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WORK VALUE DIFFERENCES IN
SOUTH AFRICA : AN INTRODUCTION

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Director:	Dr. G.K. Nelson
Head : Human Development Division:	Mr. J.M. Verster

SUMMARY

This report reviews some of the previous research on values, with a particular emphasis on studies examining the impact of culture and class on work values. The concept "Protestant Ethic" is critically examined, and some of the problems related to its use are discussed.

Possible consequences of value differences within organisations are listed. Such differences may lead to inadequate socialisation of minority groups into the organisational life, and may prevent individuals who do not subscribe to dominant organisational values, from achieving power or high status within an organisation. This has particular consequences for the advancement of black employees in South African organisations, and a study of South African work values is therefore urgently required.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie verslag gee 'n oorsig van vorige navorsing op die gebied van waardes, en lê besondere klem op daardie studies wat die uitwerking van klas en kultuur op beroepswaardes navors. Die konsep "Protestantse Etiek" word krities evaluëer, en sekere probleme wat met die gebruik van hierdie konsep ondervind word, word bespreek.

Moontlike gevolge van waardeverskille binne organisasies word uiteengesit. Sulke verskille mag lei tot onvoldoende sosialisering van minderheidsgroepe in die organisasiekonteks. Individue wat nie toegang het tot die dominante waardesisteen van 'n organisasie nie, sal as gevolg daarvan verhoed word om te vorder tot hoë mags- en statusposisies in die organisasie. Dit hou besondere implikasies in vir die vorderingsmoontlikhede van swart werknemers in Suid-Afrikaanse organisasies. Derhalwe is 'n studie van Suid-Afrikaanse werkswaardes dringend noodsaaklik.

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1. INTRODUCTION

This report examines the literature pertaining to values, in order to define some of the factors which give rise to conflicting work values. There are, of course, differing degrees of such conflict : values may differ from one another without necessarily being in conflict; some values may not be congruent with one another, while other values may be in direct conflict. Of particular interest to this study is the organisational situation, and the consequences for an organisation when the values of groups or individuals within the organisation are in conflict.

2. THE NATURE OF WORK VALUES

2.1 Values and value systems

The idea of a universal value system has intrigued writers from many disciplines, in particular anthropology, philosophy, sociology and psychology. An exhaustive review of the multi-disciplinary literature pertaining to values will not be presented here, however. Some different models of value systems, and differing views on the factors affecting values, will be described as a background to a more focused discussion of models of work values.

2.1.1 A Philosopher's Model: Charles Morris (1956) developed a comprehensive model of human values based on religious and ethical views of the world. This model has not been widely used in research, partly, as Tyler (1978 p.136) suggests, because the model "was the creation of a philosopher, not a psychologist, and thus was not in the main channel through which psychological information flows". Although Morris later dropped the religious labels from his value systems, these labels may also have been regarded with disfavour by more secular minded workers. Morris's model originally included 13 Ways to Live, based on "values advocated and defended in the several ethical and religious systems of mankind" (Morris, 1956, p.1). Examples of Ways to Live are "cultivate independence of persons and things"; "show sympathetic concern for others"; "live with wholesome, carefree enjoyment". The thirteen Ways were compressed into five value dimensions, viz.:

- 1) social restraint and self control
- 2) enjoyment and progress in action
- 3) withdrawal and self-sufficiency
- 4) receptivity and sympathetic concern
- 5) self-indulgence or sensuous enjoyment.

Morris described the three key value elements as being: Dependence, Dominance and Detachment.

More important perhaps for this study than his actual value dimensions, are the distinctions Morris drew between three types of values: operative, conceived and object values (1956 pp.10-12). Operative values he describes as "the tendencies of living beings to prefer one kind of object rather than another". Conceived values are "preference(s) for a symbolically indicated object...directed by an anticipation or foresight of the outcome". With object values, stress is placed on the properties of the object, i.e. the benefits or disadvantages accruing from the object rather than the value of the object per se. This concept refers to what is desirable, whether or not it is preferred (e.g. an unpleasant injection to cure an illness).

Conceived values, relating to anticipated outcomes, will be the most important values for this study. It is worth noting the factors which Morris considered influenced this type of value (p.188): "the conceived values of individuals take account of both the individual's own personal characteristics and the requirements of organised society". Morris believed that particular societies or cultures were characterised not so much by one particularly typical value dimension, as by particular combinations of dimensions which produced "value profiles characteristic of various cultures".

2.1.1 An Anthropological Model: Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, writing in 1961, set out five "crucial problems in value orientation" (p.11) viz.:

- 1) Human nature orientation. The choice here is whether human nature is perceived as Good, Good-and-evil, Neutral, or Evil. In any one of these orientations, human nature may be regarded also as either mutable or immutable.
- 2) Man-nature orientation. Man may be seen as being in harmony with nature, in subjugation to nature, or having achieved mastery over nature.

- 3) Time orientation. Individuals may have a past, present or future orientation.
- 4) Activity orientation. The choice here is between being, doing, and being-in-becoming.
- 5) Relational orientation. Possible relations are individualism, lineality and collaterality.

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck further divide the behaviour sphere into the following dominant patterns: economic-technological, religious, intellectual-aesthetic and recreational. An example of the application of this rather complex typology is as follows:

"In American middle-class society there is, for example, the association of the dominant orientations of Individualism, Future time, Mastery-over-nature, Doing, and Evil (or Good-and-Evil) mutable human nature, with a most extensive elaboration of patterning in the economic-technological behaviour sphere" (p.343).

Value orientations are defined (p.4) in the following way:
"Value orientations are complex but definitely patterned (rank-ordered) principles, resulting from the transactional interplay of three analytically distinguishable elements of the evaluation process - the cognitive, the affective and the directive elements - which give order and direction to the ever-flowing stream of human acts and thoughts as these relate to the solution of common human problems."

One of the most important conclusions Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck reach in their study is that the "conceptualisation of the variation in value orientations of a culture is an interlocking network of dominant (most preferred) value orientations and variant value orientations which are both required and permitted (p.341). This would seem to echo Morris's conclusion (p.198) that "the 'common values' distinctive of a culture are primarily the common acceptance of a certain distribution of values in various segments of the social system rather than the same operative values in

all members of the culture". This can be read as a warning to researchers in the field of values not to look for rigid value-typing, but to expect, in each culture, a variety of values within certain parameters. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck criticise previous studies for not taking cognisance of value variability (p.3) "in most of the analyses of the common value element in cultural patterning, the dominant values of peoples have been overstressed and variant values largely ignored. These two concomitant tendencies have produced interpretive studies which are, in spite of their great brilliance of insight, oversimplified and static representations of social structures and processes".

2.1.3 Psychological Models: In this field, one is dealing with scales and measures rather than models. Allport's well-known Study of Values is based on the six value model proposed by the German philosopher Spranger (Allport, Vernon and Lindzey, 1960, quoted in Allport, 1970 p.454). These six ideal values are: theoretical, economic, aesthetic, social, political and religious. In the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey value scale, each of these six values is paired an equal number of times with the other five values, and subjects to whom the scale is administered must make a forced choice between these pairs of values to produce an individual value-hierarchy. With this method, of course, the absolute strength of values is never measured, only their relative prominence within a given context. Also, as Allport himself says (p.457), these ideal values are "somewhat flattering in type since they overlook the 'baser' values of sensuality and opportunism". This value scale would appear to be most useful in providing individuals with insight into their own value hierarchy - e.g. in teaching and counselling situations. The previously discussed models were used mainly to highlight group differences, but Allport's scale has been used more to highlight individual differences, although it can, of course, be used to identify or contrast group values as well.

Another important psychologically-oriented value scale, that of Rokeach (1968), can also be used to measure both individual and group differences. Rokeach defines a value as "an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally and socially preferable to alternate modes of conduct or end-states of existence" (1968 p.159). He further classifies values as being either Instrumental or Terminal. Instrumental values refer to desirable modes of conduct, while terminal values are related to desirable end-states of existence. Terminal values may be either personal (e.g. salvation) or social (e.g. world peace). Instrumental values are divided into moral values (e.g. behaving honestly) and competence or self-actualisation values (e.g. behaving imaginatively).

It is not so much in his definitions as in his approach to the construction of a value scale that Rokeach differs from the writers already discussed. Rokeach did not start off with a model of human values, ideal or otherwise. Instead he took people's perceptions and expressions of their own and others' values, and organised them into categories and scales. He reviewed literature on values in American and other societies, undertook an analysis of his own terminal values, analysed values reported by a group of thirty graduate students in psychology, and analysed values reported by a representative sample of a hundred adults in Michigan. To obtain his instrumental values he surveyed a list of five hundred and fifty-five personality-trait words (Feather 1975 p.22; Rokeach 1968 p.29).

Rokeach's Value Survey consists of lists of eighteen Instrumental and eighteen Terminal values, which the subject must rank in order of preference. The following measures can be obtained from one or more rankings: value system stability (obtained by correlating rankings made on one occasion with those made on another occasion); value system similarity in two or more persons (obtained by correlating rank orderings produced by different people);

similarity of perceived value systems of reference persons or groups (obtained by comparing own values with values attributed to other persons or groups); reliability or stability of single values (comparing positions of single values on test and retest). Rokeach's Value Survey is probably the most widely used instrument in the study of values today.

- 2.1.4 Conclusion. Literature presents us with many ways of analysing and defining values. We may concentrate on ethical views, as did Morris, Spranger and Allport. Or we may categorise possible perceptions of the world, as Kluckhohn did, or derive a series of unconnected values from as broad a consensus as possible, as Rokeach did. It must be borne in mind that if we work with value models divided into categories, we must expect individuals and particularly whole cultures to exhibit profiles, combinations of categories, rather than to fit rigidly into one category. If we work with ranking or forced choice systems, we must remember that weights derived in this fashion are relative rather than absolute.

Finally, the divergence of opinion must warn us to approach the topic of values in as flexible a manner as possible. The personal values and views of the research worker cannot be kept from influencing a study of this nature, and some safeguards must be built in to ensure a certain level of objectivity.

2.2 Work Values

As the area of work values is a sub-section of the area of general values, one would expect definitions here to be precise and generally accepted. This is unfortunately not the case. Many of the studies cited in this section do not define work values at all. Wollack (1971) provides the following definition: "The Survey of Work Values is intended to be an index of a person's attitudes towards work in general, rather than his feelings about a specific job. The concept of work values, referring to general attitudes regarding the meaning that an individual attaches to his work role, therefore, differs from that of job satisfaction (an attitude towards one's job)" (p.331). In other studies (Kaplan and Tausky, 1974) job satisfaction and work values are equated.

Super (1973) divides work values into three categories: intrinsic satisfactions derived from the work itself; extrinsic values, which are returns the job provides, such as money; and concomitant values which are those aspects of work which are part of the job situation, without necessarily being part of the work itself.

Rossee (1979) avoids the pitfalls of both theoretical definition and non-definition by providing an operational definition. For his study of the work orientations of Flemish manual workers, he uses the following concepts: "(a) general significance of work: for instance, for young people work could be the means to become independent from their parents; (b) related to the first, specific demands and expectations of the work situation in all its facets e.g. possibility to work in shifts and so on" (1979, p.364).

Many scales of work values are either explicitly or implicitly based on the concept of the Protestant Ethic. In order to be able to evaluate such scales, it is necessary to examine this concept and its relationship to the scales designed to embody it

2.2.1 The Protestant Ethic

The classic study on work values is that of Max Weber (1904, translated 1958). He used the term Protestant Ethic to describe the attitude of the Puritans in New England in the early seventeenth century to work and to money. Rather than work being a necessary activity for maintaining a particular standard of living, the Puritans saw hard work as a religious duty. "In the concrete calling an individual pursued, he saw more and more a special command of God to fulfil these particular duties which the Divine Will had imposed upon him" (Weber 1958 p.85). The individual also had a duty "towards the increase of his capital, which is assumed as an end in itself". These religious views naturally had a profound impact on the society in which they occurred. R.H. Tawney, in his foreword to Weber's book, writes that this ethic "welded into a disciplined force the still feeble bourgeoisie, heightened its energies, and cast a halo of sanctification round its convenient vices" (p.2).

Although the Protestant Ethic is popularly regarded as being an important motivating factor in Western society today, Weber himself related this ethic to the inception rather than the maintenance of modern capitalism. It was important at that particular time because a change in ethic was required before Capitalism could work properly. "The conception of money-making as an end in itself to which people were bound as a calling was contrary to the ethical feeling of whole epochs" (p.73). "[Capitalism] could destroy the old forms of mediaeval regulation of economic life only in alliance ... with religious forces" (p.72). Tawney describes this process thus: "the life of business, once regarded as perilous to the soul, acquire[d] a new sanctity ... [as] money making and piety became natural allies" (p.2).

"Modern capitalism", however, argues Weber, "has become emancipated from its old supports". "There can no longer be any question of a necessary connection of that acquisitive manner of life with any single Weltanschauung" (p.72). The distance between the situation analysed by Weber and our own is further emphasised by his description of "the ideal type of the capitalistic entrepreneur ... [who] avoids ostentation and unnecessary expenditure, as well as conscious enjoyment of his power, and is embarrassed by the outward signs of the social recognition which he receives" (p.71). Of course this was an ideal type which does not necessarily describe any particular Puritan, but it is doubtful whether it would be accepted even as an idealised description of today's capitalists.

Not only is the appropriateness of Weber's theory to modern society questionable; several critics claim that it is not even an accurate analysis of the factors leading to the rise of Capitalism. Tawney writes that Weber's theory ascribes to intellectual and moral influences, phenomena which resulted from more prosaic and mundane forces. "His conclusions are illuminating; but they are susceptible ... of more than one interpretation. There was action and reaction, and, while Puritanism helped to mould the social order, it was, in its turn, moulded by it". (p.10)

Robertson, the economic historian, supports Tawney's view. "The spirit of capitalism has arisen rather from the material conditions of civilisation than from some religious impulse" (1933, p.xvi). Robertson argues that rather than the Protestant Church supporting the development of Capitalism, the Church was forced to compromise with an unstoppable secular force. "The concessions which the late Calvinism made to the commercial spirit were in large part the sacrifice of some part of the Church's claims in order to be

able to retain others" (p.210). This view is supported by Samuelson (1964), who writes: "under the environmental influence of wealth, enterprise and speculation ... priests and preachers began to hail capitalists, entrepreneurs and speculators as the elect of God" (p.152).

Samuelson further points out the lack of acceptable proof of any correlation between Protestantism and Capitalism. This is partly due to the "impossibility ... of correlating concepts as broad and vague as those in question" (p.153). Both Robertson and Samuelson insist that the difference between Catholics and Protestants was exaggerated by Weber. Robertson states that most "Puritan opinions had their Catholic counterparts" (p.204), while Samuelson suggests that Catholic/Calvinist dissimilarity was exaggerated, as Catholics were also profit-oriented in the Middle Ages, and also accepted the idea of a calling.

A further doubt about the generalisability of the Protestant Ethic concept is cast by Juzanek (1978). He suggests that the Protestant Ethic in fact applied only to a limited number of people, that (p.668) "the desire to work may never have been shared by the majority of the population" and that the concept of the centrality of work to human life "probably applied to selected occupational groups (proprietors in the past; professionals and managers today) rather than to the total population".

Queries about the present day applicability of the Protestant Ethic do not diminish the value of Weber's study. The idea of work values which directly affect an individual's work behaviour, was first articulated by him. An even more important concept which is only implicit in his study but has been articulated by other writers is that of the complex inter-relationship of societal needs and value structures.

Juzanek points out that the importance of the societal acceptance of the work ethic lay not in the satisfaction it brought to individuals, but in its social purpose. "The society which was either not able to satisfy everybody's needs adequately (scarcity of resources) or not willing to do so (the class struggle) needed, in addition, a strong positive impetus, i.e. a concept of duty or an ethic of work which would motivate the person to seek the work" (p.668). Furthermore, writes Juzanek, the work ethic probably fulfils the same social function in contemporary Russia, where "in a society which is not able to reward adequately its members for the work effort, or chooses other priorities, the cost-benefit method has to be supplemented by a strong ideological commitment to work" (p.669).

What then are the social functions a contemporary Western work ethic must fulfil? Unfortunately Juzanek does not attempt to answer the question, merely restating the problem thus: "The work ethic was from the very beginning an instrument of social control, an instrument which helped to fill the loopholes of the economy. This is exactly what appears to be missing today" (p.676).

2.2.2 Work Value Scales

Doubts about the historical accuracy and modern applicability of Weber's analysis have not prevented a proliferation of Protestant Ethic scales. The central concept in many of these scales is "the intrinsic aspect of work; that is, work as its own reward" (Wollack, 1971, p.332). Does this accord with the Puritan ethic? The Puritans perceived work as a duty, not as something enjoyable or intrinsically satisfying. Work derived its value not from its intrinsic worth but from its religious significance. Weber's description of the Protestant Ethic is a description of the religious value attached to work by the people of a particular faith - to speak of a "secularised Protestant Ethic" is a

contradiction in terms.

Apart from the central problem of lack of congruence between Puritan principles and the concepts underlying modern work value scales, some scales contain items which are difficult to relate back to Weber's original thesis. Blood's (1969) Protestant Ethic Scale, for example, contains the statement "If all other things are equal, it is better to have a job with a lot of responsibility than one with a little responsibility". The idea of responsibility is obviously an important one to examine when one is looking at modern work values, but it forms no part of Weber's initial definition of the Protestant Ethic. Likewise an item in Mirels' (1971) Protestant Ethic Scale reads "Life would have very little meaning if one never had to suffer". The Puritans were certainly a rather dour group of people, and Weber writes that they were opposed to the spontaneous enjoyment of life and the spontaneous enjoyment of possessions, but it is hard to see how this translates into the idea that suffering gives meaning to life.

This does not mean that all modern Protestant Ethic Scales are invalid. They cannot, however, claim to be based on Max Weber's definitions, and must establish a validity for themselves entirely separate from the Weberian Protestant Ethic. They are probably most usefully viewed as being, in themselves, articulations of a modern work ethic. One last caution is in order before progressing beyond the subject of Protestant Ethic scales. Juzanek's (1978) warning that the Weberian Protestant Ethic applies only to an elite group of people has already been discussed. Ginzberg (1951) makes the point that "there may be a sizeable gap between the intrinsic work satisfactions people seek and their opportunities for attaining them". People from lower income families, for example, "frequently have difficulty in finding work which will yield substantial intrinsic satisfaction, since so many

jobs are closed to them because of their inadequate training" (p.222). External pressures often force a reappraisal of the components of work satisfaction, and lead to the minimizing of the importance of finding intrinsic work satisfactions. "Young people of both sexes anticipate that a large part of their total satisfactions will be derived from their familial and social activities." The idea of the intrinsic value of work as a motivating force is therefore a concept with limitations that must be recognised.

Apart from scales which directly attempt to measure the work ethic or Protestant Ethic, other work value scales have also been developed. One writer who attempted to look at work values outside the framework of the Protestant Ethic was Bucholz (1978). From the literature he extracted five systems of belief related to work. Each system was represented by between five and eleven statements which subjects had to rank on a five point scale ranging from strong disagreement to strong agreement. The first belief system described by Bucholz is the Work Ethic. This was derived largely from the work of Weber and Tawney, and was represented by statements such as "to be superior a man must stand alone" and "by working hard a person can overcome every obstacle that life presents". The next belief system is the Organisational Belief System. According to this system, work derives its meaning from its contribution to the group or organisation. This ethic is derived from books such as Whyte's The Organisation Man (1956), and is represented by such statements as "working with a group is better than working alone" and "work is a means to foster group interests".

The Humanistic Belief System is based on the work of Fromm (1968) and Maslow (1954). In this system, work is important to the individual because of its potential for growth, development and self actualisation. Representative statements are, e.g. "work can be a means for self-expression" and "the job should be a source of new experiences". According to the Leisure Ethic, human fulfilment is found only in leisure

activities, and work is simply a necessary evil. This system is derived from books such as Daniel Bell's (1970) Work and its discontents. Examples of representative statements are "more leisure time is good for people" and "success means having ample time to pursue leisure activities". The fifth belief system refers to Marxist related beliefs. According to this system, although work is basic to human fulfilment, workers in a capitalist system are exploited and are alienated from their production activity. This system is drawn largely from Fromm (1961): Marx's concept of man, and is represented by statements such as "the working classes should have more say in running society" and "the rich do not make much of a contribution to society".

Bucholz (1978) used this model to examine the effects of factors such as age, sex, race, job level and education on work values. His sample, drawn from Pittsburgh and Minneapolis, consisted of blue-collar and white-collar workers, union leaders and top managers. He found uniform commitment to the humanistic belief system across all independent variables, but significant differences appeared for the other belief systems. Younger workers, for example, showed a stronger commitment to the work ethic than older workers, blacks gave greater support to the organisational belief system than whites did, and non-management personnel endorsed Marxist-related beliefs more strongly than managers did. Bucholz concluded that "the study shows that beliefs about work are diverse across certain demographic variables. It also shows in general that the work ethic is not held very strongly, but that no other belief system emerges as a clear preference to it" (p.227).

2.2.3 Comparative Studies of Work Values

Studies have been carried out to examine the effects of differences in class, race and other factors on work values. Some of these studies have used work value scales, while others have applied general value scales in the work setting. One example of a study using Rokeach's value scale is that of Sikula (1975). He found that black and white American teaching interns did not differ significantly on terminal values, but differed on instrumental values. He suggests that "blacks who have come to work in inner-city schools as change agents have adopted typical white middle-class values" (p.209). A different sampling of blacks and whites might however have produced a different finding, so it is difficult to know what to make of these results.

Rossee (1979), whose operational definitions of work value have already been discussed, found that differences in work value were related to factors such as age, sex, length of employment and degree of family responsibility. Young workers, for instance, have a need to express their capacities and skills in their work when they first start working, and are more interested in the kind of work they do than in wages. When workers marry and have children, wages predominate and interest in work itself fades away. Women tend to stress the absence of risks and the opportunity for contacts, while men "attach more importance to those aspects that illustrate their role as principal breadwinners" (p.368).

A different perspective on the values adopted by cultures in transition is provided in a study carried out by Peck in 1976. These researchers studied three "culture triads": Japanese - Japanese-Brazilians - Brazilians; Mexicans - Mexican-Americans - Anglo-Americans; Southwestern Blacks - Northern Blacks - Northern Anglo-Americans. They were looking for signs of an

"acculturation gradient, whereby a migrant population would start out identical with its original culture, and move, through intermediate degrees, closer and closer to the new culture" (p. 355). Expectations and aspirations of the different groups were compared, as well as occupational values such as prestige, altruism, security, and variety in work. The acculturation gradient theory was not supported by the findings of the study, as the migrant group in each culture triad showed a unique pattern of values and expectations that was not linearly derived from either the old or the new culture. Peck et al (1976) conclude that:

"the new values of the migrants appear to reflect the present realities of career opportunities and the prevailing economic mood of the "new" society; but these presumed shifts do not appear to happen as a series of increasingly close approximations to the new society values. The melting pot does not dissolve the partially unique value patterns of migrants, even after several generations in a new society" (p. 363).

A study of values within an established society was carried out by England (1971, 1979). He developed his own value scale, the Personal Values Questionnaire, which distinguishes between pragmatic, ethical-moral, and affect of feeling models of valuation. This questionnaire was used to compare the values of union leaders and managers, and the value systems of managers within different countries. The first major difference between unionists and managers was that union leaders in general appear to be moralistically oriented while managers in general appear to be pragmatically oriented. There appears to be a relatively small degree of overlap of concept between union leaders and managers. England came to the conclusion that "union leaders and managers as a group, differ significantly from one another in their personal value

systems" (p.226). There are some elements of similarity between the groups, but "the differences are so large and varied that any similarities are likely to be overshadowed." England suggests that "the two groups may approach various issues from conflicting directions." There are also some significant differences in value orientation between higher and lower level union leaders which "tends to point out the possibilities of disagreements and conflicts within the union organisation".

In a cross-cultural study which laid greater stress on individual than on group differences, England (1978) compared managers and their values across five countries. He studied the personal values of managers in the United States, Japan, Korea, Australia and India. His first finding was that there are large individual differences in personal values within each group studied. Personal value systems of managers seemed stable and did not change rapidly, even during periods of major environmental and social flux. Their value systems seemed to be related to the way managers behaved on the job, and to be related to career success. As well as individual differences, significant differences between countries were also found. Despite this variation, England was able to develop and cross-validate a value profile related to success for American, Japanese, Indian and Australian managers.

Hofstede (1979, 1981) examined the values held by the employees of a multinational corporation in forty different countries. He discovered four central value dimensions: Power Distance (PD), Uncertainty Avoidance (UA), Individualism vs Collectivism, and Masculinity vs Femininity. He suggested that the strength of these factors in a society could affect organisational structures, "for example, participative management, industrial democracy, and similar movements aiming at creating greater

equality among organisation members are less likely to succeed in high PD countries because not only the power-holder's value system but also the subordinate's value system is against it" (1979,p.402). Matrix organisation and similar flexible solutions to organisation structure are unlikely to succeed in high UA countries when people have a strong need for clearly defined and rather rigid structures. Equality of the sexes will obviously be more easily achieved in more feminine than more masculine cultures. "'Job enrichment' aiming at individual achievement motivation is more likely to appeal to masculine cultures like the USA while 'humanisation of work' using a group approach fits in with more feminine cultures like Sweden" (p:403).

Hofstede found strong correlations between McClelland's (1961) Need Achievement scores, and low Uncertainty Avoidance and high Masculinity in his own scale. When plotting forty countries on a UA and Masculinity axis, he found that all Anglo countries plus India, the Phillipines, and Hong Kong clustered together in a "high achievement motivation" quadrant. He observes: "A remarkable fact is that nearly all these countries speak English; the word "achievement" is hardly translatable in any language other than English. The discovery that the "achievement motivation" pattern corresponds to the dominant value patterns of one particular group of countries, including the USA, should lead to scepticism about the universal validity of USA-made motivation theories in general" (1981,p.24). Hofstede particularly queries the universality of the theories of both Maslow and McClelland.

Any country-wide theory of values, including that of Hofstede, should be treated with some caution. Kluckhohn's (1961) warning about the danger of overstressing dominant values and ignoring

variant values, and therefore producing a distorted picture of a group's values, should be borne in mind. Furthermore, values may change along with socio-economic conditions, degree of industrialisation, etc. Hofstede (1981) himself agrees that there is some shift over time in the values he measures. Over a period of four years, most countries he studied showed an increase in Individualism. There was a greater divergence between countries over time on the Masculinity - Femininity dimension. Power Distance values also changed: "employees' preference for a more consultative or democratic manager increased; but only in the countries in which Power Distances were already relatively low was this preference matched by a corresponding shift in perceived actual behaviour of managers." (p.26).

A major reason for querying country-wide data is the different values exhibited by different levels or classes of employee. Kohn (1977) found a "consistent and meaningful relationship between people's social-class positions and their values and orientation." (p.xxv). He felt that these differences resulted from "systematic differences in conditions of life, occupational life in particular, associated with social class position." Kohn found that the higher a person's social class position, the greater the likelihood that he would value self-direction for his children and himself. His orientation system would be predicated on the belief that self-direction is both possible and efficacious. The lower the person's social-class position, the greater the likelihood that he will value conformity to external authority, and that he will believe in following the dictates of authority as the wisest, perhaps the only feasible, course of action. Occupational position and education seemed to be the most significant determinants of value.

Attempts at replications of Kohn's study in other cultures were disappointing. The class-values relationship in Taiwan could not be explained by Western-style occupational self-direction. Findings from studies in Peru raised doubt as to "whether occupational self-direction is as important for explaining the relationships between social class and values and orientation in partially industrialised as in fully industrialised societies"(pxxxvii).

Morse and Weiss (1955) also examined occupational differences in the meaning of work. They asked respondents the question "If by some chance you inherited enough money to live comfortably without working, do you think that you would work anyway or not?" Eighty percent of their respondents indicated that they would keep on working, but their reasons for working differed according to occupational level. "Many individuals in middle class occupations i.e. professional, sales, managers employed by others emphasize the interest to be found in their jobs, and the sense of accomplishment that comes from work well done ... the typical individual in a working class occupation i.e. foremen, semi-skilled, service emphasises the necessity for some directed activity which will occupy his time, his mind and his hands" (p 195). "Those in working class occupations view working as virtually synonymous with activity, the alternative to which is ... to be bored or restless." "These differences between the occupational groupings correspond to differences in the content of the middle class and working class jobs ... a life without working to a man in a middle class occupation would be less purposeful, stimulating and challenging. For the working class man ... life without working becomes life without anything to do".

In a follow-up study to that of Morse and Weiss, Vecchio (1980) found that 72% of respondents indicated that they would continue to work if they became wealthy. Unfortunately Vecchio did not

perform an occupational breakdown.

Inkeles (1960) also examined the relationship of status to value. He suggested that "in accord with the differences among positions in the modern occupational hierarchy, the different occupational groups will have differentiated attitudes and values" (p.4). His first finding was that job satisfaction decreased from the top to the bottom of the occupational hierarchy, with the exception that skilled manual workers tended to be more satisfied than rank-and-file white-collar workers. Those who hold jobs with higher status are more likely to be concerned about having a job which is "interesting, stimulating, challenging, permits self-expression etc." (p.10). The choice of security over earnings is more often favoured by workers than by those higher in the occupational or income hierarchy. "Offered the incentive of promotion or success at the risk of security, those in high status occupations are willing to take risks which are shunned by the manual classes" (p.11). Job situation appears to pattern many values germane to the occupational realm, such as the qualities most desired in a job and the image of a good or bad boss.

Looking at values passed on to children, Inkeles notes (p.21) that traditional, restrictive, cautious, conventional values are much stronger among manual workers, whereas the belief in effort, striving, energetic mastery and the sacrifice necessary to those ends is stronger in the middle class.

Attempts have also been made to measure the work values of the so-called hard core unemployed -- individuals from ghettos who have no ability to hold down jobs. Goodale (1973) found that the hard core differed markedly from regular employees in their expressed work values. The hard core subjects scored lower than the comparison group in Activity Preference, Pride in Work, Upward Striving and Conventional Work Ethic. Goodale

concluded that the disadvantaged laboured primarily for money rather than for the intrinsic value of work.

The findings of Kaplan and Tausky (1974) contradict the idea that the hard-core unemployed have little commitment to work. These researchers found that the question "Would you work if you didn't have to, even if you didn't need the money?" did not elicit significantly different responses when put to employed blue-collar workers, middle managers, and hard-core unemployed. Of the unemployed subjects, 38% gave "expressive" reasons (i.e. reasons not related to keeping busy or economic satisfaction) for wanting to continue working. These subjects seem to regard working as a meaningful life experience. Kaplan and Tausky conclude that "chronically unemployed persons do not differ significantly from employed working-class persons with respect to the meanings they attach to work" (p.195). They make the further important observation, which is in line with the findings of Morse and Weiss, that "Work as an activity was viewed in a positive light, but often with little commitment to the work normally engaged in when employed".

2.2.4 Conclusion

It is illuminating to view existing work value scales as expressions of work values. To begin with, it may be instructive to examine the question asked, in different forms, by Morse and Weiss, Vecchio, and Tausky, "if you were able to live comfortably without working, would you still work?" The finding that the majority of people would still continue to work, is seen as very important. Why is this? Why should we be so concerned that people work for other than financial reasons, that even the hard-core unemployed should regard working as "a meaningful life experience"? This anxiety that work should have a particular significance is carried through to most of the studies which group work

values into categories described as extrinsic, intrinsic, expressive etc. Implicit in discussions of these studies is an assumption that intrinsic or expressive values are superior to extrinsic. Why should this be so?

Part of the answer probably lies in Juzanek's categorisation of the Work Ethic as an ideology. If large numbers of people were to stop working, industrialised society could no longer continue functioning. When people can earn sufficient for their basic needs without working, for example by going on the dole, earnings become suspect as an adequate motivation. Something else is required to keep the nations at work, and a belief in "the intrinsic value of work" might fulfil this need.

The importance attached to "interesting", "challenging" and "intrinsically satisfying" jobs is probably in part a reflection of the work values of most researchers. It is also partially a reflection of the prevailing wisdom of such theorists as Maslow. Social scientists are inclined to perceive self-actualisation as a more "developed" value than financial satisfaction. It may seem unthinkable that a large part of the population should be engaged in an activity which contributes not at all to their self-actualisation; hence the earnest search for "meaning" in the world of work.

2.2.5 Implications for further research

What are the implications of these conclusions for further studies of work values? Firstly, the importance of safeguards against the projection of the values of research workers cannot be overstressed. Not only is it essential to prevent the individual researcher's values from exercising too great an influence, but the influence of general cultural, philosophical and psychological values should be guarded against.

For this reason, the study by Buchholz, while it is commendable in that it moves away from the highly suspect concept of the Protestant Ethic, must be approached with some caution because of its base in literature. Not only are the individual values of the writer allowed to come between the researcher and the values of his subjects -- most of the writers on whom he bases his value categories are expressing an ideology of work (e.g. Marx) or articulating societal norms rather than individual values (e.g. Whyte, Reisman). These writers may be regarded as articulators of the mass culture of the modern industrial state. In one sense this makes them ideal exponents of the values of this state -- in another it makes them susceptible to propounding and contributing to the folk wisdom and/or ideology of the times.

This confusion of value with ideology should also make the researcher very wary of using the work value scales discussed in this literature survey. Not only has the concept of the Protestant Ethic become distorted in its translation from the religious to the secular, but the modern scales appear to be expressing a particular class and intellectual bias as well as a Western orientation. Although it may be no simple matter to attempt to disentangle value from ideology, at the very least researchers in this field should be aware of the influence on subjects not only of the usual bugbear of social desirability, but of a pervasive ideology. People may be tempted to describe, not only their own reasons for working, but the reasons they feel the other fellow should be working. (The outrage with which people living on the dole and choosing not to work, are greeted, is an example of this).

3. THE DEVELOPMENT AND FUNCTIONING OF WORK VALUES WITHIN ORGANISATIONS.

How are work values acquired, and what is the effect of differences of work values within organisations? There is a great deal of controversy concerning the role of socialisation in the acquisition of values. For a time, cultural anthropologists held that values were transmitted to the individual as part of a "culture core"; the individual's values were therefore regarded as the expression of a value consensus within the culture. As the idea of value consensus within a culture fell into disfavour, there was an increasing focus on "the development of new values, as a result of both social interaction and intrapsychic processes" (Zavalloni, 1980, p.113). Zavalloni writes further "if the social actor is seen as the target of a multiplicity of social influences, rather than as the expression of rules and duties which emanate from a general consensus among groups in a society, the notion of the antecedents of values will obviously change".

It is not only the individual who is subject to different social influences. Organisations, too, are subject to cultural influence. Lammers and Hickson (1979) write: "the culture and sub-cultures in a society have a potential impact on organisational forms and processes: because outside agencies set cultural constraints for an organisation; because dominant elites in an organisation design and re-design organisational life in terms of culturally given models of organising; because members themselves unofficially tend to organise and to 'counter-organise' in ways derived from sub-cultures". In this section, the focus will be on some of the forces and processes within an organisation which are likely to influence, and be influenced by, the individual's work values. In particular, some of the processes of organisational socialisation will be examined.

The first phase of organisational socialisation, called anticipatory socialisation (Feldman, 1976) or pre-arrival (Porter, 1975) occurs before an individual enters a new job. In this phase, the individual builds up expectations relating to his new position. These expectations may concern the nature of the job the individual will be doing, or may relate to an "organisational theme" -- a long-term career structure. The accuracy or inaccuracy of expectations will be an indication of the appropriateness of the anticipatory socialisation, and will also affect the employee's satisfaction and success in his job. Sometimes, according to Van Maanen (1977, p.38) "the assumptions an individual makes regarding his organisational theme will obviate accurate assessments of the setting itself". According to Thornton and Nardi (1975, p.882), people's preconceptions are developed largely from exposure to situations depicted by the mass media, and by others enacting the type of role anticipated.

Not only job expectations, but work values are involved at the stage of anticipatory socialisation. An individual coming from a background where behaviours different to those that he will experience at work are valued, will be at a disadvantage. Much organisational behaviour only acquires meaning when viewed within a certain value framework. The individual who enters with a different value framework will not be able to make sense out of the behaviour he observes, and is unlikely to be able to produce the "correct" behaviours himself.

A good example of this comes from the work of Kohn (1977). Working class people were seen to encourage cautious and conforming work behaviours in their children. If some of these children, by means of further education or other factors,

entered "upper class" positions, their work values would be inappropriate for these positions. Rapid upward mobility (Zaleznik, 1966), cultural differences (Bhagat, 1979), socio-economic or class differences (Kohn, 1977; Morse and Weiss, 1955) can all lead to individuals entering a work situation with work values appropriate to an entirely different situation.

The most-obvious and probably the most important factor in informal socialisation is interaction with the peer group. The individual is not socialised into the organisation as a whole, but into a separate sub-unit. (Schein, 1971). If the sub-culture is well integrated into the organisational culture, the individual's assimilation into the organisation will be facilitated by integration into the sub-unit. If subgroup norms differ from those of the organisation, adopting these norms will hinder the individual's advance in the organisation. Evan (1963) hypothesises that the importance of the primary or peer group lies in their ability to alleviate the stress of socialisation, and that this is particularly important when individuals are working in ambiguous situations or suffering from role conflict. He found, working with graduate trainees, that those trainees interacting with two or more peers showed a significantly lower drop-out rate than those working alone or with only one other trainee.

As well as having a supportive function, co-workers who are experienced also act as models for the new recruit. Weiss (1977) found that supervisors in particular act as role models for subordinates. The effectiveness of any supervisor as a model is moderated by the degree of similarity in behaviour and values between supervisor and subordinate, and subordinates' perceptions of their supervisors' success and competence. Also studying perceptions of competence, Feldman (1977) found that

an individual's feelings of acceptance by the group precede feelings of competence. A practical reason for this is that many employees reported that until friendship and trust developed between them and their co-workers, their colleagues did not provide them with information they needed in order to do their jobs well.

The evidence relating to the role of peer groups in the socialisation process has some important implications for minority groups in organisations. Firstly, unless members of a minority group are evenly distributed across different levels and functions within an organisation, there is a strong possibility of a culturally homogeneous sub-unit forming with norms and values at variance with the norms and values of the organisation. Newcomers may be socialised into this subgroup, and learn behaviours which are not appropriate for advancement within the organisation. Secondly, minority group members who do advance to more senior levels may find themselves without a supportive peer group and without culturally congruent role models. Terborg (1977) stresses the importance of newcomer characteristics for the formation of group bonds. Newcomers who differ in terms of race or sex may be excluded from formal or informal group contacts. Kanter (1977, p.778) found that women are often excluded from "the networks by which informal socialisation occurred". Managers actually avoid giving women information about their performance, thereby excluding them from the possibility of modifying or developing confidence in their own performance and work identity. Jones (1973) cites a similar example of the exclusion of a Black manager from normal feedback mechanisms. This disruption of the informal socialisation process may induce stress and may seriously affect the individual's competence by reducing flow of information and learning opportunities.

It is not only during the initial phases of socialisation that work values play a role. Socialisation takes place throughout an individual's career, and values become increasingly important as people attempt to increase their status and power within the organisation. Schein (1971) states that socialisation takes place at boundary crossings, and lists three different types of boundary: hierarchical, functional, and inclusion. Inclusion boundaries must be crossed if an individual moves inward to the influential centre of the organisation, if he is to be included in the decision-making of the power holders. Hierarchical boundaries are those which are passed as the individual moves upward and improves his status and rank. Functional boundaries separate different areas of competence one from another, and may be crossed when an individual moves laterally without increasing in status or power. Functional boundaries are explicit and visible, and may be passed on the strength of new skills and competence acquired through training and other formal processes. Inclusion and hierarchical boundaries are often "highly informal norms shared by the group (p.406). "Their very existence usually remains implicit" (p.408). Personality, attitudes, political insights and perspectives may be crucial in passing these boundaries. Schein (1965, p.1) goes so far as to say: "it is my own assumption that attitude and value change is not only an important consequence of shifts in organisational role, but may well be a prerequisite for such shifts ...advancement into the higher levels of management is as much or more a function of having the right attitudes, values and perspectives as it is a function of having the right skills and abilities". The attributes necessary for upward movement within an organisation, insofar as they are not inherent, must be acquired largely by means of informal socialisation. They are probably acquired to some extent by socialisation which takes place outside the organisation, either before or after

the individual enters the organisation. This system has two important implications. Firstly, the individual is reduced to a rather passive state. He cannot make an effort to go out and acquire the necessary attributes, because they are seldom explicitly articulated, and few formal processes exist by which he could acquire them if he knew what they were. Secondly, where boundaries are implicit, where people who have already passed these boundaries set informal norms for including and excluding others, a risk of stereotyped replication of leadership exists.

Support for Schein's explanation of the nature of inclusion boundaries comes from the work of Vroom (1973; 1974) and of Rosen and Jerdee (1977). Vroom describes the situations in which managers tend to include subordinates in decision-making -- in Schein's terms, situations in which subordinates are able to cross inclusion boundaries. The inclusion of subordinates depends on the nature of the decision to be made and also on whether or not subordinates are regarded as being "trustworthy". "Trustworthy" subordinates are those whose "personal goals ... are congruent with the goals of the organisation" (Vroom, 1973, p.16). This supports Schein's contention: it appears that people whose personal attitudes and values are not congruent with what a superior perceives organisational goals to be, are not likely to move inwards to the centre of the organisation.

How is trustworthiness determined? There is a dearth of research in this area, but Rosen and Jerdee (1977) found that certain subordinate characteristics influenced use of participative strategies and perception of trustworthiness on the part of managers. They found that minority and low-status employees were "consistently evaluated as less likely to use good judgement and less likely to consider organisational objectives ahead of personal goals" (p.631).

If value conflict causes severe problems at every stage of the individual's career, as well as having potential for causing group conflict, could the problem not be solved by either selecting people with compatible values, or attempting to change the values of people already selected? If there is a wide gap between the values of individual and organisation, and the process of organisational socialisation is too severe, this may lead to either rebellion or over-conformity. Rebellion will lead to rejection of organisational norms and values. If this occurs, the individual will usually leave the organisation. If he is unable to leave, one of two things may happen. He may remain a frustrated rebel or he may, under severe socialisation pressures, become a conformist, as unable to innovate as the rebel. Schein analyses the development of conformity as follows. During the process of socialisation, an individual constructs different selves to fit new roles. These "constructed selves" are superficial and labile, while the basic personality remains stable. The stable social self enables the individual to innovate, but may come under stress if the individual is unable to escape severe socialisation pressures. "If conditions operate to entrap the individual... if he begins to conform to organisational norms even in terms of the more stable parts of his self, he will indeed become unable to innovate". (Schein, 1971, p.424).

According to Schein, successful socialisation (presumably in a Western context) results in "creative individualism". This is defined as "acceptance only of pivotal organisational values and norms; rejection of all others" (Schein, 1968, p.9). Because he has not adopted organisational values wholesale, a characteristic of the creative individualist is that he is able to influence the organisation, as well as being influenced by it. For Schein (1971), innovation (the influence of the individual on the organisation) and socialisation (the influence of the organisation on the individual) are processes which should complement one another in every career.

Careful selection might preclude the dangers of attempting to solve value conflicts by means of excessive socialisation.

This area too has its pitfalls. England (1978) warns:

"We are hesitant to recommend the use of personal values in selection because we do not know the full consequences of an individual organisation having managers with similar value profiles. Persuasive arguments can be made that organisational vitality and adaptation to changing social and technological conditions may come about in part because of the value mix in an organisation; we simply do not know what the optimal mix is for any given organisation". (p 40).

Creating uniformity of values by means of selection or socialisation would be to run the risk of creating sterile bureaucracies. In a rapidly changing society, warn Van Maanen and Schein (1977) "the values of the new generation entering organisations may be quite different from traditional values" (p.53). An effective socialisation process must be flexible enough to allow for the incorporation of these new values if an organisation is to adapt successfully to external changes.

4. WORK VALUE CONFLICT IN SOUTH AFRICA : FURTHER RESEARCH

There is a great potential for value conflict within South African organisations. Educational, cultural and class differences may all give rise to differing value systems. In developing countries, value differences may occur when the industrialised sectors are run along Western lines and are largely imbued with Western values while many of the people employed in these sectors have grown up in and been socialised into non-Western cultures. Because of value differences, lower level black workers may be socialised into sub-groups with value systems in conflict with organisational values. More senior black employees (and female employees for that matter) may find themselves isolated from their peer groups, and cut off from important networks of support and information. Such employees may also find that intangible value barriers prevent them from reaching positions of high power and status. Where value differences are great, potentially innovative employees may be forced into unproductive conformity by excessive socialisation. As well as being frustrating for employees, this situation represents a great loss for organisations which are deprived of the contribution of skilled and knowledgeable employees at higher levels.

The problem can only be solved by both individual and organisation making concessions and seeking compromises. Before this can be done, potential areas of value difference and value conflict must be defined. The first step towards this goal is the definition and measurement of South African work values. Existing work value scales, for all the reasons cited in the foregoing text, are inappropriate. Research is therefore being undertaken at the NIPR using group discussions and semi-structured interviews to explore work values. Results of this research, which will appear in a future PERS report, should go some way towards at least defining the problem of value conflict in South African organisations.

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