in terms of resistance to retirement. These individuals have expressed declining interest since age forty-five through forty-nine but, upon encountering actual retirement age, seem reluctant to leave employment. The middle class worker seems unwilling to disengage from employment although the societally imposed age for retirement is reached. This does not occur with working class male employees who seem very willing to stop when they reach retirement age.

For full-time working males the age period from fifty through fifty-nine shows the greatest occupational differences in work orientation. During this period the working class individual approaches retirement with an affirmation of willingness to continue working. But, at the same time, the middle class employee shows declining willingness to continue working and does not change this position until actual retirement age.

In summary, through the use of five-year intervals with an adjusted N.O.R.C. weighted to match the Morse and Weiss study, the earlier findings of an inverse relationship existing between the respondent's age and his work orientation seem to be overly generalized. Although Morse and Weiss suggested there was no significant relationship between willingness to continue employment and occupation, except for unskilled, a comparison of three occupational categories showed differences did exist. Further, comparison of middle and working

class full-time working men indicated differing persistence in pro-work responses when controlled by the respondent's age.

These findings suggest significant differences in work orientation may exist for various occupational classes. In addition, although there were not statistically significant differences in work orientation between 1953 and 1973, the changes in response range due to decreased orientation for young workers and increased willingness to work among the older employees suggests national changes in work orientation may be occurring, among male full-time employees, which will be statistically significant in only a few years if current trends continue. Of course, the differences noted could also prove to be statistically significant if the size of the sample was larger.

Chapter 4

EXTENSION METHODOLOGY

To this point the discussion of work orientation has been limited to full-time working males as originally presented in the study by Morse and Weiss. However, the results of the comparison between two samples of working men, as presented in Chapters 2 and 3, cannot be expected to generalize to the total national work force. Although the N.O.R.C. sample was carefully adjusted and weighted to minimize non-random errors within the analysis, the United States working population contains other workers who were not incorporated into the original study or the replication. The content of the next two chapters includes discussion of methodology needed to examine national attitudes towards work orientation and findings from an N.O.R.C. sample which is adjusted to more closely approximate the national working population.

The contemporary work force within the United States contains many individuals who are not male and/or do not work full-time. A more comprehensive understanding of work orientation can be attempted through expansion of the N.O.R.C. information to include women and two previously excluded work status categories, within the sample, which contain less than full-time employees.

Examination of national census publications indicates the distinction between "employed" and "unemployed" is not based upon full-time employment. The criteria used for the national enumeration are far less stringent than those used, so far, in this work orientation analysis. Because of the inclusiveness of census definitions, almost all individuals who report any contact with work or employment can be included in the category of "employed."¹ The definitions provided by the census serve as justification for expansion of the sample to include other available work status categories: (1) "working part-time"; and (2) "with a job but not at work because of temporary illness, vacation, strike. . ." (N.O.R.C., 1973:18).

As the national sample contains information from individuals younger than age twenty-one, it is possible to adjust the N.O.R.C. distribution to match census information and provide an accurate estimate of the national working population, eighteen years and older. This is accomplished through adjustment of information provided by the Census of Population: 1970, Part 1, Section 1 for male and female workers. Both raw information and adjusted figures are shown in Tables 6 and 7.

¹"Employed.--Employed persons comprise all civilians sixteen years old and over who were (a) 'at work'--those who did any work at all as paid employees or in their own business or profession, or on their own farm, or who worked fifteen hours or more as unpaid workers on a family farm or in a family business; or (b) were 'with a job but not at work'--those who did not work during the reference week but had jobs or businesses from which they were temporarily absent due to illness, bad weather, industrial dispute, vacation, or other personal reasons" (Census of Population: 1970, Vol. 1, Part 1 - Sect. 2, Appendix B:57).

TABLE 6
OCCUPATION OF FEMALE WORKERS: 1970^a

Occupation	Total No. Women in Work Force	Workers 16 & 17 yrs. old (census)	Adjusted Population (Total 18 and over)	Adjusted Population (% of Work Force)
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	4,550,584	19,589	4,530,995	16.09
Managers & administrators, except farm	1,055,381	2,582	1,052,799	3.74
Sales workers	2,141,600	133,063	2,008,537	7.13
Clerical and kindred	10,105,818	242,136	9,863,682	35.02
Craftsmen and kindred	521,147	5,666	515,481	1.83
Operatives, except transport	4,014,993	44,789	3,970,204	14.10
Transport equipment operatives	132,052	2,214	129,838	.46
Laborers, except farm	284,300	14,992	269,308	.96
Farmers & farm managers	70,772	557	70,215	.25
Farm laborers and farm foremen	153,301	9,194	144,107	.51
Service workers, except private household	4,790,043	241,182	4,548,861	16.15
Private household workers	1,109,854	50,596	1,059,258	3.76
Total (no. individuals)	(28,929,845)	(766,560)	(28,163,285)	(100.01)

^aSOURCE: Census of population: 1970, Vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 1, United States Summary - Section 1, Table 226. Occupation of Employed Persons by Age, Race, and Sex: 1970:763.

TABLE 7
OCCUPATION OF MALE WORKERS: 1970^a

Occupation	Total No. Men in Work Force	Workers 16 & 17 yrs. old (census)	Adjusted Population (Total 18 and over)	Adjusted Population (% of Work Force)
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	6,800,554	21,489	6,779,065	14.61
Managers & administrators, except farm	5,315,768	9,378	5,306,390	11.44
Sales workers	3,303,774	112,151	3,191,623	6.88
Clerical and kindred	3,642,442	97,099	3,545,343	7.64
Craftsmen and kindred	10,088,483	69,673	10,018,810	21.59
Operatives, except transport	6,483,532	183,135	6,300,397	13.58
Transport equipment operatives	2,825,883	42,067	2,783,816	6.00
Laborers, except farm	3,146,982	293,768	2,853,214	6.15
Farmers and farm managers	1,347,974	4,584	1,343,390	2.90
Farm laborers and farm foremen	795,008	82,234	712,774	1.54
Service workers, except private household	3,837,317	304,714	3,532,603	7.61
Private household workers	36,037	3,058	32,979	.07
Total (no. individuals)	(47,623,754)	(1,223,350)	(46,400,404)	(100.01)

^aSOURCE: Census of Population: 1970, Vol. 1, Characteristics of Population, Part 1, United States Summary - Section 1, Table 226. Occupation of Employed Persons by Age, Race, and Sex: 1970:761-762.

Final adjustment of the N.O.R.C. data to allow comparison with 1970 census information was completed through separation of male and female occupational percentages. This division, by sex, is needed because of the very different occupational representation found within the same occupations for men and women. Examination of national census information indicates the existence of male and female dominated occupations in terms of percentage of membership. Examples of these are the "craftsmen and kindred" occupation with 95 percent male workers and the "clerical and kindred" group which contains 74 percent female employees.

Information available in the 1970 census provides occupational reports according to standardized census categories. However, these categories are not identical with the grouping system presented within the data used for this extension analysis. Several 1970 census occupational categories must be combined to reproduce the N.O.R.C. groups (as presented in the 1973 N.O.R.C. codebook). The combinations developed for this comparison and the resultant total percentages, by occupation, are shown in Tables 8 and 9.

The final consideration for matching the N.O.R.C. sample with the national working population, as reported by the 1970 census, involves occupational percentages within the total sample. After combining several census categories, as presented in Tables 8 and 9, a weighting system similar to the process previously discussed was incorporated. As a result of the weighting, the N.O.R.C. sample

TABLE 8

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES AS PREPARED FROM 1970 CENSUS INFORMATION
FOR FEMALE WORKERS, 18 YEARS AND OLDER^a

Occupation	1970 Census	Unadjusted N.O.R.C.	Adjusted N.O.R.C.
Professional, technical, and kindred	16.09%	18.65%	15.81%
Managers & administrators, except farm, PLUS sales workers	10.87	13.83	10.97
Clerical and kindred	35.02	30.55	35.16
Craftsmen and kindred	1.83	2.57	1.94
Operatives, except transport	14.10	10.61	14.19
Transport equipment operatives, PLUS laborers, except farm	1.42	2.25	1.29
Farmers & farm managers, PLUS farm foremen and farm laborers	.76	.64	.64
Service workers, except private household, PLUS private household workers	19.91	20.90	20.00
Total (no. individuals)	(28,163,285)		(513)

^aFemale workers include full-time, part-time, and "with a job but not at work."

TABLE 9

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES AS PREPARED FROM 1970 CENSUS INFORMATION
FOR MALE WORKERS, 18 YEARS AND OLDER^a

Occupation	1970 Census	Unadjusted N.O.R.C.	Adjusted N.O.R.C.
Professional, technical, and kindred	14.61%	19.00%	14.61%
Managers & administrators, except farm, PLUS sales workers	18.32	18.79	18.37
Clerical and kindred	7.64	5.64	7.72
Craftsmen and kindred	21.59	21.29	21.50
Operatives, except transport	13.58	11.90	13.57
Transport equipment operatives, PLUS laborers, except farm	12.15	11.90	12.11
Farmers and farm managers, PLUS farm laborers and farm foremen	4.43	3.55	4.38
Service workers, except private household; PLUS private household workers	7.68	7.93	7.72
Total (no. individuals)	(46,400,404)		(513)

^aMale workers include full-time, part-time, and "with a job but not at work."

accurately represented the national work force as reported by the United States Census: 1970.

Because of very uneven distribution for male and female workers throughout the total working population, any attempt to develop an average or compromise weighting factor to accurately represent both sexes simultaneously risked loss of important sexual differences in work orientation. To avoid this possible loss of information, separate weight factors were developed for male and female employees based on occupational percentages reported in the 1970 census.

Establishment of separate weight factors for men and women precludes analysis of all work orientation information within a single computer program. For this reason all results reported in this extension are based on separate programs for men and women.

Occupational Distribution Changes Since 1950

Comparison of occupational category percentages developed from the 1970 national census with Morse and Weiss' workers shows substantial differences exist between all occupational categories. The differences are indicated in Table 10.

The discrepancies between the two sets of information are not a result of inaccuracies in the methodology used for obtaining the original sample used by Morse and Weiss, or any error in processing the information. These percentage differences are caused by shifting occupational patterns within the United States during the twenty-year

period. The comparison of 1950 with 1970 census information (Table 10) attests to the substantial changes.

TABLE 10
MORSE AND WEISS MALE WORKER REPRESENTATION
AS COMPARED WITH TWO UNITED STATES CENSUS REPORTS^a

Occupation	Morse and Weiss	1950 Census	1970 Census	1950 - 1970 Difference
Middle class	22.1%	23.7%	32.9%	+ 9.2%
Working class	64.7	59.9	62.6	+ 2.6
Farmers	13.2	12.7	4.4	- 8.3
Total	(326)	(40,574,850)	(46,400,404)	

^aSOURCE: Census of Population: 1950, Vol. ii, Characteristics of the Population, Part 1, United States Summary--Section 1, Table 53. Class of Worker of Employed Persons, and Major Occupational Group of the Experienced Civilian Labor Force, by Sex, For the United States, Urban and Rural: 1950:10. Census of Population: 1970, Vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 1, United States Summary--Section 1, Table 226. Occupation of Employed Persons by Age, Race, and Sex: 1970:761-762.

The national labor force is increasing in middle and working class numbers while losing much of its farming employment. Consideration of information based on the national random sample for a population which existed twenty years previously risks inclusion of non-random errors based on over or under-representation. For this reason, the analysis presented in the replication phase of this study

must be adjusted to the latest available census information before it can be generalized to the current national work force. A sample matched with the Morse and Weiss report, which can be seen as representative of the 1950's, may prove only historically interesting if not used in a longitudinal context.²

The N.O.R.C. sample, as modified to approximate 1970 census work force, includes representation for all major employment categories by sex. The occupational division between middle and working class will be used for most of the extension analysis and farmers will be included only when general observations, which do not require disbursement of the sample, are employed. This is because farmers provide only .64 percent of the female working population and this small number quickly leaves empty cells when analysis is attempted.

Chapter 4 has outlined the methodology for preparation of a sample representative of the 1970 national working population. This is followed, in the next chapter, by findings based upon comparison of sex-role and occupational status differences.

²The information provided in Table 10 is only useful as an indicator of occupational trends and is not a matched comparison. Although Morse and Weiss used only full-time working males aged twenty-one years and older, the 1970 census information includes other employees with less than full-time status and ages eighteen years and older.

Chapter 5

EXTENSION FINDINGS

The procedure described in Chapter 4 yields an adjusted N.O.R.C. sample which closely approximates the United States work force as reported by the Census of Population: 1970. With this adjusted sample, extension beyond the original Morse and Weiss work can provide a more general appraisal of total national work orientation by including the viewpoint of women and non-full-time laborers.

Male and Female Work Orientation

Because the replication analysis previously discussed did not include women, and because female workers, ages eighteen years and above, represent about 38 percent of the total 1970 national work force, the initial comparisons for this extension are intended to examine differences in work orientation between the sexes. Evaluation of all N.O.R.C. respondents,¹ before any weighting adjustments for

¹The N.O.R.C. interview schedule did not ask the question, "If you were to get enough money. . .?" of individuals who were retired, keeping house, in school, or "other" (did not match a working status category). At the time the proposal for this study was written, this skip routine was not noticed. It was originally intended that this analysis would examine a much larger population. The omission of retired individuals is unfortunate from the Disengagement Theory perspective. Also, because women may respond "housekeeper" when they also have other employment, information has been temporarily lost until examined through another national random sample, or systematic sample, which takes this issue into account.

occupational distribution have been applied, shows the pattern of work orientation indicated in Table 11. It can be noted the pro-work responses for all males is about three percentage points lower than the work orientation pattern reported for only full-time working males on Table 3 in Chapter 3. The difference in work orientation is, in part, the result of inclusion of non-full-time employees into the sample and suggests marginally lower work orientation will be found for other work statuses.

TABLE 11
UNWEIGHTED N.O.R.C. WORK ORIENTATION RESPONSE BY SEX^a

Response	Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%
Would continue working	373	72.7%	193	60.7%
Would not keep working	132	25.7	121	38.0
Don't know	8	1.6	4	1.3
Total responding	513	100.0	318	100.0
Not ascertained	13		8	
Total sample	526		326	

^aThese responses from an unweighted N.O.R.C. sample contain the following work status categories: full-time, part-time, "with a job but not at work," and unemployed. Hence, the group is similar to that known as "in the labor force."

As can be seen in Table 11, male workers are more likely than females to express the desire to continue working in preference to the hypothetical alternative. Comparison between male and female work orientation responses, through the two-sample t-test of

proportions (Blalock, 1972:229), gives a z-score of 3.625. This is significant at the .001 confidence level and prompted some further evaluation of sexual differences in work orientation, as shown below.

Traditional sexual stereotyping associates the woman's work role with home and family related labor. Based on this image, employment outside the home seems inconsistent with the female sex role. In addition, the socialization process within an industrialized society associates the man with his occupation, and men are expected to form self-definitions from their customary employment. At the same time, the married woman has been thought to obtain her self-definition from her husband's employment and the young unmarried woman from that of her father. Such has been the conventional view in sociology.

The ability to generalize analysis findings to the national working population comes from the adjustment, through weighting, of the N.O.R.C. sample to 1970 census information. Table A. 1., in Appendix A, indicates occupational percentages, as reported by the national census, which were approximated to develop male and female weight factors for modification of the original N.O.R.C. sample.

After incorporation of weight factors into the analysis, N.O.R.C. work orientation responses, by sex, appear as indicated in Table 12. Visual comparison of Tables 11 and 12 shows little difference. This is to be expected because the weighting procedure does not create a completely new sample, it only adjusts the influence of occupational categories to accurately represent the national working population. Earlier findings, discussed in Chapter 1, indicate

the majority of individuals in all occupational groups express willingness to work at high rates. Adjustment of the individual weights, for workers within the sample, only results in a slight overall change in the total sample. The incorporation of weight factors for male and female workers results in only modest changes for the overall work orientation percentage, but this adjustment substantially extends the basis for generalization from analysis findings.³

TABLE 12
WEIGHTED N.O.R.C. WORK ORIENTATION RESPONSE BY SEX^a

Response	Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%
Would continue working	371	72.3%	189	59.4%
Would not keep working	133	25.9	125	39.3
Don't know	9	1.8	4	1.3
Total responding	513	100.0	318	100.0
Not ascertained	13		8	
Total sample	526		326	

^aThese responses from a weighted N.O.R.C. sample matched to the 1970 United States census contain the following work status categories: full-time, part-time, "with a job but not at work," and unemployed.

The statistically significant difference in work orientation noted between the sexes (Table 11) also exists with the weighted

³Before weighting, the basis for confidence in the N.O.R.C. sample rested upon the methodology surrounding a national systematic survey. This changed, after weighting, because the national census represents the total U.S. population and not only a sample.

sample (Table 12). Men indicate willingness to continue working at higher rates than women after weighting to approximate national census findings.

Further examination of this difference in work orientation, between the sexes, involves establishing five year age groupings for men and women and looking at the influences of age and occupation on work orientation. Individuals within this analysis are "employed" as defined by the Census of Population: 1970. That is, they are either full-time, part-time, or "with a job but not at work." The definitions used for "class" distinctions continue to be those provided by Morse and Weiss and described in Chapter 2.

The replication phase of this study, reported above, indicated the existence of an inverse relationship between age and work orientation for full-time working men. In addition, there was shown to be a difference in willingness to continue working between the middle class, working class, and farmers. During this extension phase, the influence of age and class on work orientation will be considered for men and women.

The willingness to work of male and female respondents, distributed by age and occupation, are presented in Tables 13 and 14. Examination of these findings shows that men generally provide a higher percentage of pro-work responses. This occurs for the three class categories: middle, working, and farmer. The data in Tables 13 and 14 are more readily seen in graphic form as presented in Figures 3 through 6.

TABLE 13
FEMALE WORK ORIENTATION BY AGE AND OCCUPATION^a

Occupation	AGE									Overall / Total
	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	
Middle class	56% ^b (6)	71% (15)	84% (10)	90% (8)	91% (9)	66% (7)	60% (8)	51% (12)	84% (5)	73% (80)
Working class	67% (25)	36% (25)	72% (7)	60% (21)	52% (24)	57% (14)	48% (16)	45% (11)	28% (10)	52% (153)
Farmers	71% (7)	67% (6)	100% (3)	29% (7)	89% (9)	63% (8)	86% (7)	22% (9)	80% (5)	67% (61)
Total (no. of cases)	(38)	(46)	(20)	(36)	(42)	(29)	(31)	(32)	(20)	(294)

^aFemale worker is defined according to the United States Census definition of "employed." This sample contains women, ages 18 years and above, in work status categories "full-time," "part-time," and "with a job but not at work." Individuals from age groups younger than 20 and older than 64 are not reported because of the small number of cases (8 individuals ages 18 or 19, 12 aged 65 or older) which would not allow accurate appraisal.

^bThe complement of 100 percent ("would not continue to work") is not shown for each cell.

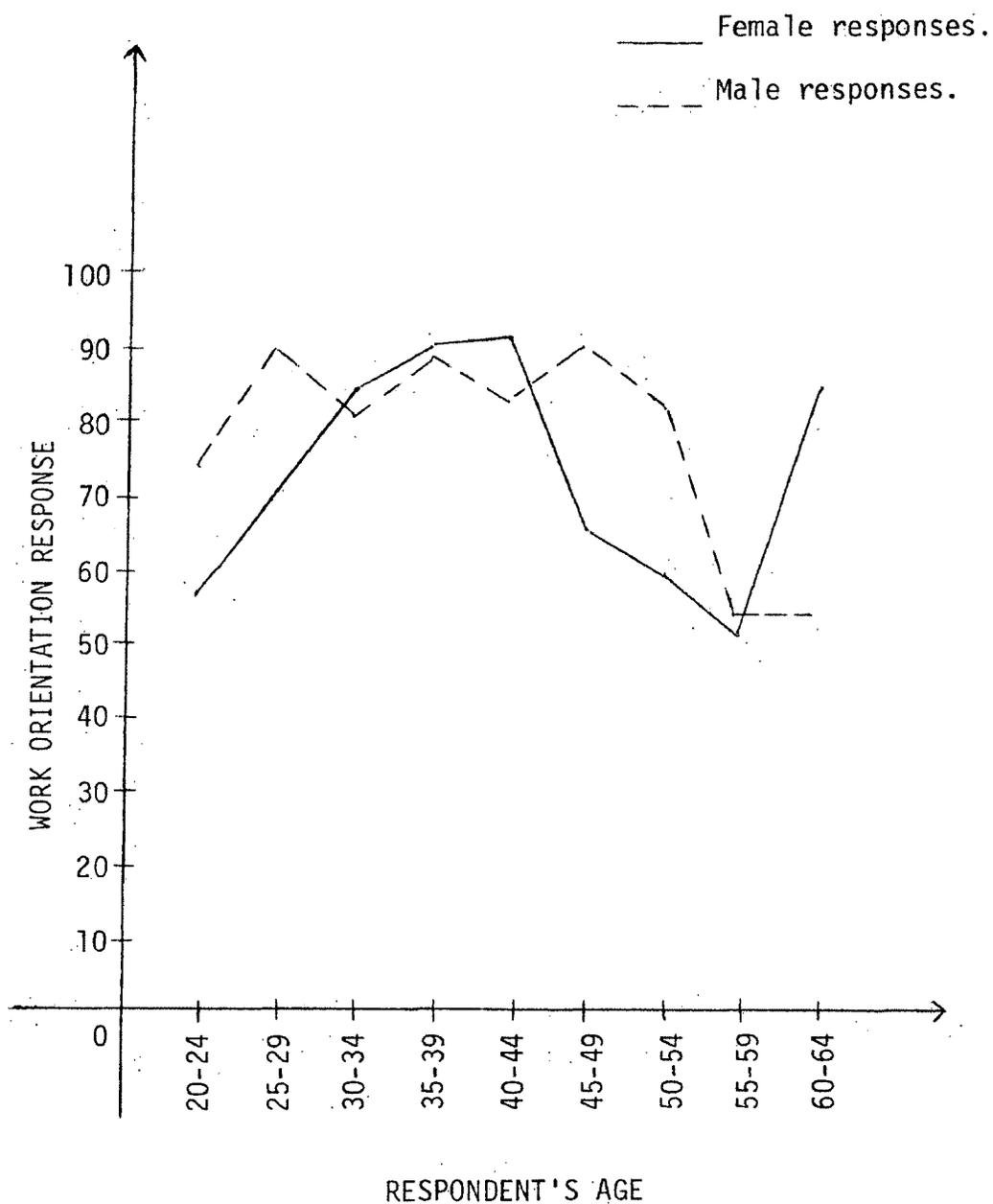
TABLE 14
MALE WORK ORIENTATION BY AGE AND OCCUPATION^a

Occupation	AGE									Overall / Total
	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	
Middle class	73% ^b (12)	89% (22)	80% (16)	88% (27)	82% (18)	90% (24)	82% (10)	54% (13)	54% (7)	77% (149)
Working class	82% (42)	79% (25)	82% (36)	84% (40)	68% (22)	64% (27)	49% (27)	61% (30)	58% (23)	70% (272)
Farmers	75% (4)	100% (7)	80% (5)	100% (2)	100% (2)	67% (3)	75% (4)	71% (7)	---	84% (34)
Total (no. of cases)	(58)	(54)	(57)	(69)	(42)	(54)	(41)	(50)	(30)	(455)

^aMale worker is defined according to the United States Census definition of "employed." This sample contains men, ages 18 years and above, in work status categories "full-time," part-time," and "with a job but not at work." Individuals from age groups younger than 20 and older than 64 are not reported because of the small number of cases (12 for 18 and 19, 14 for 65 and above) which would not allow accurate appraisal.

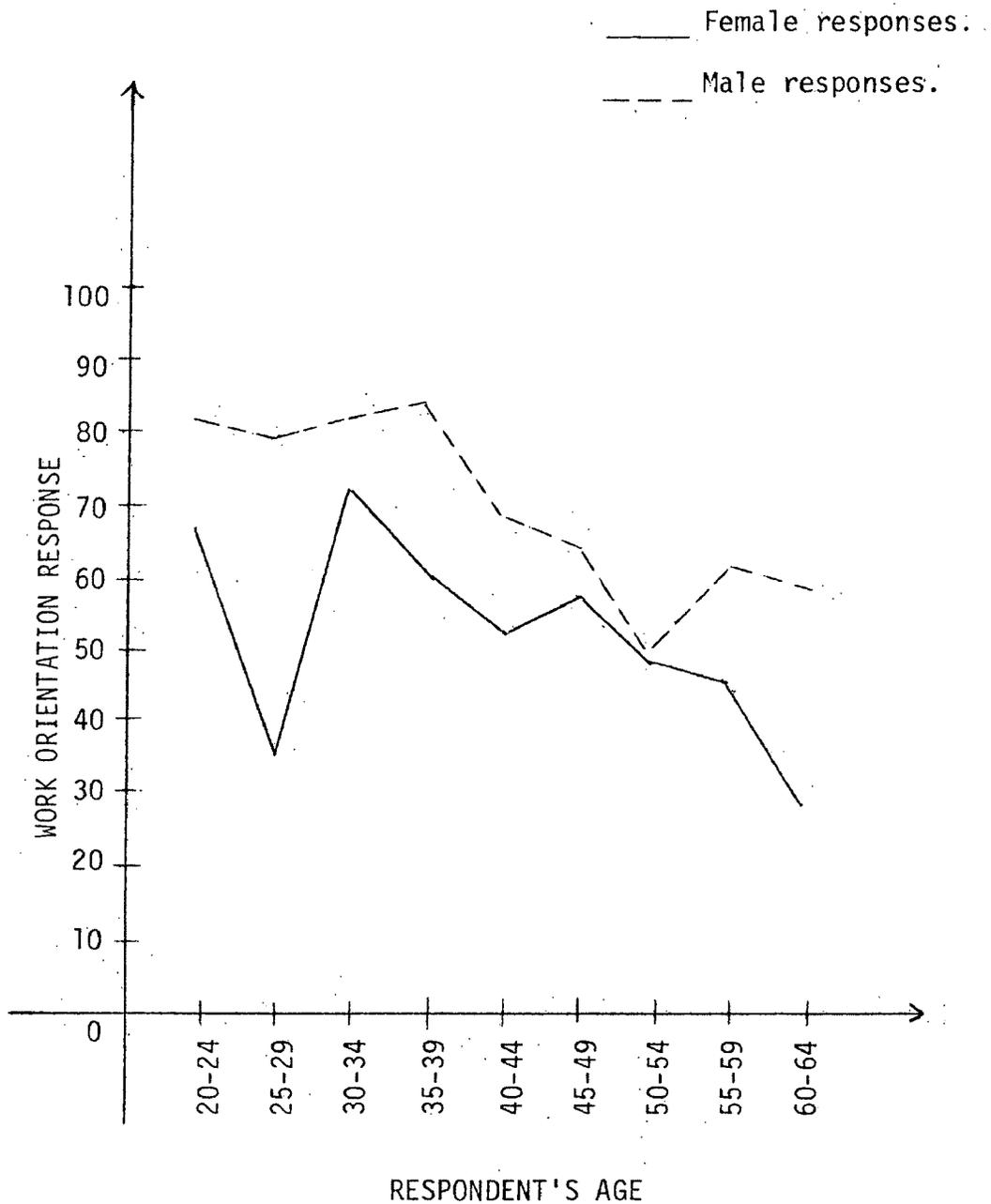
^bThe complement of 100 percent ("would not continue to work") is not shown for each cell.

FIGURE 3: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DESIRE TO CONTINUE WORKING AND AGE FOR MIDDLE CLASS MEN AND WOMEN*



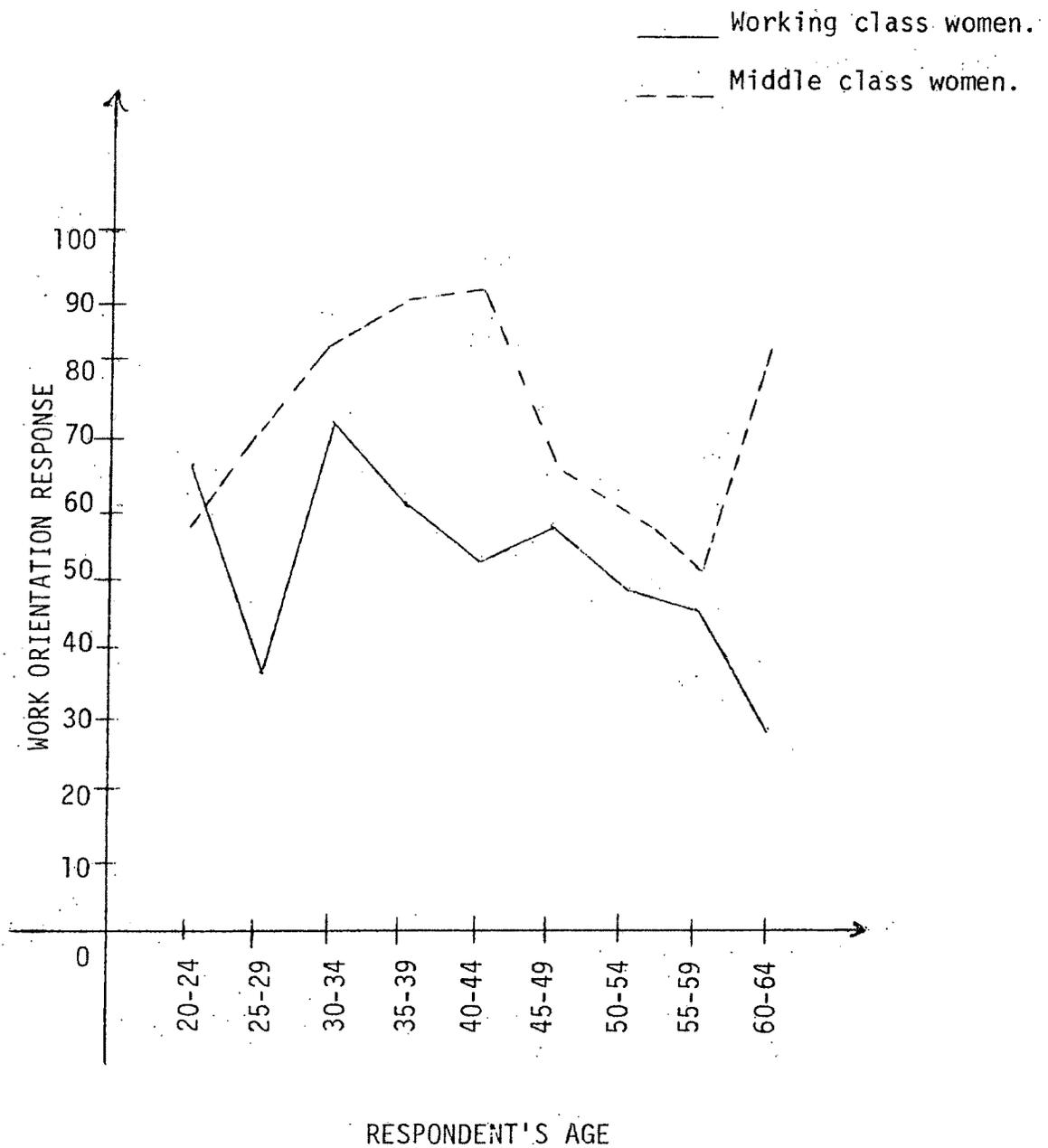
*For census definition workers, sample matched to 1970 population.

FIGURE 4: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DESIRE TO CONTINUE WORKING AND AGE FOR WORKING CLASS MEN AND WOMEN*



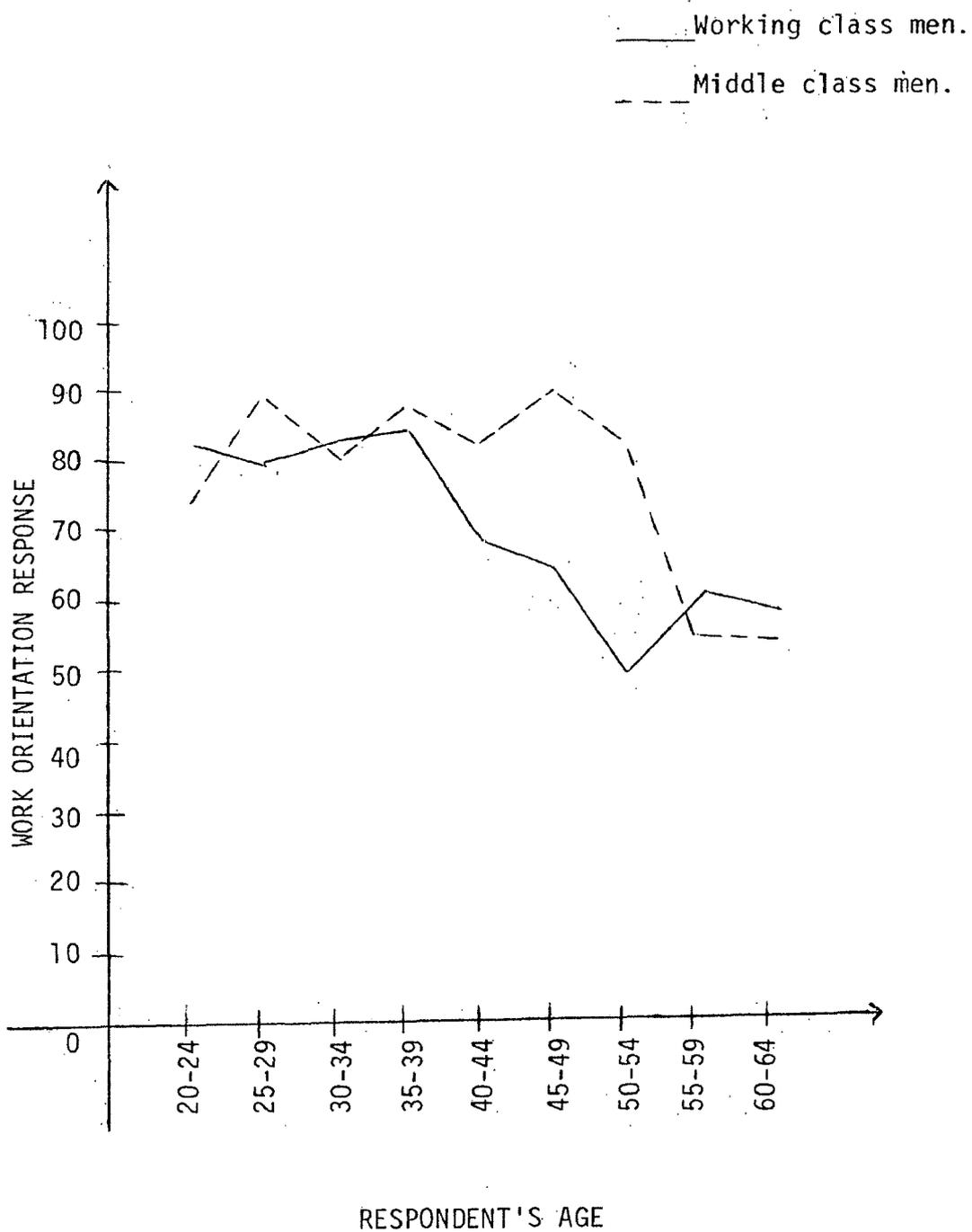
*For census definition workers, sample matched to 1970 population.

FIGURE 5: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DESIRE TO CONTINUE WORKING AND AGE FOR MIDDLE AND WORKING CLASS WOMEN*



*For census definition workers, sample matched to 1970 population.

FIGURE 6: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DESIRE TO CONTINUE WORKING AND AGE FOR MIDDLE CLASS AND WORKING CLASS MEN*



*For census definition workers, sample matched to 1970 population.

Figure 3 compares middle class men and women. Although the middle class male persistence in willingness to continue working despite increases in age, previously noted, exceeds the duration reported by their female counterparts, middle class women report higher percentages of work orientation from ages thirty through forty-four. The women indicate less enthusiasm during ages twenty through twenty-nine, and they lose interest earlier than middle class men, but they present higher work orientation from age thirty through forty-four. Middle class women indicate a renewed interest in working in the age period immediately preceding retirement age (sixty through sixty-four) which is not shown for the men.

Figure 4 compares working class men and women. Working class men show high work orientation for the first twenty years of employment age. Working class women show good work enthusiasm at ages twenty through twenty-four, but this initial response rate drops thirty-one percentage points (for ages twenty-five through twenty-nine) when only 36 percent indicate willingness to continue working. Pro-work interest again increases at ages thirty through thirty-four, but this is followed with declining work orientation which is only slightly interrupted by some renewed interest between ages forty-five through forty-nine.

For the reader's convenience, work orientation distributions for middle and working class women shown in Figures 3 and 4 are compared in Figure 5. This contrast is interesting as fluctuations seem to occur within the working class group which do not appear for

middle class working women. These fluctuations may be a result of family related concerns. Working class women seem to have good work orientation during their youngest employable ages, but this willingness to continue working declines sharply during their ages associated with early marriage and child raising. Work orientation again increases during ages when children would be attending school and then begins another decline. Between ages forty through forty-nine, a difference in work orientation seems to exist between women in these two occupational categories. During this age period, middle class women report an orientation decline of twenty-five points (from 90 to 66 percent). This marks the beginning of a decline which continues until age fifty-nine. But working class women indicate an increase of five percentage points (from 52 to 57 percent). It is possible that working class interest in employment coincides with women's ages when their children are leaving home.

Figure 6 compares middle and working class employed men. The responses from this census "employed" group are highly similar to those of the full-time working male group discussed in Chapter 3. The major difference between middle and working class men was found in persistence of willingness to continue employment with increased age. Middle class men presented high work orientation for an additional ten years and then, at retirement age, indicated renewed interest. The inclusion of non-full-time working men does not provide much change in the total sample as 85 percent of all working men are full-time.

The relationship between desire to continue working and respondent's age shows a curvilinear association exists between age and work orientation for the groups examined. However, this is only a general finding for "employed" individuals. The work orientation pattern for full-time working males was seen to depress with the incorporation of other work statuses into the sample. This suggests the dependent variable is viewed differently by various employment status groups.

Work Status and Work Orientation

As 30.5 percent of employed women within the N.O.R.C. sample are part-time workers, this status difference can be examined. Male and female N.O.R.C. respondents are separately analyzed, due to the weight factor requirement, so the initial consideration of the influence of work status on work orientation also contains a sexual dichotomy. The next examination of work status and work orientation contains male and female workers with the work statuses: full-time, part-time, "with a job, but not at work. . .," and unemployed. The findings from this comparison are presented in Table 15.

Response patterns, by sex, indicate major differences. The work orientation patterns for male and female workers are almost exactly reversed for full-time and part-time employees. The male full-time percentage of 76.7 approximates the female part-time response rate of 72.6 percent, and the female full-time percentage of 56.4 equals male part-time responses.

TABLE 15
PRO-WORK RESPONSE RATES BY WORK STATUS, BY SEX^a

Work Status	Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%
Full-time	428	76.7%	203	56.4%
Part-time	31	56.4	95	72.6
With a job, but not. . .	[18]	[53.4]	10	[40.0]
Unemployed	25	62.8	4	[39.5] ^b
(Total)	(501)		(311)	

^aFor N.O.R.C. sample weighted to approximate 1970 census information. The complement of 100 percent ("would not continue to work") is not shown for each cell. This is similar to other tables in this study.

The male sample shows a chi square of 12.11 with a probability of .007 for differences within the sample. The female chi square is 9.70, which is significant at .021.

^bPercentages in brackets are based on fewer than twenty cases.

There are also statistically significant differences within the male and female samples. Male full-time workers report twenty percentage points more willingness to continue working than part-time employees and individuals who had a job but were not working at the time of the interview. The tendency for males, in this industrialized society, to seek employment is supported by the responses of unemployed males. Although unemployed men's orientations were about

fourteen percentage points lower than full-time workers, they did provide higher percentages than non-full-time employed men.

Women workers indicate much stronger work orientation as part-time employees than when they report full-time employment status. The sample sizes for "with a job, but not at work. . ." and "unemployed" are too small for any confidence in the results.

Comparison of male and female full-time worker responses, using a two-sample t-test of proportions (Blalock, 1972:228), produces a z-score of 5.3862 which is significant at .001. This statistical indication of important differences in work orientation by work status for male and female workers seems important in terms of self-definitions for men and women according to traditional division of labor viewpoint or cultural values of their industrial society. Within this system women have tended to assume the duties of wife and mother, while men were expected to perform activities associated with family protector and provider. Women are supposed to find satisfaction in family related activities. The man, as head of the household, is expected to work at some occupation to provide necessary income or commodities. But this model assumes that the requirements of a nuclear family pertain to all workers and that one provider can earn sufficient income to support a family. Because of changing marital and financial patterns, the first variable to be considered in examining work orientation by work status by sex is marital status.

Work Orientation and Marital Status

For purposes of this analysis, marital status is divided into "married" and "not married" groups.⁴ To explore the influence of marital status on work orientation, responses from male and female employees are compared following division by work status. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 16. Because of the uneven distribution of workers throughout all work status categories, there were not enough respondents in "with a job, but not at work" and "unemployed" to attempt any statistical evaluation. However, their responses are included for examination.

Comparison of full-time and part-time employees by marital status indicates, with one exception, "not married" respondents have higher work orientation than their married counterparts for both sexes. The exception is found for the part-time working married women. These employees indicate work orientation 4.2 percentage points higher than "not married" part-time employed women.

As part-time workers, women indicate greater willingness to continue working than working men from both marital groups. This difference is especially noticeable in the "married" category where part-time working women present 24.5 percentage points higher scores than part-time working men.

Neither the male nor female sample show statistically significant differences in work orientation when controlled for marital

⁴The "not married" group contains respondents of both sexes who indicated they were "widowed," "divorced," "separated," or "never married."

TABLE 16
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DESIRE TO CONTINUE WORKING AND MARITAL STATUS^a

Work Status	Male ^b		Female		Total
	Married	Not Married	Married	Not Married	
Full-time worker	76.0% (336)	79.3% (92)	54.4% (143)	60.9% (60)	(631)
Part-time worker	[49.2] (16)	[64.3] (15)	73.7 (70)	69.5 (25)	(126)
With a job, but not . . .	[60.1] (13)	[36.0] (5)	[20.0] (6)	[67.7] (4)	(28)
Unemployed	[61.1] (13)	[64.6] (12)	[0.0] (1)	[61.0] (2)	(28)
Total (number of respondents)	(377)	(124)	(220)	(92)	(813)

^aMarital status was dichotomized into "married" and "not married" categories for this analysis. The "not married" group contains respondents who answered "widowed," "divorced," "separated," and "never married."

Percentages in brackets are based on fewer than 20 cases.

^bThe complement of 100 percent ("would not continue to work") is not shown for each cell.

status. This indicates differences in willingness to continue working, for both sexes, are not influenced enough by marital status to be significant at a confidence level of .05 (as measured by chi square). The difference between responses of men and women, here as elsewhere, is statistically significant.

This comparison of work orientation for men and women suggests stronger willingness will be found for "not married" individuals. But the exception to this trend for part-time working women leads to questions about the influence of family on work orientation. A woman may want to seek employment but be raising a family. This combination could convince her to choose part-time employment. The working woman without dependent children has the option of full-time employment. Preference for part-time work could relate to maternal duties, and this possibility can be examined through the influence of dependent children on work orientation.

Work Orientation and Dependent Children

To determine the influence of dependent children on work orientation, a variable was introduced through combining two N.O.R.C. variables, "babies" and "preteens," to indicate the presence or absence of children younger than age thirteen. For purposes of this study, a dichotomy was developed which separated responses on the basis of dependent children. The number of children reported by an individual within this category was not recorded, only the presence or absence of children was noted.

An initial chi square test for male and female workers indicated the presence of at least one child (younger than age thirteen) was significant at less than .001 confidence level for men. But for women there was no statistically significant difference (chi square 1.3771, significant at .2406 confidence level). Comparison of male and female workers' willingness to continue employment when offered a hypothetical alternative providing economic security, as influenced by the presence or absence of one or more dependent children, is shown in Table 17.

TABLE 17
INFLUENCE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN ON WORK ORIENTATION, BY SEX^a

Work Orientation	Male Worker		Female Worker	
	Dependent Children	No Children	Dependent Children	No Children
Continue working	85.4%	65.2%	65.2%	57.8%
Stop working	15.5	34.8	34.8	42.2
Total	(228)	(273)	(119)	(193)

^aThese responses for a weighted N.O.R.C. sample matched to the 1970 United States census are obtained from a variable obtained through combining "babies" and "preteens" from the N.O.R.C. General Social Survey:36.

Although the difference is not statistically significant for women, for both male and female workers the presence of dependent children increases work orientation. The increase for men is shown to be over twenty percentage points. One indicator of the difference in work orientation for male and female parents of dependent children is that willingness to continue work for the female worker with at least one child younger than thirteen is the same as for the male worker without a dependent child.

Married men with at least one dependent child are about twenty percentage points higher than their counterparts with no children. This could be the result of traditional or cultural values resulting in self-identification as father and provider, or it could be an indicator of immediate financial concerns which require steady income. Working women indicate no statistically significant differences in work orientation as influenced by dependent children for this size sample. But they do report the same pattern as men in that increased willingness to work occurs with dependent children. The sample size is not large enough to provide statistically significant differences but the influences seem to be similar.

Work Orientation, Work Status, and Dependent Children

Differences in work orientation found for various work statuses prompted the next analysis. Because employees, especially married women, may be required to divide their time between occupational duties and family responsibilities, the influence of dependent

children on work orientation may change with the amount of time per week required by employment. The influence of work status on work orientation for individuals with dependent children may indicate this occurrence.

The presence of dependent children was seen in Table 17 to be associated with higher rates of work orientation for men and women. However, this difference in willingness to work was statistically significant only for men. To continue examination of this variable, the differences in willingness to continue working for full-time and part-time employees, who are also parents of young children, must be determined. Table 18 provides information to assist in this comparison.

For full-time male workers the presence of dependent children increases work orientation 18.4 percentage points, as compared with non-parent full-time employees. Part-time working male employees, although the sample is too small for statistical confirmation, provide an even greater difference. All male work status categories show at least ten percentage points higher work orientation for parents of young children as compared with non-parents.

Although female workers do not show as large a percentage point difference in work orientation as men, the influence of dependent children is to increase female willingness to continue employment. Sixty-two percent of all female employees within this N.O.R.C. sample do not have children younger than age thirteen, and

TABLE 18
WORK ORIENTATION BY WORK STATUS, AS INFLUENCED BY DEPENDENT CHILDREN^a

Work Status	Male Worker		Female Worker		Total
	Dependent Children	No Children	Dependent Children	No Children	
Full-time worker	83.6% ^b (208)	65.2% (220)	60.7% (69)	52.1% (136)	(633)
Part-time worker	[67.2] (9)	47.5 (22)	73.4 (47)	65.5 (49)	(127)
With a job, but not. . .	[59.1] (5)	[44.4] (12)	[0.0] (2)	[47.3] (7)	(26)
Unemployed	[61.6] (6)	[51.6] (19)	[32.2] (1)	[20.1] (3)	(29)
Total (no. respondents)	(228)	(273)	(119)	(195)	(815)

^aDependent children are dichotomized on the basis of presence or absence of children younger than age 13. There is no consideration of numbers of children, within this category, reported by individual respondents.

Percentages in brackets are based on fewer than 20 cases.

^bThe complement of 100 percent ("would not continue to work") is not shown for each cell.

65 percent of all female workers have full-time employment but among this total female sample the highest work orientation percentages are found for part-time working mothers with young children.

Traditional sex-roles for women are home centered, but increasing numbers of women are seeking employment outside the home. This N.O.R.C. sample indicated 70.8 percent of all female employees are married and 38.1 percent have dependent children. However, the most satisfying employment circumstance for women may be a combination of traditional housewife and mother duties with part-time employment. Part-time working mothers with dependent children provide work orientation responses about 12.5 percentage points higher than full-time working women with young children. This suggests the combination of outside employment, with time available for maternal duties, provides the highest work orientation for female workers.

Work Orientation, Work Status, and Financial Satisfaction

The question posed by Morse and Weiss over twenty years ago which developed into their work orientation study concerned the function and meaning of work. They wanted to know if employees within an industrial society would begin to view work as only a means of earning a living. They reported that, for male full-time workers, income was important but there were additional values. This expanded N.O.R.C. sample, matched to the 1970 United States census, allows the question to again be addressed, but with a more representative national working population.

Satisfaction with finances is ascertained through responses to an N.O.R.C. question (General Social Survey Codebook, 1973:39):

We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. So far as you and your family are concerned, would you say that you are pretty well satisfied with your present financial situation, more or less satisfied, or not satisfied at all.

For this analysis, responses to this subjective question were dichotomized into "satisfied" and "not satisfied." Individuals who responded "pretty well satisfied" were categorized as satisfied. All other responses were considered not satisfied.

The influence of financial satisfaction on work orientation is presented in Table 19. Financial satisfaction does not seem to influence willingness to continue working among full-time working men. Although 73.2 percent of all full-time working men report dissatisfaction with their current financial situation, this dissatisfied group also indicates three percentage points higher work orientation than their satisfied counterparts.

Examination of male work orientation, as influenced by financial satisfaction, shows no statistically significant differences (chi square of .4680 which is significant at .9259). Among those with full-time working status, financial satisfaction shows very little influence on work orientation, and full-time employees dominate the male sample. This same situation is not found among the other male work status groups. Part-time male workers report thirty-three percentage points difference in willingness to work. Workers who have a job but are not currently working indicate 17.9 percentage points in

TABLE 19

WORK ORIENTATION BY WORK STATUS, AS INFLUENCED BY SATISFACTION WITH FINANCES^a

Work Status	Male Worker		Female Worker		Total
	Satisfied With Finances	Not Satisfied With Finances	Satisfied With Finances	Not Satisfied With Finances	
Full-time worker	74.4% ^b (115)	77.4% (314)	70.1% (60)	50.7% (143)	(632)
Part-time worker	[78.1] (9)	45.1 (23)	88.4 (32)	64.7 (63)	(127)
With a job, but not . . .	[40.8] (5)	[58.7] (13)	[31.7] (4)	[44.9] (6)	(28)
Unemployed	[83.3] (8)	[52.9] (17)	[0.0] (0)	[39.5] (4)	(29)
Total (no. respondents)	(137)	(367)	(96)	(216)	(816)

^aSatisfaction with finances is dichotomized on the basis of response to the question: "We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. So far as you and your family are concerned, would you say that you are pretty well satisfied with your present financial situation, more or less satisfied, or not satisfied at all?" Satisfaction with finances was based upon an answer of "pretty well satisfied." All other responses were combined into the "not satisfied with finances" category.

Percentages in brackets are based on fewer than 20 cases.

^bThe complement of 100 percent ("would not continue to work") is not shown for each cell.

the direction of continuing to work when not satisfied with finances. Unemployed male workers show a work orientation difference of 30.4 percentage points in the direction of increased willingness to work when they are satisfied with their financial situation. However, each of the last three work statuses (part-time, "with a job, but not. . . , " and unemployed) provide such a small sample size there is no possibility of statistical evaluation with confidence in the results.

The reversal of the general trend by individuals who have a job but are not currently working is interesting because these men and women are experiencing leisure, at the time of the interview, but face eventual return to work. If not satisfied with their current financial situation, they indicate a preference of continuing to work instead of accepting this financially secure hypothetical alternative.

Financially satisfied unemployed male workers indicate much more pro-work orientation than their dissatisfied counterparts. There is a 30.4 percentage point difference in willingness to work. Reference to Table 18 shows nineteen of the twenty-five respondents do not have dependent children, so this difference in work orientation is not a result of parental concerns. This finding suggests willingness to work may be sustained among the unemployed by providing enough income to allow minimal economic satisfaction rather than subsistence allowances.

For female employees, satisfaction with finances provides a statistically significant difference in work orientation. Analysis

of the dependent variable as influenced by financial satisfaction yields a chi square of 17.1661 which is significant at .008. Full-time working women indicate 19.4 percentage points more willingness to continue employment when they are satisfied with their financial situation, and part-time working women provide an even larger difference of 23.7 percentage points. The trend is reversed for workers who have a job but are not currently working, as was also seen for men, but the sample size is too small for analysis. Unemployed women also present too few cases for statistical examination.

There is a great difference in the influence of financial satisfaction on work orientation for male and female workers. Full-time working men indicate willingness to continue working regardless of financial dissatisfaction, although most of them are dissatisfied. In contrast, full-time working women who report almost as much financial dissatisfaction as their male counterparts express willingness to discontinue employment if offered a financially secure alternative.

Financially satisfied part-time working women indicate the highest work orientation of any male or female work status group within the study. But they also show a strong relationship between willingness to continue employment and financial satisfaction.

This extension of the work orientation study has shown statistically significant differences exist between men and women. Incorporation of work status into the study allowed determination that work orientation was highest for full-time working men and

part-time employed women. Marital status did not prove to be significant, but the presence of dependent children strongly influenced male willingness to continue employment. The final variable, financial satisfaction, was important to women but not to men.

The difference noted for male and female employees as influenced by financial satisfaction may be partially explained by a difference between jobs and careers. The part-time working woman may not develop a strong self-identification with her employment because of family based alternatives. This is not generally the situation for male employees as they are labeled by this work oriented society according to their job and are expected to labor in accordance with culturally established sex-roles. The difference seems important both for self-identification and in the relative importance of money as it influences the decision to continue employment.

Chapter 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has replicated and extended Morse and Weiss' 1955 study of work orientation, "The Function and Meaning of Work and the Job." Analysis was possible because the National Opinion Research Center, in its 1973 General Social Survey, included a question nearly identical to the original dependent variable. Through the use of quasi-longitudinal research design, demographic matching of respondents, and weighting of occupational categories, it was possible to compare the two surveys for indication of changes in willingness to continue employment when offered a financially secure hypothetical alternative for full-time working men during the twenty-year period.

Replication produced no statistically significant differences in full-time working male willingness to continue employment. However, many of the differences noted approached statistical significance and, if apparent trends continue or a larger sample is obtained, there will be statistically significant differences over time. Changes in work orientation among both the youngest workers and individuals approaching retirement age were observed. The youngest age group showed a decline in work orientation as compared with their counterparts from twenty years previous. But, on the other end of the working life, male workers approaching retirement reported increased

willingness to work. These changes resulted in a flattening of the overall pattern for work orientation, as influenced by the age of the workers.

Further examination of the influence of age on work orientation, through shortening of age group length, showed very different work orientation patterns existed for middle and working class men. Although Morse and Weiss suggested there were no significant occupational differences, except for unskilled laborers, in orientation this study indicated differences exist between middle and working class men in terms of work orientation by age and also a several year difference in persistence.

Extension beyond the original study was facilitated by inclusion of female workers and three additional work statuses. The extension sample was developed by matching N.O.R.C. occupational distribution to male and female employment reports presented by the United States Census of Population: 1970.

Comparison of male and female work orientation patterns showed substantial differences immediately, and additional distinctions were found for almost every additional variable. The male and female workers indicated differing responses to work orientation that were influenced by work status, dependent children, and financial satisfaction. In addition, differing work orientation was found for occupational categories between the sexes. This difference was so complete that male working class response patterns for work orientation by age of respondent more closely resembled middle class female

workers than it did the middle class men. This suggests there may be class, in addition to sexual, differences involved in work orientation (Laws, 1974:49-51).

The influence of dependent children was seen to greatly encourage full-time working men to continue employment, although it did not change women's work orientation significantly. But another variable, financial satisfaction, was found to be very important to women while not influencing male work attitude.

While examining these changes in work orientation by age of male and female employees, the response patterns raised questions about the phases of a working life. One model, suggested by Miller and Form, proposed individuals pass through five phases: the preparatory, initial, trial, stable, and retirement. But the respondents within this national sample indicate a decline in willingness to continue working begins at about age forty or fifty, and the age associated with the beginning of the decline depends upon occupational category and sex. This withdrawal anticipates retirement age by fifteen to twenty-five years. It would seem appropriate to consider an additional phase for Miller and Form's model which addresses the period of declining interest. Disengagement Theory expects the individual and his society to affect mutual withdrawal but these patterns suggest the individual's withdrawal may anticipate the institutionalized retirement age by twenty-five years.

This replication and extension has indicated there are occupational, age, work status, and sexual differences in work

orientation. The presence of these significant differences for male and female employees should be further analyzed with additional status controls. The differing numbers of male and female employees within various occupations can be determined through national census information. But controls for socioeconomic status or some similar precision approach are necessary for analysis within the occupational categories. This study used the occupational categories provided by Morse and Weiss. The use of these same categories will also be appropriate for later replications. But assessment of work orientation differences should be continued with attempts to discover the viewpoints within the occupational categories.

The findings of the replication phase of this study seem to indicate the full-time working male population is changing in work orientation. The youngest employees are less enamored with work than their same age group from twenty years before, and the oldest workers are showing increased interest. This can indicate either a leveling of willingness to work across the total working life span, or that the oldest workers represent the end of a pro-work group which is finishing its working career. This will be determined by another study at some later date which can compare these findings with a later sample.

The extension phase seemed to indicate the work orientation of male full-time workers is predominately pro-work and only such influences as dependent children will produce significant changes. The influence of financial satisfaction was negligible because the

working male is constrained by occupational circumstances and, regardless of personal financial satisfaction, he is obliged to produce some income. Female employees seem less concerned with the idea of work and more with the income it provides. A majority of women workers are married, and this provides them an alternative identity as housewife and/or mother. Many of them work to provide additional income for the family and may quit working when financially dissatisfied if a financially satisfying option is offered. They do show increased work orientation with dependent children only to a lesser degree than male workers. Middle class women indicate very high work orientation and, between ages thirty and forty-four are at least as motivated as middle class men. But they are not constrained by a self-identity based on employment.

This study has indicated statistically significant differences exist in work orientation for male and female employees. In addition, differences were found for the amount of influence exhibited by several variables on willingness of men and women to continue employment.

During replication of Morse and Weiss' work, attitudinal changes were noted among both the youngest male employees and the oldest group when compared with a sample collected twenty years earlier. The youngest employees were less willing to continue employment than their earlier counterparts and the oldest male workers were more willing. In addition to this age difference, occupational status

provided indications of differing persistence among middle class male workers as compared with working class male employees.

Several questions were raised which seem important to better understanding of national work orientation. One of these involves the apparent renewed interest in employment shown by most groups as they neared or reached retirement. This retirement resistance or unwillingness to disengage could be best studied if the work orientation question was asked of all individuals within a sample, and not only employees.

The reasons for declining enthusiasm among male full-time employees ages twenty-one through thirty-four, and increased orientation for male full-time employees ages fifty-five through sixty-four should be further examined. This combination seems to produce a leveling of work orientation throughout the working career with particular importance from ages twenty-one through forty-four where little change is noted.

The willingness of financially dissatisfied male employees to continue working as compared with the responses of their female counterparts seems suitable for study. Why are women much less willing to continue employment when financially dissatisfied?

The very large influence of dependent children for men is similar, but much stronger, than that for women. A larger sample may produce statistical significance for both sexes, but what other variables interact for women to produce this smaller influence?

These questions, and others, may be approached through multivariate analytical techniques to provide additional information. Male and female employees provide significant differences in their viewpoint of work orientation. Comprehension of willingness to work in this post-industrial society requires understanding of sexual differences and the influence of related variables for the labor force.

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Appendix A

WEIGHTING CASES IN A FILE

The need to weight cases occurs when some substratum within the total sample does not conform to parameters required by the research. In this study, three different weighting operations were performed. The first was done to match N.O.R.C. information with the occupational percentages reported by Morse and Weiss. The second and third were used to match male and female occupational representation, as reported by the N.O.R.C. sample, with the 1970 United States census.

Although weighting is an uncomplicated procedure, it requires thoughtful preparation of data. Components of both the sample to be weighted and the desired result should be thoroughly understood prior to any data manipulation. As the weight factor chosen will modify all individual responses within the substratum, inaccurate appraisal can result in distortion within analysis findings.

Appropriate weights may be selected, by the researcher, to suit the needs of the particular study. The results can be adjusted to produce a desired total sample size or adjustment of the internal categories can be made, to suit the theoretical issues involved, without controlling for matching some total size criterion. Prior to analysis some consideration should be given to comparisons expected to be needed in the study so sample sizes can be kept similar in size.

This is not statistically necessary, but facilitates intuitive comparison.

Because weighting changes the number of individual cases within the substratum, and operates each time the computer manipulates the weighted sample, there will be some differences noted in the number of respondents reported from one procedure to another. This is due to rounding errors and has been found to amount to a difference of a single case in a file of 3,000 (Nie et al., 1975:130). This is sometimes disconcerting as row and column totals will not always match with large weight factor adjustments.

Weighting allows extreme accuracy as any weighting factor may be used which can be expressed in terms of a decimal number, a whole number, or a whole number plus a decimal number (Nie et al., 1975:130). This capability allows the researcher to increase or decrease his sample as desired. But the ability to adjust the original sample does not also give total license in interpretation of findings. In this study farmer representation was increased about 400 per cent (weight factor 3.9976). When the original sample is very small, as was the case with farmers, most statistical procedures will produce many empty cells and possible distortion of findings. The same regard for a large enough sample to allow confidence in findings should be shown when weighting as for unweighted studies. But in weighting it is the size of the pre-weighted sample which is important.

Weight factors chosen can be as accurate as required. But, because many cases must exist for the final result to meet very

precise requirements, extremely close precision can only be performed with large samples. With a small sample, the final result will only seem close to the desired result regardless of the accuracy in the weight factor.

Weighting procedures used in this study are printed in SPSS. Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, 2nd ed., 1975:129-131. The weights used to match N.O.R.C. information to 1970 census findings are reported in Table A.1.

APPENDIX B

TABLE A. 1.

WEIGHT FACTORS, FOR MALE AND FEMALE EMPLOYEES,^a
TO MATCH 1973 N.O.R.C. DATA WITH 1970 U.S. CENSUS FINDINGS^b

Occupation	Census Percentage (1970)	N.O.R.C. Weight Factor	Census Percentage (1970)	N.O.R.C. Weight Factor
Professional, technical, and kindred	16.09%	.8627	14.61%	.7690
Managers & administrators, except farm, PLUS sales workers	10.87	.7862	18.32	.9750
Clerical and kindred	35.02	1.1465	7.64	1.3553
Craftsmen and kindred	1.83	.6888	21.59	1.0138
Operatives, except transport	14.10	1.3285	13.58	1.1412
Transport equipment operatives, PLUS laborers, except farm	1.42	.6297	12.15	1.0210
Farmers & farm managers, PLUS farm laborers and farm foremen	.76	1.1833	4.43	1.2482
Service workers, except private household, PLUS private household workers	19.91	.9528	7.68	.9681
Total (percent)	(100.00%)		(100.00%)	

^aEmployed individuals include "full-time," "part-time," and "with a job but not at work."

^bSOURCE: Census of Population: 1970, Vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 1, United States Summary - Section 1, Table 226. Occupation of Employed Persons by Age, Race, and Sex: 1970: 761-763.