

HUMAN VALUES: HOW THEY AFFECT AND ARE AFFECTED
BY AN INDIVIDUAL'S PERCEPTIONS OF
HIS WORK ORGANIZATION

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PREFACE

This study is concerned with the effects of personal values on the perception of an individual's work organization and the resulting organizational identification. Previous research in the area has not utilized a personalistic approach. By emphasizing the individual's contribution as compared with the organization's contribution to the identification process, a much more explicit definition of the emotional relationship between the individual and his organization is developed.

The general approach taken in this study is rather eclectic. Research is cited from a variety of disciplines. The major problem with this approach is not the integration of diverse concepts, rather it is the differentiation between the intended meaning and superfluous jargon.

A special thanks must go to my wife, Paula Kopecky, and my parents, Ed and Mary Malzahn, for their support and encouragement at different times in my life. I am what I am today because of their belief in me.

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CHAPTER I
HUMAN VALUES, MOTIVATION, AND IDENTIFICATION
THROUGH THEORIES OF ORGANIZATIONAL
BEHAVIOR

Introduction

Theories of organizational behavior have formally incorporated the personal values of organization members only as philosophical afterthoughts or as constraints operating within a member's decision making process. Yet, implicitly each theory is firmly bound to its assumptions concerning the nature of human values within organizations. In order to more fully and explicitly describe the relationship between an individual's personal values and his work organization, several diverse areas of research are to be integrated. The research fields discussed are: (1) organizational identification, (2) value based perceptual bias, and (3) self-concept implementation through occupational choice. Several instruments will be developed to test the validity of the conclusions drawn from the integration of these theories.

It has been suggested that an individual's personal values are an important factor in determining the attachment felt by an individual to an organization. An attempt will be made to describe the binding effects of personal values in more definitive and measurable terms. The concept of human values will be discussed in sections to follow, but for present purposes values can be assumed to define the goodness or badness

of a particular object or behavior without reference to a rationale or justification to others.

The basic assumption upon which the following research is grounded is that the very personalistic and reflexive relationship that each individual has with his organization, has not been sufficiently delineated. Without an understanding of this relationship, theories of organizational behavior and identification are grounded in what have been previously untestable assumptions of the nature of human values within work organizations.

Values as They are Incorporated Within Organizational Theory

A theory of organization is characteristically, if not intrinsically, "anti-individual" (211). By definition its concern is the larger entity; whether the entity is a face-to-face group, corporation, bureau, state, or society. A theory of organization appears to "dehumanize" man, to regard him as a component rather than as a whole--puny, or helpless alone and strong and wise only in groups. The "simplest illustration" of the nature of organization is the argument, "two men unite their strength to move some object too heavy or bulky to be moved by one." It is written predominantly into the traditional theory of organization that the division of labor is the "reason" for organization, if subdivision of work is inescapable, coordination becomes necessary. Coordination can be achieved through one or the other, or both, of two means. One is the "dominance of an idea", i.e., a common philosophy or ideology. Another is a "structure of authority" which in turn requires a directing executive authority.

It would be useful to make a distinction between organization in a general or generic sense and organization in a strict or special sense. In the general sense, organizational refers to all human associations except the most casual. That is, when people are associated over a period of time, have common or complementary norms and expectations, assume socially defined roles, organization exists. In a special sense, the organization of interest is a variety designated by such terms as: consciously created, large-scale, formal, complex, or bureaucratic.

The point of the distinction lies in this. Anyone concerned with a conflict between the individual and formal organization has the problem of knowing how much of the "individual" is human nature and how much is the result of the specific cultural impact conveyed through the "general" or "specific" organizations of a particular society. It is the definition of what is inately human and what is not that becomes the basis of a theory of organization.

The emphasis on the technical aspects of organizational theory shrouds the values upon which the theory itself rests. Classic, humanistic, and systemic theories of organization are not different in their ultimate values; rather, the differences lie in their operational premises. Each of the models is based on the notion of the rational attainment of efficiency, i.e., conscious efforts can produce a "better way"; and the consensual process of human relationships.

Most critics of organizational theory have dealt with the values implicit within the operational premises of a particular theory. The industrial humanists pointed to the unsatisfying nature of work for the average individual. Their contention was that institutions repress

man's natural desires to work effectively and to gain satisfaction from it. Thus the institution has diverted men from their natural inclination to go "good". The systems approach can be viewed as a reaction to the moral questions raised by the humanistic managements' manipulative techniques. The systems approach puts the major portion of moral concern back within the individual and views him as a decision maker and problem solver.

The new critics question what they consider to be the invalid assumptions of man's nature as stated in all previous attempts at an organization theory. Scott (179) indicates the changes in values that he perceives require new assumptions of the relationship between the individual and organizational behavior. He sees society's values as changing along these dimensions: (1) declining individuality, a rising confidence in group processes, (2) declining confidence in the absolute moral nature of man and an increase in the malability of man, (3) declining confidence in the spontaneity of behavior and rising confidence in planning. These changes ultimately will result in what Scott calls his "radical mode" of organizational behavior. This will include values of scarcity, stability, and conflict to replace values of limitless resources, growth, and consensus as the implicit assumptions of organizations.

Miles (135) draws much the same conclusions.

An interaction occurs between the organization and individual. The effects of that interaction affect the achievement of both organizational and individual objectives.--Typical, pyramidal, hierarchical organizations resist variance from norms. They tend to deny individual differences. In a time of radical change, value confrontations are inevitable (p. 77).

The point of this discourse is not to examine the validity of any particular organizational theory, rather, to indicate that whatever the

nature of the "new" theory of organizational behavior, it is at the most basic level concerned with values. The concern is primarily with the relationship between individual and organizational values. It appears that there should be some analysis of the relationships between these values before theories are accepted on the basis of their broad assumptions. Each theory is, at least implicitly, value laden; but the effects of theory at the individual level are referred to only in the most general of terms, whether the term used is "actualization" or "conflict".

The Value Environment of Organizations

In the broadest sense, a lack of consonance between an organization and its environment leads to inefficiency, followed sooner or later by the implementation of sanctions. It is the decline in efficiency that makes the organization realize that it has problems. The "lack of consonance" is not necessarily perceived by the formal organization; rather, it is reified by the organizational participants.

Rhenman (156) points to the focus of the lack of consonance.

. . . the most important result of my research into organizational problems--is that none of the dimensions usually used for classifying organizations is of central importance. Neither size, technology, nor the administrative set-up is the most important in this context. Instead it appears that understanding of the value system (often known by the men on the spot as company policy) should provide the basic scheme for anyone trying to discover how organization problems arise and how can they be solved. The value system is also closely linked to the power system (p. 50).

The organizational value system or value image has several important functions. It unifies decision making by providing links between decision makers and between decisions made at different points in time. It also satisfies important psychological needs among members of the

organization. Consequently, organization members will strive to achieve an inner consistency in the organizational value system, and to harmonize their own values with those of the organization.

It is not always easy to bring the goals prescribed by a company in accordance with the prevailing value system. One can assume that in most organizations there is some person or group of persons who prescribes goals and who is able, by means of the power he wields, to get these goals realized. That is, get the goals accepted as the basis of the organization's system of values. Barnard (12) calls this process "moral creativity". "The distinguishing mark of executive responsibility is that it requires not merely the conformance to a complex code of morals but also the creation of moral codes for others (p. 280)." He describes the creative process thusly:

. . . the invention of the constructions and fictions necessary to secure the preservation of morale is a severe test for both responsibility and ability, for to be sound they must be 'just' in the view of the executive, that is, really consonant with the morality of the whole; as well as acceptable, that is, really consonant with the morality of the part, of the individual (p. 281).

Dalton (36) calls the same process, "coerced freedom". Coerced freedom is defined as freedom to choose alternative courses of action or create new means for achieving prescribed goals. These means need not be official and at times must be made to appear to conform when practice forbids it. Thus, the executives freedom is restricted by "(1) the need to be covert, (2) informal ties, (3) chance factors, and (4) by moral structures" (p. 75). The executives latitude to choose among workable alternatives is really coercion to find practical means and to resolve his own moral conflicts as well as those of his subordinates.

Many executives find this distasteful and opt for a more

conservative and mechanistic process. They de-ideologize their organization in an attempt to make it function with a minimum of conflict. But without an ideology, new external goals tend to appear in the shape of aids to strategic planning. Institutional goals no longer dominate strategic goals; instead they are seen as a means toward the survival of the organization. An example from Rhenman (156, p. 57)--". . . typical is the sort of discussion about goals sometimes heard in religious or other popular organizations; they see their problem as one of developing new salable products."

It is not enough for the goals of a large organization to be formulated and its value prescribed by management. If the goals are to be achieved and the values applied, they will have to permeate all action and all decision making throughout the organization. In any organization where decision making is decentralized, much more will be needed than a company policy which expresses "the management values". The value that will actually affect company behavior will depend on other more generic systems.

The Nature of Human Values

The terms "value" and "value system" have been used thus far without explicit definitions. The authors quoted have probably each used the terms with a different meaning implied. The value concept has been employed in two distinctively different ways. One may say that a person "has a value" or that an object has "value". The former usage is of interest here.

Rokeach (164) has made an extensive investigation of the ways that values have been defined and attempted to develop a more explicit

terminology. "A value is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state." Note that the emphasis is on "value" as criteria; this would imply that there are a limited number of values which would, in turn, make their study worthwhile. A value system is defined as "an enduring organization of beliefs concerning preferable modes of conduct or end-states of existence along a continuum of relative importance." Thus, a value system could be termed a value hierarchy.

These definitions leave out words like "ought", "should", and "conceptions of the desirable". The only similar word is "preferable", and it is not used as a noun but as a predicate adjective. This indicates that the preference is an active evaluation.

A value has endurance. If values were completely stable, there would be no individual or social change. If they were completely unstable, there would be no continuity to existence. Therefore, a theory of value must account for both the enduring and changing nature of values. The enduring quality of a value originates in the situation in which it is learned; that is, in isolation of other values, in an all-or-none manner. Gradually as one matures, situations arise that require the integration of isolated, absolute values.

A value is a belief. It is a prescriptive belief, in that some action or end is desirable or undesirable. Values, like all beliefs, have cognitive, affective, and behavioral components. A value is a "concept" of the desirable; therefore, it is cognitive. A value is affective in the sense that one can feel emotionally about it; that is,

be for or against, approve or disapprove. A value is behavioral in that it is an intervening variable that often leads to action.

Values Distinguished from Other Concepts

Attitudes refer to the organization of several beliefs around a specific object, situation, or concept. A value, though, refers to a single belief. It contains a transcendental quality that guides actions, attitudes, and behavior across objects and situations. An attitude is not a standard, and has only a small motivational content. Values occupy a more central position than attitudes in an individual's personality and cognitive system.

Social norms are sometimes confused with values. Norms refer only to modes of behavior, whereas values can refer to both modes and end-states. Norms are situation specific. A value is more personal and internal, whereas a norm is consensual and external.

Maslow refers to self-actualization as both a value and a need, but if all needs were values, rats would have values. Values are cognitive representations of individual needs, and social and institutional demands. Once needs become cognitively transformed, they can be defended, justified, and advocated. Values, thus, do not provide a perfect map of needs.

One reason for the general confusion about values is the difficulty that individuals have in expressing exactly what their personal values are. Each individual "feels" his values, but they are difficult to communicate. Everyone has noticed the feeling of "oughtness" in a value. Kohler (110) calls it "objective requiredness" in that it is impersonal, relatively invariant, and interpersonally valid. A person

phenomenologically experiences "oughtness" to be objectively required by society in somewhat the same manner that he perceives an incomplete circle as objectively requiring closure. Thus, its validity "appears" to transcend the point of view of any individual. This quality is more pronounced in moral instrumental values.

Types of Values

From the definition of values one can see that they break into two fairly independent groups. One group deals with "end-states of existence" and are termed terminal values. The other group deals with "modes of conduct" and are termed instrumental values. Of primary concern here are the instrumental values. Rokeach (1969) finds that most instrumental values fall into one or the other of two classes. Moral values (honest, responsible) are those instrumental values having an interpersonal focus, and which, when violated arouse pangs of conscience or feelings of guilt. Competence values (logical, intelligent) have a personal rather than interpersonal focus, their violation leads to feelings of shame about personal inadequacy.

The feelings associated with these values, shame and guilt, will be discussed with regard to Riesman's inner-other directed typology. The inner-directed person is concerned more with moral-type instrumental values and their associated guilt, whereas the other-directed individual is directed by competence-type instrumental values and their associated shame.

The Structural Analysis of Values

The difficulty of assessing what are the particular effects of

organizational structure on individual values has previously been mentioned. Cross-cultural studies of bureaucratic organizations have provided fuel for a structural approach of defining the source of personal values. The primary focus of these studies has been on the role of manager or executives (52) (61) (77) (215).

Inkles (97) makes an extensive analysis of the personal values and attitudes of professionals in several different countries. He finds that, "perceptions, attitudes, and values relating to a wide range of situations are shown to be systematically ordered in modern societies" (p. 30). The average proportion of persons holding a particular view may be distinctive of a given country. This is the usual way that cross-cultural studies are done. Inkles finds that within all modern societies (those exhibiting some levels of industrial development) the order of structure of response is the same. These responses follow the typical status ladders of occupation, income, and education. The findings support the theory that the standard institutional environments of modern society induce standard patterns of response, despite the countervailing randomizing effects of persisting traditional patterns of culture.

It was found that in addition to the obvious uniformity in institutional roles, these roles foster typical patterns of perceptions, opinions, beliefs, and values which are not institutionally prescribed. Inkles believes that these arise spontaneously as new subcultures in response to the institutional conditions provided by the typically differentiated role-structure of modern society. Values and attitudes vary relative to the given society in a consistent manner if "status" is held constant. Societies tend to rank "status" by occupation, income, and

education; and these status groups are very similar when compared to the rest of that particular society.

George England (51) (52) (55) has done considerable work in determining the functioning values of managers. He has studied several groups of American managers, union managers, and Korean managers. His instrument differentiates between three broad value orientations: pragmatic, moralistic, and affective. All managers in his studies fell into the pragmatic and moralistic categories. Although England does not organize his data in this way, it breaks down into the well-documented structure initiation versus human relations approaches to management.

England finds a strong correlation between value orientation and actual managerial behavior. These results are discussed elsewhere in this paper. He postulates that the values are cross-cultural and these in turn produce consistencies in the similar behaviors found. Since his results are correlational, the opposite hypothesis is equally validated; i.e., similar behaviors may cause similar value orientations.

By re-classifying England's data so that the differences between groups is emphasized, one can see that there is a definite "cultural" impact on the managerial values held by each group (see Table I). These differences generally fit the "cultural" stereotypes one has of each group.

The same kinds of results have been found in several other studies (reported in Morval (138)). A major criticism of most of the studies is that the instruments used were hardly nonspecific to management. Morval concerns himself with a cross-cultural exploration of management semantic space. Semantic space indicates the concepts and attitudes that managers have "available" to describe a situation with. The method

used was to ask managers the relevance of an extensive list of concepts and adjectives as a means of describing their work. The "availability" of concepts as opposed to attitudes was compared. The concepts and adjectives that appeared beyond a chance level fix the limits of a managerial subjective culture. Concepts were found to be much more stereotyped across cultures than were adjectives. This indicates that the "sameness" found cross-culturally may be an artifact of "technique" rather than a measure of the more personal attitude.

TABLE I
DIFFERENCE BETWEEN GROUPS ON "IMPORTANCE"
OF A VALUE AS A MANAGEMENT CONCEPT

Higher Importance When Comparing:			
Union Mgrs. with American Mgrs.		Korean Mgrs. with American Mgrs.	
Autonomy	Prejudice	Aggressive	Dignity
Security	Change	Autonomy	Individuality
Obedience	Property	Security	Loyalty
Compassion		Money	Honor
Tolerance		Liberalism	Religion
Authority			
Equality			
Liberalism			

There have been repeated attempts to establish general typologies describing the relationship of personal value to society, organization,

or role. One of the most widely validated is Riesman's (1957). He breaks down cultural characteristics into three broad classes: (1) tradition-directed, (2) inner-directed, and (3) other-directed. These cultural characteristics in turn foster similar personalities within them.

The tradition-directed person feels the impact of his culture as a unit, although it is mediated through the specific, small number of individuals with whom he has daily contact. These individuals do not expect that he be a certain type of person, but that he behaves in an appropriate way. Consequently, the sanction for deviant behavior tends to be the fear of being shamed.

The inner-directed person has early incorporated a psychic gyroscope which is set going by parents and can receive signals from later authorities who resemble his parents. He goes through life less independent than he seems, obeying this internal piloting. Getting off course, whether in response to internal or external forces, leads to the feeling of guilt. Since principles rather than details of behavior are internalized, the inner-directed person is capable of great stability.

Contrasted with this type is the other-directed person who learns to respond to signals from a much wider circle than his parents. He belongs to a wider social environment to which he becomes attentive. In these respects, the other-directed person resembles the tradition-oriented; both live in a group milieu and lack the inner-directed person's capacity to go it alone. The nature of this milieu, however, differs radically in the two cases. The other-directed person's differentiation between the familiar and strange is broken-down; whereas,

tradition-oriented societies depend on a very clear differentiation. What is internalized, then, is not a code of behavior, but the sensitivity to respond to other's signals. Against guilt-shame controls of other types, Reisman says the primary psychological lever of the other-directed is a diffuse anxiety. This anxiety may be thought of as the inability to identify the source of control, guilt or shame.

Porter (150) (151) has found that the inner-other-directed constructs differentiate between organizational levels and functions. As with most studies using these constructs, the other-directed traits are classified as those producing shame for non-compliance; thus, there has been a grouping of tradition and other-directed traits into a single construct. England (53) developed three constructs: moralistic, pragmatic, and affective. He was unable to find any subjects that could be classed as affective, so only the moralistic and pragmatic types are validated. The descriptions of these types closely resemble Reisman's. The inner-directed as pragmatic and other-directed as moralistic.

Motivation and Theories of Identification

Identification as a Form of Motivation

Theories of organizational behavior, role theory in particular, has suffered from the lack of a satisfactory account of motivation. They are effective to the extent that they state that a person learns through an accumulation of individual experiences to recognize standard situations, and to play expected roles in them according to his perceived status in each of them. But this does not indicate how the individual encounters alternatives and resolves conflicting definitions of his appropriate behavior.

Motives have been defined away as mere rationalizations of acts already performed; that is, one relates his acts to previous experience and to the values of the reference groups to which he must justify his behavior. This kind of analysis correctly calls attention to the function of language, at least its emotional-symbolic content, in motivation. Each individual is quite able to provide elaborate justification; i.e., rationalization, of past and potential behavior, making each act "fit" into his unified life experience. This kind of analysis leaves a gap between the explanation and the act. It is this gap that the concept of identification has seemed to fill.

To generalize, motivated behavior is distinguished by prospective references to the ends in view, by being more or less subject to conscious control through choice. The choice is among alternative means and ends. All kinds of human behavior are characterized by direction, form, intensity, frequency and duration; all require the expenditure of energy, but only motivated behavior exhibits the fluidity of organization, the paradoxical combinations of phenomenally-experienced choice and compulsion ("I don't want to but I have to because . . ."), the dependence upon learning from the content of previous experience, and above all the symbolic structuring required to understand one's own behavior.

Foote (65) states that the individual's definition of the situation accounts for his attitudes, not the reverse. He parallels this logic in discussing motivation. "To avoid predispositionalist connotations, we prefer not to speak of particular motives but motivated acts" (p. 16). The exclusion of "motives" as rationalizations of motivated acts, allows a more personalistic interpretation of motivated behavior.

Identification involves an incorporation of and commitment to a particular identity or a series of identities. As a process it starts by naming, that is, discriminating between what one is and is not. Thus, this writer classifies experience as either internal or external to the individual at a particular point in time. The products of identification are ever-evolving self-conceptions, self-conceptions with an emphasis on the ratification of that concept by significant others. Each individual must categorize the others in his experience in order to interact with them. One never approaches another person purely as a human being or purely as an individual. The regularities in interactive behavior with others are based upon expectations of regularities in their behavior. These regularities are, in turn, based upon the expectations of certain regularities in the individual's behavior. For both of these expectations to be met, there must be a sharing in the identity concepts held by each party. Where such mutual identity definitions do not coincide, the social process degenerates.

To the extent that the regularities in human behavior are organized responses to situations which have been similarly classified by the actors involved, names can be considered to motivate behavior. In order to produce a motivated behavior toward an individual, the person is not called by a given name; rather, he is classified. One is "called a name" which indicates a class or group, not an individual. Where an emotion-oriented (motivated) behavior is desired towards oneself or another, classification through naming is required. For nonsocial forms of behavior, one goes through the same process. "I do this because I am a _____." Thus, various identities existing alternately within the same individual can produce "motivated acts".

In most situations, an identity is completely habituated and taken for granted. Its presence or relevance does not become part of one's consciousness. Attention is focused instead upon the stimulating environment. Only when environmental uncertainty raises an identity to a conscious level does that identity become an explicit factor in one's acts. When doubt of identity occurs, action is paralyzed.

Quoting Foote (65):

Faith in one's conception of one's self is the key which unlocks the physiological resources of the human organism. Doubt of identity, or confusion, where it does not cause complete disorientation, certainly drains action of its meaning, and thus limits mobilization of the organic correlates of emotion, drive and energy which constitute the introspectively-sensed 'push' of motivated action (p. 20).

Jung's "Self-Realization" as a Form of Identification

C. G. Jung (82) has developed a psychology that has had an impact on the modern concepts of self and self-realization. Many of his concepts have been pulled from their original context and used in popular literature. One should consider his theory as a whole to understand the implications of his terminology.

At the base of Jungian psychology is the concept of archetypes, which are inherited predispositions within the psyche. These archetypes are genetically transmitted to the individual, but develop singularly within each individual through the uniqueness of his experience. Two kinds of archetypes are the persona and the self. The persona archetype enables one to portray a character that is not necessarily his own; i.e., role playing. Originally the persona is called up by the conscious, but does not yet have the emotional content of an identity. The

self is an organizing archetype. It unifies, draws to itself, and harmonizes all other archetypes. It unifies the personality giving it a sense of "oneness" and firmness.

The ego is the name Jung uses for the organization of the conscious mind. It is composed of conscious perceptions, thoughts, and feelings. Although the ego occupies only a small portion of the total psyche, it plays a vitally important function of the gatekeeper to consciousness. The ego provides continuity for a personality because of the selection and elimination of psychic material.

If a person becomes over-involved with a role; i.e., the ego becomes defined by the role, one becomes alienated from his nature. The ego's identification with a particular persona is called "inflation". The victim of inflation can suffer feelings of inferiority and self-reproach because he cannot live up to the standards set by the persona.

Self-realization requires the ego to identify with the self. The ultimate goal of every personality is to achieve a state of selfhood. This goal implies the sequential identification with a series of persona in order to develop the self or integrating archetype. The self must become "individualized" before it can be realized. For Jung, individualization means that the personality becomes more unique through one's life. Not only is there greater differentiation among persona, there is greater complexity within the self. This complexity means that the structure is capable of expressing itself in a variety of ways. Jung feels that the process of individualization is not complete until about middle age. Only when the self is fully developed can the ego identify fully with it, and the individual become self-realized.

The identification process as presented in Jungian psychology parallels this explanation given previously. In the ego's attachment to a particular persona, emotional-type energies may be released and focused. Being able to call up the appropriate persona (identity) and to change smoothly from one persona to another allows the self to become individualized. Eventually the ego need only react with the single archetype (self) because it has incorporated the relevant dimensions of previous persona and eliminated superfluous factors.

Maslow's "Self-Actualization" as a Form
of Identification

Maslow (130) examined the life histories of individual's whom he considered to be self-actualizing. This was an effort to determine the relevant personal and situational aspects that would produce actualization. He finds that man has basic psychological needs, and that these needs have a loose hierarchy. Maslow's hierarchy of needs has become an important component of modern motivation theory.

What is of relevance here is not the hierarchy itself but the process of satisfying needs. Maslow finds that needs fall into two broad categories: deficiency needs and being needs. The self-actualizing individual is motivated to fill being needs. In order for energies to be available for the being needs to be filled, there must be fulfillment of the deficiency needs. These deficiency needs are filled either by good fortune or an efficient personality system. Although Maslow never states it explicitly, the most obvious means used in attempt to fill the being needs is identification.

All individuals potentially have the same need hierarchy, any

deviations that occur are due to one's ability to fulfill the lower or deficiency needs. Contrary to common conceptions of Maslow's hierarchy of needs, the "higher" occupations are not necessarily more involved with higher needs than are "lower" occupations. The important difference between high and low occupations is that lower occupations are more involved with lower needs (95). Concern with the deficiency needs can produce neurotic demands on reality that eventually reduces the potential for fulfilling those very same needs. With the "lower" needs left unfulfilled there is less chance of fulfilling "higher" needs. These needs still exist, and in an attempt to fill them with the very minimum expenditure of psychic energy, one identifies. That is, the self-concept becomes tied to a larger entity that has an energy of its own and, thus, increases the potential for fulfillment.

Maslow (130) indicates that

. . . the self-actualizing individual sees reality clearer; i.e., he can judge people correctly and efficiently. This trait expands into music and art--it has been called a trait of taste or good judgement--it should be called the perception of something that was absolutely there (p. 90).

Whether clear perception produces self-actualization, or vice versa, is unknown.

Values are assumed by Maslow to be by-products of the perceived needs. They are socially reinforced criteria for selection of a means-end relationship that is expected to fill a felt need. This implies that some value systems are more effective; i.e., "natural", than others. "The self-actualized individual is automatically furnished at every turn with a firm foundation for a value system" (130, p. 90).

Identities, as a means of securing a value system, can be seen as varying in effectiveness depending upon the individual's particular

needs and situation. Lueptow (122) has found that "a primary mediator between needs and a potentially fulfilling goal is the individual's value orientation" (p. 304).

Lueptow's findings suggest the utility of employing value-orientations in the study of motivation. Value systems may provide an understanding of the individual's need-related behavior which may be a result of a lack of goal definition, rather than the weakness of a measured need as a determinant of behavior.

How does an individual achieve a particular identity, particularly one that is not consistent with the individual's needs? People are limited to the experiences available to them from birth, although these limitations become more flexible as they gain in variety of their experience. Nevertheless, limitations do continue, for few people ever reach the point of considering a drastic and deliberate shift in identity. Primarily then, the compulsive effect of identification of behavior must arise from the absence of alternatives. Behavior is affected by the unquestioned acceptance of the identity cast on one by circumstances felt to be beyond his control. From the point of view of the experiencing individual, the process seems much more like a process of discovery than a process of selection among infinite possibilities.

Organizational Identification

There is considerable evidence that modern complex organizations have difficulty achieving both the coordination of individual actions presumed necessary to obtain their objectives, and at the same time satisfying the needs of individuals working in them. One of the often cited reasons for this is that bureaucratic organizations tend to exert

extensive control over the day-to-day, moment-to-moment behavior of their employees in an attempt to assure predictability of performance (7) (58) (117) (179) (199). This consistency in individual behavior is considered a prime requisite of complex production systems.

Employers have generally considered this a problem of "motivation". They have often taken the position of classical organizational and scientific management specialists that exchange mechanisms are the answer; e.g., good pay exchanged for poor working conditions. Another approach which employers have adopted is the "human relations" approach of attempting to "socialize" employees in order to make their individual goals closer to those of the organization. Evidence indicates that neither of these approaches is always successful (180). This latter approach has precipitated research concerning the concept "organizational identification", the premise being that once an individual becomes "identified" with an organization there is no question as to the "legitimization" of power. The power; i.e., motive, is within the individual and not the organization. One of the basic conclusions of this paper is that organizational identification may be a powerful means of producing "predictable" behavior but that the mechanism of organizational identification is a very personal and unique process which need not necessarily "dehumanize" the individual. This is not to say that the attempts of any organization to produce in its members a sense of organizational identity have not been detrimental to the individual and his self-concept. One must separate the natural process of identification from the attempts to rationalize and control the process. When organizational identification becomes an organized identity it becomes a Procrustean bed.

Blauner (16) considers the degree of control one has (or thinks that one has) in one's work is a critical factor in explaining the differences in job satisfaction among occupations. He suggests that this is particularly true in the United States because there is a strong cultural ideal of individual initiative and independence in the area of work. Thus, there is dissonance between what one expects of one's self; i.e., freedom of choice, and one's experience on the job; i.e., lack of personal control.

The basic demand of organizations is that members discipline their expression of personal and immediate needs, to respond to more external and distant demands. Parsons (144) puts this dilemma in terms of a universal dilemma of choice present in all action systems. Human action is examined very abstractly, requiring the individual to define the situation in terms of five different dilemmas (Parson's Pattern Variables). One of these is the necessity to determine whether the individual will respond to the situation in an "affective" or "affectively neutral" manner. That is, whether or not the situation should be expected to produce immediate gratification. Roles or identifications are assumed to have prescriptions for solving this dilemma.

The evolution of modern organizations as unresponsive may be linked to a basic cultural and ideological conception of the relationship between the individual and society in general. This conception is the belief that the individual is highly pliable or malleable, and that he can be socialized to perform adequately and happily in most, if not all social systems; i.e., men are "perfectable". In analyzing the American value system, Kluckhorn (109) asserts that the perfectability of man and man's capacity to master nature are two central value orientations.

This results in the belief that mobility is based on individual merit.

The lack of fit between the individual and social institutions shows that man is not plastic. The incidence of dissatisfaction and indifference in many work roles indicates only a minimal level of commitment on the part of workers (16) (209). This reflects a far from complete integration of individuals and one of their major social roles (45). Phenomena such as this suggest that, contrary to the prevailing value system, individuals may not be as pliable as has been assumed and existing social structures may not be as personally rewarding as believed. Etzioni (58) proposes that many social structures fail to satisfy basic human needs. These social arrangements continue because,

. . . persons can be mobilized into roles incompatible with their needs, which they otherwise would not seek, in order to gain emotional security--needs other than that for stability will not be gratified and will not adapt so that they can be satisfied in these roles (p. 7).

Barnard's "Responsibility" as Organizational
Identification

In discussing the nature of the internal processes of individuals in immediate contact with social organizations, Barnard (12) comments on

. . . the reaction of specific formal organizations on the psychology or morality of individuals who have close and lasting connections with them. The fact of such reactions is a major principle of the process of organization (p. 200).

He postulates that there are several sets of general propensities or codes (value systems) within the same person. These propensities arise from different sources of influence and are related to quite diverse types of activities. This would lead one to the conclusion that one's

moral nature is compartmentalized; that is, that there is not an ultimate reference or conceptual continuum to an individual's life.

Barnard adds a dimension to his analysis of these various value systems, "responsibility". He states that responsibility is the consistency with which one is able to maintain consonant forms of behavior through one or several different codes or sets of values. Responsibility becomes a generalized trait, "--that is they possess a general capacity under adverse conditions for conduct consistent with their stable beliefs" (p. 263). This is a characteristic which would aptly describe Jung's self-realized or Maslow's self-actualized individual.

A difficulty arises in the determination of "responsibility" in others. The consonant forms of behavior produced are observed from outside the individual and are, thus, colored by the perceiving individual's own value system. As long as both individuals have consonant value systems, responsibility will be observed in each others' behavior. Thus, organizational identification becomes a means of providing "responsibility" by providing a singular value source to both individuals.

The private code of morals which one derives from a definite formal organization is one aspect of what Barnard (12) refers to as "organizational personality",

. . . those who have a strong attachment to an organization, however it comes about, are likely to have a code or codes derived from it if their connection has existed long; but whether they appear responsible with respect to such codes depends upon the general capacity for responsibility and upon their place in the spectrum of personal codes (p. 270).

Barnard feels that most of the behaviors required within the organization are decided within the "organizational personality", that only a particular code is involved, and a potential value conflict can be

treated as a "problem". Within the solution of a problem the decisions become technical and their moral components are not consciously evaluated.

A dimension postulated by Barnard for the degree of organizational control is "the zone of indifference". Generally, the zone of indifference indicates the range of orders an individual will accept without questioning the authority of such an order. The zone of indifference is really the intersection of the individual's personal values and his perception of the organization's value orientation toward the particular behavioral prescription. Barnard (12) perceives: "At any given time there is among most contributors an active personal interest in the maintenance of the authority of all orders which are to them within the zone of indifference" (p. 169). The active personal interest that Barnard speaks of is seen to arise from two separate sources. The first is the attempt to maintain consonance within the individual's personal value system. The second is the drive for consonance in the perception of the image of the organization. Thus, it is a combination of a valuational and a perceptual process. Barnard says that interest maintenance is a function of the informal organization. From the analysis above, one can see that the informal organization may have an impact on the level of individual interest through its effects on personal values and perception; but the process is primarily an individualized one.

Argyris' "Dedication" as Organizational Identification

Argyris (6) uses a concept similar to Barnard's responsibility. He calls it "dedication". Dedication is the degree to which an

individual's behavior can be predicted by knowing the values in force. Using this concept, he attempts to show the inherent dysfunctional aspects of dedication to values which are implicit in formal organizations. Argyris states that these particular values implicit in formal organizations are: (1) the achievement of organizational objectives; (2) the maintenance of logic, rationality, and unemotionality; and (3) direction and control of individual behavior through a formal reward system. The stereotypes of managers as to what are important values for an organization are the source of these values.

Dedication would imply adherence to the formal values. The impact of these formal values is assumed to be the fostering of a new social system within the organization. This new system will in turn affect what Argyris terms "interpersonal competence". The social system will tend to decrease: (1) receiving and giving nonevaluative feedback; (2) owning and permitting others to own their ideas, feelings, and values; (3) openness to new ideas, feelings, and values; and (4) experimenting and risk taking with new ideas and values. If these things occur to the social system, Argyris states that ultimately the members will (1) tend to be unaware of their impact on others and (2) tend to leave unresolved interpersonal problems. This will ultimately reduce the effectiveness of the organizational effort.

He assumes a set of "formal organizational values" and goes from there to indicate how these values force the individual participants to "create a new social system". There is an assumption that these implied values are, in fact, part of the participant's environment. There is a conflict between the organizational values perceived by an individual as important to the organization's existence, and those that have not

been predefined by administrative design as "official". Are these formal organizational values? Individuals with certain values may make formal policy, but it is difficult to determine the value content of the policy as perceived by the individual participant. Argyris's ideatypical model leaves a gap between the conceived value system and the perceived value system upon which "the new social system" must ultimately be founded.

Charisma as a Source of "Dedication"
and "Responsibility"

It has been suggested that each individual carries with him from childhood the memory of one or more super-human all-powerful beings, whose anger was to be feared, but who, if properly propitiated could satisfy one's needs (57) (141). In periods of stress one unconsciously reaches back to these childhood figures for help. Since these are no longer physical beings, they assume in one's unconscious a magic or mystical character.

It seems reasonable to assume that the propensity to accept a leader (in the form of organizational or occupational power) as charismatic is related to both the extent of one's earliest propensity to trust and the strength of the unfulfilled needs which drive one (88). This is somewhat validated by McArthur (34). He found, controlling for education and social class background, that individuals with a strong dominant father became higher ranking executives. This also may help to explain the findings discussed later, that jobs that are challenging tend to produce greater commitment to the organization. That is, the organization both produces the "stress" and the "means" of overcoming

the stress. This would reinforce the organization's charismatic image.

Among the most fundamental, powerful, and universal needs are the often quoted trio of needs that are said to underlie all religions and which appear to be at the core of Erikson's (57) "identity crisis". Oberg (141) argues that charismatic leadership gains its greatest power as a consequence of its ability to: (1) provide a satisfying identity; that is, a purpose and meaning to one's life; (2) hope of some form of immortality; that is, a lasting contribution to something of value; and (3) freedom from guilt; that is, a moral justification for one's behavior. To the extent that organizations or occupations are perceived to entail these qualities, they can produce charismatic commitment or identification.

Empirical Studies of Organizational Identification

Organizational identification is broadly defined as the extent to which an individual accepts the values and goals of an organization as his own and, thus, becomes emotionally committed to that organization. Hall (70) (80) has found in studies of priests, foresters, and research scientists, that organizational identification is positively correlated with job challenge, job involvement, self-image, certain needs, and the general level of satisfaction.

The most consistently strong correlate of organizational involvement regardless of career pattern or type of organization is job challenge. This relationship is somewhat mediated by the general level of work satisfaction. These findings can be interpreted in terms of Kurt Lewin's field theory, particularly his concept of "psychological

success". The more an individual's job includes autonomy and challenge, the more likely he is to become job-involved and to commit himself to difficult work goals. If he attains these "stretching goals", he will experience a sense of "psychological success"; and the cycle repeats itself. Each repetition brings an increased sense of competence, which, in turn, produces commitment to even more difficult work goals.

Hall and Schneider (81) find that organizational identification is also positively correlated with the attainment of higher level needs. By fulfilling needs for autonomy as opposed to security through one's job, the individual becomes attached to the organization on a less "economic" and more "psychologic" basis. Tom (203) finds similar results in a study of scientists. He finds that the scientists' organizational identification was positively correlated with their general level of satisfaction with their job, organization, and profession. Those with high levels of organizational identification tended to be more productive, better motivated, and have less propensity to leave the organization than scientists with low levels of identification. However, it is not possible to determine which is antecedent in the above relationship.

For scientists with an M.S. or B.S. degree, motivation and job attitudes were more highly correlated than for Ph.D.'s. The amount of identification with profession becomes more important in predicting organizational identification as the educational level decreases. This result seems logical considering that employees with higher degrees more or less accept their profession as their career, whereas employees with lower degrees still have career options open to them.

Schneider (177) finds in a study of single organization careers

that tenure is a good predictor of organizational identification. What seems clear, for at least single organization careers, is that over time the individual's organizationally-relevant self becomes more strongly related to organizationally-related values. To the extent that changes occur in an individual's hierarchy of values, there should be a corresponding change in the source of the self-image. Schneider found that foresters career value of "organizational identification" was rated least among a group of five personal needs and three organizational goals for the youngest group. For the longest tenured group, "organizational identification" was ranked the highest.

With length of service, an individual probably accumulates a complex network of positive and rewarding experiences which become associated with membership in the organization itself. Thus organizational membership eventually becomes functionally autonomous as a motivating factor. When one combines the increasing identity investment with (1) the declining number of outside opportunities as one gets older, and (2) the dissonance-reducing process one experiences in believing that he has chosen his commitments wisely. It seems reasonable that time would lead to increasing identification.

Thornton (202) has found in a study of university faculties that organizational and occupational identification are not necessarily incompatible. The typical view has been that the professional employee must choose between his profession and his organization, since the values of each conflict. Consequently, the profession is said to become either a local, and accept the organization, or a cosmopolitan and maintain his professional allegiance. Organizational and professional commitments can be compatible under certain conditions. Thornton

states, "generally, the extent to which the organizational professional 'perceives' an organizational situation as reaffirming, and exemplifying certain principles of professionalism determines the compatibility of these commitments" (p. 419).

Super (195) has asserted that a synthesis occurs between an individual's self-identity and his work as his career develops. Hall (75) argued that this process is actually a synthesis of his identity and career role. However, a study by Hall and Schneider (81) suggests that there may be an even sharper distinction between an individual's job role and organizational role. In single organization careers, there is a shift in time from identification with the job to an identification with the organization. Generally, occupational identification is a function of the effectiveness of occupational selection, and an acceptable level of perceived role performance. The data suggests that certain types of individuals enter organizations predisposed to identify with it.

Corporate Conscience

One of the implications drawn from the research on organizational identity is the possibility of an organization developing a "modal personality" (84). That is, several individuals will have similar values as a result of their association with this same organization. The mere similarity of value orientations does not create a "corporate conscience". What is meant by conscience is a system of values which is embodied in the conscious or unconscious levels of the personality against which attitudes, actions, and judgments are examined introspectively apart from any outside control.

Brown (22) states that "values cannot be abstracted from their source, added together among a group of individuals and averaged to obtain a group value" (p. 132). Values are transmitted through the process of individual decision or "choice among alternatives". The decision is one of relative values, not absolute values. Organizations as socio-cultural factors may influence an individual's relative value system over time, but this does not create a consciousness. A group of people does not establish an external objective value in absolute terms; rather, the interplay of relative evaluations within each individual leads him to make a choice among alternatives.

Conclusion

There has been considerable value content in all theories of organizational behavior, although often at an implicit level. The most explicit connection between personal values and organizational theory has been in the area of organizational identification. Organizational identification is considered to be a primary source for producing consistencies in organizational behaviors.

Studies of personal values and organizational identification have been very broad in scope. They tend to indicate that there is a strong relationship between organizational identification and the self-concept; however, the nature of this relationship is poorly defined.

CHAPTER II

PERCEPTUAL PROCESSES AS THEY AFFECT THE
IDENTIFICATION OF AN INDIVIDUAL WITH
A WORK ORGANIZATION

The nature of the process that binds man and his work organization has been described as being everything from sheer economics to a love affair. An area that has received little attention and which may be important to current motivation theory involves the individual's perception of his membership organization. Much of the attraction felt by an individual for an organization may be a result of personal biases in his perception of the organization, biases induced by the individual's personal values. These biases combined with the tendency for one to be attracted to others that appear to be similar to the individual's self-concept, may clarify the nature of the bond between the individual and his work organization.

Perceptual Bias

In a classic work, The Measurement of Meaning, Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum (143) state "how a person behaves in a situation depends on what the situation means or signifies to him" (p. 25). Thus, the definitions of the situation controls behavior as long as the definition is "meaningful." Two concepts in the statement require some expansion. The first is the concept of meaning. It may be assumed that "meaning"

is a quality of a perception that somehow is related to self-maintenance. Secondly, if the situation is to be defined, it must first be perceived. There are obvious personal configurations involved in projecting meaning onto a situation. Therefore, perception cannot be considered an unbiased testing of the environment.

Learning Meaning

Staats and Staats (191) have demonstrated that a particular "meaning dimension" may be learned for previously meaningless words through classical conditioning. Two experiments were conducted to test the hypothesis that attitude responses elicited by a word can be conditioned to a contiguously presented socially significant, verbal stimulus. A national or masculine name was presented eighteen times as an unconditioned stimulus. In each instance, it was paired with the auditory presentation of a different word. While all of the second words were different, they all had identical "evaluative" meaning components, good or bad. In the first experiment, one national name (e.g., Dutch) was paired with words having positive evaluative dimension and another national name was paired with words having negative evaluative meanings. In the second experiment, familiar masculine names were used instead of national names. In each experiment there was significant evidence that meaning responses had been learned via classical conditioning, without the subjects' awareness. Thus, words or concepts that occur concurrently within one's lifespace or are "parsed" together as a class of related conceptual constructs tend to take on each other's "meaning" dimensions.

Lilliston (118) has found that learning rates are affected by

values. He studied verbal conditioning as a function of the interaction between the content of the stimulus material and the subjects personal value-orientation. In an experimental situation, two groups of subjects were conditioned to select words either consistent or inconsistent with their value-orientations. These value-orientations had been previously determined by the Alport-Vernon Study of Values. As had been predicted, those subjects conditioned to select words consistent with their value-orientations produced a steeper acquisition curve than those subjects conditioned to select inconsistent words. A control group was conditioned to select words unrelated to personal value-orientations; e.g., animal names. As had been predicted, those subjects conditioned to select words consistent with their value-orientation produced a steeper acquisition curve than did those subjects conditioned to select inconsistent words. However, there was no difference between acquisition curves of the valued group and the control.

Since the only significant difference is that inconsistent words are learned more slowly, one would have to conclude that either perceptual defense or value resonance is a valid explanation of the results. In the classical conditioning experiment by Staats and Staats discussed earlier, the conclusions reached may be somewhat misleading. They used a single value orientation "good vs. bad" as a measure of "meaning dimension." Because the "good-bad" value-orientation is so general, they may have been measuring a learning rate rather than a general process of "meaning" transfer.

Perceptual Screening and Personal Values

Values can play an active role in the perceptual process. One of

the best documented roles is the process of perceptual screening or filtering. Through active manipulation of the perceptual process, personal values may provide an individually defined environment. Most of the literature in perceptual screening is rather old, but it contains several good experimental studies. Perhaps one of the best concerning values or meaning orientations as perceptual screens was written in 1948 by Leo Postman (152).

In this experiment, subjects were given the Allport-Vernon Study of Values test in order to measure the value orientations. Orientations were defined by Spranger's six value categories: Theoretical, Economic, Aesthetic, Social, Political, and Religious. Thirty-six words were carefully selected by the experimenters. Six of the words could be closely identified with each of the six value categories. These words were then flashed in front of each subject on a screen. The subject was asked to identify each presentation. A record was kept of all responses and the flash duration required for correct identification.

The results indicated that there were a significant difference at the .01 level between response thresholds for those words associated with the higher-valued categories and the response times for words in the lower-valued categories. The record of incorrect responses reveals some other aspects of perceptual screening. Covaluant responses (incorrect responses but correct category)--such as answering Easter when the stimulus word was sacred--were significant for higher-valued categories. Contravaluant responses (incorrect responses in category opposite to true category)--such as responding revenge for the stimulus word blessed--occurred more often for lower-valued categories.

Postman describes three mechanisms by which values may affect

perception: (1) selective sensitivation, perceptual thresholds are lowered for valued stimulus objects, (2) perceptual defense, perceptual thresholds are increased for unacceptable stimulus objects, (3) value resonance, whatever the nature of the stimulus, the response favors a pre-solution; i.e., expectancy. The end result of whatever process is in effect is the same, a consistent perceptual sensitivity in the direction of positive personal value orientations. The structure of Postman's explanation fits well into Bem's self-perception theory in that the perceptual mechanism is part of a larger cognitive process. Perceptual defense and value resonance factors may well be related to a more central consonance maintaining process than perception.

Values and Magnitude Estimation

Problems connected with the nature of the influence exercised by motivational factors on perception have been the subject of debate in recent years. Experiments of overestimations of the magnitude of stimuli fall into two classes. In one group, changes in the perception of magnitude are related to value. Examples of this class are the estimation of coin size; i.e., the larger the coin the greater the value, and the experiment of Duker and Bevan (47), in which judgments of the weight of jars filled with sand were compared with judgments of jars filled with candy; i.e., heavier jars contain more candy and, therefore, are of greater value. The other class of experiments reported that changes in value have no apparent relationship to change in the physical dimensions that subjects were requested to judge. In the experiments of Bruner and Postman (23), discs containing a swastika were used as stimuli. Judgments of their size was compared with the

size estimates of discs containing neutral stimuli. The size estimate of the swastika had no relationship to value.

Most of the research has attempted to show that the "value" dimension of perception is generalized to the size dimension. These results tend to indicate that a valued dimension is consistently overestimated. These experiments have involved comparisons of valued objects and neutral objects of similar dimensions. A factor not discussed but present in these experiments is the differences in estimations of "valued" dimensions. Tajfel (198) examines the effects of judgments of valued dimensions. He used the judgment of weights. Different weights bring different "bonuses" (gift certificates). In a control group, no such "bonuses" are given. He found that there is an accentuation of the differences between weights if they are valued compared to the judgment of unvalued weights. He states:

Discriminative responses to stimuli in a valued series are not usually in terms of precise quantitative labels attached to individual stimuli. They are made in terms of 'larger than' or 'smaller than', the neighboring elements in a series. Minimizing the differences entails the risk of confusion; accentuating the differences is an additional guarantee of a successful response (p. 173).

In real-world situations, there is a difficulty in that "value" is not a dimension in the physical sense. It is, however, an important attribute of stimuli, if only because the efficient discrimination between stimuli in terms of a difference of value, in most cases, is more important or "relevant" than discriminations of the physical dimensions.

From the studies listed above, one can draw several conclusions. Learning rates are different depending upon the value content of the material. Whether this is due to a real shift in the perceptual

threshold or is due to the consonant nature of a pre-exposure cognitive system is not known. There is also substantial evidence indicating that values affect the dimensionalization of perception. Both the relevance of a particular dimension and comparisons along that dimension are related to the personal value orientation of the individual. The perception and definition of the situation can be seen to be a highly personal one, with "meaning" only recognizable at the personal level.

Behavior and Attitude Toward Situation

Generally, there have been inconsistent results from experiments correlating behavior with attitudes. The inconsistencies may be due in a large part to the failure to take the individual's perception of the situation into account. The previous research cited indicates that all perceptions and their affective components have a very personal interpretation. The energy for directed behavior is generated by the individual's total self, not the affective component of a specific object's perception.

Rokeach (162) has tested the relative effects of attitude toward "object" and attitude toward "situation" as predictor of behavior. He measured class cuts (Behavior, B_o), Attitude toward the professor (Attitude toward object, A_o), and attitude toward class cuts in general (Attitude toward situation, A_s). He predicts that $f[A_o(w) + A_s(1-w)]$ will predict class cuts (B_o) better than either attitude alone. The w was determined by asking the students how important class cuts were to them. Table II shows the results of correlation between each of the variables.

TABLE II
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ATTITUDE TOWARD OBJECT,
ATTITUDE TOWARD SITUATION,
AND BEHAVIOR

	$r(A_o, A_s)$	$r(B_o, A_o)$	$r(B_o, A_s)$	$r(B_o, A_o A_s)$
Pearson p	.07	-.20	-.46	-.61
Significance	N.S.	N.S.	$p < .001$	$p < .001$

Source: Rokeach (162).

The correlation between A_o , A_s indicates that the attitudes toward the professor and class cutting are generally independent. $r B_o, A_o$ indicates that the attitude toward the professor has little predictive value. The attitude toward the situation (class cutting) is shown to be significantly correlated with actual behavior, but when the attitude toward professor is added to it the predictive capacity is greatly increased.

The results of an admittedly simple model, indicate the importance of recognizing the affective components of the situation as perceived by the individual as well as his attitudes toward specific objects within the situation. The two attitudes can be seen much like a Gestalt "figure-ground" in that perception of appropriate behavior is determined to a large extent by the "ground".

Perception of Others

Projection and Negation

There is a good deal of theory published in the field of person perception (19, 24, 50, 71, 141, 209). The bias in the perception of "liked" others is well documented. Preston (153) found that husbands and wives attributed more similarity to their partners than actually existed. He claims that the happier marriages showed a greater error in attributing similarity. Levy (115) calls this bias "The constant error process of social perception." This halo-effect is found to be manifest throughout the realm of traits. Borgatta (19) discusses the same process, calling it the "elevation" dimension of social perception. He finds that an individual's perception of another's "elevation" is generally independent of the situation.

The general assumption has been historically that one tends to project or negate ones own attitudes and feelings in others. The strength of this tendency depends on various aspects of the relationship between self and other and on the kinds of attitudes and feelings are involved. Newcomb (140) predicts that the strain toward symmetry depends on the "relevance" of the characteristic between the two persons.

Vroom (209) has investigated supervisors perceptions of their subordinates. He measures the "relevance" of the characteristic to the supervisor and the actual characteristics of the subordinates. Vroom hypothesized that: (1) the more similar the subordinate is perceived to be, the more positive will be the supervisors attitude toward the subordinate, and (2) the more central the characteristics to the

supervisor, the greater will be the projection. Table III shows the correlation between perceived similarity and the supervisor's attitude toward his subordinates. The effect of real similarity has been partialled out so that the only affects shown are those of projection.

TABLE III
PARTIAL CORRELATION BETWEEN PERCEIVED SIMILARITY
AND ATTITUDE TOWARD SUBORDINATE
(High values indicate positive relationship between
attitude and similarity)

Relevance of Characteristic	Correlation	Significance
High Centrality	.22	p < .001
Moderate Centrality	.14	p < .01
Low Centrality	.09	p < .05

Source: Vroom (209).

Similarity and attitude are positively correlated for all levels of relevance. The difference between the attitude correlation for high and low centrality is significant at the $p < .05$ level. Therefore, the more central the trait, the greater the projection.

On highly central traits, supervisors perceive subordinates toward whom they have a positive attitude to be more similar than they really are (Table IV). As a supervisor's attitude toward his subordinates becomes less positive, the overestimation of similarity declines. The subordinates toward whom the supervisor has a relatively negative

attitude are seen as less similar than they really are. Low centrality traits show a very different tendency. The similarity is consistently overestimated; there is no evidence that the degree of overestimation varies with attitude. This similarity may be due to another factor discussed elsewhere in this paper, the discriminability of an internal as opposed to an external cue. The relatively indistinct quality of a low centrality trait implies that the more distinct external cues would be used to infer the qualities of the individuals.

TABLE IV
OVER- UNDERESTIMATION OF SIMILARITY VERSUS
ATTITUDE TOWARD SUBORDINATES
(Perceived Similarity Minus Real Similarity)

Relevance	Attitude Toward Subordinate				VP vs. Neg	P
	Very Positive	Moderately Positive	Neutral	Negative		
High Centrality	.17	.19	.09	-.12	2.57	<.01
Moderate Centrality	.05	.01	.02	-.12	1.77	<.05
Low Centrality	.22	.27	.24	.3	N.S.	

Perception is more accurate as values approach 0.0.

Source: Vroom (209).

Does the centrality of a trait effect the accuracy of the perceptual process? The more central traits would tend to be used more and, therefore, would be more accurate. Table V shows the accuracy of perceiving traits in others.

TABLE V
EFFECTS OF REAL SIMILARITY AND ATTITUDE TOWARD "OTHER"
ON THE ACCURACY OF PERCEPTION
(Correlation of perceived and actual qualities)

Real Similarity	Attitude Toward Subordinate			
	Very Positive	Moderately Positive	Neutral	Negative
High	.43	.46	.29	.2
Moderate	.22	.24	.09	.32
Low	-.02	.10	.06	.40

Note: Larger values indicate greater accuracy.

Source: Vroom (209).

There is a significant difference ($t = 2.16$, $p < .05$) between very positive and negative attitudes for high similarity, while there are no significant differences for moderate similarity. When the real similarity is low, there is a significant difference in accuracy ($t = 3.16$, $p < .01$) between very positive and negative attitudes. Thus, a person perceives characteristics which are part of his own self-concept accurately in others toward whom he has a positive attitude and with whom he shares these characteristics. He also perceives central traits accurately in persons toward whom he has a negative attitude and with whom he does not share these characteristics. When real similarity is high and attitude is negative, or when real similarity is low and attitude is positive, perception is inaccurate.

Senger (182) has examined a similar process in managers' concepts of the subordinates' "competence". He compares the personal values of

managers and the managers' selections of their "most and least competent" subordinates. Ten of the eleven managers who were classed as having general management responsibility; e.g., presidents, general managers, and divisional managers, have value structures more similar to their high-rated than to their low-rated subordinates ($\chi^2 = 7.27$, $p < .005$, single tail). It is not statistically significant that ten of the seventeen functional specialist managers; e.g., engineering managers and accounting managers, have value structures more similar to high-rated than low-rated subordinates.

The general tendency to project "competence" on those that are perceived to be similar is somewhat mediated in this study. The mediation process is based upon the kinds of criteria available to the managers. Functional managers have more concrete externally comparable criteria. The general managers on the other hand have no such criteria, and must rely more on internal cues. These internal cues have a much higher self-concept content than do external cues. Therefore, the "other" is perceived similar to "self".

By examining an experiment of Fensterheim (62), one may be able to partial out the effects of perceived similarity from the projection process. Fensterheim assumes that the less well-defined the stimulus situation, the greater will be the contribution of the perceiver. He attempts to determine the effect of an individual's value system on his perception of others. The experiment involves male subjects who briefly state their personal values, then rank a group of portrait photographs according to how well they think that they would "like" the individual pictured. Each subject then gives a brief narrative describing the best and least liked picture. Somewhat contrary to an original assumption,

subjects tended to use their lower values to describe both the best and least liked photographs (Table VI).

TABLE VI
MEAN FREQUENCY OF USE OF SUBJECT'S HIGHEST AND LOWEST
VALUES IN DESCRIBING PHOTOGRAPHS

Stimulus	Best Liked Photo		Least Liked Photo	
	High Value in Description	Low Value in Description	High Value in Description	Low Value in Description
Men	3.7	4.6	3.3	5.4*
Women	3.4	4.1	4.2	4.0
Total	7.1	8.7*	7.5	9.7*

* = $p < .01$

Note: Larger values indicate greater use.

Source: Fensterheim (62).

A simple explanation for the "low anchoring" indicated in this experiment is that high values are closely tied to the self-concept. A photograph is not an adequate stimulus for a determination of similarity. Therefore, if no similarity can be assumed, the like-dislike comparison is on some criteria other than self-comparison. The high values are, thus, withheld from the description.

In a second part of the same experiment, subjects rated the photographs on a like-dislike scale. The photographs were then grouped into those best described by the subjects' high or low values and those least

described by high or low values. The results shown in Table VII indicate that when the subject's high values are used, they are projected so that a general "halo" effect occurs.

TABLE VII
MEAN LIKE-DISLIKE RATING OF PHOTOGRAPHS ASSIGNED
THE SUBJECTS' HIGHEST OR LOWEST VALUE

Stimulus	Most Descriptive		Least Descriptive	
	High Value	Low Value	High Value	Low Value
Men	3.24	3.94*	4.00	3.56**
Women	3.71	4.27**	4.11	3.77*
Total	3.46	4.26**	4.09	3.57**

Note: Lower values indicate more liked.

*p < .05

**p < .01

Source: Fensterheim (62).

When high values are assigned as best describing the pictures, these pictures are better liked. Where high values are assigned as being "least" descriptive, these pictures are disliked. These findings substantiate those discussed earlier by Vroom, but emphasis must be placed on the general "low anchoring" demonstrated where "self" is not involved. This quality of perception may be quite functional in the maintenance of a "self boundary" and in the social sphere the parallel "reference group definition".

Similarity and Attraction

The previous section indicated the general tendency to project personal qualities onto others to whom one is attracted; that is, assume similarity given attraction. In this section, the reciprocal process will be examined; i.e., the tendency to be attracted to one whom is found to be similar to one's self.

In an unusual experiment, Griffitt (76) points out the impact of attitude similarity on attraction. He gave thirteen experimental volunteers attitude surveys. None of the subjects were acquainted before the experiment. They then spent ten days together in a fall-out shelter. Sociometric choices were made the first, fifth, and ninth day in the shelter. Two measures were used to determine attitude similarity: (1) the proportion of similar attitudes; that is, how often the two individual's are on the same side of the median score on a particular attitude scale, (2) attitude discrepancy which is the sum of the squared differences on the attitude scales. The sociometric choices were classified as, keep (1, 2, 3) and reject (1, 2, 3). The results of the three different sociometric surveys are averaged in Table VIII.

The difference between the attitude similarity for those rated high compared with those rated low is significant for both measures of similarity. The proportion similar is significant at $p < .0005$ and the attitude discrepancy is significant at $p < .01$. Thus, preacquaintance attitude similarity has a significant affect on the attraction felt for the individual. Reciprocal choices were very common, 41% of the keep ratings and 31% of the reject ratings were reciprocated.

TABLE VIII
 SOCIOMETRIC CHOICE VERSUS ATTITUDE
 SIMILARITY

Attitude Measure	Sociometric Choice					
	Keep			Reject		
	K1	K2	K3	R1	R2	R3
Proportion Similar*	.704	.681	.612	.686	.607	.589
Attitude Discrepancy**	54.33	56.5	61.69	60.51	64.51	64.48

*Larger values indicate greater similarity.

**Smaller values indicate greater similarity.

Source: Griffitt (76).

Some changes in preference did occur over the ten-day period. The changes were slight, but in the direction of reducing the proportion of similarity while reducing discrepancy. This would indicate some fine-tuning of sociometric choice in order to reduce discrepancy. Initially, the rather gross measure of the proportion of similar attitudes is a better predictor of attraction in that it allows for a broad definition of issues for judging one's alignments.

The difficulty in analyzing most research in this area is that the measure of similarity is usually based upon attitudes or values. The realm of measuring similarity may be much broader than attitudes. In the situation described in the Griffitt experiment, attitudes would be very important. These subjects who had previously been unacquainted, were confined together for ten days. The only means of passing time was discussing various topics; i.e., sharing opinions and attitudes.

Jourard's (1961) general hypothesis concerning self-disclosure tends to be validated:

Disclosure of self is a by-product, among other things, of the perception or belief that the other, the target person, is similar. Probably, the similarity which is crucial is the similarity in values. We disclose ourselves when we are pretty sure that the target person will evaluate our disclosures and react to them as we do ourselves (p. 15).

By using values as a measure of similarity, an implicit assumption is made that values are good, important, and descriptive of the self. That is, a constant affective content of all values has been assumed. Values, as any other belief, can vary in affective content. Ajzen (1978) attempted to measure separately the effects of similarity and the affective valuation of the dimension along which similarity is measured. The affective value (positive or negative quality of personality traits used to describe another person) was manipulated independently of its similarity (similar-dissimilar) of traits used in a self-description of the subject. The results (Table IX) show a significant main effect of affective value on attraction toward the other person. Attraction is not a significant factor if the affective value is held constant.

In another analysis of the same data source, Ajzen found that the kind of information also had an effect on attraction. Information about another person's opinions as opposed to personality traits was more consistent in predicting attraction. He does not state it directly, but one might assume a degree of association between opinions and affective value; that is, as a concept becomes more of an "opinion" and less a "trait" it can be assumed to have a higher affective loading.

TABLE IX
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE IN ATTRACTION

Source	df	MS	F	P
A. Similarity	2	21.19	2.84	N.S.
B. Affective Value	1	189.96	25.55	< .01
C. Procedure	1	6.65	<1	N.S.
A x B	2	25.03	3.35	< .05
A x C	2	15.15	2.031	N.S.
B x C	1	16.43	2.701	N.S.
A x B x C	2	.09	<1	N.S.
Error	84	7.46		

Perceived "Others" as References

The reference "other" involves three interdependent components: (1) the reference "other," (2) the reference "relationship", and (3) the individual. The reference "other" may or may not have an empirical status. All reference "others" share a common symbolic nature for a particular individual. Thus, individuals may be oriented to persons, groups, social categories, sub-cultures, or imaginary reference others (175).

There are two basic types of reference relationships: normative and comparative. The normative reference relationship is compliant and internalized. The internalized normative reference relationship describes a situation where the normative influence of the reference "other" is maximized as the normative attributes of the reference "other" become part of the individual. Ironically, this is exactly when

the influence of the reference "other" is minimized. The individual now follows the appropriate normative patterns because he has accepted them, and not because of his identification with the reference "other." The norms which are internalized need not be restrictive, they can also teach one "how to have fun at playing a role." The normative relationship is very similar to the process that Riesman claims to be characteristic of the inner-directed person.

The scope of the comparative relationship involves the number of dimensions over which the individual compares himself to the reference "other." It also includes the relative degree of deprivation or gratification that he receives from these comparisons. Thus, the comparative relationship incorporates all of the perceptual biases and attributions originating in an affective relationship. This process of comparison is indicative of Riesman's other-directed individual.

The reference relationship is rarely pure normative or comparative; rather, it has characteristics of both. By including both characteristics, the reference relationship takes on a reflexive quality.

Israel (99) finds that the concept of "generalized other" can be used to explain some of his findings concerning the learning of a new occupational role. The "generalized other" can be interpreted as a non-specific norm sender. He finds in a study of female medical students that the greater the difference between the perceived generalized other and the new role taken, the greater the tendency to project into the new role elements of the old, well-established and internalized old role.

These findings indicate that the research concerning perceptual bias might be applied to learning an occupational role; that is, there

is a positive affect to the new role. Therefore, it is perceived as being more similar to the "self" than it actually is. The self-concept, though, is a product of the previous internalization of an identification with a generalized other. Thus, the new role has a very personal and individualized character.

Gouldner (72) states that the individualized interpretation of a formal organizational role results in two basic orientations to the role called "cosmopolitan" or "local". Gouldner interprets these orientations as "latent" roles or identities. He states.

In speaking of these as 'latent' we mean that cosmopolitans and locals involve criteria of social identification; e.g., loyalty to the organization or age, which are not formally salient and culturally prescribed for classifying people in organizations (p. 282).

Another interpretation would be that these latent roles are really just personal interpretations of the formal role colored by the individual's reference relationship with the generalized other.

It now becomes apparent that the perceptual processes can be considered to have a significant impact on the relationship of man to organization. The perceptions are ultimately unified by the cognitive process. The cognitive process itself may ultimately affect the image of organization as it is formed by the individual.

Mediating Effects of Cognitive Complexity

It has been generally postulated that some persons are prone to use only a few dimensions when they perceive and evaluate stimulation and are inclined to make only gross discriminations among various dimensions of meaning. Other individuals are believed to employ many dimensions

and/or make fine discriminations among the dimensions which they employ (30) (124).

Vannoy (207) finds that cognitive complexity cannot be considered to be a generalized trait. That is, individuals vary in their cognitive complexity depending upon the amount and kind of knowledge the individual has, and upon the kinds of functional demands which the individual confronts in that particular domain. In an extensive factor analytic study, Vannoy derives three broad classes of behavioral tendencies involving cognitive complexity: (1) a tendency to emphasize one or very few judgmental variables to the exclusion of others, opposed to this is a tendency to be sensitive to many variables, (2) a tendency for some individuals to use only a few levels on judgmental variables, where others make much finer discriminations, (3) a tendency for certain persons to maintain a narrow perspective which permits a highly ordered view of the world.

Tendencies (1) and (2) fit very well into the perceptual bias research discussed earlier. Vannoy indicates that he believes that these tendencies may operate independently, "the person who is sensitive to many variables may assign approximately equal degrees of importance to each" (p. 394). He provides no evidence which might indicate this.

These results would indicate that certain cognitive domains are more or less complex than others for a particular individual. The more complex areas are ones in which the individual has more knowledge and in which the situation requires more complex evaluations.

Some individuals would, thus, find it difficult to reconcile incompatible information into a unitary impression instead of a bivalent one. Others somehow find ways of reconciling incompatible information

into an integrated, subjectively satisfying impression. Meltzer (132) has examined the relationship between cognitive complexity and value consonance with a target individual in the development of a subjective impression. It was expected that when the subjects' values were incongruent with the target person's values, both high and low cognitively complex subjects would form negative univalent impressions which would not integrate the incompatible information. Subjects of either high or low complexity were asked to describe target individuals with values either congruent or incongruent to that of the subject (Table X).

TABLE X
MEAN NUMBER OF CONSTRUCTS USED IN IMPRESSIONS OF
GROUPS DIFFERING IN COGNITIVE COMPLEXITY
AND VALUE CONGRUENCE

Subject's Value Congruency With Target Individual	Subject's Cognitive Complexity	
	High	Low
Congruent	11.95*	9.20*
Incongruent	10.35	10.85

*Sig. at $p < .05$

Note: Higher values indicate more complex descriptions.

Source: Meltzer (132).

The expected difference between high and low complexity when values are congruent was found. That is, high complexity allows a more

complete bivalent description than does low complexity. But when the values were incongruent, cognitive complexity has no effect on the descriptions. These results would indicate that in an area of cognitive complexity; i.e., something the individual deals with on a day-to-day basis, value congruences produce more complex impressions. If there is value congruence, e.g., the same occupational values, high cognitive complexity produces a complex impression and low cognitive complexity produces a simpler univalent impression, the impression is assumed to be positive; thus, in sharing an occupational ideology, the individual forms positive impressions that are mediated by cognitive complexity. It can be assumed that the novice has not experienced a wide enough range of occupational activities to produce complexity in that particular domain. The impression of an occupational cohort or the occupation in general would tend to be univalent for the relatively inexperienced. These findings are generally supported by Soucar (190). He finds that subjects describe disliked others more completely than liked others. This is true at least for the less complex individual.

The Self-Concept: Behavior and Values

The importance of the self-concept as it ultimately affects the attraction felt by the individual toward others is indicated by the previous discussion. One should now consider the nature of the self-concept itself. The "self-concept" will be broadly defined as the sum of an individual's perceptions of his own behavior. The term behavior is intended to include both actual physical acts and the conscious thoughts or memories of acts. Personal behaviors are assumed to be evaluated in terms of the individual's own personal values.

Thus, a fundamental point of view of the "humanistic" psychologist is that behavior is influenced not only by the accumulation of an individual's past and current experiences, but even more by the personal meanings that he attaches to those experiences. Each person behaves in a manner consistent with his "perceptual field", which is a more or less fluid organization of personal meanings existing for every individual at any given instant of time. One acts on what one believes to be factual. The environment is perceived initially physically, then sensorily, in such a way that it has personal meaning. It is full of objects, circumstances, and people that are perceived as ugly or beautiful, good or bad, positive or negative, experiences to be approached or avoided. The perceptual world of each individual is organized in ways dictated not only by the construction of one's central nervous system, but in accordance with the symbolic background and self-concepts which each individual brings to his perception of "reality".

Out of all the phenomena one might perceive, one usually perceives what is meaningful to him and consistent with the needs felt at that moment. Levine (83) has presented food-deprived subjects with pictures of various objects that had been distorted behind ground glass. He found that those who had gone three to nine hours without food correctly identified more pictures of food objects than did subjects who had just eaten. Thus, a "need" level had an effect on the amount of information required for perception.

Similarly, values may be determinants of one's perceptions and behavior. One more readily perceives those things, experiences, and people that one prizes, values, and esteems. A classic example of this process is the "cocktail party" syndrome, in which one is able to pick

the voice of a friend out of the buzz of conversation. Another example is contained in the admonition "don't do the grocery shopping when your hungry." The need for food seems to have the effect of increasing food's value potential; i.e., there is a shift in the utility of food.

Vroom's (209) findings suggest that one tends not to perceive his own values and attitudes in persons toward whom he has negative feelings. Postman et al. (152) have been able to demonstrate that values are a determinant of an individual's perceptual selectivity. Words were flashed at varying rates on a screen in front of subjects. Words consonant with the subjects' personal values were perceived at a lower threshold than were neutral or negatively valued words. Bruner and Goodman (23) have shown that magnitude estimates were influenced by the values expressed by the subjects.

The integration of various aspects of the individual into a unified concept of "self" is accompanied by feelings of "comfort and freedom from tension." Hamachek (83) quotes Carl Rogers' theory that one major way of preserving the unity of the self-system is by filtering one's experiences. One's experiences are either (a) symbolized, perceived and organized into some positive relationship to the self-concept, (b) ignored because there is no perceived relationship to the self-structure, or (c) denied symbolization or given a distorted symbolization because the experience is inconsistent with the structure of the self-concept.

A related approach is found in the concept of identity as expressed by Erikson (57). He observes that particularly during adolescence one attempts to bring one's own identity in closer unity with one's social relationships. "The sense of ego-identity is the accrued confidence

that one's ability to maintain inner-sameness and continuity... is matched by the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others." This indicates that the degree of perceptual distortion produced by the drive for self-consistency may be mediated by the individual's level of maturity, or in Jungian terminology "individualization."

The importance of "inner-sameness" has been stressed by many psychologists who have been curious about the relationships between self-concept and behavioral consistency (8) (26). Research evidence tends to support the existence of a relationship. For example, public opinion polls show that people who feel strongly about an issue will be quite consistent in endorsing all the positions related to the issue. If they feel less strongly involved (less "self-involved"), they are more likely to be inconsistent; they are less predictable.

One must remember that the self-image includes not only a view of "What I am," but also "What I would like to be" and "What I ought to be." By bringing together these three dimensions of self, a person approaches a greater degree of unification and consistency of behavior. This is a feat the Jung's "self-realized" and Maslow's "self-actualized" individual has somehow accomplished. Each individual is assumed to have primary needs or dominant values around which his self-system is organized. It is through the process of being internally consistent to these needs and values that one can see overt expressions of behavioral consistencies.

Often the observed behavior of other individuals may appear to be inconsistent, although the only inconsistency which exists is in the observer's perception. The acts are not inconsistent from the behavior's

point of view. The value and need content of the situation in which behavior occurs is a totally personal perceptual process.

Bem's Self-Perception Theory

Bem's (14) self-perception theory is based on the premise that an individual tends to observe and evaluate his own behavior much as an external observer would. That is, he attributes values and attitudes to himself in a fashion considered consistent with his own behavior. Self-perception is an individual's ability to respond differently to his own behavior and its controlling variables. This ability is a product of social interaction (131).

The most controversial part of Bem's theory is the secondary role played by internal private stimuli. Schacter (172) and Walster (214) have tested the strength of external stimuli as compared to internal stimuli as factors in defining an individual's perceived emotional state. Schacter has proposed a paradigm for understanding human emotional response. He suggests that in order for a person to experience emotion, two factors must be present: (1) the individual must be emotionally aroused, and (2) it must be reasonable to interpret his aroused state in emotional terms. Both the situations which arouse and the means of "reasonable interpretation" are products of socialization. Schacter states "neither physiological arousal or mere labeling alone would be sufficient to describe man's rich emotional life" (p. 380). Most of the time the situation producing arousal and the means of interpretation are predictively paired in nature.

In testing this hypothesis, adrenaline was used to replicate the discharge of the sympathetic nervous system. Subjects were injected

with adrenaline (they were told it was a new vitamin) and were exposed to social situations enacted by experimental cohorts. In later questioning, the injected subjects described their feelings in terms that were determined by the nature of the social situation in which they had been involved. They hated more, liked more, and feared more than subjects who had received a placebo injection. The experiment seemed to indicate that almost any sort of intense physiological arousal, properly interpreted, will precipitate an emotional experience.

In another experiment, male subjects were split into a control group and an experimental group. The experimental group was told that it would have to undergo painful electrical shocks as part of an experiment to follow (this supposedly produced emotional arousal that we would ordinarily call fear). Both groups then met a female cohort who was trained to give a positive response to the subjects. Both groups then described their emotional response to the cohort. The group that was aroused by "fear" rated themselves as having significantly more affection for the girl than did the controls. Apparently, the aroused state had been interpreted as being "reasonably caused" by the girl. The "internal cue" of arousal had been interpreted just as an outsider would have.

Bem (14) states: "Most self-perception studies show that there is no general psychological tendency to avoid non-supportive and to seek out supportive information" (p. 188). This appears to be somewhat contradictory to some of the findings discussed earlier by Vroom (209). But Bem qualifies his statement later:

... rather the individual describes himself in terms much as an outside observer would. Any 'drive' for consistency is a cultural or socially determined one; i.e., if society

requires consistency in inter-personal perceptions, there will be a parallel personal 'drive' for consistency (p. 200).

Therefore, if an individual exists in a social milieu dependent largely on the consistency of inter-personal behavior within and between labeled groups, he will feel a "drive " for consistency between and within his self-conceptions or identities. This source of "drive for internal consistency" might well describe why some individuals are more "self-actualized" or "self-realized" than others.

The self-perception model does not imply that all information about one's self is inferred from the observation of one's own behavior. The model indicates that internal states do not provide as much information as is widely supposed. Douglas (42) examined the hypothesis that when information from inner cues is indistinct, information from external cues play a major role in the self-inference process. Conversely, when information from internal cues is distinct, information from external cues plays a relatively minor role. These hypotheses were validated by checking the recall rate for inner cues that were distinct (short words crossed off a list) and indistinct (meaningless trigrams crossed off a list) under two conditions of external control. The external cue was provided by a truth-lie light under which the subject had been conditioned to tell the truth or lie. The signal detection term d' was calculated to measure how accurately an individual reconstructs past events. The higher the d' value, the more accurate the individual's recall.

The results shown in Table XI indicate that the accuracy of recall is affected more by external cues when the internal cue is indistinct; i.e., trigrams.

TABLE XI
 RECALL ACCURACY OF INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CUES

Statement	Stimulus			
	Word (Distinct)		Trigram (Indistinct)	
	Truth light	Lie light	Truth light	Lie light
True	d' 1.77	1.77	.66	.45
False	1.79	1.44	-.48	1.05

Note: Larger values indicate more accurate recall.

Source: Douglas (42).

Note that the external cue (Truth-Lie light) has little effect on recall accuracy for distinct internal cues (words). The trigram recall is strongly controlled by the external cue; i.e., when a false statement was made under the external cue of truth the subjects answered truthfully, when it was lie they lied.

The difficult task now is to identify which internal cues are actually "distinct" and which are inferred distinctly from external cues. From Schacter's research one would have to conclude that one's emotional state is an indistinct internal cue.

Every belief can be pressed back ultimately to the belief in the credibility of one's own sensory process or upon a basic belief in some external authority or significant other. Reference groups are a primary source of this external authority. They control behavior in two ways: (1) by norms or (2) by providing a frame of reference or a means of structuring perception. Bem states:

The system of beliefs and attitudes within a reference group

can be considered an ideology. These ideologies become salient only when ideologies come into conflict with each other; that is, when reference groups come into conflict. When there is no conflict in the behaviors required by different reference groups, or identities, there is no obvious ideology (p. 200).

The reference to single source of external cues (ideology) produces behavioral consistency. It is interesting to note that Cooley (33) was insisting as early as 1902 that individual and social are two sides of the same phenomena. One has no identity apart from society, and one has no individuality apart from identity.

Rokeach's Theory of Cognitive and Behavioral Change

In an attempt to more succinctly define the interrelationships that exist between behavior, values, and self-concept, Milton Rokeach has examined the effects produced by a change in any one of these on the others. Distinctions have previously been drawn between beliefs and attitudes, attitudes and values, instrumental and terminal values. All of these are loosely organized into a consonant, functionally integrated belief system; a system in which terminal values are more central than instrumental values and instrumental values more central than attitudes. A class of beliefs more central to an individual than values are the many concepts that a person has about himself. All of the conceptions that a person has about himself are highly socialized ones (131) (33). All self-conceptions can be reasonably represented at the intermost core of the total system of beliefs, and all remaining beliefs, attitudes, and values can be conceived of as functionally organized around this most central core.

The functions served by the value system are to provide a comprehensive set of standards to guide actions, justifications, and comparisons of self and others, and to serve needs for adjustments, ego-defense, and self-actualization. All of these diverse functions converge into a single overriding, master function; namely, to help maintain and enhance one's total conception of oneself. Although the conception need not be a positive one, the result is still a unified being that acts and experiences with some degree of continuity.

There are two basic reasons why self-regard must be considered more central than other beliefs: (1) it has a self-reflexive quality; i.e., it both initiates behavior and affects the perceptions that reinforce behavior, and (2) self-conceptions are activated in virtually every realm of experiences; whereas, other beliefs are less persistent.

Since the total belief system is a functionally integrated system, a change in any part of it should affect other parts and eventually behavior. The more central the part affected by some source of induced change, the more enduring and far-reaching should be the induced changes. Rokeach (167) states:

An induced change such as therapy, religious conversion, drugs, or brain washing should lead to changes in terminal and instrumental values, related attitudes, and behavior. Conversely, an induced change in a value should alter the relationships between other values, functionally related attitudes and behaviors, and should ultimately effect the self-conceptions as well (p. 215).

The most common target for consciously induced change is attitudinal change. If attitudes alone are altered, there will often be only a temporary change. Usually one has left the value system unchanged and it forces the new attitude back into a state of consonance. Rokeach's theory suggests that under certain conditions values may be easier to

change than attitudes. Values are less central than self-conceptions but more central than attitudes. If a person's values are in fact standards employed to maintain and enhance one's self-conceptions, then a contradiction between values and self-conceptions can be resolved more easily by changing the less central values. A value should undergo enduring change if maintenance or enrichment of self-conception is at stake. The changed value should lead to systematic changes in related cognitions within the belief system and should then culminate in behavioral change.

The more a contradiction implicates self-cognitions, the more it will be experienced as a state of dissatisfaction. It is such an affective experience rather than cognitive contradiction that is postulated to be the basic motivation for cognitive or behavioral change. Once a person experiences a state of self-dissatisfaction, he is motivated to reduce or eliminate it. But first, he must try to identify the source of the dissatisfaction. These sources are elusive because of their complex nature and the self-deception produced by the self-maintenance system itself of perceptual bias. The result may be a diffuse state of dissatisfaction such as anxiety or self-alienation. Cognitive and behavioral change can be best brought about if a person is able to identify the strategically located values that are inconsistent with self-conceptions. Once he does so, the affective state of dissatisfaction will become highly specific rather than general or diffuse.

Self-dissatisfaction and self-esteem are not the same. Self-esteem is more or less enduring characteristic of an individual. Self-satisfaction or dissatisfaction is situation specific. Regardless of

the general level of a person's self-esteem, he is motivated to perform no less competently or morally than he can; that is, than his conception of himself (whether high or low) demands that he perform.

The theory of cognitive dissonance would indicate that if a value and an attitude are perceived to be in conflict, the less central would change so as to bring it to consonance with the more central. But if attitude and value are contradictory, the situation will lead to self-dissatisfaction only to the extent that the contradiction itself implicates self-conceptions. The individual is motivated to remove the contradiction between the value and self-concept or between the attitude and the self-concept, not between the value and attitude. Thus, one does not deal with the dissonance between two concepts, rather, the dissonance between each concept and the self-concept.

Rokeach (1967) suggests three methods that may be used to induce cognitive changes which are consistent with his theory.

(a) A person may be exposed to information about cognitions or behavior of a 'significant other' that is discrepant with his own, (b) a person can be induced to engage in behavior different than his own cognitions, (c) a person can be exposed to information about his own belief system, making the individual consciously aware of the contradiction in it (p.216).

The first two methods are somewhat manipulative, and both have been documented as being effective. Rokeach suggests that the third method is more educationally oriented as opposed to persuasive. He claims that this method is a novel innovation that is more effective than previous methods while avoiding covert manipulation.

Changes in Self-Concept in Relation to Others

A basic hypothesis of social comparison processes is that

self-evaluations are formulated through comparisons between self and others. If this is true, the perceptions of the "other" one uses as a basis for comparison should be an important determinant of self-evaluation.

Kipinis (105) investigated the effects of interpersonal perception on self-perception. Self-evaluations of eighty-seven male students in a university dormitory were examined as to their perceptions of self, best friend, and least-liked roommate. A distance statistic was calculated to measure the perceived difference between self and others. The testing was repeated after a six-week interval (Table XIV).

TABLE XII
PERCEIVED DISTANCE BETWEEN SELF AND OTHERS
AT SIX-WEEK INTERVALS

Testing Session	Average Perceived Distance		Diff.	P
	Self and Best Friend	Self and Least Liked Roommate		
Time I	7.4	9.5	2.1	<.01
Time II	6.5	9.0	2.5	<.01

Note: Larger values indicate greater distance.

Source: Kipinis (105).

The results indicated in Table XII are that the individual perceives himself as being more similar to his best friend than the disliked roommate. It is also interesting to note that the individual

sees himself as becoming more like his best friend as time passes. An examination of the evaluation of best friends at Time I and Time II showed no significant differences; that is, the perception of "others" had not changed. The perception of "self" had changed such that at the end of six-weeks subjects tended to evaluate themselves in the way that they had previously evaluated their best friends.

Why do changes in self-perception change instead of the perception of others? Perceptions of others are likely to be based upon social reality. Opinions about others are freely discussed in the absence of the others concerned. While beliefs about friends are open to continual confrontation and social interaction, the individual rarely receives similar confirmations for his view about himself. Therefore, given a discrepancy from valued others, it is the self-concept that is more likely to change. The discrepancy between self and others is particularly important for adolescence and young adults as has been pointed out by Erikson (57).

Self-Confrontation and Value Change

It has been generally accepted that an individual may change personal values in response to a revealed discrepancy between his own and a valued other's stated values. Rokeach's theory of value change is based on a dissonance being discovered between the individual's self-concept and a personal value or attitude. Rokeach tested a situation in which a value discrepancy is discovered socially; i.e., a significant other is present, against a situation in which the discovery is made privately. The findings indicated that there was at least as much change under the face-to-face condition as under the self-confrontation conditions.

"There is no evidence to suggest that sharing unpleasant facts about one's self with a significant other inhibits the change process (161, p. 283). At the same time, there is no evidence that being in a social situation distinctively facilitates the change process. Both methods showed stable value changes in a nine-week retest.

This also repudiates the theory that if internal dissonance is demonstrated in the presence of others, a lasting change will not occur. It usually is assumed that the rationalization produced by the loss of esteem may produce only situation specific "compliance" types of behavior. These findings would probably be relevant only to the degree that the individual is adequately socialized; that is, an effectively functioning "I" and "Me" within the self (131).

Personal Value Orientation and Behavior

Generally, the attempts to correlate values with overt behavior have met with the same difficulty as attitude measurement; that is, realistically assessing the affective content and biases of the total situation as perceived by the individual. The general approach of the following two studies has been to measure some form of behavior and then attempt to find value differences in the groups classed by differences in behavior.

Shotland (183) examines the difference in values of people who returned or did not return pencils that had been supplied by the experimenters. The subjects were asked to rank their personal values on a Rokeach Value Survey. A record was kept as to who did or did not return a pencil. Since the behavior occurred after the value survey, there should be no rationalizations to cloud the measure. See Table XIII.

TABLE XIII
 MEAN RANK OF INSTRUMENTAL VALUES FOUND TO DIFFERENTIATE
 BETWEEN SUBJECT'S KEEPING OR
 RETURNING A PENCIL

Personal Value	Returned Pencil	Kept Pencil	χ^2	P
Honesty	2.00	4.38	6.9	<.008
Helpful	11.25	8.73	9.8	<.005

Note: Smaller numbers indicate value is held to be more important.

Source: Shotland (183).

Several terminal values were also found to be significantly different. The authors believe that the higher rank of "honesty" for pencil returners indicates that "honest people return pencils." But they explain the fact that non-returners ranked "helpful" higher is due to an experimental artifact of the ranking process.

If one views the value differences as differences in the perceptual dimensionalization of the situation, then both values are relevant. Those who rank "helpful" more highly would tend to evaluate the situation in that light. They would be concerned more with the situation as being one in which they are "helping" someone else. Then, attitudes toward specific objects within the situation; i.e., pencils, researchers, etc., would also be involved in determining the ultimate behavior.

Raymond (154) uses much the same technique except that after the value survey was filled out, she asked the subjects whether or not they were willing to be involved in further experimentation. Significant differences were found in that volunteers rated "imaginative" and

"helpful" as more important. Non-volunteers ranked "obedience" as more important. Again, values do not directly motivate or determine particular behaviors; rather, they indicate the biases in the individual's perception of the situation. The ultimate behavior measured (pencil taking and volunteering) are only small parts of the individual's total perception of the situation and appropriate behaviors.

The Relationship of Manager's Values to Administrative Behavior

England (51) (52) (53) (54) has used much the same technique as has been mentioned; that is, correlating personal values with behavior. But England defines his groups by their values and then tests for differences in behavior. He uses a value measurement system that is more complex than Rokeach's. Values are conceived of as falling into three levels of importance: operative - those which have a high probability of being translated into behavior; adopted - those that are less a part of personality but may affect behavior because of situation factors; and intended - those that have a low probability of being translated into behavior. Another dimension of the value space is investigated as to whether those values are ranked as being both operative and pragmatic (successful), moral-ethical (right), or affective (pleasant). Some of the problems in using this second dimension are discussed elsewhere in this paper.

England then classifies managers as either pragmatic or moral-ethical, and gives them a series of in-basket type tests. The differences in the behaviors on the tests are shown in Table XIV.

TABLE XIV
CORRELATIONS OF IN-BASKET WITH BEHAVIORAL VARIABLES
WITH PRIMARY VALUE ORIENTATIONS

In-Basket Variable	Value Orientation		
	Moral	Pragmatic	Prag. - Mor.
Concern for customer	+ .9	+ .41	+ .31
Request Info. from Sub.	- .31	+ .08	+ .39
Request Discussion	- .11	- .30	- .19
Request face-to-face contact	- .24	- .46	- .22
Follows past procedures	+ .18	- .34	- .52
Abruptness	- .40	+ .42	+ .82

Source: England (53).

The value orientation of a manager is significantly related to important administrative behaviors. Both of the value orientations have logical relationships to the behaviors peculiar to them. The Pragmatic Manager (i.e., structure initiating) is more abrupt, concerned for customers, and requests more information from (but not discussion with) subordinates. Moral managers (i.e., interpersonally oriented) tend to follow past procedures and request face-to-face confrontations. Thus, values and managerial behaviors appear to be clustered together in a stereotypical and consistent manner.

Situational Effects on Attitudes and Values

One of the fundamental postulates of role theory is that a person's attitudes will be influenced by the role (the expected self-perception) that he occupies in a social system. Lieberman (116) examined the

change in attitudes of workers who later became foremen or union stewards. This was a longitudinal study over a period of about two years. The changes in attitudes were found in the predicted directions; that is, after being appointed foreman, the subject demonstrated a more positive attitude toward management, while those elected shop stewards demonstrated a more positive attitude toward the union. Before the formal role changes, there were no significant differences between the two groups.

The attitude changes were more widespread (changed on more topics) and pronounced (greater change on individual topics) for foremen than for stewards. Lieberman says this difference is due to differences in the kinds of roles. The foreman role represents a permanent position, while the steward's is an elected "one-shot" job. Secondly, the steward's job is in addition to his normal work; whereas, the foreman's job is full-time. Some of the foremen were forced out of their new jobs and back to the previous jobs because of a recession. After this change in jobs, their attitudes changed back to what they had previously been.

Lieberman (116) summarized:

A change in roles almost invariably involves a change in reference groups. Old groups may hold an influence, but new ones also come into play. The change in reference groups may involve moving to a completely new group or it may simply mean taking on new functions in the same group. In both situations, new reference groups will tend to bring new frames of reference, new self-perceptions, and ultimately new attitudes. (p. 385).

Penner (147) finds that values and employment conditions are related. In the Lieberman study, attitudes were measured. Attitudes tend to be much more situation specific, while values are more central and less accessible via the situation. The focus of the Penner study was

to determine if changes in employment conditions (i.e., going from unemployed to employed) would result in changes of certain values. The changes that do occur are reportedly due to changes in the "self-concept". Within today's society, employment is an important domain within one's self-concept. Changes in employment could change the self-concept and, thus, change personal values.

Values are assessed at two different times for a group of semi-skilled and unskilled workers (Table XV).

TABLE XV
EFFECTS OF CHANGES IN EMPLOYMENT CONDITION ON VALUES

Employment Condition		Personal Value	Difference in Rank Between First and Second	Level of Significance
First Survey	Second Survey			
Laid-off	Employed	Broadminded	2.92	p < .05
		Polite	-3.81	< .01
Quit or Fired	Employed	Polite	-2.21	< .01
Laid-off	Unemployed	Equality	-4.5	< .002
Quit or Fired	Unemployed	Patient	-5.91	< .01
		Polite	2.73	< .05

Note: + value indicates more important on second survey.

Source: Penner (147).

All of the significant changes have intuitive relationships to one's self-concept and employment status. If one goes from unemployed

to employed, politeness drops in importance; i.e., one does not have to sell himself anymore. Those originally temporarily unemployed but still unemployed show a decline in "equality"; i.e., their faith in being treated equally is reduced. Those long-term unemployed (Quit or Fired) who are still unemployed value patience less and politeness more. Thus, changes in one's situation can be shown to have a significant effect on the individual's expressed values. What is critical is that the situation itself must be defined as a relevant component of the self-concept.

The Importance of Situation

Most personologists and clinicians have assumed that personality variables are the source of behavioral variance and that these variables are expressed in a relatively consistent manner across situations; i.e., style. Some social psychologists have suggested that situational factors are more important than individual differences as sources of behavioral variance (131) (33).

The issue of consistency (continuity) versus specificity (change) is a complex one. No one can deny the existence of either continuity or change. However, there is evidence that indicates that there are both significant longitudinal personality changes (see Maslow, Erikson et al.), and cross-situational differences at any particular point in time.

It is useful to distinguish between the relative consistency in various types of human activity. There is evidence that there is cognitive and intellectual consistency over time. However, in the areas of social behavior and non-cognitive, i.e., perceptual processes, trans-situational consistency is not very high. Non-cognitive personality

variables, such as dependency, aggression, social conformity, rigidity, and attitude toward authority, have been shown to be strongly situation specific (26).

Endler (51) has attempted to determine factors which influence consistency. He has measured the trait "anxiousness" of several populations in various situations. An analysis of variance of his data reveals that the consistency of an individual's response may be due to different factors at different stages of development (see Table XVI).

TABLE XVI

PERCENT VARIANCE IN "ANXIOUSNESS" ACCOUNTED FOR BY
SUBJECT, SITUATION, AND MODE OF RESPONSE
FOR DIFFERENT STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

Source	Percent of Variance Accounted for		
	High School Students	University Students	Evening College Students
Subject (S)	.93	3.65	4.20
Situation (SIT)	17.88	28.71	24.20
Mode of Response (MR)	10.43	5.55	2.39
S x SIT	10.86	17.74	20.40
S x MR	9.39	6.57	5.98
SIT x MR	9.59	6.28	6.25
Residual	34.92	31.50	36.59

Source: Endler (51).

Several trends can be noted in the examination of the primary sources of variance. The subject tends to be the source of more

variance as he matures, while the mode of response becomes a less important source of variance. The situation when considered independent of the other variables demonstrates a curvilinear relationship. The situation is a more prominent source of variation for the college-aged individual. In examining the interactions of variables, the interaction of subject and situation is a greater source of variance as one matures, while subject - mode of response and situation - mode of response interactions become less important as sources of variance. This study tends to support the self-concept theories of personality development and change by Maslow, Bem, and Rokeach. That is, as the individual develops a more comprehensive self-concept, he is able to relate to and act upon environmental uncertainties in a more personal manner. The development of such a comprehensive self-concept indicates that it had at one time been more sensitive to situation variables. The by-product of this sensitivity is a greater range of affective and cognitive complexity than would have otherwise been developed.

Perceptual Bias at Work

Many of the studies of selective perception, recognition, and memory have been made with small groups of subjects in a laboratory situation. Anderson (4) examines selective perception with a large group of subjects in a real-life situation. He examines the awareness of "apprehension" by professors reported in Paul Lazarsfield's book The Academic Mind. This book is a study of the reaction of the academic community to the restriction of academic freedom during the McCarthy era.

Anderson derives four fairly independent factors which account for

the variance in the amount of "apprehension" perceived in other professors. These factors are (1) the amount of apprehension which actually exists among his colleagues, (2) how much apprehension the subject feels himself, (3) how permissive the subject is; i.e., a reason to be apprehensive, and (4) whether or not he has noticed any threatening incidents on campus.

The two factors relating to behavioral observation - the actual amount of apprehension and the number of threatening incidents on campus - would logically be related to the amount of apprehension perceived in others. The amount of apprehension felt by the individual can be related to the perceptual bias research discussed earlier. The most revealing factor is how permissive the subject is himself. Thus, whether he actually feels apprehensive or not, if his behavior would be considered by an outside observer as reason for apprehension, the effect is the same as being apprehensive. This reinforces the "self-concept" theorists.

Conclusion

The "meaning" or affective content of the perception of the "self", others, and situation is mediated by the process of perceptual bias. The consistency between one's self-concept and one's behavior, attitudes, and values is a personally experienced process. This process is dependent to a large degree on the "distinctiveness" of cues available for perception.

Maturity brings a change in the nature of the self-concept. The integrity of one's personal value system increases with time, thus producing greater inter-situational consistency.

CHAPTER III
OCCUPATIONAL ORIENTATION AS A PRODUCT OF
SELF-CONCEPT FORMATION AND
PERSONAL VALUES

An individual's occupation may be a very important component of his self-concept. Because of this importance occupations may provide a focusing for personal values within work groups. If there exists such a uniformity of personal values one would assume a similarity in the members' perceptions of the organization and each other. Thus the similarity in personal values may provide the means through which the individual identifies with the organization.

Theories of Occupational Selection

The importance that society places upon the process of occupational choice can be inferred by the number and breadth of theories concerning occupational selection (69) (160) (195). Max Weber (215) has indicated the importance of an individual's work role. "A man's worth is determined by his work. The kind of work that one does becomes the primary basis for the allocation of status" (p. 360). Weber extensively documents the way in which he believes that the importance of work in the ethical system of Protestantism has laid the foundation for the development of western capitalism. The job was regarded as a sacred calling. Being successful at one's work was evidence that one had been chosen for

salvation. Whether or not one is "called" to an occupation is not of interest here; what is of interest are the results of the selection process.

Two related theories have laid the groundwork for most of the research in the area: Roe's (160) "occupational interests", and Super's (195) "self-concept implementation". Roe has examined the effects of an individual's life history on determining certain needs and interests. These ingrained needs and interests in turn produce within the individual a predisposition toward a particular job or occupation. The theory, though well-stated, has little predictive ability. The range of occupations that would fulfill particular needs and interests is too great. But if one takes as given the occupation of an individual, Roe's theory fairly well predicts the psycho-history of the individual.

McArthur (134) presents considerable evidence indicating the general validity of Roe's psycho-historical approach to occupational selection. He followed 200 Harvard sophomores' careers for more than 20 years. The initial part of the study was involved in developing a record of the individual's impressions of his childhood and other relevant personal data. McArthur found three variables in a man's early life; i.e., before 18, which were able to predict the occupation that he ultimately chose. These variables are: (1) social class; (2) dominant parent; and (3) reaction to family, i.e., acceptance or hostility.

The effects of social class origin with education held constant, are (1) that few from the upper class entered sales or service occupations and (2) that those of working class backgrounds showed a tendency toward technical careers. The effects of the dominant parent are: (1) strong fathers produced organization men, while (2) strong mothers

produced technologists. If a career or upper class home was dominated by a mother the boy was likely to elect a cultural career. The individual's reaction to his family was not significant in itself.

McArthur (134) states,

It also turned out that even with the advantage of a Harvard education, minor executives were unable to grow into major ones. That says something for the importance of the individual's having the right initial focus of values, and something for the importance of institutional arrangements that select a socially privileged group from the equally educationally privileged. (p. 4).

There are two factors involved in the success in an organizational occupation. The first is a cultural and social advantage in being from a reasonably high-level background. This kind of family origin generally provides a sufficient enculturation so that the young man's behavior will be acceptable. The second is that rising executives differed from stagnant executives by their ability to believe in their immediate superiors as sources of wisdom and support, i.e., a dominant father provides an organizational authority model.

Major executives from working class backgrounds were more likely to be entrepreneurs than organization men. They have two tendencies: to define success by a competitive model and to have rejected a dominant father. The engineer's engineer, is from a working home with a dominant mother. From these life histories McArthur draws the conclusion that there are definite parallels in the life histories of people who eventually enter similar occupations.

Super (195) has expounded a theory that an individual in choosing an occupation is, in fact, choosing a means of implementing his self-concept. This is somewhat related to Roe's theory, in that it is largely personality based. It differs in its emphasis on the here and

now decision process as opposed to the historical development of the individual making the decision.

Super (195) states:

The process of vocational development is essentially that of developing and implementing a self-concept; it is a compromise process in which the self-concept; is a product of inherited aptitudes, neural and endocrine make-up, opportunity to play various roles, and evaluations of the extent to which the results of role playing meet with the approval of superiors and fellows (p. 15).

This theory has been repeatedly supported by Morrison (137), Ziegler (222), and Rosenberg (170). This type of support parallels the support found for Roe's interest theory. The description of an occupation already chosen does indeed resemble the individual's self-concept description. The reciprocal effects of the chosen on the chooser is difficult at best to measure. One would have to measure the change in an individual's self-concept when that individual first considers occupying a particular occupational role. Another problem is determining which dimensions of this self-concept are relevant to a decision concerning a particular occupation.

Morris Rosenberg (170) suggests that values may be relevant indicators of occupational selection. He has studied individuals who change occupations in an effort to determine the factors which precipitated the change. He states

. . . it would appear that the relationship between what one wants and what one expects (from a job) is initially quite close and through the course of time it becomes chosen. Put in other terms the general movement appears in the direction of average tension reduction; In some cases either change has the effect of reducing potential frustration (p. 73).

Either the individual's personal values change or his interpretation of the value content of his particular environment changes so that there is greater consonance. This tends to support Rokeach's theory of cognitive

and value change. Thus occupations and personal values are ultimately related via the self-concept.

Holland's Typology

Holland (91) has synthesized the previous theories on occupational selection into a single descriptive theory based on six basic occupational orientations: realistic, social, conventional, enterprising, investigative, and artistic. He does not explicitly state the mechanisms by which these orientations are differentiated, but does discuss the process by which the general orientations are developed. The basic process is explained below.

Although parental attitudes play a minor and complex role in the development of a child's interests, Holland assumes that each parental occupational type provides a cluster of environmental opportunities as well as deficits which extend well beyond parental attitudes. For example: "realistic" parents engage in characteristically "realistic" activities in and out of the home; surround themselves with "realistic" equipment, possessions, materials, and tools; select "realistic" friends; and at the same time, tend to ignore, avoid, or reject some activities more than others.

Children can also create their own environment to a limited degree by their demands upon parents and by the manner in which parents react to and are influenced by their children. Presumably, the more a child resembles a particular parent the more reward he will receive. So parent-child relationships, like other personal relationships, may demonstrate that types are attracted to types.

Holland adopts Roe's concept of "interest development" in the

explanation of occupational orientation development. A child's special heredity and experience first lead to preferences for some kinds of activities and aversions for others. Later these preferences become well-defined interests from which the person gains self-satisfaction, as well as reward from others. Still later the pursuit of interests lead to the development of more specialized competencies as well as the neglect of other potential competencies. At the same time, a person's differentiation of interests with age is accompanied by a crystallization of correlated values. These events--an increasing differentiation of preferred activities, interests, competencies, and values--create a characteristic disposition or personality type that is predisposed to exhibit characteristic behavior and develop characteristic personality traits.

The individual attempts to find a work environment that complements his personality-type. Holland states that environments can be classed by the same typology as individuals. He theorizes that the closer the environment type is to the personality type the more satisfaction the individual will experience. This fact of Holland's typology parallels Super's self-concept theory. The major difference is in the references that each proposes the individual uses in making occupational decisions. Super's "self-concept" is more inclusive than Holland's "interests" or "predispositions". Holland bypasses the measurement of predispositions by asking the individual to select occupations that he thinks might be satisfying from a prepared list. He is able to score this in terms of his six occupational orientations. The end result can then be assessed in terms of "self-concept" implementation, in that the occupations

chosen are believed by the individual to be the particular form that self-implementation should naturally take.

The following is a brief summary of each of the occupational personality types proposed by Holland. There is for each personality type a corresponding occupational environment.

The Realistic Personality

One's heredity and experiences lead to a preference for activities that entail the explicit ordered, or systematic manipulation of objects--tools, machines, or animals--and to an aversion to educational or therapeutic activities. These behavioral tendencies lead, in turn, to the acquisition of manual, mechanical, agricultural, electrical, and technical competencies and to a deficit in social and educational competencies.

The Investigative Personality

One's heredity and experiences lead to a preference for activities that entail the observational, symbolic, systematic, and creative investigation of physical, biological, and cultural phenomena in order to understand and control such phenomena; and to the aversion of persuasive, social, and repetitive activities. These behavioral tendencies lead, in turn, to an acquisition of scientific and mathematical competencies and to a deficit in persuasive competencies.

The Social Personality

One's heredity and experience lead to a preference for activities that entail the manipulation of others in order to inform, train,

develop, cure, or enlighten; and to an aversion of explicit, ordered, systematic activities involving materials, tools, or machines. These lead to the acquisition of human relations competencies and to a deficit in manual and technical competencies.

The Artistic Personality

One's heredity and experiences lead to a preference for ambiguous, free, unsystematic activities that entail the manipulation of physical, verbal, or human materials to create art forms or products, and to an aversion to explicit, systematic, and ordered activities. These lead to competencies in language, art, music, dance, and writing; and to a deficit in clerical or business system competencies.

The Enterprising Personality

One's heredity and experiences lead to a preference for activities that entail the manipulation of others to attain organizational goals or economic gain; and to the aversion of observational, symbolic, and systematic activities. These lead to the acquisition of leadership, interpersonal, and persuasive competencies and to a deficit in scientific competencies.

The Conventional Personality

One's heredity and experience lead to a preference for the explicit, ordered, systematic manipulation of data, such as keeping records, filing materials, and to an aversion of ambiguous, free or unsystematized activities. These behavioral tendencies lead to an acquisition

of clerical, business system competencies and to a deficit in artistic competencies.

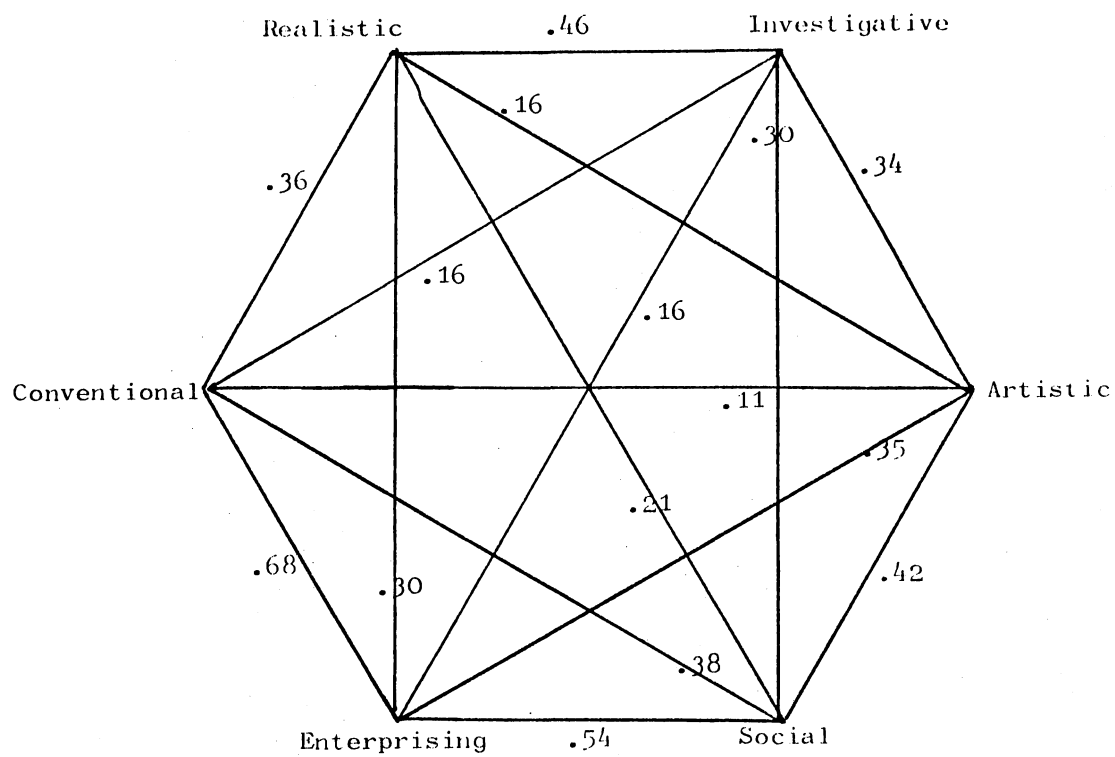
Relationships Between Types

Holland (89) states that the orientations he uses are not independent, and attempts to define the interrelationships among them with a hexagonal model. The model is presented in terms of a correlational model, but he does not explicitly state what he is correlating--values, attitudes, or answers to his vocational questionnaire. See Figure 1.

The hexagonal model is also assumed to show the distance between personality types and their environments. This rests mainly on the suggestion that most of one's environment is transmitted through other people. The character of that environment is then a reflection of the nature of its members. Holland makes an assumption that is questionable, that the "dominant" features of an environment reflect the "typical" characteristics of its members. As an example of Holland's reasoning, an "enterprising" personality would find an "enterprising" environment most to his liking, but would find that an "investigative" environment would not contain the activities that he finds satisfying.

Another untested hypothesis of Holland's is that individual stability, i.e., responsibility or dedication, is a function of the compatibility of his own occupational type. For example, if an individual demonstrated some traits consistent with conventional types and some traits consistent with artistic types, he would have low stability. If, on the other hand, he demonstrates traits of conventional and enterprising types, he would have high stability.

These six orientatations are not unique to Holland. The



Source: Holland (89).

Figure 1. Intercorrelation of Holland's Occupational Types

Alport-Vernon Study of Value test is scored on six "evaluative attitudes". The evaluative attitudes are derived from a test involving largely work-oriented material. They are: (1) theoretical, (2) economic, (3) aesthetic, (4) social, (5) political, and (6) religious. Only the political and religious do not match directly with Holland's occupational personalities.

Bales (11) presents a model of interpersonal group behavior based on six "directions". These directions are conceptualized as bipolar dimensions of group roles; Up versus Down, Positive versus Negative, Forward versus Backward. These are basically indicators of the type of group behaviors exhibited, and are assumed to be personality types. The types as discussed by Bales can be paired with Holland's "Up-Enterprising, Down-Investigative, Positive-Social, Negative-Realistic, Forward-Conventional, and Backward-Artistic. The following are brief statements indicating the direction of interest for each of Bales' types in group activities: Up--toward material success and power, toward social success, toward group loyalty and cooperation, toward tough-minded assertiveness; Down--toward self-knowledge and subjectivity, toward rejection of social success, toward withholding of cooperation, toward devaluation of the self; Positive--toward equalitarianism, toward altruistic love, toward social success, toward trust in the goodness of others; Negative--toward tough-minded assertiveness, toward value-determined restraint, toward individualistic isolationism, toward rejection of social conformity; Forward--toward conservative group beliefs, toward group loyalty and cooperation, toward value-determined restraint; Backward--toward rejection of conservative group beliefs, toward

withholding cooperation, toward rejection of social conformity, toward rejection of social success.

The bipolar nature of Bale's dimension fits Holland's hexagonal model well in that the poles are aligned with the least correlated Holland types; e.g., Up-Down and Enterprising-Investigative, Negative-Positive and Social-Realistic, Forward-Backward and Conventional-Aesthetic.

Needs, Values, and Occupation

Needs and Occupation

"We look in vain for a dynamic appreciation of work in terms of the individual's role, his self-concept or identity, the exercise of his values, status considerations and other related factors" say Samler (171, p. 459) in discussing theories of occupational selection. And yet there is no longer any serious question that work is more than means to other ends, it has a meaning of its own. Super and Roe have established the point that work is a way of life that affects the way we think of ourselves, the neighborhood we live in, the kind of clothes we wear, our leisure time activities, and the values we believe in.

There is sparse information on the satisfaction of personal needs in occupations. Most of the work in the area has dealt with organizational rather than occupational variables. Super points out that not only are there many patterns of interaction within the same job or occupation and that different personality needs are satisfied, but that the job or occupation itself may lead to changes in attitudes and values on the part of the workers. There is a reciprocal effect to be considered--worker to job and job to worker. Roe also points to the possibility

that individual jobs may have their own personality requirements.

Most of the theories of career development have not considered vocational behavior on the job. Numerous studies conducted by Holland and others have used samples of National Merit Finalists, college students, and hospitalized patients. They have generally validated Holland's theory as far as occupational selection is concerned. Direct support has been found indicating a positive relationship between the level of satisfaction and the degree to which the job matches the results of an individual's scores on Holland's Vocational Preference Inventory. Holland (92) finds the scores on the Realistic, Investigative, Social, and Enterprising scales are important in matching the individual to the job. It is interesting to note that the scales that do not show a significant relationship are Conventional and Artistic. These are the two orientations that are paralleled by Bale's Forward-Backward dimension of group interaction. In Bale's scheme, the Forward-Backward dimension indicates the commitment to group goals, the forward oriented person is consistently focusing his acts toward the attainment of group goals, while the backward oriented person is focusing his acts on rejecting the group goals set for him. One could conclude that the individual's orientation toward the attainment of group goals was irrelevant in predicting the degree of satisfaction felt.

Porter (150) (151) has investigated Maslow's need model, Riesman's inner-directed and other-directed typologies, and certain organizational variables; e.g., line versus staff and middle versus upper management. Porter finds that the differences in need fulfillment or need importance due to horizontal organizational structure are smaller than those due to a vertical structure. He also finds that the greater satisfaction of

higher level managers is due to the greater opportunity to satisfy higher level needs such as esteem, autonomy, and self-actualization.

Porter also asked persons involved in management type jobs what personal traits they perceived as important for success in their jobs. These traits are grouped according to Riesman's inner- and other-directed typologies. His findings are consistent with Reisman's thesis. There is a significant difference in the traits considered important when one varies management level or moves from line to staff type function. The shifts are such that lower management is more other-directed. Line type functions indicate a greater importance of inner-directed traits while staff is more other-directed (see Table XVII).

TABLE XVII
MEAN IMPORTANCE OF CHANGES IN TRAITS PERCEIVED TO BE
REQUIRED FOR JOB SUCCESS

	Moving From High to Lower Mgmt.			Moving From Line to Staff Functions		
	Increases in Importance	0	Decreases in Importance	Increases in Importance	0	Decreases in Importance
Inner-Directed						
Forceful	3	0	10	0	0	7
Imaginative	3	2	8	5	0	2
Independent	4	0	9	5	0	2
Self-Confident	6	1	6	1	3	3
Decisive	2	2	9	0	0	7
Total	18	5	42 p < .01	11	3	21 N.S.
Other-Directed						
Cooperative	9	1	3	4	1	2
Adaptable	7	1	5	2	3	3
Cautious	3	4	0	6	0	1
Agreeable	11	1	1	3	4	0
Tactful	9	3	1	7	0	0
Total	39	10	10 p < .01	22	8	6 p < .01

Note: Larger values indicate greater importance. Source: Porter (150).

The Riesman typology can be analyzed in terms of both Holland's and Bales's typologies. The cluster of inner-directed traits are those that are considered important by Holland's Realistic and Investigative types. They are also related to the Down and Negative orientations discussed by Bales. Similarly, the other-directed traits are those related to Enterprising-Social and Forward-Positive types.

Lacy (111) attempts to determine the relationship between Maslow's need hierarchy and Holland's Vocational Preference Inventory. His general conclusions are that higher order needs satisfactions are related to Enterprising, Realistic, Investigative, and Conventional scales while lower order needs are related to Social and Artistic scales. One error in his procedure may have confounded his conclusions. He did not actually classify individuals by Holland's test results, rather he used stereotypical classification process; i.e., teachers are "social" and secretaries are "conventional". Thus, he measures the needs of "teachers" not those of individuals with Social orientations. The teaching situation may produce pressures to satisfy lower order needs regardless of an individual's personal orientation. The question of the environment's effect on the definition of relevant needs is left unanswered; i.e., if a social person was not in a social environment would "lower-level" needs be of importance? From Porter's studies, it is obvious that the level of management can affect a difference in a need importance; therefore, classifying all managers as enterprising ignores an important factor in defining the relevance of particular need domains.

Williams (217) in a similar experiment attempted to differentiate Holland's types with value questionnaires and personality tests. She

picked graduate students from various majors that "fell into Holland's scheme." The value questionnaire used was the Alport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values. The similarity of constructs used in this test and Holland's typology have already been discussed; i.e., the values measured are really occupationally-oriented constructs. Thus, the Williams' finding of a high degree of correlation between stereotypical type majors and the results of the questionnaire are not surprising. She also finds a significant relationship between scores on Cattell's 16 Personality Factor test of personality. The confounding effect of the environment is again included in her results.

Values and Occupation

Assuming that a person's values are secondary only to the self-concept as a means for maintaining consonance, and that "self-concept" measurement is fraught with difficulties, values may have a close relationship with occupations. Gray (74) attempted to use needs and values as a means of discriminating between occupations. He used currently employed secondary teachers, accountants, and mechanical engineers as subjects. The Edwards Personal Preference Schedule was used to test the needs of the various occupations. Significant differences were found between teachers and accountants, teachers and engineers, but not between engineers and accountants. Teachers were found to have significantly higher scores on reference, affiliation, intraception, abasement, and nurturance than accountants, while accountants were higher on achievement, exhibition, dominance, and endurance. In a comparison of teachers and mechanical engineers, teachers yielded higher scores on affiliation, intraception, succorance, and nurturance, while engineers scored

significantly higher on achievement, order, dominance, and endurance.

Occupational values were measured by the Miller Occupational Values Inventory and yielded significant differences between all groups. Comparing teachers and accountants, teachers were higher on social rewards, while accountants were higher on career satisfaction and prestige. Teachers were higher on social rewards than engineers and the engineers were higher on career satisfaction and prestige. Accountants were significantly higher only on the prestige scale.

The Gray (74) study does use a population of working individuals, but what the occupational value measurement instrument really measures is whether the work is seen as providing intrinsic or extrinsic types of rewards. There is a general indication that a measure of "value" may have more discriminative quality than a measure of "needs".

Several studies reported in Rokeach (169) have found differences in the personal values of various occupational groups. See Tables XVIII and XIX.

The procedure used in both of these studies, i.e., rank-ordering values, can force differences in value orientations to appear more significant than they truly are. The size or direction of the ranking artifact is inseparable from the results. In examining Table XIX, one notices that dealers show a greater difference than salesmen when compared to their matched national samples. This difference could be due to the different relationships that each have with the organization in which they work, or it can be an artifact of the matching process. The occupations of the "matched" national sample leaves the question concerning the real basis of comparison unanswered.

TABLE XVIII
SIGNIFICANT VALUE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SEVERAL
OCCUPATIONS IN CALCUTTA, INDIA

Median Rankings					
Instrumental Values	Business Executives	Scientists	Writers	Artists	p*
Capable	7.3	7.8	11.6	11.3	.01
Courageous	8.7	9.8	4.3	5.0	.01
Forgiving	13.8	14.7	8.3	10.0	.05
Helpful	11.8	9.4	8.6	10.1	.05
Imaginative	10.3	8.3	5.3	7.6	.01
Loving	14.1	12.0	8.8	13.0	.001
Obedient	12.3	16.1	16.6	14.0	.05
Responsible	4.3	4.8	8.9	7.4	.01
Self-Controlled	7.8	9.0	9.4	6.0	.05

*Kruskal-Wellis Test

Note: Smaller values indicate higher importance.

Source: Beech in Rokeach (169).

TABLE XIX

VALUE MEDIANS FOR SERVICE STATION DEALERS AND OIL COMPANY
SALESMEN COMPARED WITH MATCHED NATIONAL SAMPLES

	Dealers	National Sample	p*	Salesmen	National Sample	p*
Ambitious	2.96	5.60	.001	2.81	6.0	.01
Capable	7.14	8.61	.05	4.75	9.13	.001
Clean	8.00	10.07	.01	12.00	14.00	N.S.
Courageous	9.63	7.74	.01	9.60	7.08	N.S.
Forgiving	10.82	8.50	.05	13.14	12.00	N.S.
Helpful	10.05	8.60	.01	10.13	9.88	N.S.
Independent	7.77	10.26	.01	9.75	7.0	N.S.
Loving	12.67	10.46	.01	13.75	10.88	.05
Obedient	14.97	13.75	.01	16.54	13.00	N.S.

*Median Test

Note: Smaller values indicate greater importance.

Source: Rokeach (169).

Rosenberg (170) found that occupational values are not independent constructs, rather they appear to link together in a fairly orderly chain of values. This introduces the possibility of ordering these values along some sort of value spectrum. The distance between any two points on this spectrum might be considered the "psychological distance" between the occupational values. Table XX gives the results of a correlational analysis of occupational values. This means that "creative" is positively related to "abilities," "abilities" is positively related to "helpful", "helpful" is positively related to "people", and so on. However, "creative" is very negatively related to "security", which is the psychologically most distant from it.

TABLE XX
INTERCORRELATION OF OCCUPATIONAL VALUES

	Creative	Abilities	Helpful	People	Status	Money	Security
Creative and Original							
Abilities and Aptitudes	+.470						
Helpful and Others	+.140	+.105					
Work with People	-.078	-.126	+.580				
Status and Prestige	+.007	-.107	+.002	+.245			
Money	-.177	-.144	-.336	-.126	+.594		
Secure Future	-.386	-.199	+.073	+.123	+.331	+.342	

Source: Rosenberg (170).

On the basis of the values matrix shown in Table XX, it is apparently possible to establish the following values sequence:

My Occupation Will---

- (1) Permit me to be creative and original.
- (2) Use my special abilities and aptitudes.
- (3) Permit me to be helpful to others.
- (4) Permit me to work with people rather than things.
- (5) Give me status and prestige.
- (6) Give me a chance to earn a good deal of money.
- (7) Give me a stable, secure future.

This continuum of psychological distance, it may be noted, ranges from the "self-expression" values to the "people-oriented" values to the "extrinsic-reward" values. This would tend to indicate that there are "natural" groups of occupational values that may have a certain degree of mutual exclusivity.

Occupation as a Value

There is widespread belief that the work ethic is on the decline in the contemporary industrialized society. Where career and work are emphasized, it is asserted, the emphasis is largely instrumental in nature. Work and career are valued largely because they provide the socioeconomic means for a desired lifestyle. The assumption of an "instrumental" nature as opposed to "intrinsic" nature of the satisfaction of one's career is not shared by those in the process of embarking upon such a career.

Rosenberg (170) asked over 4,000 students what they considered important in their chosen occupation. An example of one of his

conclusions is given in Table XXI in which "Success and Getting Ahead" is compared with "Money". The student who values the possibility of getting ahead does not always value money, but the student who values the money always values success.

TABLE XXI
PERCENT OF STUDENTS VALUING "SUCCESS" AND "MONEY"
IN THEIR CHOSEN OCCUPATIONS

Importance of Success as a Value	Importance of Money as a Value		
	High	Medium	Low
High	65%	44%	29%
Medium	31%	47%	40%
Low	3%	10%	30%

Source: Rosenberg (170).

Thus, college students more consistently value the "intrinsic" (success) rewards than the "extrinsic" (money) rewards associated with their chosen occupation. This is further supported by Rosenberg's study of the "requirements of an ideal career" as stated by college students (see Table XXII). This gives an idea of what is considered important within a potential occupation or career. But how does the concept of occupation in general compare with other areas of an individual's life? If the whole domain of "career" or "occupation" is of little importance in the person's life, then comparisons within that domain would have little relevance to eventual occupational behaviors.

TABLE XXII
 RANKING OF "REQUIREMENTS FOR IDEAL CAREER"
 BY COLLEGE STUDENTS

	High Importance	Medium Importance	Little Importance
1. Provide an opportunity to use my abilities	73	20	2
2. Enable me to look forward to secure future.	61	31	8
3. Permit me to be creative.	48	39	13
4. Give me opportunity to work with people.	44	36	20
5. Give me an opportunity to help others.	43	44	13
6. Provide a chance to earn a good deal of money.	39	40	13
7. Leave me free of supervision by others.	38	68	14
8. Give me a chance to exercise leadership.	32	53	15
9. Give me status and prestige.	26	53	21
10. Provide me with adventure.	16	40	44

Note: Figures are the percent of students making that response.

Source: Rosenberg (170).

Katz (102) asked students to compare the relative importance of their occupation to other areas in their life. The subjects come from two different institutions: San Jose Community College and Stanford University. Table XXIII shows the areas that proved to be differently valued by the students in the two institutions. Out of a total of 12 different activities, occupation was as or more important than all

others, with the exception of one, family. Thus, the general domain of "occupation" does have considerable importance to the college student. It should be noted that the Stanford sample tended to differentiate between their occupation and other areas; i.e., occupation is rated as much more important or much less than some other activity. One cannot conclude that work is more important for one group than the other, but can conclude that there is a difference in the comparison of their work to other realms of activity.

TABLE XXIII
 VALUE OF OCCUPATION COMPARED TO OTHER ACTIVITIES
 (In Percent Responding)

	San Jose Comm. College			Stanford		
	Occupation is:			Occupation is:		
Than	More Imp.	Equal	Less Imp.	More Imp.	Equal	Less Imp.
1. Family	20	35	45	4	24	72
2. Religious activities	36	46	18	52	31	17
3. Political activities	48	32	20	54	39	7
4. Community and Civic improvement	39	50	11	49	50	1
5. Art, Drama, and Music	52	32	16	61	35	4
6. Creative Expression	50	31	19	62	28	10

Note: SJCC versus Stanford χ^2 sig at $p < .01$.

Source: Katz (102).

These studies can be compared with the Dubin (45) (46) "Central Life Interest" studies. Dubin attempted to find the relative impact of one's job on several other domains of an individual's life. The CLI (Central Life Interest) is a fairly crude instrument that deals with "interests" which have a strong attitudinal component. This attitudinal quality makes them strongly situation specific, but it does give an indication of the personal investment of an individual in a particular organization. Table XXIV gives a comparison of three general occupational types and the percent who find the organization to be the source of satisfaction for the variable listed on the left.

TABLE XXIV

CENTRAL LIFE INTEREST
(Percent who are work-oriented)

	Industrial Workers	Middle Managers	Specialists
Informal Relations	9	14	18
General Experience	15	45	34
Formal Organization	61	88	87
Technological Experience	<u>63</u>	<u>79</u>	<u>85</u>
Total Organization	23	43	41

Source: Dubin (46).

From Table XXIV, it is obvious that work does provide a significant source of interest satisfaction for those individuals one would consider

professional. One of the primary differences between a job and a career may be the period of time spent "becoming." The Rosenberg study, Table XXII, indicating what would be required of an ideal career can be compared with Dubin's sources of interest satisfaction on the job. Those qualities that students want in a career fall into the "formal organization" and "technological experience" categories of Dubin's study.

Particular note should be made of the "General Experience" category. The questions in the category all have an emotional orientation, e.g., "the most pleasant things I do," "the most important things I do," and "my ideas about getting ahead." These give an indication of the affective nature of the work itself, and is a much more specific measure than the term General Experience.

The question left unanswered in Dubin's study concerns how important each of the domains are. Do "Informal Relations," "Formal Organization," and "Technological Experience" all hold the same relative importance for all individuals? From the Katz (102) study, one draws the conclusion that these may not be equally valued.

Perception of Occupation

Accuracy of Perception

The process of vocational selection has been generally assumed to be made with imperfect information. That is, one assumption of the self-concept approach to occupational choices is that the individual is presented with a decision that must be made with sparse information. This lack of information requires that the individual project his personal biases onto the situation and, thus, the decision becomes a self-actualization process. Investigations of the occupational image of

incumbents have not supported the assumption of a personal occupational image.

Marks (127) asked for trait descriptions of typical occupational incumbents for two different occupational titles--industrial management and electrical engineer. As subjects, he used three groups of varying professional experience: (1) freshmen students beginning their occupationally relevant education, (2) senior students completing their education, and (3) post graduates working in their occupation. In addition, the freshmen were asked for self-ratings on the same traits. The results indicated that the three groups varying in professional experience share a common "image" of the typical occupational incumbent.

When Marks compares the degree of agreement among the three experience groups, a striking pattern emerges. For industrial management, the percentage of image concepts shared with the other two groups is: for freshmen 81%, seniors 74%, and professionals 76%. The electrical engineers show a similar pattern: freshmen 94%, seniors 88%, and professionals 81%. Thus, freshmen are able to perceive an image that is more inclusive than either of the more experienced groups. This indicates that freshmen may have a very well-defined and accurate image of their intended profession.

The self-perceptions of freshmen were correlated by Marks with a pooled occupational image. The Spearman rho between self-description and occupational image for industrial management was .69 while for electrical engineers it was .72. These rho values indicate a substantial correspondence between what the freshman describes himself as, and the common image of a typical occupational incumbent. This was

concluded despite the fact that "considerable individual differences in self-descriptions were noted."

The "success" of an occupational choice depends in a large part upon the accuracy of the initial image. Hayes (87) found in a study of nurses that the similarity between self-descriptions and perceived occupational requirements is correlated with the satisfaction with the career. Stephenson (193) studied premedical students who failed to gain admission to a medical school on their first application. Only 51% of those making application were admitted to medical school, but within four years 80% were employed in medical-related professions. Ziegler (221) found that students described their most-preferred occupation in terms more similar to their self-concept than their least-preferred occupation. These findings indicate that the occupational image is quite accurate and persistent, and it provides a key measure of what is believed to be satisfying.

Bias of Occupational Image

How does the novice's image of an occupation differ from that of the professional? Most of the studies cited earlier have shown that the image held by an individual considering a particular occupation is quite accurate. It is very accurate when compared with all of the different occupations open to the individual, but there appears to be a rather consistent difference between the images of novices and professionals actually in the occupation. A study by De Salvia (39) compared the personal values of business college undergraduates and graduate students with those of practicing managers (see Table XXV). Of a total of 39 values considered "operative", i.e., of high importance, 28 were shared.

The students held 10 alone while the managers held only one alone. This indicates that the students consider more values to be "operative", i.e., "more" things are important for students. This is largely due to the untested nature of the values held by the students. The values are a part of relatively "pure" ideology. The "groups of people" category is different because it is clearly out of the realm of experience of students. The overwhelming bias of students in the "personal goals" category indicates the self-actualizing potential that they believe lies in their chosen occupations; i.e., there is a definite "self-image" orientation toward their occupation.

This difference is demonstrated more clearly in a comparison of the students' perception of managers with actual managers (see Table XXVI).

All the errors are in the same direction; that is, the manager is perceived to value these concepts more than he actually does. The general area of these misconceptions is the area of "self-actualization". These business majors are planning on becoming managers and, thus, are expecting a "self-actualizing" situation. The drive to become something must be fueled so that energy may be expended in shaping one's self-image. One's self-concept can be altered only in what is perceived to be a "positive", i.e., valued direction. Thus, the fuel comes from the general drive for self-actualization. These value biases are incorporated with more specific behavioral and skill oriented concepts within the image of the chosen occupation. In all, the image of the manager is quite accurate, yet it is very revealing where the differences do lie.

TABLE XXV

COMPARISON OF BUSINESS STUDENTS' AND PROFESSIONAL MANAGERS'
OPERATIVE VALUES
(in percentage points difference)

	Value is Operative for More:	
	Students	Managers
Personal Goals:		
Money	28	
Dignity	26	
Security	19	
Prestige	15	
Power	14	
Achievement	14	
Success	14	
Influence	13	
Individuality	9	
Groups of People:		
My company		19
Customers		18
My Subordinates		16
Management		15
My Co-workers		12
Technical Employees		12
Me	11	
Groups of Business:		
Profit Maximization		24
Organization Stability	13	
Social Welfare	12	
Ideals Associated with Others:		
Honor	14	
Skill	11	
Rational	14	

Source: De Salvia (39).

TABLE XXVI
 CONCEPTS INCORRECTLY THOUGHT BY STUDENTS TO BE EQUALLY OPERATIVE
 FOR THEMSELVES AND MANAGERS
 (in percent)

Concept	Perceived Manager	Actual Manager
Achievement	77	63
Skill	70	55
Me	51	39
Rationality	48	26
Trust	31	18
Honor	28	12

Source: De Salvia (39).

These findings are consistent with those of Schneider (177) and Hall (79) in their examination of organizational identification. They find that an individual's organizationally-relevant self-image becomes more strongly related to organizationally-relevant values. Thus, not only is there a tempering of the idealistic self-image of the novice by "the real world," but there are more specific effects of the particular organization in which one is employed.

The assumption should not be made that the individual can be "socialized" into any social environment. The changes in self-concept come only in those personally valued dimensions.

Occupational Boundaries

The occupational image held by college students has been shown to

be both accurate and stable. For this to occur, there must be considerable differentiations between the chosen and other possible occupations. A process that parallels and may fuel the occupational definition is the process of identity achievement. The basis of the concept of identity achievement is found in the works of Erik Erikson's (57) theories of identity development.

And since man is . . . above all the working animal, the immediate contribution of the school age to a sense of identity can be expressed in the words 'I am what I learn to make work.' It is immediately obvious that for the vast majority of men, in all times, this has not only been the beginning, but also the limitation of their identity; or better the majority of men have always consolidated their identity needs around their occupational capacities, If the desire to make something work and to make it work well, is the gain of the school age, then the choice of an occupation assumes a significance beyond the question of remuneration and status (137).

Andrews (5) has tested the hypothesis that identity-achieved and identity-diffuse college students should demonstrate different value structures. The Identity Achievement Status test is basically a measure of the consistency of one's reference structure; that is, a consonant self-concept from which one is able to initiate a degree of self-determination. Andrews finds several differences in the value structures as measured by a Rokeach scale (see Table XXVII).

The Identity Achievement Status test does not measure the kind or qualities of identity achieved. It does measure the degree of identity achievement. From these results, one sees that the Identity Achieved individual values broadmindedness, independence, and logic, while the Identity-diffuse individual values love, forgiveness, and obedience more. These are related to ego-strength or at least to the confidence dimension of the self-concept. The identity-diffuse individual shows a higher concern for the nurturance-succorance dimensions. The values of

the identity-achieved individual indicate an openness to outside influences (broadminded) because they can be dealt with (logical, independent). The "self" is an identity-achieved individual controls one's life in place of outside forces.

TABLE XXVII
VALUE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HIGH AND LOW
IAS OF COLLEGE STUDENTS

Personal Values	Mean Rank of Values			
	High IAS	Low IAS	$t_{\text{high/low}}$	Prob.
Loving	5.96	3.52	2.44	.025
Broadminded	6.56	9.38	2.18	.025
Independent	7.48	10.04	1.96	.05
Logical	8.57	11.00	1.98	.05
Forgiving	10.35	7.25	2.27	.025
Obedient	16.96	14.09	2.01	.025

Source: Andrews (5).

The individual making an occupation selection thereby feels uncompromised in his selection. Any selection so made must be defended by a comparatively unified self-concept. The defense of the self-concept, as discussed previously, is accomplished by biasing the perception of outside threats or changing the self-concept itself. The same process cannot be postulated for the identity-diffuse individual, for he

normally deals with threats by identifying the external causes, and then withdrawing from these causes.

Whether or not the "identity achieved" is one that will produce some level of satisfaction when it confronts "reality" is not of question at this point. What is important is that once an identity is achieved there tends to be a common mechanism enforced for its maintenance. Thus, the occupational selection made by an individual achieving identity has a twofold effect: (1) the definition of the potential occupational image will be to have a high value content relevant to the individual and (2) the individual's self-image may undergo changes so that eventually there is a high correlation between self and occupational image.

The previous discussion of perceptual bias is relevant here. One of the general conclusions drawn from the magnitude estimation research was that it was the affective content of the dimension itself that produced the discriminative power within it. Thus, the importance placed on occupational selection differentiates the values of the chosen occupation when compared with others. The values that are relevant to the initial occupational selection are those perceived in the self-concept. Again, the effects of perceptual bias make the chosen occupation more like the self than others. The similarity comes from the reflexive quality of the self-concept.

Druckman (44) examines the same basic process of defining these conceptual boundaries from a sociological point of view. His method starts by assuming a conflict of interest between two parties. These parties might be occupations or at least one's concept of a potential occupation.

A conflict of interest is usually defined as a discrepancy between party's preferences for outcomes of decisions on the distribution of a scarce resource. However, many conflicts occur not because of conflicting interests but because the parties do not share the same conceptualization of the situation. This may occur because of divergent ideologies, values, or cognitive structures. The mode of resolution of such conflicts is not joint compromise or concessions which makes these conflicts less amenable to a game theoretic analysis. Druckman (44) makes several propositions concerning conflicts of this kind. These propositions are based on an analysis of familial, political, and religious conflicts:

- (1) When contending parties in a conflict of interest are derived explicitly from opposing ideological orientations, the conflict will be more intense than when the link between competing parties and ideological orientations is not made explicit. The commitment to the more abstract, and more idealized interest of a group oriented along ideological lines, is seen as producing greater rigidity, transforming a conflict of interests into a conflict of 'truths.' The individual considering an occupation sees it as an ideological entity. It has a value content, a content most important to the individual, for it also defines him as 'right' and 'good.'
- (2) Through time and repeated conflict encounters, the various factions within the contending groups tend to converge on their ideological positions, producing further polarizations between the groups which serves, in turn, to exacerbate the intensity of future conflicts of interest. The person learns a great deal of the 'ideologies' of his occupation within the institutions of higher learning, a place where ideologies are maintained 'pure' through conflict.
- (3) As a result of previous collusions between representatives of different ideological orientations (as well as common reference group identification), there are cross-cutting interests which serve to reduce the intensity of conflicts of interests between them. The moderating effects of cross-cutting interests are likely to be especially prominent in a social system where competitive advantage, rather than ideological affinity is the major

consideration in entering coalitions. The cross-cutting interest of organizational stability can be assumed to be a primary mediator of what would be otherwise ideological conflicts. The question arises whether the 'purity' of an ideology can be maintained long in an environment of 'cross-cutting' interests (305).

In a study cited previously (Marks, 127), freshmen had a "clearer" image of a typical incumbent than did seniors or professionals, they had "forgotten".

Role Accuracy and Satisfaction

There has been a general assumption that there is a positive relationship between certain qualities of the received role and the level of job satisfaction felt by the occupant of the role (21). The received role is the role as actually perceived by the occupant. Recent research has investigated three related properties of the received role; role accuracy, role clarity, and role consensus. Almost all of the studies converge on the finding that each of these properties are associated with satisfaction (75). Role accuracy is defined as the correct perception of what is expected by the role. Role clarity is the sense of certainty of how to meet these expectations. Role consensus is the agreement with others about what the expectations should be.

Greene (75) attempted to develop a causal model linking the received role with job satisfaction. Evaluation of the data collected by Greene supports the hypothesis that "role accuracy" operates only as a precondition for compliance. Compliance, in turn, is a direct cause of satisfaction through the intrinsic value of the task. Compliance also has an indirect effect on satisfaction through its direct effect on performance evaluation.

This analysis indicates that "learning the ropes"; i.e., increasing role accuracy through reward feedback produced by compliance, and punishment produced by non-compliance, is of only minimal importance. Thus, one must assume that "role accuracy" is a quality that the individual brings to the situation, and not a product of direct experience within the situation.

Identification With Occupation

One of the most compelling instances of personal change and development in adult life in today's society is to be found in the typical growth of an "occupational personality". As the young adult matures, an image develops of himself as holder of a particular specialized position in the division of labor. Becker (13, p. 229) states, "One finds it expedient to acquire a work identity, since general cultural emphasis requires some occupational attachment, some answer to the ambiguous question 'What's your Line?'" This process may also produce conflict, as the individual is unable to achieve a desired identity or does not know what to want, and so ends up with an identity which is in some respects incongruent with others' expectations. Becker interviewed graduate students in physiology, philosophy, and engineering in order to determine some of the subjective aspects of occupational identity growth. These subjective aspects of such a movement, i.e., changes in institutional participation and the contingencies on which these movements depend, were treated in terms of the concept of self, identity, and transformation. Attention was directed to the way in which situations presented the person with experiences, objects, and

people out of which the person stabilized his self-concept into lasting identities.

Becker derived from the interviews three functional mechanisms producing self-concept stabilization: (1) The investment mechanism where acts committed in preparation for a particular career are considered an investment of an irreplaceable quantum of time in a career; not to follow that career is a loss of the investment. (2) The acquisition of an ideology which operates to produce commitment to an occupational title. This comes into operation when an individual begins to raise questions about the worth of the activities in which he is engaged. (3) The internalization of motives seems to operate primarily in clique and apprenticeship relations. This internalization is most effective in producing attachment to the institutional positions associated with a given work identity.

One could assume that this acquisition of an occupational identity would be accomplished with a minimum amount of effort. That is, an occupation is chosen that is close to the existing self-concept. Ziegler (222) asked students to choose their most and least-preferred occupations from a list of fourteen occupations. The subjects then filled out an adjective checklist for himself, and the kind of persons whom the student thought would typically be working in the most- and least-preferred occupations. The study determined that there are corresponding differences in the self-concepts that college students have of members of their most-preferred occupations and the least-preferred. There were also specific and distinctive dimensions of similarity between their self descriptions and their preferred occupational member concepts.

These findings are quite typical of many others. The similarity between self and occupational image may be largely due to the multi-dimensional quality of the self-concept. Does the adjective checklist above measure "What I think I am," "What I think I should be," or "What I want to be"? As one matures, there are varying degrees of affective content in conceptualizations of self and occupational identification. Maturity means the development of a more complex value system which is not dependent upon a single actualization mode. The extensive use of college students as subjects does not take into account what happens to an individual after he is at work. College students are highly charged with a drive for specific forms of actualizations of a self-concept as yet untested in the real world.

Conclusion

An individual's selection of an occupation has been shown to be closely related to the individual's self-concept. The personal importance of the selection process tends to bias the perceptions of possible occupational choices. These alternatives become highly differentiated by the biasing process. Thus, the "self" and chosen occupation are perceived to be similar at the time of choice. From Chapter II, one concludes that the choosing of an occupation can change both the personal values and the self-concept if the cognitive dimension of "occupation" or "job" is of high importance.

CHAPTER IV

EXPERIMENT AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

A series of questionnaires is presented to groups of employed professionals in order to determine the relationships between their personal values, occupational orientation, and the image of the employing organization.

From the literature reviewed concerning occupational selection, it is expected that occupations will be highly differentiated by personal values, and that particular kinds of jobs will be filled by particular "types" of individuals.

Personal values are also expected to be differently affected by an individual's occupational orientation and organization. Inner-directed types of value; i.e., values by which the individual measures his personal competence, are expected to be more affected by his occupation. This is due to the strong "self-concept" component within the occupation selection process. Other-directed values; i.e., those by which the individual morally justifies his actions are expected to be affected more by the organization. The social "other" presented by the group within the organizational framework would tend to provide a basis for comparisons along interpersonally relevant dimensions.

From the literature reviewed concerning organizational identification, one would conclude that there exists an organizational

personality or character. That is, there is a common image of the organization held by its members. There is also an indication from the perceptual bias literature that the perception of the organization should be biased in the direction of the individual's self-concept to the degree there is organizational identification.

Occupational Preference Survey

This survey was developed using Holland's typology of six basic occupational orientations: social, conventional, realistic, investigative, enterprising, and artistic (Appendix A). Ten occupational titles were selected for each of the orientations. These titles were chosen from a list derived by Holland (90) such that those titles that best discriminated a particular orientation were used (see Table XXVIII). From this list of sixty occupational titles, the ten considered by the subject "most personally satisfying" are selected. A score indicating occupational orientation can be generated by simply counting the number of times a particular orientation is considered satisfying. Occupational orientation scores can range between 0 and 10 for any particular orientation, but must sum to 10 across all orientations. This latter restriction allows the generation of an orientation consistency score which is the sum of the squared orientation scores. This measure can range between 18 and 100, higher values indicating greater consistency. On the same survey, the lengths of tenure in both the current occupation and organization are noted.

An occupational preference measure is used because the same job may be viewed differently by different individuals, each interpreting it through some personally meaningful terms. This measure follows the same

TABLE XXVIII

CORRELATION OF OCCUPATION TITLES WITH
HOLLAND'S OCCUPATIONAL ORIENTATIONS

Social		Conventional	
Personal Counselor	.83	Financial Analyst	.81
Vocational Counselor	.82	Tax Expert	.79
Juvenile Delinquency Expert	.81	Traffic Manager	.78
Psychiatric Case Worker	.82	Office Manager	.78
Social Science Teacher	.78	Bank Examiner	.77
Conciliator (Employee Relations)	.77	Cost Examiner	.75
Marriage Counselor	.76	Real-Estate Appraiser	.69
Rehabilitation Worker	.75	Inventory Controller	.68
School Principal	.71	Administrative Assistant	.67
Director of Welfare Agency	.71	Statistician	.67
Realistic		Investigative	
Surveyor	.83	Zoologist	.82
Power Station-Operator	.83	Anthropologist	.81
Radio Operator	.83	Botanist	.79
Tool Designer	.79	Aeronautic Design Engineer	.78
Electrician	.79	Geologist	.76
Machinist	.78	Editor of Scientific Journal	.75
Aviator	.66	Writer of Technical Articles	.75
Forest Ranger	.62	Biologist	.74
Ranch Hand (Cowboy)	.55	Experimental Laboratory Engineer	.74
Enterprising		Artistic	
Business Executive	.89	Composer	.86
T.V. Producer	.83	Playwright	.85
Hotel Manager	.81	Music Critic	.84
Manufacturer's Representative	.80	Art Dealer	.82
Political Campaign Manager	.77	Art Critic	.81
Industrial Relations Consultant	.77	Dramatic Coach	.81
Master of Ceremonies	.76	Symphony Conductor	.80
President of Manufacturing Co.	.75	Free-Lance Writer	.79
Public Relations Man	.75	Concert Singer	.78
Business Promoter	.74	Musical Arranger	.77

Source: Holland (90).

general approach as most "self-concept" theories. Thus, a listing of the current area of employment, or degree of satisfaction, would be an over-simplification of what the subject sees as viable alternatives for employment.

Value Measurement Techniques

Previous attempts to measure value schema have dealt with three founding works of G. W. Alport and P. E. Vernon, C. Morris, and M. Rokeach. Each measurement system demonstrates some degree of usefulness, but each has severe limitations.

The Alport-Vernon (2) test is based upon a sixfold value classification previously defined by Edward Spranger. They condensed these down to six "evaluative attitudes": (1) theoretical, (2) economic, (3) aesthetic, (4) social, (5) political, and (6) religious. A two-part test was constructed by forming 120 statements concerning the "evaluative attitudes." The overall consistency for a three-month test-retest is a correlation of .85. Definite limitations appear in that only six orientations are measured, and those are more like a test of object preferences than a test of personal values; most of its items do not require moral evaluations of courses of action, but simply selections among them.

Charles Morris (136) presents "13 Ways to Live" or value orientations. An extension of these "13 Ways" by Osgood and Ware (143) attempts to measure individual value systems. Each of the thirteen ways is described in a short paragraph. The subject evaluates each way along thirty semantic difference scales. The semantic differences were factored through orthogonal rotation and four factors were extracted -

dynamism, socialism, control, venturousness. Questionable results are found in their study. It showed a single factor (dynamism) as capable of accounting for over one-half of the variation in response.

There are other studies which require a skilled interviewer to make in-depth analysis. Scott (1978) uses a direct interview technique to elicit the subject's values. These values are then categorized into thirteen primary groups. Coefficients of agreement between raters range from .90 to .17 and .71 to .16 on pre- and post-tests, depending upon the value rated. This is a prime drawback in its use; it requires skilled raters and their ratings vary according to the value rated (making comprehensive analysis difficult). Bales' (1951) method requires an even more skilled observer. His process requires an observer to note "value-orientated" statements during normal conversations. This is potentially less reactive than other measures, but the expense of data accumulation is prohibitive.

Validity of the Rokeach Tool Value Survey

Through resourcefulness and the use of factor analysis, Rokeach has developed a pair of value schedules that have some definitely favorable qualities. The subject is asked to rank-order each of these scales by the importance that each holds for him personally. Each list contains values presented in a positive manner. The selection of one value as more important than another carries no social stigma. Previously used methods attempted to describe a social situation or preferred end state of existence, and then have it evaluated by the subject. Dissonant situations are systematically excluded from these studies because the response is analytical, if not public. Self-perception and cognitive

dissonance theories demonstrate that these situations would always be evaluated in a socially biased manner.

The stability of these surveys over time is shown by Rokeach. With three to seven weeks intervening between test and retest, the median reliability for the instrumental values is .70 to .72. These results concern the stability of the value systems as a whole, but the logic of the method also allows measurement of the change in each value considered separately. The test-retest reliability of the individual instrumental values ranges from .45 to .70.

The relationship between the semantic differential (Osgood, 1942) and the Rokeach values has been studied (Homant, 1963). Three primary semantic differential factors were used: evaluation, potency, and activity. Median rho correlations between individual subject's values rankings of evaluative scales was .62 for instrumental scales. The measures of potency and activity were only slightly related.

Value Inventories

The Personal Value Inventory is a direct adaptation of Rokeach's instrumental value scale. Eighteen values are rank-ordered by importance in the original Rokeach technique. The rank-ordering process makes the test very sensitive to differences between individuals. But this technique makes a cursory comparison of surveys difficult. Since one of the purposes of this research is to examine the relationship between such a survey for "self" and for the organization, the rank-ordering procedure was abandoned. Instead of rank-ordering values by importance, each value's importance is rated on a scale, ranging from 1 (least important) to 9 (most important) (Appendix A). The scale is

anchored at both ends by asking the subject to pick the most and least important values from among those on the list and mark them as 9 and 1, respectively. In addition to Rokeach's original 18 values, the value "loyal" is added.

The Organizational Value Inventory is very similar to the Personal Value Inventory. The same values are used and the rating procedure is the same. The primary differences are that the values are rated as to their importance to the organization and subjects are encouraged to make comments concerning particular reasons why a value appears to be rated high or low by the organization (Appendix A).

The testing was done entirely by mail to the subjects' home addresses. It was felt that the home situation would produce more candid and reliable results. Each survey was made up of: (1) a cover letter which included a statement of the general purposes of the study, a guarantee of anonymity, and an assurance that the organization's management had consented to the study; (2) an Occupational Preference Survey; (3) a Personal Value Inventory; (4) an Organizational Value Survey; and (5) a stamped and addressed return envelope.

Two weeks after the survey was mailed, the results of each organization's Organizational Value Surveys were compiled, including any comments that had been made by the subjects. These results were then plotted on a second-stage organizational value survey (Appendix A), and mailed back to the subjects. This second-stage organizational value survey is a Dephi type process which gives the subject, information about how fellow organization members perceive the organization. The subject then rates the organization's values again. This is intended to measure the stability of the individual's organizational image.

The organizations for study were selected so that there would be a representative sample across Holland's categories. The organizations include an engineering department, a sales department, a bank, a junior high school, and a senior high school. So that analysis of images would be meaningful, organizations were selected so that they had a large group of similar professionals under the same management authority. The 62 subjects were considered professionals or career employees with at least a college degree.

Distribution of Occupational Types in Organizations

The distribution of occupational types was examined to determine the selectivity demonstrated by each organization. An individual is classed as an occupational type if he scores at least four of ten points in that type's category on the Occupational Preference Survey. All individuals who do not score at least four in one of the six categories are classed as ambivalent. Figure 2 shows the distribution of types by organization as a smooth line. The three commercial organizations show a good deal of selectivity; engineering, sales, and banking. In all three, enterprising types dominate the other types. The sales organization is almost totally composed of enterprising-type individuals. This could be due to the stereotyping of the sales-oriented person or the effectiveness of the organization's selection process. The bank is a mixture of enterprising and conventional. This too fits the stereotype of the banking profession--the conventional orientation is prone to "record keeping," while the enterprising is prone toward "business". The degree to which the engineering organization is dominated by the

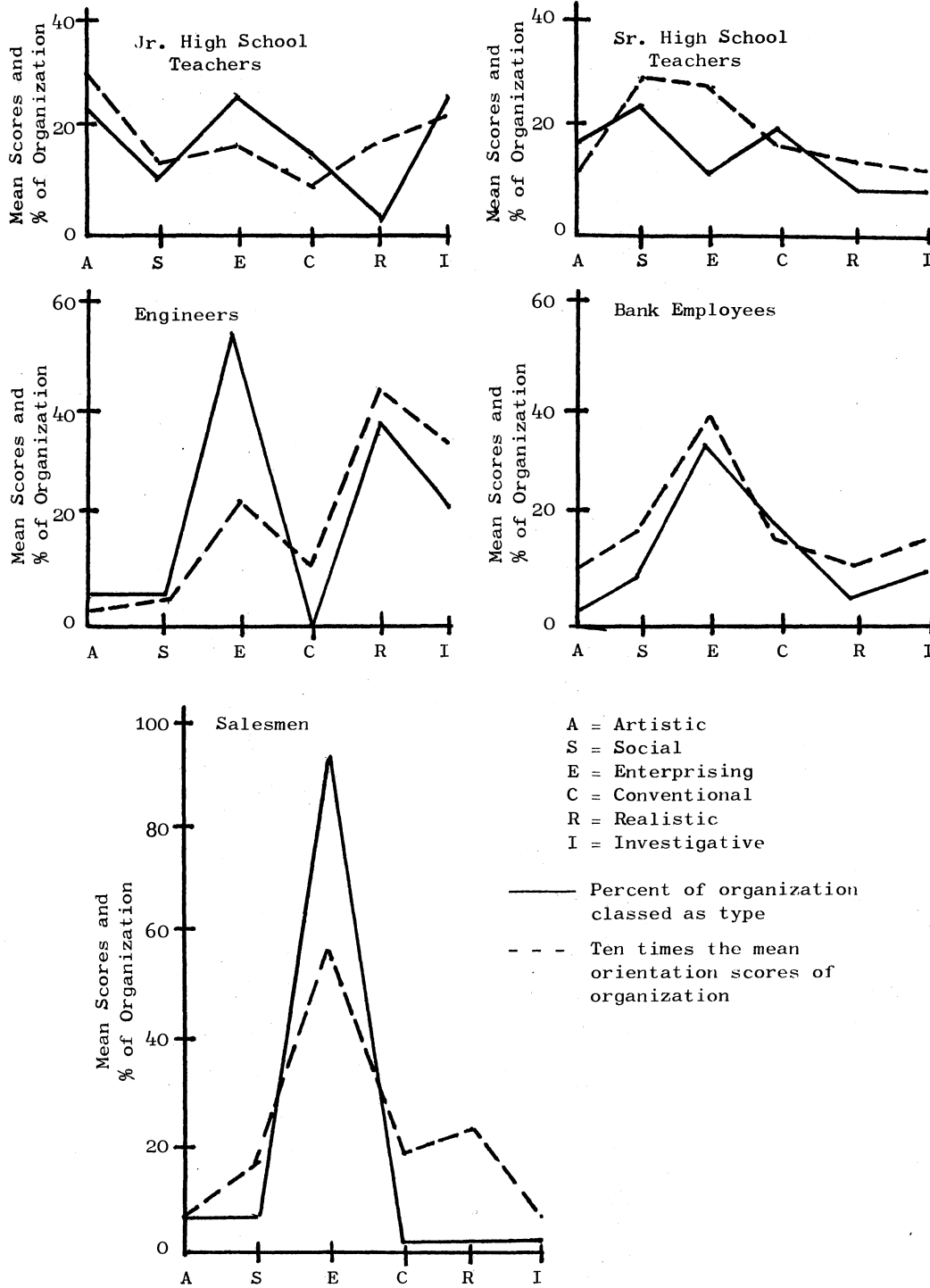


Figure 2. The Distribution of Occupational Types Within Organizations as Measured by the Percent of Each Organization's Members Classed as Orientation Types and the Mean Occupational Orientation Scores of Each Organization

enterprising types does not fit Holland's model. The realistic and investigative types are to be expected in an engineering organization.

The educational organizations both show very flat profiles, which indicate uniform distribution of types within the organizations. Holland's definition of the social type describes teachers, but this research indicates that those in the teaching profession are not a monolithic group. Another measure of each organization's occupational composition is the mean "type" score for each of the six occupational orientations. These results display in another way the degree of occupational selectivity existing within the particular organization (see Table XXIX). This measure is shown in Figure 2 as a dashed line.

TABLE XXIX
OCCUPATIONAL ORIENTATION MEANS
FOR ORGANIZATIONS

Occupational Orientation	Organizations				
	Engineering	Sales	Banking	High School	Jr. High School
Realistic	3.81	1.73	.75	1.06	1.55
Intellectual	3.00	.65	1.25	.93	2.00
Social	.28	.75	1.92	2.68	1.44
Conventional	.71	1.25	1.58	1.50	.88
Enterprising	2.00	4.85	3.5	2.56	1.55
Artistic	.14	.47	1.0	1.25	2.66

The occupational orientation mean indicates that enterprising score

for the engineering organization in Figure 2 may be misleading. The mean score in the enterprising category of Table XXIX reveals that the engineering organization has the second lowest enterprising score. The rest of the scores follow the pattern of Figure 2. The occupational orientation mean appears to be a more descriptive measure of an organization's work environment. This is contrary to Holland's conclusions that the number of individuals having a particular orientation within an organization determines its environment.

Value Differences of Occupational Orientations

For each occupational orientation category, the personal value ratings were averaged on each value. These averages were then rank-ordered for each occupational orientation. These rank-orders can be compared with the results reported by Rokeach (90) (see Table XXX). The national sample is matched on the basis of education (at least a college degree). The pattern is approximately the same for each of the groups. Another method of grouping the data is somewhat more revealing. By comparing each orientation's highest four and lowest four ranked values, the differences between occupational orientations are delineated (see Table XXXI). There are more similarities than differences between the occupational orientations. The values that are unique to each orientation are typical of Holland's definitions of each type. These uniquely held values are: (1) realistic - self-controlled, (2) intellectual - intelligent, broadminded, (3) social - low imaginative, (4) conventional - self-controlled, logical, low imaginative, (5) enterprising - no values were found to be unique, (6) artistic - intelligent, independent, low polite. This analysis indicates that Holland's

TABLE XXX

RANK-ORDER OF PERSONAL VALUE* IMPORTANCE FOR EACH
OCCUPATIONAL ORIENTATION
(Higher Importance is indicated by smaller values)

Values	Realistic	Investigative	Social	Conventional	Enterprising	Artistic	Matched National** Sample
1. Ambitious	4	5.5	4	6.5	2.5	8.5	4
2. Broadminded	8	4	8.5	11.5	14	6	3
3. Capable	1	3	2	5	4	2	9
4. Cheerful	15	13.5	12	14	15	13	15
5. Clean	15	18	11	13	10.5	16	17
6. Courageous	8	13.5	5.5	11.5	6.5	8.5	5
7. Forgiving	17	15.5	15	15	17	15	12
8. Helpful	15	12	8.5	9.5	12	12	6
9. Honest	4	7.5	1	1	1	3	1
10. Imaginative	10	9.5	16.5	18	13	5	14
11. Independent	6	11	8.5	8	9	4	8
12. Intelligent	11	1	8.5	6.5	6.5	1	7
13. Logical	8	5.5	13	4	8	10.5	11
14. Loving	18	15.5	18	18	18	18	13
15. Obedient	13	17	16.5	16	16	17	18
16. Polite	13	7.5	14	9.5	10.5	14	16
17. Responsible	4	2	3	2.5	2.5	7	2
18. Self-controlled	2	9.5	5.5	2.5	5	10.5	10

*Loyalty has been excluded.

**National sample matched on education from Rokeach (90).

TABLE XXXI
 HIGHER AND LOWER RANKED PERSONAL VALUES FOR
 EACH OCCUPATIONAL ORIENTATION

Occupational Orientation	Higher	Lower
Realistic	capable *self-controlled responsible ambitious honest	loving forgiving cheerful clean
Intellectual	*intelligent responsible capable broadminded	clean obedient forgiving loving
Social	honest capable responsible ambitious	loving *imaginative obedient forgiving
Conventional	honest responsible *self-controlled logical	*imaginative loving forgiving obedient
Enterprising	honest responsible ambitious capable	loving forgiving obedient cheerful
Artistic	*intelligent capable honest *independent	cheerful *polite clean obedient

*Indicate that value is not similarly held by more than one type.

typology does not discriminate well between personal value orientations but that the differences found fit his definitions of occupational types.

TABLE XXXII
COMPETENCE AND MORAL INSTRUMENTAL VALUES

Competence	Moral
Ambitious	Cheerful
Broadminded	Forgiving
Capable	Helpful
Clean	Honest
Courageous	Loyal
Imaginative	Obedient
Independent	Polite
Intelligent	Responsible
Logical	
Loving	
Self-controlled	

A two-factor analysis of variance was performed on the personal value ratings. The two factors used were the organization and occupational orientation of the individual. The results of the analysis of variance for each value are in Appendix B, Table XLV. Only two values indicated that either the organization or occupation could account for a significant amount of their variance. The organization accounted for a

significant portion of the variance in "loving" and the occupations accounted for a significant portion of the variance in "clean".

If the values are divided into the two classes of instrumental values suggested by Rokeach (Table XXXII), a significant pattern appears. A composite analysis of variance for the grouped competence values and grouped moral values was performed (Appendix B, Table XLIII). The organization is found to account for a significant portion of the competence value variance ($F = 1.59$; $df = 33,506$; $p < .05$).

By comparing the amount of variance accounted for by both sources of variance for both types of values, some inferences may be drawn (Table XXXIII). The occupational orientation accounts for more of the variance of competence values than does the organization. There is no difference for the source of variance in moral values. Occupational orientation also accounts for the variance of competence values significantly better than it accounts for the variance of moral values.

The competence values may be classed as "inner-directed" values, due to the fact that non-compliance brings feelings of "guilt". The moral values may be similarly classed as "other-directed" values, for non-compliance brings feelings of "shame". Competence values can also be considered more internal than moral values, in that compliance determination is more an internal than an external process. Thus, one's occupational orientation has a stronger relationship with the more internal competence values than with the more external moral values.

TABLE XXXIII

VARIANCE IN PERSONAL VALUE IMPORTANCE ACCOUNTED FOR BY ORGANIZATION
AND OCCUPATION FOR COMPETENCE AND MORAL TYPE VALUES

Source	Value Type		F _{m/o}	p
	Competence	Moral		
Organization	2.44	3.44	1.32	N.S.
Occupation	5.20	2.55	2.03	p < .05
F (Occ. versus Org.)	2.13	1.27		
	p < .05	N.S.		

Note: Derived from Appendix B, Table XLIII.

The Organizational Value Image

In the organizational value inventory, the subjects were asked to rate the values according to the value's importance to the organization. If there is a consistent organizational value image, one would conclude that there exists an "organizational character". A two-way analysis of variance was done on each of the nineteen values in the survey. The organization and the occupation were used to account for the variance in the organizational image stated by each individual. Three values were found to be significantly accounted for (Appendix B, Table L).

The organization was able to account for a significant portion of the variance in "ambitions" and "loving". The occupation accounted for "independent". Three out of nineteen values being found significant at the p < .05 level is not considered conclusive.

The organizational image values are pooled into competence and

moral values. A two-way analysis of variance reveals a pattern (Appendix B, Table XLIV). Table XXXIV indicates the variance that is accounted for by the organization and occupation for competence and moral values.

TABLE XXXIV

VARIANCE IN IMPORTANCE OF VALUES IN ORGANIZATIONAL IMAGE
ACCOUNTED FOR BY ORGANIZATION AND OCCUPATION FOR
COMPETENCE AND MORAL TYPE VALUES

Source	Value Type			
	Competence	Moral	F _{c/m}	p
Organization	6.14	2.56	2.39	p < .05
Occupation	4.18	2.52	1.66	
F (Org./Occ.)	1.46 N.S.	1.02 N.S.		

These results indicate that the organization accounts for significantly more variance of the competence values than it does of the moral values. Thus, the organization does have an affect on the image that the subjects perceived if one considers competence values alone. The relationship is not strong enough to draw a conclusion as to the exact nature of that image.

The Stability of the Organizational Image

By repeating the Organizational Value Inventory at a two-week interval, a measure of the stability of the organizational image may be

generated. A Pearson Correlation Coefficient was calculated between the first and second image surveys (Appendix C). All but one of the values shows a significant correlation ($p \leq .01$) between the two stages.

"Responsible" is the only value not significantly correlated. These findings indicate that a stable organizational value image exists for most individuals.

The effect of the information feedback is examined by calculating a standard deviation for each value scale for the initial organizational image survey, and comparing it with a standard deviation for the second stage survey (Appendix C). Six of the nineteen values show a significantly reduced variance: ambitious, broadminded, independent, logical, loving, and responsible. Table XXXV indicates pooled estimates of the variance for all values including competence values and moral values.

TABLE XXXV

VARIANCE OF VALUE IMPORTANCE IN THE ORGANIZATIONAL IMAGE ON
THE INITIAL AND REPEATED SURVEYS

Value Type	Survey		$F_{1/2}$	
	First	Second		
Competence	4.053 df = 517	2.885 df = 517	1.404	p < .05
Moral	2.852 df = 376	2.749 df = 376	1.037	N.S.
All Values	3.556 df = 893	2.827 df = 893	1.257	p < .05
$F_{c/m}$	1.421	p < .05	1.049	N.S.

This analysis reveals that the "competence" values had a significantly greater variance than did moral values on the first survey. The second survey reduces the variance of the competence values significantly, but does not affect the moral value variance. There is no significant difference between moral and competence values after the second stage. The information contained in the second stage tended to have a significantly greater effect on the competence values. Competence values are similar to the internal cues as discussed by Bem. When the stimulus situation is ambiguous (no external cues), one tends to use internal cues as references. The information within the second stage survey acts as a distinct external cue. This reduces the variance of the competence values to the level held consistently by the moral value. Moral values apparently are more distinct and become part of an organizational image.

Perceived Distance From the Organizational Image

The difference between an individual's personal value rating and the value rating of his organizational image yields a measure of the individual's perceived "identification" with the organization. A two-factor analysis of variance (Table XXXVI) of the perceived difference between the "self" and "organization" images indicates that "occupation" accounts for a significant portion of the variance.

The mean distance for each of the occupation categories is calculated (Table XXXVII).

TABLE XXXVI

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF PERCEIVED DISTANCE FROM THE
ORGANIZATIONAL IMAGE

Source	SS	df	MS	F	
Organization	.770	2	.385	< 1	p < .01
Occupation	6.864	3	2.288	4.43	
Interaction	1.842	6	.307	< 1	
Error	24.731	48	.586		
Total	34.207	60			

TABLE XXXVII

MEAN DISTANCE FROM ORGANIZATIONAL IMAGE
FOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

	Mean Distance
Artistic-Social	.042
Enterprising	-.295
Conventional-Realistic	-.332
Investigative-Ambivalent	.963

pooled S = .514

The investigative-ambivalent occupational orientation is found to be significantly higher than the rest ($t = 3.75$, $p < .001$). The positive values of distance indicates that the individual tends to rate himself higher than the organization on these values. Thus, the investigative-ambivalent types see themselves as having a superior value structure to

the organization's value structure. All of the values on the survey are "good" values; therefore, a group rating its personal values as higher than the values of the organizational image does not view the organization as a source value. The other groups tend to rate themselves lower on the value scales than the organization. This indicates that they view it as being "better" or a source of "good". The research by Kipinis (105) indicated that college students' self-images tended to change in the direction of their image of "esteemed others". Thus, one could expect that those who hold the organization in high esteem would attempt to bring their self-concept into consonance with their organizational image by altering their self-concepts. From Rokeach one would conclude that this would have an effect on values, attitudes, and behaviors.

To give an indication of the kind of differences that exist between personal values and the organizational image, the differences are ranked for each occupational orientation (Table XXXVIII). In each of the occupational orientations, the relationship between the self-image and organizational image is stereotypical. In all but the realistic group, the organization is perceived as valuing "obedience" more than the individual values it.

There is a significant relationship between competency type values being rated positively and moral type values rated negatively ($\chi^2 = 6.929$; 1 d.f.; $p < .01$). This indicates that the organization tends to be seen more as a source of "moral" values as compared to "competence" values. The competence values are thus more often seen as arising from the self-concept.

TABLE XXXVIII

HIGH RANKED DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PERSONAL VALUES
AND ORGANIZATIONAL IMAGE

Realistic	Investigative	Social	Conventional	Enterprising	Artistic
-Helpful	-Obedient	-Obedient	-Imaginative	-Obedient	-Obedient
+Individuality	+Imaginative	+Loving	-Obedient	-Helpful	+Imaginative
-Loving	+Intelligent	-Forgiving	+Honesty	-Forgiving	-Responsible
-Responsible	+Broadminded	+Honesty	+Logical	-Polite	+Intelligent
	+Ambitious	+Cheerful		-Imaginative	+Independent

Note: + indicates that value is rated higher for self than for organization.

Value Based Perceptual Bias of
Organizational Image

The perceptual bias mechanism discussed in Chapter II is shown to also function in the perception of the organization's value image. Bias occurs on those dimensions of the perceptual space which are highly valued by the individual. The positive or high end of the dimension is directed toward the self-concept. This assumes that there exists a positive self-esteem. Thus, the degree of differentiation from or similarity to the self-concept is amplified.

The mean of the distance between the perception of self and organization for individual's having high importance for the value will show a greater variance than mean distances for lower importance values. A pooled estimate of the distance between self and organization (the difference between personal value and organizational image) is generated for individuals who indicate a high, medium, or low level of personal importance. A highly important personal value is one rating an 8 or 9 on the personal value inventory; medium is a rating of 5, 6, or 7; low importance is a rating of 1, 2, 3, or 4. The variance between organizational distance means is calculated for each of the three levels of personal value importance (Table XXXIX). Some variances were deleted because there was insufficient data. Bartlett's test for the homogeneity of variances indicates that the low importance and medium importance groups are homogeneous ($\chi^2_{low} = 18.48$, 9 d.f., $p < .05$; $\chi^2_{med} = 20.69$, 18 d.f., $p < .05$; $\chi^2_{high} = 27.98$, d.f. = 13, N.S.). If the high rated values are split into competence and moral values, then the competence values become homogeneous ($\chi^2_{comp} = 17.23$, 9 d.f., $p < .05$). The moral

TABLE XXXIX

VARIANCE OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL MEAN DISTANCES BETWEEN
 SELF-CONCEPT AND ORGANIZATIONAL IMAGE
 FOR VARYING LEVELS OF PERSONAL IMPORTANCE

Value	Personal Value Importance		
	Low	Medium	High
Ambitious	-	2.040	1.835
Broadminded	0.434	0.488	2.478
Capable	-	2.460	0.561
Cheerful	0.677	0.750	-
Clean	1.733	0.687	-
Courageous	-	0.793	0.892
Forgiving	4.355	0.840	-
Helpful	1.826	0.169	0.741
Honest	-	0.916	1.969
Imaginative	4.090	0.308	5.439
Independent	-	0.633	2.640
Intelligence	-	1.469	2.483
Logical	-	0.683	3.575
Loving	0.622	0.423	-
Loyal	2.708	0.414	8.467
Obedient	0.357	0.212	-
Polite	0.294	0.206	0.229
Responsible	-	1.184	0.120
Self-controlled	-	0.835	0.194

values do not prove to be homogeneous. Composite estimates of the variance of the homogeneous groups are made (Table XL).

TABLE XL
VARIANCE OF ORGANIZATIONAL DISTANCE FOR GROUPS HAVING
HIGH, MEDIUM, OR LOW IMPORTANCE
FOR A VALUE

Personal Value Importance	Variances Between Organizational Images		
	S ²	df	
High (Competence Values only)	2.263	36	F _{high/med} = 2.75, p < .001
Medium	.822	75	F _{high/low} = 1.15 N.S.
Low	1.963	31	F _{low/med} = 2.38, p < .01

The variance of organizational distance is significantly higher for high and low importance than medium importance. Thus, if a value is of high importance, the difference between the self-concept and the organizational image is more sensitive to environmental differences; i.e., different organizations. Values of low importance also tend to increase the sensitivity of the distance measurement. This could be due to the individual's response to the term "importance" as the questionnaire was completed. Those values given very low importance could have a high degree of "relevance" to the self-concept. This would tend to produce a reverse bias in that the lower end of the dimension is directed toward the self-concept.

It is noted above that those moral values rated as highly

important did not produce a homogeneous variance in the organizational distance measure. The one value that produces this is the value "loyalty" (Table XXXIX). This variance is significantly greater than the pooled variance of those highly ranked values which are shown to be homogeneous ($F = 3.74$; d.f. = 3, 36; $p < .025$). The addition of the value "loyalty" was the only change made in Rokeach's original list of values. The term may be more affectively charged than the other terms, and may be closer to an attitude than a value. As an attitude, it would tend to be more situation-specific and thereby produce a greater variance across situations.

Effects of Tenure on Personal Values and Value Image

Three measures of organizationally-relevant tenure are generated: (1) years spent in occupation, (2) years spent in organization, and (3) the proportion of career spent in organization. These tenure measures are correlated with: (1) the individual's personal value distance from the organization, (2) the individual's distance from the mean occupational orientation of his organization, and (3) a measure of occupational orientation boundary definition. The value distance measure is the difference between the personal and organizational rating squared, and then summed across the 19 values. The occupational distance measure is the difference between the individual's and the organization's mean score in each of the occupational orientations squared and summed across the six occupational orientations. This measure indicates how distant the individual is from the organization's occupational stereotype. The boundary definition measure is the sum of the squared

occupational orientation scores; the higher the value, the "purer" the occupational orientation.

TABLE XLI
PEARSON CORRELATIONS BETWEEN TENURE
MEASURES AND DISTANCE MEASURES

	Time in Occupation	Time in Organization	Percent of Career in Organization
Distance from Organization Image	-.237*	-.322***	-.148
Distance from Occupation Stereotype	.164	-.002	-.315**
Definition of Occupational Boundary	.016	-.089	-.205

* = $p < .1$

** = $p < .02$

*** = $p < .01$

Table XLI indicates that over time the distance between one's personal values and those perceived as the organizational image decreases; i.e., the correlation between years spent in an organization and the perceived value difference is $r = -0.322$. The definition of occupational boundary can be assumed to be independent of the tenure in an occupation, $r = .016$. Once an individual chooses a career, there is little change expected in the explicitness of his conceptions of those occupations thought to be satisfying.

The greater the extra-organizational career experience, the less the individual is like the occupational stereotype of the organization, as is demonstrated by the correlation ($r = -.315$) between the distance from occupational stereotype and the percentage of career spent in the organization. This finding is most likely due to the selective nature of the organization in holding those individuals who "fit" well in it, for there is no indication that the tenure within the organization affects the distance from the occupational stereotype, $r = -.002$.

Conclusion

Organizations are shown to be less selective of "occupational types" than Holland's theory indicates would be the case. Personal values are only slightly related to "occupational types", but the relationships that do exist indicate some stereotypical qualities. The data for the conclusions concerning the value homogeneity of occupational types has come from individuals who are just entering their professional lives. It is demonstrated that these individuals have self-concepts that are strongly biased by "What I want to be" or "What I ought to be." A self-concept in this state tends to bias personal values and attitudes in a stereotypical direction. As one matures, the emphasis of the self-concept changes more to "What I am." This change in emphasis produces a more personalistic perception of one's own values and attitudes, and reflexively one's own self-concept.

Occupational orientations are shown to be differentiated by competence type instrumental values. Moral values demonstrate no such quality.

Little evidence is found to support the assumption that an

organization presents a consistent value image across individuals. This raises some question as to the validity of the general approach taken for the study of organizational identity through value consensus.

Very stable organizational value images are found at an individual level. The organizational image is closely related to the individual's personal values. This relationship is shown to be consistent with Bem's self-concept theory. The distinct internal cues of competence type values are attributed to the indistinct stimulus of the organizational image. Moral values are more distinct and are, thus, rated as being consistently more in demand by the organization. If distinct information is given to the individual about the organization's competence value structure, the personal attribution is decreased.

Much of what is called "organizational identification" can be explained by Rokeach's value theory. The individual perceives himself as "identifying" with the organization as is demonstrated by the similarity between personal values and the organizational value image. This perceived identification (self-concept) tends to reinforce attitudes and behaviors that are consistent with the individual's self-concept. Thus, the personal values need not be consonant with organizationally relevant behaviors and attitudes.

This last conclusion leads one to question whether information pertaining to the organization's "true value nature" is functional to either the individual or the organization. The projection of personal perceptual biases onto the indistinct organizational image adds a dimension of meaning and increased affect for the individual, while providing a degree of behavioral and attitudinal consistency through "organizational identification" for the organization.

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APPENDIX A

SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRES

OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCE SURVEY

- a. How many years have you been employed in your present profession? _____
- b. How many years have you been employed in your present organization? _____
- c. The following is a list of 60 occupational titles in alphabetical order. Please read through the list completely first. Select the ten (10) occupations that you would consider the most personally satisfying and place a check beside each of them.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Administrative Assistant | <input type="checkbox"/> Machinist |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Aeronautic Design Engineer | <input type="checkbox"/> Manufacturer's Representative |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Anthropologist | <input type="checkbox"/> Marriage Counselor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Art Critic | <input type="checkbox"/> Master of Ceremonies |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Art Dealer | <input type="checkbox"/> Music Critic |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Astronomer | <input type="checkbox"/> Musical Arranger |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Aviator | <input type="checkbox"/> Office Manager |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bank Examiner | <input type="checkbox"/> Personal Counselor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Biologist | <input type="checkbox"/> Play Writer |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Botanist | <input type="checkbox"/> Political Campaign Manager |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Business Executive | <input type="checkbox"/> Power Station Operator |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Business Promoter | <input type="checkbox"/> President of Manufacturing Co. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Composer | <input type="checkbox"/> Psychiatric Case Worker |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Concert Singer | <input type="checkbox"/> Public Relations Man |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Conciliator (employee-employer relations) | <input type="checkbox"/> Radio Operator |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Construction Inspector | <input type="checkbox"/> Ranch Hand (cowboy) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cost Estimator | <input type="checkbox"/> Real-Estate Appraiser |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Director of Welfare Agency | <input type="checkbox"/> Rehabilitation Worker |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dramatic Coach | <input type="checkbox"/> School Principal |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Editor of a Scientific Journal | <input type="checkbox"/> Social Science Teacher |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Electrician | <input type="checkbox"/> Statistician |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Experimental Laboratory Engineer | <input type="checkbox"/> Surveyor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Financial Analyst | <input type="checkbox"/> Symphony Conductor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Forrest Ranger | <input type="checkbox"/> Tax Expert |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Free-lance Writer | <input type="checkbox"/> Tool Designer |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Geologist | <input type="checkbox"/> Traffic Manager |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hotel Manager | <input type="checkbox"/> T. V. Producer |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Industrial Relations Consultant | <input type="checkbox"/> Vocational Counselor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Inventory Controller | <input type="checkbox"/> Writer of Technical Articles |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Juvenile Delinquency Expert | <input type="checkbox"/> Zoologist |

PERSONAL VALUE INVENTORY

Below are 19 human values listed in alphabetical order. Your task as part of the survey will be to rate these values as to their relative importance to you.

1. Read through the list completely to begin with.
2. Study the list and choose the one "human value" that seems the most important for you personally in your day to day activities. Place an X on the 9 end of its scale (see example). Next, determine the value of least importance and place an X on the 1 end of its scale.
3. Rate each of the remaining values on their relative importance using the accompanying 1-9 scale.

(EXAMPLE)

COMPATIBLE (blending with others)

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9^X
 Least important Most important

AMBITIOUS (hard-working, aspiring)

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

BROADMINDED (open-minded)

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

CAPABLE (competent, effective)

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

CHEERFUL (lighthearted, joyful)

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

CLEAN (neat, tidy)

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

COURAGEOUS (standing up for your beliefs)

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

FORGIVING (willing to pardon others)

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

HELPFUL (working for the welfare of others)

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

HONEST (sincere, truthful)

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

IMAGINATIVE (daring, creative)

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

INDEPENDENT (self-reliant, self-sufficient)

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

INTELLECTUAL (intelligent, reflective)

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

LOGICAL (consistent, rational)

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

LOVING (affectionate, tender)

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

LOYAL (willing to sacrifice for a relationship)

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

OBEDIENT (dutiful, respectful)

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

POLITE (courteous, well-mannered)

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

RESPONSIBLE (dependable, reliable)

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

SELF-CONTROLLED (restrained, self-disciplined)

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9

ORGANIZATIONAL VALUE INVENTORY	
<p>This section of the survey will be used to define your particular organization's value profile. Below are the same 19 values used in the Personal Value Inventory.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Study the list carefully and choose the one value that appears to you to be the <u>most important</u> as a guiding principle for your organization, and place an X on the <u>9</u> end of its scale (see example). Next, determine the value of <u>least importance</u> and put an X on the <u>1</u> end of its scale. 2. Rate each of the remaining values on its apparent <u>importance as a guiding principle in your organization</u> by placing an X at each value's rated importance. 3. Please feel free to make comments as to the reasons that you might consider a certain value's rating as obvious or crucial in your organization's activities. <p>(EXAMPLE)</p>	
<p>COMPATIBLE (blending with others)</p> <p>1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9</p> <p>Least important Most important</p>	<p>Emphasis placed on hiring individuals similar to those already in organization.</p>
<p>As part of the Delphi decision process mentioned earlier, your responses on the Organizational Value Inventory will be returned to you in the next week or so, accompanied by the ratings and comments of others in your organization. After reviewing the compiled results you will be asked to rate again the same values. It is very important that between the initial and final ratings you do not discuss your answers with others in your organization. Each individual's responses must remain anonymous until the completion of the Delphi process.</p>	
<p>AMBITIOUS (hard-working-aspiring)</p> <p>1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9</p>	
<p>BROADMINDED (open-minded)</p> <p>1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9</p>	
<p>CAPABLE (competent, effective)</p> <p>1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9</p>	
<p>CHEERFUL (lighthearted, joyful)</p> <p>1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9</p>	
<p>CLEAN (neat, tidy)</p> <p>1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9</p>	
<p>COURAGEOUS (standing up for your beliefs)</p> <p>1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9</p>	
<p>FORGIVING (willing to pardon others)</p> <p>1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9</p>	
<p>HELPFUL (working for the welfare of others)</p> <p>1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9</p>	
<p>HONEST (sincere, truthful)</p> <p>1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9</p>	
<p>IMAGINATIVE (daring, creative)</p> <p>1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9</p>	
<p>INDEPENDENT (self-reliant, self-sufficient)</p> <p>1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9</p>	
<p>INTELLECTUAL (intelligent, reflective)</p> <p>1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9</p>	
<p>LOGICAL (consistent, rational)</p> <p>1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9</p>	
<p>LOVING (affectionate, tender)</p> <p>1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9</p>	
<p>LOYAL (willing to sacrifice for a relationship)</p> <p>1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9</p>	
<p>OBEDIENT (dutiful, respectful)</p> <p>1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9</p>	
<p>POLITE (courteous, well-mannered)</p> <p>1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9</p>	
<p>RESPONSIBLE (dependable, reliable)</p> <p>1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9</p>	
<p>SELF-CONTROLLED (restrained, self-disciplined)</p> <p>1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7-----8-----9</p>	

APPENDIX B

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF PERSONAL VALUES AND
ORGANIZATIONAL VALUE IMAGE

TABLE XLII
 COMPOSITE ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE
 OF PERSONAL VALUES

Source	df	MS	F	
All Values				
Organization	57	2.77	<1	
Occupation	57	4.08	1.208	N.S.
Interaction	171	3.99	1.118	
Error	874	3.38		
11 Competence Values				
Organization	33	2.44	<1	
Occupation	33	5.20	1.51	p < .05
Interaction	99	3.95	1.14	N.S.
Error	506	3.44		
8 Moral Values				
Organization	24	3.24	<1	
Occupation	24	2.55	<1	
Interaction	72	4.05	1.23	N.S.
Error	368	3.29		

TABLE XLIII
 COMPOSITE ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE
 OF ORGANIZATIONAL IMAGE

Source	df	MS	F	
	All Values			
Organization	57	4.63	1.306	N.S.
Occupation	57	3.78	<1	
Interaction	171	3.67	1.03	N.S.
Error	874	3.54		
	11 Competence Values			
Organization	33	6.14	1.59	p < .05
Occupation	33	4.18	1.08	N.S.
Interaction	99	4.11	1.07	N.S.
Error	506	3.86		
	8 Moral Values			
Organization	24	2.56	<1	N.S.
Occupation	24	2.52	<1	N.S.
Interaction	72	3.07	1	N.S.
Error	368	3.07		

TABLE XLIV
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF PERSONAL VALUES
BY VALUE

SOURCE	SUM OF SQUARES	D.F.	MEAN SQUARE	F
AMBITIOUS				
MEAN	1826.18692	1	1826.18677	644.54956
ORG	3.90813	3	1.30271	0.45979
OCC	2.33404	3	0.77801	0.27460
INTER	24.02444	9	2.66938	0.94215
ERROR	130.33070	46	2.83328	
BROADMINDED				
MEAN	1543.86066	1	1543.86060	481.62402
ORG	9.61242	3	3.20414	0.99957
OCC	10.93077	3	3.64359	1.13666
INTER	26.04385	9	2.89376	0.90274
ERROR	147.45439	46	3.20553	
CAPABLE				
MEAN	2025.71480	1	2025.71460	952.26929
ORG	3.52317	3	1.17439	0.55207
OCC	7.02108	3	2.34036	1.10018
INTER	12.66195	9	1.40588	0.66136
ERROR	97.85351	46	2.12725	
CHEERFUL				
MEAN	1090.66045	1	1090.66040	329.48828
ORG	6.91683	3	2.30561	0.69652
OCC	13.61538	3	4.53846	1.37107
INTER	32.83657	9	3.64851	1.10221
ERROR	152.26754	46	3.31016	
CLEAN				
MEAN	1069.24920	1	1069.24902	197.54031
ORG	2.00121	3	0.66707	0.12324
OCC	32.92245	3	10.97415	2.02744
INTER	18.68341	9	2.07593	0.38352
ERROR	248.98947	46	5.41281	
COURAGEOUS				
MEAN	1523.31199	1	1523.31177	407.16479
ORG	6.96057	3	2.32019	0.62016
OCC	10.66309	3	3.55436	0.95004
INTER	25.53892	9	2.83766	0.75848
ERROR	172.09825	46	3.74127	
FORGIVING				
MEAN	1141.47568	1	1141.47559	233.48489
ORG	10.26328	3	3.42109	0.69977
OCC	4.24547	3	1.41515	0.28946
INTER	56.50609	9	6.27845	1.28424
ERROR	224.88772	46	4.88886	
HELPFUL				
MEAN	1541.98931	1	1541.98926	411.20337
ORG	1.37557	3	0.45852	0.12227
OCC	4.11866	3	1.37289	0.36611
INTER	42.15526	9	4.68392	1.24906
ERROR	172.49737	46	3.74994	
HONEST				
MEAN	2243.71447	1	2243.71436	1219.97388
ORG	0.36353	3	0.12118	0.06589
OCC	3.05920	3	1.01973	0.55446
INTER	32.93308	9	3.65923	1.98963
ERROR	84.60088	46	1.83915	
IMAGINATIVE				
MEAN	896.63710	1	896.63694	198.11679
ORG	10.65453	3	3.55278	0.78501
OCC	67.29994	3	22.43330	4.95676
INTER	107.34746	9	11.92749	2.63544
ERROR	208.18684	46	4.52580	

TABLE XLIV (Continued)

INDEPENDENT				
MEAN	1342.20805	1	1342.20801	483.24365
ORG	12.46791	3	4.15597	1.49630
OCC	7.76568	3	2.58856	0.93198
INTER	45.51296	9	5.05699	1.82070
ERROR	127.76491	46	2.77750	
INTELLECTUAL				
MEAN	1634.99310	1	1634.99292	913.83813
ORG	12.19075	3	4.06358	2.27124
OCC	3.26995	3	1.08998	0.60922
INTER	32.16305	9	3.57367	1.99741
ERROR	82.30088	46	1.78915	
LOGICAL				
MEAN	1601.17332	1	1601.17310	350.01392
ORG	2.50631	3	0.83544	0.18263
OCC	2.06803	3	0.68934	0.15069
INTER	39.62314	9	4.40257	0.96240
ERROR	210.43158	46	4.57460	
LOVING				
MEAN	659.22125	1	659.22119	129.50700
ORG	7.62214	3	2.54071	0.49913
OCC	24.61733	3	8.20577	1.61206
INTER	39.33169	9	4.37019	0.85854
ERROR	234.15088	46	5.09024	
LOYAL				
MEAN	1320.68655	1	1320.68652	457.52417
ORG	30.41976	3	10.13992	3.51276
OCC	19.58714	3	6.52904	2.26185
INTER	31.93518	9	3.54835	1.22925
ERROR	132.78333	46	2.88659	
OBEDIENT				
MEAN	978.28315	1	978.28296	168.94960
ORG	15.68500	3	5.22833	0.90293
OCC	7.04119	3	2.34706	0.40534
INTER	52.25331	9	5.80592	1.00268
ERROR	266.35789	46	5.79038	
POLITE				
MEAN	1493.49904	1	1493.49902	580.60596
ORG	7.64107	3	2.54702	0.99017
OCC	7.67681	3	2.55894	0.99480
INTER	25.39332	9	2.82148	1.09686
ERROR	118.32632	46	2.57231	
RESPONSIBLE				
MEAN	2148.53557	1	2148.53540	1656.60815
ORG	5.07994	3	1.69331	1.30561
OCC	1.82489	3	0.60830	0.46902
INTER	17.32629	9	1.92514	1.48436
ERROR	59.65965	46	1.29695	
SELF-CONTROLLED				
MEAN	1817.99518	1	1817.99512	998.72900
ORG	8.92726	3	2.97575	1.63475
OCC	2.81633	3	0.93879	0.51572
INTER	19.64843	9	2.18316	1.19933
ERROR	83.73421	46	1.82031	

TABLE XLV

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF ORGANIZATIONAL IMAGE
BY VALUE

AMBITIOUS SOURCE	SUM OF SQUARES	D.F.	MEAN SQUARE	F
MEAN	1689.10077	1	1689.10059	394.93164
ORG	44.54962	3	14.84987	3.47207
OCC	5.26690	3	1.75563	0.41049
INTER	29.25670	9	3.25074	0.76006
ERROR	196.73947	46	4.27694	
BROADMINDED SOURCE	SUM OF SQUARES	D.F.	MEAN SQUARE	F
MEAN	1320.56463	1	1320.56445	341.27271
ORG	12.84109	3	4.28036	1.10617
OCC	16.61845	3	5.53948	1.43156
INTER	65.34186	9	7.26021	1.87625
ERROR	177.99825	46	3.86953	
CAPABLE SOURCE	SUM OF SQUARES	D.F.	MEAN SQUARE	F
MEAN	1824.32355	1	1824.32349	597.13086
ORG	12.53271	3	4.17757	1.36739
OCC	2.35712	3	0.78571	0.25717
INTER	20.23583	9	2.24942	0.73595
ERROR	140.53684	46	3.05515	
CHEERFUL SOURCE	SUM OF SQUARES	D.F.	MEAN SQUARE	F
MEAN	1029.75327	1	1029.75317	299.19189
ORG	11.00448	3	3.66816	1.06577
OCC	10.87763	3	3.62588	1.05342
INTER	20.30999	9	2.25666	0.65567
ERROR	158.32193	46	3.44178	
CLEAN SOURCE	SUM OF SQUARES	D.F.	MEAN SQUARE	F
MEAN	1228.80152	1	1228.80151	268.35107
ORG	6.15072	3	2.05024	0.44774
OCC	13.77457	3	4.59152	1.00272
INTER	61.03052	9	6.78117	1.48090
ERROR	210.63772	46	4.57908	
COURAGEOUS SOURCE	SUM OF SQUARES	D.F.	MEAN SQUARE	F
MEAN	1125.66158	1	1125.66138	290.46889
ORG	24.37701	3	8.12567	2.09677
OCC	13.78400	3	4.59467	1.18562
INTER	32.92029	9	3.65781	0.94387
ERROR	178.26491	46	3.87532	
FORGIVING SOURCE	SUM OF SQUARES	D.F.	MEAN SQUARE	F
MEAN	1130.34911	1	1130.34889	263.46997
ORG	0.74495	3	0.24832	0.05788
OCC	8.74855	3	2.91618	0.67973
INTER	35.95856	9	3.99539	0.93128
ERROR	197.35088	46	4.29024	

TABLE XLV (Continued)

HELPFUL SOURCE	SUM OF SQUARES	D.F.	MEAN SQUARE	F
MEAN	1725.39243	1	1725.39233	570.37402
ORG	15.07428	3	5.02476	1.66107
OCC	7.14700	3	2.38233	0.78754
INTER	19.85886	9	2.20654	0.72943
ERROR	139.15088	46	3.02502	
HONEST				
MEAN	1846.83333	1	1846.83325	738.04077
ORG	7.30267	3	2.43422	0.97278
OCC	11.57475	3	3.85825	1.54185
INTER	32.11133	9	3.56792	1.42583
ERROR	115.10789	46	2.50235	
IMAGINATIVE				
MEAN	1103.61799	1	1103.61792	187.10478
ORG	23.52254	3	7.84084	1.32932
OCC	9.25961	3	3.08654	0.52328
INTER	46.56826	9	5.17425	0.87723
ERROR	271.32632	46	5.89839	
INDEPENDENT				
MEAN	1361.30274	1	1361.30273	333.14380
ORG	6.63932	3	2.21311	0.54160
OCC	34.18709	3	11.39569	2.78880
INTER	29.10174	9	3.23353	0.79132
ERROR	187.96667	46	4.08623	
INTELLECTUAL				
MEAN	1598.16753	1	1598.16748	590.37109
ORG	18.78949	3	6.26316	2.31364
OCC	13.25295	3	4.41765	1.63190
INTER	21.78512	9	2.42057	0.89417
ERROR	124.52456	46	2.70706	
LOGICAL				
MEAN	1479.91503	1	1479.91602	453.92847
ORG	11.64595	3	3.88198	1.19070
OCC	12.25593	3	4.08531	1.25307
INTER	29.00186	9	3.22243	0.98840
ERROR	149.97105	46	3.26024	
LOVING				
MEAN	452.02025	1	452.02002	100.54691
ORG	39.55374	3	13.18458	2.93277
OCC	15.75235	3	5.25078	1.16798
INTER	39.89929	9	4.43325	0.98613
ERROR	206.79925	46	4.49561	
LOYAL				
MEAN	1389.49721	1	1389.49707	375.81665
ORG	2.05194	3	0.68398	0.18500
OCC	3.80953	3	1.26984	0.34345
INTER	32.08375	9	3.56486	0.96419
ERROR	170.07456	46	3.69727	
OBEDIENT				
MEAN	1592.32508	1	1592.32495	438.02466
ORG	9.18454	3	3.06151	0.84218
OCC	9.07318	3	3.02439	0.83197
INTER	43.21008	9	4.80112	1.32071
ERROR	167.22105	46	3.63524	
POLITE				
MEAN	1700.09440	1	1700.09424	708.70483
ORG	4.95697	3	1.65232	0.69879
OCC	7.89284	3	2.63094	1.09674
INTER	19.43833	9	2.15981	0.90034
ERROR	110.34825	46	2.39887	

TABLE XLV (Continued)

RESPONSIBLE				
MEAN	2203.68779	1	2203.68774	1372.62622
ORG	11.23486	3	3.74495	2.33264
OCC	1.27255	3	0.42418	0.26421
INTER	18.09087	9	2.01010	1.25204
ERROR	73.85088	46	1.60545	
SELF-CONTROLLED				
MEAN	1822.74750	1	1822.74756	674.85815
ORG	2.32626	3	0.77542	0.28709
OCC	1.29078	3	0.43026	0.15930
INTER	31.63757	9	3.51529	1.30151
ERROR	124.24298	46	2.70093	

APPENDIX C

A STATISTICAL COMPARISON OF FIRST AND SECOND STAGE
ORGANIZATIONAL IMAGE SURVEYS

TABLE XLVI

STATISTICAL COMPARISON OF ORGANIZATIONAL IMAGE ON
FIRST AND SECOND STAGES
(S_d is measure of stability)

Value	Means and Mean Diff. of #1 and #2					
	First Stage Mean	Second Stage Mean	Diff.	S_d	t	P
Ambitious	7.229	7.333	- .104	.279	- .374	>.1
Broadminded	5.771	5.792	- .021	.228	- .092	>.1
Capable	7.146	7.437	- .292	.2186	-1.335	>.1
Cheerful	5.417	5.396	0.1021	.241	.0872	>.1
Clean	6.021	5.792	0.229	.321	.713	>.1
Courageous	5.812	5.958	-0.146	.160	- .910	>.1
Forgiving	5.146	5.375	-0.229	.331	.690	>.1
Helpful	6.792	6.500	0.292	.136	1.565	>.1
Honest	7.333	7.646	-0.312	.186	-1.673	>.1
Imaginative	5.812	6.167	-0.354	.331	-1.069	>.1
Independent	6.312	6.083	0.229	.268	.852	>.1
Intelligent	6.728	6.479	0.229	.217	1.053	>.1
Logical	6.375	6.958	-0.583	.2505	-2.321	<.05
Loving	3.104	1.750	1.354	.318	4.247	<.001
Loyal	6.417	5.854	0.562	.273	2.057	<.05
Obedient	6.271	5.792	0.479	.323	1.475	>.1
Polite	6.667	6.083	0.583	.214	2.715	<.01
Responsible	7.812	8.083	-0.271	.190	-1.420	<.01
Self-controlled	6.750	6.914	-0.167	.256	.6498	>.1

TABLE XLVI (Continued)

Value	Sta. Dev. of Values			P	Pearson Corr. #1 - #2		
	Stage #1	Stage #2	F _{47/47}		r ₁₋₂	Z	
Ambitious	2.204	1.492	1.84	<.05	.425	2.91	<.01
Broadminded	2.204	1.713	1.53	<.1	.655	4.49	<.01
Capable	1.571	1.413	1.24	N.S.	.488	3.345	<.001
Cheerful	1.866	1.642	1.29	N.S.	.554	3.79	<.001
Clean	2.283	2.269	1.01	N.S.	.523	3.58	<.01
Courageous	1.931	1.989	-1.06	N.S.	.840	5.75	<.0001
Forgiving	1.957	1.806	1.17	N.S.	.255	1.748	<.1
Helpful	1.663	1.516	-1.20	N.S.	.675	4.627	<.001
Honest	1.705	1.631	-1.09	N.S.	.701	4.80	<.001
Imaginative	2.322	2.004	1.34	N.S.	.446	3.057	<.01
Independent	2.155	1.528	1.93	P < .01	.523	3.58	<.001
Intelligent	1.611	1.798	-1.24	N.S.	.615	4.21	<.001
Logical	1.758	1.271	1.91	P < .01	.379	2.59	<.01
Loving	2.205	1.466	2.26	P < .001	.331	2.26	<.01
Loyal	1.855	2.083	-1.26	N.S.	.541	3.71	<.001
Obedient	2.151	1.798	1.43	N.S.	.367	2.51	<.01
Polite	1.506	1.736	-1.328	N.S.	.588	4.05	<.001
Responsible	1.142	.710	2.58	P < .001	.046	.315	N.S.
Self-controlled	1.695	1.456	1.35	N.S.	.371	2.54	<.01

2
VITA

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