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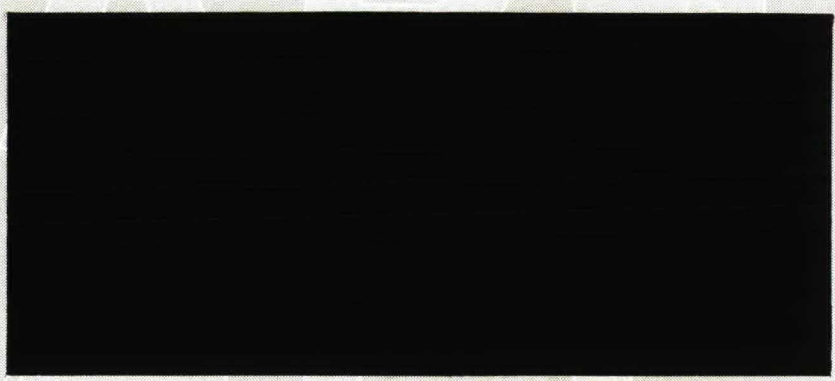
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Work Meanings: Their Structure and Stability

George W. England and S. Antonio Ruiz Quintanilla

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Paper prepared for the Symposium 'Values and Work'
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Work Meanings: Their Structure and Stability

George W. England and S. Antonio Ruiz Quintanilla
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Introduction

The present paper focuses attention on four major work meaning areas identified and measured by the MOW International Research Team (1981, 1987). The four major work meaning areas are:

- *Work Centrality* - the importance and significance of work and working in one's life.
- *Societal Norms about Working* - beliefs and expectations about what all workers are entitled to through the process of working and what obligations all workers have toward organizations and society in the process of working. These societal norms concerning working also can be viewed as 'rights' and as 'duties' associated with working.
- *Work Goals* - the relative importance of obtaining or achieving various work goals through one's working life. These work goals are additionally referred to in the literature as work values, inventive preferences and work needs.
- *Work Definitions* - the way in which the activity termed 'work' is defined by those engaged in working. The work definition measurement procedure allows the identification of criteria and rationales by which individuals decide whether or not an activity is considered 'working'.

We are interested in developing appropriate quantifications for the first two work meaning components (Work Centrality and Societal Norms about Working) and empirically identifying a useful structure for each of the last two work meaning components (Work Goals and Work Definitions) from large representative samples of the labor forces in Belgium, Germany, Japan and the USA at two time periods (1982/83 and 1989/91). Attention will be directed toward the generality of structure for each work meaning across countries and across time periods within each country. Finally, we will categorize each of the work meaning components into a four to five category variable in order to explore structural relationships among the four major work meaning components.

Samples and Data Collection

The data reported in this paper come from interviewing representative national labor force samples of the employed labor force in each of four nations at two time period. The interviews utilized an internationally developed Meaning of Working Questionnaire (MOW International Research Team, 1987) to standardize questions and response options in the four countries at the two time periods. The sample sizes and times of data collection were as follows:

Belgium - The studies were done only in Flanders

1982	N = 450	(425)
1990	N = 539	(522)

Germany - The studies were done only in FRG

1983	N = 1278	(1052)
1989	N = 1187	(1099)

USA

1982	N = 1000	(955)
1989	N = 1002	(954)

Japan

1982	N = 3226	(1802)
1991	N = 3133	(2658)

Thus the data obtained represents the employed labor force of each nation at two time periods - six to nine years apart.

Analysis of Work Meaning Components

Work Centrality: In the MOW project, work centrality was assessed by two measures which focus on the degree of general importance that working has in the life of an individual at any given point of time.² The first indicator of work centrality consists of a seven-point scaled response to the question, 'How important and significant is working in your total life?'

The second indicator of work centrality represents the importance of working as compared to other major life areas (leisure, community, religion and family). Figure 1 shows the format for each of the indicators of work centrality.

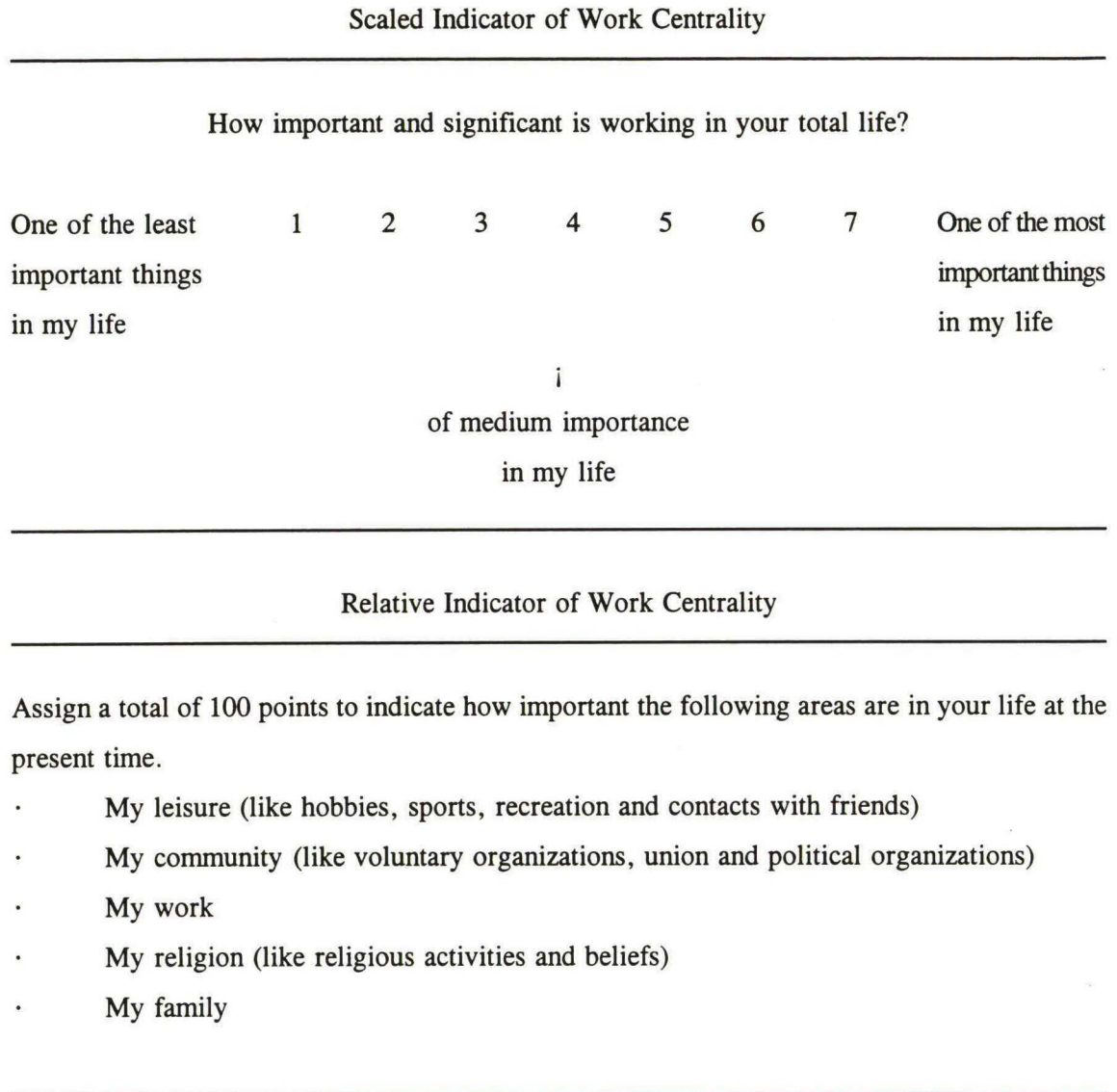


Figure 1. Work Centrality Indicators

The two indicators of work centrality are moderately related (median $r = .26$ for the 8 country x time samples) and are combined to provide a general index of work centrality at the level of the individual. The method chosen for combining the two indicators for each individual was a simple addition after each indicator was transformed to the ordinal position of work on a scale

of 1-5.3 The lowest possible value on the Work Centrality Index is 2 and would be assigned to any individual whose response on the 7-point scaled indicator was 1, 2 or 3 and for whom working was the least important of the five life areas (relative indicator of Work Centrality). Conversely, the maximum value of 10 on the Work Centrality Index would result for any individual whose response was 7 on the 7-point scaled indicator and for whom working was the most important of the five life areas. Table 1 shows the time1 and time2 means and standard deviations for the Work Centrality Index (2-10) for each of the countries.

Table 1. Work Centrality Index Means and S.D.'s for each Country - Time Period

Country	T1		T2		P(T-test T1/T2)		Change in SD units
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	2 tailed test		
Belgium	6.81	1.81	6.87	1.75	.620	NS	.03
Germany	6.64	1.88	6.04	1.78	.000		.33
USA	6.94	1.81	6.63	1.83	.000		.17
Japan	7.78	1.81	7.34	1.81	.000		.24

Table 1 shows that the time 1 and time 2 mean Work Centrality Index (WCI) scores for Belgium are not significantly different while the time 2 mean WCI scores for Germany, USA and Japan are significantly lower than the time 1 means. As shown, this decline in WCI scores is moderate in magnitude ranging from .33 SD units in Germany to .17 SD units in the USA. It is also quite clear that working is a more important and significant life role in Japan than it is in Belgium, Germany and the USA.

The distributions of WCI scores for the four countries suggest it would be useful to define categories of work centrality for later structural analysis as follows:

Level of Work Centrality	Score Range
Low work centrality	WCI Scores of 2, 3, 4
Moderately low work centrality	WCI Scores of 5, 6
Moderately high work centrality	WCI Scores of 7,8
High work centrality	WCI Scores of 9, 10

The resulting country-time period distributions on this categorized Work Centrality variable will be shown at a later point.

Societal Norms about Working: The concept of norms refers to a prescription of behavior which is expected of a person under certain circumstances. A classic example is given by Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939) in their book 'Management and the Worker'. They infer the existence of a norm prescribing the proper day's work of a wire-man. Norms reside as an 'idea in the minds of the members of a group, an idea that can be put in the form of a statement specifying what the member or other men should do, ought to do, are expected to do, under given circumstances' (Homans 1950, 123). Moreover, norms are characterized by the fact that a departure from the behavior as specified by the norm will lead to some sanction, thus nonconformity is punished while conformity is rewarded.

In short, norms can be defined as covert prescriptions of behavior indicating that certain behaviors ought to be engaged in by certain people in specific situations, to avoid consequences of negative sanctions or to meet expectations and gain positive sanctions. Thus the basic two dimensions of norms can be distinguished as: behavior prescription and evaluation (Jackson 1960).

Here, the concern is with societal norms about working. The term 'societal' norms is used to indicate that we are concerned with norms, which are known and shared by major groups of the society at issue. The most important function of (societal) norms is to secure stability in social environments. Norms allow the actors in a given situation to have information about what is expected of them and what kind of consequences will follow, as well as have some notion about how others might act in the same situation. Without the existence of norms (including folkways and mores), people would be in doubt about even simple aspects of interaction. It would be impossible to predict our own or other's behavior. Security and order in life could hardly develop. This regulating aspect of norms can be seen as existential for the survival of social life from the physical as well as from the mental point of view (Davis 1949).

Norms not only ease daily behavior by allowing people to concentrate on unique things, but also constrain behavior by prescribing (more or less narrowly) what behavior is appropriate. Thus the advantage of not being overwhelmed with a countless number of possible behavior options

is paid for with the limited choice of which behavior can be displayed without having to deal with negative consequences.

Given the universal presence of norms, it would be astonishing if they did not play some major role in peoples working life. Indeed, countless studies have been concerned with the role of norms at the work place and in work organizations. While most of these studies concentrated on concrete work related behavior, our main emphasis lies with a more general aspect: the underlying expectations or norms regulating the interplay between workers and work institutions/society.

The nature of the person's relationship to society can be understood as a form of a social contract (Rousseau 1916). Norms and normative views help specify the social contract by defining the rights and obligations each of the partners has in the social contract. They allow an evaluation of 'what is fair and what isn't' by offering a guideline for what should be expected in a given situation. Norms are informative about the expected behavior, as well as it's evaluative outcome in terms of the reaction to be expected.

Normative views can place greater emphasis on one of the two aspects (rights-duties), or consider them both of about equal importance. A person may focus more strongly on the obligation inherent in the prescription of the norm, look mainly toward the rights specified by it, or consider both. Here, we will label groups as having a balanced normative view, if members consider both sides of the coin ^O the obligation and the entitlement aspects ^O about equal in importance. If the entitlement aspect is more emphasized by the majority of the group members, the normative view will be labeled as imbalanced in an entitlement direction while if the obligation aspect is more emphasized by the majority, the normative view will be labeled as imbalanced in an obligation direction.

Norms can be distinguished by the content domain with which they are concerned. Content can be understood through two different perspectives. One perspective concerns the classification of norms according to the nature of the action requested by the norm, like behaviors, beliefs, feelings (Parsons 1953). The second perspective focusses on the area of behavior which is regulated by the norm (Sorokin 1974; Williams 1951). The social norms about working are seen as primarily focussing on behavior and underlying feelings (e.g. 'a worker should value work'),

and related to the domain of work. Within the broad domain of work related behavior and feelings, we focus on four specific content domains: Work itself, Meaningful work, Work improvements and Care for the future.

Work Itself is focused on the interplay between the labor market and the individuals who can supply labor. Within industrial societies both rely on each other. The labor market is in need of individual(s) labor and the individuals are in need of the labor markets supply of work. Due to this interdependence, labor (or working) can be perceived as both a duty and a right and respective norms can be identified.

Meaningful Work comes into existence as an interplay between the objective work conditions given by the employment situation and the capacities and personality characteristics of the worker. Thus, we emphasize that both components are important to have meaningful work. Neither can work be designed in a manner that makes it meaningful for every individual, nor is there any given set of personal characteristics which will see all work as meaningful. This does not question that certain persons might see a larger diversity of work as meaningful when compared to others or that following certain work design rules will enhance the likelihood of perceiving work as meaningful for more people. Emphasis upon the interaction between the work situation and the person in the creation of meaningful work leads to the view that expectations have to be formulated; which side should deliver what? Two extreme normative views can be distinguished. One view expects the design of work to take care that every person will have meaningful work, while the other places the responsibility on the worker to provide sense (meaning) to the work one does.

Work Improvement can be initiated at the top of the organization and work its way down or one could emphasize a bottom up approach, expecting major initiatives and input from the worker. Again either of these two alternatives and the continuum in between, needs to be harmonized in order to operate within the expectations of the players. Favoring a top down approach would seem to work best when initiative is accepted by and expected from the higher hierarchical levels and in addition some normative expectations concerning the role of the workers are set, e.g. participative procedures. An institution, however, which tries to draw mainly from workers initiative for improvements, would seem to need a norm which stimulates and encourages the requested behavior.

The *Care for the Future* aspect is related to the first norm discussed (work itself). For most people in industrialized countries, work is a main source of income required for securing their living. Given the cyclical changes in labor demand and supply, the question becomes who should be expected to buffer occurring mismatches. Should the employer (or the society) be expected to 'jump in' and help during these periods or is each worker expected to be prepared to survive on his/her own? Again both options require expectations to be synchronized beforehand.

The four matched sets of entitlement and obligation statements used in the following analysis are presented in Figure 2.

For each of the four pairs, a content index score was calculated as a simple difference score between the obligation and entitlement item values. Thus each of the four content scores has a theoretical range from -3 (entitlement imbalanced) to +3 (obligation imbalanced).

	<i>Entitlement</i>	<i>Obligation</i>
Set 1: <i>Work Itself</i> Right versus duty	A job should be provided to every individual who desires to work.	It is the duty of every able-bodied citizen to contribute to society by working.
Set 2: <i>Meaningful Work:</i> Supplied by society or created by the worker	Every person in our society should be entitled to interesting and meaningful work.	A worker should value the work he or she does even if it is boring, dirty or unskilled
Set 3: <i>Work Improvements:</i> Top down versus bottom up	When a change in work methods must be made, a supervisor should be required to ask workers for their suggestions before deciding what to do.	A worker should be expected to think up better ways to do his or her job.
Set 4: <i>Care for the future:</i> Organization versus individual worker	If a worker's skills become outdated, his employer should be responsible for retraining and reemployment	Persons in our society should allocate a large portion of their regular income towards saving for their future.

Figure 2. Matched Sets of Entitlement and Obligation Statements⁴

In addition each person was assigned one score to represent the overall normative orientation held. This overall normative orientation index was calculated as the sum of the individual content scores. Therefore, the theoretical range of the overall normative orientation index (ONO) ranges from -12 (for highly entitlement oriented) to + 12 (highly obligation oriented).⁵

Table 2 shows that there are relatively large national differences and small time differences in the overall normative orientation index (DI). An additional indication of the amount and direction of the imbalance for each country and time point is given by the directional imbalance score at the bottom of the table.⁶

At both time points the Belgium and the German labor force are characterized by the strongest entitlement imbalanced orientation; about two-thirds of each labor force showing moderate or high entitlement imbalance. The corresponding values for Japan and the USA are about 55% and one-third of the labor forces respectively. The a posteriori-test results of an analysis of variance (Table 3) confirms that at both time periods the mean labor force ONO values of Belgium and Germany are significantly different than the one for Japan, which in turn is significantly different than the mean value for the U.S. labor force.

Table 3 also shows that only the Japanese national labor force significantly changed their normative orientation over the time period from 1982 to 1991 becoming slightly more entitlement imbalanced. The normative orientation of the American, Belgian and German labor forces remained stable. Thus, we can only observe one country shifting over time: The 1991 Japanese labor force approaches the imbalance level which characterized the Germans in 1983. Figure 3 charts the mean normative balance scores for each of the four obligation-entitlement pairs (Work, Improvement, Care for the Future, Working Itself and Meaningful Work) for each of the four countries at both time points (1982/3, 1989/91).

Some general points can be made. Comparing the four countries, we note that the USA graph is flatter than any of the others and that all four content indices are close to the zero line in the USA. Thus, for the U.S. labor force as a whole, all four norm notions are reasonably balanced. Compared to this the Belgian, German, and Japanese labor forces can be characterized as being relatively balanced only on the Improvement of work domain. All three other norm domains show an orientation towards entitlement imbalance in these three countries.

Concerning the normative views on who should be responsible to take care for the future, we find the U.S. respondents holding a balanced view, while the German, Belgian and Japanese respondents tend to stress the responsibilities of others (retraining and reemployment by the employer) over individual self-responsibilities (saving for the future).

The perception of working more as a right than as a duty is prominent among the Belgian and German respondents. This view is significantly more frequent in Belgium and Germany as compared to Japan and is significantly rare among the U.S. respondents, who tend to emphasize the duty aspect slightly more than the right to work aspect.

Table 2. Percentage distribution of Overall Normative Index (DI) in Four Countries at Two Time Periods (-4, -3 = High Entitlement Imbalance), -2, -1 = Moderate Entitlement Imbalance), (0 = Balanced), (1, 2 = Moderate Obligation Imbalance), (3, 4 = High Obligation Imbalance)

	Belgium		Germany		Japan		USA	
	T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2
High Entitlement Imbalance	26.7	23.4	20.0	21.3	8.6	11.5	5.1	5.0
Moderate Entitlement Imbalance	38.1	45.0	43.3	45.5	44.1	47.6	27.5	27.1
Balanced	17.6	16.1	19.1	19.3	28.0	25.8	25.4	26.5
Moderate Obligation Imbalance	15.4	14.2	15.5	12.3	17.7	13.9	35.0	35.6
High Obligation Imbalance	2.2	1.3	2.1	1.5	1.7	1.2	6.9	5.8
Directional Imbalance Score	-.72	-.75	-.64	-.73	-.40	-.54	.11	.10

Table 3. Mean values (SD's in brackets) of Overall Normative Orientation Index (ONO) by country and time of study

Country	Mean ONO Index	Time difference ⁷
Belgium T1	-1.89 (2.67)	F = .09 n.s.
Belgium T2	-1.85 (2.43)	
Germany T1	-1.72 (2.70)	F = 2.41 n.s.
Germany T2	-1.88 (2.48)	
Japan T1	-.83 (1.86)	F = 50.60 p < .001
Japan T2	-1.17 (1.87)	
USA T1	.19 (2.10)	F = .40 n.s.
USA T2	.13 (1.97)	
Country T1	B, G < J < U	
Country ⁸ T2	G, B < J < U	

The view that 'everybody in the society is entitled to meaningful work' is agreed to significantly more strongly than is the view that 'a worker should value any kind of work' in both the Belgian and German labor forces and although less extremely in the Japanese sample.

Figure 3 also suggests that some content domains contribute much more than others to national differences in work norm imbalance. Clearly, the domains Meaningful Work and Working Itself contribute the most to between country variance in normative imbalance. They also seem to be the most general and abstract societal work norms.

Finally, looking at Figure 3, it is again apparent that the time differences are relatively minor. As previously mentioned, we would not expect societal norms about working to change radically over the short term, with the exception of dramatic situations like war-times or other major catastrophes. Rather, work norms as assessed on the societal level change slowly by substitution of one cohort through the next, changing labor-force participation of certain social groups, and slowly changing mind sets of the people themselves. If at all, changes over time worth mentioning happened only in the Japanese labor-force.

One major conclusion from these analyses is that societal norms about working (as measured here) are national in character and country differences in normative orientations are paramount in our data.⁹ The nature of these country differences is most clearly shown in Table 2 and Figure 3. Essentially, the USA labor force is approximately balanced between an entitlement orientation and an obligation orientation in terms of overall normative orientation and in terms of orientation on each of the four domains (Working itself, Meaningful work, Work improvement and Care for the future). The labor forces in Belgium and Germany show an overall entitlement imbalance orientation generally in three of the four work domains (all but work improvement). Japan falls between the USA and Germany-Belgium and shows a moderate entitlement imbalance orientation generally and is clearly between these sets of countries on the work domains Working itself and Meaningful work.

The 'directional imbalance score' shown on the last line of Table 2 provides a clear 'metric' of this major difference between countries in overall normative orientation about work. The USA labor force is close to being balanced with near zero directional imbalance scores; Japan's labor force is moderately entitlement imbalanced with directional imbalance scores of -.40 and -.54,

while the Belgian and German labor forces show the greatest entitlement imbalance with scores of -.72, -.75, -.64 and -.73.

The general implication flowing from these country differences is that rights or entitlements about working are stressed more than are duties or obligations in the German and Belgian labor force; this is somewhat less so in Japan, while the two considerations are about equally stressed in the USA. The respective labor forces start from different expectation points about what society/organizations owe individuals in terms of interesting and meaningful work, about work as more a right than a duty and about the extent to which organizations should care for workers future. Generally, the two European labor forces have the highest expectations about rights and entitlements; the Japanese labor force has the second highest expectations about rights and entitlements while the USA shows about equal concern with entitlements and with obligations in work. The starting point for determination of 'what is fair and what isn't' are quite different in the three sets of countries.

A second major conclusion from these analyses is that normative orientations about working do not change rapidly over time. In the six to nine years between time 1 and time 2 data collection, there is relatively little change in the normative orientations about working within countries. As previously indicated, only Japan changed significantly between time 1 and time 2, becoming slightly more entitlement imbalanced. This relatively small degree of change in normative orientations about working seems consistent with conceptual expectations that work norms are relatively stable over time.

Finally, we believe that the classification of individuals into High Entitlement Imbalance, Moderate Entitlement Imbalance, Balanced, Moderate Obligation Imbalance, High Obligation Imbalance as described and resulting in the distributions shown in Table 2 is a useful way to use societal norm data about working in structural analyses.

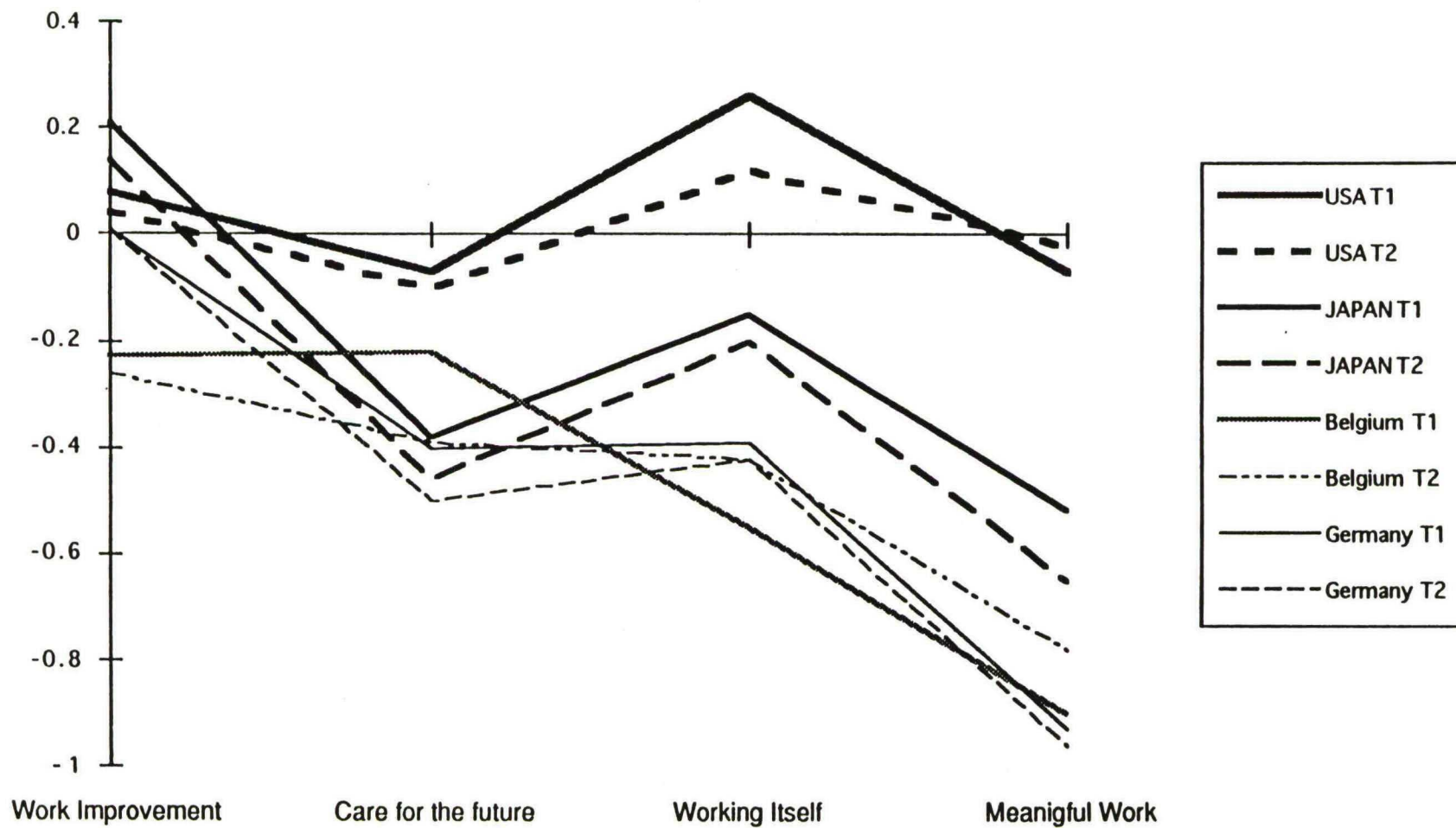


FIGURE 3

MEAN NORMATIVE BALANCE SCORE BY CONTENT DOMAIN FOR FOUR COUNTRIES AT TWO TIME PERIODS

Work Goals (Work Values): In a real sense, assessment of the importance of different work goals (values) for individuals as obtained in the MOW project represents a strong composite statement about the nature of desirable working lives in industrial societies. It should be remembered that each individual was responding at a given point in their working life and that the full range of job types, backgrounds, and work situations that exist in each country were represented. Also, our instructions asked respondents to focus on their total work life as opposed to only their present job situation.

Our reanalysis of MOW work goal data has been influenced by the structural analysis of work values by Elizur (1984), Elizur et al. (1991) and by the structural analysis of human values by Schwartz and Bilsky (1987) and Schwartz (1992).¹⁰

For present purposes, we decided to look at the structure of responses to the 11 work goal items supplemented by two other relevant MOW items. Figure 4 shows the two supplementary MOW items and the 11 item work goal measure. These 13 items are used in the following analyses.

Following the general notion expressed in Elizur's modality of outcome facet, we classified the 13 work goals into three outcome categories: 1) instrumental, 2) Expressive and 3) Social. These correspond to Elizur's material, psychological and social modalities of outcome. The 13 items shown in Figure 4 are assigned to outcome categories as follows:

1	S	Social	7	E
*2	S		8	E
3	E	Expressive	9	I
4	S		10	E
5	I	Instrumental	11	I
6	I		12	I
			13	E

* Note that Japan did not obtain data on item 2 so in Japan we are dealing with 12 items.

To help explain what working means to you, please assign a total of 100 points, in any combination you desire, to the following six statements. The more a statement expresses your

thinking, the more points you should assign to it. Please read all the statements before assigning points.

New Item #

1 _____ Working permits you to have interesting contacts with other people. When you think of your working life, which of the following aspects of working seem most significant and important to you? Please rank these items from 6 = most significant to 1 = least significant.

2 _____ The type of people with whom I work
What about the nature of your working life? How important to you is it that your work life contains the following? Please rank these items from 11 = most important down to 1 = least important.

- | | | | |
|----|---|-------|---|
| 3 | A | _____ | A lot of opportunity to LEARN new things |
| 4 | B | _____ | Good INTERPERSONAL relations (supervisors, co-workers) |
| 5 | C | _____ | Good opportunity for upgrading or PROMOTION |
| 6 | D | _____ | CONVENIENT work hours |
| 7 | E | _____ | A lot of VARIETY |
| 8 | F | _____ | INTERESTING work (work that you really like) |
| 9 | G | _____ | Good job SECURITY |
| 10 | H | _____ | A GOOD MATCH between your job requirements and your abilities and experience |
| 11 | I | _____ | Good PAY |
| 12 | J | _____ | Good physical working CONDITIONS (such as light, temperature, cleanliness, low noise level) |
| 13 | K | _____ | A lot of AUTONOMY (you decide how to do your work) |

Figure 4. Work Goal (Value) Item Format

Thus we have 5 instrumental items, 5 Expressive items and 3 Social items. To observe the structural characteristics, the 13 items were intercorrelated (product moment correlation) for each of the 8 country - time period samples. Smallest Space Analysis (FSSA1, Faceted Smallest

Space Analysis, Version 2.0 1986) was used for analyzing the relations between items and for testing the hypothesized modality of outcomes. We are interested in observing how well the empirical data fit the suggested categorization of work goals into Instrumental, Expressive and Social outcome modalities.

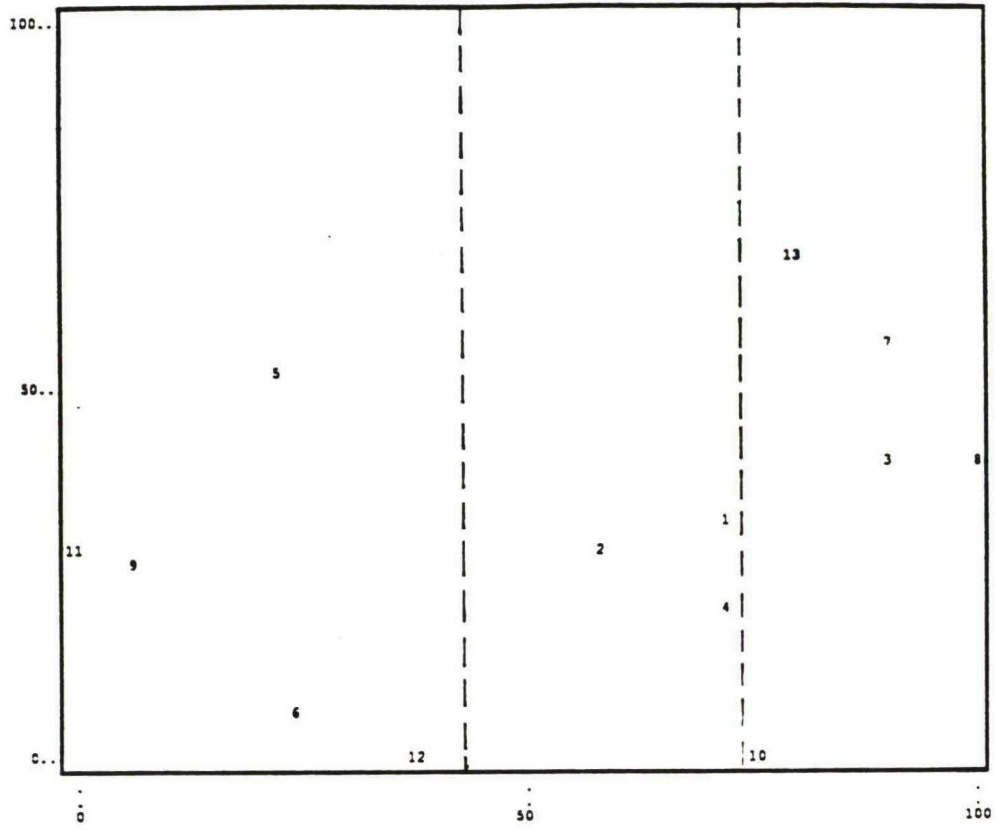
The results for Belgium are shown in Figure 5. For both time 1 and time 2, an axial simplex of regions is shown with no deviations from our classification. There is strong indication that the structure of work goals does not change in Belgium from 1982 to 1990.

The results for Germany are shown in Figure 6. For time 1, an axial simplex of regions is shown with no deviations from our classification. For time 2, an axial simplex of regions is shown with one deviation (item 1 - 'working permits you to have interesting contacts with other people' is in the Expressive region but should be in the Social region). There is substantial indication that the structure of work goals does not change in Germany between 1983 and 1989.

The results for the USA are shown in Figure 7. For both time 1 and 2, an axial simplex of regions is shown with no deviation from our classification. There is strong indication that the structure of work goals does not change in the USA from 1982 to 1989.

Figure 8 shows the results for Japan. For both time 1 and time 2, an axial simplex of regions is shown with no deviations from our classification. There is strong indication that the structure of work goals does not change in Japan from 1982 to 1991.

Belgium time 1



Belgium time 2

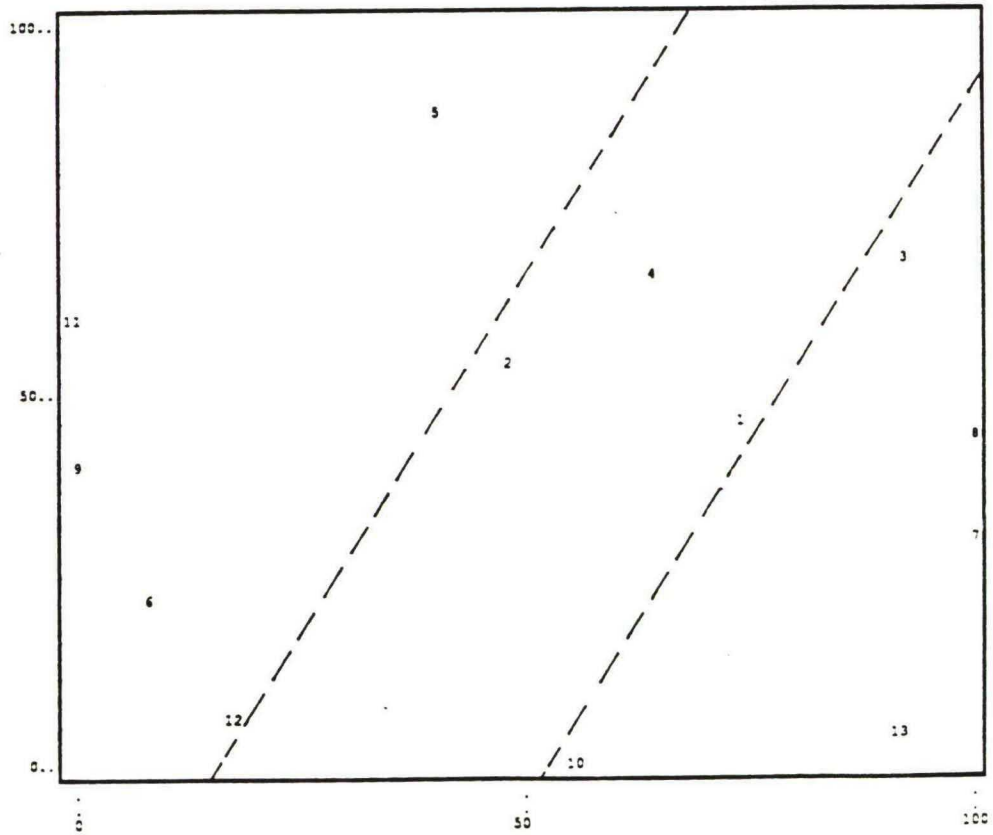
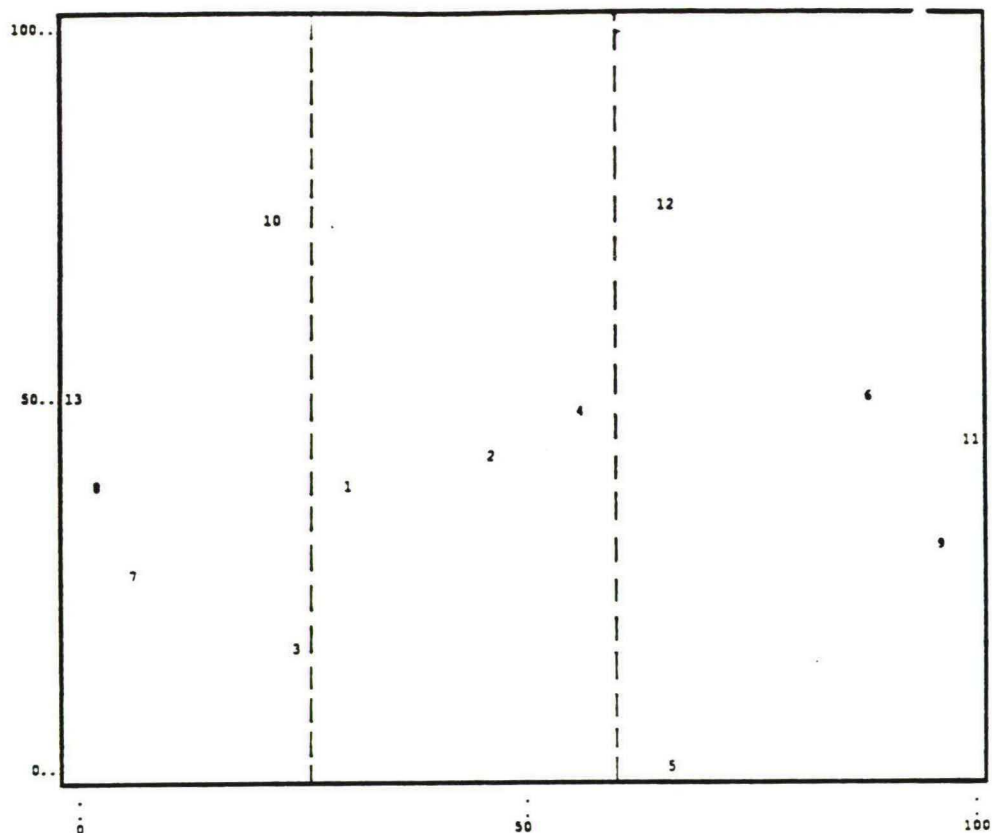


Figure 5

Belgium SSA Plots

Germany time 1



Germany time 2

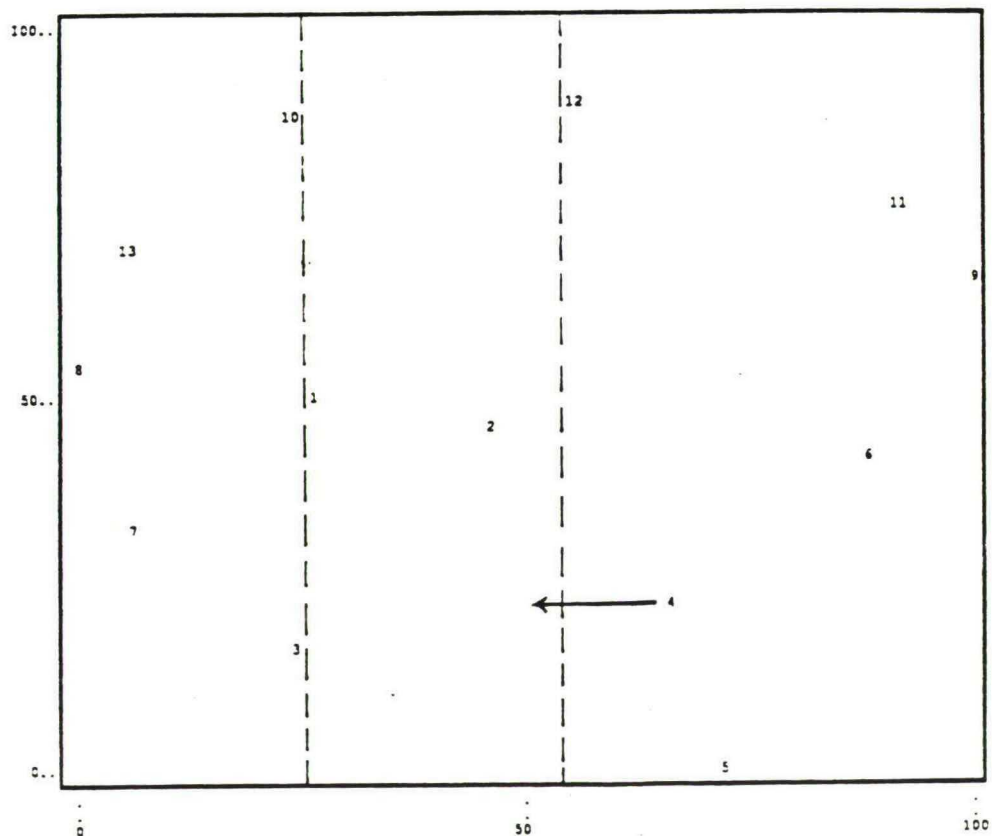
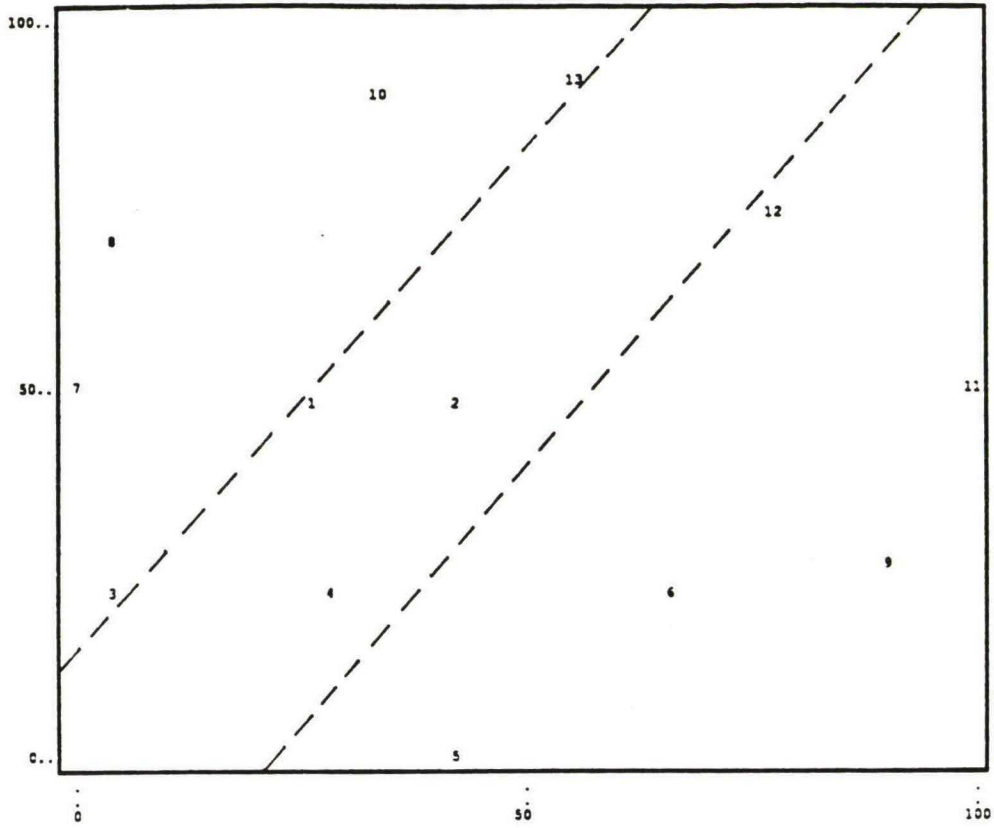


Figure 6

Germany SSA Plots

USA time 1



USA time 2

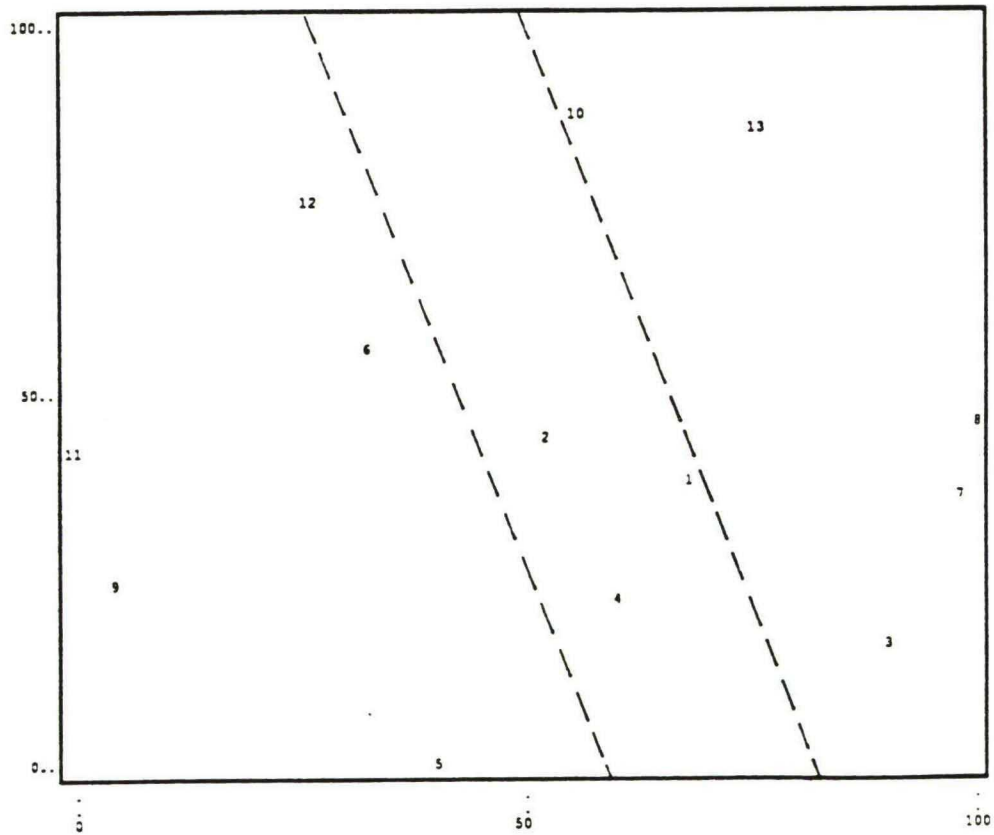
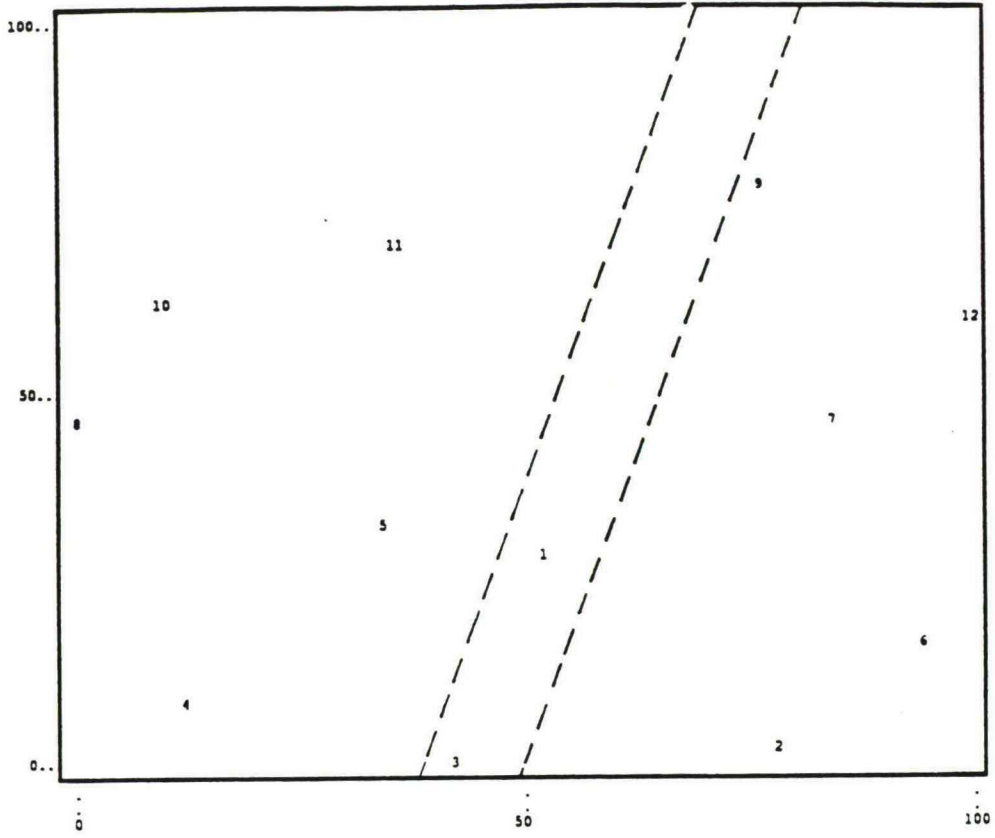


Figure 7

USA SSA Plots

Japan time 1



Japan time 2

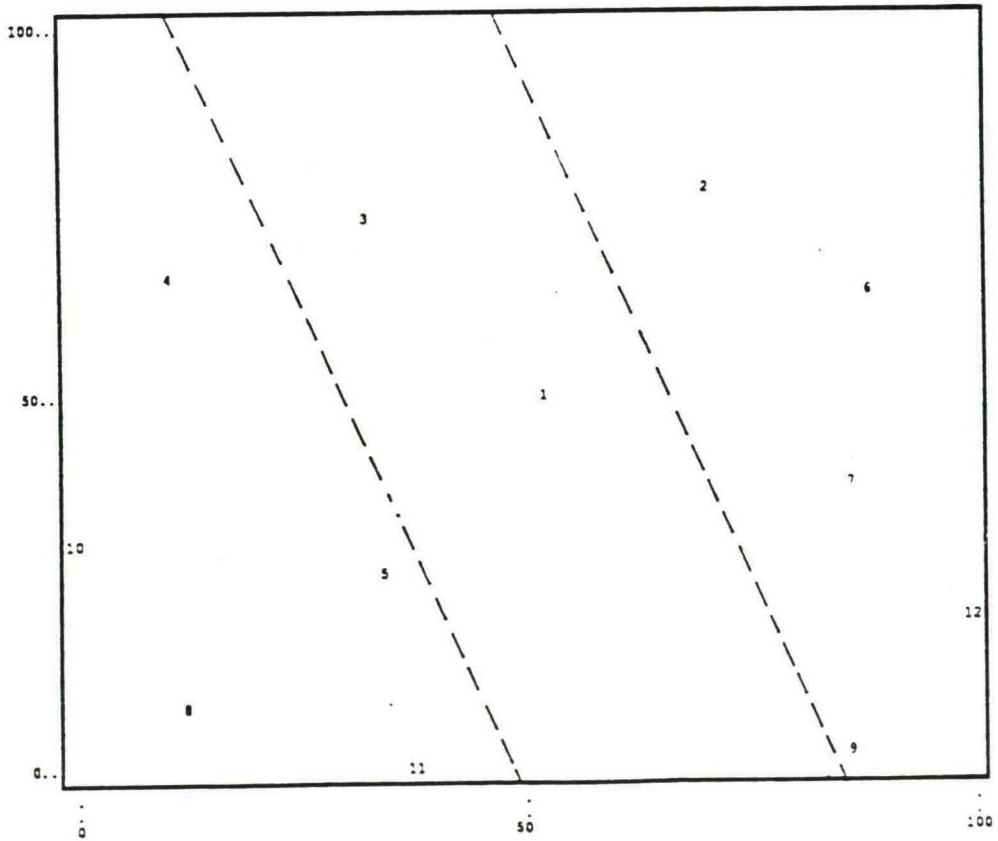


Figure 8

Japan SSA Plots

Two conclusions emerge from this set of analyses. 1) Generally, the results provide strong support for the modality of outcome facet as reported by Elizur (1984). It should be noted that we did not attempt to test Elizur's 'relationship to task performance' facet which is categorized into resources and rewards. The suggested regional partitioning of the SSA space in Figures 5, 6, 7, and 8 representing four different national labor force samples, each assessed at two time points (6 - 9 years apart) is clear support for both the generality and the replicability of Elizur's modality of outcome specification. 2) The work goal structures found in each country seem highly stable over time periods of 6 - 9 years at the level of national samples. It should be remembered that the two time period samples in each country were representative of the labor force at two time periods and did not involve making assessments on one sample of individuals at two different time periods.

The strong empirical support in terms of both generality and replicability for the proposed three category structure of work goals suggested the possibility that individuals might be assigned to one of three work goal types plus a less meaningful 'mixed' group. The three meaningful groups are a) those who assign substantially greater importance to *instrumental work goals* as compared to expressive and social goals, b) those that assign substantially greater importance to *expressive work goals* than to the other two categories, and c) those that assign substantially greater importance to *social work goals* than to the other two categories.

Recognizing that we were dealing with three different response formats (as shown in Figure 4) and that one country had only two social items rather than three, we created a standard score (with mean = 50 and SD = 10) for each of the three meaningful categories (instrumental, expressive and social) for each country at each time period. The criterion used for final assignment was to assign an individual to a given category when his/her standard score for that category was more than 1/2 SD unit higher than the standard scores for the other two categories. Individuals who were not assigned to one of the meaningful categories (instrumental, expressive or social) were assigned to a mixed category. The mixed categories for the eight country - time samples ranged from about 29% to 34% and seem large but probably reflect reality. The actual distribution of individuals into these four groups for each country - time period is shown at a later point.

Work Definitions: There is abundant evidence that the activity of working and the outcomes flowing from working are of major significance to individuals in industrial societies (Terkel,

1972; Dubin, Hedley and Taveggia 1976; MOW International Research Team, 1981; Yankelovich et al., 1985; Hall, 1986; MOW International Research Team, 1987).

These studies conclude that working has general significance and importance to individuals 'because it occupies a great deal of their time, because it generates economic and socio-psychological benefits and costs, and because it is so interrelated with other important life areas such as family, leisure, religion and community.' (England and Harpaz, 1990, p. 253).

While this composite rationale for the significance of working seems clear, we still have not developed sufficient understanding about the structural nature of the denotative characteristics which identify or signify when an activity in which one is engaged is considered to be working.¹¹

In this section, we utilize multidimensional scaling of interrelationships among categorical variables that identify when individuals consider an activity in which one is engaged to be working. An initial purpose of the analysis was focused on empirically evaluating and sharpening a previously articulated literature based classification of three major classes of definitional concepts: 1) broad rationales or reasons for doing work or being engaged in working, 2) personal outcomes or states which result from performing or engaging in working activities, and 3) constraints or controls related to the context or performance of working activities (England and Harpaz, 1990, 256-258). Early results showed limited empirical support for the above literature based structure of work definitional statements but led us to develop an ordered four category structure of work definitions which included (burden characteristics, constraining characteristics, responsibility and exchange characteristics, and social contribution characteristics). The work definition item utilized was as follows:

Not everyone means the same thing when they talk about working. When do you consider an activity as *working*? Choose *four* statements from the list below which best define when an activity is 'working.'

- a. if you do it in a working place.
- b. if someone tells you what to do.
- c. if it is physically strenuous.

- d. if it belongs to your task.
- e. if you do it to contribute to society.
- f. if, by doing it, you get the feeling of belonging.
- g. if it is mentally strenuous.
- h. If you do it at a certain time (for instance from 8 until 5).
- i. if it adds value to something.
- j. if it is not pleasant.
- k. if you get money for doing it.
- l. if you have to account for it.
- m. if you have to do it.
- n. if others profit by it.

We have classified the fourteen work definitional statements into four ordered categories as follows:

Burden

- b if someone tells you what to do
- j if it is not pleasant
- m if you have to do it

Constraint

- a if you do it in a working place
- b if it is physically strenuous
- c if you do it at a certain time (for instance from 8 until 5)

Responsibility and Exchange Rationale

- d if it belongs to your task
- g if it is mentally strenuous
- k if you get money for doing it
- l if you have to account for it
- n if others profit by it

Social Contribution

- e if you do it to contribute to society
- f if, by doing it, you get the feeling of belonging
- i if it adds value to something

Nonmetric multidimensional scaling analysis (ALSCAL from SPSS for windows) was conducted on each country sample for each time period, thus one is able to make inferences about the generality of work definition structures among the four countries as well as inferences about the stability (instability) of work definition structure for a given country at different time periods (replicability). Since the data which come from our work definition procedure are binary in nature (each given definitional statement is either 'chosen' or 'not chosen' by a respondent as best defining when an activity is 'working'), we used the Jaccard similarity measure (similarity ratio) as the most appropriate similarity measure for our data and our purpose. The Jaccard similarity measure ranges from 0 to 1 and in our case is the ratio of the times two definitional statements are both chosen as defining working divided by the times these two definitional items are both chosen plus the times only one of the two items is chosen as defining working. This measure is not influenced by instances where neither of the two definitional items is chosen.

The Jaccard measure was subtracted from 1 in each instance to convert it to a dissimilarity measure for use with a nonmetric classical MDS Euclidean distance model in two dimensional space (Kruskal, 1964).

We are interested in observing how well our empirical data fit the suggested ordered categorization of definitional statements. The results for Belgium are shown in Figure 9. For time 1, an axial simplex of ordered regions is shown with no deviation from our classification. For time 2, an axial simplex of ordered regions is shown with one deviation (g is in the Constraint region but should be in the Responsibility and Exchange Rationale region). There is strong indication that the structure of work definitions does not change appreciably in Belgium from 1982 to 1990.

The results for Germany (FRG) are shown in Figure 10. For time 1, an axial simplex of ordered regions is shown with two deviations (m is in the Constraint region but should be in the Burden region and a is in the Responsibility and Exchange region but should be in Constraint region). For time 2, an axial simplex of ordered regions is shown with no deviations. There is substantial indication that the structure of work definitions does not change appreciably in Germany from 1983 to 1989.

The results for the USA are shown in Figure 11. For time 1, an axial simplex of ordered

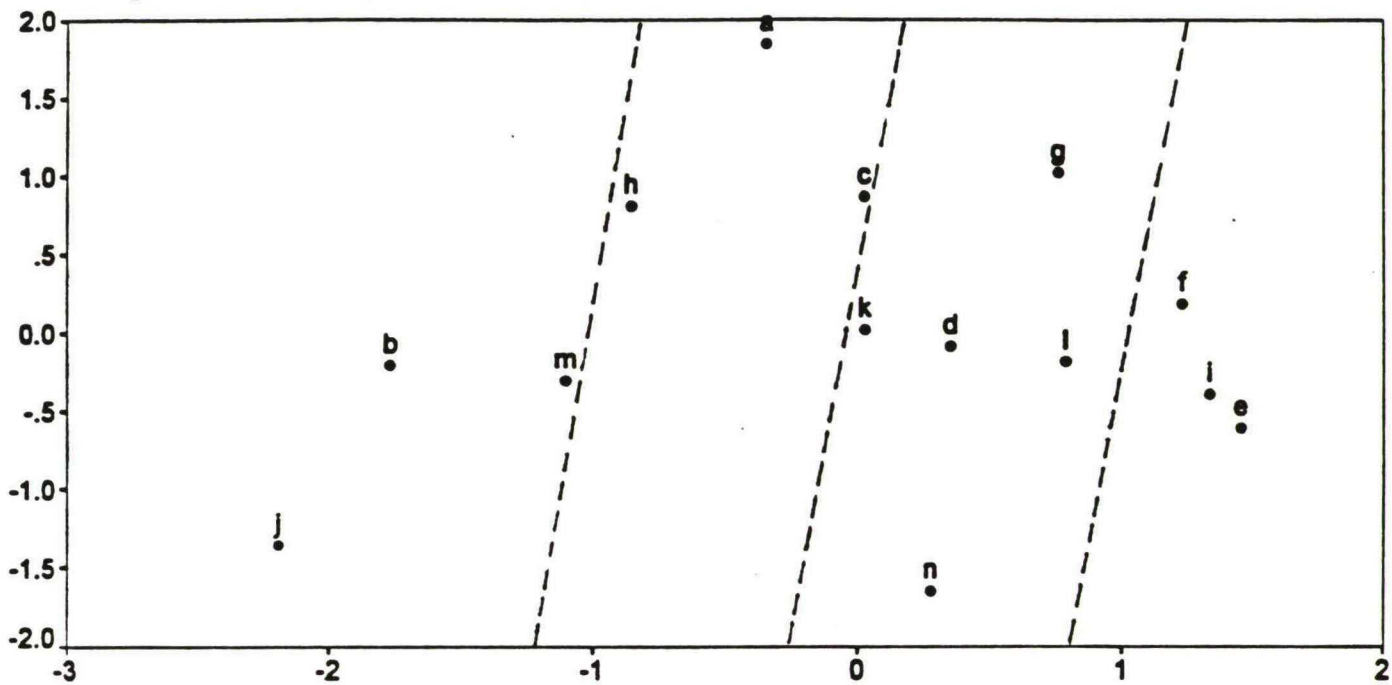
regions is shown with no deviation from our classification. For time 2, an axial simplex of ordered regions is shown with one deviation (a is in the Responsibility and Exchange Rationale region but should be in the Constraint region). There is strong indication that the structure of work definitions does not change appreciably in the USA from 1982 to 1989.

Figure 12 shows the results for Japan. For time 1, an axial simplex of ordered regions is shown but there are three deviations (n is in the Social Contribution region but should be in the Responsibility and Exchange Rationale region; g is the Constraint region but should be in the Responsibility and Exchange Rationale region; and m is in the Constraint region but should be in the Burden region. For time 2, an axial simplex of ordered regions is shown but again there are three deviations (n is in the Social Contribution region but should be in the Responsibility and Exchange Rationale region; m is in the Constraint region but should be in the Burden region; and f is in the Burden region but should be in the Social Contribution region). Both the number of deviations and the magnitude of some deviations (i.e., the last one mentioned) makes one question how well the Japanese data fit the suggested four ordered categories of work definitions. The results, however, would argue for the stability of a work definition structure in Japan between 1982 and 1991 - but not necessarily the identical structure found in the other three countries.

Two major conclusions emerge from this analysis. 1) Generally, the results provide strong support that one dominant dimension underlying the way in which people define working ranges from individual cost to social contribution. Individuals who define working in Burden and/or Constraint terms emphasize costs to the individual. Individuals who define working largely in Responsibility and Exchange Rationale terms emphasize reciprocal exchange relations between the individual and the organization/society. Individuals who define working largely in Social Contribution terms emphasize the social benefits of working. 2) The work definition structures found in each country are quite stable over time. This is so even in the case of Japan where there are the most deviations from the general model (Note that the n deviation and the m deviation in Japan are identical at the two time periods). Similarity of work definition structure over time, however, does not mean that no important change takes place. The USA data best demonstrate this point where there is a significant increase between 1982 and 1989 in the number of individuals defining working in cost terms and a significant decrease in the number defining working in terms of contribution to society.

The empirical support in terms of both generality and replicability for the proposed ordered four category structure of work definitional statements suggested the real possibility that individuals might be assigned to one of four meaningful work definitional types plus a less meaningful 'mixed' group. The four meaningful groups are obviously a) those that define working primarily in *burden* terms; b) those that define working primarily in *constraint* terms; c) those that define working primarily in *responsibility and exchange* terms, and d) those that define working primarily in *social contribution* terms. In essence, we are trying to create an ordered variable from the work definition responses.

Belgium Time 1 (Stress .147)



Belgium Time 2 (Stress .172)

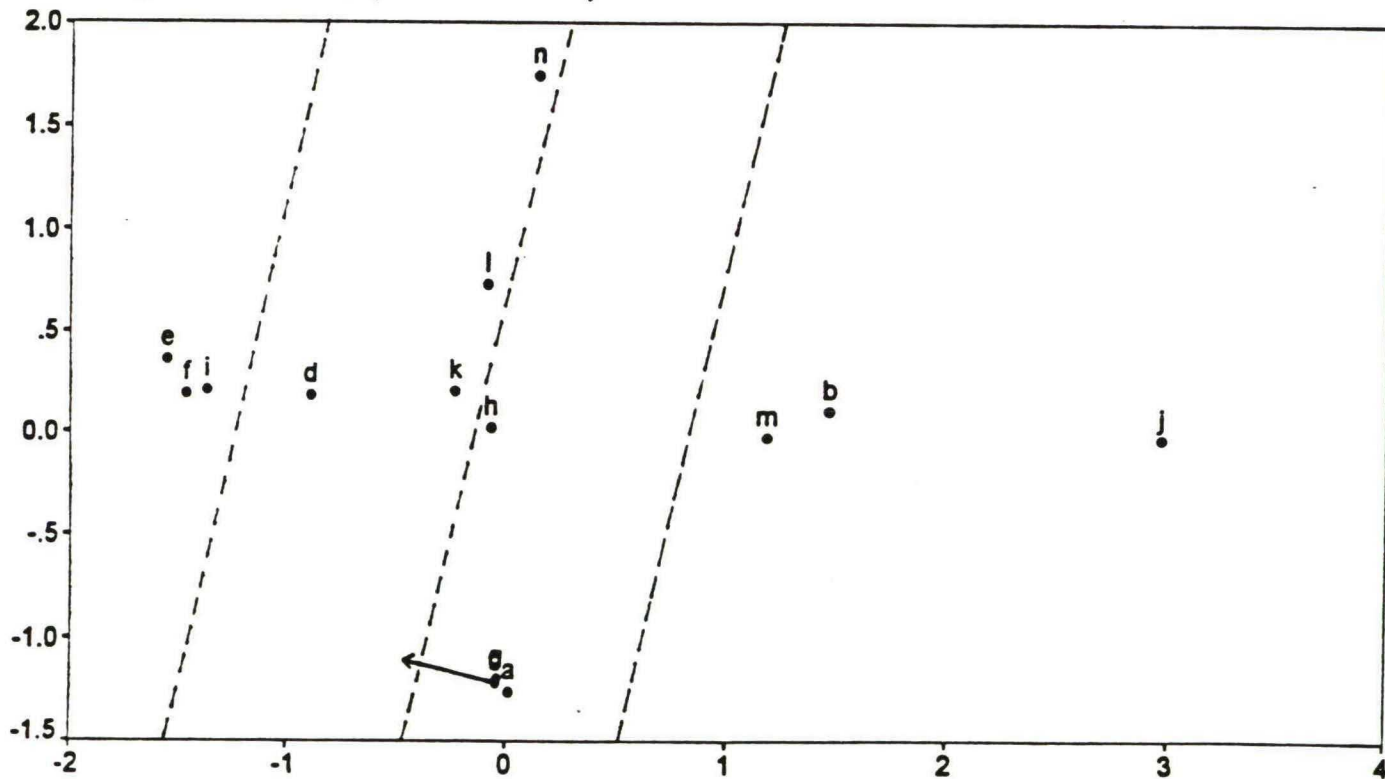
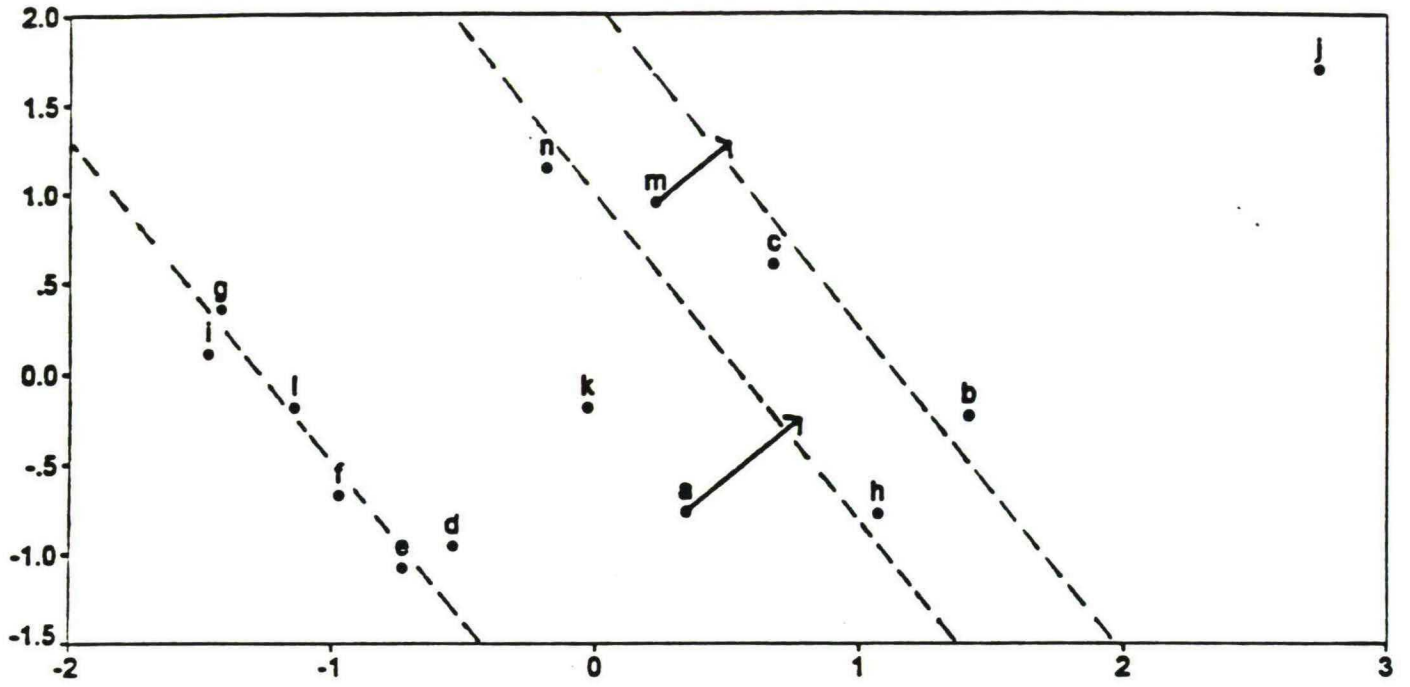


Figure 9

Germany Time 1 (Stress .184)



Germany Time 2 (Stress .204)

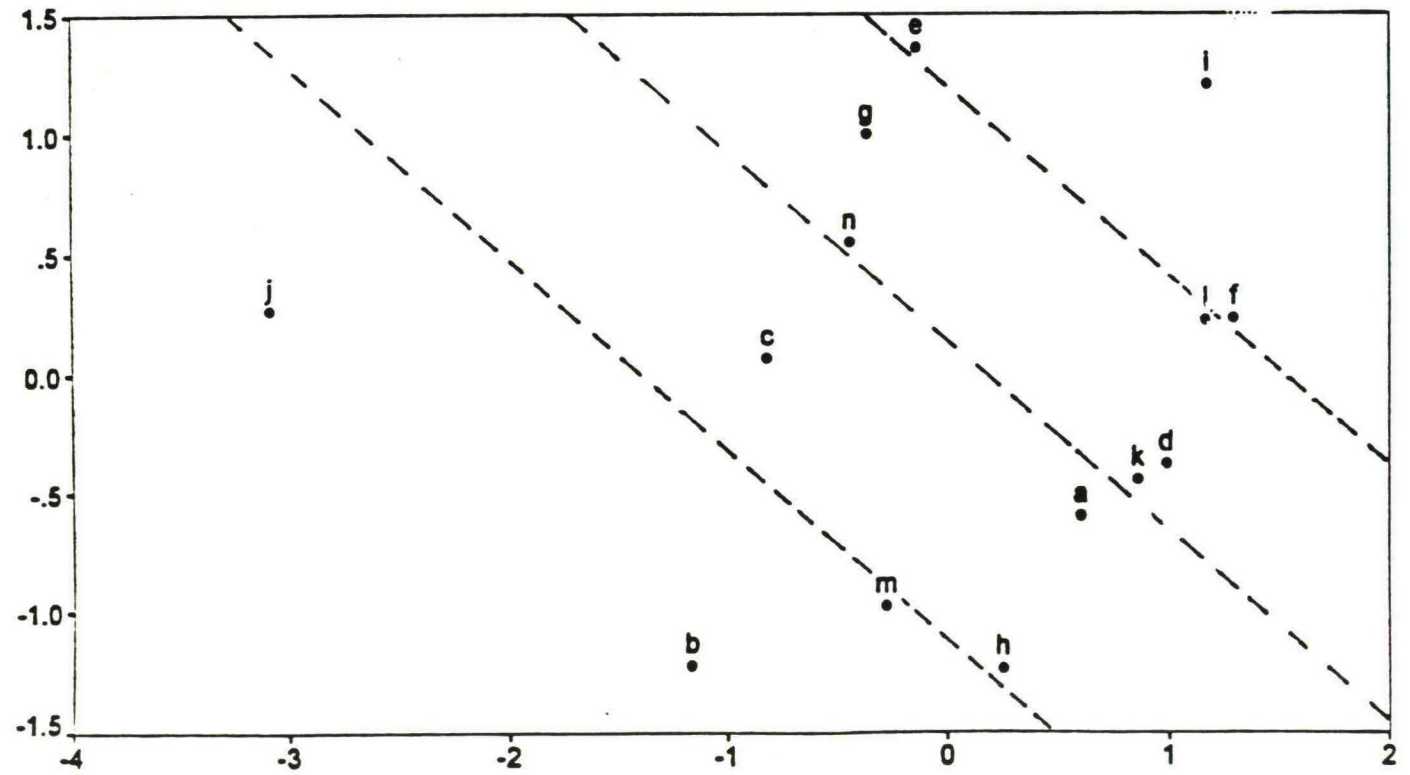
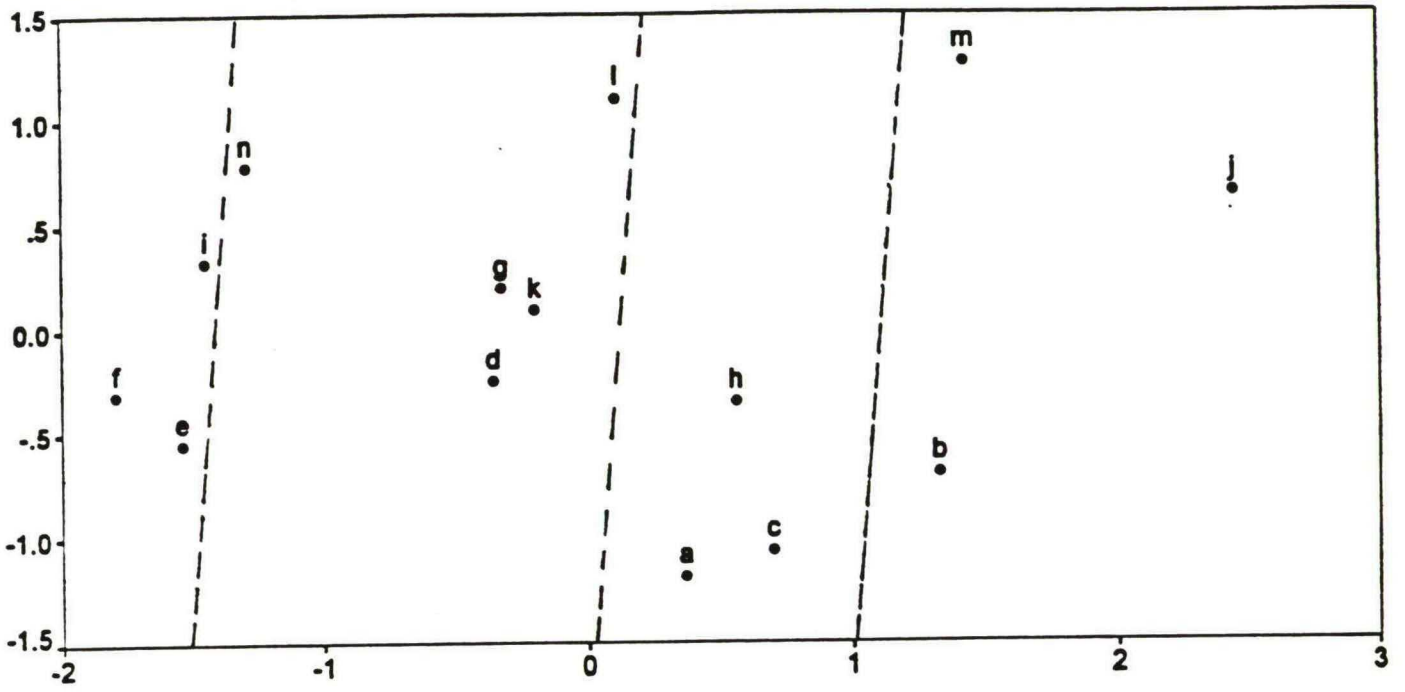


Figure 10

USA Time 1 (Stress .152)



USA Time 2 (Stress .156)

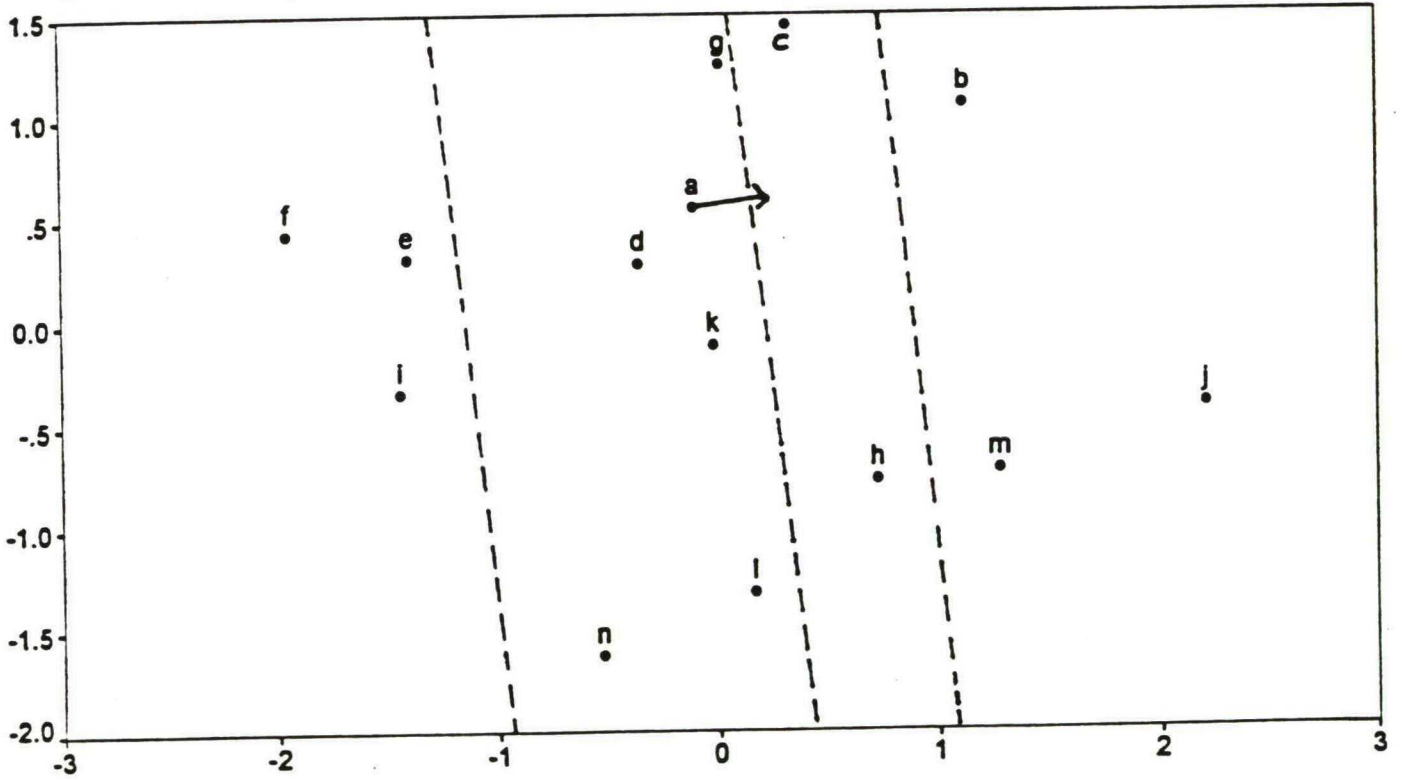
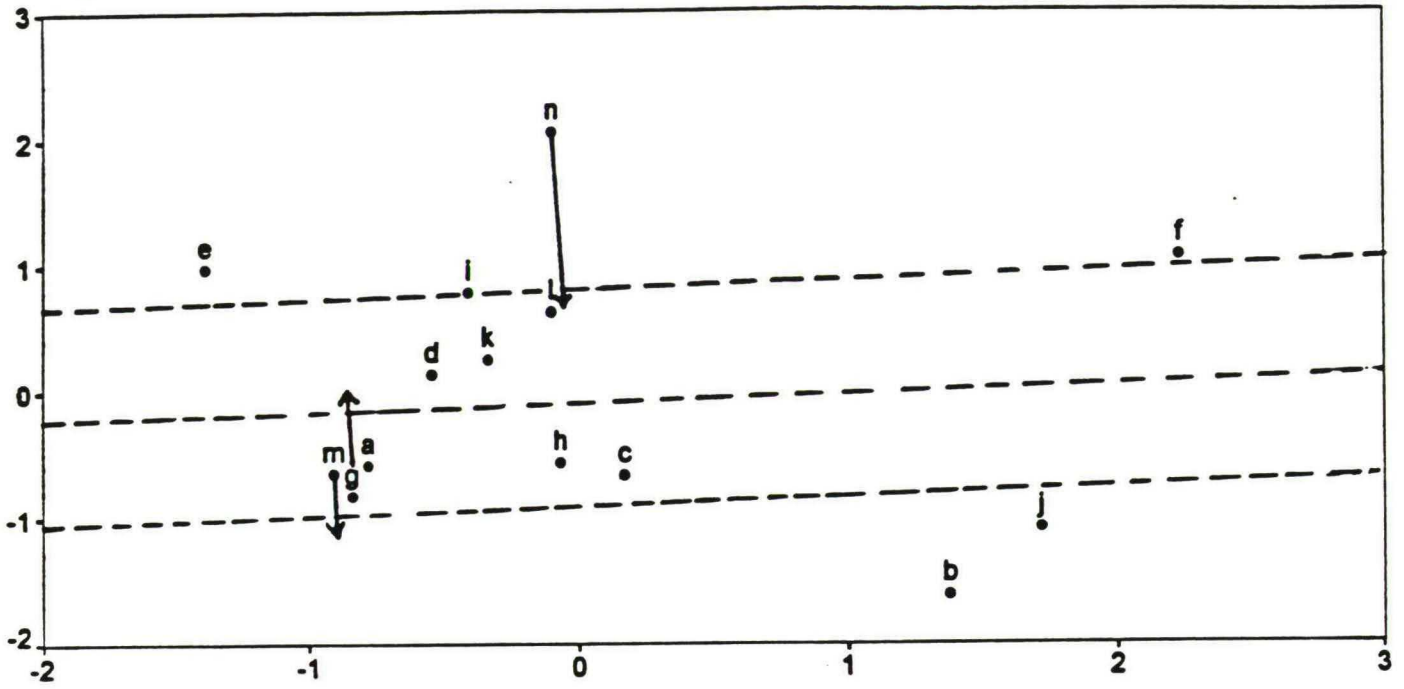


Figure 11

Japan Time 1 (Stress .177)



Japan Time 2 (Stress .144)

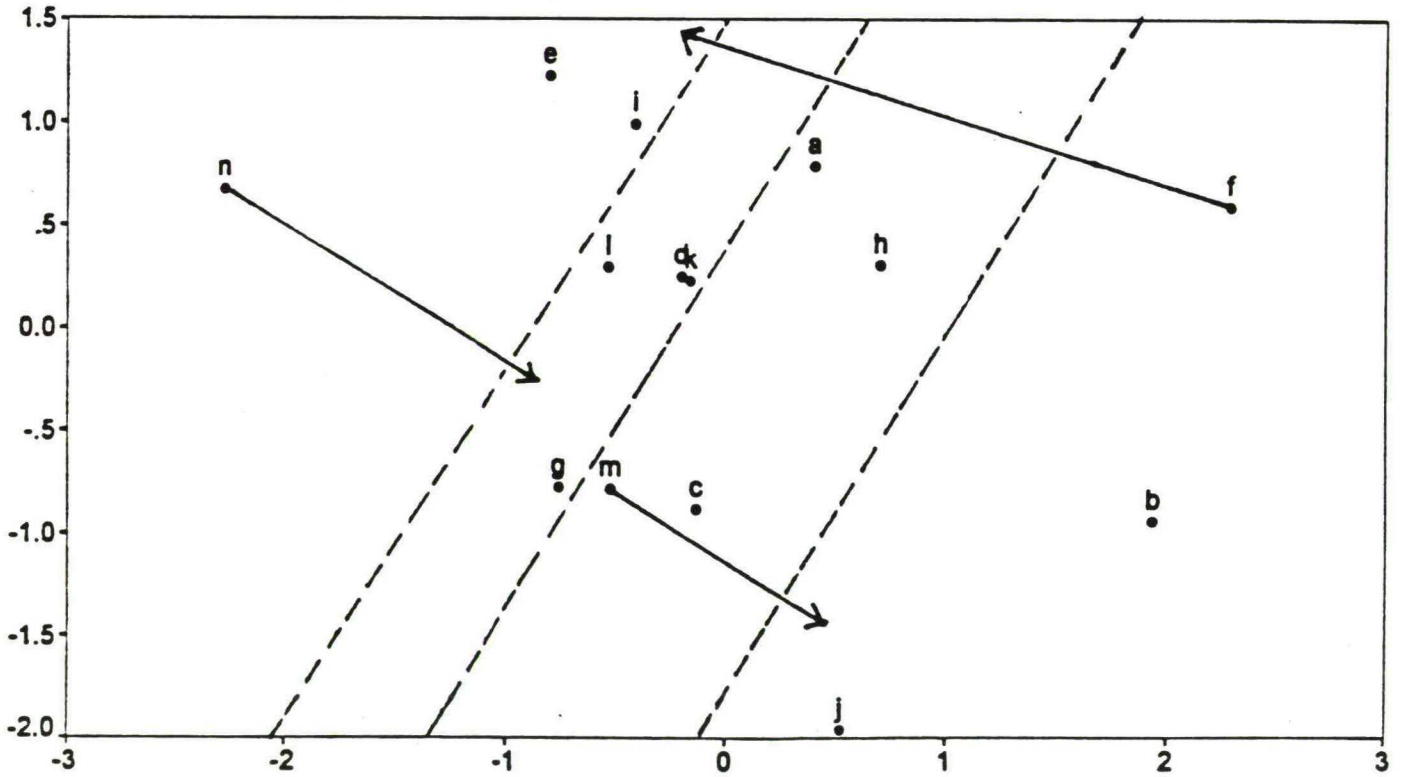


Figure 12

Each of the definitional items chosen by an individual was assigned a 1 if it was a Burden statement, a 2 if it was a Constraint statement, a 3 if it was a Responsibility and Exchange statement and a 4 if it was a Social Contribution statement. Given that four items were chosen and the number of possible statements for each category (3, 3, 5, 3) respectively, there are 32 unique combinations possible. The final assignment of these 32 combinations into the four meaningful groups and a mixed group is shown in Figure 13.

The major criterion used to assign the 32 combinations of work meaning statements into one of the four meaningful categories (Burden, Constraint, Responsibility and Exchange, and Social Contribution) was assignment to the category which was primarily used to define working. This criterion was operationalized by assigning combinations to a given category if more elements came from it than came from any other category. Using this decision rule, 25 combinations were assigned to the four content categories. Combinations 1 through 6 were assigned to the Burden category; 9 through 13 were assigned to the Constraint category; 16 through 22 were assigned to the Responsibility and Exchange category and 23 through 28 were assigned to the Social Contribution category. Three of the seven unassigned combinations (30, 31 and 32) are clearly mixed in content so were assigned to a Mixed category. Combinations 7, 8, 15 and 29 have two elements from one category and two elements from another category and in three of the four cases their elements come from adjacent categories. The final placement of combinations 7, 8, 15 and 29 was determined through Correspondence Analysis (CORRESP procedure, SAS Institute, 1989). Groups with combination 7, combination 8, combination 15 and combination 29 were treated as supplementary points (external information) and fitted into the two dimensional graphical display of the five category groups (burden through mixed) not including 7, 8, 15, and 29. These displays clearly showed that combinations 7 and 8 fit the burden category, combination 15 fit the constraint category and combination 29 fit the social contribution category. Thus each individual can be assigned to one of four meaningful work definitional groups and one less meaningful mixed group. The distribution of individuals into these five groups for each country-time period is shown at a later point.

#	element					#	elements				
1	1	1	1	2		16	3	3	3	3	
2	1	1	1	3		17	3	3	3	4	
3	1	1	1	4		18	3	3	3	2	Responsibility and and Exchange
4	1	1	2	3	Burden	19	3	3	3	1	
5	1	1	2	4		20	3	3	4	2	
6	1	1	3	4		21	3	3	4	1	
7	1	1	2	2		22	3	3	2	1	
8	1	1	3	3							
9	2	2	2	1		23	4	4	4	3	
10	2	2	2	3		24	4	4	4	2	
11	2	2	2	4		26	4	4	3	2	
12	2	2	1	3	Constraint	27	4	4	2	1	Social Contribution
13	2	2	1	4		28	4	4	3	1	
14	2	2	3	4		29	4	4	3	1	
15	2	2	3	3		29	4	4	3	3	
						30	1	2	3	4	
						31	1	1	4	4	Mixed
						32	2	2	4	4	

Figure 13. Assignment of 32 Combinations of 4 Work Definitional Statements to Categories (Burden, Constraint, Responsibility and Exchange, Social Contribution and Mixed)

Correspondence Analysis of Work Meanings

The preceding pages indicate that we have been quite successful in creating conceptually meaningful categorizations for each of our major work meaning components (Work Centrality, Societal Norms about Working, Work Goals (Values) and Work Definitions). The

categorizations are based on three different types of rationales. For Work Centrality, we only make distribution cuts which seem reasonable given the kind of data we have and our purpose for categorization. For Societal Norms about Working, we make definitional classifications produced by our interest in balance and imbalance between entitlements and obligations in four content areas (Working-a right or a duty), (Meaningful work-supplied by society or created by worker), (Work Improvement-top down vs. bottom up) and (Care for workers future-organizational responsibility vs. individual worker responsibility). For Work Goals and Work Definitions, we utilize similarity measures between items and represent these measures geometrically so that each item corresponds to a point in space and the greater the similarity between two items, the closer the points are to each other. SSA used for Work Goals and MDS used for Work Definitions yield such representations. Besides revealing useful information about each specific work meaning, these analysis were preparatory to an exploration of structural relationships among the four major work meaning components when all components have relatively similar (four to five) levels or categories. Given our data, Correspondence Analysis seemed the most logical procedure to provide information about overall structural relationships among our work meaning components.

It is worthwhile to provide the reader with sheer distributional data resulting from the various categorization processes. Table 4 provides the percentage frequency distribution for each work meaning variable, for each country at each of the two time periods. The plotting symbols which represent levels of each variable in the spatial diagrams are shown also in Table 4. For example, the plotting symbol 1 represents low WCI scores (2, 3 and 4); plotting symbol 2 represents moderately low WCI scores (5, 6); plotting symbol 3 represents moderately high WCI scores (7, 8) and plotting symbol 4 represents high WCI scores (9, 10 - the two highest scores possible). Although not a major issue here, Table 4 does show which countries are relatively high (or relatively low) on a given variable. For example, Japan is clearly the country with high WCI scores. The USA clearly has the highest proportion of obligation imbalance oriented labor force members. There clearly are fewer individuals in all countries who perceive social work goals as more important than Instrumental or Expressive work goals. One can also observe what seems to be changing most between the two time periods. For example, as earlier suggested, even though the work definition structures seem stable over time in each country, the higher percentage of the labor force defining working primarily in burden and constraint terms in the USA in 1989 and the lower percentage defining work in social contribution terms

(as compared to 1982) is significant in a statistical sense and quite certainly in a practical sense. Given the conceptual nature of the work meaning variables being utilized, it is not unreasonable to expect that various levels of the variables might combine to reflect two quite different orientations toward working. We would generally expect that higher levels of work centrality, work being defined in responsibility and exchange terms and in social contribution terms, having balanced or only moderately imbalanced societal norms about working and giving highest importance to expressive work goals ^O all these could signify a positive orientation toward ones working life. Conversely, we would expect that lower levels of work centrality, work being defined in burden and constraint terms, having highly imbalanced societal norms about working and giving highest importance to instrumental or material work goals ^O all these could signify a negative orientation towards ones working life. The questions of whether or not these expectations have merit; whether or not there are large country differences in the interaction patterns of our work meaning variables and whether or not the interaction patterns of work meaning variables are stable across the time periods are best answered by data and analysis.

Table 4. Percentage Frequency Distribution of Four Work Meaning Variables for Four Countries at Two Time Periods

Variable	Plotting Symbol	Belgium		Germany (FRG)		Japan		USA	
		1982	1990	1983	1989	1982	1991	1982	1989
Work Centrality Index		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
2,3,4	1	10.8	10.0	13.5	20.2	4.9	6.5	17.9	18.3
5,6	2	32.9	32.4	29.8	40.0	20.6	26.4	30.3	32.4
7,8	3	38.4	37.9	37.0	30.9	32.3	36.0	38.8	38.1
9,10	4	17.9	19.7	19.7	8.8	42.2	31.1	13.0	11.2
Societal Norms									
High Entitlement	5	26.4	23.4	19.0	21.1	9.4	11.8	5.2	4.9
Moderate Entitlement	6	38.6	45.2	43.3	45.6	45.7	47.9	27.3	27.3
Balanced	7	17.6	16.3	19.5	19.7	27.0	25.5	25.7	26.5
Moderate Obligation	8	15.1	14.0	16.3	12.0	16.5	13.8	35.0	35.3
High Obligation	9	2.4	1.1	1.0	1.5	1.3	1.1	6.8	6.0
Work Goals									
Instrumental	I	27.8	25.5	26.7	27.7	25.7	23.4	27.1	26.4
Social	S	16.0	15.7	15.3	15.5	18.0	17.2	15.8	16.8
Expressive	E	23.5	24.9	24.4	25.7	27.0	27.8	25.4	26.1
Mixed	M	32.7	33.9	33.6	31.2	29.2	31.6	31.6	30.7
Work Definitions									
Burden	B	8.0	7.1	5.5	6.3	1.0	3.5	5.4	9.2
Constraint	C	9.6	13.6	24.9	27.9	13.7	14.9	12.8	18.8
Resp./Exchange	R	41.4	46.7	46.4	49.0	63.1	61.4	40.5	43.7
Social Cont.	X	37.9	29.7	17.3	12.6	20.1	16.3	37.0	22.6
Mixed	V	3.1	2.9	5.9	4.2	2.1	4.0	4.3	5.7
Total N's		425	522	1052	1099	1802	2658	955	954

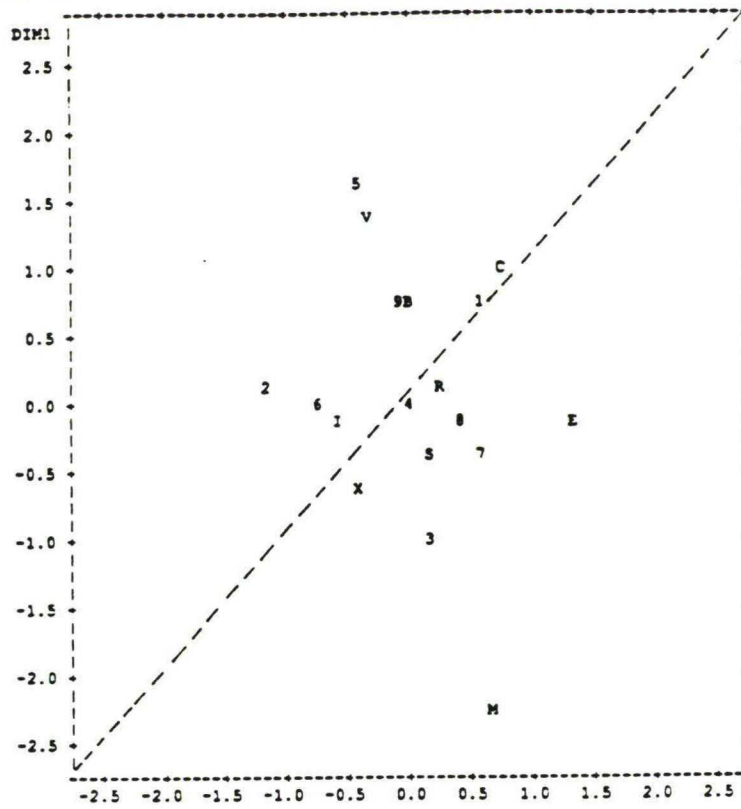
The 18 levels of the 4 work meaning variables were analyzed for each country-time period sample through the use of correspondence Analysis (CORRESP procedures, SAS Institute, 1989). Correspondence analysis is an exploratory data analysis technique for the graphical display of multivariate categorical data and seems well suited to situations with data like ours and questions like ours. The graphical displays of the 18 levels of the four variables as points in two dimensional space for each country at two time periods are presented in Figures 14, 15, 16 and 17. The 18 data points in the figures for each sample (country x time period) appear distributed somewhat strangely until we recall that our basic query asks only the questions: can we partition the data point space in a manner that reflects two orientations toward working, a positive orientation and a negative orientation? And, is the partitioning in line with our expectations? We have drawn a straight broken line in the plane of each graph that makes the best partitioning we can. Given this reference line, levels of variables can be seen as going together, i.e., on the same side of the partitioning line. Using Belgium-time period 1 as an example, to the left of the diagonal partitioning line are found work centrality Index levels 1 and 2 (low and moderately low WCI); B and C (burden and constraint work definitions); 5, 6 and 9 (high entitlement imbalance, moderate entitlement imbalance and high obligation imbalance on societal norms); and I (high importance assigned to instrumental work goals).

V and M represent mixed work definition patterns and mixed work goal patterns respectively. Neither of these is used in interpreting results since they represent highly heterogeneous groups by definition. Also note that to the right of the diagonal line for Belgium ^O time period 1, we find 3 and 4 (moderately high and high levels of WCI); R and X (responsibility and exchange and social contribution work definitions); 6 and 8 (balanced and moderate obligation imbalanced societal norms) and S and E (high importance level social work goal groups and high importance level expressive work goal groups). The partitioning represents a negative orientation to ones working life to the left of the diagonal and a positive orientation to ones working life to the right of the diagonal for the first Belgian sample. One needs to consider each country - time period graph in the same way, however, all of the graph results are combined in Table 5 for easier inspection.

The tabulated results in Table 5 show that with three exceptions (all in USA time 1 data), the partitioning in each country at both time periods produces quite similar findings. A positive view of working life is represented by high or moderately high WCI levels; by norm balance

or moderate obligation imbalance in societal norms about working; by assigning high importance to expressive work goals and by defining working in responsibility/exchange and in social contribution terms. Conversely, a negative view of working is represented by low or moderately low WCI levels, by highly imbalanced (in either direction) societal norms about working as well as by moderately imbalanced entitlement norms; and by defining working in burden or constraint terms. These are the strongest findings and they support the notion of similar content definitions of the two orientations to working life (positive or negative) among countries and for each country at both time periods. Thus generality across our four nations and generality across time periods for each country (replicability) is found in terms of the patterning of our four work meaning variables as representing either a positive or negative orientation toward ones working life.

Belgium time 1



Belgium time 2

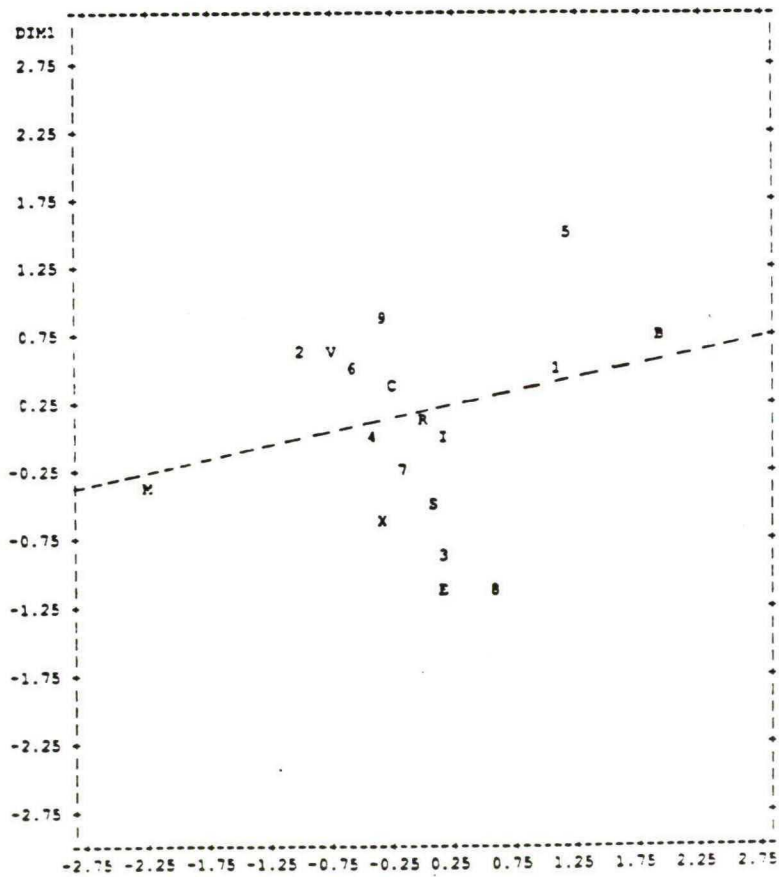
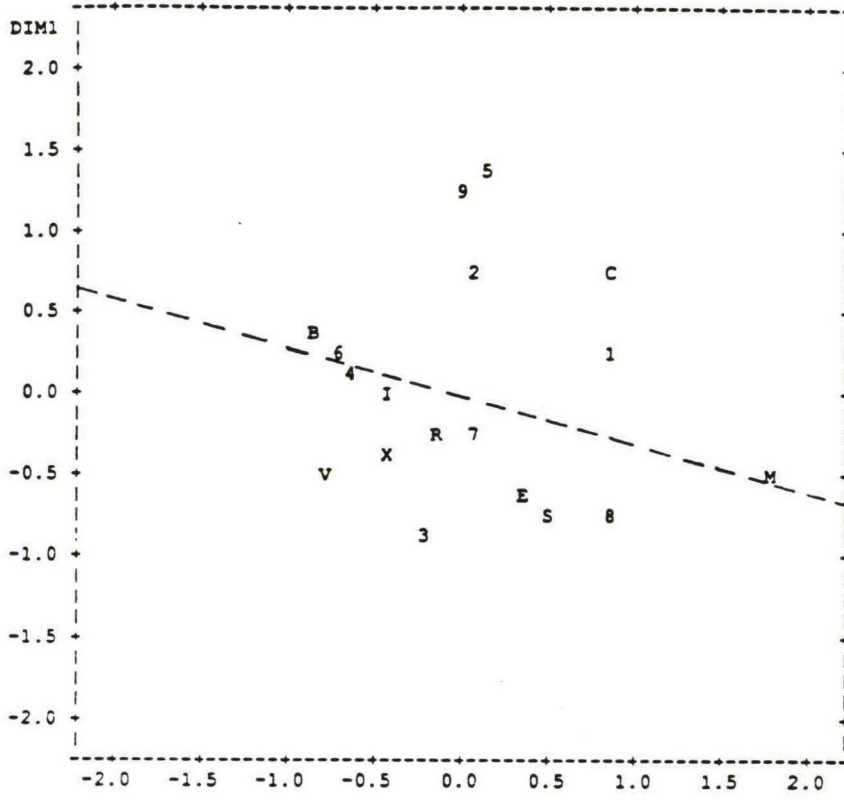


Figure 14

Two Dimensional Correspondence Analysis Plots - Belgium

Germany time 1



Germany time 2

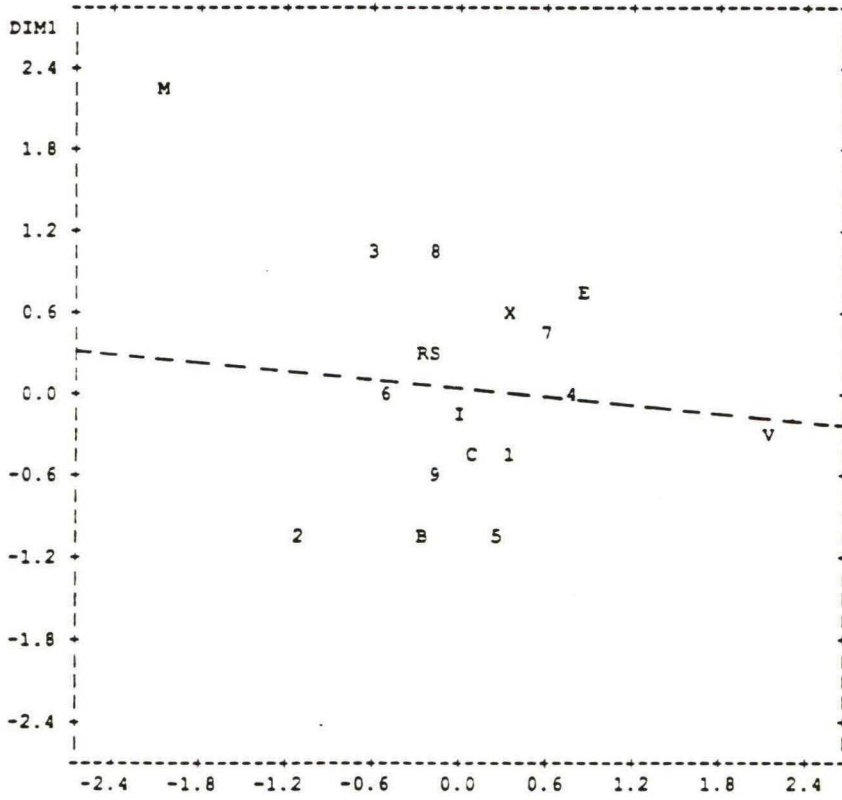
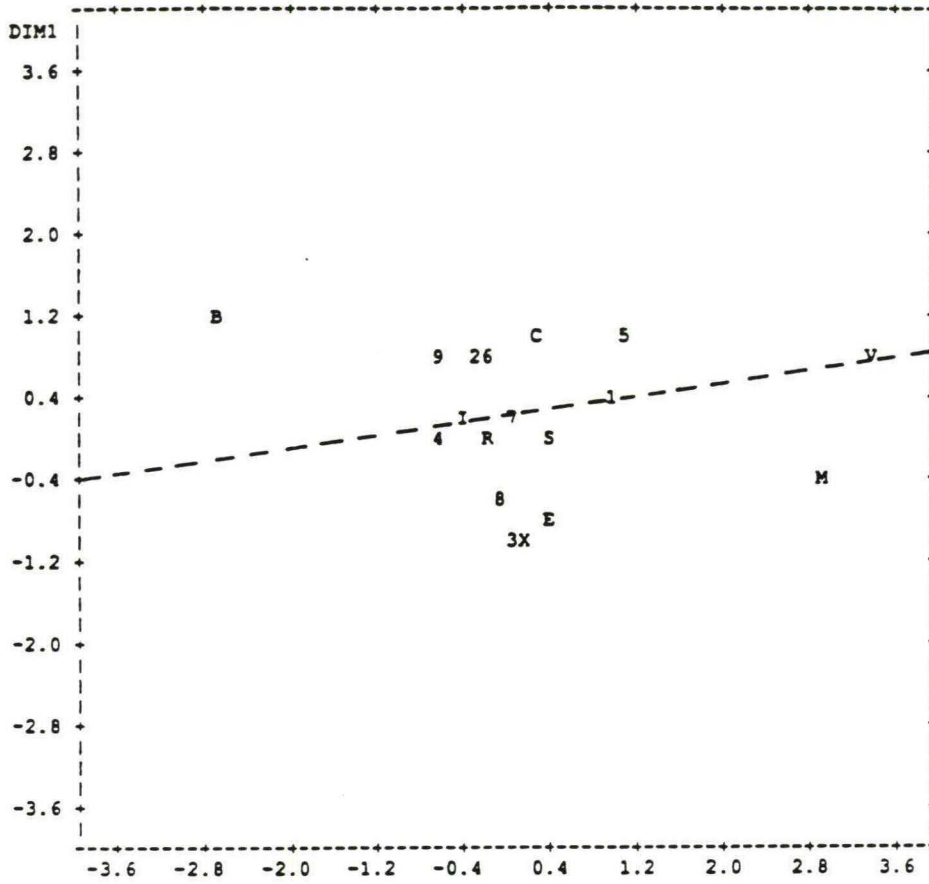


Figure 15

Two Dimensional Correspondence Analysis Plots - Germany

Japan time 1



Japan time 2

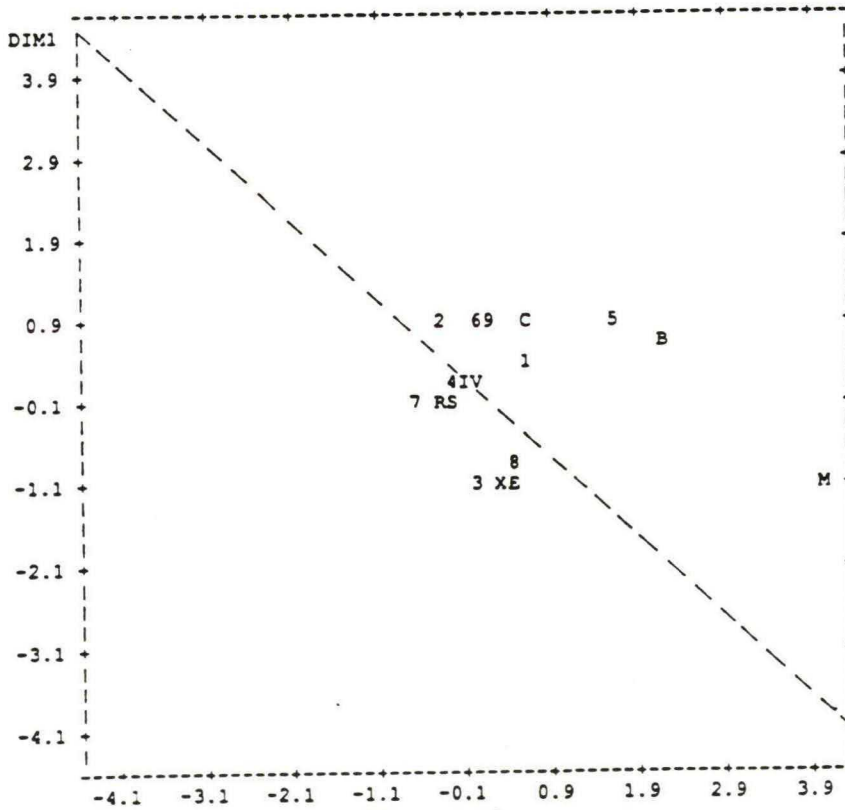
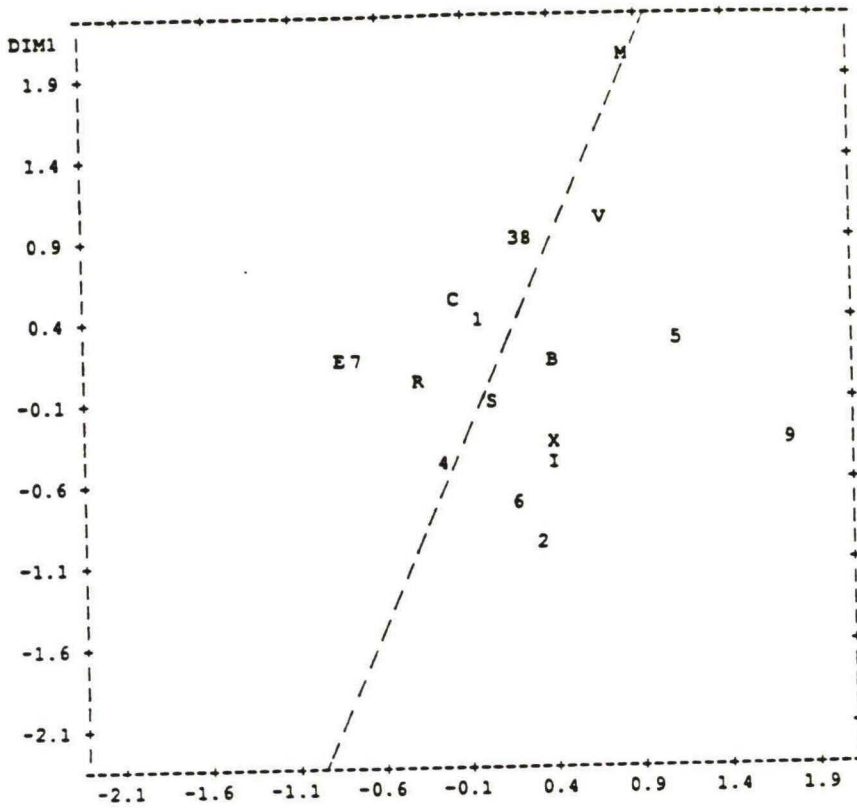


Figure 16

Two Dimensional Correspondence Analysis Plots - Japan

USA time 1



USA time 2

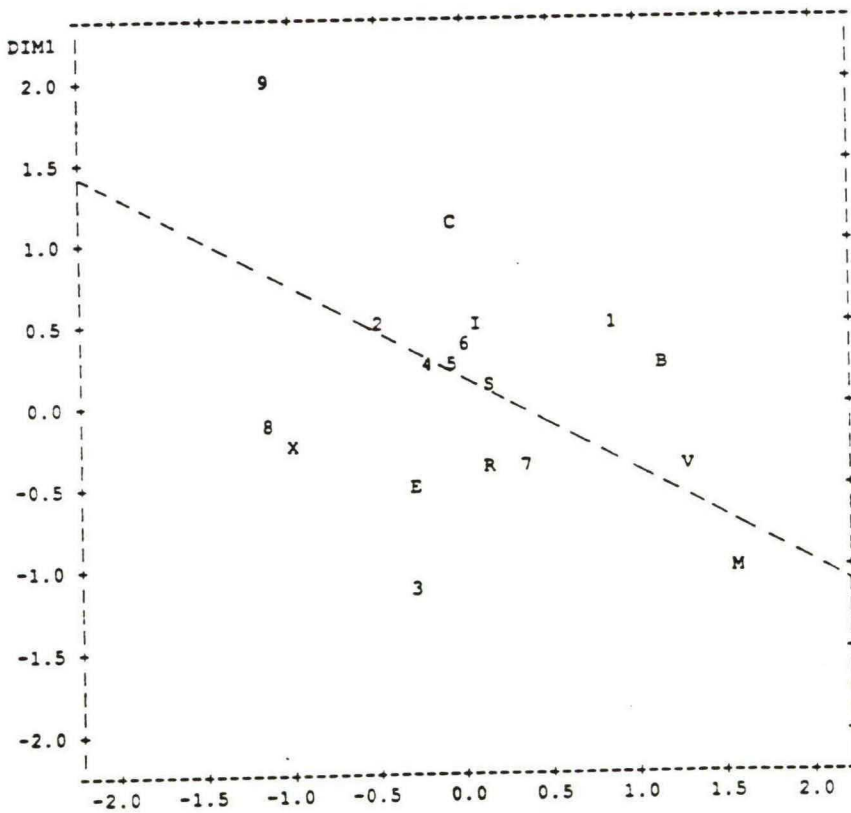


Figure 17

Two Dimensional Correspondence Analysis Plots - USA

Table 5. Tabulation of Work Meaning Variable Levels for each Country-Time Period Sample as + (falling in the positive space) or as - (falling in the negative space). Results from Figures 14,15, 16, and 17.

WCI	Symbol	B 1	B 2	G 1	G 2	J 1	J 2	USA1	USA2	Total+'s	Total-'s
Low	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	1	7
Moderate Low	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	8
Moderate High	3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8	0
High	4	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8	0
Societal Norms											
High Ent. Imbalance	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	8
Moderate Ent.Imbalance	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	8
Balanced	7	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8	0
Mod.Oblig.Imbalance	8	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8	0
High Oblig. Imbalance	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	8
Work Goals											
Instrumental	I	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	3	5
Social	S	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	6	2
Expressive	E	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8	0
Mixed	M	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	6	2
Work Definitions											
Burden	B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	8
Constraint	C	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	1	7
Resp./Exchange	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8	0
Social Cont.	X	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	7	1
Mixed	V	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	2	6

Major Conclusion and Further Thoughts

The major conclusion flowing from this research effort can be stated succinctly. The structure of each of the four work meaning components studied is relatively constant across the four countries and across time periods for each country. These findings allow the quantification of each work meaning component as a variable whose levels have a meaning base grounded in definitional rationality. Given these two situations and the importance and breadth of the content covered by the work meanings, it is reasonable to expect that the work meaning variables would interact in a way that reflects either a positive orientation to ones working life or a negative orientation to ones working life. The data in Figures 14, 15, 16 and 17 and in Table 5 support the notion that the work meaning variables do indeed interact in a way that reflects either a positive orientation to ones working life or a negative orientation to ones working life.

The task of developing important implications from the major conclusion of this research is complicated and not at all straight forward because we are dealing with complex relationships and a complex subject matter. We would suggest, however, that further conceptual and empirical effort be expended in several areas.

- What are the work related backgrounds of individuals having a positive orientation toward their working life and of individuals having a negative orientation toward their working life? England, (1990) utilizing time 1 MOW data from Germany, Japan and the United States reports:

'Analysis of work meaning data from representative national labour force samples in Germany, Japan and the United States shows that there is a strong contingency between work meaning pattern membership of individuals and levels of outcome realisation on outcomes generally considered important to the individual (income, quality of work, occupational satisfaction, and job satisfaction).' p. 29.

While we now know that the hierarchical clustering procedure then used to assign individuals to work meaning clusters or patterns results in less pattern stability than is desirable, the strong contingency relationships found are evidence that this could be a fruitful area for further thought and research.

- What are the relative proportions of individuals having a positive orientation toward their working life and having a negative orientation toward their working life in the labor forces studied? At present, we can only make crude range estimates of 35% to 65% for

each of the two orientations. Certainly, with additional thought and effort, better estimates can be made from our own data.

- What work behavior expectations logically flow from having a positive orientation toward your working life and from having a negative orientation toward your working life? Certainly, not something as simple as individuals having a positive orientation toward their working life will have higher levels of work performance than will individuals having a negative orientation toward their working life. More likely in our thinking are the possibilities that the two orientations might differ in 'performance motivation' or in 'effort outlay.' Again, further conceptual and empirical work seems warranted.
- Finally, if we knew more about the developmental history, the relative proportions, and logical work behavior expectations flowing from having a positive orientation to ones working life and having a negative orientation to ones working life; would it provide insight into real life work related problems of individuals and organizations? Such issues as the need for flexible work forces, movement toward multi-cultural or multi-ethnic work forces, retirement policies, redundancy, unemployment and downsizing ^O all are the types of issues that should be explored with increased knowledge about positive and negative orientations toward working lives.

Footnotes

- 1 The sample sizes represent the total N of useable interviews. The sample sizes representing those who had complete information on all parts of all four working meaning components are show in parentheses.
- 2 For similar concepts see Dubin (1956), Dubin et. al. (1975), Dubin et al. (1976) and Kanungo (1982). For an earlier MOW project discussion of Work Centrality, see MOW International Research Team (1987), Chapter 5.
- 3 See MOW International Research Team, (1987) pp. 81, 90, 91.
- 4 Each statement was answered on a four point Likert scale measuring degree of agreement with the statement as follows: (strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly agree). Scores for the agreement choices were 1, 2, 3, 4 respectively.
- 5 To allow for descriptive charts and percentage tables of results, a categorized version of the overall normative orientation index (ONO) is used. This descriptive index (DI) is calculated in the following way: For each item pair the result was independent of the size of the difference coded as either -1 (entitlement imbalance), 0 (balance), or +1 (obligation imbalance). Adding up the values of the four pairs leads to a theoretical range from -4 (entitlement imbalance) to +4 (obligation imbalanced). For reference purpose we distinguish five categories in the following, which are labeled according to the absolute value. Values 3 and 4 are called highly imbalanced,' the values 1 and 2 as 'moderately imbalanced,' and the value 0 'balanced.' Thus the following results for the summary index will describe persons in reference to five categories as either being balanced in work norms, moderately imbalanced toward an entitlement orientation, moderately imbalanced toward an obligation orientation, highly imbalanced toward an entitlement orientation or highly imbalanced toward an obligation orientation.
- 6 The directional imbalance score is constructed by weighting the appropriate portion of each national sample as follows:
 - 2 times proportion showing high entitlement imbalance
 - 1 times proportion showing moderate entitlement imbalance
 - 0 times proportion showing balanced norms
 - + 1 times proportion showing moderate obligation imbalance
 - + 2 times proportion showing high obligation imbalanceThis index has a possible range of -2 to +2. A positive index for a country indicates an overall imbalance toward an obligation orientation while a negative index signifies an

overall imbalance toward an entitlement orientation.

- 7 Analysis of variance results.
- 8 Scheffe-Test with $p < .05$.
- 9 For more detailed information about factors affecting societal Norm Imbalance, see Quintanilla and England (1993).
- 10 For earlier influences on the work goal development in the MOW project, see MOW International Research Team (1987) chapter 7.
- 11 A significant part of this material was presented at the Fourth International Conference on Work Values and Behavior: Research and Managerial Applications. The conference was organized by (ISSWOV) The International Society for the Study of Work and Organizational Values in Barcelona, Spain, July 10-13, 1994.

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