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S. Antonio Ruiz-Quintanilla
Cornell University

George W. England
University of Oklahoma

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Keywords

balance, work, labor, market, time, point, orientation, obligation, duty, entitlement, right, labor force, German, improvement, future

Comments

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S. Antonio Ruiz Quintanilla

Center for Advanced Human Resource Studies

School of Industrial and Labor Relations

Cornell University

Ithaca, NY 14853-3901

and

George W. England

CEMR, The University of Oklahoma

Abstract

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1. Introduction

Norms are guides and standards which influence the way in which people live. They specify accepted rights and duties of individuals and influence human behavior by providing information on the probable approval or disapproval associated with behaving in certain ways in given situations.

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 may well lead to some sanction; thus generally nonconformity with norms is punished while conformity is rewarded.

In summary, we can define norms 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 and/or to meet expectations and gain positive sanctions. Thus the two basic elements of norms can be identified as: behavior prescription and evaluation (Jackson 1960).

This article is concerned with societal norms about working. We use the term "societal" norms 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 a

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. In the following study, we will label groups as having a balanced normative view, if members consider both sides of the coin - the obligation and the entitlement aspects - 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.

Content Domains

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 focussed on the interplay between the labor market and 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 one places the responsibility on the worker to provide sense (meaning) to the work one does.

Work Improvements can be initiated at the top of the organization and work their 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. particpative procedures. On the other hand, an institution 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 request 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.

2. Hypotheses

Little empirical research has been published focussing on these specific normative views on the level of groups and societies. Given the limited knowledge base, hypotheses cannot be drawn from former research but instead an inductive approach has to be utilized.

3. Method

The four matched sets of entitlement and obligation statements used in the following analysis are presented in Figure 1.

(Figure 1 about here)

Content Indices:

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

Overall Normative Orientation (ONO):

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 single content scores. Therefore, the theoretical range of the overall normative orientation index (ONO) reaches from -12 (for highly entitlement oriented) to +12 (highly obligation oriented).[1]

4. Samples

The data reported in this article come from interviewing representative national labor force samples of the employed labor force in each of four nations at two time periods. 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 and at the two time periods. The sample size and times of data collection were as follows:

    Belgium - The studies were done only in Flanders.
          1982 - N = 450
          1990 - N = 539

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[1] To allow for descriptive charts and percentage tables of the 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 imbalanced) to +4 (obligation imbalanced). For reference purpose we distinguish five categories in the following, which are labelled according to the absolute value. Values 3 and 4 are called "highly imbalanced," the value 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.

Germany - The studies were done only in FRG.

> 1983 - N = 1278
> 1989 - N = 1187

Japan

> 1982 - N = 3226
> 1991 - N = 3133

USA

> 1982 - N = 1000
> 1989 - N = 1002

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

5. Results

Overall Normative Orientation:

Table 1 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.[2]

(Table 1 about here)

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 2) confirms that the mean labor force ONO values of Belgium and

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[2]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 imbalance

This 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.

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 2 about here)

Table 2 also shows that only the Japanese national labor force significantly changed their normative orientation over the time period from 1982/83 to 1989/91 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 1989/91 Japanese labor force approaches the imbalance level which characterized the Germans in 1982/83. This change towards a higher overall entitlement imbalance orientation in the Japanese labor force as opposed to the observed stability in the other three labor forces is reflected in the significant country X time interaction in table 3. Table 3 also confirms that most of the variance in the overall normative orientation index (ONO) is explained by country differences, while changes over time and the interaction term add only limited additional explanatory power. These results support our expectation that norms in general, and work norms in our specific case are relatively stable over time and undergo only moderate change under normal circumstances.

(Table 3 about here)

Content Indices:

Figure 2 charts the mean ONO values 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).

(Figure 2 about here)

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 (see table 4), and significantly rare among the U.S. respondents, who tend to emphasize the duty aspect slightly more than the right to work aspect.

(Table 4 about here)

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 2 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 2, it is again apparent that the time differences are relatively minor. Table 4 shows the eight significant time differences that are found and they seem generally not to be of sufficient magnitude and/or consistent direction to suggest any major importance. 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 (see table 4).

Influences on Normative Orientations:

To better understand what factors might be responsible for the observed work norm orientation differences, several analyses were conducted. Table 5 presents the Anova results for the overall normative orientation when age is included as a covariate and country, year, education, gender and occupational group are included as factors. Results from Table 5 show that independent of the covariate age and the other factors, country has the strongest explanatory power. Next in importance to explain differences in the normative views about working is age, followed by occupation, gender, time difference and finally educational background.

Table 6 reports results from a set of multiple regression analyses in each country. The dependent variable was the overall normative orientation index while time of study, age, educational level, gender and occupation were included as predictors.

Finally for illustrative purposes, Tables 7 and 8 show the percentage distributions of the overall Normative Orientation Index (DI) for age groups and for gender groups.

(Tables 5, 6, 7 and 8 about here)

General observations from these tables are as follows. Respondents tend to become less entitlement imbalanced with higher age and higher occupational level. As shown in Table 6, these relationships are significant within each of the four countries. The age results are presented in tabular form in Table 7 for ease in observation.

We find a tendency for female labor force participants to be more entitlement imbalanced than are male labor force participants. The tabled results for gender (Table 8) suggest that this is true at both time points while Table 6 shows that there is a significant gender effect on normative orientation in Belgium, Japan and the USA but not in Germany. Table 5 results

remind us that the variance explained in the overall normative orientation by gender is relatively small.

There is a tendency for higher levels of education to go with greater entitlement orientation imbalance. This relationship is significant in Belgium and Germany but no such relationship is found in Japan or the USA (See Table 6). Again, we must remember Table 5 results which show that the variance explained in the overall normative orientation by educational level is quite small.

6. Conclusions and Implications

A major conclusion from this research is that societal norms about working (as measured here) are national in character and country differences in normative orientations are paramount in our data. The nature of these country differences are most clearly shown in Table 1 and Figure 2. 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 and 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.

A more balanced labor force in the present context of matched sets of entitlement and obligation statements can come about in two ways. First, a labor force is more balanced as a greater proportion of its members respond to all item pairs in balanced fashion. In Table 1, this

is the row labeled "balanced." Looking at the percentages of "balanced" shows that about 1 in 5 are balanced in the Belgian and German labor forces while about 1 in 4 are balanced in the Japanese and American labor forces. Secondly, a labor force is more balanced the greater the symmetry of the distribution of its labor force around the balance point. Comparing the symmetry of the distributions around the balance point for each nation at both time points (Table 1) clearly shows high symmetry for the USA labor force, less for Japan and considerably less for Belgium and Germany. Detailed examination of the item pairs in each domain shows the same general outcome. The labor force percentages showing complete balance are higher in Japan and the USA and lower in Belgium and Germany. The degree of symmetry around the "complete balance" category is greatest in the USA, less in Japan and much less in Belgium and Germany.

The "directional imbalance score" shown on the last line of Table 1 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 this study 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, it seems clear that in each country entitlement imbalance declines with increasing age and with increasing occupational level. The significant impact of age upon normative orientation is found for each of the four matched sets of entitlement and obligation statements in each of the four nations and is the strongest and most consistent relationship. There is a slight and somewhat inconsistent pattern for females to be more entitlement imbalanced than males and for higher levels of education to go with greater entitlement imbalance. The combined explanatory power of age, occupation, gender and education accounts for 6-8% of the variance in overall normative orientation in the four countries.

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Figure 1:   Matched Sets of Entitlement and Obligation Statements[3]

	Entitlement	Obligation
Set 1: Work Itself: 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: Meaningful Work: Supplied by society or created by 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: Work Improvements: 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: Care for the future: 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.

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[3]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.

Table 1: Percentage distribution of Overall Normative Orientation Index (DI) in four National Labor Forces from surveys in 1982/83 and 1989/91 (N = 11470) (-4,-3 = High) (-2,-1 = Moderate) (0 = Balanced) (1,2 = Moderate) (3,4 = High).

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

Table 2: Mean values (SD's in brackets) of Overall Normative Orientation Index (ONO) by country and time of study (N = 11815).

COUNTRY		Mean ONO Index	Time difference[4]
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[5]	T2	G,B < J < U	

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[4]Analysis of variance results

[5]Scheffe-Test with p < .05

Table 3: Anova for Overall Normative Orientation Index (ONO) by country and time of study (N = 11470).

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif. of F
Main Effects	5049.658	4	1262.414	278.086	.000
COUNTRY	4905.747	3	1635.249	360.214	.000
TIME	140.074	1	140.074	30.856	.000
2-way Interactions	54.496	3	18.165	4.002	.007
COUNTRY TIME	54.496	3	18.165	4.002	.007
Explained	5104.154	7	729.165	160.621	.000
Residual	52033.540	11462	4.540		
Total	57137.695	11469	4.982		

FIGURE 2
MEAN OVERALL NORMATIVE INDEX VALUES
BY CONTENT DOMAIN FOR FOUR COUNTRIES
AT TWO TIME PERIODS (N = 11815)
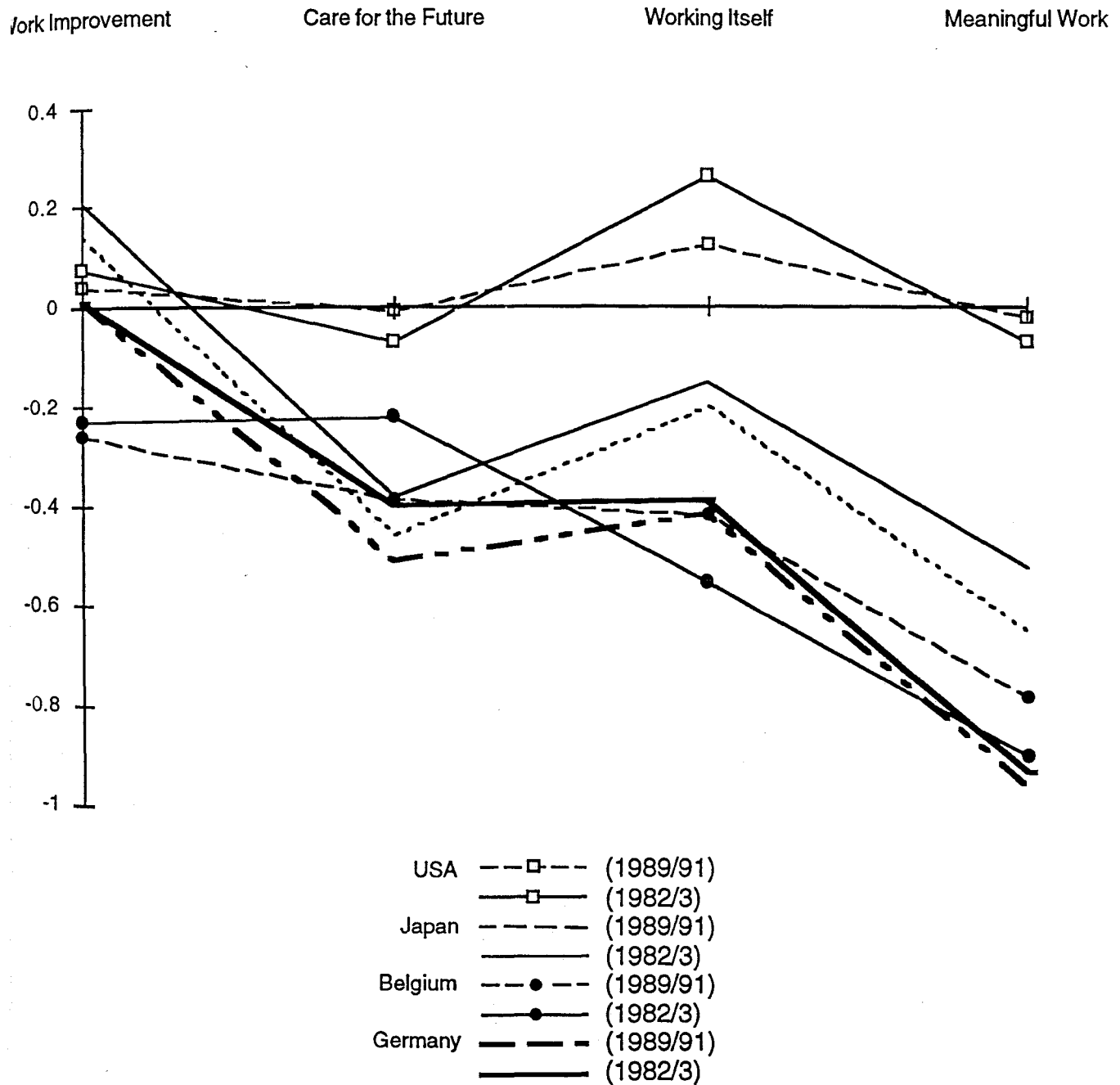
Table 4:   Mean values (SD's in brackets) of single societal norm domain indices by country and time of study (N = 11815).

COUNTRY	CONTENT DOMAIN				Time difference[6]
	WORKING	MEANING	IMPROVE	FUTURE	
Belgium T1	-.55 (.94)	-.90 (1.28)	-.23 (.86)	-.22 (1.10)	WORKING: F=4.89 p<.03
Belgium T2	-.42 (.98)	-.78 (1.19)	-.26 (.87)	-.39 (1.00)	FUTURE: F=6.44 p<.02
Germany T1	-.39 (.85)	-.93 (1.19)	.01 (.98)	-.40 (1.22)	FUTURE: F=5.65 p<.02
Germany T2	-.42 (.92)	-.96 (1.22)	.01 (.88)	-.51 (1.02)	
Japan T1	-.15 (.79)	-.52 (1.03)	.21 (.71)	-.38 (.79)	WORKING: F=5.69 p<.02 MEANING: F=27.65 p<.001
Japan T2	-.20 (.80)	-.65 (1.00)	.14 (.70)	-.46 (.83)	IMPROVE: F=17.21 p<.001 FUTURE: F=14.22 p<.001
USA T1	.26 (.96)	-.07 (1.01)	.08 (.81)	-.07 (.91)	WORKING: F=13.04 p<.001
USA T2	.12 (.88)	-.02 (.92)	.04 (.71)	-.01 (.91)	
Country T1	B<G<J<U	G,B<J<U	B<G,U<J	G,J<B,U	
Difference[7] T2	G,B<J<U	G<B,J<U	B<G,U<J	G,J,B<U	

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[6]Analysis of variance results

[7]Scheffe-Test with p < .05

Table 5: Anova for Overall Normative Orientation Index by country, time of study, education, occupation, gender, and age (N = 10752 cases).

Source of Variation		Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif of F
Covariates		1856.930	1	1856.930	436.596	.000
AGE		1856.930	1	1856.930	436.596	.000
Main Effects		6288.098	14	449.150	105.603	.000
COUNTRY		4738.554	3	1579.518	371.372	.000
TIME		92.626	1	92.626	21.778	.000
EDUCATION		41.187	3	13.729	3.228	.022
GENDER		140.732	1	140.732	33.088	.000
OCCUPATION		702.979	6	117.163	27.547	.000
2-way Interactions		855.435	70	12.221	2.873	.000
COUNTRY	TIME	46.349	3	15.450	3.632	.012
COUNTRY	EDUCATION	86.115	9	9.568	2.250	.017
COUNTRY	GENDER	47.148	3	15.716	3.695	.011
COUNTRY	OCCUPATION	288.874	18	16.049	3.773	.000
TIME	EDUCATION	2.841	3	.947	.223	.881
TIME	GENDER	3.633	1	3.633	.854	.355
TIME	OCCUPATION	43.185	6	7.198	1.692	.118
EDUCATION	GENDER	22.141	3	7.380	1.735	.158
EDUCATION	OCCUPATION	84.206	18	4.678	1.100	.344
GENDER	OCCUPATION	58.270	6	9.712	2.283	.033
Explained		9000.463	85	105.888	24.896	.000
Residual		45364.637	10666	4.253		
Total		54365.100	10751	5.057		

Table 6:   Standardized Beta-weights for Multiple regression of the Overall
            Normative Orientation Index for each country.[8]

Predictor	Belgium	Germany	Japan	USA
TIME	.04	-.02	-.09**	-.01
AGE	.18**	.22**	.19**	.18**
OCCUPATION	.13**	.15**	.08**	.07**
GENDER	-.11**	.00	-.06**	-.16**
EDUCATION	-.13**	-.13**	.02	-.01
Adjusted R^2	.08	.07	.06	.06
Standard Error	2.45	2.50	1.82	1.97
Sample Size	934	2365	5495	1958

[8]significance level *p < .05 **p < .01

Table 7: Age Differences
Percentage distribution of Overall Normative Orientation Index (DI) in four National Labor Forces from surveys in 1982/83 (T1) and 1989/91 (T2) (N = 11459) (-4,-3 = High) (-2,-1 = Moderate) (0 = Balanced) (1,2 = Moderate) (3,4 = High)

	Age	Belgium		Germany		Japan		USA	
		T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2
High Obligation Imbalance	Under 30	.6	1.0	.6	.7	1.5	.7	4.2	3.7
	30-39	2.0	.9	1.8	.9	.7	.4	5.6	7.3
	40-49	6.4	1.3	2.6	2.6	1.9	1.4	10.5	7.1
	50 and Over	1.3	3.1	3.4	2.1	2.6	2.1	10.6	5.6
Moderate Obligation Imbalance	Under 30	10.2	9.2	12.4	10.5	12.0	8.6	26.3	32.2
	30-39	14.1	16.5	13.7	10.5	15.3	12.6	36.9	34.7
	40-49	16.0	15.6	16.0	10.8	19.4	14.7	39.5	31.6
	50 and Over	27.8	21.9	20.1	17.7	23.1	18.4	43.6	48.8
Balanced	Under 30	13.1	14.8	11.9	14.8	21.9	22.5	26.6	28.2
	30-39	20.2	13.9	19.9	16.2	25.5	23.5	26.5	27.4
	40-49	20.2	15.0	22.0	22.7	29.6	25.9	22.7	25.9
	50 and Over	21.5	26.6	23.8	24.5	33.9	30.0	24.0	22.2
Moderate Entitlement Imbalance	Under 30	40.3	43.4	44.5	44.7	48.1	50.3	34.1	30.2
	30-39	33.3	40.9	41.7	44.9	48.0	49.4	26.5	25.7
	40-49	39.4	52.5	44.7	49.1	43.5	48.1	25.0	29.7
	50 and Over	38.0	39.1	42.0	43.6	37.1	43.5	19.6	20.4
High Entitlement Imbalance	Under 30	35.8	31.6	30.7	29.3	16.5	17.9	8.7	5.7
	30-39	30.3	27.8	22.9	27.4	10.5	14.1	4.6	5.0
	40-49	18.1	15.6	14.7	14.9	5.6	10.0	2.3	5.7
	50 and Over	11.4	9.4	10.7	12.1	3.3	6.0	2.2	3.1
Directional Imbalance Score	Under 30	-1.01	-.95	-.92	-.91	-.66	-.76	-.17	-.02
	30-39	-.76	-.78	-.70	-.81	-.52	-.64	.17	.14
	40-49	-.47	-.66	-.53	-.59	-.32	-.51	.31	.05
	50 and Over	-.30	-.30	-.36	-.46	-.15	-.33	.41	.33

Table 8: Gender Differences
Percentage distribution of Overall Normative Orientation Index
(DI) in four National Labor Forces from surveys in 1982/83 and
1989/91 (N = 11466) (-4,-3 = High) (-2,-1 = Moderate) (0 =
Balanced) (1,2 = Moderate) (3,4 = High)

	Sex	Belgium		Germany		Japan		USA	
		T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2
High Obligation Imbalance	M	2.6	1.7	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.6	9.5	7.9
	F	1.4	0.5	2.2	0.8	1.0	0.4	3.9	3.6
Moderate Obligation Imbalance	M	18.4	16.2	16.5	12.4	19.2	16.3	40.5	39.7
	F	9.0	10.5	13.7	12.2	14.6	10.0	28.8	31.2
Balanced	M	18.0	17.1	20.8	19.0	28.7	27.5	22.9	25.4
	F	16.7	14.2	16.1	19.7	26.5	22.9	28.4	27.8
Moderate Entitlement Imbalance	M	40.0	43.5	42.9	44.3	42.7	45.5	22.9	23.2
	F	34.0	47.9	44.2	47.2	46.9	51.1	32.9	31.2
High Entitlement Imbalance	M	21.0	21.4	17.9	22.2	7.4	9.0	4.3	3.8
	F	38.9	26.8	23.8	20.1	11.1	15.5	6.1	6.3
Directional Imbalance Score	M	-.58	-.67	-.58	-.72	-.34	-.44	.28	.25
	F	-1.00	-.90	-.74	-.74	-.53	-.71	-.09	-.05