Convergence of work values in Tokyo, Seoul, and Shanghai?

Cross-country and intergenerational comparisons

ABSTRACT

Tokyo, Seoul and Shanghai are the commercial centers of Japan, South Korea (henceforth Korea), and China, respectively. Today's young, highly educated people in these countries will become the future leaders of the new "Asian century" (Fortune, 2004. 149(1): 53). What can we expect from this new generation of leaders? How are they different from the previous generation? How do they differ across countries? Has a convergence of work values taken place? How can companies manage the workforce of the future?

This study provides an updated and in-depth analysis of the work values of the future leaders and their parents in Tokyo, Seoul, and Shanghai. These cross-country and intergenerational comparisons of work values may help find the answers to the above questions. From a theoretical point of view, this dissertation intends to increase our understanding of the highly controversial debate about the convergence-divergence-crossvergence theories (Di Maggio, 1994; Inglehart, 1998; Ralston et al. 1997).

Despite the popularity of research in the area of work values and the convergence-divergence-crossvergence debate, previous research has often been inconsistent and inconclusive. The problem starts with the definition and conceptualization of work values (Dose, 1997). Previous research was often fragmented and each discipline (Sociology, Psychology, and Business Administration) tended to develop its own definition and understanding. Therefore, this dissertation incorporates findings from different disciplines,

comprehensively defines work values, and simultaneously investigates three different concepts of work values following the logic of triangulation from within, which may improve the validity of the findings (Jick 1979). The dissertation also responds to the claim that more focused research on the booming Asian region is needed (M. Shin, 2004).

The data from 1,414 questionnaire respondents were analyzed. Values of young and highly educated people may predict economic growth and political development in a country (Inglehart, 1990). Given the importance the new generation of Chinese managers placed on career and their willingness to take risks, both of which are important in developing new businesses, the Chinese economy is expected to continue its growth path. Given that young Koreans also have a high sense of career and money orientation and are likely to devote their efforts to achieving these goals, the economic outlook is also positive. Because the work values of the young generation of Japanese have become oriented toward more quality of life and less work, the economic outlook might be less optimistic for Japan when compared to China and Korea (see The Economist, 2005).

Intergenerational comparisons within China, Korea, and Japan revealed intriguing findings. Striking differences in work values in line with rapid economic and social transformations were found in China indicating a generation gap. On the other hand, work value differences were much less pronounced between the generations in Korea and Japan where economic changes were less pervasive. In conclusion, the findings indicate that value change may occur at different speeds according to economic development.

Only the simultaneous consideration of cross-country and intergenerational analyses allows the ability to draw confident conclusions. While striking differences in work values

were observed across countries and within China, differences were less pronounced within Japan and Korea. Overall, the results largely support the convergence theory in that socioeconomic development influences the development of work values. At the same time, the findings indicate that other individual factors, e.g., gender and occupation, and other macro-level events, such as economic recessions and the Chinese Cultural Revolution, also have profound impacts on work values consistent with the crossvergence theory. I argue that these alleged competing theories can actually be reconciled because both theories include the notion that socioeconomic and other individual factors influence the formation of values.

So, how can companies manage their current and future workforces in Japan, Korea, and China? In order to attract, motivate and retain people, companies need to design a management system that corresponds to prevalent work values (Ng & Burke, 2006). If values and cultures converge, it is argued that companies can offer a standardized one size fits all approach and save cost in the process. Even though the findings largely support the convergence theory, no sufficient convergence of work values has taken place yet. At present and for the next few decades to come, companies are thus advised to localize their management practices. The study offers ample and detailed recommendations about how companies can adjust to local conditions in Japan, Korea, and China.

Keywords: work values, convergence theory, intergenerational change, Japan, South Korea, China

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List of Abbreviations

ANCOVA	Analysis of covariance
ANOVA	Analysis of variance
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
DF	Degree of freedom
FDI	Foreign direct investment
GDP	Gross domestic product
HR	Human resources
HRM	Human resource management
M&A	Mergers and acquisitions
MANCOVA	Multivariate analysis of covariance
MANOVA	Multivariate analysis of variance
MNC	Multinational corporation
SD	Standard deviation
Sig.	Significance
USD	United States dollars

1. INTRODUCTION

Japan has the second largest economy in the world, which has finally recovered from a recession that lasted more than ten years (*Economist*, 2006; *Financial Times*, 2006). South Korea (henceforth Korea) has become a leader in the high technology industries, with the most advanced mobile technology, the most developers of flat screen TVs, and the most widespread broadband Internet access (*Wall Street Journal*, 2004). China has enjoyed double-digit economic growth rates in recent years, and this development seems unstoppable since it is expected to continue for many more years to come. In the summer of 2008, Beijing hosted the Olympic Games, and in 2010, Shanghai will be hosting the World Expo. Toyota (Japan), Samsung (Korea), and Lenovo (China), have become worldwide famous companies.

No doubt, the future appears to rest with Asia. While the last century was dominated by Europe and the United States, we can expect to experience an economic power shift towards Asia within the next few decades (Sachs, 2004). The American magazine *Fortune* even heralded the beginning of an "Asian century" (Sachs, 2004: 53). What made these Asian countries so successful? What can we expect from these three countries in the future?

These are indeed substantial questions, and while the current dissertation might not be able to answer the two questions directly, it will investigate human values in these three countries. Values are correlated with economic and political development (Inglehart, 1998, 2002). Based on a large longitudinal scale survey including more than 100,000 questionnaires distributed across more than 40 countries, Inglehart (1998) found that human values emphasizing thrift and determination could explain the superior economic growth in these three countries, despite their lack of natural resources (Figure 1). Figure 1 shows the

correlation between annual economic growth and motivation values (a composite of four different values). In addition to simple correlation analysis, Inglehart (1998) included various alternative predictors, e.g., prior annual growth, and found that human values had by far the strongest impact on economic growth. Thus, an investigation of values might explain why these countries have been so successful and might offer some clues about how these countries will prosper in the future.

Figure 1: Economic growth and values
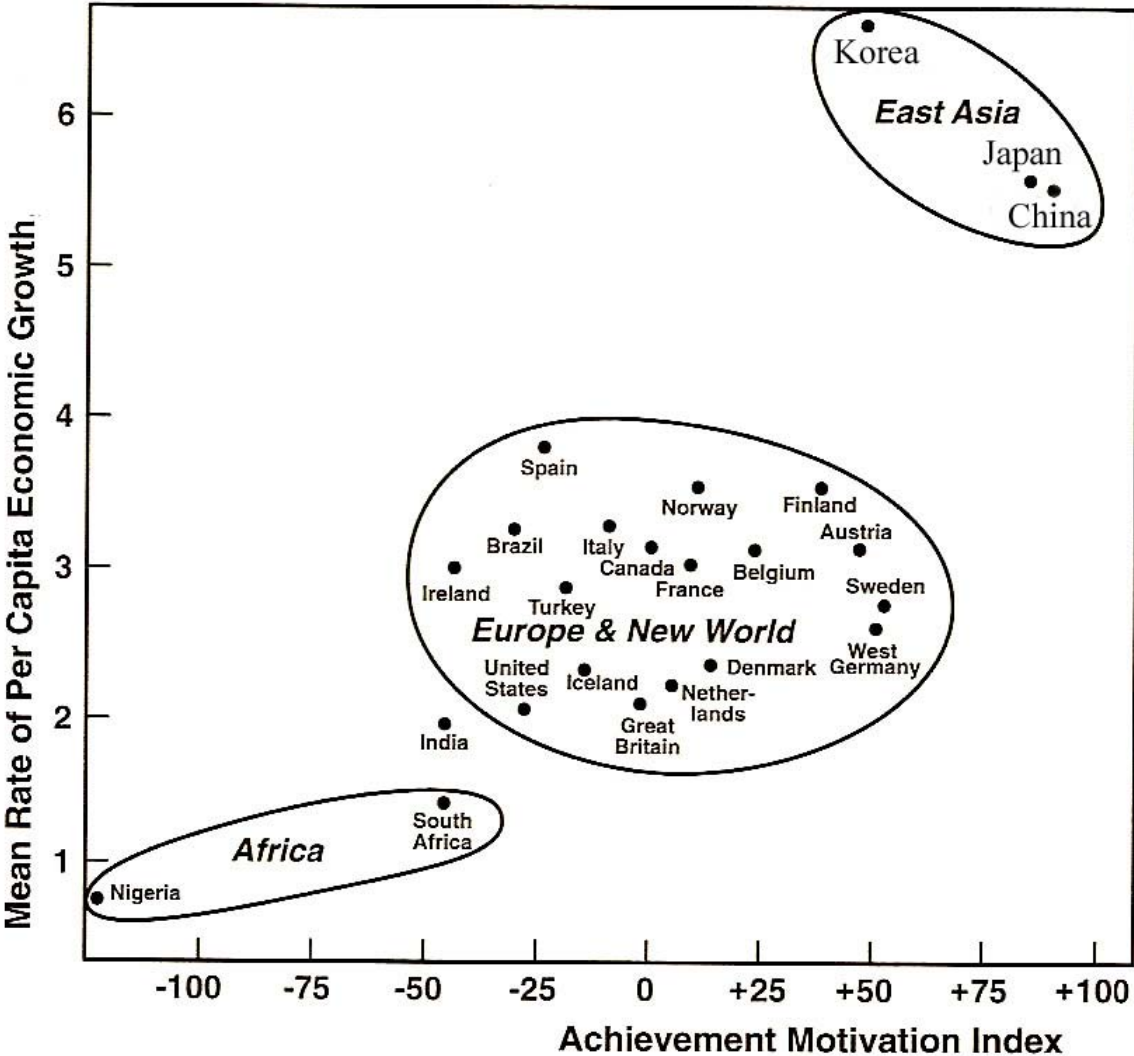
Source: Inglehart, 1998

That values are linked with economic growth was only a by-product of Inglehart's research. A political scientist by training, he intended to, and eventually proved, that human values predict political development, or more specifically, democratization (Inglehart, 1998; Inglehart et al., 2002). With his vast amount of data, he could show empirically that as people in developing and non-democratic states develop values that emphasize the principles of self-actualization, they demand democratization, and democratization follows as a natural process. Human values have been found to have far-reaching impacts on various domains beyond the mentioned economic and political development. To cite just a few examples, values were found to be related with fertility rates (e.g., Retherford et al., 1996), gender equality (Inglehart et al., 2002; Inglehart & Norris, 2003), crime rates (Halpern, 2001), human resource management practices (Ngo et al., 1998) and work attitudes (Kallerberg, 1977; Kirkman & Shapiro, 2001). In summary, human values are a powerful construct in explaining myriad social phenomena.

1.1. Scope of the Study

Human values have been investigated in various domains as mentioned above. Depending on the domain, different definitions and conceptualizations have been used. This dissertation focuses on values in a work context—work values. Work values can be defined as standards or criteria that are relevant in a work context (Dose, 1997)[1]. This dissertation intends to draw intergenerational comparisons of work values within Japan, Korea, and China, and across these three countries. If intergenerational comparisons reflect no differences, the conclusion that work values have remained stable can be drawn. Conversely, if

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[1] Work values are comprehensively defined and explained in chapter 2.

intergenerational comparisons show striking differences, we can conclude that change has occurred. Indeed, "Stability or Change," the main title of this dissertation, encompasses one of the central questions to be answered by this dissertation.

Until this point, I have referred primarily to Japan, Korea, and China. To be more specific, however, this dissertation uses data collected in Shanghai, Seoul and Tokyo to investigate work values. Tokyo, Seoul, and Shanghai are the commercial centers of Japan, Korea, and China, respectively. Granted, Tokyo, Seoul, and Shanghai are not necessarily representative for their respective countries, and no claim is made for such representation. Nevertheless, most Western companies have invested heavily in those three cities, and most Western companies have chosen to establish their country headquarters in those three commercial centers. As such, an investigation of the work values prevalent in these three commercial centers might be highly relevant for a Western perspective.

Today's young, highly educated people in these countries will become the future generation of managers of the new "Asian century" (*Fortune*, 2004). This dissertation explores the work values of university students at Fudan University in Shanghai, Yonsei University in Seoul, and Waseda University in Tokyo—the new generation of managers. In addition to the comparison of students across countries, the work values of their parents' generation are analyzed. I focus on university students at prestigious universities, since they are the people who often will later assume influential positions in politics and industry. Employment discrimination based on university names—the power of strong alumni networks—is especially prevalent in these Asian countries, thus ensuring that graduates of these universities fill the top jobs (Chang & Chang, 1994, Chen, 1995; Cutts, 1995). For instance, the top two private universities in Japan, Waseda University and Keio University, as

well as Korea University and Yonsei University in Korea, hone their university spirit by various alumni events and even by organizing annual sports festivals that are broadcast on TV. When Fudan University hosted a forum in Shanghai in May 2007, ministers, government officials and company CEOs, many of whom have graduated from that school, were more than happy to come. Similarly, the alumni list of Waseda University reads like a who's who list of Japan, including six former Japanese prime ministers, and numerous business leaders who have shaped Japan's economy, including Masaru Ibuka, the founder of Sony, or Mikio Sasaki, the chairman of Mitsubishi Corporation. Thus, university students at these top universities can easily be considered the future leaders of their countries. Analyzing their work values should provide a reliable indication of future career allegiances and behavior (Regan & Roland, 1982), since by the time young people have reached college age, most have already developed their values, which will then remain relatively stable over the course of their lives (Clausen & Jones, 1998; Inglehart, 1998).

1.2. Significance of the Study

Despite the general popularity of research in the area of work values (e.g., Hofstede, 2001, House et al., 2004, Inglehart, 1998; Inglehart & Baker, 2002; Ralston et al., 1997), little systematic research has been conducted on work values (Dose, 1997). "Current theories of cultural values (e.g. Inglehart, 1977, 1990; Triandis, 1990) address limited aspects of culture (e.g. materialism-postmaterialism; individualism-collectivism) rather than seeking to capture a full range of potentially relevant value dimension" (Schwartz, 1999: 23-47). In a more recent review of cross-cultural organizational behavior research, Tsui, Nifadkar, and Ou (2007) arrive at a similar conclusion in that the majority of studies dealing with values cover only a narrow aspect of the subject, most often dealing only with individualism and

collectivism but paying little attention to other aspects of values. In conclusion, more research incorporating a broad range of work values seems warranted.

In order to investigate a wide range of work values and achieve a higher level of understanding, I have adopted an interdisciplinary approach. Researchers in the area of Sociology, Business Administration, and Psychology have dealt with work values from different angles with very little cross-fertilization. For instance, the article entitled "Work values and job rewards: A theory of job satisfaction," written by Arne Kalleberg (1977) and published in the American Journal of Sociological Review—the premier outlet in Sociology—was cited more than 200 times, but mainly by other sociologists despite a topic which seems highly relevant for scholars of Business Administration and Applied Psychology. Another example is the article "Effects of work values on job choice decisions," written by Judge and Bretz (1992), which appeared in the Journal of Applied Psychology and was cited more than 200 times, but almost exclusively in other Psychology journals. Another example of this discipline-focused research for the case of Business Administration is the noteworthy article entitled "The impact of national culture and economic ideology on managerial work values: A study of the United States, Russia, Japan, and China," written by Ralston, Holt, Terpstra and Kai-Cheng in 1997. This article even received a Decade Award from the Journal of International Business, the top journal in the area of International Business, yet despite its more than 200 citations, the article has been almost completely ignored by Psychologists and Sociologists. This narrow perspective and ignorance of research from other disciplines is very unfortunate. Are scholars dealing with concepts without considering the related knowledge developed in other disciplines? What can scholars from different disciplines learn from each other? This dissertation intends to integrate the knowledge from different disciplines.

Through concerted, interdisciplinary literature research, I have developed measures that incorporate the ideas from different disciplines, thus investigating work values from different angles. From a methodological point of view, this approach to combining various measures that deal with similar or related concepts is referred to as triangulation from within (Jick 1979). This kind of triangulation adds value to the quality of the analysis and might enhance our understanding of its results. Furthermore, this triangulation of multiple measures might help explain the periodically surprising and mixed results. This study is among the first to apply a simultaneous investigation of various work values measures as suggested by Dose (1997) in her seminal article on work values (for an exception, see Ros et al., 1999).

In addition to triangulation from within, this dissertation also employs triangulation of different research methods. While the primary method of investigation is quantitative research through the means of a survey, this data will be supplemented by qualitative research accomplished through interviews and focus interview groups. Initial interviews before the distribution of the questionnaire helped design and improve the questionnaire, and post-distribution interviews helped interpret the results, which were sometimes surprising. Overall, triangulation of different research methods may help counterbalance the strengths and weaknesses of particular designs and might enhance the generalizability of the results of this study (Scandura & Williams, 2000). While the advantages of triangulation are generally known, few scholars actually make use of the methodology.

While Asia is commonly regarded as a very dynamic and attractive region for investment, very little research has focused on Asian work values (M. Shin, 2004). Even worse, Japan, Korea, and China have often been simply clustered together under the

assumption that they are very similar (e.g., Hofstede, 2001; Inglehart, 1998). Do people from these three countries really hold similar values?

Most of the previous research is dated. For example, Hofstede's large-scale survey (2001) was conducted in the 1970s. However, recent studies indicated that values have changed since then (Inglehart, 1998; Ralston et al., 1999). Nevertheless, a number of recent studies still refer to and apply Hofstede's cultural value scores. According to Hofstede's findings, South Korea is a highly collectivistic society, but more recent studies indicate that dramatic changes towards individualism have occurred since then (e.g., Jons et al., 2007; Huenerberg, 2001). These value changes might have accelerated at an even greater rate in recent years. According to Howe and Strauss (2000), the new generation, also referred to as the Millennias, brought with them a new set of values. Thus, a more updated study is recommended to better understand today's Asian workforce. This dissertation intends to update the research on work values with a particular focus on these three Asian countries.

The new generation of managers is represented by university students at elite universities. In Japan, Korea, and China, only the students from elite universities are likely to embark on managerial or governmental careers (Chang & Chang, 1994, Chen, 1995; Cutts, 1995). While Business scholars tend to discount university students as not being "real people," previous research has shown that work values are relatively similar between working adults and university students (e.g., Ros et al., 1999). The choice of a sample of university students at elite universities in the commercial centers of the three countries has a distinct advantage over the samples used in prior research. Previous research (e.g., Ralston et al., 1999, Hofstede, 2001) directly or implicitly claimed the generalizability and cross-cultural equivalence of their samples. In reality, however, most of these studies used relatively small

sample sizes, and did not distinguish between regions (urban versus regional), company characteristics (small versus large companies, global versus domestic companies), job type (blue collar versus white collar), managerial positions, age, gender, and so forth. Thus, it remains questionable whether the value differences observed in some studies can be attributed to country effects or other confounding effects as mentioned above. In contrast to that, undergraduate students at elite universities represent a good match of respondents across countries. At the very least, all respondents live in urban centers, study at elite universities within their countries, are of relatively similar ages, and are at similar stages in their careers.

In addition to the data collected from university students, data was also gathered from their parents. The collection of survey data is not an easy task, but collecting intergenerational data, i.e., matched data from one respondent and his/her parents, is even more difficult as one can easily imagine. A number of previous studies that refer to generational comparisons (e.g., Mellahi & Guermat, 2004; Ralston et al., 1999) simply compare different unrelated age cohorts. By intergenerational data, I refer to "true" intergenerational data, i.e., student-parent dyads. Most of the true intergenerational studies use small sample sizes, sometimes with even fewer than 100 respondents (e.g. Stewart et al., 1999). This study offers a substantial true intergenerational data set of 1,414 respondents in Japan, Korea, and China.

1.3. Purpose of the Study

Why do we need to care about work values? The answer to that question is highly related to the purpose of this study, and the answer can be divided into two categories. First, an investigation of values is valuable in our quest for theoretical understanding, which I hope

to advance. Second, the investigation of work values may also have practical implications, which I intend to show.

From a theoretical perspective, a comparative analysis of work values might shed further light on the highly controversial debate about the convergence-divergence-crossvergence theories. According to the convergence theory, all countries will develop similar values along the path to their economic development (Inglehart, 1998; Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). However, this theory has often been challenged and refuted (e.g., Hofstede, 2001, Ralston et al., 1999). By using a large data set of university students and their parents, I hope to add further knowledge to, and a deeper understanding of the convergence-divergence-crossvergence debate.

From the practical implications point of view, understanding work values is important, since they are related to economic development and human resource management (HRM) (Judge & Bretz, 1992; Kallerberg, 1977; Kirkman & Shapiro, 2001; Ngo et al., 1998). Thus, understanding work values may help predict economic development in the future. While this is not the main purpose of the study, I will refer to it in the discussion of this paper and offer some predictions for future economic development in these three countries. Among Japan, Korea, or China, which country is expected to excel most in the future?

The main purpose of this dissertation is to provide multinational corporations (MNC) with guidelines for the design of human resource practices that better attract and motivate people in Japan, Korea, and China. Understanding the values of the new generation will improve companies' ability to attract and retain these people (Ng & Burke, 2006) because people are attracted to organizations if they perceive a match between the organization's

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values and their own (Cable & Judge, 1994; Cable & Judge, 1996). For instance, if job seekers were teamwork oriented, they would prefer a company that also emphasizes teamwork. The comparative perspective of this study may be especially relevant for MNCs operating in several of these markets. Foreign MNCs have been lured by Asia's attractiveness, and they have increased their investments steadily (UNCTAD, 2005). In the long run, only organizations that are able to attract the brightest people in these countries will succeed (Watson Wyatt, 2003). If people from these countries have similar values and expectations, MNCs can attract and manage them in a similar way; however, if they differ, a higher degree of localization might be necessary (Ralston et al., 1997). The analysis of work values intends to reveal if or how companies need to adjust or can standardize their HRM practices with those in the respective country in order to attract and motivate people accordingly.

In addition to its practical and theoretical considerations, this study has another purpose. As this study—dissertation—is part of the requirement for a doctoral program, I intend to show that I can work scientifically. As such, not only the results but also the way I derive the results is important. Therefore, I paid special attention to "how" I approached this research project and give detailed explanations in the methodology chapter.
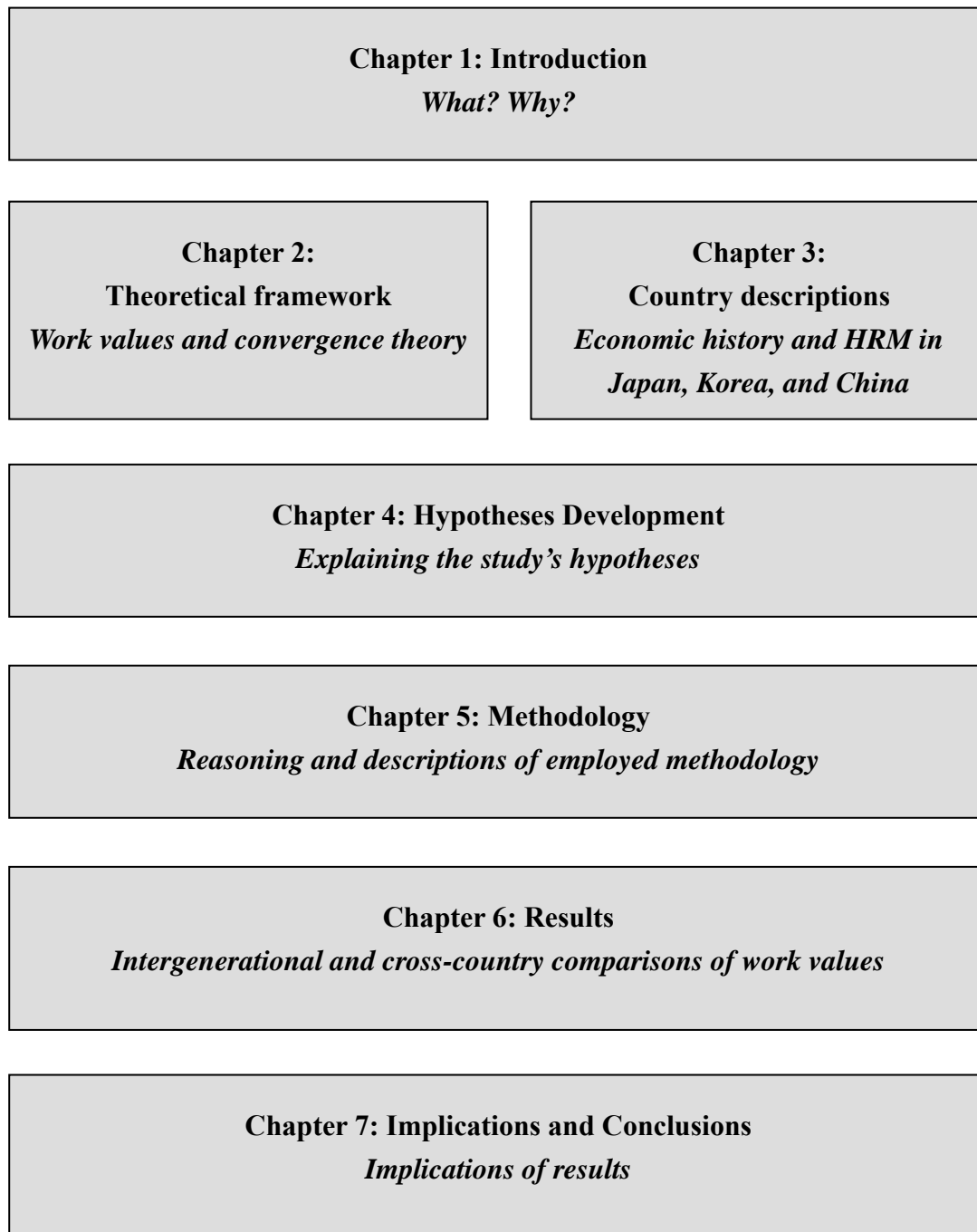
1.4. Research Questions

Here, I would like to provide a very broad overview of the research questions that will be dealt with in this dissertation. The research questions will be further specified and translated into hypotheses in the Theoretical Framework and Hypotheses Development chapters. In general, I intend to explore the following research questions:

Research Question 1:   How do work values differ across Japan, Korea, and China?

Research Question 2:   How do work values differ across generations?

Research Question 3:   What are the implications for the human resource management of multinational corporations?

1.5. Structure of the Dissertation

The dissertation consists of seven chapters (see Figure 2). In this introductory chapter, I attempt to answer the basic questions, "What" and "Why." I have outlined the content of the investigation—the cross-country and intergenerational comparison of work values in Japan, Korea, and China—and why such an investigation is needed. In chapter 2, I provide a comprehensive definition of work values and discuss the convergence theory and its competing theories. According to the convergence theory, socioeconomic developments are strongly related to the formation of values (Inglehart, 1998). Thus, in chapter 3, I describe the socioeconomic developments that occurred in Japan, Korea, and China. In addition, chapter 3 describes the current HR practices prevalent in these three countries. Chapter 2, in combination with chapter 3, lays the foundation for the development of the study's hypotheses, which will be developed in chapter 4. Because of their relatively equal importance to the development of hypotheses in the following chapter, I have depicted in Figure 2 chapters 2 and 3 being beside each other, instead of below each other, as I did for all other chapters. Having established the research questions and hypotheses in chapter 4, chapter 5 critically discusses various methodological approaches and explains why certain methodological steps were taken in this dissertation.

Figure 2: Logical flow of dissertation

Chapter 1: Introduction
What? Why?

Chapter 2: Theoretical framework	Chapter 3: Country descriptions
Work values and convergence theory	*Economic history and HRM in Japan, Korea, and China*

Chapter 4: Hypotheses Development
Explaining the study's hypotheses

Chapter 5: Methodology
Reasoning and descriptions of employed methodology

Chapter 6: Results
Intergenerational and cross-country comparisons of work values

Chapter 7: Implications and Conclusions
Implications of results

Chapter 6 then presents the results of this study divided into various substudies. First, I present and discuss the results of intergenerational comparisons separately for Japan, Korea, and China. Then, I present and discuss the cross-country differences in work values across, first for the student sample and then for the parent sample. Finally, I present and discuss an

integrative comparison of work values across generations and across countries. The final chapter offers practical and theoretical implications, discusses the study's limitations, and ends with a general conclusion.

2.   THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This dissertation deals with cross-country and intergenerational comparisons of work values. In this chapter, I define work values and discuss the underlying concepts and theories commonly used to explain stability or change in work values. In the first section, I define work values and introduce the various subconstructs relevant to this study. In the second section of this chapter, I discuss the convergence, divergence, and crossvergence theories of value change.

2.1. Work Values

Despite an increasing awareness of the importance of work values, no commonly accepted definition could have been established (Smola & Sutton, 2002). In her seminal analysis, Dose (1997) provides an overview of the fragmented work value literature. Researchers from various disciplines have referred to work values from different angles, sometimes referring to the same constructs, and sometimes with slightly different connotations. In this section, I discuss the various perceptions of work values and attempt to define them by reconciling the various interpretations.

A first step in defining work values is to explore the meanings of the two words, "work" and "value." Defining and finding agreement about the meaning of work seems rather simple. According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, work can be defined as an "activity in which one exerts strength or faculties to do or perform something," where "something" may refer to "the labor, task, or duty that is one's accustomed means of livelihood." However, the definition and usage of the term value is not as straightforward. Despite the frequent use of the term, value(s), little consistency exists in how it can be understood (Borg, 1990; Dose,

1997; Kilmann, 1981; Kluckhohn, 1951; Rokeach, 1968; Wiener, 1988). Researchers have sometimes equated values with beliefs (Rokeach, 1968), needs (Super, 1973), goals (Schwartz & Bilski, 1987), criteria for choosing goals (Locke, 1976), attitudes (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975), and preferences (Kluckhohn, 1951). Nevertheless, most researchers would agree that values can be defined as standards or criteria for goals or guiding action (Dose, 1997; Kluckhohn, 1951; Rockeach, 1968; Schwartz & Bilski, 1987). Furthermore, most researchers are likely to agree that values are relatively stable over time (England, 1967; Kluckhohn, 1951; Meglino, Ravlin & Adkins, 1989; Rockeach, 1968).

Having discussed the meaning of work and value separately, what do we understand about work values? In this dissertation, I will refer to the definition provided by Dose (1997) based in her seminal discussion of work values. After a comprehensive literature review, she provided the following definition:

Work values are evaluative standards relating to work or the work environment.

In other words, work values encompass evaluative standards (values as explained above) that are relevant in a work context. Researchers have tested numerous relationships between work values and various work outcomes. For example, Judge and Bretz (1994) found that work values influenced the job choice decisions of university students. Cullen, Parboteath, and Hoegl (2004) found that achievement oriented and individualistic managers are less likely to accept ethically suspect behavior. Tsui, Nifadkar, and Ou (2007) provide a comprehensive literature review of the various relationships between values and the range of work related outcomes. I deliberately chose this rather broad definition of work values because they have

been defined and measured in so many different ways (see Dose 1997 for an overview). Nevertheless, this definition provides a basic understanding of work values.

Researchers from different disciplines and those within the same disciplines have been partially successful in developing different definitions and concepts that may fall under the general definition provided in this dissertation. In her seminal work, which primarily considers research from Business Administration and Psychology, Dose (1997) discovered more than 10 major conceptualizations and measures of work values. These conceptualizations ranged from Pryor's (1979) work preferences and the Protestant Ethic Scale (Mirels & Garrett, 1971), to the "Meaning of working" study (MOW, 1987; Clare & Sanford, 1994). Explaining all these various conceptualizations of work values is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but the interested reader may consult Dose's study (1997). This dissertation intends to simplify further the classifications of work values into three distinct categories as derived from the extent Sociology, Psychology, and Business Administration literature. In this dissertation, I focus on the concepts of general values relevant in a work context, job values, and work centrality. I will define and further elaborate each of these three concepts in the following three subsections.

2.1.1. General Values

In the area of Business Administration, general values have often been equated with work values. Under general values, I understand values that have rather broad implications, which are not only relevant in the business context but also in a more general setting. For instance, power distance, the degree to which people accept unequal distribution of power (Hofstede, 2001), has often been investigated in a work context, yet power distance might

also be related to a number of other social phenomena, such as how parents raise their children. As a number of Business Administration scholars have shown important relationships between these "general values" and various macro and micro level work and business related outcomes, they justified the use of the term "work values" (for a review, see Kirkman et al., 2006). Likewise, I incorporate general values as one facet of work values into my analysis.

Instead of using the term general values but referring essentially to a relatively similar construct, other researchers have examined Protestant work ethics, (Feather, 1984), basic individual values (Ros et al., 1999), cultural values (Hofstede, 2001), human values (Rockeach, 1968, Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987), or leadership values (House et al., 2004). These authors have developed measures for general values, often with slightly different underlying logic. While the Protestant work ethics values refer to a certain specific set of values, including industriousness, self-discipline, asceticism, and individualism that are associated with Protestants, other scholars claim to have developed universal value measures that capture the human values which can distinguish one country from another. The aforementioned concepts of general values can also be distinguished according to their level of analysis. Whereas cultural values (Hofstede, 2001) and leadership values (House et al., 2004) refer to values assessed for the societal level, basic individual values (Ros et al., 1999), human values (Rockeach, 1968; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987), and Protestant work ethics (Feather, 1984) are usually assessed at the individual level. Aware of this differentiation, Schwartz developed two sets of values, basic individual values for the individual level (Schwartz, 1992) and cultural values for the societal level (Schwartz, 1999). In a similar vein, Dose (1997) classified work values into personal and social consensus work values. Social consensus refers to what is prevalent in a given society, while personal consensus refers to the individual's preference for

a work value. Incorporating this distinction, House and colleagues (2004) assessed both kinds of values by asking the same, but slightly modified question[2]. For instance, "*In this society,* societal requirements and instructions are spelled out in detail so citizens know what they are expected to do" (social consensus). This question is modified to "*I believe* that societal requirements and instructions should be spelled out in detail so citizens know what they are expected to do (preference) (House et al., 2004: 619). While these various measures have partly diverging underlying logics, researchers have found significant correlations between them (Hofstede, 2001; House et al., 2004; Javidian et al., 2006). For the purpose of this dissertation, which is to advance recommendations for HRM practice, a focus on individual/preference work values is desirable, since this concept of work values is more salient when determining HR practices that match the interests of employees.

In the Business Administration literature, the measures developed by Hofstede (2001), Schwartz (1992) and House and colleagues (2004) have received the most attention. Thus, I will briefly introduce these three studies. The earliest among those three studies is that of Hofstede (2001). Geert Hofstede, a previous IBM employee, collected questionnaires from more than 100,000 IBM employees in more than 40 different countries. While his study has often been criticized (e.g., McSweeney, 2002; Smith, 2002), his work is one of the most frequently cited in International Business. It has been cited more than 1,800 times (Hofstede, 2001), not only in Business Administration, but also frequently in Economics, Sociology and Psychology. One of the chief criticisms of the Hofstede study is that he did not carefully develop and plan his survey before collecting data, but simply analyzed a vast amount of data and then developed the supporting theory and logic post-hoc. On the other hand, the primary

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[2] House et al. 2004 uses the terms "society practice" and "society values," but these are essentially the same as "social consensus" and "personal."

strengths of his study are its vast amount of data and the simplicity of the model. Hofstede (2001) presented four cultural dimensions to distinguish between nations: individualism/collectivism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance, and masculinity/femininity. Individualism/collectivism refers to the degree to which people are individualistic or group oriented. Among Hofstede's four dimensions, individualism/collectivism has been investigated most frequently (Kirkman et al., 2006). For instance, more individualistic people were found to show higher job satisfaction (Chiu, 1999) and were more likely to prefer rewards that were allocated based on effort (Leung & Iwawaki, 1988). Power distance refers to the degree to which people accept hierarchical differences. For instance, people with lower power distance (less hierarchical) perceived feedback more positively (Ramamoorthy & Carroll, 1998) and were more open to their superiors (Bochner & Hesketh, 1994). Uncertainty avoidance refers to the degree to which people can cope with events that are not predictable. People high in uncertainty avoidance prefer being given rules and regulations so that they can avoid uncertainty. For instance, Steensman and colleagues (2000) found that people high in uncertainty avoidance preferred cooperative agreements with similar partners and were less likely to join foreign companies (Turban et al., 2001[3]). Masculinity/femininity refers to the degree of traditional gender roles and performance orientation, where performance oriented values are considered as masculine. People low in masculinity and high in femininity were more likely to engage in cooperative strategies with other firms (Steensman et al., 2000) and more favorable towards human development (Bennett, 1999).

More than two decades later, Shalom Schwartz (1992) conducted a large-scale survey that included more than 60,000 respondents across 20 countries. Based on his data, he identified 10 distinct motivational types of values that act as guiding principles for people's

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[3] Turban et al. 2001 actually measured risk aversion, which is a similar construct to uncertainty avoidance.

lives. He further constructed four higher-level dimensions that encompass these 10 values: Openness to change, self-transcendence, conservatism, and self-enhancement. Openness to change includes hedonism, stimulation, and self-direction. Hedonism refers to how people value pleasure and enjoy life. Stimulation includes excitement and a challenging and diversified life. Self-direction refers to independent thoughts and actions. Self-transcendence comprises the values of universalism and benevolence. Universalism refers to a broad understanding and tolerance for the welfare of all people and nature. Benevolence deals with support and help towards others, particularly those with whom one maintains frequent contact. Conservatism includes conformity, tradition, and security. Conformity refers to an understanding of complying with rules, regulations, and social norms so as not to upset others. People who value tradition tend to preserve existing rules and customs. Security refers to safety, harmony, and stability of society, relationships, and oneself. The higher order dimension of self-enhancement comprises power, achievement, and hedonism.[4] Power refers to the degree to which people enjoy different social hierarchies. Achievement refers to personal success through capabilities. While Schwartz's (1992) study has been cited more than 1,500 times, the majority of those citations are in the area of psychology. For instance, researchers have related Schwartz's measures with religiosity (Schwartz & Huismans, 1995) and environmental behavior (Schultz & Zelezny, 1998). Nevertheless, Schwartz's values have been used in a number of work related contexts. For instance, Ros and colleagues (1999) showed that conservatism positively correlated with extrinsic work motivation factors but also correlated negatively with intrinsic work motivation factors. Openness to Change showed the opposite correlations, namely negative correlation with extrinsic motivation factors, but

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[4] Please note that hedonism belongs to both self-enhancement and openness to change. The classifications into these four higher order dimensions are based primary on the logical reasoning of Shalom Schwartz (personal communication, Shalom Schwartz, July 2008, Berlin).

positive correlations with intrinsic motivation factors. In a series of studies, Ralston and colleagues (1993, 1997, & 1999) surveyed managers in China, USA, Russia, and other countries using Schwartz's measures of values. He found both similarities and differences across countries and introduced the concept of crossvergence, which will be introduced in the next section.

The most recent large-scale research is the GLOBE study conducted by House and colleagues (2004). More than 150 researchers from various countries participated in a research project collecting survey responses from 18,000 middle managers in 62 countries. House and colleagues identified eight major value dimensions[5]: performance orientation, future orientation, gender differentiation, assertiveness, individualism and collectivism, power distance, humane orientation, and uncertainty avoidance. Performance orientation is the extent to which people seek rewards based on performance. Future orientation is a time related value and refers to the degree to which people behave in the expectation of future rewards. Gender differentiation refers to the degree of gender roles divergence in a given society. Assertiveness refers to the degrees to which people are decisive versus modest or tender. Individualism and collectivism is defined as the degree to which people seek and take part in group membership. Power distance refers to the extent to which people accept differences in social status in a given society. Humane orientation is defined as the degree to which people value fair, generous, and caring behavior towards others. Uncertainty avoidance refers to the degree to which people rely on regulations and social norms to cope with unpredictable future events. As the GLOBE has only recently been published, the number of studies using the GLOBE

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[5] In various other publications, some of these dimensions were broken into further small subdimensions, e.g., Javidan and House (2001) divided the individualism and collectivism dimension into two subdimensions resulting in nine dimensions.

measures is still limited, though future studies are expected to choose GLOBE scores and measures due to its more rigid methodology and more recent data (Javidian et al., 2006; Leung et al., 2005; Tang & Koveos, 2008). For instance, using GLOBE's scores, Waldman and colleagues (2006) found that managers high in collectivism and low in power distance tend to emphasize corporate social responsibility. Cohen and Keren (2008) found that more collectivistic people showed higher organizational commitment.

Table 1: Comparison of three different value studies

Hofstede (2001)	Schwartz (1992)	House et al. (2004)
Individualism/collectivism	Conformity	Individualism/collectivism
	Self-direction	Assertiveness
	Universalism	
Power distance	Power	Power distance
Uncertainty avoidance	Security	Uncertainty avoidance
	Tradition	Future orientation
	Stimulation	
Masculinity/femininity	Achievement	Gender differentiation
	Benevolence	Performance orientation
	Hedonism	Humane Orientation

The review of these three high impact studies reveals that the concepts about values largely overlap (see Table 1). In particular, the overlap between House and colleagues (2004) and Hofstede (2001) is very pronounced. In a sense, the study by House and colleagues can be interpreted as a more refined version of Hofstede's study, dividing Hofstede's dimensions into various subdimensions. Several of the concepts mentioned in the study of House and colleagues even use the same label as Hofstede's study for roughly similar dimensions, e.g., power distance and individualism/collectivism. Also, the overlap with Schwartz's (1992) study is significant. For instance, Schwartz's power dimension appears quite similar to the

power distance dimension offered by Hofstede and House. Further, Javidian and colleagues (2006) showed statistically the similarity of some dimensions. For instance, the power distance dimensions by Hofstede and House et al. are correlated at r = 0.78, and the individualism/collectivism dimensions at r = 0.82[6], implying that these constructs are almost identical. In Table 1, I grouped the various dimensions to show the overlap of relatively similar dimensions.

The review of the literature has further shown that only certain value dimensions relate to specific work-related variables depending on the domain and context, regardless of the general values that have been used (for a review, see Kirkman et al., 2006). Similar measures, conceptualized in slightly different ways have been found to relate in a comparable way to work-related variables (e.g., House et al., 2004). This is not surprising, given that some of these value measures are very similar, as discussed in the previous paragraph. In addition to the value measures presented above, researchers have referred to the same constructs but developed their own scales that are more relevant to the domain and context of interest. For instance, when Turban and colleagues (2001) analyzed the values of Chinese university students in relation to their job choice decisions, they wanted to incorporate a measure of uncertainty avoidance or willingness to take risks. Instead of using Hofstede's (2001) or Schwartz's (1992) measures, they chose the measure offered by Gomez-Mejia and Balkin (1989), an existing metric from the HRM literature, which is more closely related to the topic of their study, and modified it slightly to fit the Chinese context. Likewise, in this dissertation, I intend to choose measures very carefully that are relevant to the specific context of this study, rather than simply assessing all of these mainstream general values. In the domain of

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[6] More precisely, Hofstede's individualism scale and family collectivism by House et al. (reverse coded when compared to Hofstede's scale) are correlated at r = - 0.82.

work attitudes and job choices, the dimensions of individualism/collectivism and uncertainty avoidance/willingness to take risks seem to be the most relevant. Thus, in this dissertation, I focus on these two dimensions.

In addition to the general values studies prominent in the Business Administration literature as presented above, I believe it is important to introduce another large-scale value study that had a significant impact on Political Science and Sociology, and might be relevant to this study. Since 1980, Inglehart and his collaborators have collected more than 350,000 questionnaires during four waves of data collection in more than 60 countries (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). Inglehart's work was detrimental to advancing the understanding of the convergence theory, which builds the theoretical foundation of this dissertation. In his earlier work, Inglehart (e.g., 1971, 1981, & 1987) analyzed materialism/post-materialism values and showed how an increase in materialism values related to a rise in liberal political attitudes and democratizations across different countries. Whereas materialism values emphasize physical sustenance and safety, post-materialism values refer to values that emphasize belonging, self-expression, and quality of life. In another groundbreaking study, Granato, Inglehart, and Leblang (1996) showed empirically how values, this time conceptualized through a motivation index comprised of thrift and determination, explained economic growth across 25 countries (see Figure 1). After additional data collection and refinement of the model, Inglehart and colleagues developed new value dimensions that were more powerful in their ability to explain value differences across countries (e.g., Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). In principle, the idea of materialistic/post-materialistic values continued to exist but in a refined form in two new value dimensions. Inglehart and colleagues developed two distinct dimensions: Traditional values versus secular-rational values, and survival values versus self-expression values. Traditional values refer to values prevalent in preindustrialized

Western countries, characterized by authoritarian and male dominated social and personal relationships, and the importance of the family. Secular-rational values emphasize the opposite. Survival values encompass values that emphasize physical and economic security over quality of life and self-expression. Again, Inglehart and colleagues (e.g., Inglehart & Welzel, 2005) showed how these values related to political attitudes and democratization. More secular-rational values (in contrast to traditional values) and more self-expression values (in contrast to survival values) were associated with more liberal political attitudes and democracies. Some aspects of these values might also be relevant in a work context. Inglehart's value dimensions were not fully captured by Hofstede (2001), House et al., (2004) or Schwartz (1992). I believe that Inglehart offers several worthwhile ideas that could be translated into work values and analyzed in this study. In particular, the aspects of the materialism and survival dimensions seem highly relevant in a work context. The importance of money and work are emphasized in these dimensions (e.g., Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). Inglehart and Welzel showed that survival values were highly correlated with the items "emphasis on money" and "hard work is one of the most important things to teach a child." I intend to include both money and work orientations in the general value analysis in this dissertation.

2.1.2. Job Values

In Psychology and Sociology, work values have often been interpreted differently. For instance, Ros, Schwartz and Surkiss (1999: 54) defined work values as "specific expressions of general values in the work setting," implying that work values refer "*only* to goals in the

work setting,"[7] whereas general values could be related to both work and non-work contexts. Work values in this context usually focus on motivation factors, often related to Herzberg's (1959) motivation theory. Further, in the area of vocational behavior, "work values have been investigated as preferences for the type of work or work environment individuals would like or consider important in job decisions" (Dose, 1997: 221). All these studies share the commonality that they deal with specific work aspects, e.g., pay or job content, and how these are perceived by employees or potential job candidates. Interestingly, though referring to exactly the same constructs, sociologists have often used the term "job values" instead of "work values" (e.g., Halaby, 2003; Marini et al., 1996). To separate this construct from general values, as described above, I will use the term "job values" from here on.

One of the fundamental works in the area of job values is that of Herzberg (1959). Frederick Herzberg interviewed 203 American accountants and engineers concerning their feelings toward and satisfaction with their jobs. These interviews revealed two major factors that affected motivation at work. Henceforth, his work was often referred to Herzberg's two factor theory. One factor was labeled the extrinsic or hygiene factor, and the other factor was intrinsic or motivators. The extrinsic work motivation factor refers to job characteristics related to the job environment, such as level of pay or company policies. According to Herzberg's theory, these factors do not give employees positive satisfaction, though the lack thereof would result in dissatisfaction. Intrinsic work motivation factors are related to the nature of the job, e.g., challenging work or advancement opportunity. An interesting and challenging job might give employees a feeling of self-realization, achievement, and satisfaction. In conclusion, extrinsic factors might be reasons for employee job dissatisfaction,

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[7] Emphasis (italics) on "only" was added by the author of this dissertation.

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whereas intrinsic factors might contribute to job satisfaction. For an overview of the various job characteristics and their classification, see Table 2.

Table 2: Herzberg's two factors

Extrinsic (hygiene factors)	Intrinsic (motivators)
Salary	Achievement
Security	Recognition
Company policy	Work itself
Supervision	Responsibility
Work conditions	Advancement
Relationship with others	Growth
Status	

Source: Adapted from Herzberg (1968)

While Herzberg's differentiation into extrinsic and intrinsic job values has gained wide popularity among both scholars and practitioners, it has been challenged on numerous occasions (cf. Sagie, Elizur, & Koslowsky, 1996). Whereas Herzberg distinguished only between two underlying factors, subsequent studies have found three, four, five, six, or more factors (Dose, 1997; Johnson, 2002; Sagie et al., 1996, Ros et al., 1999). The most popular applications have measured between 10 and 20 job values (Zytowski, 1994). In general, there appears to be a trend that the more job values being investigated the more dimensions have been extrapolated through factor analysis or smallest space analysis. For people familiar with statistics, that is not surprising given that with an increasing number of items, the chance of additional dimensions increases. In the following, I briefly introduce some of the most influential job value studies: Elizur (1984), Kalleberg, (1977), and Super (1970). According to Google Scholar, each of these studies has been cited more than 100 times.

Using an Israeli sample, Dov Elizur (1984) identified two higher order facets and five second-order factors. Elizur distinguished between *modality of outcome* and *relation to performance*. Modality of outcome refers to job values that are related to *instrumental* (material), *affective* (social), or *cognitive* (psychological) factors. Instrumental job values refer to job values that are concrete and of practical use, e.g., pay and work conditions. Affective job values refer to social interactions, e.g., relationship with coworkers or esteem. Cognitive job values encompass psychological outcomes, such as interest, achievement, or responsibility. According to Herzberg's (1959) two factor theory, instrumental and affective job values can be classified as extrinsic, and psychological as intrinsic motivation factors. In addition, Elizur added a second higher order facet—relation to performance—which, however, has been rather neglected in subsequent research. Relation to performance deals with relationships of outcome to task performance. This relationship is either based on *reward*, i.e., contingent on performance, e.g., promotion, or based on *resources*, provided by the company independent of performance, e.g., benefits. In a later study, Elizur and Koslowsky (2001) found that people with higher cognitive job values were found to be more committed to their companies.

Sociologist Arne Kalleberg (1977) identified six job value factors in a survey of 1,496 Americans about their job perceptions: *intrinsic, convenience, financial, relationships with co-workers, career*, and *resource adequacy*. Intrinsic refers to job characteristics that are related directly to the job itself, e.g., interesting job content or use of abilities. Convenience concerns job characteristics that can create comfort, e.g., good work hours or pleasant physical surroundings. Financial includes items, such as pay, benefits, and job security. Relationships with co-workers refer to social interactions with co-workers. Career includes items such as promotion opportunities and fairness of promotion decisions. Resource adequacy concerns whether the work conditions are sufficient to enable the employee to fulfill

his or her task, e.g., competent co-workers or helpful supervisors. Kalleberg (1977) found that only the factors intrinsic and career were associated with job satisfaction. Interestingly, in a later study in which Loscocco and Kalleberg (1983) compared the work values of Americans and Japanese, they compared only three individual items rather than using Kalleberg's scale (1977). Could the factors found in the American sample not be reflected in the Japanese sample? The study showed stable work values across age in USA, but a significant emphasis on pay and relationships with co-workers and a de-emphasis on job security among younger Japanese employees. Loscocco and Kalleberg (1983) attributed this finding to the rapid social changes that took place in Japan, in contrast to only mild social changes in the USA.

In 1970, Donald Edwin Super developed the Work Values Inventory to assess values in terms of vocational behavior. The instrument was developed based on interviews with eighth-grade boys. In a later study, Super (1973) refined his initial paired comparisons of job values into Likert scale items. O'Connor and Kinnane (1961) identified six factors in Super's Work Values Inventory: *Security-economic-material, social-artistic, work conditions and associates, heuristic-creative, achievement-prestige,* and *independence-variety*. The factor label security-economic-material is already self-explanatory and includes items such as pay and job security. Social-artistic values refer to helping others, e.g., "work which benefits others," or "work that makes the world a more beautiful place." Working conditions and associates refers to work in a specific environment with a specific group of people, e.g., pleasant surroundings or likable co-workers. Heuristic-creative refers to the job per se, and how the individual can learn or create things, e.g., opportunities to learn or create something new. The factor achievement-prestige refers to the feeling of accomplishment and prestige derived from work, e.g., work that provides a feeling of accomplishment or "work in which people look up to you." Independence-variety deals with the job itself, e.g., the variety of work or work independence.

When related to various other variables, these job values were argued to determine job choice (Brown, 2002). Blicke (2000) found that Super's job values predicted the intraorganizational influence strategies of German graduates who recently joined a company. For instance, those who valued achievement, creativity, and variety preferred a rational persuasion style. Interestingly, instead of the six factors reported by O'Connor and Kinnane (1961), Blickle extracted 16 job value dimensions. Also in Blickle's study, one factor labeled intellectual simulation had a Cronbach's alpha value of only 0.56.

Unfortunately, previous research on job values has been very fragmented (Dose, 1997; Sagie et al., 1996). Various researchers have investigated job values and produced different job value dimensions. This is partly due to the use of different job value items, and varying the number of job value items and different samples. Instead of basing their research on solid theory, scholars have usually relied on statistical analysis and post-hoc interpretations of their findings. The results are thus only sample specific, but not generalizable.

In Table 3, I try to compare the various job value factors developed by Herzberg (1959), Elizur (1984), Kalleberg (1977), and Super (1973). Some factors sound very similar, and some even carry the same labels, e.g., intrinsic is used by both Herzberg and Kalleberg. Other factors, such as Kalleberg's resource adequacy, are difficult to link to the factors of other researchers. However, despite factors that are often named similarly, the content can be somewhat different. In some cases, different researchers even used the same items but classified them into different factors. For instance, Herzberg (1959) identified advancement and growth opportunities as intrinsic factors, whereas Kalleberg (1977) classified similar items as extrinsic and grouped them into an extrinsic factor, or more specifically, labeled them as a career factor. Thus, the comparisons in Table 3 deserve careful interpretation.

Table 3: Comparison of different job value measures

Herzberg (1959)	Elizur (1984)	Kalleberg (1977)	Super (1973)
Intrinsic	Cognitive (psychological)	Intrinsic	Independence-variety
			Achievement-prestige
			Heuristic-creative
			Social-artistic
Extrinsic	Instrumental (material)	Financial	Security-economic-material
		Convenience	
	Affective (social)	Relationships with co-workers	Working conditions and associates
		Career	
		Resource adequacy	

One reason why job value conceptualizations differ might lie in the different samples. Herzberg (1953), Elizur (1984), Kalleberg (1977) and Super (1973) used samples of different ages and nationalities. Whereas Herzberg interviewed managers, Super surveyed high school students. The studies also differ in terms of respondent nationality. Whereas Herzberg, Kalleberg, and Super analyzed American respondents, Elizur used an Israeli sample. Previous attempts to establish universal measures that are reflected in different countries are only marginally convincing (e.g., Elizur, Borg, Hunt, Beck, 1991).

The present dissertation looks at both university students and their parents in Japan, Korea, and China. It remains very doubtful whether any of the previous job value conceptualizations that were developed based on Western samples would fit the sample of this study. Therefore, in this dissertation, I chose job value measures that have been used

previously in Asia. More specifically, I chose ten job value items from Sonoda (2002), because Sonoda has frequently investigated job values in various Asian countries including Japan, Korea, and China, and has applied his job values to both managers and students. Like several other sociologists (e.g., Halaby, 2003), Sonoda did not try to extract underlying factors. Nevertheless, I will try to identify commonalities in the aforementioned job value studies and suggest a possible factor structure (Table 4).

Table 4: Job values used in this study

Item	Similarity with other studies	Label used here
Pay	Financial (Kalleberg, 1977)	**Extrinsic**
Job security	Security-economic-material (Super, 1973)	
	Instrumental (Elizur, 1984)	
	Extrinsic (Herzberg, 1959)	
Corporate reputation	Career (Kalleberg, 1977)	**Career enhancement**
Advancement	Intrinsic (Herzberg, 1959)	
Training	Achievement-prestige (Super, 1973)	
Performance		
Major	Intrinsic (Kalleberg, 1977)	**Quality of work**
Job content	Convenience (Kalleberg, 1977)	
Work hours	Cognitive (Elizur, 1984)	
Work atmosphere	Work conditions & associates (Super, 1973)	

In this chapter, I postulate some expected factors, while in the methodology chapter I will show whether these factors can be extracted statistically from the various samples being studied in this dissertation. Sonoda's items *pay* and *job security* can be easily linked to Herzberg's (1959) extrinsic, Elizur's (1984) instrumental, Super's (1973) security-economic-material, and Kalleberg's (1977) financial dimension. There appears to be a surprisingly clear

overlap with the existing job value measures. For this dissertation, I chose the label *extrinsic* as this construct seems to be commonly understood by the other authors. Another set of Sonoda's job value items, namely *corporate reputation, advancement opportunities, training opportunities,* and *individual performance*, has some overlap with a number of existing job value measures, yet the match is not as clear as in the case of pay and job security. As these job values express a sense of achievement and career progress, I labeled this factor *career enhancement*. The job value items, *job related to university major, interesting job content, good work hours*, and *work atmosphere*, are somewhat related to Kalleberg's intrinsic, Kalleberg's convenience and Elizur's cognitive dimensions. In a way, these job values relate to the quality of the job, and in accordance with Inglehart (2005), I will label this dimension *quality of work*.

2.1.3. Work Centrality

In their literature reviews of work values, Dose (1997) as well as Roe and Ester (1999) identified another conceptualization of work values which is vastly different from either general values or job values as discussed above. Both literature reviews referred to the Meaning of Work International Research Team (1987) study. Interestingly, the authors of the Meaning of Work study did not use the term "work values" but "work centrality." In this dissertation, in order to avoid confusion with the other two facets of work values I will use the term work centrality. Work centrality refers to the importance or value individuals attach to work as a major aspect of life and how individuals assess the importance of work compared to other areas of life such as family, leisure, community, and religion. Several decades earlier, sociologists explored the meaning of work and its relations to other life domains (e.g., Morse & Weiss 1955). Subsequent studies in sociology have often used the more general term "life

goals" when referring to the exact same concept as the one used by the Meaning of Work International Research Team (e.g., Goldsen, Rosenberg, Williams, & Suchman, 1960; Regan & Roland, 1982). Surprisingly, however, this concept has received very little attention from Business Administration scholars, perhaps because the concept of life goals or work centrality is rather abstract.

Regan and Roland (1982) surveyed more than 2,000 recent graduates from a prestigious American university, once in 1970 and again in 1980 (different students), concerning which life goal among *career and occupation*, *family relationships*, and *leisure time, recreational activities* they perceived as most important. In both samples and regardless of gender, family relationships were rated as most important and career and occupations as second most important. A pronounced difference was observed only among females. Recent female graduates in 1980 compared to those in 1970 emphasized career and occupation at the expense of family relationships. Easterlin and Crimmins (1991) distinguished between the life goals *private materialism*, e.g., lots of money, *family life, public interest*, e.g., contribute to society, and *personal self-fulfillment*. Analyzing a sample of American high school and university students from the early 1970s though 1986/87, they found that private materialism rose sharply, family life increased slightly, public interest decreased slightly, and personal self-fulfillment declined sharply. Corresponding to this development, students became increasingly interested in jobs that promised higher pay. These findings are also in line with a study by Astin and Nichols (1964) which found that life goals predicted occupational desires.

The contribution of the Meaning of Work (1987) research team lies in its comparative analysis of life goals or work centrality across countries. In their first study, they surveyed eight countries in Europe, America, and Asia. They asked respondents to rank *work, family,*

leisure, community, and *religion* according to the importance these aspects have in their lives. They found that Japanese and Yugoslavians ranked work as their most important aspect in life, while people in Belgium, Germany, Israel, the Netherlands, Great Britain, and the USA ranked family first and work second. Subsequent cross-country studies found relatively similar patterns (e.g., England, 1991; Harpaz, 1999; Ruiz-Quintanilla & Wilpert, 1991). These studies all confirmed the importance of work in people's lives.

A number of studies have linked work life goals to various outcome variables. For instance, Kasser and Ryan (1993) found that American university students who had more materialistic life goals also had lower social productivity and more behavioral disorders. More closely related to a work context, high work centrality was found to positively influence organizational outcomes, such as job satisfaction and participation- (Kanungo, 1982) and longer job tenure (Dubin, et al., 1975). As mentioned previously, life goals also determine occupational choices (Astin & Nichols, 1964; Easterlin & Crimmins, 1991). Taken together, these studies confirm the importance of work centrality in a work context and make work centrality an important aspect of work values to be investigated in this dissertation.

Most of the studies reviewed are dated, and most used American or European samples; therefore, a careful estimation of which life goals might be important to current university students and parents in Japan, Korea, and China is therefore warranted. Most of the studies reviewed seem to incorporate the items *job and career*, *leisure time*, *family relationship*, *community*, *religion* and *money*. These life goals might also be relevant for the sample of this study. Additional literature research on the life goals of Asians has revealed *living abroad* as a major life goal of Koreans and Chinese (Cheng & Yang, 1998; Chin, 1948; Wong & Salaff, 1998). In particular, highly educated people tend to be interested in migrating to America

(Cheng & Yang, 1998). Thus, I added living abroad as a seventh potential life goal. Work centrality will be determined by how important respondents perceive career and occupation (work) in relation to the other six life goals presented above.

2.2. Converging-diverging-crossvergence Theories

In this dissertation, I compare the various facets of work values across countries and across generations. The convergence, divergence and crossvergence theories are commonly used to explain value changes across time and across countries, and can also serve as explanatory theories for intergenerational comparisons within countries (e.g., Egri & Ralston, 2004; Heuer, Cummings, & Hutabarat, 1999; Inglehart, 1998, 2005; Ralston et al., 1997, 1999; Robertson & Al-Khatib, 2001). Whereas convergence predicts value changes along a common path with the outcome of similar values (e.g., Webber, 1969), divergence theory posits the opposite (e.g., Hofstede, 2001), i.e., no convergence of values would take place. Crossvergence theory lies somewhere in between and assumes that new values may emerge (e.g., Ralston et al., 1997). The following three subsections will provide a detailed discussion of the convergence, divergence, and crossvergence theories.

2.2.1. Convergence Theory

According to the convergence theory, socioeconomic development is closely related with changes in values (e.g., Inglehart, 1998, 2000, 2005; Webber, 1969).[8] The idea of convergence goes back to the two German sociologists Karl Marx and Max Weber. Both

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[8] Inglehart also uses the term modernization theory instead of convergence theory to refer to the same concept.

sociologists lived during the time of industrialization in Europe in the 19th century and provided their interpretations of the ongoing process. Though they had very different viewpoints, both Marx (1867) and Weber (1934)[9] theorized about the social origins and consequences of industrialization. Marx had a rather pessimistic view and believed that industrialization would eventually lead to revolution within the disgruntled proletariat; i.e., blue-collar laborers, against their employers. History has shown that his prophecies were faulty, yet his underlying idea that economic development has profound impacts on society remains valid today. In one of his most influential works entitled "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism," Weber (1934) argued that Protestant work ethics were linked with economic growth in Germany. Protestant, and in particular, Calvinist values that emphasized self-denial and the pursuit of economic gain, were considered to enable economic growth. Weber thus became the first scholar to establish the link between work values and economic growth. Subsequent empirical work that benefited from large, longitudinal data covering more than 40 countries confirmed that values have profound impacts on economic growth (Inglehart, 1998, 2005).

Weber's (1934) main idea that value change is related to socioeconomic development has continued to be an integral part of today's convergence theory. Further, the current version of the convergence theory has been largely influenced by Inglehart and his colleagues (e.g., Inglehart, 1977, 1998; Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). Inglehart's convergence theory[10] is based on two assumptions: *scarcity hypothesis* and *socialization*

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[9] Max Weber died in 1920, though the majority of his work was published and accessible to a broader audience after his death. During his lifetime, he failed to disseminate his work properly through books or well-known journals.

[10] Inglehart's convergence has been referred to frequently as the intergenerational change theory or

hypothesis. The scarcity hypothesis addresses the need priorities of people and is adapted from Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs (see Figure 3). Essentially, individuals prioritize different needs according to socioeconomic conditions. The pyramids used in Maslow's hierarchy of needs distinguish between five levels of need (Figure 3). While the bottom four levels deal with physiological needs, the upper level deals with psychological needs. Once lower level needs are satisfied, people take them for granted and prioritize their higher level needs. Biological needs are at the bottom of the pyramid. In order to survive, people need food, drink, shelter, and so forth. Once people have satisfied these needs, they seek other things. Maslow arranged safety needs, such as protection, order, and laws at the second level. The third level consists of belonging and love needs, e.g., family, affection, relationships, and belonging to an organization. The fourth level, esteem, comprises needs for achievement, status, responsibility, and reputation. Those individuals who have satisfied all four lower levels of need seek self-actualization needs, such as personal growth and fulfillment. For most people in industrialized countries, the lower level needs are satisfied and people seek higher level needs. In poor countries, however, where people starve to death or die in wars, biological and safety needs are the most urgent. In accordance with their needs, people hold certain values. For instance, if people are poor and have biological and safety needs, they hold more traditional and survival values; e.g., people value economic and physical security over self-expression and quality of life.

modernization theory.

Figure 3: Maslow's hierarchy of needs
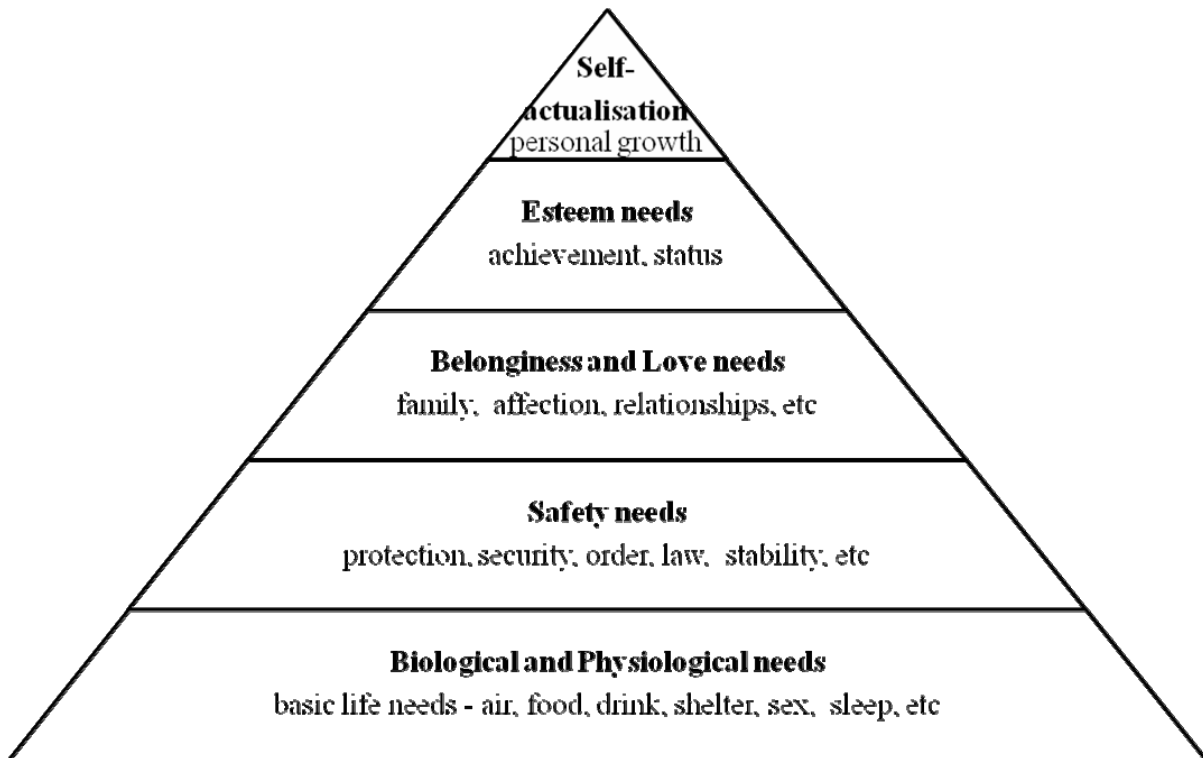
Source: Adapted from Maslow (1943)

The other assumption made by the convergence theory is the socialization hypothesis. According to the socialization hypothesis, individuals develop their values during childhood, but once their value set has been established, it becomes largely resistant to outside influence. Some may argue that values continue to evolve and change during the course of one's life (e.g., Roberts, Walton, & Viechtbauer, 2006), but most scholars would agree that personality and value development are much more profound at a young age than later (Inglehart, 1998; Jennings & Niemi, 1981). Clausen and Jones (1998) argue that "planfully competent" people, such as university students—the sample for this dissertation—who are more self-responsible, self-confident and interested in intellectual activities than other people of the same age, have an even more stable personality because they experience smoother transitions in their personal relationships and work careers, and make more well-reasoned choices.

Based on these two assumptions Inglehart (1998) draws two conclusions. First, value change is not linear; rather, it occurs over time when a new generation experiences a new socioeconomic environment. Second, these value changes follow a similar pattern according to socioeconomic environments. These general postulations have been further refined in subsequent studies. In addition to economic growth, ideological beliefs and cultural heritage have been found to influence value change (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Ralston et al., 1997). Inglehart and Welzel (2005) found that cultural heritage and ideological beliefs made a deep impact in value change over time and across countries. For instance, Japan, Korea, China, and Taiwan, which all share a Confucian heritage, have relatively similar values, which are very different compared to the values prevalent in Protestant European countries. This dissertation deals only with Japan, Korea, and China, three countries based on a Confucian heritage. Thus, the factor of cultural heritage set is ignored in this study.[11]

In his refined version of the convergence theory, Inglehart and colleagues (see Inglehart & Baker, 2000 or Inglehart & Welzel, 2005) showed patterns that addressed how values changed over time or might explain the variance across countries depending on economic development. Inglehart analyzed two dimensions: traditional values versus secular-rational values, and survival versus self-expression values.[12] Acknowledging that value change does not change in a linear fashion, Inglehart developed a refined concept that distinguished between two major stages of economic development. In the first phase, the phase of industrialization, people who were once farmers move into cities to work in factories. During this phase, people abandon their traditional values and adopt more secular-rational

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[11] Although Confucianism is not a religion, it is often understood to be a set of beliefs that are not substantially different from those evident in religions.

[12] See 2.1.1.

values as they experience the results of technological advancements. However, no major changes in survival versus self-expression values take place. The second phase, postindustrialization, is characterized by a shift from a production-based industry to one that is service-based. As people in the postindustrialization phase have experienced prolonged economic security and work predominantly in the service industry, which is greatly different from work in the production industry, they have developed profound value changes in the survival versus self-expression dimension. Since people in the service industry, particularly those in knowledge-based industries, work constantly with other people, the need for self-expression, and the development of individual skills and autonomous work increases. However, the changes in secular-rational values are quite small because profound changes have already taken place during the earlier industrialization phase.

2.2.2. Divergence theory

Whereas convergence theory claims that values change according to socioeconomic development, divergence theory posits the opposite, in that despite changes in the socioeconomic environment, values persist because they are so deeply rooted in the culture and institutions of a country (e.g., DiMaggio, 1994; Hofstede, 2001). Various researchers demonstrated that organizations retained their distinct values despite dramatic changes in the world economy (e.g., Abegglen, 1957; Adler, Doktor, & Redding, 1986; Lincoln, Olson & Hanada, 1978).

The divergence theory gained significant popularity during the economic rise of Asian countries in the 1970s and 1980s. According to the early versions of the convergence theory (Weber, 1934), developing countries were expected to adopt Western (Protestant) values if

they wanted to achieve economic growth. However, the rise of Japan, Korea, and Taiwan as economic powerhouses challenged this prevailing understanding. These countries did not embrace Western values but retained their distinct Eastern values and, yet they were able to achieve economic growth rates far higher than those in the West.

The convergence-divergence controversy remains an ongoing debate. Adler and colleagues (1986) suggested that institutions and organizations are converging across countries (macro-level), while people retain their distinct values (micro-level). Inglehart and Baker (2000) tried to appease the critics of divergence by distinguishing between values that are bound to profound changes and values that are less permeable, depending on the stage of economic development. However, a number of researchers continue to emphasize the adhesive nature of values and support the divergence theory (e.g., Fukuyama, 1995; Hofstede, 2001; Huntington, 1996; Putnam, 1993). Interestingly, a number of studies that support the divergence theory are based on Japanese data (e.g., Abegglen, 1957; Dunphy, 1987; Lincoln, 1978). Today, this debate is far from resolved, and the divergence theory might be particularly relevant in Japan. Thus, the divergence theory must be considered seriously in this dissertation.

2.2.3. Crossvergence Theory

The convergence and divergence theories offer two opposing theories that address the phenomenon of value change. Whereas the convergence theory posits that values will develop along a similar path according to socioeconomic development and eventually become very similar, the divergence theory holds that values are so deeply rooted in existing cultures that they remain unchanged despite socioeconomic change. Therefore, it is no surprise that some

scholars suggested a compromise to these opposing views. Ralston and colleagues (1993) were among the first to offer the crossvergence theory. In their initial attempt, Ralston and colleagues (1993) defined crossvergence as the middle ground between convergence and divergence; i.e., value change between convergence and divergence could take place.

In a later study, Ralston and colleagues (1997) investigated the work values of managers from USA, Japan, China, and Russia. These countries were carefully selected because they represented a certain type of cultural heritage, economic ideology, and economic development. As can be seen from the two-by-two matrix (Figure 4), both Japan and China represent Eastern, Confucian-based cultures, whereas the USA and Russia represent Western-based cultures (horizontal axis). The vertical axis distinguishes between economic ideology and development. Whereas both the USA and Japan are highly economically developed and capitalistic, Russia and China are developing socialist and previous Communist countries.

Figure 4: The selection rationale of the samples by Ralston et al. (1997)

Culture

	Western	**Eastern**
Capitalism	① United States	② Japan
Socialism	③ Russia	④ China

Ideology

Source: Ralston et al. (1993)

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In short, the comparison of work values across these countries revealed that they differed in a number of work values. Some of these differences were in the expected direction according to the convergence theory; however, other differences were contradictory to the economic development/economic ideology. Ralston and colleagues (1993) concluded that both economic development/ideology and cultural heritage shaped the development of values, which may have resulted in the development of a new set of values—the new and refined definition of the crossvergence theory.

The crossvergence theory has become very popular since that time. Several subsequent studies that dealt with convergence-divergence-crossvergence concluded that the convergence theory might be the best one to explain the current phenomena of value change. For instance, Kelley, MacNab and Worthley (2006), concluded that the crossvergence theory would make most the sense when explaining value differences between managers from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the USA. Robertson and colleagues (2001) came to a similar conclusion when investigating the work values of managers in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Oman.

3.   COUNTRY DESCRIPTIONS

As explained in the previous chapter, work values are interwoven with socioeconomic development, political development, and management practices. In order to understand why work values have developed differently across countries over time, it is important to have a general understanding of the socioeconomic developments in these three countries. Since one of the main purposes of this dissertation is to give MNC recommendations about the design of HR practices in Japan, Korea, and China, the HR practices prevalent in these three countries will be discussed. Are current HR practices in line with the work values evidenced in the present and future workforce? This question will be answered in the discussion portion of this dissertation.

In the following section, I review the economic, political, and social changes that have taken place in each of these three countries since the end of the Second World War. As this dissertation looks at current university students and their parents, it is assumed that most of these people were born after the Second World War. If one imagines that the parents of a 20-year-old student are between 40 and 60 years old, this would imply that they were born between 1946 and 1966 (data collected in 2006). Thus, the time span after the Second World War seems appropriate to enable an understanding of the socioeconomic environment in which the parents surveyed for this study grew up. In the second section of this chapter, I review recent trends in human resource management practices.

3.1. Socioeconomic Development

Before examining the details of the three countries involved, I will provide a comparative overview of the economic power of Korea, China, and Japan. As can be seen in Figure 5, Japan has the highest gross domestic product among the three countries[13], followed by China and then Korea. Granted, when dividing the GDP by the number of citizens, Korea has a higher GDP per capita than China (see Figure 6). Korea surpassed the $20,000 USD per capita mark for the first time in 2007. Figures 5 through 7 show the tremendous economic growth enjoyed by Japan, Korea, and China during the past few decades. While China is still far behind Japan and Korea in terms of per capita GDP, its economic growth in excess of 10% per year indicate that China is rapidly catching up (see Figure 7). Both Japan and Korea can be considered industrialized countries, whereas China is still a developing or transitional country. In the following three subsections, I describe the socioeconomic development of these countries in detail and then summarize these developments comparatively.
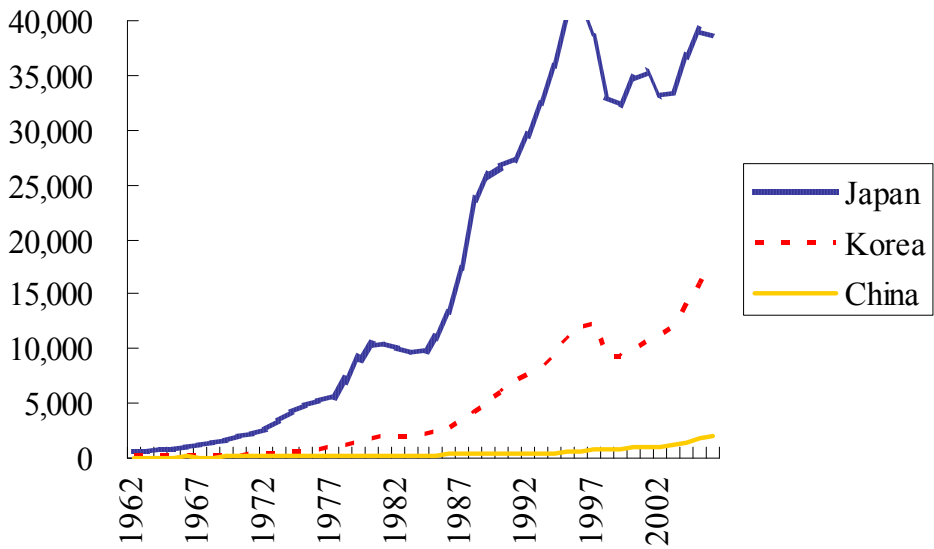
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[13] World ranking of GDP (World Bank): Japan is second, China is fourth and Korea thirteenth (USA is first, Germany third).
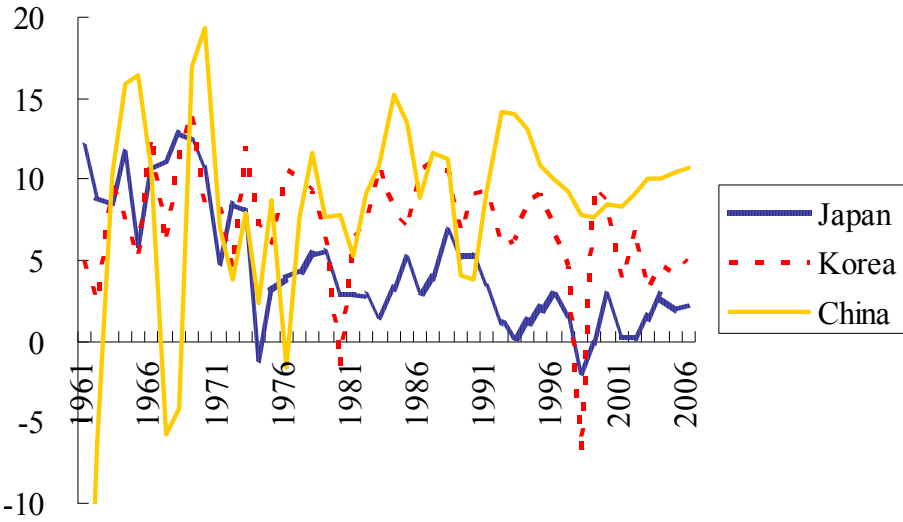
Figure 5: GDP ($ billion USD)
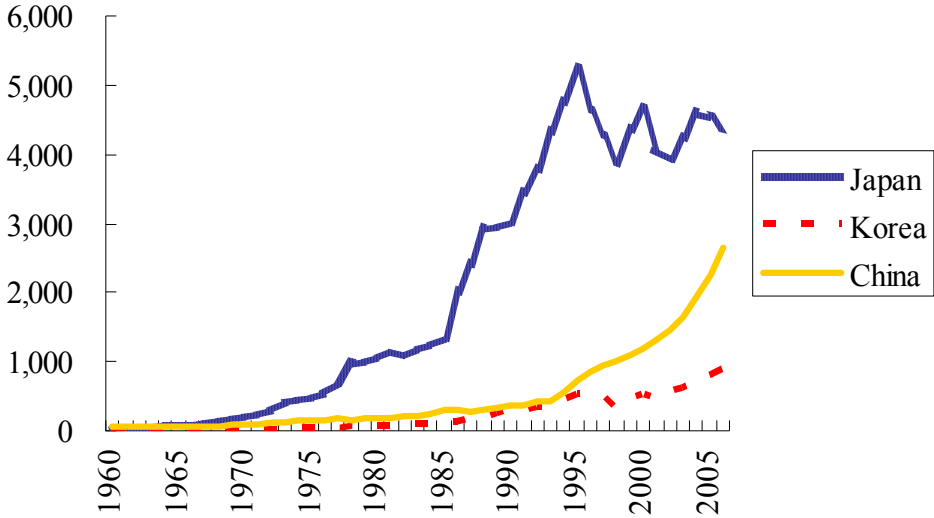
Source: data compiled from World Bank

Figure 6: GDP per capita in $ USD

Source: data compiled from World Bank

Figure 7: Annual economic growth rates in percent

Source: data compiled from World Bank

3.1.1. Japan

Japan was already on the path toward industrialization in the late 19th and beginning of the 20th century, but after the Second World War, Japan was devastated. More than 1.8 million people died during the war and another 680,000 were either missing or seriously injured (Economic Stabilization Board report of 1949). More than 30% of all industrial plants and infrastructure elements were destroyed and production levels were similar to those seen more than 15 years earlier.

During the occupation years between 1945 and 1952, the USA provided financial assistance and implemented various reforms in Japan (Nakamura, 1995; Yamamura, 1997). One of the main objectives for the USA was to convert Japan into a democratic and market oriented state, and a series of reforms gave Japan the foundation for its future growth. Among the reforms were the zaibatsu dissolution, labor market reform, and education reform.

Zaibatsu, large conglomerates of major companies and banks, were dismantled to avoid excessive concentration of economic power in the hands of a few, which led to market inefficiencies. Labor market reforms enabled the formation of labor unions, which played important roles in the years to come. The education reforms required education for at least nine years, thus resulting in a high literacy rate. These educated people drove economic development in the production sector in the following years (Inkster, 2001). In order to recover quickly from the devastation caused by the war, the government channeled resources into several key industries, specifically steel, coal, mining, electricity, shipbuilding, marine and railway transportation, and chemical fertilizers. While the initial intentions of the USA were to limit Japan's industrial development, the worsening Cold War and the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 led to dramatic changes in this attitude.

In 1952, Japan regained its independence. Rationalization and the introduction of new and modern machinery gave Japanese industry a competitive edge (Nakamura, 1995). By the mid-1950s, Japan reached its pre-war production output. The government further assisted Japan's industrial (re-) development by providing easy access to funds and protection from foreign competition (Sumiya, 2000). The government launched various five- to ten-year-long economic plans. The most prominent among these is probably the "Doubling National Income Plan" for the period from 1961 to 1970, a plan that targeted an annual economic growth rate of 7.8%, but actual economic growth exceeded that target. From 1955 until the first oil crisis in 1973, the Japanese economy enjoyed an average annual growth rate of almost 10% (Berggren & Nomura, 1997; also see Figure 7). This tremendous economic growth had various consequences. On an international level, it triggered pressure from foreign countries. Eventually, Japan had to give in and open its market to foreign investors, reduce its regulative barriers and let the Yen float freely against other foreign currencies. This rapid growth also

resulted in social consequences for Japan. One major societal consequence was urbanization. To fill the demand for workers in the industrial centers of Tokyo, Kansai and Nagoya, people who previously lived in the countryside and worked in the agricultural sector were mobilized. In particular, young people, also referred to as Shudan Shushoku, were lured into the industrial centers. Altogether, these Shudan Shushoku increased the workforce in Tokyo by one million in the 1960s. However, not even the influx of these people was sufficient to fill the demand as Japan's economy grew and as a consequence wages increased. As wages went up in the 1960s, the industry focus shifted from labor-intensive industries, such as textile, coal mining, and basic chemicals, toward capital and technology-intensive industries, such as automobiles, electronics, and fine chemicals.

This rapid increase in income had a positive effect on the living conditions of a broad range of Japan's population (Allinson, 2004). Infrastructure, health care facilities, and access to higher education were improved, and people were able to buy television sets, washing machines, refrigerators, and automobiles. Building new infrastructure to support domestic consumption then further fueled the economic growth. The downsides of this rapid growth were environmental problems and overpopulation in the cities.

The Japanese economy experienced its first major setback in 1973—the oil crisis—when the price of oil suddenly quadrupled in a single year due to the Arab oil embargo. Japan has almost no natural resources and depends largely on the import of oil and other resources. That meant a serious threat to Japanese industry. However, the oil crisis gave only a temporary halt to Japan's economic miracle. In some way, the Japanese automobile industry even profited from the hike in oil prices because small and fuel-efficient Japanese cars suddenly became attractive to American consumers. Furthermore, the focus of Japanese

industry was diverted from heavy machinery to less oil dependent industries, such as the electronics, semiconductor, and computer industry. While most other developed nations stumbled for prolonged periods, the Japanese economy quickly recovered and grew at a rate of around 5% in the following years. Related to these healthy economic growth rates, inflation and unemployment remained low in Japan during those difficult times (Uchino, 1983).

Economic growth in Japan outpaced all other industrial countries until 1992. The Japanese economy quickly rose in the 1990s to become the second largest in the world, topped only by the USA. Businessmen and scholars both in and outside Japan believed that Japan would soon become the world's dominant economic power. GDP per capita exceeded $10,000 USD in 1980, surpassed the $20,000 level just eight years later in 1988, and exceeded the $30,000 USD mark in 1993 (World Bank). Having accumulated huge amounts of profit, Japanese companies went on a buying spree within Japan and abroad. For instance, in 1990, Japanese companies acquired foreign companies valued at than $14 billion USD (UNCTAD), not to mention substantial real estate acquisitions in New York and other Asian countries. Likewise, real estate in Tokyo changed hands in an upward price spiral. For some prime locations in Tokyo, one square meter might cost more than $1 million USD. The land in Tokyo alone was valued four times higher than that of the entire state of California. The Nikkei stock index reached almost 40,000 points at its peak in 1989. Recent movies, such as "Bubble Go" provide a glance at this exuberant period.

This miraculous economic growth began reaching an end at the beginning of the 1990s. The real estate and stock price bubble burst, which sent the Japanese economy into recession from 1992 until 2004 (Saxonhouse & Stern, 2004). While the Japanese government is believed to have had a significant influence on the country's economic growth in the

previous decades, all of its various efforts to revamp that economy remained largely ineffective (Saxonhouse & Stern, 2004; Wright, 2002). Not even reducing the interest rate to zero stimulated to the economy sufficiently. In recent years, the economy has shown signs of recovery, but it is difficult to predict whether this growth will continue (Financial Times, 2006). Despite Japan's long economic stagnation, no major changes have taken place in the political system.

3.1.2. Korea

From 1910 until the end of the Second World War in 1945, Korea was a Japanese colony. War raged again in Korea soon after World War II when Communist–led North Korea invaded the Western, capitalistic supported South in 1950. The Korean War ultimately reached a stalemate in 1953. Under an agreement, a demilitarized zone along the 38th parallel was constructed, yet the two Koreas have been officially at war until now. Understandable in such a tense situation, the primary goal of the government was to secure the national defense, while economic policies played no major role (Kim & Park, 2003). The Korean government was heavily dependent on foreign aid from the USA. In those days, Korea was an extremely poor country, with GDP similar to most African countries.

The situation began to improve only when Major-General Chunghee Park took over the government through a military coup in 1961. The military dominated government brought political stability and economic growth in the following decades. Korea copied large parts from the successful Japanese economic development program (Chung et al., 1997; Lie, 1990). Like the Japanese government, the Korean government initiated a series of five-year economic plans beginning in 1962. The objectives of the first two economic plans were to

establish the foundation for a self-sustaining economy and to modernize the nation's infrastructure. The Korean government controlled the banking sector and channeled funds through subsidies and low-rate loans to specifically targeted industries and companies (Lee & Han, 2006). During the initial period, the industrial focus was on cement, chemical fertilizers, and light industries; e.g., textiles. In the 1980s, this industrial focus shifted towards chemical, automobile, steel and shipbuilding industries. Within these industries, the government granted privileges to a select few large conglomerates (chaebols). These chaebols then returned the favor by providing funding for political leaders (Lee & Han, 2006)[14]. The agricultural sector, which accounted for almost 40% of the GDP in the 1950s, sharply declined to less than 10% (Lee, 1997). At the same time, the production sector increased from 13 to 30%, replacing the agriculture sector (Cho, 1994). On average, the GDP grew more than 8% per year from 1962 to 1987. Broken down to the number of people, the per capita GDP rose from $110 USD in 1962 to $3,320 USD in 1987.

In order to fuel this economic growth, people were needed to work in the factories. While people were not particularly interested in moving, the government launched campaigns that praised the value of such labor and linked it to national pride and aspiration in an effort to motivate people to move (Kim & Park, 2003). As the companies grew in size, the number of managerial employees increased in the 1970s and 1980s (Koo, 1991), thus creating a new middle class.

By the 1990s, the rapid, government-led economic growth had created tensions between the authoritarian government, the chaebol owners, and the blue-collar workers.

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[14] For instance, former president Tae Woo Roh was found guilty of having received around $500 million USD in bribes.

While the government and chaebol owners benefited greatly from the economic growth, blue-collar workers and other citizens saw little increase in their standards of living (Jee, 1997). These tensions erupted in the 1987 democratic movements. The summer of 1987 saw a general strike followed by subsequent labor disputes in large manufacturing companies and general demonstrations by university students. These movements eventually led to democratization (first free elections in 1992) and the diminishing power of the chaebols. These developments are very much in line with Inglehart's (1998) convergence theory. Since then, the involvement of the state is declining and Korea has become a more market-oriented economy.

Korea's rapid economic growth that saw annual growth rates higher than 8% continued until 1997. In 1995, GPD per capita exceeded $10,000 USD for the first time. In 1996, Korea became a member of the OECD. However, in 1997/1998 Korea was hit hard by the Asian financial crisis. A sudden depreciation of the Korean Won from 900 per dollar to 1,700 per dollar put the export and foreign debt dependent Korean economy into a severe crisis, which caused it to contract by 6.8%. Several major chaebols were no longer able to amortize their foreign debts. In order to overcome the crisis, the Korean government requested support and financial subsidies of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). These subsidies were linked to certain restrictions imposed by the IMF. As part of the deal, the Korean government had to tighten its fiscal and monetary policies, open the domestic market to foreign investors, restructure the financial sector, and improve corporate governance of the chaebols (IMF Survey, 2002; Lee & Han, 2006). In the short run, these measures led to several chaebols declaring bankruptcy, which resulted in a wave of layoffs. Almost one million people lost their jobs during this time (Lee & Han, 2006). These layoffs stretched

across a variety of social strata including a high number of white-collar workers (K. Y. Shin, 2004).

In the medium and long run, these reforms provided very positive stimuli to the Korean economy. Already in 1999 and 2000, the Korean economy grew by more than 8% annually, and the average growth since then has been in the range of 3 to 7%. The GDP per capita exceeded $20,000 USD in 2007. Now, Korea belongs to the "club" of industrialized countries, and it has become a world leader in broadband Internet, flat screen displays, and mobile phone technology.

3.1.3. China

Over the last 2,000 years, China has been the most prosperous economy in the world for 18 out 20 centuries (Financial Times, 2005). However, because China was stricken by anarchy, warlordism, and foreign suppression in the 19th century, it completely missed out on the industrialization that took place in Western societies. While China's GDP accounted for 30% of world output in 1820, it fell to less than 5% by 1950 (Economist, 2004). After the Second World War, and after some struggles with the competing Kuomintang party, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) took control of the government, while the Kuomintang established an exile government in Taiwan.

The CCP set up a Communist-Leninist state with the capacity to impose state policies on Chinese society (So, 2003). Initially, the primary objectives were to nationalize the banking system and redistribute land from landlords to farmers. These reforms dissolved the economic power of the rich peasant class. During its first five-year economic plan, the

Chinese government under Mao Zheodong adopted a Soviet economic model, which was based on state ownership in production, large collective units in agriculture, and centralized economic planning. The focus was on the development of heavy industry and capital-intensive technology while de-emphasizing agriculture. Farmers were organized in collective units.

The highly centralized, industry-biased Soviet model proved inefficient in providing sufficient food for the rapidly growing Chinese population. Thus, in 1958, the Chinese government decentralized its decision making processes and tried to form communes that ranged in size from 10,000 to 40,000 people, each of which were independent in planning and executing farm related activities. However, many of these communes were overburdened and incapable of fulfilling their tasks. Instead of an increase in agricultural output, the "Great Leap Forward" initiative resulted in a sharp decline in agricultural output that was influenced additionally by adverse weather conditions. Widespread famine occurred across China, particularly in rural areas. The number of people who succumbed to starvation remains unclear, but some sources estimate that up to 30 million people died in the famine that lasted from 1959 through 1960 (Schlevogt, 2000).

Consequently, the Chinese government placed the highest priority on agriculture. As part of these efforts, agricultural taxes were reduced, the prices of agricultural relative to industrial products were increased, and more chemical fertilizers and agricultural machinery were provided. But while the food situation improved as a result, the economy did not, and China's economy fell further behind those of Western countries. More than 60% of the population was employed in the agricultural sector. The per capita GDP at that time was around $100 USD.

Instead of implementing new economic reforms targeting economic growth, the Cultural Revolution was set in motion by Mao Zedong in 1966. Educated people, such as managers, engineers, scientists and other professionals, were jailed or sent to the countryside to participate in farming activities. Universities were closed or restricted in their operations. The influx of foreign machinery and technology was equally restricted. These restrictions were only slowly decreased beginning in 1970. Overall, both the economy and the free thought of educated people remained dormant until Mao Zedong died in 1976 (Schlevogt, 2000).

After a power struggle, Deng Xiaoping emerged as the new leader in 1978[15]. Deng Xiaoping was much more pragmatic and market driven than was Mao Zedong, and the role played by Communist ideology became less critical in policy making. Instead, the priorities were placed on political and social stability, economic growth, and welfare. In order to achieve these goals, the Chinese government implemented a series of market-oriented reforms. The inefficient communes were eliminated. The power of government officials was gradually reduced and given to enterprise managers to enable them to establish their own production and management plans. Also, enterprise managers were allowed to receive and allocate bonuses based on individual performance. Education, research, and international trade were promoted. The economy responded very favorably to these measures. China's average annual economic growth rates were above 9% between 1980 and 2000 (Dutta, 2005). The economy grew from $188 billion USD in 1980 to $354 billion USD in 1990, and it hit $1.2 trillion USD in 2000. Because of its increasing population, the GDP per capita only increased from $220

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[15] Deng Xiaoping was never the official head of state or head of government but was the de facto leader of China from 1978 until the early 1990s.

USD in 1980 to $320 USD in 1990. Once the effects of the one-child policy kicked in, the per capita GDP increased threefold from $320 USD in 1980 to $930 USD in 2000. At the same time, employment in the agricultural sector decreased from 68.7% in 1980 to 53.5% in 1990, and to 46.9% in 2000, being replaced increasingly by the production and service sectors (World Development Indicators, World Bank). The importance of the agricultural sector in terms of GDP contribution decreased from 30% to 16% (Dutta, 2005). While only a tiny percentage of the population was able to attend universities in the 1980s, this percentage expanded greatly once higher education was again promoted. University admission rates increased by 43% in 1999 and by another 20% in 2000 (So, 2003). This economic growth was fueled in large part by foreign investment (Dutta, 2005). FDI increased from $236 million USD in 1981 to $5 billion USD in 1991 and to $42 billion USD in 2001.

Admission to the World Trade Organization, hosting the Olympic Games in Beijing in 2008 and selected to host the World EXPO in Shanghai in 2010 has further fueled recent economic growth in China. Annual economic growth rates between 2002 and 2007 even exceeded 10% (Worldbank). China has become the world's largest recipient of FDI and is world's largest exporter (UNCTAD). GPD per capita exceeded $1,000 USD for the first time in 2001, and stood at $2,000 USD in 2006. How long this growth story can continue remains the subject of great debate. While some argue that China has already become a bubble of speculation similar to that of Japan in the late 1980s (e.g., New York Times, 2004), others predict a glorious Chinese century (e.g., Economist, 2004).

3.1.4. Summary

The Second World War left deep marks on the economies of Japan, Korea, and China.

While all three countries achieved rapid economic growth in recent history, Japan was the first to embark on a growth path. Beginning in 1952, Japan enjoyed more than 30 years of rapid economic growth before its economy began to fall stagnant in the 1990s. Korea's miraculous economic growth began in 1963 and lasted more than 30 years as well before the Asian crisis hit in 1997. China's growth period began in 1978 and remains an ongoing process.

In all three cases, the governments played pivotal roles in steering their economies onto growth paths. Among the three economies, the government role was weakest in Japan (Baek, 2005). This is not surprising since Japan was the only democracy; in contrast, China had a planned economy and Korea was under the control of a military regime during their respective and rapid growth periods. Another striking difference between the three economies was that foreign direct investment played an important role only in China (Baek, 2005).

Japan reached a GDP per capita of $1,000 USD in 1966, $10,000 USD in 1980, and $20,000 in 1988. Korea had to wait until 1978 to reach a GDP per capita of $1,000 USD, $10,000 USD in 1995, and $20,000 USD in 2007. China reached a GDP per capita of $1,000 USD in 2001 but has yet to reach a GDP of $10,000 USD. Another interesting indicator of economic growth and political stability can be seen in the Olympic Games. The Olympic Committee only awards the Olympic Games to nations that are politically stable and are considered able to hold such an international and complex event. Japan hosted the Olympic Games in 1966, Korea in 1988, and China in 2008. Taken together, these indicators suggest that Japan has a head start of 20 years in terms of its economic development over Korea, and Korea is 20 years ahead of China. Furthermore, while Japan and Korea have become industrialized economies, China is still a developing or transitioning economy.

3.2. Management Practices

As drawing implications for management practices is one of the goals of this dissertation, it is important to understand the prevalent HRM systems in Japan, Korea, and China. Adler and colleagues (1986) and McGaughey and De Cieri (1999) found that HRM systems and values do not always go hand in hand. Sometimes, management practices change faster than the underlying value systems. Such discrepancies between HRM systems and work values may cause job dissatisfaction, reduced loyalty, and other negative work attitudes among employees.

This section reviews the HRM systems prevalent in Japan, Korea, and China as discussed in the extant literature. In the following three subsections, I review the HR practices in these three countries separately, one after the other. These three subsections are structured similarly: First, a general overview, then a description of recruitment, employee development, and reward system, and finally labor relations. After these three separate country analyses, I summarize and compare the HRM of these three countries.

3.2.1. Japan

Japanese companies have become world famous for their distinct HR practices (e.g., Dore 1973; Fukuda 1993; Kopp 1994; Kono & Clegg 2001). Japanese HR practices have often been summarized by the "three pillars" of lifetime employment system, seniority system, and distinct labor relationships. These distinct HR practices have often been recognized as a decisive factor in Japan's miraculous economic growth (e.g., Kopp, 1994; Ornatowski, 1996).

Entry level recruiting plays a central role in the recruiting process in Japan (Robinson, 2003). The majority of Japanese and also major foreign companies in Japan launch extensive recruiting campaigns across major Japanese universities more than a year before the new recruits will actually begin working. Prestigious companies usually focus their recruiting efforts on the top universities, such as Waseda, Keio, Tokyo, and Kyoto universities. Some prestigious companies such as Goldman Sachs only accept applications from a select list of prestigious universities including Waseda, Keio, Tokyo University and a few others (interview with Goldman Sachs manager, Tokyo, July 2008). Thus, education at a prestigious university is crucial for students to find a job at a prestigious company. While the name of the university is important, university major or GPAs play only minor roles except in technical jobs that require a technical major. Most students prefer large and prestigious companies because these are believed to offer better benefits and greater job security (Robinson, 2003). Companies try to select students based on personality and organizational fit, while they de-emphasize existing skills (Robinson, 2003). The underlying assumption is that skills can be trained more easily than personality. Midcareer hiring plays only a minor role, albeit there has been an increase in midcareer hiring in recent years (Tokoro, 2005).

Once these college graduates are hired into the company, they participate in various training programs, on-the-job training, and job rotations (Rowley et al., 2004). Initial training programs usually last between one and three months. One of the main goals during this initial training program is to familiarize new recruits with the corporate culture and rituals (Chen, 1995). In contrast to American companies, Japanese companies intend to develop general managers instead of functional specialists (Pudelko, 2004; Robinson, 2003). Every one to four years, employees may rotate into different functions and even different locations (Watanabe, 2003). This rotation prepares employees for general management positions. Instead of hiring

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people from outside the company, Japanese companies prefer to train and promote their people from within (Robinson, 2003). Promotion is largely based on seniority and training, though recently performance has been increasingly taken into account (Rowley et al., 2004; Tokoro, 2005).

The reward system is still based primarily on seniority (Rowley et al., 2004). Some foreign-invested firms have spearheaded the introduction of performance-based appraisal and reward systems. Consequently, some Japanese companies followed suit (Tokoro, 2005). However, these changes from seniority to performance systems have often been problematic, e.g., Sharp or Henkel (Yeow et al., 2003), and sometimes were even discarded in favor of the previously existing system because of employee dissatisfaction. Nonetheless, there seems a general trend towards introducing more performance components into the reward and appraisal systems (Rowley et al., 2004; Tokoro, 2005).

Enterprise unions became widespread in the postwar period (Kawanishi, 1992). These unions helped improve the situations of workers in the postwar period but cooperated greatly thereafter (Gordon, 1985). When economic growth and company profits slowed down unions and employers concluded moderate and consultative agreements (Kawamoto, 2000). The number of union members has declined in recent years.

3.2.2. Korea

Whereas Japanese management has received a great deal of attention, relatively little academic research has been devoted to Korean HRM. Although Korea was a Japanese colony and the Korean government copied large parts of its economic plans from Japan (Lie, 1990),

Lee and colleagues (2000) and others recognized several distinct differences between Korean and Japanese management. In this subsection, I will simply describe the characteristics of Korean HRM. Comparisons with Japan and China are drawn in the summary at the end of this section.

Recruiting plays an important role in Korean companies as replacements and layoffs are less common than in Western companies (e.g., Chung et al., 1997). In the past, companies relied heavily on personal relations and recruited people from among their family and friends. In recent years, however, these practices have increasingly been replaced by professional and fair recruiting processes (Chung et al., 1997). In large companies, recruiting is centralized. Recruiting channels are similar to those in most other countries and comprise methods, such as newspapers, magazines, company newsletters, campus visits, and even TV commercials. The most common recruiting channel for major companies is campus visits, when a number of HR staff and managers who graduated from the same university visit the campus for recruiting sessions. Famous and well reputed companies focus their recruiting efforts on the most prestigious Korean institutions, the so-called SKY universities; i.e., Seoul, Korea and Yonsei universities (SKY represents the initials of these three universities) (Card, 2005). Major American consulting companies, for instance, recruit exclusively from these top schools and reject applications from students from other schools by default.

A system of lifetime employment, with recruiting predominantly at the entry level and subsequent internal promotion was prevalent until the Asian crisis in 1997/98 (Chung et al., 1997). While internal labor markets remain relevant in Korea, massive layoffs due to economic necessities, changed regulations, and the influx of FDI as a consequence of the Asian crisis have made the Korean labor market more fluid and flexible (Bae & Rowley,

Froese, Pak, & Chong, 2008; Rowley et al., 2004). Training plays a central role in employee motivation and development in Korea. In large companies, all new recruits will be socialized into the company through introductory training during which they learn about corporate culture and core values (Kim & Bae, 2004). Regular on- and off-the-job training is offered to all employees. Most major companies maintain their own training academies; e.g., SK Telecom and its SK Academy. Talented employees also have the chance to attend domestic or international MBA programs at company expense. While major companies still practice job rotations to train their (future) managers, such rotations have become less widespread, particularly in the banking industry.

Traditionally, employees were promoted in view of seniority (e.g., Chung et al., 1997). However, in line with an increasingly flexible labor market and the westernization of HR practices in Korea in recent years (Bae & Rowley, 2001; Chang, 2003), more than 70% of all companies with more than 5,000 employees have introduced performance based pay systems (2001 report by the Ministry of Labor, Republic of Korea). Foreign mergers and acquisitions (M&A) have further pushed the transformation toward western management practices (Froese et al., 2008). Implemented gradually, these changes toward performance based pay and promotion systems have been perceived positively by Korean employees (Chang, 2003; Froese et al., 2008). Nevertheless, in most Korean companies seniority remains an important part of promotion decisions and seems to co-exist with performance-based systems (Rowley, 2004).

Korea has been famous for its strong labor unions, which often fostered conflict with company management (e.g., Financial Times, 2007; Ha & Lee, 2007). Due to legal changes in 1980, industry based unions were forbidden and transformed into enterprise based unions.

Today, about 10% of Korean employees are organized in labor unions (http://laborstat.molab.go.kr).While a few large-scale demonstrations have made international headlines, such as those against the import of American beef, the number of labor disputes has decreased significantly in recent years (Ha & Lee, 2007). In 2007, there were only 115 labor disputes, of which 15 resulted in labor strikes (http://laborstat.molab.go.kr), one third of the number in 2002.

3.2.3. China

Not long ago, China was a Communist country. The HRM in China was based on Russian Communist practices (Ding & Warner, 2001). Until China opened up to Western influences, corporate management, and HRM were of little importance. As part of the economic policies in the 1980s, major changes in the HRM were introduced. Foreign companies often transferred their HR practices into their subsidiaries in China, and Chinese companies eagerly adopted those practices (Ding & Warner, 2001; Lu & Bjorkman, 1997).

While recruiting was centralized during Communist times, it has become a professional endeavor, not significantly different from the approaches used in Western countries (Hassard et al., 2004). Recruiting channels include newspaper advertisements, campus visits, headhunters, internal referrals, and Internet recruitment. When recruiting college students, campus visits represent the primary channel (Morris & Zhang, 2001). The labor pool represented by college graduates is abundant, with more than 3 million college students graduating each year (Zhou, 2005). Thus, companies that are well reputed can be highly selective. Well known foreign companies usually recruit only from a few top universities, such as Peking, Tsinghua and Fudan (Ke & Morris, 2002). The selection process

includes written and oral tests, assessment centers, and personality tests. Midcareer hires are usually recruited through Internet portals and headhunters.

Prior to the economic reforms of the 1980s, career development was centralized and pre-determined. Ding and Warner (2001) described the traditional Chinese HRM system by the "three irons," referring to a system comprised of iron rice bowl, iron chair, and iron wages, meaning employment, promotion and wages all were guaranteed and pre-defined. Foreign companies have spearheaded the movement towards performance based appraisals and promotion systems, and Chinese companies have followed suit (Hassard et al., 2004). As career paths were pre-determined and few incentives for performance were given, training was de-emphasized in the past. While foreign companies in China usually offer an array of on- and off-the-job training, including training programs and overseas business trips, training still seems to play a minor role within Chinese companies, except for a few modernized companies such as Haier (Wong & Slater, 2002; Zhang et al., 2002). Because of this ignorance of training in the past, China now is experiencing a paucity of qualified upper and mid-level managers (Hassard et al., 2004).

While wages were centrally administered and characterized by a relatively flat structure in the past (Warner, 1995), there have been dramatic changes in recent years. Since 1990, greater emphasis has been placed on performance appraisals and material incentives (Hassard et al., 2004). Age, position, and skills may determine only 50 to 80% of the salary paid. Bonuses are usually linked to individual performance. In some companies, the basic salary (not including bonuses) may constitute only 40% of the total salary (Morris & Zhang, 2002). In general, foreign invested firms tend to place more emphasis on performance based pay and promotion than Chinese companies (Morris & Zhang, 2001; Ke & Morris, 2002).

Employees are officially organized in the ACFTU, the only labor union allowed in China (Rowley et al., 2004).This labor union has more than 100 million members, though this organization has no right to strike. Thus, labor unions have no real power in China, at least up to this time.

3.2.4. Summary

Despite a shared Confucian and cultural background, different HR practices have evolved in these three countries. Most notably, Chinese HRM was influenced by Russian Communist practices during the postwar period, but China eventually became receptive to changes introduced by Western companies. In contrast, Japanese and Korean companies developed their own HR practices that emphasized entry-level recruiting, intensive training, lifetime employment, and seniority-based promotion from within. However, Korean companies have been more open to adopting Western practices, whereas Japanese companies tend to remain true to their HR practices. Table 5 compares the HR practices across the three investigated countries. Similar to Warner et al. (2004), this review suggests the conclusion that no convergence of Asia HRM is taking place. However, a convergence trend toward Western, particularly American HRM practices, appears recognizable.

Table 5: Overview of HR practices within Japan, Korea, and China

	Japan	Korea	China
Recruiting	Mainly entry level, importance of university reputation	Entry and midcareer recruiting, importance of university education	Entry and midcareer recruiting, importance of university education
Employee development	Mainly internal promotion, intensive training, job-rotation	Flexible labor market, intensive on- and off-the-job training	Flexible labor market, training programs being developed
Reward system	Mainly seniority system; increasingly complemented with performance	Seniority and performance	Individual performance-based
Labor unions	Enterprise-based unions seldom interfere	Strong enterprise-based unions	Despite existence, no real power

4. HYPOTHESES DEVELOPMENT

In the introduction, I presented the major research questions of this dissertation as part of the overview, but I did not provide further elaboration. In this chapter, I take a closer look at these general research questions. Based on the literature review, these general research questions will be further refined. For a better comprehension, let us recall the general research questions as presented in the introduction:

Research Question 1:   How do work values differ across Japan, Korea, and China?

Research Question 2:   How do work values differ across generations?

Research Question 3:   What are the implications for the human resource management of multinational corporations?

Research Question 3 depends on the findings of the first two research questions. If those findings reveal largely similar values across countries and generations, a standardized HRM approach will be recommended. However, if the values differ, MNC are advised to adjust their HRM to correspond with prevailing work values.

Research Questions 1 and 2 are at the core of the investigation described in this dissertation, and these will be subdivided into hypotheses that are more specific later. Before doing so, however, we need to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of the concept of work values. The literature review of the fragmented work value research has revealed that various complementing constructs of work values have been developed (Dose, 1997; Ros et al., 1999). To better understand work values, an analysis of the relationships between the various constructs of work values is expected to deepen our understanding. This dissertation

responds to this void by exploring the relationships between the various constructs (general values, job values, work centrality) of work values. This leads to the following additional research question:

Research question 4:   How are general values, job values, and work centrality related with one another?

Based on an improved understanding of the various constructs of work values as discussed in chapter 2, the following relationships between the constructs are expected as depicted in Table 6. The relationships between the various constructs should be tested to determine whether they hold for each of the various subsamples (e.g., Japanese parents, Chinese university students). If those relationships differ, specific managerial and theoretical implications must be provided.

Table 6: Expected relationships between the different constructs of work values

General values	Job values	Work centrality
Individualism	Quality of work	Work centrality, Family (-)
Risk aversion	Extrinsic	
Money orientation	Extrinsic	
Work orientation	Career enhancement	Work centrality

Note: - stands for negative relationship

In chapter 2, I explained the convergence theory and the constructs of work values separately. In this chapter, I try to combine them and advance universal expectations, which are not specific to any sample. These general expectations will be further refined for the various subsamples of this dissertation in the following subsections. According to the convergence theory (Inglehart, 1998; Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005), value change is contingent upon economic development. Inglehart and Welzel (2005)

distinguished between two development stages. A development stage labeled *industrialization*, which addresses the transition from an agricultural economy to an industrialized economy. This stage is characterized by urbanization and an increase in secular-rational values. Because people who previously were farmers now work as employees for companies, changes toward individualism, less risk aversion, less work orientation, but more career enhancement job values and more work centrality are expected (also see Table 7). People born in *postindustrialization*, the second development stage, grew up in the cities without having to worry about material needs. Most likely, they would find their jobs in the service sector. Such conditions are vastly different from those experienced by people during industrialization. Instead of pursuing basic survival values, since most of their survival values are already fulfilled, people pursue self-expression values. This implies for the context of work values, that people are likely to become more individualistic, less risk averse, less work oriented and emphasize the quality of work issues.

This chapter is organized as follows. The next section deals with intergenerational comparisons of work values within Japan, Korea and China. The second section develops hypotheses for the comparison of work values across these three countries, separately for the parents' and university students' generation. In the final section, I attempt to develop some estimate for an integrated and simultaneous comparison of work values across generations and countries.

Table 7: Expected value change

		Expected change	
		Industrialization	Postindustrialization
General values	Individualism	↑	↑
	Risk aversion	↓	↓
	Money orientation	↓	
	Work orientation	↓	↓
Job values	Extrinsic	↓	
	Career enhancement	↑	
	Quality of work		↑
Work centrality	Work centrality	↑	

4.1. Intergenerational Comparisons

Work values differ across countries (e.g., Hofstede, 2001, House et al., 2004) and change over time (e.g., Inglehart, 1998; Ralston et al., 1999; Smola & Sutton, 2002). Understanding the work values of different generations of people is important in order to avoid potential conflicts at work due to different work values (Brislin, et al., 2005, Ralston et al., 1999). For instance, if people from the older generation prefer to be rewarded based on seniority and group performance but the younger generation prefers a reward system that is based solely on individual performance, then a standard, one-size-fits-all approach, e.g., individual performance reward system for all employees, would dissatisfy at least one of the two groups. In such a case, a dual reward system based both on seniority and individual/group performance, or a gradual phasing out of the seniority system, might be more promising

(Chang, 2003; Froese et al., 2008). Thus, it is important to understand the work values of the different generations.

Cross-sectional, intergenerational comparisons rather than longitudinal studies can be used as a proxy for measuring value change over time. Some researchers might argue that values change during a person's life (e.g., Roberts, Walton, & Viechtbauer, 2006), but most researchers would agree that values are established during childhood and teenage years, and remain relatively stable afterwards (Inglehart, 1998; Jennings & Niemi, 1981). Thompson and Thompson's review (1990) demonstrates that most research agrees that individual values are entrenched during one's late teenage years. In their comprehensive analysis of cross-sectional and longitudinal data of more than 350,000 respondents across 78 countries, Inglehart and Welzel (2005) proved that the course of a human's life plays no major role in determining value change. Following this logic of intergenerational change, comparing the values of different generations has become a common strategy for analyzing cultural change (Stewart, Bond, Deeds, & Chung, 1999; Egri & Ralston, 2004; Smola & Sutton, 2002). This dissertation also follows this path by comparing the work values of university students and their parents. This analysis of the work values held by today's university students'—the next generation of managers—may yield valuable predictions that might foster an understanding of the future workforce. In a way, we are looking into the future. Comparing these students with their parents will allow us to foresee potential conflicts that may arise as the young generation enters the workforce.

According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, a generation is defined as "a group of individuals born and living contemporaneously." In other words, a generation shares the birth years, location, social life experiences, and socioeconomic developments of the environment.

These experiences distinguish one generation from another (Jurkiewicz & Brown, 1998). As one generation experiences the same socioeconomic environment, these people are expected to develop relatively similar work values in their child- and early adulthood, in line with the convergence theory (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). If a new generation is facing a more developed socioeconomic environment, then it is expected to develop a different set of values towards more secular-rational and self-expression values as explained in chapter 2.

When comparing generations, the socioeconomic environment is not the only factor that may impact the development of values among the new generation. Research using intergenerational data has been popular in Psychology and Sociology, yet it has received very little attention in the Business Administration literature. Although a number of articles in the domain of Business Administration claim to compare generations (e.g., Egri & Ralston, 2004; Ralston et al., 1999), these studies often simply split respondents into different age groups and compare these different groups. Thus, instead of true intergenerational comparisons, these studies primarily test the effect of age on work values (e.g., Cherrington, Condie & England, 1979; Mellahi & Guermat, 2004). Sociology and Psychology has taught us that social class and demographic data have profound effects on the transmission of values.

Sociology research is strongly influenced by stratification studies of social status attainment (Duncan & Hodge, 1963; Hauser, Tsai, & Sewell, 1983; Warren, Hauser, & Sheridan, 2002). Stratification studies have shown that the social class of the family has a profound impact on the status attainment of the following generation. In simple terms, the son of a smith is likely to become a smith, while the son of an upper-class banker is likely to become a banker himself. Even education is unable to change this vicious circle, because students from working class are discriminated against in the selection process at schools and

universities (Robinson & Garnier, 1985). Consequently, education does not break down class differences but instead reinforces them (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Within the stratification studies, Bourdieu's reproduction theory was very influential. His related publications have been cited more than 10,000 times according to Google Scholar. A key feature of Bourdieu's (1977) reproduction theory is the concept of cultural capital—linguistic and cultural competence. Children from middle- or upper-class families naturally adopt certain preferences and learn proper behavioral patterns that are socially acceptable, whereas people from working class families do not acquire such skills. Cultural capital then enables these children to enter prestigious schools and universities, resulting in superior educational capital. Because people have acquired similar cultural and educational capital, they are also likely to hold relatively similar values that distinguish them from other people (Halaby, 2003, Johnson, 2002). Lacy, Bokemeier, and Shepard (1983) found that workers in the upper social classes emphasized intrinsic job values and de-emphasized extrinsic job values more than other workers. Halaby (2003) found that people with advantaged family backgrounds held more entrepreneurial job values. Johnson (2002) found that adolescents from advantaged social backgrounds held more stable work values than those from disadvantaged social backgrounds. Johnson argued that privileged adolescents already have a more realistic understanding of work, which they learned from their parents (cultural capital). On the other hand, adolescents from disadvantaged backgrounds may have overly optimistic assumptions and are usually not able to secure attractive work, thus resulting in dissatisfaction and a possible shift in job values.

Demographic data, particularly gender, have been found to influence value transmission between parents and children (e.g., Thornton, 1987; Whitebeck & Gecas, 1988; Xiao, 2000). Studies of adolescents and university students found that females place greater

emphasis on intrinsic and altruistic job values but less emphasis on extrinsic job values than their male counterparts (Bridges, 1989; Herzog, 1982; Marini et al., 1996). Parents are more likely to transmit their values to their daughters than to sons (Whitebeck & Gecas, 1988). In particular, the link between mothers and daughters seems to be stronger than all other possible dyadic relationships (father-son, father-daughter, and mother-son). In related research, Thornton (1987) found that mothers had a stronger influence on daughters than sons relative to sexual behavior, and Axinn and Thornton (1983) found a similar result in the domain of cohabitation behavior. Also, race has been linked with value development. For instance, Martin and Tuch (1993) found that black women emphasized extrinsic job values more than black men, whereas no gender difference was found for white people. Stewart, Bond, Deeds, and Chung (1999) applied Schwartz's value survey to a sample of dyadic intergenerational data of Caucasian and Asian mothers, and their teenage children. Whereas the higher order value of conservatism was significantly correlated between Caucasian mothers and their children, the relation between Asian mothers and their children was insignificant, implying that Caucasian mothers might have a stronger influence on their children when it comes to conservatism. However, in the relatively racial homogenous societies of Japan, Korea, and China—the sample of this study—race can be ignored.

4.1.1. Japan

Japan, which boasts the second largest economy in the world, seems to be undergoing significant social change. The press, electronic media and even some scholars (Matsumoto, 2002; Misumi, 1993; Sakurai, 2004; Y. Yamada, 1999) have reached the bleak conclusion that positive Japanese work values — one of the pillars of the success enjoyed by Japanese companies — have diminished and will continue to deteriorate further. In particular, David

Matsumoto (2002) argues that the new generation of young people has and will become more individualistic, less loyal to the companies employing them and less motivated to work.

In a similar vein, Gordon Mathews (2004) describes how the current generation of young Japanese feels discontent with the existing work conditions and hesitates to follow the standard path of becoming a manager in a large Japanese corporation. Some of these young people eventually become *furiitaa*, that is, people who do not (aspire to) enter a stable career in a large company but instead take up part-time or contracted jobs (Aera, 2002). Even worse, Japanese sociologists (e.g., M. Yamada, 1999) have observed that a large number of young Japanese also can be categorized either as *parasaito shinguru* (parasite singles), which refers to unmarried young people who stay with their parents long after graduation without showing interest in marrying or moving out, or as *hikikomori*, people who shut themselves into their rooms and stay away from society and work.

Thus, in line with the alleged value change as well as worsening economic conditions, business consultants and scholars alike have recommended that Japanese companies modify their HRM practices; a more American-style approach, it is argued, will better suit the needs of the new generation of managers (e.g., Brislin et al., 2005, Tokoro, 2005). In fact, recent years have seen shifts in traditional HRM practices of Japanese companies toward more American-style practices (Rowley, Benson, & Warner, 2004; Tokoro, 2005; Watanabe, 2003).

It is evident that economic recession required amendments to traditional Japanese HRM practices in order for companies to remain competitive (e.g., lay off redundant employees; introduce a more flexible labor market). However, this study challenges the notion that such profound changes in work values have taken place as to demand major changes in

HRM practices. Has the new generation developed work values that are significantly different from the one preceding it? There are two main reasons why I doubt the significance of the value changes which are so vividly described in the press and media.

First, previous studies have often focused on the aforementioned "problem" groups or surveyed pseudo-representative samples and then tried to generalize their findings to the whole population and draw implications for Japanese corporations. That people from disadvantaged social backgrounds tend to become dissatisfied with their social situations and are thus more susceptible to value change has been found by various previous research (e.g., 2002 Clausen and Jones, 1998; Halaby, 2003, Johnson, 2002). The sample of this study, however, consists of university students at a prestigious university. University students are considered to hold more stable values (Clausen and Jones, 1998). Furthermore, implications from those studies that focus on Japanese "problem" groups might be of little relevance for MNC because those studies overlook the fact that most people, especially members of the "problem" groups, are not those who are employed generally by MNC. For instance, by definition, *furiitaa* do not decide to enter companies as full-time employees. Usually, only a small minority of those who have graduated from one of the top universities assumes management positions in those companies. In fact, most large Japanese corporations still recruit their future management cadre almost exclusively from a few, select, top universities (Cutts, 1995). In conclusion, these earlier studies may be of little relevance for human resource managers of large corporations who are intent on designing a HRM system that can attract, develop, and retain talent. This study presents survey results from a more relevant sample by analyzing the work values of undergraduate students at one of the most prestigious private universities in Japan, and comparing their values to those of their parents. In this

comparison, university students represent potential job applicants and their parents represent current employees.

Second, it is not only the young Japanese generation being portrayed in those studies is problematic; the reference group is challenging as well. The "glorious" job values that were described in previous studies is often based on observations that were made 50 years ago or even longer (e.g., Benedict, 1967, Hofstede, 2001; Nakane, 1970). These classical studies depicted the Japanese as very collectivistic, risk averse, and extremely work oriented much like bees (Hofstede, 2001; Nakane, 1970). Ruth Benedict's (1967) classic "The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture," was based on interviews she conducted in the 1940s with Japanese prisoners of war or second generation Japanese living in the USA. Hofstede collected data from Japanese managers working at IBM in the 1970s. Supposing that Hofstede surveyed managers who were, on average, 40 years old, this would imply that they were born in the 1930s and 1940s. In conclusion, the Japanese that formed the empirical basis of those studies experienced World War(s), industrialization, and urbanization.

According to Inglehart (1998), industrialization has profound impacts on value formation. It is likely that that the Japanese who grew up during Japan's industrialization, which largely took place at the beginning of the 20th century and again soon after the Second World War, have developed vastly different values compared to their preceding generations. However, neither the generation of current university students nor that of their parents has experienced such dramatic changes. Indeed, recent socioeconomic changes have been less striking. Along this line, intergenerational changes between current university students and their parents are not expected to be particularly significant. Today, Japan belongs to the richest of nations, with a per capita GDP of more than $40,000 USD. Thus, current university

students grew up in the period of postindustrialization. Assuming that their parents are around 50 years of age would imply that they experienced their teenage years from the 1970s through the 1980s. During this period, Japan was already an industrialized country. Further, neither of these two generations has experienced either poverty or urbanization. Both generations grew up in the period of postindustrialization. Because of the relatively similar socioeconomic environments and the specific sample of educated people, it is unlikely that the generation of university students has developed work values that are significantly different from those of their parents. This leads to the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1:   There are no major differences in work values between Japanese parents and Japanese university students.

4.1.2. Korea

Korea underwent miraculous economic growth and democratization in recent decades. In 1960, Korea was a poor country with less than $1 USD per capita GDP, an economy based on agriculture and which was politically unstable. Today's generation of parents experienced rapid economic growth as well as the transition from an economy based on agriculture to one based on manufacturing. Their parents might have been farmers who moved to the cities to accept a job in the countless factories or companies (Kim and Park, 2003). By the time today's parents' generation went through their teenage years from 1970 through 1980, Korea's GDP per capita had already reached levels of around $1,000 to $3,000 USD, far above the poverty line. Upon completing their schooling, people of this generation might have occupied jobs in factories or companies. The number of managerial employees increased significantly through the 1980s and 1990s, creating a new middle class (Jee, 1997; Koo, 1991). This

generation represents the typical case of a generation that was affected by industrialization (Inglehart, 1998; Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). According to Inglehart and Welzel (2005), this generation would have experienced massive changes from traditional values towards secular-rational values. In fact, these changes in values may have led to the massive demonstrations and pro-democracy movements in Korea (Jee, 1997). Eventually, the military-led government made the way free for democratic elections in 1992. At the same time, Kim and Park described (2003) how this generation has also adopted more pro-growth values, which were partly induced by Confucian values and national ideology.

Today's generation of university students, however, grew up in very different times. Korea's GDP per capita exceeded $10,000 USD when they were young children. By 2007, GDP per capita reached $20,000 USD, which is comparable to a number of European countries. Most of them never experienced poverty or any physical constraints associated with poverty. As Korea is a safe country with a very low crime rate, safety needs are of little concern. The university students surveyed in this study have already negotiated one of the most important hurdles in their lives. They have passed the competitive entrance examinations and been accepted into Yonsei University, one of the most prestigious universities in their country (http://hagwon.wordpress.com). University education defines social status in Confucian countries like Korea (Chung et al., 1997; Choe, 2008). Thus, belonging to such a prestigious university may satisfy their belongingness and esteem needs. Taken together, this group of people has already fulfilled all their physical needs, the first four levels of Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs. What counts to them now is self-actualization, the fifth and highest level of need in Maslow's hierarchy.

According to Inglehart and Welzel (2005), current university students are experiencing postindustrialization, whereas the parents' generation experienced industrialization. The pronounced changes in the socioeconomic environment prevalent during the upbringing of current university students compared to their parents suggest that values would differ significantly, particularly in the survival values versus the self-expression dimension (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). Indeed, Chang (2003) found that younger employees were more attracted by individual performance assessment and rewards than were older employees. Younger workers also were found to be attracted by interesting jobs (Choi, 2008), which is related to the quality of work dimension used in this study. Responding to such changes, P&G Korea introduced a new employment system that is differentiated by job type. These observations suggest that the quality of work issues has become more important for today's young generation. According to Inglehart and Welzel (2005), postindustrialization also leads to an increase in individualism, decreased risk aversion, and work orientation. Because the current generation of university students has no need to worry about physical needs, they become more willing to take risks and do not see the deterministic need to work in order to secure their living. Furthermore, their educational capital may allow them to choose a job and life they prefer (Chung et al., 1997). In a related manner, the plurality of personal choice has resulted in an increase in marriage age, and in the divorce rate (Yoon, 2008). Taken together, the following changes in work values can be expected:

Hypothesis 2a: Korean university students tend to value individualism more highly than Korean parents.

Hypothesis 2b: Korean university students tend to value risk aversion less than Korean parents.

Hypothesis 2c: Korean university students tend to value work orientation less than Korean parents.

Hypothesis 2d: Korean university students tend to value quality of work more highly than Korean parents.

4.1.3. China

China completely missed out on the industrialization that took place in the 19th century across Europe and Japan. After the Second World War, China was devastated and adopted the Communist practices from Russia. Again, China missed out on the economic growth that took place in other Asian countries which adopted capitalistic practices. Even worse, the naïve economic policies that were evident from the 1950s into the 1970s caused famine across China with almost 30 million people dying of hunger. The Cultural Revolution eradicated Confucian values and cultural capital. Universities were closed and educated people were sent to the countryside to become farmers or were even imprisoned. In the 1970s and 1980s, China was a poor country with an annual GDP per capita of less than $200 USD, well below the global poverty line of $1 USD per capita per day (World Bank). More than 50% of the GPD was produced in the agricultural sector. At that time, China was classified as a poor developing country with an agrarian economy. This is the background in which the generation of today's parents grew up.

Since then, dramatic changes have taken place. Deng Xiaoping de-emphasized Communist practices and introduced market-oriented policies. As part of this initiative, economic growth, international trade, and education were promoted. The economy responded very favorably and grew on average more than 9% per year since 1980 (World Bank). While

the total GPD grew exponentially, the GDP per capita grew slowly, because the population increased rapidly at the same time. Even in 2000, GDP per capita stood only at $930 USD and in 2006 at $2,000 USD. During this prolonged economic growth period, people have been moving from the rural areas to the commercial centers. Employment in the agricultural sector dropped from almost 70% in 1980 to around 40% in 2005 (World Bank). These data clearly indicate that China is in the process of transforming from an agricultural economy to an industrialized economy.

In summary, the parents' generation grew up in a poor agricultural country, while today's university students have come of age in times of industrialization. According to Inglehart and Welzel (2005), massive shifts from traditional towards secular-rational values can be expected. Transferred to the context of work values, an increase in individualism, decrease in risk aversion, money and work orientation, decreasing emphasis on extrinsic but increasing emphasis on career enhancement job values, and decreasing work centrality can be expected. In fact, Egri and Ralston (2004) observed pronounced differences in work values across different generation cohorts in China.

As the parents' generation grew up in times of poverty and famine, they felt physiological needs (Maslow, 1943), and they were likely to have developed a high sense of money orientation and extrinsic job values. In contrast, today's university students probably have never felt these physiological needs and may prioritize other higher-order needs and corresponding work values. Thus, it is likely that university students are less money oriented and place less emphasis on extrinsic job values than their parents. Deng Xiaoping's reform and the opening of China in the 1980s to Western capitalistic ideas have created economic gains for Chinese people and have influenced Chinese businesses and education. These

changes encouraged individual achievement, economic efficiency, and entrepreneurship (Tian, 1998). Higher education, which only very few of the parents' generation could achieve, gives current university students the chance to obtain good jobs and attain social status. Pursuing a career may be the ticket to a better life. In such an environment, it is likely that university students place heavy emphasis on career enhancement. Indeed, career development and performance-based incentives have been found to be the most important factors to motivate talented employees and attract potential job seekers (Han & Froese, submitted; Tang, Furnham, & Davis, 2000; Turban et al., 2001; Wharton, 2005). Foreign companies as well as ambitious Chinese companies have responded to such needs and now offer performance-based incentives and career plans tailored to the ambitious young Chinese workforce (Hassard et al., 2004). This might be in stark contrast to older generations, the members of which were accustomed to the "three irons" comprising an iron rice bowl, an iron chair and iron wages, referring to employment, promotion and wages that were all guaranteed and pre-defined (Ding and Warner, 2001). Thus, these people had no reasons to be concerned about their career prospects.

As young Chinese managers and university students have experienced the merits of industrialization and individual rewards, they have become increasingly individualistic and willing to take risks (Ralston et al., 1999). Advertisements in China targeting the young generation further emphasize (and at the same reflect prevalent) individual values (Shang & Shevitt, 2003). In a related study, Turban and colleagues (2001) found that university students interested in working for foreign companies might be even more individualistic and risk seeking. Taken together, these studies suggest that the young generation of Chinese has developed individualistic values, a willingness to take risks, and are deterministic in pursuing their careers. Inglehart and Welzel's (2005) general theory and the various China-specific

studies as cited above suggest that massive values may have taken place. The following value changes can be expected:

Hypothesis 3a: Chinese university students tend to value individualism more highly than Chinese parents.

Hypothesis 3b: Chinese university students tend to value risk aversion less than Chinese parents.

Hypothesis 3c: Chinese university students tend to value money orientation less than Chinese parents.

Hypothesis 3d: Chinese university students tend to value work orientation less than Chinese parents.

Hypothesis 3e: Chinese university students tend to value extrinsic job values less than Chinese parents.

Hypothesis 3f: Chinese university students tend to value career enhancement more highly than Chinese parents.

Hypothesis 3f: Chinese university students tend to value work centrality more highly than Chinese parents.

4.2. Cross-Country Comparisons

Value change can be observed not only across generations but also across countries. According to the convergence theory (Inglehart, 1998), value change follows a similar path to socioeconomic development. As such, countries of different socioeconomic stages should reflect different values corresponding to the stage of their socioeconomic development. Inglehart and Welzel (2005) identified three indicators to classify the values of countries:

Income, workforce participation in the agriculture, industry, and service sectors, and cultural/ideological heritage. Similarly, other studies identified economic indicators and cultural and ideological heritage as having lasting impacts on the formation of values (e.g., Ralston et al., 1997; Ralston et al., 1999; Ralston et al., 2006).

Japan, Korea, and China, the countries being studied in this dissertation, all share a Confucian heritage, as well as relatively similar cultural backgrounds, all of which are very different when compared to Protestant European countries. Thus, as this dissertation deals only with Confucian-based countries, the factor Confucian/cultural heritage is controlled. In contrast to Japan and Korea, however, China was a Communist country and has only during recent decades been moving toward market orientation. Thus, ideological history may play a role in distinguishing between China and the other two countries. Inglehart and Welzel (2005) found that former Communist countries tended to emphasize survival values. In former Communist countries, the state looked after the "survival" of its people. But when the Communist systems broke apart, the state was either no longer willing or was unable to take care of its people. During this transition, people suddenly became responsible for their own income and living. In capitalistic societies, everyone has to look out for his/her own self-interests (Aslund, 1994). Under these circumstances, it is understandable that people in former Communist countries have developed a strong sense for the importance of survival values.

Income, as measured through GDP per capita, is a strong predictor of values (Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). Most scholars would agree that income has a strong impact on the formation of values. Based on a huge data set, Inglehart and Welzel (2005) plotted 80 countries on a value map (Figure 8). The location of a country on this map

reflects the values of its people along Inglehart's traditional versus secular-rational (vertical axis) and survival versus self-expression (horizontal axis) value dimensions. The observation made by this value map is astonishing. All high income countries, as defined by the World Bank (World Development Indicators, 2002), are placed in the upper right corner, implying that people in those countries hold high self-expression and secular rational values. In diametrical contrast, all low income countries are clustered in the bottom left corner, representing traditional and survival values. The middle income countries lie somewhere between these two clusters. Obviously, Japan belongs to the high income countries and it is depicted in the upper right cluster. At the time of the observation, both Korea and China belonged to the middle income countries based on the parity of their purchasing power relative to GDP per capita. The rationale of the findings can easily be linked to Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs: People in poor countries must worry about biological needs (e.g., food) and safety needs (e.g., security), and thus place emphasis on traditional and survival values. People living in high income countries, on the other hand, have already seen their physical needs fulfilled and thus strive for self-actualization needs, and tend to emphasize secular-rational and self-expression values.

Figure 8: The relationship between income and values
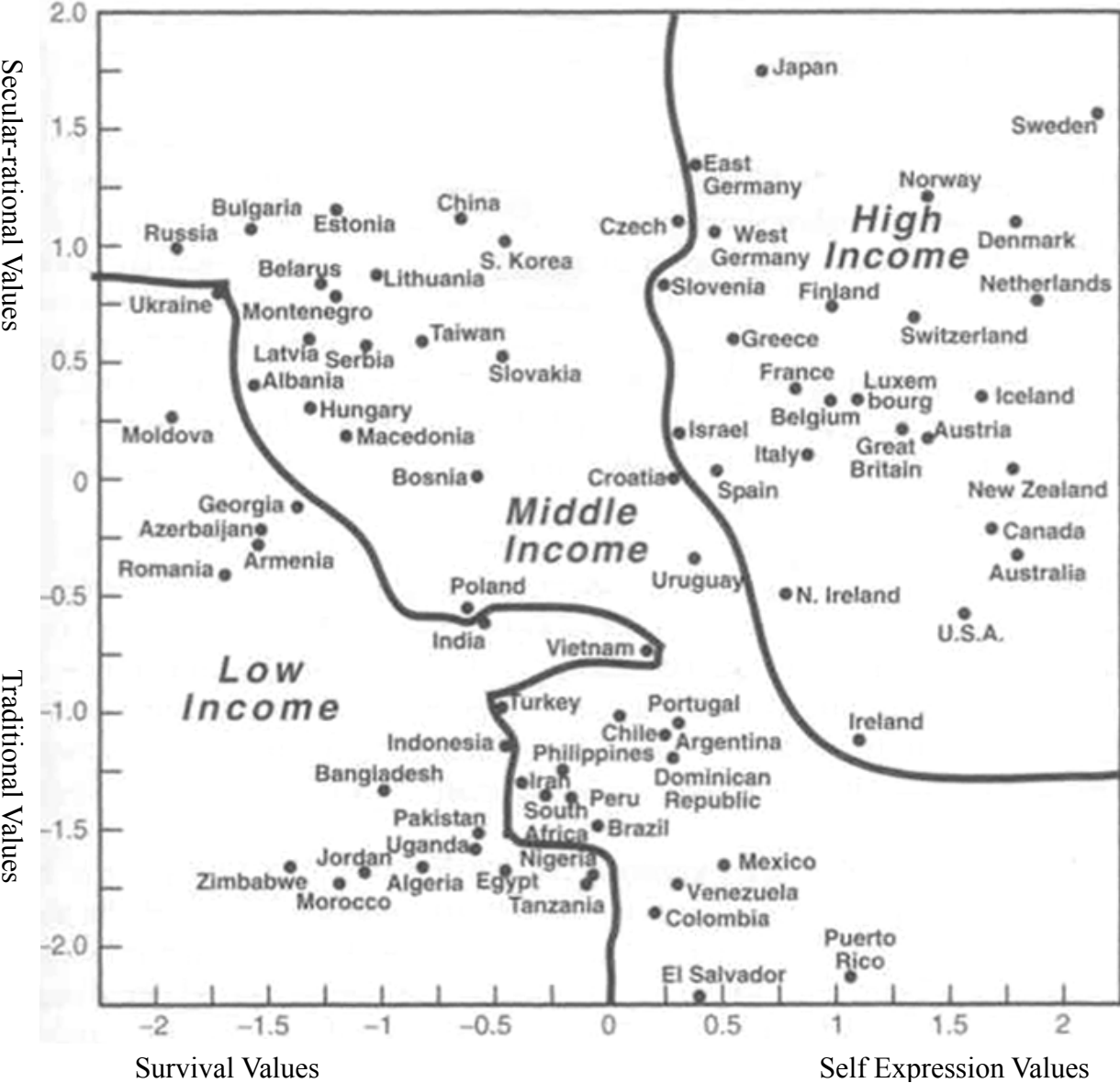
Source: Inglehart and Welzel (2005)

Another important factor that may influence values, particularly work values, might lie in the nature of work in which people are engaged (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). Obviously, the nature of work in the agriculture, industry and service sectors differ significantly. The majority of people in developing countries are usually employed in the agricultural sector (Bell, 1973). As such, jobs depend heavily on climate and other external factors, and people usually hold traditional values. During the transition to industrialization, people are

increasingly employed in factories. As people become less reliant on external factors, they develop secular rational values. Inglehart and Welzel (2005) reported a correlation of r = 0.57 between workforce participation in agriculture (percentage of workforce in industry minus percentage in agriculture) versus secular-rational values across countries. For instance, Japan has a higher percentage of its workforce in industry than Korea and in line with this, the Japanese hold more secular-rational values than do Koreans (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). As countries develop further, additional jobs in the service industry will be created (Bell, 1973; Jee, 1993). Whereas factory jobs tend be monotonous, jobs in the service industry, such as researchers, engineers, teachers, writers, accountants, and bankers, require cognitive skills, creativity, and autonomous decision making (Florida, 2002). Naturally, these people develop self-expression values. Inglehart and Welzel (2005) found a substantial correlation of r = 0.82 among workforce participation in service industry (percentage of workforce in services minus percentage in industry) and survival versus self-expression values. For instance, Japan, a service industry driven economy, was associated with higher self-expression values than Korea and China.

After having laid out the general framework, the next subsections provide detailed information related to the specific subsamples of the investigation. In the next subsection, I advance the hypotheses for expected value differences between university students in Japan, Korea, and China. The second subsection compares the parents' generation of these three countries.

4.2.1. Comparison of the Parents' Generation

As explained previously, the parents' generation examined in this study experienced

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their value formation years in the 1970s and 1980s. When comparing the values of the parents' generation, we need to consider the socioeconomic environment of that period. During that period, the socioeconomic environments of Japan, Korea, and China differed remarkably. While Japan was already an industrialized country with an annual GDP per capita of roughly $10,000 USD, Korea was at the beginning of its high economic growth period, transforming itself from an agrarian country to an industrialized country. China was still a poor Communist country. Thus, a comparison of the values of the people from these countries is expected to reveal the value change that is associated with industrialization. More than a century earlier, Karl Marx and Max Weber theorized about the drastic change that industrialization brings about in the daily routines of people (also see Bell, 1973). Such drastic changes in lifestyles would then, in turn, lead to pervasive changes in underlying value systems. The parents' generation in this sample represents nicely the different stages between a poor agrarian country relative to an industrialized country. Therefore, drastic value differences are expected between these three groups of people.

Following Inglehart's convergence theory, we might expect that industrialization would result in massive value shifts from traditional values towards secular-rational values. When applying Inglehart's general theory to the specific context of work values in this study, value difference among almost all work value constructs can be expected. Whereas people in agrarian countries need to cooperate in order to harvest the crops, people in industrialized countries work independently to earn their living. Indeed, Hofstede (2001) found that Japanese were more individualistic than Koreans were, and Koreans were more individualistic than (Taiwan) Chinese[16]. Accordingly, it can be assumed that people in industrialized

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[16] When Hofstede (2001) collected his data, the People's Republic of China (mainland China) was a closed

countries, including Japan, are more individualistic. As the Korean and Chinese economies are far behind other developed countries, people in those countries may have the urge to catch up with more advanced countries such as Japan, and are therefore more willing to work hard and focus on their jobs (Kim & Park, 2003). National governments and Confucian values may have further pushed the ambitions of people (Kim & Park, 2003). It is no surprise that Korea has the longest working hours among all OECD countries surveyed by the OECD (2008). Whereas Koreans worked on average 2,340 hours in 2005, Japanese worked only 1,775 hours.[17] In a related manner, it can be expected that the Chinese and Koreans value career enhancement job values and work centrality more highly than do the Japanese. As a large number of Chinese, in contrast to the Japanese, may have experienced poverty and simple living conditions, it can be expected that they are more money oriented and thus more sensitive toward extrinsic job values. This leads to the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 4a: Japanese parents tend to value individualism more highly than Korean parents, and Korean parents tend to value individualism more highly than Chinese parents (J > K > C).

Hypothesis 4b: Chinese parents tend to value money orientation more highly than Korean parents, and Korean parents tend to value money orientation more highly than Japanese parents (C > K > J).

Hypothesis 4c: Chinese parents tend to value work orientation more highly than Korean parents, and Korean parents tend to value work orientation more highly than Japanese parents (C > K > J).

country and data collection was impossible. However, as a proxy for China, Hofstede collected data in Taiwan.

[17] Only OECD countries were surveyed. China is not an OECD country. For reference, please find a few examples of working hours in other OECD countries: Australians worked 1,719 hours, French 1,559 hours and Germans worked only 1,437 hours in 2005.

Hypothesis 4d: Chinese parents tend to value extrinsic job values more highly than Korean university students, and Korean parents tend to value extrinsic job values more highly than Japanese parents (C > K > J).

Hypothesis 4e: Chinese parents tend to value career enhancement more highly than Korean parents, and Korean parents tend to value career enhancement more highly than Japanese parents (C > K > J).

Hypothesis 4f: Japanese parents tend to value quality of work more highly than Korean parents, and Korean parents tend to value quality of work more highly than Chinese parents (J > K > C).

Hypothesis 4g: Chinese parents tend to value work centrality more highly than Korean parents, and Korean parents tend to value career enhancement more highly than Japanese parents (C > K > J).

4.2.2. Comparison of the University Student Generation

When comparing university students across Japan, Korea, and China, we need to consider the factors of economic ideology, income, and workforce participation in specific industry sectors. As university students have not yet entered the workforce but are most likely to find jobs in the service industry, the latter factor might be less relevant. The young generation of Japanese, Koreans and Chinese have been growing up in very different socioeconomic environments. Whereas current Japanese university students have grown up in a rich postindustrialized country with a per capita GDP of more than $40,000 USD, Korea has been progressed from an industrialized toward a postindustrialized country with a GDP per capita of between $10,000 and $20,000 USD. China has been rapidly transforming from an agrarian economy to an industrialized one. In terms of income, these three countries can be

clearly ranked from Japan as the richest country, to Korea and then China as the poorest country. As the income differences between these three countries are quite pronounced, it can be expected that Japanese university students hold more secular-rational and self-expression values than their Korean and Chinese counterparts (Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). The Communist heritage in China may be reflected in more survival values when compared to Korean and Japanese university students. This effect may expand the value difference between Chinese university students and their Korean and Japanese counterparts. In other words, Korean and Japanese students are likely to hold more secular-rational values because of higher income and because of a different economic ideology in the past.

Having experienced prolonged periods of affluence, Japanese university students are expected to be more individualistic and care less about work orientation and career related issues than do their Korean counterparts (see Table 6). This affluence allows Japanese university students to pursue their own personal interests and goals. For instance, if a young adult does not choose to work for a company, he or she can simply remain at home to be supported by the parents (M. Yamada, 1999). Some Japanese university students might have reached a certain comfort level. In contrast, working hard is something that Koreans learn during their schooling. For instance, in order to be well prepared for the nationwide university entrance examinations, it is not uncommon for Korean students to study for 16 hours per day and 7 days a week (Choe, 2008). This kind of work determination can hardly be found in Japan. Chinese university students might be willing to sacrifice even more in order to pursue their future career goals. Instead of working hard and moving up the career ladder, Japanese university students might be more attracted by varying and enriching jobs where they can satisfy their personal interests. In fact, when asked, "What influenced you most in your choice

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of firm to work for?" Japanese university students chose "interesting work" as the most important factor (Dore, 1992). This leads to the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 5a: Japanese university students tend to value individualism more highly than Korean university students, and Korean students tend to value individualism more highly than Chinese students (J > K > C).

Hypothesis 5b: Chinese university students tend to value money orientation more highly than Korean university students, and Korean students tend to value money orientation more highly than Japanese students (C > K > J).

Hypothesis 5c: Chinese university students tend to value work orientation more highly than Korean university students, and Korean students tend to value work orientation more highly than Japanese students (C > K > J).

Hypothesis 5d: Chinese university students tend to value career enhancement more highly than Korean university students, and Korean students tend to value career enhancement more highly than Japanese students (C > K > J).

Hypothesis 5f: Japanese university students tend to value quality of work more highly than Korean university students, and Korean students tend to value quality of work more highly than Chinese students (J > K > C).

Hypothesis 5e: Chinese university students tend to value work centrality more highly than Korean university students, and Korean students tend to value career enhancement more highly than Japanese students (C > K > J).

4.3. Integrative Comparisons

In the various preceding subsections, I have hypothesized about the value differences between the countries and intergenerational comparisons within countries. In this subsection, I attempt to consolidate these hypotheses. In general, I have followed the assumptions of Inglehart's (Inglehart, 1998; Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005) convergence theory and only slightly amended it to the context of work values. In line with the convergence theory, I expect massive work value changes during the industrialization period and fewer changes during the postindustrialization period.

The comparison of work values between Chinese university students and their parents, and the comparison between the parents' generation across countries represent value changes that can be associated with the industrialization period. If the majority of those hypotheses hold, we might conclude that the convergence theory applies to the industrialization development stage.

The comparison of work values of Korean university students and their parents, and the comparison of work values of university students across Japan, Korea, and China, represent value changes associated with postindustrialization. If the majority of hypotheses hold, we could conclude that the convergence theory can be applied to the postindustrialization stage.

The comparison of work values between Japanese university students and their parents does not fall clearly into either of these development stages. Instead, it appears to fall into a new category: A post-postindustrialization stage. During this development stage, I do not

expect drastic work value changes. Until now, Inglehart and colleagues have not dealt with such a level of development. However, current and future data collection efforts that pertain to the ongoing World Value Survey project are expected to address this issue.

I have hypothesized value changes in similar directions according to socioeconomic developments. Value changes might be more pronounced during the early stages of economic development but they begin to flatten as the economies continue to develop. Thus, for the case of this study, it can be expected that value differences might be less pronounced for the generation of university students compared to their parents, because they grew up during times in which their countries were much more developed. The ultimate outcome would be relatively similar values across countries. In line with Inglehart's convergence theory, the following hypothesis can be advanced:

Hypothesis 6:   Work value differences across Japan, Korea, and China are more pronounced among the parents' generation than that of the university students' generation.

5. METHODOLOGY

As outlined in the introduction, one purpose of this dissertation is to demonstrate that I can work scientifically. Therefore, this chapter discusses comprehensively *how* I conducted the empirical analysis and *why* I chose the methodology employed. The following section discusses and critically evaluates different methodological research orientations and strategies regarding how these apply to answering the research questions and hypotheses of this study. While the first section might be less relevant for practitioners and experienced researchers, I chose to include this discussion, to show that I am familiar with and considered various research methods. The second section describes the data, analysis, and measures employed in the study.

5.1. Methodological Discussion

In this section, I discuss the research design that best fits the research questions and hypotheses outlined in the previous chapter. While a sound methodology is a prerequisite for good research, it should not be the driving force for that research. Rather, methodology should be the tool to examine research questions. In the next subsection, I discuss issues important for research orientation and research strategies. In simple terms, the former can be dichotomized into inductive and deductive approaches, and the latter in quantitative and qualitative approaches. In the second subsection, I discuss the merits of triangulation and how I made use of that technique. As this dissertation includes cross-cultural comparisons of work values, the third subsection discusses methodological peculiarities inherent in cross-cultural studies and shows how these challenges can be countered.

5.1.1. Research Orientation

Research orientation can be distinguished into two different concepts: deductive and inductive. Inductive research starts from a general or empirical observation and tries to identify general patterns. Based on these observations, the researcher attempts to arrive at conclusions in order to develop new theories (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Conversely, deductive research is based on theories and attempts to validate these theories by testing them through empirical observations. The two approaches can be differentiated as "hypothesis generating" (inductive) and "hypothesis testing" (deductive) (Roth, 1993: 63). Despite their distinctly different underlying logic, both deduction and induction have valuable implications and are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Rudestam and Newton (1992) suggested an iterative process including, to some extent, both deduction and induction. Different academic disciplines usually have preferences for a certain research orientation. For instance, anthropological research almost exclusively employs inductive approaches, whereas applied psychology and business tend to prefer deductive approaches. Sociology probably stands in between these two extremes. However, the choice of research orientation should not depend on discipline affiliation, but rather on the research objectives and proposed research questions. Clearly, in order to publish articles or books in a certain field, it is easier to follow the general standard in that discipline.

The research objectives of this dissertation favor deductive research. The objective of this study is not to develop a completely new theory from scratch. That would counter the logic of not reinventing the wheel. As discussed in the theory portion, there are already a number of existing competing theories relevant to the research topic. Thus, rather than "invent" new theories, the objective of this study is to test existing theories (convergence,

divergence, and crossvergence theories of value change) on a new and untested sample. A deductive approach, i.e., testing hypotheses, is therefore the research orientation employed in this study.

Apart from the deductive-inductive dichotomy, research orientation has also been defined in terms of epistemology; i.e., the general view of the "world" and its research orientation (Girod-Seville & Perret, 2001; Greenfield, 2002; Hughes, 1990). There are four epistemological orientations: First, postmodernism, which rejects the idea that general theories can be drawn from observations. Second, interpretivism de-emphasizes the actual observation but tries to identify the meaning behind the visible observations. Third, positivism believes that behavioural research can be included in theories similar to natural sciences. Finally, *structuralism*, similar to positivism, believes in natural sciences but focuses its attention on language and networks. Only the latter two research orientations are in line with a deductive approach, which I chose for this study. However, among the two research orientations, the narrower focus of structuralism does not fit the topic of this study. In conclusion, I position this study in the domain of positivism.

5.1.2. Triangulation of Research Strategies

In this study, the general term research strategy is understood as research design or the method of investigation; i.e., how research is being designed and conducted. Over time, different categorizations for research strategies have been developed (e.g., Black, 1999; McGrath, 1982; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Scandura & Williams, 2000). In this dissertation, I follow the simple categorization of qualitative and quantitative research (e.g., Black, 1999; Miles & Huberman, 1994). These two categories can further be subdivided into different

subcategories. For instance, Scandura and Williams (2000) go as far as to distinguish between eight subcategories; e.g., literature review, archival studies, surveys and computer simulations[18].

Quantitative approaches usually analyze (vast amounts of) data statistically in order to test hypotheses. Such data can be either secondary data, such as household surveys or financial time series, or primary data that a researcher collected by means of a questionnaire survey. The objective is to investigate general trends or to test/develop generally applicable theories. The findings are intended to be representative and generalizable to a larger population beyond the sample that has been tested.

Qualitative approaches focus on text sources, interviews, and case studies. The objective is often not the test of certain hypotheses, but rather the understanding of certain phenomenon. Qualitative research strategies, in contrast to quantitative strategies, usually allow the collection of richer data but from fewer subjects. In summary, the strength of the quantitative approach is its generalizability, whereas the strength of the qualitative approach is its richness of understanding.

The question to answer now, is which approach is most appropriate for this study. Yin (1989) provides guiding questions (why, what, how many) to answer this question. Whereas "what" would be one of the key questions for qualitative research, "why" and "how many" can be better answered through quantitative research. Since the research in this study is not

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[18] Only for completeness, the other four research strategies are laboratory experiments, experimental simulations, field studies, and judgment tasks. For further explanations, see McCarth (1982) and Scandura and Williams (2000).

centered on the identification of new phenomena (what) but is a test of whether a change of values has taken place (how many people and to which degree different work values) and seeks to offer some indication of the reasons (why), the preferred research strategy would be the quantitative approach.

Further, the choice of research strategy is also intertwined with the research orientation. Deductive research is usually associated with quantitative research, whereas inductive research with qualitative research. As explained above, this study follows a deductive research orientation, which would favor a quantitative approach.

While a number of scholars strictly prefer one research strategy to the other, partly because of inner conviction and partly because of limited skill repertoire, the merits of triangulation of different research strategies have been acknowledged. An analysis of 732 articles (Scandura & Williams, 2000) published in *Administrative Science Quarterly, Academy of Management Journal* and *Journal of Management* from 1985-87 and 1995-97, revealed that researchers increasingly used triangulation. The "Use of various designs in a program of research (triangulation) may help counterbalance the strengths and weaknesses of particular designs." (Scandura & Williams, 2000: 1262). Taking this suggestion into account, I also tried to make the best use of both quantitative and qualitative research. The quantitative approach affords the present study more generalizability, whereas qualitative supplements support the interpretation of the findings. More specifically, my primary research strategy is a questionnaire survey (quantitative) that is supplemented by interviews (qualitative), aside from the literature review (qualitative). The interviews helped design the survey. After having conducted the survey, additional interviews helped explain and confirm the validity of the results.

In addition to the triangulation of different research strategies, this study applies triangulation within one methodological approach in the sense of "within triangulation" (Jick 1979). This kind of triangulation holds considerable value for the quality of the analysis and gives more confidence regarding the precision of the results. This can be achieved using multiple scales that measure a similar construct. In the quantitative part (survey) of this dissertation, work values are measured through general values relevant in the work context, job values and work centrality, all of which are sometimes synonymously equated with work values. This triangulation of multiple scales in the area of work values may explain more adequately the sometimes surprising and mixed results. This study is among the first to apply a simultaneous investigation of various work values scales as suggested by Dose (1997).

5.1.3. Considerations of Cross-cultural Studies

This study deals with cross-cultural comparisons. In order to conduct cross-cultural comparisons, cross-cultural equivalence of data needs to be established (Harkness, Van de Vijver, & Mohler, 2003; Ryan, Chan, Ployhart, & Slade, 1999; Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). If certain conditions are met, interferences based on statistical analysis can be attributed to country variances and rather than other within-country variations. Otherwise, country differences may be attributable to other factors. For instance, the values of old Korean men living in the countryside may differ from those of young and rich Chinese women living in Shanghai. Other than comparing Korea and China, various confounding factors, such as gender and age, may be the reason for such differences. Thus, in such a comparison, it might be premature to conclude that those differences can be attributed to differences between China and Korea. Cross-cultural studies have highlighted three different criteria to evaluate whether

cross-cultural equivalence is given (Harkness et al., 2003; Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997; Van de Vijver & Poortinga, 1997): methods, constructs, and items.

Regarding methods, researchers must pay attention to various issues. As the above example illustrates, the equivalence of the sample across countries is important; e.g., same/similar composition of gender, age, and education. The present study is strong in terms of equivalence of samples. All participants are undergraduate university students of a prestigious university in their given country; i.e., similar levels of education and age. Whether survey participants in the various countries are equally accustomed to respond to a certain type of questionnaire is another criterion that must be considered. As questionnaires are commonly used at universities across Japan, Korea, and China, this is no major concern in this study. Different response styles are another potential problem of cross-cultural studies. For instance, Lincoln (1989) found that American managers showed higher job satisfaction than Japanese managers. The difference, however, was not because those American managers were more satisfied, but because Japanese were more modest when replying to such questionnaires and attempted to avoid answering that they were "*very* satisfied" (Kitayama, Markus, Matsumoto, & Norasakunnkit, 1997). In other words, Japanese, in contrast to Americans, avoided using such overly positive answers, yet that does not mean that they were not satisfied or were less satisfied than were their American counterparts. Whereas response style might differ significantly between Western and Asian countries, response style differences may be of less concern in this study, which compares three East Asian countries. Also, when collecting questionnaires in different countries, the mode of data collection should be comparable. For instance, people may respond to an interactive Web-based questionnaire differently than to a self-administered pencil and paper questionnaire. In this study, all

questionnaires were collected in all countries through means of paper-based questionnaires to avoid any bias.

Construct, in the context of cross-cultural measure equivalence, refers to the similarity of an underlying construct. All constructs should be meaningful and of similar meaning across countries. One way to guarantee equivalence of constructs is to involve researchers from all participating countries (Johnson, 1996). In order to counter potential construct bias, Japanese, Chinese and Korean graduate students and researchers were involved in the research project.

Finally, items in the context of cross-cultural measurement equivalence refer to the appropriate translation and formulation of items (questions) of the survey across countries. Brislin (1986) suggests using short and simple sentences, using active instead of passive voice, avoiding negative formulations, and avoiding slang and metaphors in order to avoid misunderstandings. These suggestions were considered when designing the questionnaire for this study. Furthermore, in order to translate and ensure the appropriate translation, the back-translation method has become the standard mode of translation (Brislin, 1980). In the back-translation mode, a group of bilingual researchers translates the original questionnaire into the target language, e.g., from English to Korean, and another group of bilingual researchers translate the translated questionnaire back into English. The back-translated text will then be compared to the original questionnaire. In case of divergence, participating translators will work toward an agreeable translation. During the translation process, a translation of the meaning is preferred over a literal translation. Confirmatory factor analysis can be used to test whether the translated items can be combined to scales across countries as expected (Harkness et al., 2003; Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997).

5.2. Data and Analyses Process

The data used for this dissertation was collected as part of a larger research project dealing with "Culture, values and identities across cultures and generations," funded by the Initiative for Attractive Education in Graduate Schools at the Graduate School of Asia Pacific Studies of Waseda University and supervised by Professor Shigeto Sonoda. The data used for this dissertation covers only a small part of the data that were collected.

Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected. As described in the previous section, this study builds mainly on the quantitative data analysis. As part of the larger research project, a ten-page questionnaire was distributed to university students and their parents in Tokyo, Seoul, and Shanghai (see Appendix). Only two pages were relevant to this dissertation. These dealt specifically with work values and the general part of the questionnaire that covered demographics and general information. Thus, in the following subsections dealing with the descriptions of questionnaire design, data analysis, and measures, I refer primarily to the portion relevant to this dissertation. Before doing so, I will explain how I collected and used qualitative data.

5.2.1. Qualitative data

The function of qualitative data was to help design a better questionnaire and to better understand the sometimes surprising findings. How I employed qualitative to support the design of the questionnaire will be described in greater depth in the next subsection. Here, I will focus on the use of qualitative data after the design, distribution and analysis of the questionnaire.

Qualitative data were collected by means of several interviews and focus group interviews with university students and researchers in Tokyo, Seoul, and Shanghai. First, once statistical data analyses were completed, I discussed the findings in small groups (two to four people) with Japanese, Chinese, and Korean Waseda University graduate students in Tokyo. The purpose was to explore the various findings and attempt to interpret the sometimes surprising findings. For instance, we discussed potential reasons why no changes of work values were observed in Japan.

Second, I presented the results of the study at a joint workshop organized by Fudan, Yonsei and Waseda University in Shanghai in 2006. After presenting the results, I initiated a discussion on the unexpected results. In particular, I asked three main questions: Why are Chinese more individualistic? Second, why are Chinese students less willing to work? After the workshop, several Waseda students who spoke Chinese assisted me in interviewing eight Chinese university students in Shanghai. Similar to the focus groups in Tokyo, we discussed the findings. How could those findings be explained?

Third, I presented my findings to 30 undergraduate students at Komazawa University in Tokyo and at a different occasion to 50 undergraduate students at Korea University in Seoul in 2007. First, I explained them the work value constructs. Then, I asked them to speculate what differences or similarities they may expect and for what reasons in small groups, followed by a class discussion. Then, I revealed the survey findings which sometimes differed from expectations and had students discuss the findings again.

In addition, I presented the results of the study at various conferences in order to receive further feedback. Specifically, I presented the results of this study at the 2007 annual meeting of the Academy of International Business in Indianapolis, Indiana; at the 2007 annual meeting of the American Sociological Association in New York; at the 2008 International Association of Cross-Cultural Psychology conference in Bremen, Germany; at the Japanese

Administrative Science conference in Tokyo in 2007. These presentations and discussions with broad, interdisciplinary audiences helped refine the analysis and permitted a better interpretation of the sometimes-surprising results.

5.2.2. Questionnaire Design

The first step in questionnaire design was a thorough literature review to understand the concept of work values and identify relevant constructs. I conducted searches in ABI/Inform, Elsevier Science Direct, Ingenta, JSTOR, Kluwer Online, PsycInfo, Social Science Citation, Sage Journals Online, and Wiley Interscience databases using the phrase "work values" in abstracts, keywords, and titles. I also used the Internet search engine Google Scholar, and the Waseda University library portal to locate English-language publications that appeared in edited books or journals. This interdisciplinary literature search allowed me to understand the concept of work values from different perspectives. Although all of the articles identified through this search dealt with work values, the underlying constructs were sometimes different as discussed in chapter 2. In general, I could identify the following pattern: Psychology (e.g., Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology) and management journals (e.g., Journal of International Business Studies) usually understood work values as general values, e.g., individualism, which are relevant in the work context. Sociology journals (e.g., Social Forces) and applied psychology journals (e.g., Journal of Applied Psychology) usually understood work values as job values, e.g., importance of pay, or sometimes even more generally as work centrality ("how important is work for you?"). Unfortunately, I did not file all references systematically, but the list would probably be longer than 100 different sources. The main work was reviewed in chapter 2.

The second step was to narrow the list to the most relevant constructs for this dissertation. This step actually consisted of three components. First, I conducted a qualitative literature analysis to identify the studies that seemed most relevant when analyzing and comparing work values between generations and across Japan, Korea, and China, and that were considered most relevant in the work context. Second, I complemented this selection process through discussions with my classmates and my doctoral supervisor. Waseda University, in particular the Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies, has the advantage that a large number of Chinese and Korean students study there, in addition to local (Japanese) students. Together with my Japanese, Chinese, and Korean classmates, I discussed the pre-selected constructs. Finally, based on these discussions, I selected constructs that were well established, applicable to both university students and (working) adults, and were previously used in Asia. Some of these constructs, particularly the items related to risk aversion, were adjusted because several Japanese and Chinese students complained that those questions were too difficult to understand. To avoid any potential misunderstandings, I simplified those questions until my classmates indicated that they were easy to understand. After this tedious process—which took more than three months—I finalized the list of constructs (the details of items are presented in the Measures subsection). I chose four multi-item scales representing four dimensions of general values relevant in the work context, ten single items representing job values, and a set of questions, where respondents had to establish priorities between various competing life goals representing the concept of work centrality.

The third step was to translate the questionnaire into Japanese, Korean, and Chinese. Most questionnaire items were originally developed in English. Where available, I requested the original Japanese, Korean, and Chinese questionnaire items from the authors. For example, Thomas Li-Ping Tang, Professor at Middle State Tennessee University, provided the original

Korean and Chinese translations of his *Love for Money* (money orientation) items. Other scholars, e.g., Christopher Earley, Professor at London Business School, unfortunately could not find his original Chinese items from the individualism scale. If translated versions were not available, a group of Japanese, Korean, and Chinese graduate students translated the questionnaire into Japanese, Korean, and Chinese respectively. In order to ensure accuracy of translation, and following the suggestions of Brislin (1980), another group of students translated those questionnaires back into English. The original and the back-translated versions were then compared. In case of differences, the translated versions were revised together with the students who translated those questionnaires. Moreover, several students who were able to speak two of those target languages, e.g., Korean and Japanese, cross-checked to determine whether the meanings were congruent between those languages. Finally, the questionnaires were tested in a small pilot study with a few students and parents. The responses of test respondents showed that almost none or only minor changes were necessary.

The questionnaire items used for this study were all identical for university students and the parents to permit direct comparisons. In addition, several questions in the ten-page questionnaire were included that differed between university students and their parents, though these questions were not included in this study. Also, several basic data types, e.g., household income and education level, were only addressed to parents, because such questions were irrelevant or difficult to answer for students. The complete ten-page questionnaire in English is printed in the appendix. The author may provide the translated Japanese, Korean, and Chinese versions of the questionnaire upon request.

5.2.3. Data Acquisition

The initial target of the research project was to collect 300 questionnaires from university students and 300 questionnaires from their parents (true dyads) per country. Waseda University in Tokyo, Japan, Yonsei University in Seoul, Korea, and Fudan University in Shanghai, China cooperated in this project. All of these schools have more than 40,000 students enrolled in various subjects and are among the most prestigious universities in those countries. Admission to these schools is highly selective, and the number of applicants surpasses the number of actual university vacancies by a huge margin.

Each university was in charge of collecting the target number of questionnaires. Before doing so, we tried to agree on a similar method. Data were collected only from undergraduate students who were studying at one of the urban campuses and who were living with their parents. All participating universities agreed to collect data from students evenly distributed across various departments, different academic years, and gender. All participating universities distributed a paper-based set of questionnaires. Each questionnaire set included a questionnaire for the student and one for either his/her mother or father, two small envelopes (one for the student and one for the parent), and one DIN A4 size envelope. In an attempt to survey a balance of female and male students as well as mothers and fathers, we prepared an equal number of four different questionnaire sets: one for a male student and his mother, one for a male student and his father, etc. Students were instructed to complete the questionnaire independently, put it in one of the smaller envelopes, seal it, and ask one of their parents to complete the other questionnaire, put it in the other smaller envelope, seal it, and then place both small envelopes in the DIN A4 sized envelope, seal it and return it to the participating university. In the cases of Korea and China, questionnaires were distributed during class, and students were asked to return those envelopes to the instructor, who then forwarded the questionnaires to the data processing center of that university. Only in the case of Japan, the

larger envelope was postpaid and addressed to the organizing research institute to increase convenience for participants. At Waseda University, we distributed the questionnaire equally among the three downtown campuses of Waseda University, because each has a different discipline focus: social sciences, humanities, and natural sciences.

All data were collected in October 2006. In Tokyo, 850 questionnaires were distributed to Waseda students and 243 completed questionnaire sets were returned, resulting in a response rate of 29.3%. At the beginning, we prepared only 600 questionnaires but as soon as we realized that the response rate was significantly below 50%, we produced and distributed additional questionnaires. The Yonsei research team in Seoul proceeded similarly. But even after distributing 800 questionnaires, only 163 questionnaire sets were returned (response rate = 20.4%). Only the research team at Fudan was able to meet the target number of 300 questionnaire sets. The research team at Fudan only had to distribute 400 questionnaires to receive 300 completed questionnaire sets (response rate = 75%). Per my understanding, the Fudan research team actually collected a few more questionnaire sets but did not process those because they had already achieved the target number. One reason why the response rate was much higher in China than the other two countries might be because respondents were given a gift (a teacup) and were urged by their professors to complete the questionnaire.

5.2.4. Description of Sample

Altogether, 1,414 questionnaires were collected. Table 8 provides a general overview of the study participants. As intended, the samples of the undergraduate students are relatively similar and relatively equally distributed across gender, age, and academic year. Interestingly, on a one (not at all) to four (fluent) scale, Chinese students rated their English proficiency as

3.38, much higher than their Japanese (2.65) and Korean (2.82) counterparts—which seems not to be an overrating by Chinese students, but a true reflection. In fact, during our joint seminar at Fudan University in Shanghai, we realized that Chinese students spoke English better than the Japanese and Korean students did. To cite a secondary source, Chinese test takers scored 78 points in the computer-based TOEFL test, a widely accepted English test, much higher than Japanese with 65 points and Koreans with 77, while the world average is 78 points (www.ets.org). According to TOEFL (also see Korea Times, 2008) and personal experience, Shanghai students are particularly strong at speaking and listening compared to their Japanese and Korean counterparts.

Table 8: Overview of respondents

		Japan	Korea	China
Students				
Sample size	*N*	243	164	300
Sex: Male	*%*	51.44	53.66	43.10
Age	*mean*	20.49	21.50	19.55
Academic year	*mean*	2.30	2.62	2.16
English (1-4)	*mean*	2.65	2.82	3.38
Parents				
Sample size	*N*	243	164	300
Sex: Male	*%*	38.02	39.88	49.66
Age	*mean*	51.57	49.96	48.49
Highest level of education				
Middle school or less	*%*		3.09	11.42
High school	*%*	12.35	26.54	34.26
Professional/technical school	*%*	29.22	6.79	33.91
University	*%*	54.32	53.09	15.92
Graduate school	*%*	4.12	10.49	4.50
English (1-4)	*mean*	2.28	2.19	1.77
Class identification (1-5)	*mean*	3.03	3.05	3.24

Even though we attempted to match the gender of parents, in Japan and Korea, more female parents (mothers, almost 60%) completed the questionnaire than male parents (fathers), whereas mothers and fathers were equally distributed in China (49.66% fathers). There are two possible reasons why the distribution of genders differs across countries despite equal numbers of questionnaires targeted at mothers and fathers: First, in Japan and Korea, more women may be at home and thus have more time to complete the questionnaire than in China. Indeed, 62.0% of all mothers in Japan who responded to the survey were housewives, 46.9%

in Korea, but only 11.6% in China. Another reason might be the Chinese research team itself. Each country was advised to collect questionnaires equally distributed across gender and age. As one Chinese researcher secretly admitted, they collected more than 300 questionnaire sets but processed only 300 questionnaires. They may simply have eliminated questionnaire sets from mother-son or mother-daughter dyads in order to boost the number of fathers.

Japanese, Koreans, and Chinese use different ways to count age. Japanese use a system similar to those used in Western countries; i.e., start from zero when a child is born. In contrast, people in China are considered one year old at birth. In addition to that, Koreans add one year depending on the birth year regardless of the actual birthday. For instance, a person born in December "ages" one year in January of that year according to the Korean counting system. Thus, Koreans may add one to two years to the biological age as understood in Japan and other Western countries. In order to avoid confusion, we asked respondents about the birth year instead of age. On average, parents were born in 1955-1957, an age range that was relatively similar across all countries. As we conducted the research in 2006, we can conclude that parents were around 50 years old. Thus, parents had their child when they were 30 years old on average (not necessarily their first child). Further, we can conclude that the parents' generation experienced their teenage and period of value formation in the 1970s and 1980s as assumed in the previous chapters.

The parents are generally highly educated. In particular, the Korean and Japanese parents are highly educated with roughly 60% of them holding a university or even graduate university degree. In line with China's socioeconomic situation in the 1980s (So, 2003), only 20% of Chinese parents held university degrees, though roughly 90% had at least a high school degree. Most students and parents classified themselves mainly as middle-class or

higher and even Chinese respondents had no problems categorizing themselves as such, although social class categorization is a topic the Chinese government tries to avoid.

Another proxy for classifying people into social classes is their income and occupation. Parents were asked to report their annual household income categorized into eight different income levels. These annual household income category brackets were taken from *Asia Barometer* (Inoguchi, Tanaka, Sonoda, & Dadaev, 2006). While these income reports do not allow direct comparison across countries because of different purchasing power parities, these data still provide a general overview of the income levels of survey respondents across the three different countries. The household income of Japanese respondents is very high. More than half (58.5%) of participating respondents reported an annual household income in excess of 10,000,000 Yen, which is roughly equivalent to $100,000 USD[19] (see Table 9). This is almost double the country average of 5,760,000 Yen as reported in the 2007 report of the Japanese Statistic Bureau (www.stat.go.jp). However, the data from the Japanese Statistic Bureau includes all households regardless of age or number of household members. Given that participating parents were in their 50s, it is natural that the current sample reflects a higher income than the national average. Nevertheless, by any means the observed household income remains well above the national average. Corresponding to the self-assessment of respondents, the current sample reflects an upper middle class household.

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[19] For simplification purposes, I calculated the exchange rate at $1 USD = 100 Yen. On 16 June 2008, the exchange rate was $1 USD = 108.2 Yen (www.xe.com). As exchange rates may fluctuate significantly over time, I chose this generously rounded exchange rate.

Table 9: Household income of Japanese respondents

Unit: 10,000 Yen	Frequency	Percentage
below 300	3	1.3
300-500	9	3.8
500-600	10	4.2
600-700	11	4.6
700-800	31	13.1
800-1,000	32	13.5
1,000-3,000	133	56.1
3,000 and more	8	3.4
Total	237	100.0
Missing	6	

The income of Korean respondents is more dispersed across the various income categories. Only 19% reported households of less than 50 million Korean Won, which is roughly equivalent to $30,000 USD[20]. Another 15% reported household incomes of between 30 and 50 million Korean Won. The majority of respondents (50.7%) reported household incomes between 50 and 100 million Korean Won (see Table 10). On top of that, 15.6% reported household incomes in excess of 100 million Won ($100,000 USD). Meanwhile, the average household was only 37.8 million Korean Won in 2006 and 39.7 million in 2007 according to the Korea National Statistic Office (http://www.nso.go.kr/). Similar to the Japanese sample, the majority of respondents in Korea can be classified as upper middle class.

[20] For simplification purposes, I calculated the exchange rate at $1 USD = 1,000 Korean Won. On 16 June 2008, the exchange rate was $1 USD = 1037 Korean Won (www.xe.com). As exchange rates may fluctuate significantly over time, I chose this rounded exchange rate.

Table 10: Household income of Korean respondents

Unit: Million Won	Frequency	Percentage
below 10	1	0.6
10 - 30	29	18.1
30 - 50	24	15.0
50 - 70	42	26.3
70 - 90	25	15.6
90 - 100	14	8.8
100 - 500	24	15.0
500 and more	1	0.6
Total	160	100.0
Missing	4	

The income of Chinese respondents is dispersed across the various income categories. Useful data on household income in China is difficult to obtain, and The National Bureau of Statistics of China offers only related data that might be relevant. According to The National Bureau of Statistics of China, (www.stats.gov.cn) the per capita annual disposable income of an urban household was 11,759 Chinese Yuan, which would translate to a three-person household income of 35,277 Chinese Yuan or roughly $5,000 USD. Only 3.6% of respondents lived in households with less than 50,000 Chinese Yuan, which is roughly equivalent to $7,000 USD[21] (see Table 11). The majority of the participants (56.5%) lived in households with annual incomes that ranged from 50,000 to 200,000 Chinese Yuan. More than 30% of the participants had household incomes of more than 200,000 Yuan, and even 7.3% had household incomes of 1,000,000 Chinese Yuan ($143,000 USD) or more. Household income seems not only to be a sensitive issue for the government but also for respondents, since almost 10% (26 respondents) declined to answer this question (missing data). Even though the

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[21] For simplification purposes, I calculated the exchange rate at $1 USD = 7 Chinese Yuan. On 16 June 2008, the exchange rate was $1 USD = 6.90 Chinese Yuan (http://www.xe.com). As exchange rates may fluctuate significantly over time, I chose this rounded exchange rate. The final number was then rounded to $1,000 USD.

average annual household income in Shanghai might be much higher than the one reported by China's National Bureau of Statistics, the annual household income of this sample seems particular high.

Table 11: **Household income of Chinese respondents**

Unit: Yuan	Frequency	Percentage
50,000 and below	10	3.6
50,001 - 100,000	40	14.6
100,001 - 150,000	56	20.4
150,001 - 200,000	59	21.5
200,001-250,000	41	15.0
250,001-300,000	30	10.9
300,001-999,000	18	6.6
1,000,000 and more	20	7.3
Total	274	100.0
Missing	26	

Relevant for assessing social class and in the context of work values are the occupations of parents and occupational desires of participants. Table 12 provides an overview of university students' occupational desires and parents' occupations. As the goal was to collect information on the occupations of both mother and father, we asked students to provide information[22]. The majority of Japanese fathers were either company managers (27.2%) or clerical/technical/sales personnel (26.1%), whereas Japanese mothers were primarily housewives (62.8).[23] In conclusion, most Japanese were employed as white-collar workers or

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[22] Remember the design of the data collection: data were collected from a student and only one of his/her parents. Thus, in order to collect information from both parents, asking the students might be a viable option. University students are expected to be able to classify correctly the occupations of their parents.

[23] Please note the slight difference in percentage of Japanese housewives as compared to that mentioned previously. To explain the difference: 62.0% of all mothers in Japan *who responded to the survey* were

housewives. The occupations of Korean fathers were more equally distributed across different occupations, but mainly in white-collar professions. Most Korean fathers worked in specialized professions (24.6%), e.g., doctor, lawyer, accountant, and other white-collar jobs, such as government official/politician (16.9%), company managers (13.8%), and clerical/technical/sales jobs (12.3%). Like Japan, a high percentage of Korean mothers were housewives (47.9%). In contrast to Japan and Korea, a significant portion of Chinese parents was employed in blue-collar jobs (21.4% of fathers and 20% of mothers). Also, unlike the other two samples, a significant percentage of Chinese fathers ran their own companies (18.6%). Another striking difference between China and the other two countries is that only 11.7% of Chinese mothers were housewives. Interestingly, China is the only country where at least a few fathers were househusbands (2.7%); i.e., taking care of the household. When I presented this statistic, introducing the column housewives/househusbands, Japanese and Koreans laughed about the term househusband. The distribution of occupations across countries already gives some indication that gender differences are less pronounced in China.

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housewives, 62.8% of all *participating students' mothers were housewives*. This is due to the data collection design. Also, see the above footnote. At the same time, the relative similarity of these two values indicates that being a housewife was not an important reason why more mothers responded to the questionnaire. Instead, it might be a gender issue. Japanese women might be more interested in the topic of this study and/or more willing to complete questionnaires.

Table 12: Occupations of parents

	Japanese (n=240)		Korean (n=161)		Chinese (n=285)	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
Government official/politician	13.0	0.7	16.9	6.3	7.9	6.2
Company manager	27.2	1.4	13.8	4.2	15.0	13.8
Professor/teacher	5.4	10.1	6.2	12.5	6.4	13.1
Specialized profession	9.8	5.4	24.6	11.5	4.3	1.4
Clerical/technical/sales	26.1	10.8	12.3	11.5	15.7	11.7
Own company	7.6	1.4	12.3	3.1	18.6	5.5
Agriculture/forestry/fishery			1.5	0.0	0.7	0.7
Laborer/factory worker	1.1	0.0	4.6	2.1	21.4	20.0
Housewife/househusband	0.0	62.8	0.0	47.9	2.9	11.7
No job	2.2	0.0	1.5	0.0	2.9	0.7
Other	7.6	7.4	6.2	1.0	4.3	15.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: numbers represent percentages

Having given an overview of parents' occupations, what are the occupational desires of their university student children? Specialized professions, such as doctor, lawyer, and accountant, are among the jobs most desired in Korea and Japan, while this category comes in second among Chinese students. Most Chinese students would like to become company managers, which is good news for multinational companies operating in China. Interestingly, Korean students seem to despise running their own company (only 1.1% of all male respondents), whereas several Chinese (15.1% of all male students and 9.6% of all female students) and Japanese students (10.6% and 3.4% respectively) seem interested. Such a pronounced country difference was not apparent in the parents' sample. A major difference between the parents sampled and the students sampled is that almost none or only very few female students desire to become housewives. Only 4.3% of all female Japanese students aspire to become housewives, while even fewer female Chinese students (0.6%) and no

female Korean students indicated such a desire. It seems that most highly educated women in these three cities aspire to become career women. This is good news for MNC, but it may be bad news for traditionally minded Japanese and Korean men.

Table 13: **Occupational desires of university students**

	Japanese (n=239)		Korean (n=163)		Chinese (n=293)	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
Government official/politician	12.2	12.9	16.1	11.8	8.7	4.8
Company manager	19.5	11.2	10.3	10.5	34.9	44.9
Professor/teacher	11.4	9.5	13.8	18.4	5.6	4.8
Specialized profession	27.6	27.6	51.7	50.0	21.4	23.4
Clerical/technical/sales	13.0	21.6	2.3	5.3	3.2	1.2
Own company	10.6	3.4	1.1	0.0	15.1	9.6
Agriculture/forestry/fishery	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.6
Housewife/househusband	0.0	4.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6
No job	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.6
Other	5.7	9.5	4.6	2.6	10.3	9.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: numbers represent percentages

5.2.5. Measures

In this subsection, I will describe the measures or variables that are being used. Almost all question items are based on existing measures. I tried to use only established measures that have been validated in an Asian context. As described earlier, work values are measured through general values relevant in the work context, job values, and work centrality.

Work centrality was measured through the question "Which things or activities in life would give you the most satisfaction?" To that question, respondents had to choose one out of seven answer options: career and occupation, having lots of money, family relationships, recreational activities, living abroad, religious beliefs, and participation in activities directed toward national or international betterment. This question and answer options were taken from Regan and Roland (1982) and Easterlin and Crimmins (1991).

Job values were measured through single items taken from Sonoda (2002) with Likert scales ranging from 1 = very important to 5 = not important at all. To be more specific, respondents were asked to rate how important a certain job aspect is for them, e.g,. pay, when thinking of a job. The following job values were assessed: job security, job content, working hours, corporate reputation, advancement opportunities, individual performance appraisal, work atmosphere, job related to major, training, and pay. Higher values imply that job security, pay, etc., are very important to respondents.

General values relevant in the work context were measured along four multiple-item scales representing individualism, risk aversion, money orientation, and work orientation. The four value dimensions were measured through multiple-item Likert scales with 1 = strongly agree and 5 = strongly disagree. The variables were coded in a way that higher values express higher degrees of individualism, risk aversion, money orientation, and work orientation, respectively. Each scale was composed of at least three items when they were designed. Because a previous research project (Xiao & Froese, 2008) showed poor internal consistency of the four-item individualism scale of Early (1989) on a sample of Chinese white-collar workers, I revised some of those items and added three more items taken from Singelis (1994). An example item is "It is important to me to respect decisions made by the group." Risk

aversion was measured through three items taken from Gomez-Mejia and Balkin (1989). An example item is "I am willing to take risks when choosing a job or company to work for." Money orientation was measured through the original four-item money motivation scale of the *Love for Money* scale (Tang & Chiu, 2003). An example item reads, "I am motivated to work hard for money." Work orientation was measured through three items taken from Inglehart (1998), with "I live to work" as an example item. Unfortunately, one work orientation item, "I am always willing to work overtime," was mistakenly omitted in the Japanese questionnaire. Thus, due to this mistake, the work orientation scale had to be reduced to two items. A complete list of all items is given in Table 14. Two individualism items and one risk aversion item had to be excluded due to statistical analysis of the measures in the various subsamples (marked as discarded items in Table 14). The statistical validation of the measures is described at the beginning of the Empirical Findings section.

Table 14: Overview of all items

No	Item	Discarded
	Individualism	
IV1	Working with a group is better than working alone (R)	X
IV2	It is important to me to respect decisions made by the group (R)	
IV3	Individuals should be responsible for the successes or failure of work groups (R)	
IV4	Each worker should be responsible for the outcomes of his or her company (R)	
IV5	I will sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of the group (R)	
IV6	It is important for me to maintain harmony within my group (R)	
IV7	One does better work working alone than in a group	X
	Risk aversion	
R1	I am a cautious person who generally avoids risks	X
R2	I prefer a low risk/high security job over a job that offers high risks and high rewards	
R3	I am willing to take risks when choosing a job or company to work for (R)	
	Money orientation	
M1	I am motivated to work hard for money	
M2	Money reinforces me to work harder	
M3	I am highly motivated by money	
M4	Money is a motivator	
	Work orientation	
W1	I live to work	
W2	I sacrifice my time for work	
W3	I am always willing to work overtime	X

Note: R = reverse coded; i.e., score was recoded.

In addition to these main variables (dependent variables), I also use several control variables to rule out the possibility that other factors could bias the results. As described in the previous chapters, social class (Halaby, 2003, Johnson, 2002; Lacy et al., 1983) and demographic variables (Thornton, 1987; Whitebeck & Gecas, 1988) may influence the development of work values. As described in the Description of Sample section, the various subsamples differ across demographics, e.g., more mothers in Japan and Korea than China, and along social class, e.g., higher education of Japanese parents as one indicator of social class. Therefore, demographic variables and factors determining social class are used as control variables in the data analysis. To be specific, the following variables are used as control variables: gender, age, education, academic year, social class identification, occupation (housewife or no housewife), and household income.

5.2.6. Data Analysis

The first step of the data analysis was to validate the established multiple-item scales of the general values and job values for the sample investigated in this study. In order to validate the consistencies of the multi-item scales and to establish cross-cultural measurement equivalence, I conducted several separate confirmatory factor or exploratory factor analyses for each of the subsamples. Depending on the results, discarding items or re-specifying the scales might be necessary. For the scales of the general values, I conducted confirmatory factor analysis. In contrast, I conducted exploratory factor analysis for the job values because these measures have not been established in earlier work. If the purpose is identifying underlying factor structures, then exploratory factor analysis is the appropriate statistical method (Brown, 2006; Hair et al., 2006; Kline, 2005). Only in the case of validating existing and established scales is confirmatory factor analysis considered the appropriate procedure.

The hypotheses related to Research Questions 1 and 2 aim at comparing mean values and frequencies across different groups of people; e.g., Japanese students and Japanese parents. The variable work centrality is a categorical variable. In order to compare categorical variables across different groups, Chi-square test is the appropriate statistical test (Field, 2003) and is therefore used in this dissertation.

The measures of general values and job values are continuous variables. Continuous variables allow more complex statistical analysis than categorical variables. In order to compare mean values of continuous variables across different groups, various tests are available. The simplest test to compare mean values is the t-test. A t-test allows the simultaneous comparison of mean values across two different groups. In this study, however, there are six different groups, namely Japanese students, Japanese parents, Korean students, Korean parents, Chinese students, and Chinese parents. For example, if I wanted to compare the values of Japanese, Korean, and Chinese students, I would need to execute three t-tests, i.e., Japanese versus Korean students, Japanese versus Chinese students, and Korean versus Chinese students. For each of these t-tests, the probability of falsely rejecting the null hypothesis (type 1 error) would be 5% (assuming a 0.05 level of significance). Or the other way around, the probability of no type 1 error would be 95%. If computing three t-tests, the overall probability of no type 1 error would be 0.95 x 0.95 x 0.95 = 0.87. In other words, the probability of a type 1 error would be 14.3%, far above the generally acceptable level of 5%. This problem has been recognized as familywise or experimentwise error rate (Field, 2003). In order to avoid the familywise error, ANOVA would be a superior statistical procedure compared to the t-test.

However, as the various groups differ along the assorted general variables, e.g., higher percentage of females in the Chinese parents' sample compared to Japan and Korea, these factors need to be controlled. Otherwise, significant differences between the groups might be attributable to those general variables instead of country differences. ANOVA does not allow the inclusion of control variables, but ANCOVA does. The "problem" with ANCOVA, however, is that only one dependent variable (e.g., one job value) can be tested at a time. This would again cause familywise error similar to that explained above. The appropriate statistical test for the given data is thus MANCOVA, which allows the simultaneous analysis of several dependent variables and control variables across several groups, while countering the familywise error. MANCOVA, however, shows only whether statistically significant differences exist, but not where they exist. Based on MANCOVA results, ANCOVA/ANOVA tests will be followed up (Field, 2003). Doing so will protect the analysis from an inflated familywise error.

Research Question 4 deals with the exploration of relationships between the various constructs of work values. In order to test the relationships between general values and job values—two continuous variables—I can compute a simple correlation analysis. In order to test the relationship between work centrality, a categorical variable, and general values or job values, I proceeded in a similar fashion as described above (MANCOVA/ANCOVA/ANOVA).

In addition to these main tests, I employed various other statistical tests, partly as tests of robustness, which will be explained in more detail in the appropriate results sections. The purpose of this subsection was to explain which statistical tests I used and why I chose those.

6. EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

Having described the theoretical framework and methodology employed, this chapter finally presents the statistical results of the study. In the first section, I establish the psychometric properties of the measures, which are necessary for all following substudies. Then, I present and discuss the results separately for each of the various substudies. The second section deals with an intergenerational comparison of work values within Japan, Korea, and China. The third section deals with cross-country comparisons, both for the university students' generation and parents' generation. In the final section, I consolidate the findings of the various substudies in an integrative comparison.

6.1. Validation of Multiple-Item Measures

Before testing the hypotheses, the psychometric properties of the underlying multiple-item measures need to be tested. In this study, multiple-item measures for general values and job values were suggested. As the scales of the general values have been validated in previous studies (Early, 1989; Gomez-Mejia & Balkin, 1989; Singelis, 1994; Tang & Chiu, 2003), I conducted confirmatory factor analysis and internal reliability tests. However, for the proposed yet non-validated factors of the job value items, I conducted exploratory factor analysis. The results are presented in the following subsections.

6.1.1. General Value Measures

In order to validate the consistencies of the multi-item scales of general values and to establish cross-cultural measurement equivalence, I conducted confirmatory factor analyses

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using AMOS 5.0 independently for all the six subsamples; i.e., Japanese university students, Japanese parents, Korean university students, Korean parents, Chinese university students and Chinese parents. The initial models, including all items as shown in Table 14, showed fitting indices well below the acceptable level. In some of the subsamples, AMOS was unable to calculate those indices because the models were inadmissible; e.g., negative variances or minimization could not have been reached. Thus, I had to optimize those models by observing the modification indices and co-variances. The items of the individualism and risk aversion scales were at the root of the problems. The first observation revealed that the item R1 "I am a cautious person who generally avoids risks" caused serious model misspecification in the Korean parents' subsample, while it was less a concern in the other subsamples. However, in order to compare values across countries, similar and internal consistent measures need to be established across all subsamples. Thus, I had to discard R1 in all samples. The individualism scale was problematic across all samples except for the subsample of Chinese parents. Deleting IV1 and IV7 significantly increased the model fit. Furthermore, I allowed the error terms of IV3 and IV4 to correlate in order to achieve acceptable model fit. A close look at the relatively similar questions of IV3 and IV4 justifies such an approach. Although all models of the various sub-samples were statistically significant, the model fittings indicate acceptable levels. All goodness of fit indices (GFI) and comparative fit indices (CFI) were at least 0.90 and all root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) were not higher than 0.80 (see Table 15), generally considered as acceptable levels (Weston & Gore, 2006). Given the satisfactory model fittings, I stopped optimizing the models.

Table 15: Model fittings of the various subsamples

		p	GFI	CFI	RMSEA
Japan	Parents	0.000	0.930	0.900	0.079
	Students	0.000	0.939	0.913	0.074
Korea	Parents	0.005	0.931	0.913	0.064
	Students	0.001	0.931	0.935	0.070
China	Parents	0.000	0.940	0.941	0.077
	Students	0.000	0.941	0.900	0.080

In order to prove internal consistencies of the scales, I conducted reliability tests using SPSS 13.0 across the various subsamples. Cronbach's alpha is a generally accepted indicator for internal consistencies, and values above 0.60 are usually considered as acceptable (Bagozzy, 1994; Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003; Malhota, 1999). In cross-cultural research, some researchers also consider values of 0.50 and higher as acceptable (Blicke, 2000; Choi & Chu, 2000; Joens et al., 2007). Likewise, in a conversation during the International Association of Cross-Cultural conference in Bremen in the summer of 2008, Ted Singelis and Michael Salzman (personal communication, July 2008, Bremen), recommended that I retain scales with Cronbach's alpha values of at least 0.50, because discarding further items in an attempt to boost Cronbach's alpha could also reduce the variance and correlations between the variables. Moreover, if a scale comprises only two items, lower values are acceptable. After having deleted two items in order to satisfy the requirements of CFA model fittings, the individualism scales showed Cronbach's alpha values that were at the minimum level of acceptance. Notably, whereas Cronbach's alpha value was as high as 0.80 among Chinese parents, it was only 0.55 for Chinese students. This difference may indicate that university students have a different understanding of individualism. Due to the relatively low

Cronbach's alpha values, I tried to stepwise discard items in order to improve the value. However, because further item reduction did not improve Cronbach's alpha values, I accepted the five-item individualism scale. Money orientation achieved satisfactory Cronbach's values across all subsamples. The lowest Cronbach's alpha value for risk aversion was 0.56 for Korean parents but all other values reached satisfactory levels. Cronbach's alpha values for work orientation were lower for students than for parents. That might be understandable given that most students had little or no work experience. However, none of those values are below acceptable levels. Given that risk aversion and work orientation are two-item scales, the lowest Cronbach's alpha value of 0.56 (risk aversion of Korean parents) posed no concern. The final compositions of items per scale are summarized in Table 14.

Table 16: Cronbach's alphas across the different subsamples

		Japan	China	Korea
Individualism	Parents	0.55	0.80	0.65
	Students	0.60	0.55	0.67
Money orientation	Parents	0.78	0.79	0.72
	Students	0.82	0.77	0.85
Risk aversion	Parents	0.73	0.66	0.56
	Students	0.79	0.76	0.70
Work orientation	Parents	0.79	0.77	0.59
	Students	0.64	0.61	0.57

6.1.2. Job Value Measures

In order to test the underlying factor structure of the job values, I conducted exploratory factor analyses with Varimax rotation separately for each of the six subsamples. Based on a comprehensive literature review (see chapter 2), I theorized that three factors may emerge from ten single job value items that were used frequently by Sonoda (2002). The single items of pay and job security may form one factor, which I labeled extrinsic. Corporate reputation, advancement, individual performance appraisals, and training are expected to emerge as career enhancement factors, and university major related to the job, job content, work atmosphere, and work hours are expected to form the quality of work factor. In the following, I report the results of the factor analysis for each of the six subsamples (Japanese students, Japanese parents, Korean students, Korean parents, Chinese students, and Chinese parents).

For the sample of Japanese university students, exploratory factor analysis extracted four factors with an Eigenvalue of at least one (Table 16). An Eigenvalue of one or higher usually indicates the existence of an underlying factor (Hair et al., 2006). In order to estimate which items can be associated with certain factors, we need to analyze the factor loadings depicted in Table 16. Factor loadings in the range of 0.30 to 0.40 are considered minimally acceptable for association with a certain factor. Loadings of 0.50 or greater are considered practically significant, and loadings exceeding 0.70 are considered as strong indicators of a well-defined underlying structure (Hair et al., 2006).

Table 17: Results of exploratory factor analysis for Japanese university students

Proposed factor	Job value item	Component			
		1	2	3	4
Extrinsic	Pay	**0.81**			
	Job security	**0.73**		0.31	
Career enhancement	Corporate reputation		**0.50**		
	Advancement	0.67	**0.46**		
	Training			0.34	0.56
	Performance		**0.77**		
Quality of work	Major				0.88
	Job content		0.59		
	Work atmosphere			**0.77**	
	Work hours			**0.79**	
	Eigenvalue	2.66	1.44	1.11	1.03
	% of variance	26.56	14.40	11.09	10.33

Note: factor loadings are shown for the ten job values. Only factor loadings of at least 0.30 are shown. Job values that load as expected on one of the three factors appear in bold.

As expected, the items pay and job security loaded highly on one factor, which was termed extrinsic in this study. While advancement also loaded highly on this factor, it had a substantial cross-loading of 0.46 on a different factor (Table 16). In case of cross-loading, such items either may be included in both factors or be deleted entirely (Hair et al., 2006). The extrinsic factor explains 26.6% of the variance within the sample. Corporate reputation, performance, and advancement loaded on the second factor, which was labeled career enhancement in this study. As advancement has a cross-loading with the first factor, it must be interpreted cautiously. However, in contrast to the proposed three-factor structure, training together with major formed a fourth factor. Only work atmosphere and work hours, but not major and job content, loaded on a quality of work factor. Taken together, exploratory factor analysis provides only limited support for the postulated three-factor structure for the sample

of Japanese university students. If this was the only sample of investigation, I would probably re-specify the model; e.g., delete items or choose a different rotation method (Hair et al., 2006). However, before considering such steps, I tested the factor structures of the other samples.

Table 18: Results of exploratory factor analysis for Japanese parents

Proposed factor	Job value item	Component		
		1	2	3
Extrinsic	Pay	**0.81**		
	Job security	**0.77**		
Career enhancement	Corporate reputation	0.51		
	Advancement	0.69	**0.37**	
	Training	0.38	**0.68**	
	Performance		**0.64**	
Quality of work	Major		0.70	
	Job content		0.43	**0.54**
	Work atmosphere		0.30	**0.72**
	Work hours			**0.79**
	Eigenvalue	3.17	1.45	1.03
	% of variance	31.74	14.55	10.25

Note: factor loadings are shown for the ten job values. Only factor loadings of at least 0.30 are shown. Job values that load as expected on one of the three factors appear in bold.

The sample of Japanese parents revealed a three-factor structure as expected. Three factors, which largely overlap with extrinsic, career development, and quality of work as discussed in this dissertation, became apparent. However, a number of items had significant cross-loadings. For instance, job content loaded on both career enhancement and quality of work. Even worse, corporate reputation and major did not load on their expected factors. Table 17 provides an overview of the factor loadings, Eigenvalues, and percentage of variance

explained by the three factors. Again, due to several cross-loadings, re-specification of the model would be the recommended strategy.

Table 19: Results of exploratory factor analysis for Korean university students

Proposed factor	Job value item	Component	
		1	2
Extrinsic	Pay		**0.79**
	Job security		**0.69**
Career enhancement	Corporate reputation		0.63
	Advancement	0.32	0.70
	Training	0.70	
	Performance	0.64	
Quality of work	Major	**0.46**	
	Job content	**0.66**	
	Work atmosphere	**0.67**	
	Work hours	**0.61**	
	Eigenvalue	2.96	1.70
	% of variance	29.59	17.01

Note: factor loadings are shown for the ten job values. Only factor loadings of at least 0.30 are shown. Job values that load as expected on one of the three factors appear in bold.

Exploratory factor analysis of the job values for the sample of Korean university students revealed a completely different structure. Only two factors were extracted. Interestingly, pay, job security (the items of the proposed extrinsic factor) and corporate reputation and advancement (two items of the proposed career enhancement factor) formed a single factor. The other two items of the proposed enhancement factor, together with all of the other items associated with the proposed quality of work factor, emerged as the second factor. The details are depicted in Table 18. It appears the career enhancement items were split between those that carry association that is more extrinsic and those that were related more to

quality of work issues. Perhaps training and individual performance may also increase the quality of work, while corporate reputation and advancement may offer extrinsic benefits.

Table 20: Results of exploratory factor analysis for Korean parents

Proposed factor	Job value item	Component	
		1	2
Extrinsic	Pay	0.74	
	Job security	0.68	
Career enhancement	Corporate reputation		0.62
	Advancement	0.74	
	Training	0.62	0.37
	Performance	0.51	0.51
Quality of work	Major		0.76
	Job content		0.75
	Work atmosphere	0.47	0.40
	Work hours	0.54	
	Eigenvalue	3.74	1.30
	% of variance	37.37	13.01

Note: factor loadings are shown for the ten job values. Only factor loadings of at least 0.30 are shown. Job values that load as expected on one of the three factors appear in bold.

As in the Korean university students' sample, two factors also emerged in the sample of Korean parents; however, the underlying structure is completely different. In the student sample there seems to be an identifiable pattern. Yet the factor loadings are very different in the parents' sample and no such pattern can be identified. Thus, the factors in the parents' sample are not comparable with those observed in the student sample. Furthermore, several factors, e.g., performance and work atmosphere, have significant cross-loadings (Table 19). Slightly surprisingly though, the two extracted factors explain more than 50% of the variance. In any case, further re-specification would be necessary to make sense of the factor structure.

Table 21: Results of exploratory factor analysis for Chinese university students

Proposed factor	Job value item	Component		
		1	2	3
Extrinsic	Pay		**0.77**	
	Job security		**0.71**	0.44
Career enhancement	Corporate reputation	**0.67**		
	Advancement	**0.62**	0.54	
	Training	**0.68**		
	Performance	**0.72**		
Quality of work	Major			**0.81**
	Job content	0.47		**0.36**
	Work atmosphere	0.66		**0.33**
	Work hours	0.35		**0.55**
	Eigenvalue	3.06	1.42	1.18
	% of variance	30.57	14.18	11.79

Note: factor loadings are shown for the ten job values. Only factor loadings of at least 0.30 are shown. Job values that load as expected on one of the three factors appear in bold.

For the sample of Chinese university students, exploratory factor analysis revealed three factors. These three factors explain more than 55% of the variance. Corporate reputation, advancement, training, and performance—all items associated with the proposed career enhancement factor—load highly on the first factor (see Table 20). In addition, three items from the proposed quality of work factor (job content, work atmosphere and work hours) load on this factor at a medium level. At the same time, these three items also load on a third extracted factor. The third factor also comprises the fourth proposed quality of work item, major. Logically, I would assign the items major, job content, work atmosphere, and work hours to the third factor, which would then perfectly match the proposed quality of work factor. A different rotation might remove the unwanted cross-loadings (Hair et al., 2006). As

expected, pay and job security load on one factor which corresponds to the proposed extrinsic factor. Overall, the Chinese university student sample largely reflects the proposed factor structure.

Table 22: Results of exploratory factor analysis for Chinese parents

Proposed factor	Job value item	Component	
		1	2
Extrinsic	Pay	**0.78**	
	Job security	**0.74**	
Career enhancement	Corporate reputation	0.55	0.49
	Advancement	0.80	
	Training	0.66	0.35
	Performance	0.45	0.65
Quality of work	Major		**0.51**
	Job content	0.48	**0.62**
	Work atmosphere		**0.77**
	Work hours		**0.67**
	Eigenvalue	4.41	1.19
	% of variance	44.08	11.89

Note: factor loadings are shown for the ten job values. Only factor loadings of at least 0.30 are shown. Job values that load as expected on one of the three factors appear in bold.

Whereas the Chinese university sample shows a three-factor structure as proposed in chapter 2, only two factors emerged in the sample of Chinese parents. The first factor explains more than 44% of the variance, while the second one explains only 12%. Pay, job security, and advancement load highly on the first factor (see Table 21). University major, work atmosphere, and work hours load highly on the second factor. All other factors load significantly on both factors. Except for the cross-loadings, the underlying factor structure seems slightly similar to those of Korean university students. Model re-specifications would be necessary to derive a statistically and practically acceptable factor structure.

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In summary, the exploratory factor analyses of the six subsamples showed very different results. Depending on the sample, four, three, or two factors were extracted. Moreover, in some samples, items loaded on conceptually different concepts or on several factors (cross-loadings). Only the samples of Japanese parents and Chinese university students come relatively close to the proposed three-factor structure of extrinsic, career enhancement, and quality of work. In conclusion, the proposed three-factor structure might not be faulty per se, but the analysis of the various samples indicates that the characteristics of respondents are very different across countries and across generations. Further re-specification and deletion of items might help derive statistically acceptable models; however, regardless of re-specification, it seems almost impossible to identify a common factor structure for all subsamples. If multiple-item measures cannot be established, an alternative approach is analysis of the constructs on a single item basis. This is a common approach in cross-cultural studies (e.g., M. Shin, 2004), and I will adopt the same strategy and compare the job values as single items when testing the hypotheses.

6.2. Intergenerational Comparisons

In this section, I investigate the relationships between the different work value constructs (research question 4) and test hypotheses 1a through 3f, which deal with intergenerational comparisons of work values within countries. The first subsection deals with Japan, the second with Korea, and the third with China. In each subsection, I follow a similar structure: First, I provide a descriptive overview of the various constructs of the work values, test the relationships between the different work value constructs (general values, job values,

work centrality), then test the differences in work values between the generations, and finally provide a discussion of the findings.

6.2.1. Japan

Descriptive overview

Before testing the hypotheses, I provide a descriptive overview of the variables of interest. Table 22 depicts the mean values and standard deviations (SD) of the general values of Japanese university students and parents. The aggregate mean value of the individualism scale is 3.60 for students compared to 3.38 for parents, indicating that the students might be more individualistic than their parents. Parents seem slightly more risk averse and less money oriented than the student generation sampled. Whether these differences are statistically significant will be shown later.

Table 23: Overview of general values in Japan

	Students		Parents	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Individualism	3.60	0.58	3.38	0.52
Risk aversion	3.62	0.99	3.79	0.91
Money orientation	3.42	0.88	3.25	0.76
Work orientation	2.53	0.86	2.42	0.97

Note: n = 243, theoretical mean values range from 1 (very low) to 5 (very high).

Table 23 provides a descriptive overview of the job values of Japanese university students and parents. As exploratory factor analysis did not reveal the proposed three-factor structure of extrinsic, career enhancement, and quality of work; the value of each item is displayed. Nevertheless, I organized the items according to the three proposed factors, which

may assist in logically understanding and categorizing the various single items. For students, work atmosphere was the most important job value (mean = 4.68, SD = 0.58), job content the second most important (mean = 4.63, SD = 0.63), and individual performance appraisals the third most important job value (mean = 4.50, SD = 0.70). Among parents, job content was the most important job value (mean = 4.65, SD = 0.59), work atmosphere the second most important (mean = 4.58, SD = 0.66), and individual performance appraisals the third most important job value (mean = 4.55, SD = 0.66). Except for the order, both students and parents shared the same priorities in job values. University major, corporate reputation, and advancement opportunities were least important for both groups, and the two extrinsic job values of job security and pay were evaluated as fourth and fifth most important, respectively. Overall, students and parents rated job values very similarly, in terms of both mean value and ranking.

Work centrality deals with the relative importance people place on career and occupation to other life goals. Among a list of seven life goals, respondents had to choose only one life goal which they considered most important. This study is concerned primarily with the importance of career and occupation vis-à-vis other life goals, whereas the content of the other life goals is less relevant. Thus, the main question is whether people prioritize career and occupation above other life goals. Exactly the same number of students and parents (46 out of 243 respondents = 18.9%) chose career and occupations as their most important life goal. The prioritization of the other life goals, however, was very different between students and parents. Whereas the majority of parents emphasized family relationships (62.2%), most students emphasized recreational activities (45.3%) and family relationships came in only second with 25.1%. None of the other life goals was mentioned often by the respondents.

Table 24: Overview of job values in Japan

	Students			Parents		
	Rank	Mean	SD	Rank	Mean	SD
Extrinsic						
Pay	5	4.18	0.86	5	4.28	0.69
Job security	4	4.37	0.75	4	4.47	0.71
Career enhancement						
Corporate reputation	9	3.27	1.17	9	3.25	0.98
Advancement	8	3.91	0.96	8	3.77	0.95
Training	6	4.11	0.91	7	3.92	0.94
Performance	3	4.50	0.70	3	4.55	0.66
Quality of work						
Major	10	3.07	1.18	10	3.23	1.04
Job content	2	4.63	0.63	1	4.65	0.59
Work atmosphere	1	4.68	0.58	2	4.58	0.66
Working hours	7	4.01	0.90	6	4.00	0.96

Note: n = 243, mean values were scored from 1 (not at all important) to 5 (very important).

Table 25: Work centrality in Japan

	Students		Parents	
	Count	%	Count	%
Career and occupation	46	18.9	46	18.9
Lots of money	7	2.9	13	5.3
Family relationships	61	25.1	152	62.6
Recreational activities	110	45.3	20	8.2
Living abroad	3	1.2	0	0.0
Religious beliefs	1	0.4	2	0.8
National betterment	13	5.3	3	1.2
Missing	2	0.8	7	2.9
Total	243	100.0	243	100.0

Relationships between the different work value constructs

In order to investigate Research Question 4, which deals with the relationships between the different work values constructs, I conducted a correlation analysis to investigate the relationships between the continuous variables general values and job values. For the relationships between work centrality (1 = first priority on career and occupation, otherwise = 0) and general values and job values, I conducted independent sample T-test analysis (instead of ANCOVA) because of the small number of people who chose career and occupation as their first choice (see Table 24). These statistical analyses were performed separately for the students' sample and then for the parents' sample.

Table 25 and 26 depict all correlations between the different measures of general values and job values. For the purpose of Research Question 4, only the first four columns are relevant. However, for an overview of the correlations among all variables, I show the complete correlation matrix. As explained in chapter 4, I expected relationships to occur between individualism and quality of work, risk aversion, money orientation and extrinsic, and work orientation and career enhancement.

For the university student sample (Table 25), the following was observed: Individualism was significantly correlated with corporate reputation, advancement, and training—three items associated with career enhancement—and job security, but not correlated with any of the quality of work items. However, effect size were at a lower level between $r = 0.13$ and $r = 0.16$. As expected, risk aversion was correlated ($r = 0.33$) with job security. Money orientation was, as expected, correlated significantly with the two extrinsic items pay ($r = 0.46$) and job security ($r = 0.24$), but it also correlated with corporate reputation

and advancement. Work orientation was correlated with two career enhancement items (corporate reputation and advancement opportunities) but also with two quality of work items (job content and work hours).

Table 26 depicts the correlations of general and job values for the parents' sample. As in the student sample, individualism was not correlated with any of the quality of work items. Risk aversion and money orientation were, as expected, significantly correlated with both extrinsic job values (pay and job security, $0.15 < r < 0.35$). However, risk aversion and money orientation also showed significant correlations with a number of other items; e.g., corporate reputation and work hours. Work orientation did not show significant correlations with any of the career enhancement items. Nevertheless, the significant negative correlation between work orientation and work hours ($r = -0.36$), implying that less work-oriented people prefer shorter hours, makes sense.

Overall, a number of significant correlations were observed, and several of these correlations corresponded with the expectations outlined in chapter 4. Most of the correlations were only at a lower level. The pattern of correlations was largely similar across the two samples. The only major difference was that individualism was significantly correlated with several career enhancement job values only in the student sample but not in the parents' sample. Perhaps, students have developed a slightly different understanding of individualism. Similar to Ros et al. (1999), the findings lead to the conclusion that although some general and job values are correlated at a moderate level, these two constructs represent two different facets of work values. Therefore, incorporating both constructs may help enhance our understanding of work values.

Table 26: Correlations of general and job values among Japanese university students

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
General values													
1 Individualism	1												
2 Risk aversion	-0.02	1											
3 Money orientation	0.08	0.09	1										
4 Work orientation	0.26	-0.14	0.08	1									
Job values													
Extrinsic													
5 Pay	-0.01	0.08	0.46	0.01	1								
6 Job security	0.13	0.33	0.24	0.04	0.46	1							
Career enhancement													
7 Corporate reputation	0.14	0.10	0.18	0.13	0.16	0.14	1						
8 Advancement	0.16	-0.05	0.26	0.13	0.44	0.33	0.28	1					
9 Training	0.14	0.19	-0.08	0.01	0.10	0.24	0.14	0.34	1				
10 Performance	0.04	-0.12	0.05	0.01	0.17	0.04	0.20	0.39	0.28	1			
Quality of work													
11 Major	-0.09	0.11	-0.10	0.10	-0.14	0.08	0.02	0.05	0.20	0.13	1		
12 Job content	0.05	-0.10	-0.09	0.14	0.00	-0.01	0.07	0.05	0.11	0.27	0.13	1	
13 Work atmosphere	0.07	0.15	-0.02	-0.10	0.00	0.13	0.16	0.13	0.25	0.18	0.05	0.15	1
14 Work hours	-0.02	0.14	0.09	-0.16	0.22	0.32	0.14	0.14	0.27	0.23	-0.02	0.14	0.36

Note: $n = 243$, correlations of 0.13 and higher are significant at the $p < 0.05$ level.

Table 27: Correlations of general and job values among Japanese parents

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
General values													
1 Individualism	1												
2 Risk aversion	0.04	1											
3 Money orientation	0.18	0.19	1										
4 Work orientation	0.32	-0.21	0.01	1									
Job values													
Extrinsic													
5 Pay	0.10	0.15	0.35	-0.01	1								
6 Job security	0.03	0.30	0.20	-0.13	0.52	1							
Career enhancement													
7 Corporate reputation	0.10	0.15	0.24	-0.05	0.25	0.29	1						
8 Advancement	0.12	0.00	0.16	0.04	0.39	0.41	0.30	1					
9 Training	-0.01	-0.01	0.01	0.00	0.27	0.30	0.24	0.44	1				
10 Performance	-0.01	0.01	-0.05	-0.01	0.15	0.23	0.09	0.25	0.44	1			
Quality of work													
11 Major	-0.07	0.02	-0.05	0.05	0.09	0.08	0.20	0.15	0.38	0.20	1		
12 Job content	0.05	0.05	-0.13	-0.03	0.04	0.14	0.15	0.11	0.23	0.38	0.21	1	
13 Work atmosphere	-0.06	0.21	-0.10	-0.15	0.06	0.24	0.08	0.14	0.31	0.40	0.20	0.30	1
14 Work hours	-0.09	0.27	0.17	-0.36	0.18	0.23	0.18	0.08	0.26	0.09	0.15	0.27	0.36

Note: n = 243, correlations of 0.13 and higher are significant at the $p < 0.05$ level.

In order to test the relationships between work centrality and general values and job values, I conducted independent sample t-tests. Work centrality was dummy coded into 1 (career and occupation as the most important life goal) and 0 (any other life goal), and used as the grouping variable. If differences between those who chose career and occupation as their first choice and those who chose other life goals were statistically significant, this would imply a significant relationship between the variables. Table 27 shows the results of the multiple t-tests for all general and job values in the Japanese student sample. As expected, people who chose career and occupation as their most important goal in life were more work oriented ($t = -2.82$, $p = 0.005$). None of the other comparisons was statistically significant. I wanted to show Table 27 to illustrate the methodological approach; however, since the table contains relatively little relevant information, I refrain from printing the respective table for the parents' sample. The results of the students' sample are as follows: As in the student sample, parents emphasizing work centrality were more work oriented ($t = -5.39$, $p < 0.001$). Interestingly, parents emphasizing work centrality cared less about work atmosphere ($t = 2.61$, $p = 0.009$) and work hours ($t = 2.23$, $p = 0.024$). Does that partly confirm the stereotype of the robot-like Japanese worker who completes the work regardless of work atmosphere and duration of work? As the effects are not that high, further speculation might not be necessary. Overall, the relationships between work centrality and general and job values indicate that although weak relationships exist between these constructs, they assess different aspects of work values. Including the various constructs of work values thus broadens our understanding of how people perceive and evaluate work.

Table 28: Relationships between work centrality and general and job values within the Japanese student sample

	Work centrality		Other goals			
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	t-value	Sig
General values						
Individualism	3.73	0.54	3.56	0.59	-1.81	0.072
Risk aversion	3.39	1.05	3.67	0.97	1.73	0.085
Money orientation	3.46	0.91	3.42	0.87	-0.28	0.783
Work orientation	2.85	0.82	2.45	0.86	-2.82	0.005
Job values						
Extrinsic						
Pay	4.22	0.81	4.17	0.87	-0.35	0.724
Job security	4.37	0.80	4.37	0.74	0.01	0.994
Career enhancement						
Corporate reputation	3.33	1.21	3.25	1.17	-0.38	0.708
Advancement	4.09	0.84	3.87	0.99	-1.39	0.165
Training	4.09	0.91	4.12	0.91	0.20	0.842
Performance	4.46	0.62	4.51	0.72	0.49	0.625
Quality of work						
Major	3.20	1.07	3.04	1.21	-0.83	0.410
Job content	4.65	0.57	4.62	0.65	-0.27	0.789
Work atmosphere	4.59	0.72	4.71	0.54	1.26	0.210
Working hours	3.85	0.99	4.05	0.87	1.35	0.178

Note: n = 243, mean values were scored from 1 (not at all important) to 5 (very important).

Results of hypotheses tests

To test whether general values differed across generations, I conducted MANCOVA followed by ANCOVA/ANOVA if the differences were found to be statistically significant. In MANCOVA, I included gender, social class identification, household income, and education as control variables. Furthermore, given the high proportion of "salarymen" (company

managers) and housewives, I also added two dummies for those occupations as control variables. MANCOVA multivariate tests revealed that the samples differed significantly (Pillai's Trace = 0.31, F = 3.48, df = 4, p = 0.008; Hotelling's Trace = 0.32, F = 3.48 df = 8, p = 0.008).

Among the control variables, gender (Pillai's Trace = 0.02, F = 2.60, df = 4, p = 0.036; Hotelling's Trace = 0.02, F = 2.60 df = 4, p = 0.036), household income (Pillai's Trace = 0.02, F = 2.46, df = 4, p = 0.045; Hotelling's Trace = 0.02, F = 2.46, df = 4, p = 0.045), and the dummy variable, housewife (Pillai's Trace = 0.03, F = 3.41, df = 4, p = 0.009; Hotelling's Trace = 0.03, F = 3.41, df = 4, p = 0.009), showed statistically significant effects. Parameter estimates revealed that gender had a significant impact on work orientation (beta = -0.20, t = -2.02, p = 0.044), implying that men were more willing to work. The occupation dummy housewife was positively related with risk aversion (beta = 0.40, t = 2.77, p = 0.006) and negatively related to work orientation (beta = -0.30, t = -2.20, p = 0.029). In other words, housewives were more risk averse and less willing to work. Perhaps, that is partly a reason why these women became housewives. Household income had a negative impact on risk orientation (beta = -0.06, t = -2.20, p = 0.03), implying that people with a higher annual household income were less risk averse. This is understandable under the condition that people with higher income might be better able to compensate for potential losses.

Significant control variables were included in subsequent univariate tests. All other non-significant control variables were dropped in subsequent univariate tests. Subsequent ANCOVA/ANOVA tests revealed that among those four general values, only individualism differed significantly across generations (see Table 28). Japanese students were more individualistic than were Japanese parents (F = 18.33, p < 0.001).

Table 29: Comparison of general values between generations in Japan

	Students (S) Mean	Parents (P) Mean	S - P Mean	F	Sig.
Individualism	3.60	3.38	0.21	18.33	0.000
Risk aversion	3.62	3.79	-0.18	0.04	0.834
Money orientation	3.42	3.25	0.17	1.27	0.260
Work orientation	2.53	2.42	0.11	0.17	0.683

Note: n = 243, theoretical mean values ranges from 1 (very low) to 5 (very high)

In a similar fashion (MANCOVA followed by ANOVA/ANCOVA), I tested whether there were significant differences in job values between generations. Multivariate tests disclosed that the generations differed significantly (Pillai's Trace = 0.058, F = 2.65, df = 10, p = 0.004; Hotelling's Trace = 0.061, F = 2.65, df = 10, p = 0.004). The control factors gender (Pillai's Trace = 0.072, F = 3.38, df = 10, p < 0.001; Hotelling's Trace = 0.078, F = 3.38, df = 10, p < 0.001) and the dummy salaryman (Pillai's Trace = 0.047, F = 2.13, df = 10, p = 0.021; Hotelling's Trace = 0.049, F = 2.13, df = 10, p = 0.021) had significant impacts. Gender was significantly related with pay (beta = -0.18, t = -2.10, p = 0.037), advancement opportunities (beta = -0.27, t = -2.65, p = 0.008), working hours (beta = 0.21, t = 2.13, p = 0.033), and work atmosphere (beta = 0.24, t = 3.53, p < 0.001). In other words, women cared less about pay and advancement opportunities, were less inclined to work long hours, but were more concerned with the work atmosphere. These findings are in line with previous research which found a similar effect of gender on job values (Bridges, 1989; Herzog, 1982; Marini et al., 1996). The dummy variable, salaryman, was only related with advancement opportunities (beta = 0.44, t = 3.27, p = 0.001). Salaryman (regardless of gender) were more concerned with advancement opportunities than the other groups of occupations. The significant control variables were included in subsequent univariate tests. Subsequent ANCOVA/ANOVA tests showed the

following (see Table 29). Among ten job values, significant differences were found only in terms of training and work atmosphere. University students valued training opportunities ($F = 5.15$, $p = 0.024$) and work atmosphere ($F = 6.80$, $p = 0.009$) more highly than their parents. However, even in these two cases the differences were only moderate.

Table 30: Comparison of job values between generations in Japan

	Students (S) Mean	Parents (P) Mean	S - P Mean	F	Sig.
Extrinsic					
Pay	4.18	4.28	-0.10	2.61	0.107
Job security	4.37	4.47	-0.10	2.12	0.146
Career enhancement					
Corporate reputation	3.27	3.25	0.02	0.05	0.826
Advancement	3.91	3.77	0.14	1.43	0.232
Training	4.11	3.92	0.19	5.15	0.024
Performance	4.50	4.55	-0.05	0.60	0.441
Quality of work					
Major	3.07	3.23	-0.16	2.51	0.114
Job content	4.63	4.65	-0.02	0.01	0.941
Work atmosphere	4.68	4.58	0.11	6.80	0.009
Working hours	4.01	4.00	0.00	0.29	0.591

Note: $n = 243$, mean values were scored from 1 (not at all important) to 5 (very important).

In order to compare the work centrality of university students and parents, I computed a series of Chi square tests[24]. Since only very few students chose living abroad, religious beliefs or national betterment as their most important life goals (see Table 24), more than 20% of the expected counts in various cells reached values of less than 5 when computing the Chi square test. If more than 20% of the expected counts reach a value of less than five, the results are

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[24] Because of the categorical nature of the variables, I had to use Chi-square test. Please refer to the Methods section.

unreliable (Field, 2003; Norusis, 2002). To counter this problem, Norusis (2002) recommends combining categories with low counts. Thus, I combined the categories living abroad, religious beliefs and national betterment into a new category labeled "other."[25] For consistency reasons, I also regrouped these three life goals into one category in all other investigations of the various subsamples. After combining these categories, I computed another Chi square test (see Table 30). Overall, life goals differed significantly between Japanese students and parents (Pearson Chi-Square = 104.6, df = 4, p < 0.001). When looking into the various life goals, it becomes apparent that Japanese parents emphasize family more than Japanese students (expected count = 106.5 but actual count of 61 versus 152, adjusted residual = 8.3), whereas students emphasize leisure (expected count = 65 but actual count of 110 versus 20, adjusted residual = 9.2). However, in terms of work centrality, both students and parents consider career and occupation equally important (expected count = 46, actual count for parents and students = 46). In conclusion, although students and parents differ in terms of their prioritization of family relationships and leisure, both generations agree on the importance of work centrality.

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[25] In a stepwise approach, I initially combined two categories but only after combining all these three groups was I able to meet the criterion of no more than 20% of all expected values reaching at least five.

Table 31: Comparison of work centrality with Japan

		Students	Parents	Total
Career	Count	46.0	46.0	92.0
	Expected Count	46.0	46.0	92.0
	% within same generation	18.9	18.9	18.9
	Adjusted Residual	0.0	0.0	
Money	Count	7.0	13.0	20.0
	Expected Count	10.0	10.0	20.0
	% within generation	2.9	5.3	4.1
	Adjusted Residual	-1.4	1.4	
Family	Count	61.0	152.0	213.0
	Expected Count	106.5	106.5	213.0
	% within same generation	25.1	62.6	43.8
	Adjusted Residual	-8.3	8.3	
Leisure	Count	110.0	20.0	130.0
	Expected Count	65.0	65.0	130.0
	% within same generation	45.3	8.2	26.7
	Adjusted Residual	9.2	-9.2	
Other	Count	19.0	12.0	31.0
	Expected Count	15.5	15.5	31.0
	% within same generation	7.8	4.9	6.4
	Adjusted Residual	1.3	-1.3	
Total	Count	243.0	243.0	486.0
	Expected Count	243.0	243.0	486.0
	% within same generation	100.0	100.0	100.0

Overall, Japanese university students showed relatively similar general values, job values and work centrality. Among these three constructs consisting of 15 variables, university students and parents differed only along three variables. Japanese students reported being more individualistic, and they valued training and work atmosphere more highly in a job than Japanese parents. The differences along these variables were only of moderate size.

None of the other variables showed any statistically significant differences between the two generations. In the hypothesis development section, I offered several reasons for why I did not expect major differences across these two generations. Another explanation of the value congruence might be that students and parents jointly filled out the questionnaire. In such a situation, students might have been too shy to express their true answer and simply followed the response of their parents. To counter this potential problem, the cover letter and verbal instructions to research assistants distributing the questionnaires advised that students and parents were supposed to respond to the questionnaire separately and independently.

Furthermore, I conducted pairwise correlation analyses where I matched the responses of the students with those of their parents to rule out this suspicion. If students and parents gave similar responses, high correlations would be expected. However, among the fifteen general and job value variables, only pay ($r = 0.13$, $p = 0.49$) and job security ($r = 0.17$, $p = 0.007$) correlated significantly, but at a lower level between students and their parents. To further test the value congruence between parents and students, I ran separate pairwise correlations for each of the four possible dyadic relationships between father or mother and son or daughter. In line with previous research (Thornton, 1987; Whitebeck and Gecas, 1988), value congruence was most pronounced between mothers and daughters. The importance of pay ($r = 0.27$, $p = 0.019$), job security ($r = 0.24$, $p = 0.04$), and job content ($r = 0.28$, $p = 0.17$) were significantly correlated between mothers and their daughters. Mothers' emphasis on job security was also correlated with that of their sons ($r = 0.32$, $p = 0.005$). There were no significant correlations between fathers and their sons or daughters, implying that Japanese fathers had little influence on the work value development of their children. Taken together, the results of the pairwise correlation analysis strongly refute the suspicion that the value congruence is due to same responses of the parents and their children.

Discussion of Findings

General values, job values, and work centrality were largely similar between the two generations. In other words, no "generation gap" in terms of work values seems to exist, at least for the sample of this study, despite the pessimistic reports in the press and media (see also Matsumoto, 2002; Sakurai, 2004). There is a striking similarity in the prioritization of job values. Both university students and parents hold postmodern values (Inglehart, 2002) in that they value quality of work issues, such as work atmosphere and job content most importantly. Furthermore, individual performance appraisals, job security, and pay were evaluated by both generations as among the five most important items in a list of ten job values. Also striking was that the number of students and parents (46 respondents, 19%) who chose career and occupation as their most important life goal was exactly the same.

These findings are in stark contrast to most of the press and media reports but do not necessarily contradict Inglehart's (Inglehart, 1998; Inglehart and Welzel, 2005) convergence theory. As described in chapter 2, both generations grew up in times when Japan was already an industrialized country. As the socioeconomic conditions were relatively similar between these two generations, so were the work values. Furthermore, the specific, highly educated, upper-middle social class sample may explain the observed congruence of work values between the two generations. According to the reproduction theory (Bourdieu, 2000), middle-class parents try to pass on their cultural and educational capital to their children in order to secure the latter's social status. Growing up in a similar social milieu may also result in the formation of relatively similar values. This does not necessarily mean that parents and their children hold the same values. In fact, pairwise correlation analysis has revealed only little

value congruence between dyadic parent-children relations. However, because parents and children are influenced by similar social contexts within which they live, they are likely to develop relative similar values (Boehnke, Hadjar, and Baier, 2007; Knafo, 2003; Kohn, 1983). In other words, children are not only influenced directly by their parents but to large extent by their social environment. Boehnke and colleagues (2007) coined this influence of the social environment as "the role of zeitgeist." That Japan is a collectivistic society (Hofstede, 2001), may further strengthen the zeitgeist effect.

Granted, among the 15 variables, three showed statistically significant differences, though only moderate effect sizes between the generations. In line with Inglehart's intergenerational change theory (1998), which posits that individual skills become more important in service oriented societies, Japanese students emphasized training (upgrading of individual skills), individual performance appraisal, and individualism more highly than the parents' generations. Also, a number of control variables had significant effects. In particular, gender and occupational dummies were significantly related to work value variables. Similar to studies conducted in the West (Bridges, 1989; Herzog, 1982; Marini et al. 1996), Japanese women were found to care less about pay and advancement opportunities, were less inclined to work long hours, and were less work oriented, but they were more concerned with the work atmosphere. The occupation dummy variable, salaryman, confirmed the stereotype that salarymen were concerned primarily with advancement opportunities and cared little about work hours or work atmosphere.

6.2.2. Korea

Descriptive overview

Table 31 depicts the mean values and standard deviations (SD) of the general values of Korean university students and parents. Students and parents were relatively individualistic and at a similar level (mean = 3.75, SD = 0.46; mean = 3.76, SD = 0.42). Parents seem more risk averse and slightly more work oriented but slightly less money oriented than the students' generation. Whether such apparent differences are statistically significant will be reported below.

Table 32: Overview of general values in Korea

	Students		Parents	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Individualism	3.75	0.46	3.76	0.42
Risk aversion	3.25	0.88	3.83	0.68
Money orientation	3.59	0.78	3.39	0.63
Work orientation	2.69	0.78	2.85	0.71

Note: n = 243, theoretical mean values ranges from 1 (very low) to 5 (very high)

Both students and parents rated pay and individual performance appraisals as being very important (see Table 32). To be more specific, individual performance appraisals were rated as the most important job value among university students but only third most important among parents. Parents highlighted job security as the most important job value (mean = 4.48, SD = 0.55), whereas job security was not particularly important for university students (mean = 4.03, SD = 0.76, rank = 5). The two quality of work job values job content and work atmosphere were relatively important for both students and parents (mean > 4.15). Work hours and university major were the least important job values for both generations (rank 9

and 10, mean < 4.0). Corporate reputation, advancement opportunities, and training were ranked somewhere in between. Overall, except for job security, the ratings of job values appear to be relatively similar between the two generations.

Table 33: Overview of job values in Korea

	Students			Parents		
	Rank	Mean	SD	Rank	Mean	SD
Extrinsic						
Pay	2	4.28	0.74	2	4.41	0.53
Job security	5	4.03	0.76	1	4.48	0.55
Career enhancement						
Corporate reputation	8	3.95	0.77	7	4.07	0.69
Advancement	7	3.98	0.74	6	4.08	0.66
Training	5	4.03	0.79	8	4.02	0.75
Performance	1	4.37	0.64	3	4.32	0.64
Quality of work						
Major	10	3.80	1.02	9	3.98	0.79
Job content	3	4.21	0.74	5	4.17	0.60
Work atmosphere	4	4.18	0.68	4	4.18	0.60
Work hours	9	3.85	0.81	10	3.96	0.62

Note: n = 164, mean values were scored from 1 (not at all important) to 5 (very important).

Work centrality deals with the relative importance people place on career and occupation compared to other life goals. Table 33 shows the frequencies and percentages of the life goals Korean students and parents considered the most important. Korean students considered career and occupation (60, 36.6%) and family relationships as the most important life goals (60, 36.6%). Career and occupation was less important for parents (12.8%); instead, parents considered family relationships as the most important life goal (66.5%). Interestingly, lots of money as a primary life goal was chosen by roughly 10% of parents and students.

Other life goals, such as religious beliefs or living abroad, were rarely chosen as the primary life goal.

Table 34: Overview of work centrality in Korea

	Students		Parents	
	Count	%	Count	%
Career and occupation	60	36.6	21	12.8
Lots of money	18	11.0	15	9.1
Family relationships	60	36.6	109	66.5
Recreational activities	18	11.0	7	4.3
Living abroad	1	0.6	0	0.0
Religious beliefs	4	2.4	12	7.3
National betterment	3	1.8	0	0.0
Total	164	100.0	164	100.0

Relationships between the different work value constructs

In order to investigate the relationships between the different work values constructs, I conducted a correlation analysis to investigate the relationships between general values and job values, and an independent sample T-test analysis for the relationships between work centrality and general and job values. The statistical analyses were performed separately for the students' sample and then for the parents' sample.

Table 34 shows the correlations of all general and job values for the sample of Korean university students. Relative to investigation of the relationships between general and job values, only the first four columns are of interest. As expected, individualism was correlated with two quality of work items (job content and work atmosphere), but also with three career

enhancement items (corporate reputation, advancement opportunities, and performance). Although these correlations were statistically significant, the effect sizes were rather low (0.13 < r < 0.24). Risk aversion was, as expected, highly correlated with job security (r = 0.48) but also negatively correlated with training, individual performance appraisals, job content, and work atmosphere. While the negative correlations are slightly surprising, these are only of little effect size. Money orientation was correlated at moderate to high levels with pay, job security, corporate reputation, and advancement opportunities. As expected, work orientation was correlated with two career enhancement items (advancement opportunities and training).

A number of statistically significant correlations can be observed in the sample of Korean parents. As expected, individualism was correlated with three quality of work job values (university major, job content, and work atmosphere) but also with three career enhancement job values (advancement opportunities, training, and individual performance appraisals). Also as expected, extrinsic job values were correlated with risk aversion and money orientation. In addition, money orientation was also correlated with three career enhancement job values. Perhaps, respondents may feel that career enhancement job values is associated with individual achievement and may translate to higher monetary returns. Work orientation was correlated with three career enhancement job values (corporate reputation, training, and individual performance appraisals). All significant correlations remained at lower or at most, modest levels (r < 0.30).

In summary, the correlations largely correspond to the expected relationships as explained in chapter 4. That is, individualism is related with quality of work, risk aversion and money orientation with extrinsic, and work orientation with career enhancement. In addition,

individualism showed correlations with career enhancement. This might be understandable, as career enhancement can also be understood as individual career progress. In general, correlations between general and job values were relatively similar within both generations. Except for a few correlations (pay and money orientation, job security, and risk in the student sample), the correlations between general and job values were at lower or moderate levels. These findings suggest that general and job values, although related, are two distinct constructs of work values (Ros et al., 1999). Therefore, examining both constructs may help enhance our understanding of work values.

In order to test the relationships between work centrality (dummy variable) and general and job values, I conducted independent sample t-tests. As expected, Korean university students who chose career and occupation as their primary life goal were more work oriented ($t = 2.22$, $p = 0.28$). However, Korean parents who chose career and occupation as their primary life goal were as work oriented as those who chose different life goals. Instead, those parents valued pay ($t = -3.35$, $p = 0.001$), job security ($t = -2.07$, $p = 0.048$), advancement opportunities ($t = 2.55$, $p = 0.017$), and individual performance appraisal ($t = -2.74$, $p = 0.007$) more highly. However, the results for the parents need to be interpreted carefully as the number of parents who chose career and occupation as their primary goal is very small ($n = 21$).

Table 35: Correlations of general and job values among Korean university students

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
General values													
1 Individualism	1.00												
2 Risk aversion	-0.05	1.00											
3 Money orientation	-0.11	0.06	1.00										
4 Work orientation	0.07	-0.13	0.25	1.00									
Job values													
Extrinsic													
5 Pay	0.05	0.02	0.58	0.17	1.00								
6 Job security	-0.06	0.48	0.26	0.11	0.33	1.00							
Career enhancement													
7 Corporate reputation	0.17	0.04	0.30	0.11	0.39	0.28	1.00						
8 Advancement	0.13	0.04	0.31	0.23	0.49	0.33	0.36	1.00					
9 Training	0.07	-0.19	0.00	0.19	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.36	1.00				
10 Performance	0.24	-0.23	0.10	0.09	0.12	-0.07	0.28	0.28	0.28	1.00			
Quality of work													
11 Major	0.01	-0.11	-0.09	-0.06	-0.08	-0.12	0.11	0.01	0.20	0.12	1.00		
12 Job content	0.14	-0.17	0.00	0.22	0.08	0.08	0.23	0.20	0.40	0.35	0.18	1.00	
13 Work atmosphere	0.17	-0.19	0.03	0.02	0.16	0.02	0.22	0.25	0.30	0.38	0.16	0.30	1.00
14 Work hours	0.10	-0.05	0.05	0.00	0.16	0.12	0.08	0.19	0.38	0.26	0.12	0.29	0.38

Note: n = 164, correlations of 0.13 and higher are significant at the $p < 0.05$ level.

Table 36: Correlations of general and job values among Korean parents

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
General values													
1 Individualism	1.00												
2 Risk aversion	0.22	1.00											
3 Money orientation	-0.04	-0.10	1.00										
4 Work orientation	0.17	0.01	0.13	1.00									
Job values													
Extrinsic													
5 Pay	0.02	0.20	0.24	-0.10	1.00								
6 Job security	0.12	0.33	0.04	0.01	0.42	1.00							
Career enhancement													
7 Corporate reputation	0.10	0.01	0.03	0.15	0.15	0.27	1.00						
8 Advancement	0.23	0.07	0.29	0.10	0.44	0.37	0.32	1.00					
9 Training	0.25	0.05	0.16	0.23	0.23	0.28	0.31	0.59	1.00				
10 Performance	0.16	0.09	0.15	0.19	0.25	0.29	0.41	0.49	0.52	1.00			
Quality of work													
11 Major	0.15	0.05	-0.08	0.14	0.02	0.10	0.30	0.12	0.25	0.35	1.00		
12 Job content	0.25	0.06	0.02	0.12	0.13	0.20	0.40	0.23	0.28	0.34	0.39	1.00	
13 Work atmosphere	0.23	0.06	0.01	0.03	0.16	0.28	0.30	0.28	0.44	0.36	0.15	0.33	1.00
14 Work hours	0.00	0.10	0.06	-0.10	0.29	0.35	0.28	0.24	0.33	0.23	0.13	0.26	0.44

Note: n = 164, correlations of 0.13 and higher are significant at the $p < 0.05$ level.

Results of Hypotheses Tests

In order to test whether general values differed across generations, I conducted MANCOVA with gender, social class identification, household income, education, and the dummy variable, housewife, as control variables. MANCOVA multivariate tests revealed that the samples differed significantly (Pillai's Trace = 0.096, F = 8.135, df = 4, p < 0.001; Hotelling's Trace = 0.106, F = 8.135, df = 4, p < 0.001). However, given that none of the control variables showed any multivariate effects, these could be ignored in subsequent statistical analysis. Because only two samples were involved (students versus parents) and no control variables were necessary, I followed up with independent sample t-tests (see Table 36). Only risk aversion differed significantly across generations (t = -6.70, p < 0.001). Parents were much more risk averse than their children. Thus, hypothesis 2b finds support. On the other hand, hypothesis 2a, which predicted that university students were more individualistic than parents were, and hypothesis 2c, which predicated that university students were less work oriented, need to be rejected.

Table 37: Comparison of general values between generations in Korea

	Students (S) Mean	Parents (P) Mean	S - P Mean	t-value	Sig.
Individualism	3.75	3.76	-0.02	-0.31	0.754
Risk aversion	3.25	3.83	-0.58	-6.70	0.000
Money orientation	3.59	3.39	0.20	2.54	0.012
Work orientation	2.69	2.85	-0.16	-1.95	0.053

Note: n = 243, theoretical mean values ranges from 1 (very low) to 5 (very high).

In order to test whether job values differed across generations, I conducted MANCOVA, which would be followed by univariate tests if differences were found

statistically significant. In MANCOVA, I included gender, social class identification, household income, education, and the dummy variable, housewife, as control variables. MANCOVA was statistically significant (Pillai's Trace = 0.09, F = 3.01, df = 10, p = 0.001; Hotelling's Trace = 0.10, F = 3.01, df = 10, p = 0.001), indicating that job values differed significantly between the two generations. As none of the control variables had significant effects, I dropped all control variables in subsequent univariate tests. Because only two samples were involved (students versus parents), I followed up with independent sample t-tests. Among ten job values, the only difference observed related to job security (t = -6.10, p < 0.001). Parents, in contrast to university students, valued the importance of job security more highly. This difference was not expected. Contrary to the expectations expressed through hypothesis 2d, which predicted that university students valued quality of work job values more highly than their parents did, none of the quality of work items differed between the generations.

Table 38: Comparison of job values between generations in Korea

	Students (S) Mean	Parents (P) Mean	S - P Mean	t	Sig.
Extrinsic					
Pay	4.28	4.41	-0.13	-1.83	0.067
Job security	4.03	4.48	-0.45	-6.10	0.000
Career enhancement					
Corporate reputation	3.95	4.07	-0.12	-1.45	0.149
Advancement	3.98	4.08	-0.10	-1.27	0.205
Training	4.03	4.02	0.01	0.14	0.887
Performance	4.37	4.32	0.05	0.70	0.487
Quality of Work					
Major	3.80	3.98	-0.17	-1.69	0.093
Job content	4.21	4.17	0.03	0.46	0.643
Work atmosphere	4.18	4.18	0.00	-0.03	0.976
Working hours	3.85	3.96	-0.11	-1.43	0.154

Note: n = 164, mean values were scored from 1 (not at all important) to 5 (very important).

In order to test the difference of work centrality between the generations I conducted a Chi square test of the various life goals (categorical data). Because of the small number of respondents who chose living abroad, religious beliefs or national betterment as their most important life goals (see Table 33), I combined these three life goals into a new category labeled other in order to avoid reliability problems (Field, 2003; Norusis, 2002). Life goals differed significantly between the two generations (Pearson Chi-Square = 38.9, df = 4, p < 0.001). Whereas 60 students chose career and occupation as their primary life goal, only 21 parents made a similar choice (see Table 38). Of course, this obvious difference is statistically significant (expected count = 40.5, adjusted residual = 5.0). Among the non-work life goals, significant differences were found in family relationships and leisure. Korean parents considered family relationships (expected count = 84.5, actual count = 109 versus 60, adjusted

residual = 5.4) more important and leisure activities (expected count = 12.5, actual count = 7 versus 18, adjusted residual = 2.3) less important than Korean students. Such differences were not anticipated in chapter 4 when developing the hypotheses.

Table 39: Comparisons of work centrality across generations

		Students	Parents	Total
Career	Count	60.0	21.0	81.0
	Expected Count	40.5	40.5	81.0
	% within same generation	36.6	12.8	24.7
	Adjusted Residual	5.0	-5.0	
Money	Count	18.0	15.0	33.0
	Expected Count	16.5	16.5	33.0
	% within generation	11.0	9.1	10.1
	Adjusted Residual	0.6	-0.6	
Family	Count	60.0	109.0	169.0
	Expected Count	84.5	84.5	169.0
	% within same generation	36.6	66.5	51.5
	Adjusted Residual	-5.4	5.4	
Leisure	Count	18.0	7.0	25.0
	Expected Count	12.5	12.5	25.0
	% within same generation	11.0	4.3	7.6
	Adjusted Residual	2.3	-2.3	
Other	Count	8.0	12.0	20.0
	Expected Count	10.0	10.0	20.0
	% within same generation	4.9	7.3	6.1
	Adjusted Residual	-0.9	0.9	
Total	Count	164.0	164.0	328.0
	Expected Count	164.0	164.0	328.0
	% within same generation	100.0	100.0	100.0

Among the 15 variables, only three were significantly different between generations. In an attempt to counter concerns that parents and their university student children cooperated when providing answers to the questionnaire, I conducted pairwise matched correlation analyses. High correlations between the responses of parents and their children would indicate the existence of such a bias. However, the results revealed that only job content (r = 0.17, p = 0.028) and work atmosphere (r = 0.25, p = 0.001) correlated significantly, but only at a moderate level between the parents and their children. In addition, I also tested the pairwise correlations of the various possible dyadic relationships. Fathers and their sons agreed on the importance of corporate reputation (r = 0.34, p = 0.038) and work atmosphere (r = 0.39, p = 0.016), mothers and their sons agreed on training (r = 0.29, p = 0.43) and job content (r = 0.39, p = 0.006). Mothers and their daughters had similar views on pay (r = 0.30, p = 0.037) and advancement opportunities (r = 0.34, p = 0.019), whereas no correlation was found between fathers and their daughters. These findings provide strong support that cooperative completion of the questionnaire did not distort the results of this study.

Discussion of Findings

Korean university students and parents held largely similar general values, job values, and work centrality. Among the 15 variables, only three variables were significantly different between the two generations. Based on Inglehart's (Inglehart, 1998; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005) convergence theory and taking into account Korea's socioeconomic developments, I expected significant differences of work values associated with a transition from survival towards self-expression values. More specifically, I expected university students to be more individualistic but less risk averse and work oriented, and as placing more emphasis on quality of work. However, no differences in terms of individualism, work orientation, or

quality of work were observed. Only risk aversion was higher among parents than students, again as expected.

Does this imply that the convergence theory is irrelevant in the case of Korea? That might be one conclusion. Another aspect that needs to be considered is the specific sample of this study. In the hypotheses development, I referred to the socioeconomic conditions of the average Korean citizen of the 1970s and 1980s when describing the living conditions of the parents' generation. However, the Korean parents' surveyed in this study may not be representative for its generation. Quite the contrary, the surveyed Korean parents are highly educated with more than 60% holding a university degree, and more than 80% of them being employed as white-collar workers. More than 20% of the surveyed parents even work in specialized professions, such as doctors or lawyers.

Evidence that work values differ according to level of education and occupation has been found in previous studies (e.g. Axelrod & Gavin, 1980; Friedlander, 1965; Hofstede, 2001). Friedlander (1965) found that self-actualization is of prime importance to white-collar workers but not for blue-collar workers. Implicitly, it was assumed in the hypotheses development that a certain percentage of Korean parents were blue-collar workers who place less emphasis on self-actualization and quality of work aspects, in contrast to the university student generation, which is likely to embark on white-collar careers. However, given the high percentage of highly educated white-collar workers among the parents' generation, it might be understandable that students and parents do not differ in terms of self-actualization related work values, such as quality of work job values. Unfortunately, the small number of blue-collar workers in the sample did not allow this suspicion to be tested statistically.

In addition, the highly educated upper-middle social class sample may explain the observed congruence of work values between the two generations. As middle and upper class parents try to pass on their cultural and educational capital to their children in order to secure the latter's social status (Bourdieu, 2000), the next generation grows up in a similar social context and is influenced by a similar zeitgeist (Boehnke et al., 2007; Knafo, 2003; Kohn, 1983). Because both generations grew up in a similar social context, they may also have developed values that are relatively similar.

Despite these similarities in work values, job security and work centrality were perceived differently between the generations. Korean parents placed more emphasis on job security while university students placed more emphasis on work centrality. One explanation might be related to the human life cycle (e.g., Clausen & Jones, 1998). As people go through different life stages, their values might be susceptible to change. In particular, transitions in family and occupational roles may have an impact on the development of values (Clausen & Gilens, 1990; Clausen & Jones, 1998; Helson, Mitchell, & Moane, 1984; Peskin & Livson, 1981). If people get married and have children, they might emphasize family and de-emphasize work (Clausen & Gilens, 1990), thus explaining why parents emphasize family relationships more than university students (who do not yet have families). Occupational transitions and career stages might explain the differences in the importance of job security. When people are young and are looking for a job, job security might not be such an important criterion for their job choice decisions (Lievens & Highhouse 2003). However, this may change as employees grow older and bear greater responsibilities, such as feeding a family. However, these explanations seem insufficient to explain why it was only job security and work centrality that were affected while none of the other variables were influenced similarly.

Another explanation might be the Asian crisis in 1997. Traditionally, major Korean companies offered lifetime employment to their employees (Chung et al., 1997). However, due to the Asia crisis, several major Korean companies (e.g., Kia and Daewoo) went bankrupt, and even those companies that survived had to lay off employees (See & Lee, 2002). More than 1 million people lost their jobs, and the unemployment rate suddenly jumped from 2.2% in July 1997 to 8.65% in July 1999 (Kim, 2004). This dramatic situation caused stress for those who were laid off as well as for those who kept their jobs because they saw the consequences of job loss and were worried that the same could happen to them (Kim, 2003, Kim, 2004). Under this backdrop, it is understandable that Korean parents who went through this experience valued job security as the most important job value. Today's university students were 10 years old at that time and might not have experienced this period of shock consciously and thus developed the same sense of urgency. Nevertheless, because of the Asian crisis, university students of today face a more flexible and competitive labor market. Young Korean employees no longer expect to join and then retire from the same company anymore (Han, 2008). More than 70% of 818 young professionals surveyed said that they would leave their current employer for a better job offer (Han, 2008). In conclusion, company loyalty and job security have become less important. In order to succeed in such a flexible market, the future generation of Korean managers needs to focus on their careers, which might explain the importance Korean university students place on this life goal.

6.2.3. China

Descriptive overview

In order to provide a general understanding, I offer a descriptive overview of the data of interest. Table 39 depicts the mean values and standard deviations (SD) of the general values of Chinese university students and parents. Both Chinese parents and students seem to be very individualistic (mean = 4.07, SD = 0.48; mean = 4.18, SD = 0.48) but not particularly work oriented (mean = 2.68, SD = 1.07; mean = 2.22, SD = 0.88). Chinese parents appear more risk averse and more money oriented.

Table 40: Overview of general values in China

	Students		Parents	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Individualism	4.18	0.48	4.07	0.69
Risk aversion	3.01	1.01	3.42	1.03
Money orientation	3.67	0.84	3.80	0.84
Work orientation	2.22	0.88	2.68	1.07

Note: n = 243, theoretical mean values ranges from 1 (very low) to 5 (very high).

Table 40 shows the mean values and standard deviations (SD) of the ten job values and ranks those values according to their mean values to illustrate the relative importance of each job value. Both students and parents perceived university major and work hours as the least important job values. However, students and parents differed greatly regarding all of the other job values. Chinese parents valued extrinsic job values (pay and job security) most highly, whereas university students valued individual performance appraisals, and work atmosphere most highly. University students also emphasized job content and advancement

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opportunities, which were less relevant for parents. Overall, job values appear to be very different between the two generations.

Table 41: Overview of job values in China

	Students			Parents		
	Rank	Mean	SD	Rank	Mean	SD
Extrinsic						
Pay	7	4.11	0.60	2	4.17	0.77
Job security	8	4.00	0.82	1	4.35	0.87
Career enhancement						
Corporate reputation	5	4.17	0.80	4	4.11	0.88
Advancement	3	4.29	0.67	7	3.81	0.96
Training	6	4.16	0.80	8	3.67	0.97
Performance	1	4.55	0.63	3	4.14	0.88
Quality of work						
Major	10	2.91	1.16	10	3.51	1.06
Job content	3	4.29	0.75	5	4.09	0.83
Work atmosphere	2	4.35	0.75	6	4.03	0.87
Working hours	9	3.51	0.98	9	3.63	0.85

Note: n = 164, mean values were scored from 1 (not at all important) to 5 (very important).

Table 41 depicts the frequencies and percentages of the different life goals respondents chose as most important. For the purpose of this study, the choice of career and occupation (work centrality) versus other life goals is most important. Career and occupation was the most important life goal for students (140, 46.7%) and for parents (153, 51%), representing high work centrality. The second most frequently mentioned life goal by students and parents is family relationships (30.7% and 34.0%, respectively). Interestingly, a much higher number of students (11.7%) chose activities towards national betterment compared to the parents' generations (2.7%). This might explain the student participation in various pro-China demonstrations in China as well as overseas.

Table 42: Overview of work centrality in China

	Students		Parents	
	Count	%	Count	%
Career and occupation	140	46.7	153	51.0
Lots of money	13	4.3	17	5.7
Family relationships	92	30.7	102	34.0
Recreational activities	14	4.7	5	1.7
Living abroad	4	1.3	1	0.3
Religious beliefs	0	0.0	2	0.7
National betterment	35	11.7	8	2.7
Missing	2	0.7	12	4.0
Total	300	100.0	300	100.0

Relationships between the different work value constructs

In order to investigate the relationships between the different work values constructs (research question 4), I conducted a correlation analysis to investigate the relationships between general values and job values, and an independent sample T-test analysis to test the relationships between work centrality and general and job values. These statistical analyses were performed separately for the students' sample and then for the parents' sample.

Table 42 illustrates the correlations of all general and job values for the sample of Chinese university students. Relative to investigating the relationships between general and job values, only the first four columns are of interest. As expected, individualism was correlated with two quality of work items (job content and work atmosphere) but also with three career enhancement items (corporate reputation, training, and individual performance appraisals). Also as expected, risk aversion was correlated with job security ($r = 0.36$),

implying that those who were risk averse valued job security. Money orientation was not only correlated with pay and job security but with corporate reputation, advancement opportunities and individual performance appraisals. Perhaps Chinese university students link these career enhancement factors with higher income.

Table 43 depicts the same statistics as Table 42 but for the parents' sample. Interestingly, individualism was significantly correlated with all job values except work hours. Risk aversion was only correlated with job security (r = 0.30). Like individualism, money orientation was correlated with almost all job values, except for major and work atmosphere. Individualism and money orientation were also correlated with one another at a medium level (r = 0.29). Work orientation was, as expected, correlated with several career enhancement items (corporate reputation, advancement opportunities, and training) but also with university major.

Not only did the mean values of general and job values seem to differ between Chinese university students and Chinese parents, but the relationships between these variables also seem to differ between the two generations. First, while correlations between the variables are mostly at low to modest levels in the university students' sample, a number of correlations in the parents' sample show medium levels (13 correlated with r > 0.25). Second, only in the parents' sample was money orientation related to several quality of work items, such as job content and work hours. Perhaps, Chinese parents associated higher income with certain jobs and longer work hours. Third, as expected, work orientation was, correlated with career enhancement job values in the parents' sample, but not in the students' sample. These findings indicate major differences in general and job values between the two generations.

Table 43: Correlations of general and job values among Chinese university students

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
General values													
1 Individualism	1.00												
2 Risk aversion	0.05	1.00											
3 Money orientation	0.14	0.11	1.00										
4 Work orientation	0.18	0.05	0.01	1.00									
Job values													
Extrinsic													
5 Pay	0.02	-0.01	0.51	0.01	1.00								
6 Job security	0.09	0.36	0.21	0.13	0.28	1.00							
Career enhancement													
7 Corporate reputation	0.20	0.03	0.15	-0.01	0.12	0.20	1.00						
8 Advancement	0.10	-0.09	0.33	-0.01	0.34	0.30	0.39	1.00					
9 Training	0.14	-0.10	0.11	0.02	0.08	0.11	0.30	0.54	1.00				
10 Performance	0.22	0.08	0.25	-0.08	0.22	0.22	0.41	0.42	0.33	1.00			
Quality of work													
11 Major	0.00	0.10	-0.16	0.10	-0.07	0.22	0.11	-0.08	0.02	0.05	1.00		
12 Job content	0.18	-0.01	-0.04	-0.02	0.06	0.06	0.35	0.11	0.16	0.31	0.20	1.00	
13 Work atmosphere	0.13	0.01	0.01	0.00	-0.03	0.11	0.36	0.21	0.26	0.47	0.16	0.25	1.00
14 Work hours	-0.04	0.18	0.02	-0.13	0.08	0.26	0.29	0.17	0.24	0.20	0.24	0.18	0.36

Note: n = 300, correlations of 0.13 and higher are significant at the $p < 0.05$ level.

Table 44: Correlations of general and job values among Chinese parents

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
General values													
1 Individualism	1.00												
2 Risk aversion	0.11	1.00											
3 Money orientation	0.29	0.26	1.00										
4 Work orientation	0.17	0.07	0.10	1.00									
Job values													
Extrinsic													
5 Pay	0.36	0.12	0.48	-0.02	1.00								
6 Job security	0.39	0.30	0.32	0.08	0.63	1.00							
Career enhancement													
7 Corporate reputation	0.42	-0.04	0.25	0.13	0.37	0.39	1.00						
8 Advancement	0.29	0.04	0.35	0.13	0.50	0.43	0.44	1.00					
9 Training	0.35	-0.04	0.18	0.21	0.34	0.37	0.51	0.67	1.00				
10 Performance	0.41	-0.03	0.27	0.08	0.41	0.35	0.57	0.42	0.47	1.00			
Quality of work													
11 Major	0.24	-0.06	0.05	0.18	0.16	0.26	0.28	0.21	0.31	0.26	1.00		
12 Job content	0.44	-0.03	0.23	0.11	0.40	0.41	0.58	0.38	0.47	0.59	0.34	1.00	
13 Work atmosphere	0.31	0.00	0.07	0.03	0.28	0.32	0.41	0.23	0.41	0.56	0.29	0.52	1.00
14 Work hours	0.12	0.03	0.13	0.07	0.13	0.14	0.18	0.16	0.15	0.27	0.17	0.25	0.36

Note: n = 300, correlations of 0.13 and higher are significant at the $p < 0.05$ level.

In order to test the relationships between work centrality and general values and job values, I conducted independent sample t-tests. Work centrality was dummy coded into 1 (career and occupation as the most important life goal) and 0 (any other life goal), and was used as the grouping variable. Statistically significant differences between the groups would imply a significant relationship between work centrality and the respective general or job value. As expected, work centrality was related to work orientation ($t = -2.13$, $p = 0.34$) in the parents' sample. No other statistically significant association was found in the parents' sample. Interestingly, the only significant relation in the student sample was found between work centrality and work atmosphere ($t = 2.37$, $p = 0.018$), implying that those who chose career and occupation cared less about work atmosphere.

Results of Hypotheses Tests

In order to test whether general values differed across generations, I conducted MANCOVA followed by ANCOVA/ANOVA if differences were found statistically significant. In MANCOVA, I included gender, social class identification, household income, education, and blue-collar workers (yes/no) as control variables. The MANCOVA multivariate test revealed that general values of the two generations differed significantly (see Table 44), and it showed that almost all control factors had significant influence. Among all multivariate effects though, generation had the strongest effect ($F = 23.11$, $p < 0.001$).

Table 45: Multivariate tests of general values in China

Effect		Value	F	df	Sig.
Gender	Pillai's Trace	0.020	6.56	4	0.000
	Hotelling's Trace	0.020	6.56	4	0.000
Class identification	Pillai's Trace	0.002	0.78	4	0.538
	Hotelling's Trace	0.002	0.78	4	0.538
Household Income	Pillai's Trace	0.022	7.06	4	0.000
	Hotelling's Trace	0.022	7.06	4	0.000
Education	Pillai's Trace	0.015	4.93	4	0.001
	Hotelling's Trace	0.015	4.93	4	0.001
Blue-collar	Pillai's Trace	0.015	4.84	4	0.001
	Hotelling's Trace	0.015	4.84	4	0.001
Generation	Pillai's Trace	0.067	23.11	4	0.000
	Hotelling's Trace	0.072	23.11	4	0.000

Note: n = 300.

Parameter estimates revealed the effect sizes and directions of these significant control variables. Women reported being more risk averse (beta = 0.27, t = 5.05, $p < 0.001$). People with less annual household income were more individualistic (beta = -0.04, t = -4.57, $p < 0.001$), more money oriented (beta = -0.04, t = -3.07, $p < 0.001$), and more work oriented (beta = -0.03, t = -2.17, $p < 0.001$). In other words, Chinese who have less income seem to be more willing to work hard in order to earn more money. This finding is in line with the observed correlation between money orientation, career enhancement, and work hours. University educated people appear to be more willing to work hard (beta = 0.22, t = 2.91, p = 0.004) and care less about money (beta = -0.18, t = -2.71, p = 0.007). Blue-collar workers were more driven by money (beta = 0.43, t = 3.68, $p < 0.001$) and were more individualistic (beta = 0.20 t = 2.26, p = 0.024). Due to the multivariate effects of these control variables, I kept them as control variables in subsequent univariate tests (ANCOVA).

All general values differed significantly across countries (see Table 45). Chinese university students were found to be more individualistic, less risk averse, less money oriented and less work oriented than were their Chinese parents. While some of the mean differences appear marginal at first sight, e.g., a mean difference of "only" 0.12 in terms of individualism, the effect sizes are very high ($13.4 < F < 33.3$). This situation can be explained by the inclusion of the control variables. For instance, some differences would be expanded if only university educated parents would be compared with current university students. In conclusion, hypotheses 3a through 3d find support.

Table 46: Comparison of general values across countries in China

	Students (S)	Parents (P)	S - P	F	Sig.
	Mean	Mean	Mean		
Individualism	4.18	4.07	0.12	19.82	0.000
Risk aversion	3.01	3.42	-0.42	33.24	0.000
Money orientation	3.67	3.80	-0.13	13.42	0.000
Work orientation	2.22	2.68	-0.45	22.40	0.000

Note: n = 300, theoretical mean values ranges from 1 (very low) to 5 (very high).

In a similar fashion, I conducted MANCOVA followed by ANCOVA/ANOVA to test whether job values differed across generations. Again, I included gender, social class identification, household income, education, and blue-collar workers (yes/no) as control variables. The MANCOVA multivariate test revealed that job values differed significantly between the two generations (see Table 46). Moreover, the control variables gender, income, education, and blue-collar worker showed significant multivariate effects.

Gender (1 = female, 0 = male) was positively related with seven out of ten job values. Women valued pay (beta = 0.09, t = 2.20, p = 0.028), training (beta = 0.14, t = 2.77, p =

0.006), individual performance appraisals (beta = 0.15, t = 3.84, p < 0.001), job security (beta = 0.15, t = 3.53, p < 0.001), work hours (beta = 0.20, t = 4.04, p < 0.001), job content (beta = 0.15, t = 3.57, p < 0.001), and work atmosphere (beta = 0.18, t = 4.41, p < 0.001) more highly than men. Is there a response bias in that Chinese women tend to respond higher, regardless of the question? There is no previous research indicating such a response bias. Unfortunately, this question cannot be answered in this study but future studies may look into this aspect. Income was negatively related with corporate reputation (beta = -0.08, t = -5.14, p < 0.001) and university major (beta = -0.07, t = -3.93, p < 0.001) but positively related to job content (beta = 0.05, t = 4.12, p < 0.001) and work atmosphere (beta = 0.38, t = 3.24, p = 0.001). In other words, people with more available income were more concerned with work atmosphere and job content but cared less about corporate reputation and university major. University students and those parents with a university degree valued advancement opportunities (beta = 0.15, t = 2.06, p = 0.040), training opportunities (beta = 0.15, t = 2.05, p = 0.041), individual performance appraisals (beta = 0.16, t = 2.66, p = 0.008), and job content (beta = 0.13, t = 2.15, p = 0.032) more highly but were less willing to work long hours (beta = 0.18, t = 2.39, p = 0.017).

Table 47: Multivariate effects of job values in China

Effect		Value	F	df	Sig.
Gender	Pillai's Trace	0.032	4.26	10	0.000
	Hotelling's Trace	0.033	4.26	10	0.000
Class identification	Pillai's Trace	0.012	1.57	10	0.111
	Hotelling's Trace	0.012	1.57	10	0.111
Household income	Pillai's Trace	0.058	7.81	10	0.000
	Hotelling's Trace	0.061	7.81	10	0.000
Education	Pillai's Trace	0.018	2.40	10	0.008
	Hotelling's Trace	0.019	2.40	10	0.008
Blue-collar	Pillai's Trace	0.015	1.93	10	0.038
	Hotelling's Trace	0.015	1.93	10	0.038
Generation	Pillai's Trace	0.064	8.77	10	0.000
	Hotelling's Trace	0.069	8.77	10	0.000

Note: n = 300.

In the next step, I conducted ten separate ANCOVA analyses for each of the job values, while including the four control variables that showed significant multivariate effects (gender, household income, education, and blue-collar worker). Five out of ten job values differed significantly between the generations (see Table 47). Some other variables, however, despite pronounced mean value differences, were not statistically significant when the control variables were included. For instance, the mean value of individual performance was 4.55 within the students' sample compared to 4.14 within the parents' sample, a difference of 0.40; however, when including all of the control variables, the difference was no longer statistically significant. The following statistically significant differences were found: Chinese parents placed more emphasis on job security (F = 18.75, p < 0.001) and university major (F = 28.53, p < 0.001) than Chinese university students. On the other hand, university students placed more importance on advancement opportunities. These findings partly confirm hypotheses 3e and 3f, which predicted that parents would emphasize extrinsic job values and students would

emphasize career enhancement job values. In addition, university students placed less emphasis on university major but more emphasis on work atmosphere compared to their parents.

Table 48: Comparison of job values between generations in China

	Students (S) Mean	Parents (P) Mean	S - P Mean	F	Sig.
Extrinsic					
Pay	4.11	4.17	-0.06	3.82	0.051
Job security	4.00	4.35	-0.34	18.75	0.000
Career enhancement					
Corporate reputation	4.17	4.11	0.06	1.73	0.188
Advancement	4.29	3.81	0.48	7.36	0.007
Training	4.16	3.67	0.49	10.52	0.001
Performance	4.55	4.14	0.40	2.85	0.092
Quality of work					
Major	2.91	3.51	-0.61	28.53	0.000
Job content	4.29	4.09	0.20	0.05	0.823
Work atmosphere	4.35	4.03	0.32	5.51	0.019
Working hours	3.51	3.63	-0.12	3.48	0.062

Note: n = 300, mean values were scored from 1 (not at all important) to 5 (very important).

In order to test the difference in work centrality between the generations, I conducted a Chi square test of the various life goals (categorical data). In order to be consistent with the calculations in the intergenerational comparisons for the Korean and Japanese samples, the life goals living abroad, religious beliefs and national betterment were combined into a category called "other." Life goals differed significantly between the two generations (Pearson Chi-Square = 10.95, df = 4, p = 0.027); however, only leisure and other differed significantly between the generations (see Table 48). More students than parents (expected

count = 9.5, actual count = 14 versus 5, adjusted residual = 2.1) chose leisure activities as their primary life goal. Thus, there was no difference in terms of work centrality between students and parents. Hypothesis 3f, which predicted higher work centrality among Chinese parents, finds no support.

Table 49: Comparisons of work centrality between generations in China

		Students	Parents	Total
Career	Count	140.0	153.0	293.0
	Expected Count	146.5	146.5	293.0
	% within same generation	46.7	51.0	48.8
	Adjusted Residual	-1.1	1.1	
Money	Count	13.0	17.0	30.0
	Expected Count	15.0	15.0	30.0
	% within generation	4.3	5.7	5.0
	Adjusted Residual	-0.7	0.7	
Family	Count	92.0	102.0	194.0
	Expected Count	97.0	97.0	194.0
	% within same generation	30.7	34.0	32.3
	Adjusted Residual	-0.9	0.9	
Leisure	Count	14.0	5.0	19.0
	Expected Count	9.5	9.5	19.0
	% within same generation	4.7	1.7	3.2
	Adjusted Residual	2.1	-2.1	
Other	Count	41.0	23.0	64.0
	Expected Count	32.0	32.0	64.0
	% within same generation	13.7	7.7	10.7
	Adjusted Residual	2.4	-2.4	
Total	Count	300.0	300.0	600.0
	Expected Count	300.0	300.0	600.0
	% within same generation	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chinese university students and parents grew up in vastly different socioeconomic environments. Whereas Chinese parents experienced poverty, university students experienced rapid industrialization. Based on these remarkably different socioeconomic environments during their respective periods of upbringing, different work values were expected between the generations (chapter 4). Indeed, the statistical data analysis revealed that work values between Chinese university students and parents differed vastly, even after controlling for gender, education, occupation, and household income. Statistically significant differences were observed along all four general values and five out of ten job values. Moreover, several of the effect sizes were enormous. These differences occurred in the expected directions. University students were more individualistic, less risk averse, less money oriented, less work oriented, less motivated by extrinsic, but more by career enhancement. The observations made in this study largely overlap with the media and press that have reported a generation gap between the old generation and the "ba ling hou," which literally means the generation born after 1980 (e.g. Lee, 2008b). In conclusions, these findings provide strong support for Inglehart's (Inglehart, 1998; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005) convergence theory.

6.3. Cross-country Comparisons

The previous section dealt with comparisons of work values between generations within countries. In this section, I compare work values across countries. The next subsection tests the differences in work values across countries for the parents' generation (hypotheses 4a through 4g), and the second subsection does the same for the student sample (hypotheses 5a through 5e). Since descriptive overviews of general values, job values, and work centrality

within the various subsamples and the relationships between these constructs were discussed in the previous section, this information will not be presented again. The subsections delve immediately into the statistical results.

6.3.1. The Parents' Generation

In order to test whether general values differed across countries, I conducted MANCOVA followed by ANCOVA/ANOVA if differences were determined to be statistically significant. In MANCOVA, I included gender, age, social class identification, household income, education, and occupation dummies for housewives, salarymen, and blue-collar workers, as control variables. The MANCOVA multivariate test revealed that general values differed significantly across countries (see Table 49). Also, several control variables showed multivariate effects. Gender, age, household income, and the occupation dummy for housewives had significant effects. To gain a better understanding of the effects of the control variables, I investigated the parameter estimates (Field, 2003). The parameter estimates revealed that women were more risk averse than men (beta = 0.33, t = 3.92, p < 0.001), younger people were more willing to work (beta = -0.03, t = -2.97, p = 0.003), and people with less income were more risk averse (beta = -0.08, t = -3.33, p = 0.001), and more money oriented (beta = -0.08, t = -3.66, p < 0.001). Housewives cared less about money (beta = -0.22, t = -2.61, p = 0.009).

Table 50: Results of multivariate tests for general values

Effect		Value	F	df	Sig.
Gender	Pillai's Trace	0.03	4.27	4	0.002
	Hotelling's Trace	0.03	4.27	4	0.002
Age	Pillai's Trace	0.02	3.59	4	0.007
	Hotelling's Trace	0.02	3.59	4	0.007
Class identification	Pillai's Trace	0.00	0.50	4	0.733
	Hotelling's Trace	0.00	0.50	4	0.733
Household income	Pillai's Trace	0.04	5.97	4	0.000
	Hotelling's Trace	0.04	5.97	4	0.000
Education	Pillai's Trace	0.01	1.35	4	0.251
	Hotelling's Trace	0.01	1.35	4	0.251
Housewife	Pillai's Trace	0.02	3.50	4	0.008
	Hotelling's Trace	0.02	3.50	4	0.008
Salaryman	Pillai's Trace	0.01	1.43	4	0.224
	Hotelling's Trace	0.01	1.43	4	0.224
Blue-collar	Pillai's Trace	0.01	1.42	4	0.227
	Hotelling's Trace	0.01	1.42	4	0.227
Country	Pillai's Trace	0.18	15.72	8	0.000
	Hotelling's Trace	0.21	16.54	8	0.000

Note: n = 707.

The significant control variables were included in subsequent univariate tests (ANCOVA). All general values differed significantly across countries (see Table 50). The strongest effect was observed for individualism (F = 57.06). Hypothesis 4a predicted that Japanese parents were more individualistic than Korean and Chinese parents corresponding to Japan's higher socioeconomic development. However, the exact opposite directions in differences were found. Chinese parents were most individualistic, significantly more individualistic than Korean parents were, and Korean parents, in turn, were significantly more individualistic than were Japanese parents (C > K > J). Japanese and Korean parents were significantly more risk averse than Chinese parents. Chinese parents were more money

oriented than Japanese and Korean parents, thus partly confirming hypothesis 4b. Chinese and

Korean parents were found to be significantly more work oriented than Japanese parents were,

thus partly confirming hypothesis 4c.

Table 51: Comparison of general values for parents across countries

	Japan Mean	Korea Mean	China Mean	F	Sig.	Pairwise comparisons*
Individualism	3.38	3.76	4.07	57.06	0.000	J < K < C
Risk aversion	3.79	3.83	3.42	11.33	0.000	J, K > C
Money orientation	3.25	3.39	3.80	10.35	0.000	J, K < C
Work orientation	2.42	2.85	2.68	10.69	0.000	J < C, K

Note: n = 243, 164, 300 for Japan, Korea, and China; J = Japan, K = Korea, C = China

* = pairwise comparisons that were significant at the p = 0.05 level

MANCOVA tests revealed that parents' job values differed significantly across

countries (Pillai's Trace = 0.041, F = 15.87, df = 20, p < 0.001; Hotelling's Trace = 0.061, F =

18.50 df = 20, p < 0.001). In contrast to multivariate tests of the general values, only two

control variables showed multivariate effects when job values were concerned. The control

variables gender (Pillai's Trace = 0.050, F = 3.15, df = 10, p = 0.001; Hotelling's Trace =

0.052, F = 3.15 df = 10, p = 0.001), and household income (Pillai's Trace = 0.036, F = 2.28, df

= 10, p = 0.013; Hotelling's Trace = 0.037, F = 2.28, df = 10, p = 0.013) had significant effects.

Women place more emphasis on pay (beta = 0.14, t = 2.12, p = 0.034), training opportunities

(beta = 0.25, t = 3.01, p = 0.003), individual performance appraisals (beta = 0.24, t = 3.34, p =

0.001), job security (beta = 0.23, t = 3.29, p = 0.001), work hours (beta = 0.30, t = 3.83, p <

0.001), job content (beta = 0.23, t = 3.41, p = 0.001), and work atmosphere (beta = 0.29, t =

4.19, p < 0.001). People with less household income valued pay (beta = -0.04, t = -2.03, p =

0.043), job security (beta = -0.06, t = -2.93, p = 0.003), and university major more highly (beta = -0.08, t = -2.98, p = 0.003).

Only the significant control variables were included when computing subsequent univariate tests (ANCOVA). Ten separate Bonferroni-adjusted [26] ANCOVA tests were computed for each of the job values. All job values differed significantly across countries. Table 51 provides an overview of the mean values per country, F value of the ANCOVA tests, and the last column of the table shows pairwise comparisons. In order to simplify the overview of the pairwise comparisons, Japan is always shown on the left side of the equations. Contrary to expectations (hypothesis 4d), Japanese parents were more concerned with extrinsic job values (pay and job security) than Chinese parents. The career enhancement items showed inconsistent results. While Japanese parents placed less emphasis on corporate reputation and advancement, they placed more emphasis on training and individual performance than were Korean parents. Interestingly, not only Japanese parents but also Chinese parents were less concerned with advancement opportunities than Korean parents were. Overall, Korean parents appeared to be most concerned with career enhancement. Thus, the findings provide little support for hypothesis 4e, which predicted the Chinese would be most concerned with career enhancement. In terms of quality of work, the Japanese tend to value such items more highly than do Chinese parents. To be more specific, Japanese parents rated job content, work atmosphere, and work hours significantly higher than did Chinese parents. Korean parents tend to lie somewhere in between. These findings largely support hypothesis 4f.

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[26] Bonferroni adjustment was chosen because the sample sizes varied from 164 to 300 (Fields, 2003).

Table 52: Comparison of parents' job values across countries

	Japan Mean	Korea Mean	China Mean	F	Sig.	Pairwise comparisons*
Extrinsic						
Pay	4.28	4.41	4.17	7.20	0.001	J, K > C
Job security	4.47	4.48	4.35	5.06	0.007	J > C
Career enhancement						
Reputation	3.25	4.07	4.11	57.62	0.000	J < C, K
Advancement	3.77	4.08	3.81	7.36	0.001	J, C < K
Training	3.92	4.02	3.67	8.88	0.000	J, K > C
Performance	4.55	4.32	4.14	13.35	0.000	J > C, K
Quality of work						
Major	3.23	3.98	3.51	21.01	0.000	J, C < K
Job content	4.65	4.17	4.09	33.75	0.000	J > C, K
Work atmosphere	4.58	4.18	4.03	28.95	0.000	J > C, K
Working hours	4.00	3.96	3.63	14.76	0.000	J, K > C

Note: n = 243, 164, 300 for Japan, Korea, and China; J = Japan, K = Korea, C = China

* = pairwise comparisons that were significant at the p = 0.05 level

In order to test the difference of work centrality (life goals) across countries, I employed a Chi square test. In order to avoid the problems of low counts in some cells, the life goals of living abroad, religious beliefs and national betterment were combined into one category, other. Life goals differed significantly across countries (Pearson Chi-Square = 115.28, df = 8, p < 0.001). The life goal career and occupation—the main interest of this investigation—differed significantly across generations (see Table 52). Whereas career and occupation was the most important life goal for Chinese parents (51%), it represented only one of the minor goals for Japanese (18.9%) and Korean parents (12.8%). Correspondingly, the expected count largely exceeded the actual count for Chinese parents, whereas expected counts fell below actual counts for Japanese and Korean parents (adjusted residual = 9.8, -5.1, -5.8 for China, Japan, and Korea respectively). These findings provide support for hypothesis

4g, which predicted that Chinese parents held higher work centrality. The importance of the other non-work life goals of family relationships and leisure activities differed across countries. Instead of career and occupation, Japanese and Korean parents chose family relationships as the most important life goal. Further, Japanese parents were more leisure oriented than were Chinese parents (adjusted residual = 3.4 versus -3.1).

Table 53: Comparison of work centrality of parents across countries

		Country			Total
		Japan	China	Korea	
Career	Count	46.0	153.0	21.0	220.0
	Expected Count	75.6	93.4	51.0	220.0
	% within Country	18.9	51.0	12.8	31.1
	Adjusted Residual	-5.1	9.8	-5.8	
Money	Count	13.0	17.0	15.0	45.0
	Expected Count	15.5	19.1	10.4	45.0
	% within Country	5.3	5.7	9.1	6.4
	Adjusted Residual	-0.8	-0.7	1.7	
Family	Count	152.0	102.0	109.0	363.0
	Expected Count	124.8	154.0	84.2	363.0
	% within Country	62.6	34.0	66.5	51.3
	Adjusted Residual	4.3	-7.9	4.4	
Leisure	Count	20.0	5.0	7.0	32.0
	Expected Count	11.0	13.6	7.4	32.0
	% within Country	8.2	1.7	4.3	4.5
	Adjusted Residual	3.4	-3.1	-0.2	
Other	Count	12.0	23.0	12.0	47.0
	Expected Count	16.2	19.9	10.9	47.0
	% within Country	4.9	7.7	7.3	6.6
	Adjusted Residual	-1.3	0.9	0.4	
Total	Count	243.0	300.0	164.0	707.0
	Expected Count	243.0	300.0	164.0	707.0
	% within Country	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Discussion of Findings

Today's generation of Japanese, Korean, and Chinese parents grew up in very different socioeconomic environments. Whereas Japanese citizens experienced the comfortable living conditions of an industrialized country, Koreans experienced rapid economic growth associated with industrialization and Chinese experienced poverty. In line with these vastly different socioeconomic contexts, the results of this study revealed striking differences in work values across the countries. All 15 work value constructs differed in statistically significant terms across countries. Some of the mean values differed by almost 1.0 on a one to five scale (e.g., individualism or corporate reputation). These findings indicate that socioeconomic contexts may have profound impacts on the development of work values (Inglehart, 1998; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Webber, 1969).

However, several of these significant differences were observed in directions opposite from the expectations. According to the convergence theory (Inglehart, 1998; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005), people in economically more developed countries are expected to hold more secular-rational and self-expression values (away from traditional and survival values). Applied to the context of work values, this would imply that people in economically more developed countries would tend to be more individualistic and quality of work oriented, while de-emphasizing money and work, and extrinsic and career enhancement job values. Only differences in work orientation, work centrality, and quality of work occurred in the expected direction for the samples of Japanese, Korean, and Chinese parents. As expected, Japanese parents, who were exposed to the most developed economy, emphasized quality of work while de-emphasizing work orientation and work centrality. In sharp contrast to expectations, Chinese parents were the most individualistic and the least concerned about extrinsic and

career enhancement job values. These findings appear to contradict the convergence theory. Do these findings support the divergence or crossvergence theory?

Why are Chinese parents more individualistic and less motivated by extrinsic and career enhancement job values? A second and closer look at China's socioeconomic development in the 1970s and 1980s may give some hints about the answer to this question. During the 1970s and 1980s, the Cultural Revolution swept through China. One of the goals of the Cultural Revolution was to destroy all educational and cultural capital. Consequently, Confucian values, which emphasized family relationships and collectivism, were eradicated. Furthermore, given such societal instabilities, people might have developed more self-enhancement and survival values (Egri & Ralston, 2004; Inglehart, 1997), which are related to individualism. The Cultural Revolution may have contributed to the high degree of individualism in China, despite its low economic development.

The distinct Chinese HR practices of the past may partly explain the disregard of extrinsic and career enhancement job values among Chinese parents. In the past, Chinese workers were accustomed to the "three irons" (iron rice bowl, iron chair, and iron wages), referring to employment, promotion, and wages that were all fixed and pre-defined (Ding and Warner, 2001). As extrinsic and career enhancement factors were pre-defined, Chinese parents were unconcerned about these issues. Also, they might not have been aware that training and individual performance appraisals would help them boost their careers. Furthermore, career paths and related career enhancement factors might be very different in Chinese state-owned companies compared to private companies (Goodall & Warner, 1997). In other words, Chinese parents might simply have held different understandings of career enhancement factors.

Not only the situation in China, but also those in Japan and Korea may have contributed to the surprising finding that Japanese and Korean parents rated extrinsic and career enhancement job values more highly. Both Japan and Korea have experienced dramatic economic recessions during the last decade resulting in massive job losses and a flexible job market (Ahmadjian & Robinson 2001; Bae & Rowley, 2001). As job losses mark critical events in people's lives, Japanese and Korean parents might have realized the importance of extrinsic and career enhancement job values, which provide them some protection from job losses.

The additional explanations may partly explain the surprising results. Overall, the findings point to the fact that socioeconomic contexts have profound impacts on the development of work values. At this point, whether the convergence theory is appropriate for the surveyed sample remains an issue of speculation. However, the findings and the additional explanations make the divergence theory an unlikely explanation for the observed findings. The truth might lie somewhere in between convergence and crossvergence theory.

6.3.2. The University Student Generation

In order to test whether general values differed across countries, I conducted MANCOVA followed by ANCOVA/ANOVA if differences were determined to be significant. The MANCOVA tests revealed that the general values differed significantly across countries (Pillai's Trace = 0.30, F = 30.24, df = 8, p < 0.001; Hotelling's Trace = 0.42, F = 35.09 df = 8, p < 0.001). Gender, age, academic year, social class identification, and household income were included as control variables. Among the control variables, only gender (Pillai's Trace = 0.04, F = 6.37, df = 4, p < 0.001; Hotelling's Trace = 0.04, F = 6.37 df = 4, p < 0.001) had a

statistically significant effect. Parameter estimates showed that gender had a significant impact on individualism (beta = -0.12, t = -3.04, p = 0.002), risk aversion (beta = 0.18, t = 2.41, p = 0.016), and work orientation (beta = 0.16, t = 2.38 p = 0.018). In other words, female students were less individualistic, more risk averse, and more willing to work. Whereas the first two relationships confirm common stereotypes, the evident relationship that female students are more willing to work is slightly surprising. Gender was included in subsequent univariate analysis (ANCOVA). Otherwise, all other control variables were dropped in subsequent analysis.

Subsequent ANCOVA revealed statistically significant differences in all general values across countries (see Table 53). Surprisingly, Chinese students were the most individualistic, significantly more individualistic than Korean students, and Korean students were significantly more individualistic than were Japanese students. One reason for this surprising finding might be that (almost) all Chinese students are only children because of the one-child policy that was introduced in China in 1979. Only children might be more self-centered and individualistic (Blake, 1981). In order to counter this claim I conducted the same analysis but included the number of siblings and alternatively a dummy variable for only children as a control variable. However, no statistical differences were found indicating that the one-child policy had little to do with the higher degree of individualism among Chinese students. Overall, hypothesis 5a needs to be rejected.

As expected, affluent Japanese students were the least money oriented, providing support for hypothesis 5b. Contrary to expectations (hypothesis 5c), Chinese university students were less work oriented than were their Japanese and Korean counterparts.

Interestingly, Japanese students were most risk averse, followed by Korean students and Chinese students.

Table 54: Comparison of university students' general values across countries

	Japan Mean	Korea Mean	China Mean	F	Sig.	Pairwise comparisons*
Individualism	3.60	3.75	4.18	101.26	0.000	J < K < C
Risk aversion	3.62	3.25	3.01	28.16	0.000	J > K > C
Money orientation	3.42	3.59	3.67	17.84	0.000	J < K, C
Work orientation	2.53	2.69	2.22	19.20	0.000	J, K > C

Note: n = 243, 164, 300 for Japan, Korea, and China; J = Japan, K = Korea, C = China

　　　* pairwise comparisons that were significant at the p = 0.05 level

In addition to comparing mean values across countries, I also examined the ranks of job values within countries (see Table 54). For Chinese and Korean students, individual performance appraisals were the most important criterion, whereas Japanese students ranked work atmosphere highest (individual performance appraisal was only the third most important job value). Job content and work atmosphere were ranked highly among university students from all countries. Interestingly, Korean students valued pay highly (rank 2), while it was much less important for Chinese and Japanese students (rank 7 and rank 5, respectively). Chinese university students ranked advancement opportunities highly (rank 3), whereas this was unimportant for Japanese and Korean students (rank 8 and rank 7, respectively).

The last row of Table 54 shows the average mean value and standard deviations of all ten job values per country. Two important conclusions can be drawn. First, the fact that the average means of job values were almost the same (4.07, 4.07, and 4.03) provides strong support that no cross-country response bias influenced the findings of the statistical analysis.

Cross-country response bias refers to different response styles across countries. For instance, Americans are more likely to respond more positively than are Japanese respondents (Kitayama et al., 1997; Lincoln, 1989), which would be reflected in higher overall mean values. Cross-country response appears not to be a problem inherent in this study. Second, relatively similar standard deviations assuage potential suspicions about different heterogeneity across the different samples. During one of the conferences at which I presented these findings, a member of the audience voiced the suspicion that the samples were not comparable because most of the students from Fudan and Yonsei universities might have come from the greater Shanghai area and Seoul, respectively, whereas a significant number of Waseda University students might reside outside Tokyo. Rural and urban people may hold different values (e.g., Ralston et al., 1999). No question in the questionnaire was included that tested this assumption. If the students had come from more diverse regions, then it might be expected that Waseda students had more diverse values than students at Fudan or Yonsei universities. However, as no significant differences in terms of standard deviation were observed, this problem seems to be of minimal concern.

Table 55: Overview of university students' work values across countries

	Japan (n=243)			Korea (n=163)			China (n=300)		
	Rank	Mean	SD	Rank	Mean	SD	Rank	Mean	SD
Extrinsic									
Pay	5	4.18	0.86	2	4.28	0.74	7	4.11	0.60
Job security	4	4.37	0.75	5	4.03	0.76	8	4.00	0.82
Career enhancement									
Reputation	9	3.27	1.17	8	3.95	0.77	5	4.17	0.80
Advancement	8	3.91	0.96	7	3.98	0.74	3	4.29	0.67
Training	6	4.11	0.91	5	4.03	0.79	6	4.16	0.80
Performance	3	4.50	0.70	1	4.37	0.64	1	4.55	0.63
Quality of work									
Major	10	3.07	1.18	9	3.80	1.02	10	2.91	1.16
Job content	2	4.63	0.63	3	4.21	0.74	3	4.29	0.75
Work atmosphere	1	4.68	0.58	4	4.18	0.68	2	4.35	0.75
Working hours	7	4.01	0.90	10	3.85	0.81	9	3.51	0.98
Average		4.07	0.86		4.07	0.77		4.03	0.80

In order to test the mean value differences of the ten job values, I conducted MANCOVA and subsequent ANCOVA. The MANCOVA tests revealed that job values differed significantly across countries (Pillai's Trace = 0.51, F = 23.21, df = 20, p < 0.001; Hotelling's Trace = 0.74, F = 24.91 df = 20, p < 0.001). Among the control variables, gender (Pillai's Trace = 0.03, F = 1.89, df = 10, p = 0.044; Hotelling's Trace = 0.03, F = 1.89 df = 10, p = 0.044) and academic year (Pillai's Trace = 0.06, F = 4.29, df = 10, p < 0.001; Hotelling's Trace = 0.06, F = 4.29 df = 10, p < 0.01) had significant effects. Parameter estimates showed that gender had a significant effect on job content (beta = 0.12, t = 2.04, p = 0.04), thus implying that female students placed more emphasis on job content than their male counterparts did. Academic year had a significant impact on pay (beta = -0.12, t = -3.07, p = 0.002), implying that senior students paid less attention to pay. Further, senior students paid

more attention to training opportunities (beta = -0.15, t = -3.16, p = 0.002) but were less concerned whether their university major would correspond with their future job (beta = -0.18, t = -2.90, p = 0.004). These significant effects were taken into account when computing subsequent univariate tests (ANCOVA/ANOVA). Non-significant control variables were eliminated in subsequent univariate tests.

As sample sizes differed in the three countries, I computed ten separate Bonferroni-adjusted ANCOVA tests for each of the job values. Except for training, all job values were significantly different across countries (see Table 55). No hypothesis postulated significant differences in extrinsic job values. However, Korean students were found to be more sensitive to pay, and Japanese students were more concerned with job security than were their counterparts in the other countries. Hypothesis 5d predicted that Chinese university students valued career enhancement more highly than did Korean and Japanese students. Indeed, the Chinese students valued corporate reputation, advancement opportunities, and individual performance appraisals most importantly compared to Japanese and Korean students. Only training did not show any significant differences across countries. Taken together, hypothesis 5d is largely confirmed. As expected, Japanese students placed more emphasis on quality of work job values than did Chinese students. Japanese students valued job content, work atmosphere and work hours more highly than Chinese students. Thus, hypothesis 5e can be partly confirmed. Interestingly, Korean university students, in contrast to Japanese and Chinese students, considered university major as an important job value. Personal communications with Korean, Japanese, and Chinese students revealed that university major plays only a minor role in China and Japan when looking for a first job, but is an important criterion in Korea. For instance, only students majoring in Business Administration or Economics have good chances to join a bank in Korea. Consequently, Business

Administration is experiencing high demand in Korea.

Table 56: Comparisons of students' job values across countries

	Japan Mean	Korea Mean	China Mean	F	Sig.	Pairwise comparisons*
Extrinsic						
Pay	4.18	4.28	4.11	2.27	0.014	K > C
Job security	4.37	4.03	4.00	16.72	0.000	J > K, C
Career enhancement						
Reputation	3.27	3.95	4.17	63.83	0.000	J < K, C
Advancement	3.91	3.98	4.29	17.51	0.000	J, K < C
Training	4.11	4.03	4.16	2.31	0.099	
Performance	4.50	4.37	4.55	3.97	0.019	C > K
Quality of work						
Major	3.07	3.80	2.91	40.53	0.000	J, C < K
Job content	4.63	4.21	4.29	23.32	0.000	J > C, K
Work atmosphere	4.68	4.18	4.35	30.42	0.000	J > C > K
Working hours	4.01	3.85	3.51	20.94	0.000	J, K > C

Note: n = 243, 164, 300 for Japan, Korea, and China; J = Japan, K = Korea, C = China

   * pairwise comparisons that were significant at the p = 0.05 level

In order to test whether life goals (work centrality) differed across countries, I computed a Chi square test. Since only very few students chose living abroad, religious beliefs, or national betterment as their most important life goals, I combined these categories into a new category labeled "other." Overall, life goals differed significantly across countries (Pearson Chi-Square = 175.975, df = 8, p < 0.001). The comparison of the life goal career and occupation is the main variable of interest when comparing work centrality. A much higher percentage of Chinese students than Japanese students (46.7% versus 18.9%, adjusted residual = -6.4 versus 5.7) chose career and occupation as their primary life goal. This provides support for hypothesis 5f. The investigation of the other life goals may provide additional

relevant information. Korean students emphasized lots of money (adjusted residual = 3.6 versus -2.1) and family relationships (adjusted residual = 2.1 versus -2.1) more than Japanese students. That Korean students emphasized the life goal lots of money corroborates with the finding that they were also more money oriented (general value) than Japanese students. Japanese students valued leisure more highly than their Korean and Chinese counterparts did (adjusted residual = 12.1, -3.3, -8.8, respectively). That Japanese students emphasized leisure activities corresponds to their emphasis on quality of work job values.

Table 57: Comparison of work centrality across countries

		Country			Total
		Japan	China	Korea	
Career	Count	46.0	140.0	60.0	246.0
	Expected Count	84.6	104.4	57.1	246.0
	% within Country	18.9	46.7	36.6	34.8
	Adjusted Residual	-6.4	5.7	0.5	
Money	Count	7.0	13.0	18.0	38.0
	Expected Count	13.1	16.1	8.8	38.0
	% within Country	2.9	4.3	11.0	5.4
	Adjusted Residual	-2.1	-1.1	3.6	
Family	Count	61.0	92.0	60.0	213.0
	Expected Count	73.2	90.4	49.4	213.0
	% within Country	25.1	30.7	36.6	30.1
	Adjusted Residual	-2.1	0.3	2.1	
Leisure	Count	110.0	14.0	18.0	142.0
	Expected Count	48.8	60.3	32.9	142.0
	% within Country	45.3	4.7	11.0	20.1
	Adjusted Residual	12.1	-8.8	-3.3	
Other	Count	19.0	41.0	8.0	68.0
	Expected Count	23.4	28.9	15.8	68.0
	% within Country	7.8	13.7	4.9	9.6
	Adjusted Residual	-1.2	3.1	-2.3	
Total	Count	243.0	300.0	164.0	707.0
	Expected Count	243.0	300.0	164.0	707.0
	% within Country	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Discussion of Findings

Significant differences in work values were observed across the three different samples of Japanese, Chinese, and Korean university students. These differences would

support the divergence theory that different countries retain different values, which do not change over time (Cole, 1973; Dunphy, 1987; Hofstede, 2001). However, several of these differences seem to follow a certain pattern corresponding to the convergence theory. Corresponding to the economic stages of these countries, Chinese students were more money oriented, placed greater emphasis on career enhancement, and pursued career and occupations as their primary life goal. In contrast, Japanese students emphasized quality of work and the pursuit of leisure activities as their primary life goal. Korean students, whose economy lies somewhere in between Japan and China, often held work values that fell somewhere in between these two extremes. In summary, these differences in general values, work values, and work centrality seem to reflect the different economic stages of these three countries and provide support for the convergence theory (Inglehart, 1998).

However, some differences were observed in directions opposite of what was expected. Surprisingly, Chinese university students were more individualistic and less work oriented than were Japanese and Korean university students. Whereas Hofstede (2001) found Japanese more individualistic than (Taiwanese) Chinese, recent research indicated that Chinese were highly individualistic (Egri & Ralston, 2004; Ralston et al., 1999; Ralston et al., 2006). Ralston and colleagues (2006) argued that the Chinese have become so individualistic because they underwent such radical economic growth and social change. During focus group interviews, one Chinese student even mentioned that socioeconomic changes were so rapid that every new intake of university students would represent a completely new generation of people. During times of radical change, which may pose individual opportunities but also threats and challenges, people might become more individualistic (also see Egri & Ralston, 2004).

The rapid social and economic changes in China were largely driven by Western influence, whereas Japan and Korea tried to protect themselves from foreign influence (Baek, 2005). Chinese students also might have been receptive to Western influence and developed values that were more Western in nature, including individualism (Lee, 2008b). Related data that was collected during this research project support the notion that Chinese students were more receptive to foreign influence. For instance, Chinese students spoke better English, consumed more foreign media products, and read more foreign news than did Japanese and Korean students.

Several classmates and also some scholars who listened to my findings reasoned that Chinese university students of today are more individualistic because they are all "only children" due to the one-child policy introduced by China in 1979. There is a widespread stereotype that such only children might be more self-centered and individualistic (Blake, 1981). However, scientific studies, including those conducted in China, have debunked this myth (e.g. Fuligni & Zhang, 2004; Veenhoven & Verkuyten, 1989). Also, the deliberate additional statistical tests conducted in this study did not provide any support to the assertion that only children were more individualistic. The findings may further warn us of the danger and unfairness of such stereotypes (Bakken, 1993).

A legitimate reason why Chinese students were more individualistic may lie in the different conceptualization of individualism in this study. The general value individualism in this study was related to willingness to work in teams (Earley, 1989; Singelis, 1994) and not to collectivistic family relationships (Inglehart, 1998). In fact, Japanese students were less concerned with family relationships than were Chinese or Korean students (in line with Inglehart's convergence theory). On the other hand, willingness to work in teams (low

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individualism) might be higher in Japan and Korea. Teamwork and team projects are common and integral parts of Korean and Japanese schools, universities, and companies (Chung et al., 1997; Lee, Chang, & Lim, 2005; Keaten, Kelly, & Pribyl, 1997). Thus, it is understandable that individualism as defined in this study was higher among Chinese students than among Japanese and Korean students.

The other surprising finding was that Chinese students were less work oriented. Although the majority of Chinese university students chose career and occupation as their primary life goal, they rated themselves as not particularly work oriented. This contradicts the common understanding that career oriented people need to work hard in order to achieve their career goals. In personal communications, several Chinese scholars and students explained this surprising finding as follows: Most Chinese make a distinction between working for a company and working for themselves. While Chinese students expressed their desire to study and work hard if it was for their own purpose, they were unwilling to work hard for a company. In fact, Chinese employees prefer predictable work hours when working for foreign MNC (Korea Times, 2008a). When Chinese students read the work orientation items used in this survey, such as "I am willing to work overtime" they may have placed this in the context of working for a company and thus gave low ratings. Another reason might be that capitalistic thoughts and related understandings of careers emerged only recently China. While it is common (and commonly understood) that people have to work long hours in Japan and Korea, if they wanted to work for major companies and pursue their careers, this relation might be unknown to Chinese students.

6.4. Integrative Comparisons

Having tested and discussed work value differences across Japan, Korea, and China, and within each of these countries between different generations, I attempt to integrate the various findings in this section. This overview and discussion may help provide a better understanding of the convergence, divergence, and crossvergence debate.

According to the convergence theory (Inglehart, 1998; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005), massive changes in work values can be expected during the industrialization phase. The intergenerational comparison within China and the cross-country comparison of the parents' generation reflect differences in line with industrialization. In fact, the statistical analyses of the two substudies revealed striking work value differences (see Table 57). Further, these differences occurred largely in the expected direction. Consideration of historical events (Cultural Revolution) helped explain the somewhat surprising finding that Chinese parents were more individualistic than Japanese and Korean parents.

Table 58: Integrative comparison of general and job value changes

	Japan (n = 466)	Korea (n = 328)	China (n = 600)	Parents (n = 707)	Students (n = 707)
General values					
Individualism	+		+	J < K < C	J < K < C
Risk aversion		—	—	J, K > C	J > K > C
Money orientation		+	—	J, K < C	J < K, C
Work orientation			—	J < C, K	J, K > C
Job values					
Extrinsic					
Pay				J, K > C	K > C
Job security		—	—	J > C	J > K, C
Career enhancement					
Corporate reputation				J < C, K	J < C, K
Advancement			+	J, C < K	J, K < C
Training	+		+	J, K > C	
Performance				J > C, K	C > K
Quality of work					
Major			—	J, C < K	J, C < K
Job content				J > C, K	J > C, K
Work atmosphere	+		+	J > C, K	J > C > K
Working hours				J, K > C	J, K > C
Total F or t values	40.38	18.95	170.48	287.37	388.28

While massive changes in work values were expected during the early industrialization stage, the following economic development stages were expected to produce fewer changes in work values. The cross-country comparisons between university students in Japan, Korea, and China, as well as the intergenerational comparisons within Japan and Korea demonstrate work value changes that occurred after industrialization. In fact, very few work value differences were observed in the intergenerational comparisons within Japan and Korea,

thus partly confirming the expectations (see Table 57). However, when comparing the work values of undergraduate students across countries, pronounced differences were observed.

Even more interesting was the fact that differences in work values were more pronounced in the university students' generation than in the parents' generation. As an indicator of general and job value differences, I calculated the sum of all F-values of ANCOVA analyses for each general and job value item (bottom row, Table 57). The combined F-values for university students were significantly higher than those for parents (388.28 versus 287.37). According to the convergence theory, we would expect the opposite — a decrease in value difference (convergence of values). Thus, hypothesis 6 must be rejected.

Rather than a convergence of values, a divergence of values seems to have taken place. When comparing the significant differences of the parents' and students' samples, it becomes apparent that the order of importance of several general and job values has changed (highlighted in Table 57). To be more specific, the algebraic sign larger/smaller has changed for money orientation, work orientation, and advancement opportunities. This could have two reasons. First, values have developed in different directions. In the case of money orientation, it is evident statistically that Korean students have become more money oriented than their parents, whereas Chinese students have become less money oriented. At first glance, this might support the divergence theory (DiMaggio, 1994; Hofstede, 2001). However, the intergenerational comparisons within Korea and China are associated with different stages of socioeconomic developments (postindustrialization in Korea, industrialization in China). As discussed in chapters 2 and 4, value change may unfold differently according to the change in socioeconomic development. Second, values could remain stable in one country, whereas such values might change significantly in another. In fact, values have remained relatively

stable between generations in Japan and Korea—both postindustrialized countries—whereas drastic changes have occurred in China, which recently passed beyond industrialization. Inglehart and Welzel (2005: 19) made a similar observation and termed it "cultural change is path depending," implying that value change follows a similar path but may start at different points. For instance, Chinese parents were already more individualistic than Korean and Japanese parents. In the process of industrialization, Chinese university students have become more individualistic, further widening the gap with Koreans and Japanese.

7. IMPLICATIONS, LIMITATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The empirical findings have indicated mixed conclusions. While the intergenerational comparison of work values in China showed striking changes, stability of work values was apparent in Japan and Korea. Then again, substantial differences were observed across Japan, Korea, and China. In the previous chapter, I have provided ample explanations for these observations. In the next section of this final chapter, I offer further theoretical explanations and implications. Then, I present practical implications based on the empirical findings. As no study is free of limitation, I also discuss those found in this dissertation. Finally, a conclusion section completes this dissertation.

7.1. Implications

The two main purposes of this study were to shed further light onto the convergence-divergence-crossvergence debate, and to provide practical implications. The empirical data has provided important insights. In the next subsection, I discuss the findings and offer theoretical implications. In the second subsection, I provide an outlook for the economies of Japan, Korea, and China. In the third subsection, I offer managerial recommendations for MNCs operating in Japan, Korea, and China.

7.1.1. Theoretical Implications

The empirical data has shown interesting patterns. Striking differences in work values were found across Japan, Korea, and China when comparing the parents' and university students' generations. Also, intergenerational comparison within China, which has been in the

midst of a transformation from a poor agrarian country to an industrialized nation, showed pronounced differences in work values. Most of the differences were in line with expected changes associated with the convergence theory (Inglehart, 1998, Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). In contrast, in the relatively stable countries of Japan and Korea, few work value differences were observed. In conclusion, the findings largely support the notion of the convergence theory in that socioeconomic developments have strong impacts on values. To put it the other way around, the findings clearly contradict the divergence theory, which posits that no value change would take place.

The different degrees of change observed in the various sub-studies point to another important conclusion: Value change may take place at different speeds (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Ralston et al., 1999), according to different stages of economic and socio-cultural development. Change in work values seems more profound in times of industrialization and rapid social transformation.

Several work value differences were somewhat surprising. For instance, Chinese parents were more individualistic than Koreans and Japanese. This is in contrast to the convergence theory, which posits that people in more economically countries would be expected to be more individualistic. Also, Ralston and colleagues (Egri & Ralston, 2004; Ralston et al., 1997; Ralston et al., 1999) found that Chinese people were very individualistic. Similar to this study, Ralston and colleagues found that some work values differences conformed to the convergence theory, while other work value differences were surprising. Based on their observations, Ralston and colleagues labeled these observed work value differences *crossvergence*. However, before drawing a similarly premature conclusion, let us recall the revised version of the convergence theory (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). Even

Inglehart and Welzel observed similar confirming and surprising results related to value change. Based on cross-sectional and longitudinal data, Inglehart offered a revised version of the convergence theory. While insisting on the notion that values change according to socioeconomic development, he added the notion that value change is path dependent, implying that value change follows a similar path, but that the journey may begin at different points. Remember the example of individualism in China. It is true that Chinese parents were more individualistic than Koreans and Japanese despite China's lower economic stage. However, in line with the convergence theory, Chinese university students have become more individualistic. Perhaps Chinese are simply more individualistic than Japanese and Koreans due to their historical background (Chinese Cultural Revolution). Ralston and colleagues (1997), and Inglehart and Welzel (2005) agree that cultural heritage has a profound and lasting impact on the formation of values. Also, perhaps Ralston's crossvergence and Inglehart's revised convergence theories are not radically different. Whether the observations made in this study can be better attributed to the convergence or crossvergence theory remains arguable. Nevertheless, this study shows that scholars should be careful before prematurely refuting the convergence theory and asserting the crossvergence theory as an alternative. In particular, the cross-sectional data appears insufficient in its ability to provide comprehensive answers to this question.

In addition to economic development stage and cultural heritage, the study has revealed various other factors that affect work values. Some of the control variables showed significant effects and should be taken into account in future studies, particularly if only moderate sample sizes or non-representative samples are involved. Previous studies also found significant relations between demographic variables, such as age or gender, and work values (e.g. Halaby, 2003; Hofstede, 2001; Ralston et al., 2001). For instance, Ralston and

colleagues found that males were more individualistic than females (Ralston et al. 1999). The findings in this study largely confirm those of previous studies. These earlier studies tend to include those demographic data only as control variables, without further analyzing them (for an exception, see Halaby, 2003; Loscocco & Kalleberg, 1988). Unfortunately, analyzing the impacts of demographic variables was also outside the scope of this study. Gender showed some interesting effects in this study. For instance, Chinese females rated almost all job values as more important than their male counterparts. Future studies are encouraged to test the influence of demographic variables across countries and between generations.

Although this study could not prove this empirically, the findings hint at the fact that radical transition from Communist management practices towards capitalistic practices, economic recessions, and transformations from rigid to flexible labor markets have profound impacts on work values. While these changes may also affect other domains of values, they seem particularly important in the domain of work values. Inglehart and Welzel (2005) already demonstrated that the transition from Communism to capitalism and an economic collapse may lead to a retrogression of values. In a related study, Kim (2004) reported a value crisis due to the Asian economic crisis. Further, Chang (2003) found that job losses due to economic recession and increasingly flexible labor markets may result in lower job satisfaction and organizational commitment among Korean workers. The findings of this study indicate that people affected by these phenomena tend to emphasize extrinsic and career enhancement job values in order to be more employable. Future studies may shed more light on these issues.

Triangulation also facilitated an understanding of the findings. Triangulation of different research strategies (quantitative and qualitative research strategies) was particular

useful when explaining the surprising results. Follow-up interviews confirmed these findings and helped to explain the sometimes-surprising findings of the statistical data analysis; e.g., the surprisingly low work orientation of Chinese students. The inclusion of various work value constructs (triangulation from within) improved our understanding of work values. Statistical analysis revealed that general values, job values, and work centrality were partly related, yet were distinctly different constructs. Examining only a narrow set of work values may lead to premature conclusions and limited practical implications. It is recommended that future studies make more use of triangulation.

7.1.2. Macroeconomic Implications

Inglehart (1998, 2002), and Granato and colleagues (1996) found that values can predict economic growth. To offer some predictions for future economic growth, let us take a second look at the work values of Asia's future leaders, the Japanese, Korean, and Chinese students of elite universities. In countries such as Japan, Korea, and China, graduates from a few elite universities usually assume positions of power in politics and corporations (Chang & Chang, 1994, Chen, 1995; Cutts, 1995). Inglehart (1990) found that values of highly educated people to be good indicators of economic and political change. Whereas Japanese students are more risk averse, concerned with preserving their status (high importance of job security), and prioritizing leisure activities, Chinese students are more willing to take risks, more interested in advancement opportunities, and prioritize career and occupation as their primary goals in life. Korean students are somewhere in between. In addition, Korean students emphasize the importance of money.

Over the last few years, China has achieved an annual economic growth of at least 10%. Based on the analysis of work values, I predict that rapid economic growth will

continue in China, given the importance Chinese students place on career and their willingness to take risks, both of which are important in developing new businesses. Given that Korean students also have a high sense of career and money orientation, and are likely to devote their efforts in achieving these goals, I expect Korea to prosper for the next few decades. The motivation for economic growth might be further spurred by the current government. Myung-bak Lee, the president of Korea, announced recently the ambitious goal to achieve a GDP per capita of $40,000 USD (double the present amount) within a decade (Korea Times, 2008b). The work values of Japanese students have developed towards postmaterialistic values; that is, placing emphasis on quality of life and de-emphasizing work achievements (Inglehart, 1998). In a way, it seems that Japanese university students are satisfied with their current situation and do not seek challenges. This does not necessarily imply that there will be no future economic growth, though I am less optimistic about Japan when compared to China and Korea (also see *The Economist*, 2005).

7.1.3. Managerial Implications

Work values are related to HR practices (McGaughey & De Cieri, 1999; Ngo et al., 1998), job choice decisions (Cable & Judge, 1994; Cable & Judge, 1996; Turban et al., 2001), and work attitudes (Kalleberg, 1977; Kanungo, 1982; Kirkman & Shapiro, 2001). For MNCs, it is important to understand the work values of the current and future workforce in order to design a HRM system capable of attracting and retaining people (Ng & Burke, 2006). According to the person-organization fit theory (Kristof, 1996), people are attracted to organizations if they perceive a match between their personal values and the prevalent values and HR practices of the organization (Cable & Judge, 1994; Cable & Judge, 1996; Turban et al., 2001). Some may quit if they realize the organization's values differ from their own, thus

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resulting in a relatively homogenous workforce (Schneider, 1987).

If work values are relatively similar across countries, MNCs can offer a standardized HRM system that would attract and retain people equally, regardless of the country. A standardized approach may reduce cost (Bartlett & Ghoshal, 1992) and simplify international employee transfers between countries. However, if work values differ across countries, a standardized one size fits all approach may scare off future employees while it causes current employees to be disgruntled. In such a case, MNCs would be better advised to tailor HRM systems to local conditions. Convergence of work values may allow a standardization of HR practices, whereas divergence of work values would recommend a differentiation of HR practices.

The discussion for this study concluded that the divergence theory does not explain work value differences across Japan, Korea, and China. However, assuming the findings can be explained by the convergence theory, no convergence of work values has been reached—yet. Work values differ significantly across countries, both for the parents' and students' generations. Thus, MNCs are advised to be careful when designing HRM strategies for this region, and they should consider carefully the cross-cultural differences observed in this study. The following recommendations that are more specific can be advanced.

Japanese parents as well as university students were much more concerned with quality of work and life issues than their Korean and Chinese counterparts. Japanese parents and students emphasized the importance of job content, work atmosphere and work hours. Furthermore, almost 50% of Japanese university students chose pursuing leisure activities as their primary goal in life. In contrast, leisure played virtually no role for the Chinese; instead,

Chinese parents and students considered career and occupation their most important life goals. Related to this, Chinese students emphasized the importance of advancement opportunities more so than Japanese and Korean students. Thus, if an MNC intends to motivate its employees in Japan, Korea, and China it may need to select different strategies. While MNCs may offer flexible time arrangements and more holidays in Japan, such incentives might be of little relevance to Chinese employees; instead, MNC might better motivate Chinese employees by offering better career advancement opportunities. In fact, several companies seem to have recognized the career-hungry spirit of their Chinese workforce and offer fast-track career development for talented staff (Han & Froese, submitted; Hassard et al., 2004; Wharton, 2005).

Chinese parents and students were found to be more individualistic than Koreans, and Koreans were more individualistic than Japanese. That may partly explain the higher employee turnover rates in China and Korea compared to Japan, because individualistic people tend to show less loyalty to employers (Cohen & Keren, 2008; Chiu, 1999). Furthermore, more individualistic people prefer rewards that are based on effort (Leung & Iwawaki, 1988). While MNCs may assign more teamwork tasks and team or company-based performance rewards to their Japanese employees, MNCs in China may prefer to emphasize individual assignments and rewards based on individual performance.

Medium to high correlations between risk aversion and job security were observed in this study, implying that risk aversion is closely related to job security. Japanese parents and students were more risk averse and placed more importance on job security than did their Chinese counterparts. People who are more risk averse are less likely to join foreign companies (Turban et al., 2001), because foreign companies might be less well known and

entail more uncertainties. In fact, foreign companies are not particularly popular in Japan (Ono, 2007), while they are among the most preferred employers in China (http://edu.sina.com). If foreign companies in Japan hope to attract more people, they might improve their image to counter such uncertainty and offer better job security. Robinson (2003) offers further insights into how to recruit people in Japan. A higher willingness to take risk may also suggest that MNCs could offer more performance-based rewards and appraisals in China as mentioned above.

Money orientation and monetary incentives have also been a controversial issue. The Chinese have often been stereotyped in the foreign press as money driven. Anecdotes about corrupt Chinese government officials who have stolen the pensions of millions of compatriots to enrich themselves have circulated frequently[27]. Also, Tang and Chiu (2003) found that love of money among (Hong Kong) Chinese is related to unethical behavior. In this study, Chinese parents and students were found to be more money oriented than Koreans and Japanese. However, considering the other money related constructs provides a better picture. Koreans were most concerned with pay, and more than 10% of them chose lots of money as their primary life goal. In contrast, almost no Japanese or Chinese chose money as their primary life goal. Further, pay was only the seventh most important job value among ten possible choices for Chinese students. Overall, the findings of the statistical data do not support the notion that Chinese can be better motivated by money than Japanese or Koreans. I conducted further interviews with Chinese university students, white-collar workers, and HR managers to understand more about the importance of monetary incentives. Those interviews confirmed

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[27] For instance, Chen Liangyu, Shanghai's Communist Party chief, was dismissed because he and the "Shanghai clique" allegedly helped loot Shanghai's pension fund of hundreds of millions of dollars (e.g., Washington Post, 2006).

that money and pay play only minor roles for highly educated people. Several white-collar workers and HR managers made the point clearly that money is only a hygiene factor (Herzberg, 1943) rather than a motivator. The following quotation by an HR manager at Siemens VDO, a German automotive company, may illustrate that factors other than money are more important:

> All the time, I can see that people receive phone calls from headhunters being offered 50% and more salary increase if they switched to another Chinese competitor or another foreign company. However, they stay with us. They would never switch to a Chinese company. Only if it is another major MNE such as General Motors they might leave.

In conclusion, monetary rewards cannot be regarded as the key motivating factor for Chinese employees. Foreign companies should focus instead on other factors, such as individual performance appraisals and advancement opportunities in order to attract and retain their potential and current Chinese white-collar workers. Monetary rewards might be more important in Korea.

To this point, I have referred primarily to cross-country differences. Beyond those, I also provide recommendations based on intergenerational differences. The comparison of work values between Japanese university students and parents has revealed only minor changes. This is in stark contrast to media reports and claims made by consulting companies. Given the similarity of work values, it seems unlikely that the new generation would demand a sudden shift in HRM practices. If changes in work values have taken place in Japan that would justify changes to traditional Japanese HR practices thus making them similar to the American approach, such changes might have taken place a generation earlier (Odaka, 1975), but not during the last 20 years. Such speculations are beyond the scope of this study. Based

on the findings of this study, recent changes towards more "Americanized" HR practices cannot be based on accompanying changes in work values. However, if the current HRM system does not adequately correspond to the values of Japanese managers, we would expect that the current generation of managers, together with the upcoming generation, will be able to implement changes smoothly, since they hold similar values.

Likewise, the work value differences between Korean university students and parents have been modest. The Korean labor market has become increasingly flexible. Whereas the parents' generation might have suffered from the Asian crisis and an increasingly flexible labor market, the younger generation seems comfortable and ready to succeed in this new environment. MNCs may find ways to offer their senior employees more (perceived) job security, but other than that, no major modifications in HR practices seem necessary.

Work value differences were very pronounced between Chinese parents and Chinese university students. Such drastic changes would likewise demand drastic changes in the HRM system and indeed, major transformations have already taken place. Foreign companies have often aggressively transferred their HR practices into their subsidiaries in China, and a few modern Chinese companies eagerly adopted those practices (Ding & Warner, 2001; Lu & Bjorkman, 1997; Hassard et al., 2004). The traditional Chinese HRM system of the "three irons," referring to a system comprised of iron rice bowl, iron chair, and iron wages— meaning employment, promotion and wages were guaranteed and pre-defined—might be a relict of the past (Ding & Warner, 2001). According to the findings of this study, Chinese university students are individualistic and willing to accept risk while emphasizing the importance of individual performance appraisals, work atmosphere, job content, advancement opportunities, and corporate reputation.

7.2. Limitations

The limitations of this study must be addressed to understand better the validity of its findings. At the same, the limitations inherent in this study may show new avenues for future research. The limitations can be categorized into three main areas: sample, cross-sectional design, and reliability of measures.

Sample. This study analyzed the responses of 1,414 Japanese parents, Japanese students, Korean parents, Korean students, Chinese parents, and Chinese students. The sample size is substantially larger than a number of other related studies that were published in reputable journals (e.g., Heuer et al., 1999; Stewart et al., 1999; Tan, 2002). Further, it should be noted that I analyzed primary data and did not rely on secondary data. Collecting large amounts of data is complex, time-consuming and expensive (Neuman, 2000). A grant by the Center of Excellence at the Graduate School of Asia Pacific Studies at Waseda University enabled the collection of data analyzed in this dissertation. Each of the six subsamples included more than 150 responses which permitted multivariate analysis and the inclusion of various control variables. Nevertheless, in order to investigate some variables in greater depth, particular categorical variables, such as blue-collar workers versus white-collar workers, a larger sample size would be necessary. Very little recent work has been conducted on work value differences between blue-collar and white-collar workers. Future studies may collect more data, or employ quota sampling strategies in order to increase the number of relevant respondents to investigate the differences between blue-collar and white-collar workers, as well as a number of other variables.

The samples analyzed in this study might not be representative for Japan, Korea, and China for two reasons. First, I analyzed only the responses of people living in Tokyo, Seoul, and Shanghai. Although I used the terms "Tokyo and Japan," "Seoul and Korea," and "Shanghai and China" almost interchangeably, I do not claim that the observations based on people living in Shanghai, Tokyo and Seoul are representative of their respective countries. Quite the contrary; I am aware that significant differences exist even within single countries (e.g., Ralston et al, 1999). Rather, I used these words interchangeably simply because of convenience, to ensure simplicity and a better understanding. Nevertheless, I assume that work values might be relatively similar in major commercial centers compared to rural areas; e.g., people in Shanghai and Beijing might hold values that are relatively similar compared to those who live in the Western hinterlands. Future studies may look specifically into regional differences.

Second, as outlined in the introduction, the aim was to present the work values of a very specific target group—the young elites of Shanghai, Tokyo, and Seoul, and their parents. The participants of this study are highly educated and possess far higher household incomes than stated in their respective national averages. The majority of respondents represented upper middle class people. Statistical analysis revealed significant effects of education level, household income, and other social status-related variables. The sample size did not allow full considerations of these differences. In summary, the findings largely represent upper middle class people in their respective countries and not the national averages of those countries. However, as one of the main purposes of this dissertation was to develop practical implications for macroeconomic growth and managerial recommendations, the focused investigation of this very specific segment of society may be superior to examining national averages. In countries such as Japan, Korea, and China, highly educated people who have

graduated from a few select, elite universities are most often those who become able to assume positions of power (Chang & Chang, 1994, Chen, 1995; Cutts, 1995) and implement changes. The values of highly educated people are effective indicators of economic and political change (Inglehart, 1990). These people are also the targets of major MNCs (Chang & Chang, 1994, Chen, 1995; Chung, 1997).

Cross-sectional design. Data were collected only at one point in time, during November 2006. Data from different countries and from different generations of people may offer indications related to the convergence, divergence, crossvergence theories (Inglehart, 1998; Ralston et al., 1997). Unfortunately, this type of design does not allow control of the life cycle effects. According to the socialization hypothesis, values are developed during people's childhoods and teenage years, but the same people are relatively resistant to change thereafter (Inglehart, 1998; Jennings & Niemi, 1981). Throughout a person's life cycle, different personal changes may affect their system of values (Clausen & Gilens, 1990; Clausen & Jones, 1998; Helson, Mitchell, & Moane, 1984; Peskin & Livson, 1981). For instance, if people get married and have children, they might emphasize family relationships and de-emphasize work (Clausen & Gilens, 1990).

In order to test the effects of personal change as well as ideological transitions and economic crises, a longitudinal assessment of work values would be necessary (Roberts et al., 2003; Ikels et al., 1992). Theoretically, that would mean that the same individuals should be tracked and asked to complete the same questionnaire at intervals over the course of their lives. However, conducting such longitudinal surveys across generations and countries might be similar to a "utopian research design" (Boehnke, 2001: 241). Even supposing such a longitudinal cross-cultural survey would be possible, longitudinal research design suffers

from inherent methodological challenges which may bias the results (for an overview, see Diggle et al., 2002). A major potential problem is participant dropout rate; i.e., survey respondents may participate in the beginning of the study but not participate in later rounds for various reasons. For instance, people who suddenly lose their jobs and/or change their residence—events which are expected to affect work values—might not be able or willing to answer the same questionnaire. Another potential problem is the practice effect; i.e., people become accustomed to the same questions and try to respond with socially desirable answers. Given the practical challenges (impossibility) and the methodological deficiencies of longitudinal research designs, the cross-sectional design seems acceptable.

I would like to highlight again that this study investigated both cross-country differences and intergenerational differences, and the combination of both investigations increases the power of its conclusions. The matched samples of university students and their parents further permitted the conclusion that work value similarities between Japanese students and parents and Korean students and parents were not due to value transmission between parents and children but due to different "zeitgeist" effects.

Reliability of measures. Most measures used in this study were taken from established measures in the west, e.g. individualism scale from Early (1989). I selected those measures very carefully and chose only those that had been used and validated in at least one of the Asian countries analyzed in this study. If original translations were unavailable, the items of those measures were translated using the back-translation method (Brislin, 1980). In addition, I tested those measures in pilot studies in Japan and China, and made the necessary amendments. Nevertheless, several measures reached only lower levels of reliability after deleting several items and allowing error terms to correlate. In particular, the individualism

measure appears to be problematic. Future studies are warned of the danger of simply adopting western measures. Careful selection of measures, back-translations, pilot tests, and adaptations to the local context are strongly recommended (Farh, Cannella, & Lee, 2006). Another approach would be to develop indigenous scales; however, developing such new scales is a very complex process (see DeVellis, 2003) and usually beyond the scope of a doctoral dissertation.

7.3. Conclusions

This study has provided an updated and in-depth analysis of the work values of university students and their parents in Tokyo, Seoul, and Shanghai. The statistical analysis of 1,414 questionnaire responses revealed striking differences between people across Japan, Korea, and China and between generations within China. On the other hand, work value differences were much less pronounced between the generations in Korea and Japan, which indicates that value change may occur at different speeds per economic stage. Overall, the results largely support the convergence theory in that socioeconomic development influences the development of work values. At the same time, the findings indicate that other individual factors, e.g., gender and occupation, and other macro-level events, such as economic recessions or the Chinese Cultural Revolution, also have profound impacts on work values consistent with the crossvergence theory. I argue that these alleged competing theories can actually be reconciled because both theories include the notion that socioeconomic and other individual factors influence the formation of values.

In addition to increasing our theoretical understanding, the dissertation also had proposed to provide practical implications. In line with the theoretical convergence-

divergence debate, the quest for standardization versus localization has unfolded in management practice. If values and cultures converge, it is argued that companies can offer a standardized one size fits all approach and save money by doing so. Even though the findings largely support the convergence theory, no sufficient convergence of work values has yet taken place. At present and for the next few decades, companies are advised to localize their management practices. This study has offered ample recommendations for how companies can adjust to local conditions in Japan, Korea, and China.

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APPENDIX

Below is the complete questionnaire in its English version, which was used in the large-scale research project "Culture, values and identities across cultures and generations," funded by the Center of Excellence at the Graduate School of Asia Pacific Studies at Waseda University and supervised by Professor Shigeto Sonoda, attached. Only questions Q14, 16-18 and F1-3, 5, 6, 8 and 10 were relevant to this dissertation. The English version was used as the master version to be translated into Japanese, Korean, and Chinese according to the back-translation methodology (Brislin, 1980). However, the English version was never used in the data collection process. The author may provide the original Japanese, Korean, and Chinese questionnaire versions upon request.

Appendix 1: English version of the questionnaire (parents version)

Q1. How often are you exposed to foreign drama, movie, anime? Please check **one** answer for each statement.

	Daily	1-3days per week	1-3days per fortnight	1-3days per month	1-3days in 2 or 3 months	Almost no exposure
Japanese products	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Korean products	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
China (including Hong Kong and Taiwan) products	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Others	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Q2. In the questions below, how often do you carry out the following events? Please check **one** answer for each statement.

	Daily	1-3days per week	1-3days per fortnight	1-3days per month	1-3days in 2 or 3 months	Almost no exposure
Have conversation with foreigners.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Watch or read news media dealing with international issues.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Work with foreigners.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Q3. Through what ways are you exposed to drama, movie, and anime? Please choose only the most common way for each media in the brackets below.

terrestrial television	purchased genuine version DVD or VHS	rental DVD or VHS
satellite television	purchased pirated version DVD or VHS	movie theater
cable television	borrowed DVD or VHS	downloaded media
		not exposed to the media

drama (　　　) **movie** (　　　) **anime** (　　　)

Q4. How do you want **your children to spend their pocket money**? Please choose ☑ **three** from the options below.

☐ food and beverage	☐ CD・DVD・video	☐ sports related
☐ clothes & shoes	☐ cosmetics	☐ private lessons
☐ saving and investment	☐ hobby or collection	☐ books and magazine
☐ communication (handphone etc)	☐ lottery	☐ others:

Q5. The following statements are related to drama, movie, and anime in general. Please check one answer for each statement.

		Strongly agree	agree	In between	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Regardless of its country of origin, I like to watch media programs I find entertaining.	drama	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	movie	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	anime	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Compared to [JP] ones, I prefer to watch [KR] media programs.	drama	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	movie	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	anime	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Compared to [JP] ones, I prefer to watch [CH] media programs	drama	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	movie	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	anime	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Q6. Do you agree to the following statements? Please check .

		Strongly agree	agree	In between	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I like the culture of the following country.	Japan	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Korea	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	USA	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I like the lifestyle portrayed in the media of the following country.	Japan	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Korea	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	USA	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The government should regulate the inflow of media products from the following country	Japan	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Korea	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	USA	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Q7. Do you agree to the following statements? Please check <u>one</u> answer for each statement.

	Strongly agree	agree	In between	Disagree	Strongly disagree
The inflow of foreign popular culture will cause a decline of traditional culture of our country.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to treasure the traditional culture of my own country.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
We should actively seek and accept elements of newer culture, and reform our older culture.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ceremonial occasions (wedding, funeral, festivals, etc) should be celebrated with traditional formalities.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Festal holidays should not be tied to traditional events but be allowed to include other non-traditional activities.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Christmas Eve should be a day to be spent with your partner rather than with your family.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
There are times when I want to believe in religion.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
There are times when I want to believe in fortune-telling.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Q8. Please choose three answers that are most important when you chose your spouse.

☐ love
☐ compatibility in values and beliefs
☐ income, property (land and other financial properties)
☐ family background (place of birth, ethnicity, nationality)
☐ opinion of parents and others
☐ sexual satisfaction
☐ moral character(honesty, decency)

☐ appearance (looks, fashion style)
☐ educational background
☐ occupation/social status
☐ house making/child care ability
☐ chastity
☐ masculinity/femininity

Q9. Please choose   three answers that you think are most important for your children when they choose a prospective spouse.

☐ love   ☐ appearance (looks, fashion style)

☐ compatibility in values and beliefs   ☐ educational background

☐ income, property (land and other financial properties) ☐ occupation/social status

☐ family background (place of birth, ethnicity, nationality) ☐ house making/child care ability

☐ opinion of parents and others   ☐ chastity

☐ sexual satisfaction   ☐ masculinity/femininity

☐ moral character(honesty, decency)

Q10. Do you agree to the following statements? Please choose   one answer for each statement.

	Strongly agree	agree	In between	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I would like my children to get married and have a family in the future.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like my children to cohabitate before getting married.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to have grandchildren in the future.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
If I were to choose my grandchildren, I prefer grandsons over granddaughters.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My relationship with my children can be described as "friend like."	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would like to live with my children, even after they got married.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
One of my goals in life is to work hard so that my parents can be proud of me.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I think of my children as adults.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am confident that my children will lead a bright future.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Our country will enjoy a better future compared with that of our era.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Q11. Do you agree to the following statements? Please check   .

	Strongly agree	agree	In between	Disagree	Strongly disagree
It is unavoidable to sacrifice the family for work to some extent.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Family expense should be borne by both the husband and the wife.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Troubles occur easily when the wife earns more than the husband.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A marriage without producing children is an incomplete one.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Being a fulltime housewife indicates the high capability of the husband.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

I can accept the idea of "fulltime house husband."	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I can accept the idea of cohabiting even if there are no plans to get married.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
"Shot gun marriage" is not a bad idea.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
No matter how imperfect their parents are, the children should always love and respect them.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Parents should give their children the best they can offer, even if it means sacrificing their own happiness.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
It is unnecessary to take care of parents when they grow old, to the extent of sacrificing children's own lifestyle.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Regardless of the parents' opinion, one does not have to be married, if he/she can lead a contented life.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
If there is a situation where my parents and my spouse are pitted against each other, I will most probably side with my parents.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Male and female should behave according to their respective accord of masculinity and femininity.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Q12. When you face anxieties and troubles, to whom do you go to talk to? Please choose the appropriate answers   (multiple answers allowed) from the options below.

☐ do not seek advice ☐ father ☐ mother ☐ husband/wife

☐ children ☐ siblings ☐ other relatives ☐ boyfriend/girlfriend

☐ friend ☐ senior/junior in rank ☐ boss/teacher

☐ pet ☐ others

Q13. In regards to economic responsibility, who should bear:

	Fully borne by parents	Mostly by parents	50% each	Mostly by children	Fully borne by children
Expenses of my children's wedding ceremony and banquet.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Down payment for my children's individual property.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Q14. Do you agree to the following statements? Please check   .

	Strongly agree	agree	In between	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I am a cautious person who generally avoids risks	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am motivated to work hard for money	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Money reinforces me to work harder	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I prefer a low risk/high security job over a job that offers high risks and high rewards	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am not willing to take risks when choosing a job or company to work for	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am highly motivated by money	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Money is a motivator	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Working with a group is better than working alone	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	It is important to me to respect decisions made by the group	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Individuals should be responsible for the successes or failure of work groups	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Each worker should be responsible for the outcomes of his or her company	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	I will sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of the group	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	It is important for me to maintain harmony within my group	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	One does better work working alone than in a group	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	I am always willing to work overtime	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(16)	I live to work	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(17)	I sacrifice my time for work	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(18)	I might switch my job for a better career	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Q15. A company of which country would you want your children to work for? Please **choose 3** and rank them **from 1 (1st choice) to 3 (3rd choice)**.

China	Japan	Korea
USA	Europe	Others

1st ____   2nd ____   3rd ____

Q16. Which things or activities in life would give you the most satisfaction? Please **choose the three** most important to you and rank them **from 1st (most important) to 3rd (3rd most important)**.

Successful career and occupation	Having lots of money	Good family relationships
Comprehensive recreational activities	Living abroad	Religious beliefs and activities
Participation in activities directed toward national or international betterment		

1st ____   2nd ____   3rd ____

Q17. How important do you consider the following factors when considering a job? Please check   .

		Very important	Important	In between	unimportant	Very unimportant
	Salary	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Job security	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Advancement opportunities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Training opportunities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Good working hours	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Atmosphere of workplace	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Individual performance appraisals	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Reputation of the company	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Job content	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	A job related to my university major	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Q18. What kind of job do you want your child to do in the future? Please check   one.

☐	Government official/politician
☐	Manager in a company
☐	Professor/teacher
☐	Specialized professional
☐	Clerical/technical/sales
☐	Own company (less than 50 employees)
☐	Own company (50 employees or more)
☐	Self-employed in agriculture/forestry/fishery
☐	Laborer/factory worker
☐	Housewife/househusband
☐	Other (please specify: _____)

Q19. Do you agree to the following statements? Please check   .

	Strongly agree	Agree	In between	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I feel uncomfortable seeing lovers kissing or petting in public space.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I understand those women who refuse to produce children, for the sake of their own career.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Experience of divorce is not a flaw.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
When deciding a spouse, his or her economic ability is very important to me.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Economic development of a society is more important than welfare.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
We need to tolerate environmental pollution to a certain degree to facilitate economic growth.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Passion and aspiration toward a job are more important than economic reward.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The most important goal in my life is self fulfillment.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
It is important to subsidize underdeveloped African countries in a global scope.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am interested in solving environmental problems.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Q20. Please indicate how much you trust each of the following groups below. Please check.

	Trust them completely	Trust them some what	Barely trust them	Do not trust them
your family	☐	☐	☐	☐
your friends	☐	☐	☐	☐
your neighbors	☐	☐	☐	☐
stranger of your own nationality	☐	☐	☐	☐
foreign stranger	☐	☐	☐	☐

Q21. Please indicate how much you agree to the following statements below

	Strongly agree	Agree	In between	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Most people are trustworthy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Most people will respond in kind when they are trusted by others.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

I trust person I know well more than one whom I do not know	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Whatever work I have to perform, I feel more secure when I work with someone I know well than with someone I do not know	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The people I trust are those with whom I have had long-lasting relationships	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In this society, one has to be alert or someone is likely to take advantage of you	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A person's reputation is very useful in judging his or her true character	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My children never do something dishonest for their own interests at all events	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A doctor examines a patient more carefully than usual if the patient has been referred by a personal acquaintance.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
When negotiating over an important issue with a total stranger, it is very important to have a personal introduction by someone you know well.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

F1　Please indicate　your sex.

☐　male　　　　　☐　female

F2　Please state your year of birth.

Year 19_____

F3　Please indicate ☑ the highest level of education you have completed.

☐① middle school or below　　　☐② high school　　　☐③ professional school/technical school

☐④ university　　　☐⑤ graduate school

F4　Please indicate　any experience living abroad.

☐　none　　　☐　less than 1 year　☐　1 to 3 years　　☐　3 years and above

F5　Do you have any siblings? If yes, please indicate the number in each category below.
If not, please write 0 (zero) instead.

Elder brother_____　Elder sister_____　Younger brother_____　Younger sister_____

F6   Please indicate   your total annual family income. (in RMB figures)

☐ 50,000 RMB or below   ☐ 200,001～250,000 RMB

☐ 50,001～100,000 RMB   ☐ 250,001～300,000 RMB

☐ 100,001～150,000 RMB   ☐ 300,001～999,000 RMB

☐ 150,001～200,000 RMB   ☐ 1,000,000 RMB and above

F7   Please indicate ☑ your possessions below

Car: ☐① Yes, I own a car (s)   ☐② No, I do not own a car.

House: in square meter: ㎡

F8 Please indicate your proficiency in the languages below?

		No command at all	Very little	Daily conversation	Fluent
	English	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Japanese	☐	☐	☐	☐
	Korean	☐	☐	☐	☐

F9   If any, please indicate the number of the languages that you can speak fluently other than the above languages (including your mother tongue).   _____

F10   If the society is divided into 5 social classes, which do you think you belong to in general?

☐ Upper   ☐ Upper middle   ☐ Middle   ☐ Lower middle   ☐ Lower   ☐ Do not know