ORIENTATION TO WORK

ORIENTATION TO WORK: AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WORK VALUES AND JOB SATISFACTION

BY

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A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of Arts

McMaster University

May, 1983

MASTER OF ARTS (1983)   McMaster University
Sociology   Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: Orientation to Work: An Investigation into the
             Relationship Between Work Values and Job Satisfaction

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SUPERVISOR: Professor G. Rosenblum

NUMBER OF PAGES: ix, 106

ABSTRACT

This thesis describes an attempt to develop a causal analysis of the concept of job satisfaction by answering the question: "What is job satisfaction?" Two competing approaches have been identified in the literature. Firstly, a socio-technical approach which argues that the technological framework of an enterprise is a fundamental determinant of what an employee does at work and the amount of interest and satisfaction he derives from his job. Although, the importance of this approach is acknowledged, the author contends that, it fails to take account of a worker's orientation to work which determines how he perceives the job situation and those rewards he will value.

An alternative approach, the social action approach, which provides the framework for this thesis contends that, in order to understand the causal basis of job satisfaction, the way a worker orders his wants and expectation relative to the employment situation, should be the most important independent variable that a sociological perspective should advance in any theoretical model of job satisfaction. This conceptualisation gave rise to the hypothesis that; "Job Satisfaction is a positive function of the attainment of work values. The more important the value, the more strongly will job satisfaction depend on its fulfillment".

Although the hypothesis was supported, work-value congruency explains only 8 percent of the variation in job satisfaction. Moreover, it was not able to affect the relationship between technology and job

satisfaction which indicates that the socio-technical approach might hold more explanatory power. This was explained as a result of the measurement of orientation to work lacking construct validity. In order to provide support for the social action approach it is suggested that future researchers should adhere to Bennet's admonition that no single method should be used to measure orientation to work.

This thesis is affectionately dedicated to my Mum, a seemingly non profit sole proprietorship whose only organisational goal was to help her son obtain a higher degree.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The affirmation that "no man is an island" is especially true in the field of research and writing. It is therefore with great pleasure that I record my intellectual debt to my supervisory committee - Doctors G. Rosenblum,F. Jones and G. Knight without whose help and encouragement this thesis would not have been possible. Their academic guidance is especially valuable in terms of critical, incisive questions which at several stages kept me on track. Special thanks are due Dr. G. Knight who made the data on which this thesis is based available.

I am also grateful to Doctors P. Pineo and P. Tancred-Sheriff who although not members of my supervisory committee went out of their way to help me with the statistical analysis and references respectively.

As a foreign student, I owe a debt of gratitude to two categories of friends. First, my Canadian friends and colleagues - Jane, Mike, Mary-Therese, Sandy, George, Debbie, Dave and John; secondly my African friends - the Browns, Sowas, Asank, Zasha, Cedric and warm buddies such as Banful, Bayo and Ms. Barbara Lomo - all of whom have provided me a home away from home.

There are also clerical and editorial needs that one has in the endeavour of a thesis. For her patient typing, I am grateful to Helen, our graduate secretary who found time to type not only this thesis, but most of my term papers.

To each and every member of this crew my heartfelt thanks.

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EMERGENCE OF THE PROBLEM AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

For over forty years, the concept of job satisfaction has been a topic of research and debate in the behavioral and social sciences and can be found in different traditions. These include (a) nineteenth and twentieth century Marxist theory with its preoccupation with the plight of the worker and the problem of alienation in industrial-capitalist work settings;[1] (b) non-Marxist conceptualisations of the concept of alienation and its relationship to technology;[2] and (c) organisational sociology and psychology with its concern for worker satisfaction and motivation as a vehicle for increased productivity and organisational effectiveness.[3] The present study which is a continuation of the third tradition is an attempt to develop a conceptualisation of job satisfaction which will highlight the causal mechanisms underlying the concept.

As a major variable, job satisfaction has been used as both an independent and dependent variable based on the hypothesised relationship between employee satisfaction and organisational effectiveness though job satisfaction is not the only variable. However, in spite of the lack of consensus on the link between job satisfaction and organisational effectiveness it is the opinion of the author that as a variable, job satisfaction is worthy of study. As soon as worker satisfaction becomes the concern of the behavioral scientist, it is necessary to ask, "what is job satisfaction, and what are the sources of job satisfaction within an organisation and why"? The purpose of this chapter is to trace the

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emergence of job satisfaction as a problem and to review and evaluate the two currently dominant approaches to the interpretation of work attitudes and job behavior.

Job satisfaction as a problematic dates back to the Human Relations School. This movement which came into prominence during the Thirties had as its central argument the view of social man seeking satisfaction primarily by membership of stable working groups. The Western Electric Studies which were to provide an element of humanism into the organisation of the workplace began as a study of illumination, then incentives and rest pauses on productivity. Through interviews with over 20,000 workers, these studies pointed out the importance of the informal group and supervisory practices in shaping the attitudes, feelings and performance of employees. Basically, the worker was seen as having economic, social and psychological needs all of which had to be satisfied in work.[4]

Much of contemporary industrial sociology has focused, and still does focus, on the nature of an individual's reaction to the work situation. Consequently, behavioral and attitudinal responses by the individual employee have been studied extensively in terms of such variables as productivity, turnover and job satisfaction. This measurement of what people do on their jobs and how they feel and think about it has been accompanied by a search for causal factors.

In his seminal book, Blauner focused on the concept of alienation or dissatisfaction and attributed it to the type of technological situation in which the worker finds himself. He argued that what he calls structural differentiation within industry has led to a situation where "The industrial

system distributes alienation unevenly among its blue-collar labour force just as our economic system distributes its income unevenly".[5] The most important distinguishing feature which gave industry its distinctive feature in Blauner's view was technology. On this basis, he argued that, differences in technology largely account for differences in the degree of alienation among the work force.

However, Blauner was not oblivious to the influence of impersonal factors when he asserted that "... despite my emphasis on impersonal factors, this study does not follow a totally deterministic approach... the character of the labour force in particular industries and the personalities of individual employees influence their subjective and behavioral responses to objectively alienating conditions".[6] This realisation should have prompted Blauner to focus on the way in which personal factors (orientation to work) mediate between the individual and technology, but he failed to adequately develop such analysis in his subsequent chapters.

Operating in a different framework, Goldthorpe et. al. have acknowledged the importance of technology in influencing job satisfaction, but argued that technology per se cannot influence job satisfaction. In an analysis of what Goldthorpe called "deviant case" he argued:

> "Most previous writers we would suggest have
> tended to over-simplify the problems of workers'
> response to the stresses and constraints of
> assembly line technology (and have tended to
> assume greater uniformity in this respect
> than tends to be the case) because they have
> left out of account one important variable;
> that is, the orientations which men bring to
> their employment and which mediate between
> the objective features of the work situation
> and workers' actual experience of, and
> reaction to, this situation". [7]

Goldthorpe argued further that the starting point for an explanation of

job satisfaction did not lie with the technology, which was to be seen as a limiting factor, the importance of which would vary according to the workers' perception of the situation "but rather with the orderings of wants and expectations relative to work and with the meaning, thus given to work...".[8]

Thus, there is now a debate among industrial sociologists as to which of these two variables - technology or orientation to work holds more explanatory power in explaining job attitudes and behavior in the organisation.

THE SOCIO-TECHNICAL APPROACH:

Advocates of the socio-technical approach argue that the tools and machines of production are a primary determinant of work attitudes and job behavior because they structure the tasks which workers perform; that is to say the technological framework of an enterprise is a fundamental determinant of what employees do at work, how they do it and the amount of interest and satisfaction they derive from their jobs. Thus, advocates of this approach are concerned with an elaboration of the consequences of different types of technology for job satisfaction and work group behavior.

Underlying the approach of this school are certain ontological assumptions about the nature of man and his needs propounded by philosophers, sociologists and psychologists. Scholars such as Marx, Maslow and Herzberg have been primarily interested in what man is capable of becoming and it was basically against those features of society which have prevented man from achieving Marx's vision of creative individuals that his critique is levelled. Of these, it is through productive activity that

individuals develop their self-realisation as human beings. Man's alienation in Marx's view is expressed in the fact that the forces, products and creations of man which should be extensions of his personality and therefore should serve directly to enrich it are split off from man as they come to acquire an independent status and eventually dominate him.[9] Thus certain types of technologies or relations in which those technologies are put to use prevent man's self-realisation.

Operating in a different framework, Maslow formulated a need-hierarchy theory in which he postulated certain concrete needs that must be satisfied if individuals are to be job satisfied and motivated. The five need categories are physiological, safety, belongingness and love, esteem and the need for self-actualisation. More important to his need categories is the process by which each need category is activated. To Maslow these need categories exist in a hierarchy of prepotency such that higher order needs are less important than lower or more basic needs. This implies that the emergence of another higher order need depends on the satisfaction of the lower-level needs whose importance decreases on its satisfaction. However, in Maslow's view satisfaction of these prepotent needs would not be enough to erase a feeling of discontent unless the individual is doing what he is fitted for; a need which he calls self-actualisation. In his words; "A musician must make music, an artist must paint, a poet must write if he is to be ultimately happy. What a man can be he must be. This need we call self-actualisation".[10]

Deriving from Maslow's formulation, Herzberg pointed out that the nature of work that employees perform is basic to the fulfillment of their self-actualisation need. The search for causality until recently has been concentrated on everything except the task elements and characteristics

associated with the job itself. Herzberg's finding indicated the need to direct efforts at task elements because he found factors intrinsic to the job are more important in determining the behavioral and attitudinal responses of workers.[11]

Thus following the work of these scholars it is being argued that the nature of the job that an employee performs is an important factor in determining whether he experiences satisfaction or dissatisfaction in his work. Advocates of the socio-technical approach argue that job satisfaction is differentially distributed by the extent to which the technological demand of particular job situation provides opportunities for the self-actualisation needs of workers. Expressed schematically the argument of the technological school could be represented thus:

FIG. 1.1

TECHNOLOGY —————————⟶ JOB CHARACTERISTICS ⟶ ALIENATION
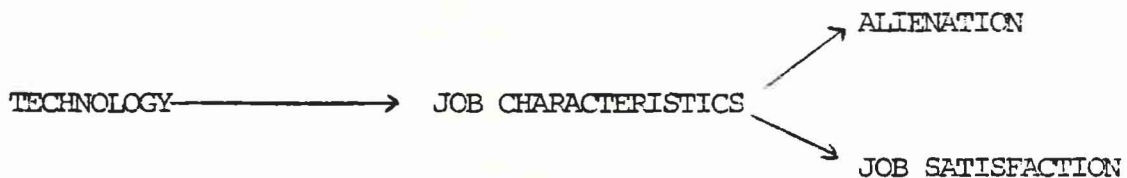
⟶ JOB SATISFACTION

STUDIES OF THE ASSEMBLY-LINE

Operating in the framework of the technological school Walker and Guest studied assembly-line work and the satisfactions that automobile workers derive from their jobs. A representative sample of 180 workers were interviewed in their homes with a schedule designed to elicit information about attitudes and opinions about their jobs, working conditions, pay and promotions. The authors were of the opinion that besides creating a higher standard of living, machines and the methods

of organising men around them, have created a new situation for modern man and it was this environment which the authors sought to explore. They hypothesised that the assembly-line is the classic symbol of the subjection of man to the machine in the industrial age and set out to define the characteristics of auto assembly work. They listed these as: machine-paced, the use of predetermined techniques, repetitious and minute subdivision of the product which calls for only a limited degree of attention so that the work can be done automatically. Moreover, workers do not work in groups or teams rather each performs an individual task. These characteristics, according to the authors, apply mainly to the immediate content of the worker's job and that any study of job satisfaction which omitted such factors would be of little value. Thus their goal was to inquire into the nature of job satisfaction and to seek the effects of the nature of the production system (technology) on the job satisfaction of their sample.

In their findings, the authors reported that 80% of the workers liked their job for its economic benefits. They also found correlations between short absences and the "mass production characteristics" of jobs on the assembly line. Absenteeism was found to be highest on the jobs that required the least skill, were most repetitive and which gave workers the least chance to express themselves. Technology in the view of the authors is a potential source of worker deprivation and dissatis-faction.

In their study, Walker and Guest like other advocates of the technological approach had an image of what an ideal job is and the needs of human beings. Thus, certain types of technology are said to be ideal

to the extent to which it satisfies or provides opportunities for the self-actualisation needs of workers. Such explanations of worker attitudes on the basis of the dehumanizing nature of technology with which they work is inadequate because it is not all workers who seek to satisfy the need for self-actualisation in work. They remarked that "In all of this classification of the automobile assembly-line workers' job have clearly been concerned not with an engineering analysis but with factors which have an effect on satisfaction or dissatisfaction, with the immediate job. Mechanical pace, repetitiveness, minimum skill requirements and the other job characteristics were all found reflected in attitudes and feelings".[12]

If Walker and Guest had not adhered to a priori assumptions of an ideal job and the needs of man they could have considered the view that a low level of work involvement and a highly extrinsic orientation could co-exist with a high measure of job satisfaction. From the author's conceptualisation of job satisfaction which is informed by the social action approach of Goldthrope et al, it is held that workers have certain orientations to work which define what they expect or want from their job situation. Thus orientation to work, as Goldthorpe et al emphasised, mediates between what could objectively be seen as alienating, caused by the technologically determined job characteristic and the workers experience of such a situation. Such a perspective coupled with an attempt to comprehend the structure of group relations in organisations in terms of the wants and expectations of individual employees would ensure that researchers probe into the empirical evidence about different attitudes and behavior patterns between groups and their differing reactions to

the same technology.

BLAUNER: TECHNOLOGY AND ALIENATION

A path breaking effort in the attempt of the technological school to link technology to job satisfaction was carried out by Blauner. Hitherto, modern factory with its extreme specialisation has been said to rob jobs of any intrinsic meaning and satisfaction because of the fragmentation of work tasks. Thus modern technology was assumed to be alienating which even prompted Marx to condemn the historical process through which industrialisation robbed the craftsman of self-expression. He notes that, "the automation itself is the subject and the workmen are merely conscious organs co-ordinated with the unconscious organs of the automation and together with their subordination to the central moving power".[13] Thus industrialisation in Marx's view, turned workmen into cogs in the machine, powerless to enhance their self-worth except through the "alien intermediary", money.

Blauner, challenged the Marxian assumption that advanced technology has resulted in alienation. Going beyond the tendency to regard modern industrial work as an entity, and then argue for or against the opinion that such work leads to alienation, Blauner asserts that there exists critically different types of work environments within modern industry and this diversity in industrial environments leads to a variation in the type and intensity of alienation. He therefore argues that:

> "Yet within modern industry a vast process
> of structural differentiation has taken
> place. Although some common features link
> all modern employment situations....
> modern factories vary considerably in

technology, in division of labour, in economic
structure and in organisational character.
These differences provide socio-technical
system in which the objective conditions and
the inner life of employees are strikingly
variant. In some industrial environments,
the alienating tendencies that Marx emphasised
are present to a high degree. In others they
are relatively undeveloped or have been countered
by new technical, economic and social forces".

He writes further:

"The present investigation is an attempt to
demonstrate and to explain the uneven distri-
bution of alienation among factory workers in
American industry". 14

Blauner's theoretical framework, derived from Seeman,[15] is a
multidimensional conceptualisation of alienation - powerlessness, meaning-
less, social isolation and self-estrangement. He hypothesised that when
the worker lacks freedom and control (powerlessness), when his role is
so specialised that he becomes a cog in the organisation, (meaninglessness)
and when he is isolated from a community of work, of personal relations
at work (isolation) the consequence is that the worker does not experience
work as fulfilling activity and rather becomes a means rather than a
fulfilling end (self-estrangement).

In validating his hypothesis, Blauner applied his alienation
concept to four blue-collar work settings differentiated by their
technological situations - the craft industry of printing, machine industry
exemplified by textitles, assembly line exemplified by the auto-industry
and continuous process industry by chemicals. Using Elmo Roper's 1947
work attitude study for Fortune magazine, he compared attitudinal measures
of alienation (job dissatisfaction) for the employees in the above
industries. He reported that those in the technologically advanced
chemical industries as well as craftsmen in the printing trades were less

alienated than those in textile and automobile industries. Blauner, there-
fore interpreted his finding as evidence supporting an inverted U-curve
relationship between technological advancement and alienation. Essentially
then, he succeeds in drawing attention to the fact that workers' alienation
is unequally distributed across various technological settings, and that
in those work situations that the worker has control, autonomy, variety
and challenge - in effect in those that possess the characteristics of
the ideal job the worker is likely to be satisfied whereas in job situations
that lack these characteristics the worker is bound to be dissatisfied.

Since the publication of his work, it has witnessed a flurry of
researches purporting to support his findings and others criticising it.
In a study of oil and chemical refinery workers, Vamplew[16] finds support
for Blauner's position. In broad terms, the study was to test two con-
flicting sets of hypotheses about work in a technical setting. Firstly,
there is the assertion that the work is dehumanising since it removes men
from the product and process of production, and also the worker is subjected
to stress engendered by feelings of powerlessness. Alternatively, freedom
from machine domination is said to lead to more enriched work, and also,
challenging and interesting work gives operators meaning in work, which
is contrary or rather an antithesis to the assembly line. In Blauner's
study he depicted the work situation of chemical operators as involving
a high level of responsibility. Generally, Vamplew's findings provide
empirical support to Blauner's characterisation of chemical process work
as enriched, challenging and interesting. To Vamplew the technology and
organisation gives rise to a markedly different work environment in terms
of intrinsic interest and job satisfaction from that of the assembly line.

From the replies of the operators Vamplew concludes that, "a considerable enthusiasm was felt particularly for the content of the job. The opportunity to learn and the interest and challenge of the process were among the most liked or appealing features of the work".[17] He quotes some of the operators as saying "It (the work) holds your attention, your interest is held all the time. I don't care how long you are in here, you are always finding out something new, a new way of doing something. And you get great satisfaction out of solving a problem".[18] Another worker is quoted as saying "if something goes wrong I get a great deal of satisfaction when I stop and work out what has caused it - work it out on my own and then put it right".[19] Thus from his findings, Vamplew, like Blauner, argues that the opportunities provided by the technological demands of one's work are very fundamental in determining his level of job satisfaction.

Besides Vamplew, Cotgrove[20] in a study of five chemical process plants in Britain, provides empirical support for Blauner's contention that workers in automated work settings are less alienated than those in mass-production systems. He focused his analysis on the central core of alienation - self-estrangement which is characterised by an instrumental involvement. To Cotgrove, two characteristics of the work stand out - firstly, the enthusiastic reports of the opportunities which the work provided for learning and personal growth and secondly, the generally high level of interest and absence of monotony. According to Cotgrove, wherever the operatives spoke it was almost always about the chance to learn, the interest of the process and the opportunity to use their own intelligence and initiative. A worker is quoted as saying, "You've got to use your

brains. If there is trouble you've got to use your brains. If there
is trouble you've got to find the cause. If there is a fault with the
pump it is no good calling the fitter and saying the pump is not working,
you've got to tell him just what is wrong".[21]   To Cotgrove, if an
instrumental involvement in work is the major criterion of alienation,
the evidence from the chemical process worker can be taken to mean that
he is certainly less alienated than most factory workers in the sense
that the job provides considerable intrinsic satisfaction. His findings
broadly confirm Blauner's conclusion that "the chemical worker is less
likely to be subjectively alienated than the automobile worker".

In another study, Wedderburn and Crompton,[22] focused on workers
in a large chemical complex. The authors hypothesised that structures,
attitudes and behavior in the different works at Seagrass were influenced
by what they termed technology. They therefore treated the production
process as a crucial independent variable using the Woodward classification
of technology.[23] In the continuous flow production works, it was found
that operators found their jobs interesting and felt overwhelmingly that
the amount of discretion they had in their work was adequate. On the
other hand, workers in machine-paced jobs found their jobs boring and
felt they had no freedom and could not try out their own ideas. The
Seagrass study in the view of the authors confirmed the point that a way
which technology, crudely defined, did influence attitudes was through
its effects upon the work environment making it more or less pleasant and
also through its effect on the content of the tasks which had to be done.

Besides the blue-collar work situation, Blauner's ideas have been
applied to the white-collar setting, In an empirical test of Blauner's

ideas on alienation, Kirsch and Lengerman[24] applied it to alienating
job conditions and feelings of self-estrangement in a study of three
types of workers in a white-collar setting. Instead of focusing on
differences in alienating conditions associated with different industrial
settings, the authors focused on differences in alienating conditions
associated with different types of jobs within a white-collar setting.
In testing the relationships between alienating conditions and feelings
of self-estrangement among their sample of white-collar workers, the
authors distributed a pre-tested   57 item questionnaire to 150 employees
in the operations division of a large bank. Three types of employees
who differ in their exposure to alienating conditions were used as
samples - computer personnel, clerical workers and machine operators.
The measures of alienation in their study were powerlessness, meaningless-
ness and lack of promotion opportunity as objective alienating conditions,
and that of self-estrangement as subjectively experienced alienation.

The basic underlying hypothesis of their study was that white-
collar jobs differ in the extent to which they subject workers to
alienating conditions. Their analysis supports the contention that just
as there are different types of industrial settings, so too are there
different types of white-collar jobs within the white-collar setting, which
differ in their objective features in a way that some workers are
consistently more subject to alienating conditions than others. The
authors also found substantial differences in levels of self-estrangement
but also the applicability of these ideas to the white-collar setting of
modern office work.

In a study in which he focused on man-machine relationships rather

than the interindustrial comparison, Sheppard,[25] provides empirical

support for Blauner's finding. He replicated Blauner's study among a

total sample of 305 factory workers. In his study Blauner pointed out

that there is no technological homogeneity in any given industry or

firm, which poses the problem of internal technological differences in

various firms and industry. Following this line of reasoning, Sheppard

argues against the practice of combining different man-machine relation-

ships into one category. In order to discern the effects of job content

on worker attitudes in different technological environments, workers

in his study were selected by the quota method. The automated workers

were refinery control room monitors, whilst the craft and mechanised

workers were from an automobile assembly plant. The author, like Blauner,

reported an inverted U-pattern on the alienation scales. Though his

findings support Blauner, he nevertheless emphasised that, variations

in attitudes to work cannot be completely attributed to job content and

technology.

Fullan[26] also reported on the link between technology and worker

integration. The literature in the technological framework has suggested

a linkage between the type of technology and organisational structure and

also the satisfaction of the worker. Fullan on the other hand examined

how industrial integration in the organisation varies according to the

type of technology, characteristic of the organisation. Defining

integration in terms of the degree to which industrial workers feel

isolated or related through interaction, Fullan reported on a sample of

1491 Canadian factory workers working in 3 different socio-technical

systems - craft, mass and continuous process. He hypothesised that

technology influences the type of relationships that a worker has with
the organisation and that the level of integration of the worker in the
organisation will be highest for oil workers, followed by printers and
lowest for automobile workers.

Fullan tested his hypothesis using 4 indices of integration -
individual attitudes toward his fellow workers, first line supervisors,
labour-management relations, the status structure of the organisation and
the company. As hypothesised, Fullan found that oil workers were the
most integrated in terms of fellow workers, first line supervisors,
labour-management relations, status structure of the organisation and
evaluation of the company. The same pattern was observed among these
workers on a measure of labour turnover which has been used as an indirect
measure of work dissatisfaction. He tended to agree with Blauner that
social integration can mitigate the effects of objectively alienating
work which he found to be the case among textile workers.

This contention was supported also by Fullan's own previous
work[27] in which he found that oil workers in spite of the fact that
certain aspects of their work are potentially alienating (e.g. lack of
control over work process) score lowest on an index measuring the degree
of subjectively experienced alienation. Essentially, a marked degree of
alienation inhibits integration. On the basis of his findings, he
concluded that though technology may not be the only determinant of
worker integration in the organisation, it is one of the most important
factors which facilitates or inhibits integration.

Though Blauner's finding has been generally supported, a few
researches have provided conflicting results. In a study concerned with

worker alienation in automated plants operating in continuous process
industries, Susman[28] challenged the validity of Blauner's finding that
reduced worker alienation is always associated with automated technology.
Basically, Susman's study was guided by 2 concerns: (a) Is the low level
of worker alienation observed in continuous process industries due
solely to the presence of automation or are there other characteristics
of the work process which could account for this observation; and (b)
Does alienation continually decrease as plants become more automated.
In seeking an answer to the problem of what causes people to be alienated
from their work, Susman used 3 indices of alienation: meaninglessness,
normlessness and powerlessness. Using a questionnaire, the author focused
on such continuous process industries as petroleum, refinery, industrial
chemicals and plastics, cement, electric power, beverages and gypsum.

In his comparison of discrete and continuous process jobs, Susman
reports an increase in normlessness, powerlessness and meaninglessness
as the degree of automation reaches higher levels. Susman's finding
basically contradicts Blauner's, with regard to the presumption of
continued job improvements associated with increasing levels of automation.

The most recent criticism of research on alienation is directed
at the evidence Blauner presented in support of the inverted U-curve
hypothesis. Berg et al[29] contend that Blauner's data do not consistently
support the hypothesis. In another study by Hull et al,[30] it is asserted
that Blauner's U-curve hypothesis is supported if the textile category
is excluded, and pointed out that most replications of Blauner's U-curve
hypothesis have omitted this category, for example Fullan (1970).

Form,[31] operating in a technological perspective sought to

introduce some clarity into the contradiction between findings on worker satisfaction and the theorising about it. Basically, the fundamental questions this concern led him to were: Do auto workers hate working and seek to escape it? Do they despise the factory environment? Does increasing mechanisation make automobile workers more discontented with their jobs? Do workers with equal skills evaluate their jobs in the same way irrespective of the recency of industry in the country? Form's research which was designed to answer these questions focused on automobile workers in four countries (U.S. Italy, Argentina and India).

Using technology and its associated job characteristics as independent variable, Form found that workers in all four countries regardless of their skill and job routines or the complexity of plant technology, tend to be generally satisfied with working, factory employment and their specific jobs. Also he found degree of satisfaction varies directly with the amount of skill and control over work operation, though a number of factors external to work may influence job satisfaction (for example age, marital status, etc.). His finding, that skilled workers find work satisfying and do not need social interaction whilst the unskilled find jobs more satisfying when they have high opportunity to interact with work mates supports a socio-technical view of jobs satifaction.

Sheppard and Herrick's[32] study highlights the influence of technology in determining job satisfaction. In this study, the authors focused on the work itself, determined by the technology of the production process to the extent to which it allows for autonomy, responsibility,

variety and creativity. The authors contended that much of the dissatisfaction expressed by workers could be directly related to the kind of job they do, in that certain jobs are undesirable. Thus based on their conception of the characteristics of a good job, the authors postulated and in fact found evidence to support their contention that job satisfaction is more a factor of the technologically determined situation in which a worker finds himself. They therefore argued for job conditions which will provide the characteristics of the ideal job and thereby give the worker some job satisfaction. In their commitment to a humanised work, the authors allowed this commitment to cloud their vision concerning the demands of empirical demonstration.

This concern with the problem of alienated labour fueled by the technological school has intensified in the recent past and (this concern) has even been demonstrated in an action-oriented report titled "Work in America".[33]

A common conviction of adherents of the technological school is that the workplace must provide the worker with (a) tasks that are more self-fulfilling and self-respecting and (b) a greater latitude for exercising personal control over the work itself. But in their study Goldthrope et al pointed out that the wants and expectations, in this case, intrinsic rewards, were not as crucial as extrinsic rewards in the worker's attachment to his job. The Luton study, however, did provide some support to Blauner's idea in that it was found that most of the assemblers derived little or no satisfaction from the characteristics of their jobs. Nevertheless, Goldthorpe et al remarked; "Our findings reveal that for the workers in these 5 groups, industrial employment

offers significantly different patterns of satisfaction and deprivation, and further that these men differ in the stance they take towards work and the meanings they give to it".[34]

Implicit in this quote is a perspective on job satisfaction that allows for the interplay of worker's orientation to work and the organisational reward system which does not preclude technologically determined job characteristics. This perspective called the social action approach argues that the worker's experiences outside work which he carries to the job situation mediates between the objective situation and how he perceives it. Thus in spite of the technological demands of the job situation, an important determinant of work attitudes and behavior at work is the worker's definition of the situation and the ends to be served, determined by his wants and experiences.

From this perspective a weakness of the technological school is that it does not permit explanation of differences in levels of satisfaction among workers working with the same technology. Though Blauner recognised the importance of impersonal factors and their influence on subjective and behavioral responses to alienating conditions he didn't include that in his analysis. Following from the social action approach, an approach which provides the theoretical framework for this study, a worker's job satisfaction cannot be easily determined by the technological demands of his job, but also account should be taken of the worker's orientation to work which determines how he perceives the job situation. A difficulty with the socio-technical approach is the conception of an objectively alienating condition. To Silverman[35] implicit in this is a moral judgement about the sort of work which ought

to be satisfying. A more illuminating approach should rather examine
the ends and conceptions of expectation which men actually do bring to
work and then compare these with the actual nature of their work.

A further limitation of the socio-technical approach is that it
has a universalistic conception of human needs and human nature. Several
studies have pointed out that there is nothing like universality of human
needs though some psychologists and social-psychologists have pointed out
that mature adults strive for self-determination, self-initiative, responsi-
bility and self-actualisation. Social experiences contribute to the
shaping of a worker's expectation and needs which by definition is the
worker's orientation to work. As Goldthorpe et al pointed out "wants and
expectations are culturally determined variables not psychological
constants and from a sociological standpoint what is a fact of major interest
is the variation in the ways in which groups differently located in the
social structure actually experience and attempt to meet the needs which
at a different level of analysis may be attributed to them all".[36]

Though the author agrees with the contention of the technological
school that job characteristics are important in determinining the job
satisfaction of workers, the relationship between technology and job
satisfaction is not a simple one because there are certain crucial variables
which interact with technology to determine job satisfaction. The problem
of job satisfaction is then reduced to work related values that are
instrumentally reached through work, because since different workers have
different orientations to work they will be motivated in different ways,
and be satisfied by different objects.

A study which demonstrates this perspective is that by Turner

and Lawrence.[37] In this study, the authors sought to find the effect of technology on job attitudes and job behavior at work. Specifically, the authors were interested in the variations of workers response to the nature of work which is to a large extent technologically determined. The central hypothesis of the study was that, there would be a favourable response (High attendance and high job satisfaction) to complex or involving tasks (High Requisite Task Attributes) and an unfavourable response (Low attendance and low job satisfaction) to more highly programmed, less demanding work (Low Requisite Task Attributes). On the basis of their hypothesis, they developed a scheme for classifying and measuring relevant task attributes measured in terms of such attributes as variety, autonomy, interaction, knowledge, skill and responsibility. These attributes then formed what they termed Requisite Task Attributes (RTA). Besides the central hypothesis, the authors designed their study in such a way that they could be able to account for results which are inconsistent with their hypothesis. These supplementary variables included situational factors (pay, satisfaction with company, foreman, and work group); individual characteristics (age, education, seniority, etc.) and perceived task attributes (the amount of variety, autonomy, etc. required by the tasks perceived by the worker).

The authors were able to find support for their central hypothesis that favourable responses to high RTA scores would lead to high attendance especially when the task was relatively complex and demanding. The confirmation of this hypothesis points to the fact that technology influences job behavior at least when measured by work attendance.

However, the authors failed to find any significant relationship

between task complexity and job satisfaction. When they crosstabulated job satisfaction with RTA Index scores the primary hypothesis was not confirmed as there was no significant association between job satisfaction and RTA index scores. According to the authors, two contradictory tendencies accounted for the overall lack of relationship between RTA and job satisfaction which prompted them to focus on supplementary variables. It was only after they had employed the variables of worker's background (town or city dweller) that they found a pattern. They found that city workers expressed more satisfaction with low than with high RTA scores whereas town workers were more frequently satisfied with high than with low scoring tasks.

Thus this study points to the fact that though technology could be very important in determining worker's job satisfaction, this relation-ship is influenced significantly by the worker's background which by definition is his orientation to work. Thus in spite of the fact that the sample was exposed to the same technology the ends sought in the work situation differed which accounted for variations in their response. This lends support to the author's contention that a worker's orientation to work and its interaction with the work situation is what determines job satisfaction and not technology per se.

However, in spite of this position, exponents of the technological approach have continued to point out what they perceive to be the unfortunate effects of work simplification. In brief, these writers have argued that simple routine non challenging jobs often lead to high employee dissatisfaction and what from management's point of view pathological behavior. As a response to this call, writers of the technological

persuasion have advocated the redesigning of jobs which would ensure that all jobs are made to possess the characteristics of the ideal job. The process of job enlargement then is aimed at producing jobs at a higher level of skill with varied work content and relative autonomy for the worker.

In their study, Hackman and Lawler[38] pointed out that case studies are not likely to contribute much to the development of answers to whether job enlargement is beneficial or not. Using an expectancy theory framework, the authors identified three characteristics of motivating jobs: (1) jobs must allow workers to feel personally responsible for a meaningful portion of their work; (2) must provide outcomes which are intrinsically meaningful to the individual and (3) must provide feedback about what is accomplished. Thus they argued that these characteristics of the job can establish conditions which will enhance the intrinsic motivation of workers. However, they recognised the importance of the need states of the employees and pointed out that those who are desirous of higher order need satisfaction would derive satisfaction from such jobs. Their study suggests that depending on the characteristics of the worker job design practices can be appropriate some of the time though they are of the view that technology and job characteristics are crucial to work satisfaction.

In a review of the literature on job enlargement, Hulin and Blood pointed out that individual differences mediate between what should be considered as objective conditions of the job and the subjective response of workers. Unlike Turner and Lawrence, Hulin and Blood based their operationalisation of individual differences on integration with or

alienation from middle class work values. Workers who are integrated are characterised by aspirations for upward occupational mobility and personal involvement in work. After a review of the literature the authors pointed out that, "...the argument for larger jobs as a means of motivating workers, decreasing boredom and dissatisfaction, and increasing attendance and productivity is valid only when applied to certain segments of the workforce... white-collar and supervisory workers and non alienated blue-collar workers"[39]. On this basis they proposed a contingency model which stresses the mediation effects of individual value differences.

In a separate work, Hulin argued that those of technological persuasion who stress the universality of needs and hence the need to modify job characteristics are in effect projecting their own needs onto persons who do not share these values. Specifically he writes of such people as "attributing to all members of a population the values, desires and aspirations possessed by one's own peer group or subculture".[40]

Though certain writers have not considered the impact of individual differences with regard to responses to technologically determined job characteristics, the argument that there are certain factors that interact with technology and therefore affects the relation-ship between technology and worker response, and should even be treated as an important independent variable is gaining currency. If one attempts an understanding of the causal basis of the concept of job satisfaction it becomes clear that it could not be understood unless of course in relation to the work values of the worker and the extent to which the organisational reward system fulfills these work values. The

technological approach, though it provides important insights into what causes job satisfaction, fails to consider fully the impact of one's orientation to work and therefore what is desired from the job situation.

Following this line of reasoning it becomes clear that the way workers perceive the work situation would be related to the values they place on perceived organisational reward systems as sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Workers come to the job situation with expectations and desires, to understand what makes a worker job satisfied, it is necessary to consider his orientation to work which should even be treated as an important independent variable. This point has been emphasised by Goldthorpe et al when they wrote, "It may be argued that in any attempt at explaining and understanding attitudes and behavior within modern industry, the probability at least must be recognised that orientation to work which employees hold in common will need to be treated as an important independent variable relative to the in plant situation".[41]

Thus following this perspective the first task of organisational analysis is to distinguish the orientation of different members which can help appreciate their definition of the situation and ends to be served. It is the contention of the author that when job satisfaction studies start with a conceptual analysis of the concept, then orientation to work and its interaction with a worker's perception of the organisational reward system should be seen as primary to an understanding of a worker's job satisfaction - a perspective which does not preclude the influence of technologically determined job characteristics. Thus the selection of orientation to work does not imply any narrowly deterministic position.

The author therefore agrees with Perrow's assertion that:

> "What is held to be an independent and
> dependent variable when one abstracts general
> variables from a highly interdependent and
> complex social system is less of an assertion
> about reality than a strategy of analysis..." [42]

The author does not therefore intend to replace one simplistic assumption with another. Instead, he intends to draw attention to the point that the logical independent variable when one considers the conceptual basis of job satisfaction is orientation to work and its interaction with the organisational reward system. The trends in the literature therefore present some direction for a new conceptualisation of job satisfaction and job behavior. In the next chapter the author offers a conceptualisation of job satisfaction based on the social action approach and his research strategy.

FOOTNOTES

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2. See Blauner, R., <u>Alienation and Freedom</u> (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964) and Woodward, J.,<u>Industrial Organisation: Theory and Practice</u> (London: Oxford University Press, 1965).

3. See Gruneberg, M., <u>Understanding Job Satisfaction</u> (New York: John Wiley, 1979) and Vroom, V., <u>Work and Motivation</u> (New York: John Wiley, 1964).

4. For a review of managerial assumptions about workers, See Schein, E., <u>Organisational Psychology</u> (Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1965) Chapter 4.

5. Blauner, R. <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>. p.5.

6. <u>Ibid</u>, p. 11.

7. Goldthorpe, J. "Attitudes and Behavior of Car Assembly Workers: A Deviant Case and A Theoretical Critique". <u>The British Journal of Sociology,</u> Vol. XVII, <u>No. 3</u>, 1966, p. 240.

8. <u>Ibid</u>, p. 240.

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21. Ibid, p. 440.

22. Wedderburn, D. and Crompton, R. Workers Attitudes and Technology (Cambridge: University Press, 1972).

23. See Woodward, J., op. cit.

24. Kirsch and Lengermann, "An Empirical Test of Robert Blauner's Ideas On Alienation In Work As Applied to Different Type Jobs In A White-Collar Setting". Sociology and Social Research, 1971, 56, pp. 180-194.

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CHAPTER TWO

JOB SATISFACTION: A SOCIAL ACTION APPROACH AND RESEARCH STRATEGY

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The literature has shown that there are two competing approaches to the study of job satisfaction; The first being the socio-technical approach with its emphasis on the influence of technologically determined job characteristics on job satisfaction, and secondly the social action approach which stresses the influence of wants and expectations, simply the orientation to work that workers bring to their job situation and its interaction with the perceived organisational reward system.

In formulating the theoretical framework for the explication of job satisfaction, the author has elected to focus on workers' orientation to work. It is the contention of the author that if progress is to be made in our understanding of job satisfaction, attention has to be given to a conceptual analysis of the concept. Despite all the work done in this area—over 3,300 papers published up to 1976, Locke contends that our understanding of the concept has not increased substantially. He attributes this state of affairs to the atheoretical nature of most of the researches and also their lack of concern for causal relationships[1].

The objective of this study then is to formalise a conceptualisation of job satisfaction which will have functional utility. Locke explains that to understand a phenomenon the researcher must attempt to locate it within a conceptual framework of analysis. This therefore demands that

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the first question a scientific investigator must ask is not "how can I measure it" but rather "what is it?".[2] Larouche and Delorme have also emphasised the importance of conceptualisation preceding generalisation of a phenomenon on the basis that "a theoretical definition is a vehicle for an implicit conceptualisation of job satisfaction which directs the method used in order to measure the phenomenon".[3]

A position along these lines has also been explicitly stated by Goldthorpe et al when they wrote:

> "... the question of satisfaction from work cannot in the end be usefully considered except in relationship to the more basic questions of what one would term orientation to work. Until one knows something of the way in which workers order their wants and expectations relative to the employment until one knows what meaning work has for them, one is not in a position to understand what overall assessment of their job satisfaction may most appropriately be made in their case" [4]

Thus workers order wants and expectations relative to their employment and it is this orientation which workers bring to their work environment that a sociological perspective on the concept of job satisfaction should advance as the most important independent variable in any theoretical model of job satisfaction.

The debate on the notion of orientation to work between Daniel and Goldthorpe[5] has been concerned with two basic issues, namely: (a) "Are workers priorities fixed by forces external to the working situation?" (b) Do these priorities remain constant over a period of time?" In the debate Daniel accuses Goldthorpe et al of neglecting internal influence (technology) and overstressing external influences (home life, economic life and status relation in the family). Though nobody denies the

influence of job context factors in determining job satisfaction, why these factors are relevant to a worker's job satisfaction cannot be understood unless one has considered the societal factors shaping an individual's ordering of his wants and expectations from work. Such an approach then allows for an appreciation of the interplay between external and internal factors in determining a worker's level of job satisfaction.

Such orientations are however socially generated and sustained because men have no inherent, genetically given orientaion to work. Tilgher's study,[6] demonstrates that the meaning of work has shifted along with changes in the social order and thus orientation to work is greatly influenced by the social structure in which one lives and it is also a result of socialising experiences. Thus it is possible for an individual's culturally moulded orientation to work to change gradually overtime, which makes the question of meanings in work problematic. This however, does not preclude the use of orientation to work in explaining job satisfaction because the attitudes and behavior of members of an organisation can only be explained when their definition of the situation and the ends have been understood.

The relationship between social-psychological variables (work values) their interactions with job context factors and job satisfaction is especially important for the conceptualisation being presented. This realisation that job satisfaction results from the person-environment interaction has been expressed by various writers. Schaffer proposed that job satisfaction is a function of need fulfillment. He wrote; "overall need satisfaction (i.e. job satisfaction) will vary directly

with the extent to which those needs of an individual which can be
satisfied in a job are actually satisfied. The stronger the need the
more closely will job satisfaction depend on its fulfillment".[7] Spitzer,
proposed that "job satisfaction is a positive function of goal attainment.
If the employee attains his goals, he will have high job satisfaction,
but if he does not attain these goals, he will have negative affect".[8]
Russell also maintains that "job satisfaction is a function of the
importance attached by the workers to the extent to which needs are
generally met in the work situation relative to the way in which these
workers have ordered their wants and expectations".[9] (Orientation to
work). Thus the conceptualisation being presented is consistent with the
data in the field.

In effect the interactionist view represents a conceptual frame-
work which maintains that job satisfaction results from the interaction
between job incumbents and their job context. Implicit in this approach
is the notion that levels of job satisfaction are determined by the amount
of congruence between individual work value system and organisational
reward system. Lawrence Pervin expresses a similar view when he wrote;
"A match or best fit of individual to environment is viewed as expressing
itself in high performance, satisfaction and little disturbance in the
system whereas a lack of fit is viewed as resulting in decrease performance,
dissatisfaction and disturbs the system".[10]

Thus to explain variations in job satisfaction among employees
of the same firm demands that the researcher make an effort to understand
their orientations to work and their perception of the organisational
reward system which takes cognisance of job characteristics.

The objectives of the author in this study are (a) To determine the work values of the sample and some of the influences shaping these work values; (b) To investigate the place of orientation to work as an explanatory variable in the study of job satisfaction and (c) Determine which category of organisational rewards are important in influencing a worker's job satisfaction.

RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY:

Studies of job satisfaction are ultimately aimed at making assessments about people and jobs so that improvements can be made in the jobs themselves or that appropriate remedies are taken to ensure a better fit between the individual and his job. Job satisfaction and its correlates, have therefore, become the favourite research topic of scholars interested in organisational effectiveness.

Industry as Roethlisberger remarked, is not only an organisation for the promotion of economic purposes but also a human organisation in which the hope and aspirations of individuals are trying to find expression. Organisations are then faced with two basic functions; (a) that of producing a product and (b) that of creating and distributing satisfaction among the individual members of the organisation.

Physical scientists have worked to provide industry with the technical knowledge to increase efficiency. However, technological advancement per se cannot assure us of any increased production, and it is therefore apparent that mankind has not learned how to organise voluntary human co-operative effort with the efficiency and dexterity that he

organises the assembly line. The implication is that, whilst man has succeeded in developing technological proficiency, he has not succeeded in understanding what makes the human element tick at the workplace.

This, however, does not mean that behavioral scientists have not become aware of this problem. On the contrary, since the pioneering work by Mayo and Associates, volumes of job satisfaction studies have emerged. Unfortunately most of these studies have not been theoretically oriented.

In recent times, however, a group of scholars have argued that technology is the foremost factor to be considered in any explanation of workers' attitudes and behaviour. As a result of her South East Essex Studies, Woodward concluded that "there appear to be considerable differences between production systems in the extent to which the 'situational demands' create conditions conducive to human happiness".[12]

Though technology is not entirely unimportant in determining job attitudes, the tendency of attributing to it the role of the sole explanatory variable should be challenged as being too deterministic. In their study, Goldthorpe et al pointed out that "technology was clearly the major factor determining the level of intrinsic satisfaction which our respondents were able to derive from their jobs...but nonetheless little systematic association was revealed among the workers...immediate experience of their work situations as technologically conditioned, and the range of attitudes and behaviour which they more generally displayed as industrial employees".[13] Thus it is evident from this perspective that technology per se does not determine an employees job satisfaction.

Though it conditions the objective features of the work situation, the way workers are oriented to work mediate their perception and experience of these objective features.

The present study which contributes to this debate adopts the perspective that if job satisfaction studies begin with an attempt at conceptual clarification, a worker's orientation to work is a more logical explanatory variable.

In his study, "Work Values and Job Satisfaction", Milton Blood reviewed the work of previous investigators who have discussed work values as they are related to the ideals of the Protestant Ethic. These earlier researchers have predicted differences in levels of job satisfaction from the knowledge of religious affiliations. He therefore contended that, if such differences are predictable on the basis of religious affiliations, psychological explanation require that they be mediated by some psychologically measurable differences. If work value differences can be measured, Blood argues that it should allow for the prediction of within group differences in job satisfaction as well as between group satisfaction.

Blood, however was not sure whether a causal relationship exists between the work value dimension and job satisfaction but contended that work values precede and influence job satisfaction. He urged future researchers to probe the relationship between work values and job satisfaction. He wrote, "whether a causal relationship exists between the work value dimension and job satisfaction is a researchable question. It seems more logical to the author to assume that work values precede and influence job satisfaction rather than the opposite. Future research

should investigate this relationship".[14] To some extent, the present
study is a response to this challenge.

It is theoretically plausible that the way a person evaluates
work in general should be related to his attitudes and values. Someone
who thinks work is an abomination will likely be unhappy even in the
most pleasant work situation whilst a person who feels that personal
worth results only from self-sacrificing work would likely derive some
satisfaction even in a menial job.

The bourgeoning interest in job satisfaction can be linked to
the emerging concern about the quality of life. Humanitarian interest
in what goes on in the work place where the worker spends most of his
working life has been prompted by the realisation that job satisfaction
is one measure of the quality of life in organisations. It is therefore
appropriate to understand the causal mechanisms underlying the concept
of job satisfaction even if it is not directly related to job performance.

However, there is a consensus of research opinion that job
satisfaction is related to employee turnover and absenteeism both of which
are costly to an organisation.[15] In spite of this realisation nothing
could be done unless one is aware of the causal basis of the concept in
order to take practical preventive measures to curb the nagging problem
of labour turnover and absenteeism.

Organisations can then influence job satisfaction by producing
a congruence between employee values and perceived organisational reward
system. The ultimate goal of this work then is to make a contribution
to the current debate among industrial sociologists about the place of
orientation to work as an explanatory variable in the study of attitudes

(job satisfaction) and behaviour of industrial workers. If this goal is achieved it will represent a small step in the development of skills to secure humanity's capacity for spontaneous co-operation.

HYPOTHESIS

It is postulated that the way workers perceive the job environment will be a function of their orientation to work. Evidence is therefore sought for the contention that variations in orientation to work manifested by workers, exert a pervasive influence on the perception of and response to the relative strength of various job context and job content factors as sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction.

To test the validity of a model, the associated theoretical framework must provide logically consistent deductions which are amenable to empirical check. In this study, the formulation of job satisfaction resulted in a conceptual framework made up of a set of relationships. The framework developed focused on job satisfaction as a dependent variable and was operationalised as a function of the perception that one's job fulfills or allows for the fulfillment of one's work values.

In those organisations where employees' values are congruent with the reward system, such employees will report high levels of job satisfaction and vice versa. A conceptualisation should however be tested and in order to do so it must give rise to a hypothesis. My hypothesis formally stated is that:

> Job satisfaction is a positive function of
> the attainment of work values. The more
> important the value the more strongly will
> job satisfaction depend on its fulfillment.

Besides the primary hypothesis, two secondary hypotheses were tested. One of these concerns variation in work orientation and levels of job satisfaction. Writers who emphasise the orientation to work approach in studies of job satisfaction have pointed out that different workers have different sources of satisfaction.   Thus, some workers derive satisfaction from factors inherent in the job (intrinsically oriented) whilst others derive satisfaction from factors external to the job (extrinsically oriented). What really matters, then, is satisfying one's own orientation. In a study by Saleh and Hyde the level of job satisfaction of the intrinsically oriented group was compared with that of the extrinsically oriented group. It was found that the intrinsically oriented group was more job satisfied than the extrinsically oriented which supports their hypothesis that "Those who are intrinsically oriented would show higher levels of general satisfaction than those who are extrinsically oriented".[16] The author wishes to test the validity of this assertion.

It has been pointed out earlier in the study that human beings are not born with any inherent, genetically given orientations to work, but rather, the meanings they attach to work are socially generated and sustained. This realisation has prompted sociologists to identify the social forces that shape an individual's orientation to work. In a study by Turner and Lawrence, it was pointed out that an individual's community of socialisation (rural/urban) has an effect on the meaning

he attaches to work. Their hypothesis formally stated was that "The
large urban cultural setting is associated with a different response to
work than a rural or town environment".[17] The author tested the validity
of this assertion with his sample.

METHODOLOGY

As already pointed out, the author's purpose is to provide a
causal basis for the concept of job satisfaction. Deriving from the
conceptualisation of job satisfaction proposed in this study, it is not
only the value system of workers that determine satisfaction though it
is the principal determinant. An intervening variable is the perceived
organisational reward system. Figure 2.1 depicts a conceptual scheme with
which the author investigated the interrelationship among the independent,
intervening and dependent variables.

FIGURE 2.1

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE	INTERVENING VARIABLES	DEPENDENT VARIABLE

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                          ┌────────────────────────────────┐
                          │ SITUATIONAL FACTORS:            │
                      ┌──▶│ PAY, SECURITY & ADVANCEMENT     │──┐
                      │   └────────────────────────────────┘  │
                      │   ┌────────────────────────────────┐  │
  ┌──────────┐        │   │ INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS      │  │   ┌──────────────┐
  │ VALUES   │◀───────┤   │ AGE, EDUCATION, FAMILY          │  ├──▶│ JOB          │
  │ DESIRES  │◀───────────│ BACKGROUND, MARITAL             │──────│ SATISFACTION │
  └──────────┘        │   │ STATUS, NUMBER OF               │  │   └──────────────┘
                      │   │ DEPENDENTS, WORK HISTORY,       │  │
                      │   │ ETC.                            │  │
                      │   └────────────────────────────────┘  │
                      │   ┌────────────────────────────────┐  │
                      └──▶│ PERCEIVED TASK ATTRIBUTES       │──┘
                          │ AUTONOMY , USE OF SKILLS        │
                          │ RECOGNITION, ETC.               │
                          └────────────────────────────────┘
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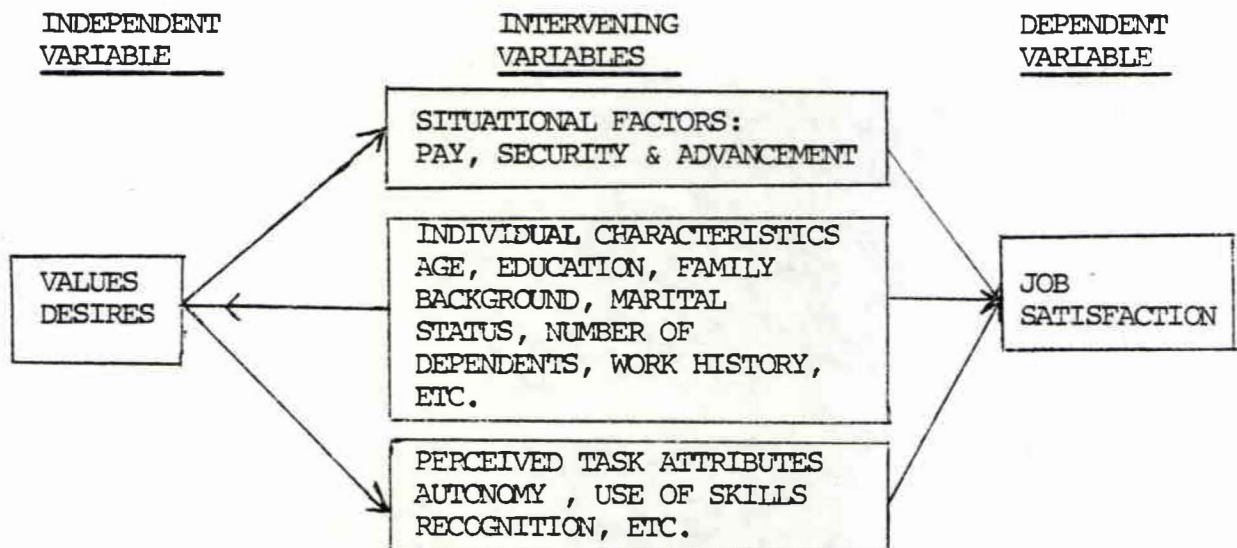
THE INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF KEY VARIABLES

THE DATA BASE

To test the hypothesis deduced from the author's conceptualisation of job satisfaction a secondary analysis of J. Loubser and M. Fullan's data on "Industrial Conversion and Workers Attitudes to Change in Different Industries"[18] was performed.

The data were obtained from the responses to a face-sheet questionnaire by 2,832 male employees living in the Oshawa-Toronto-Hamilton region and working in 17 firms in 6 major industrial complexes - oil, chemical, electrical,printing, automobile and steel. These industries were selected on the basis of expected variation in technology and the fact that they have been the subject of comparable studies in other countries. The data were collected by means of mailed questionnaire accompanied by the normal follow up and reminder letters to non-respondents. The response rate which on average was 50.3 percent, ranged from a low of 35.7 percent for one of the electrical firms to a high of 78.2 percent for a printing firm.

The standard procedure for selecting respondents was to sample the hourly rated workers in direct production, skilled maintenance workers and immediate supervisors in each firm. The production workers in the sample, according to the authors, are skilled and semi-skilled because unskilled workers do not relate directly to the production process and the questionnaire was found to be inappropriate for them. Thus, according to the authors, the skill level in the sample is higher than that for the average Canadian industrial worker. Within all but the 3 large firms employees in each of the 3 job categories, immediate supervision, skilled

maintenance and direct production were non-randomly sampled. In the automobile firms, the authors sampled 50 percent of skilled maintenance and 20 percent direct production workers, respectively, and 5 percent of immediate supervisors in the smaller firms whilst all immediate supervisors in the larger firms were included in the sample. In the largest Electrical products and Printing firms, they sampled 50 percent of direct production workers and all individuals in the other 2 job categories whilst in the steel firm, 40 percent of supervisors and 20 percent of the other 2 job categories were sampled. Generally then the sample was drawn from employees engaged in direct production, maintenance or first level supervision and classified into 4 major occupational groupings: 147 managers, 274 foremen, 1628 skilled workers and 774 semi-skilled workers.

On the issue of non-respondents the authors simply eliminated from the returns a questionnaire that has one or more pages unanswered. The questionnaire itself went through several revisions and was pre-tested on a small number of workers in a steel plant in a suburb of Toronto. The importance of the pre-test was that it provided a way to determine if the proposed questionnaire would function and if the respondents would co-operate in the research effort.

INSTRUMENTATION

For the purpose of this study the questionnaire was organised into three main parts:

a) <u>Biographical and Demographic Variables</u>:   These items or variables were used to obtain information about the personal background of the workers which might be related to their work values.   These variables were chosen to provide biographical and demographic data which have been empirically observed to be related to differences in behaviour.   Such items include age, marital status, community background, social class, level of education, father's occupation and work history.

b) <u>Job Satisfaction</u>:   A single measure referred to as satisfaction with the job in general (JIG) was used to measure job satisfaction.   "Taking into consideration all the things about your job (work), how satisfied or dissatisfified are you with it?"   Responses were based on a Likert five point scale.   Besides the JIG measure, the author used the job description index measure (JDI).   The JDI is an adjective check list which measures a respondent's satisfaction with separate aspects of the job, pay, promotion, recognition, ability to use skills.   Smith, Hulin and Kendall[19] have presented data concerning the validity and reliability of this measure.

c) <u>Orientation to Work</u>:   A single unambiguous question was used to measure a worker's work value.   "When you think about taking a job in another plant or company, what do you think is the most important consideration?"   Responses included both extrinsic and intrinsic rewards.

<u>DATA ANALYSIS</u>

All the computation was undertaken using SPSS.   In the preliminary stage of the analysis the author sought to determine the distributional

characteristics of the variables. This is because an initial examination of the frequency tables enables the researcher to ensure that each variable has sufficient variability to be used in subsequent relational analysis. Additionally, a frequency distribution in the early stages of the analysis enables the researcher to check the reliability of the data. This is to ensure that it has been coded, punched, and input to the desired specifications.[20]

The next step of the analysis was concerned with eliciting the respondents work values and the influence of the biographical and demographic variables on a respondent's orientation to work. To tap work values, respondents were asked a single unambiguous question and on the basis of their responses they were classified as either intrinsically or extrinsically oriented. "When you think about taking a job in another plant or company, what do you think is the most important consideration?

Higher pay and benefits	(Extrinsic)
More interesting work	(Intrinsic)
More security	(Extrinsic)
More control over my work pace and quality	(Intrinsic)
Better chance to use my abilities	(Intrinsic)
Better opportunities for advancement	(Extrinsic)
A greater sense of accomplishment	(Intrinsic)

Though there is no absolute consensus on the categories of work values it appears that values relevant to jobs and work fall into 2 categories as pointed out by Herzberg et al. Extrinsic values relate to aspects peripheral to the job and more concerned with the organisational environment whereas intrinsic values relate to the job itself.

After determining the work values of respondents, the author

proceeded to examine the influence of biographical and demographic variables on a worker's orientation to work. This was done by correlational tests. Psychological theory has been used to explain a worker's work values and little relevance has been attached to the social sources of these values. A strictly sociological approach to such a problem would assume that the values a worker places on various segments of his job are primarily a function of his social class, family background and the specific groups with which he identifies.[21] The author therefore sought for the influence of a worker's out of work experiences on his orientation to work. However, it is the author's contention that experiences on the job could also affect one's orientation to work so he examined the influence of job level and technology on orientation to work. The author wishes to point out that though he examined the influence of job level on orientation to work, the reinforcing processes by which jobs affect orientation to work and orientation to work reflect back on jobs are too complex and beyond the parameters of his data.

To examine the relationship between orientation to work and job satisfaction the author used another question to measure the rewards a respondent perceives to be getting from his job environment. "Which one of the following factors would you say is the most important to you in your relationship to your company?"

      a) The material benefits I get from my job. (Extrinsic)
      b) My relationship and loyalty to the men who work with me and the company itself. (Extrinsic)
      c) The sense of fulfillment and accomplishment I get from my job itself quite apart from such things as security and wages (Intrinsic)
      d) The feeling of being part of a concern that is trying to achieve certain goals and that I am contributing to reaching these goals (Intrinsic)

Responses to this question were dichotomised into either intrinsic or extrinsic. The author reasoned that it could be possible that some respondents who indicated an extrinsic or intrinsic orientation would be in job environments whose reward system would be congruent with their orientation whilst others would be in job environments whose reward system would be incongruent with their orientation. On the basis of this, respondents were classified into 3 groups - intrinsic, extrinsic and mixed. If the hypothesis holds, then those who are either extrinsic or intrinsic would be job satisfied because their orientation to work is congruent with their perceived organisational reward system whilst those in the mixed category would be dissatisfied. This is because their orientation to work would be incongruent with their perceived organisational reward system.

To test the hypothesis, the author used a multiple classification analysis (MCA) and the same procedure was used to test Saleh and Hyde's hypothesis. To run the analysis of variance (anova), a single question measuring job satisfaction in general was used as the dependent variable and orientation to work as the independent. The author used the same procedure to control for the effect of the biographical variables singly and collectively on the relationship between orientation to work and job satisfaction. In order to find the influence of satisfaction with various facets of the job on general job satisfaction, the author correlated the JDI measures with job satisfaction in general. Pearson's R was used to ascertain the contribution of the JDI scores to general job satisfaction.

Since this study has been described as a contribution to an on-going debate it is necessary to examine the influence of technology or

job satisfaction. Blue collar workers from three different industries - printing, oil and automobile were selected to represent three types of socio-technical systems identified in the literature - craft, continuous and mass production systems.

Initially, the author correlated job satisfaction with socio-technical system as the independent variable. In order to discern the causes of variation in job satisfaction the run was repeated with orientation to work controlled. Finally, the author created a composite measure for intrinsic and extrinsic satisfaction and compared across industries.

Thus for most of the analysis, the author used correlational strategy for the primary and secondary analysis. This involved both simple and multiple correlations because in sociological researches, researchers are usually interested in the investigation of sets of relationships among two or more variables and the type of analysis chosen depends largely on the characteristics of the variables and also must be adapted to the purpose and data of the investigation at hand.

Subprogram cross-tabulation designed to handle data analysis involving cross-classification of variables was used. The study used a combination of measures but the primary ones were Cramer's V. The Cramer's V has been found to be the most useful measure of association for comparing the strength of relationships involving nominal variables. Additionally Cramer's V ranges from zero to unity even when numbers of rows and columns vary between tables.[22] In order to ensure that relationships are not chance ones the author used significance levels (p) because it also provides a relevant and useful way of assessing the likelihood that

a real difference exists and also worthy of interpretive attention.[23]

Finally, in probing the hypothesis that job satisfaction is contingent upon value-fulfillment the author used multiple classification analysis (MCA). MCA was used because it allows for the analysis of variance and the estimation of the effect of the independent or the dependent variable. Additionally, it has been found to be useful when factors being examined are attribute variables like orientation to work and job satisfaction and also when the categorised variables are inter-related.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY:

This study attempts to provide a causal analysis of the concept of job satisfaction by advancing a theoretical reformulation of job satisfaction using orientation to work as independent variable. Though this study, hopefully provides an insight into such a befuddled area it is limited on two grounds which should be expected when one fishes in another's waters.

a) Measurement of Orientation to Work:

The measurement of the concept is currently a thorny issue as no adequate measures exist. Though Daniel has criticised the use of questionnaires and interviews the use of the concept in itself implies that the author has an idea of what he is looking for. However, the fact still remains that the measurement of the concept is problematic. Bennet has suggested the use of a wide-scale questionnaire approach backed up by indepth interviews.[24]

A second problem with the concept of orientation to work is whether such an orientation can be consistent over a period of time. It is quite possible for an individual who perceives his job environment as not providing the opportunities for his work values to make a trade-off for some other items which has good prospects of being attained. This problem notwithstanding, the author was merely interested in measuring orientation to work at a point in time and some of the factors influencing it.

In spite of these limitations, the author is hopeful that they were not in themselves potent enough to affect the credibility of the study.

In the next chapter the author presents his findings organised around these themes - orientation to work and its social correlates; orientation to work and job satisfaction and finally technology and job satisfaction.

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CHAPTER THREE

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

As pointed out this study is a contribution to the debate in industrial sociology about the place of orientation to work in explaining job satisfaction relative to technology. This debate which has spanned several journals has led to two distinct schools - the technological and social action schools. The technological school maintains that the technologically determined job characteristics should be considered as a fundamental determinant of worker attitudes (job satisfaction) and work behaviour. A corollary of this framework is that each distinctive technology, be it an automated process or automobile assembly-line, will give rise to characteristic work tasks that will determine the job satisfaction or dissatisfaction of workers in that technological environment. This framework derives its theoretical strength from certain ontological assumptions about human needs and therefore jobs that allow workers use of their skills, control over the workplace and opportunities to be creative would be found satisfying. This is because they satisfy the need for self-actualisation.

The perspective which provides the framework for this study recognises the importance of technology in determining job satisfaction but argues that in order to understand the concept of job satisfaction, it is imperative to focus on the orientation to work that workers bring to their job situation; because it is this orientation which defines what the worker wants out of his job situation and consequently which perceived

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organisational reward he will find satisfying.

Thus the conceptual framework developed focused on job satisfaction as a dependent variable and the orientation to work which workers hold as a crucial independent variable. This action frame of reference, as already pointed out, is that chiefly employed by Goldthorpe et al in their study of Luton workers which indicates that it is possible for workers to value certain rewards and devalue others depending on their perception of their work situation.

At the logical level of analysis, this framework provides some justification for the contention that the mediating influence which variations in orientation to work exert on job attitudes has greater explanatory power for an understanding of the causal basis of job satisfaction than the technological approach. Following this line of reasoning, the author's main purpose in this study was to explore the usefulness of the orientation to work approach for explaining and clarifying the absence of consensus among investigators when a causal analysis of the concept of job satisfaction is the overriding goal of their research effort.

The data analysis reported here are organised around three themes; orientation to work and relationship to background variables; orientation to work and job satisfaction and finally technology and job satisfaction. In the first stage of the analysis, the author used a single question to measure the work value of the respondents and on the basis of their responses they were classified as either extrinsically or intrinsically oriented. Using correlational analysis, the author examined the influence of selected background variables on orientation to work. In the second

stage, the author employed multiple classification analysis to test his hypothesis that job satisfaction is a function of work-value fulfillment. To do this, a question was used to measure the rewards a respondent perceives to be getting from his job environment and the extent to which it is congruent with his work value. A new variable, work-value congruency, was then created as the independent variable whilst a single question measuring job satisfaction was used as the dependent variable in the analysis of variance. In the final stage of the analysis the author investigated the influence of technology on job satisfaction. Workers from three different industries representing three socio-technical systems identified in the literature—craft, continuous and mass production systems were selected. Correlational analysis was then used to examine the relationship between job satisfaction and technology.

ORIENTATION TO WORK AND RELATIONSHIP TO BACKGROUND VARIABLES

In the initial chapters it was pointed out that workers are not born with any inherent, genetically given orientation to work. Thus whatever meanings they attach to work is a result of socialising experiences both in and outside the work environment. The author's concern in this section of the analysis was to investigate some of the background variables that could shape a worker's orientation to work which by definition determines what he desires or expects out of his work situation.

To determine the influence of age on orientation to work, the author dichotomised age into those under 40 and over 40. This was because Palmer has argued that age 40 was a kind of watershed in influences made

by age.[1] The general finding in the literature is that workers who are under 40 tend to be intrinsically oriented whilst those over 40 are extrinsically oriented.

TABLE 1

ORIENTATION TO WORK BY AGE

ORIENTATION TO WORK	UNDER 40	40 AND OVER
Extrinsic	62.5 (686)	58.6 (894)
Intrinsic	37.5 (411)	41.4 (632)
	100.0(1097)	100.0(1526)

Phi   .04 p. .04

However, the present analysis reveals the strength of the relationship between orientation to work and age to be extremely weak although statistically significant. (see Table 1). Moreover, the finding did not confirm those reported in earlier researches since those under 40 are somewhat more extrinsically oriented than those over 40. As 90 percent of the sample are married, it is possible marital status could explain the stress on extrinsic rewards. Thus in order to explain the relationship the author ran the correlation again, this time controlling for number of dependents. Table 2 illustrates the findings with number of dependents controlled.

TABLE 2

ORIENTATION TO WORK BY AGE BY NUMBER OF DEPENDENTS

ORIENTATION TO WORK	ONE OR NONE	UNDER 40		OVER 40	
Extrinsic		54.1	(164)	55.1	(268)
Intrinsic		45.9	(139)	44.9	(218)
		100.0	(303)	100.0	(486)
	MORE THAN ONE				
Extrinsic		65.7	(522)	60.2	(626)
Intrinsic		34.3	(272)	39.8	(414)
		100.0	(794)	100.0	(1040)

Orientation to work by age by number of dependents (one or more) phi - .01; p. N.S.

Orientation to work by age by number of dependents (more than one) phi .06, p.N.S.

It is evident from Table 2 that the overall relationship is weak and that among those with one or no dependent, age does not make much of a difference since both age categories are almost evenly represented on the two dimensions of orientation to work. However, among those with more than one dependent it could be seen from the table that those under 40 tend to stress extrinsic rewards slightly more than those over 40 and also regardless of age those with more than one dependent are more extrinsically oriented than those with one or no dependent. Though this finding is weak, it is similar to that of Goldthorpe et al so the author agrees with their contention that when samples are restricted to married men with dependents in the young age group there is a high probabilty of encounter- ing instrumental or extrinsic orientation to work.[2]

Besides age, and number of dependents, orientation was correlated,

with level of education, dichotomised into those with less than high school education and those with high school or more education. The general finding in the literature indicate that the task-centred opportunities for self-actualisation are of prime importance to highly educated workers whilst those with less education tend to stress extrinsic rewards in work.

TABLE 3

ORIENTATION TO WORK BY EDUCATION

ORIENTATION TO WORK	LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL	HIGH SCHOOL OR MORE
Extrinsic	62.0 (1211)	54.6 (366)
Intrinsic	38.0 (743)	45.4 (304)
	100.0 (1954)	100.0 (670)

Phi .07 p.008

The present analysis indicates a low positive association between education and orientation to work although statistically significant (see Table 3). However, the finding does confirm those in earlier researches since those with high school or more education are somewhat more intrinsically oriented than those with less than high school education. The relationship between education and orientation to work could be explained by the fact that education is a component of social class and since value systems are considered to be characteristics of socially-stratified groups, highly educated workers who are likely to be middle class would be intrinsically oriented compared to workers with low levels of education who are likely to be working class members.

Besides education, the author examined the influence of subjective

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Besides education, the author examined the influence of subjective

class identification on a respondent's orientation to work. In a study by Kohn and Schooler it was found that men of higher class position judge jobs more by intrinsic qualities whilst men of lower class position more by extrinsic characteristics.[3] Although the present relationship is not strong, the direction of the relationship is consistent with Kohn and Schooler's finding.

TABLE 4

ORIENTATION TO WORK BY SOCIAL CLASS

ORIENTATION TO WORK	MIDDLE CLASS	WORKING CLASS
Extrinsic	58.6 (828)	62.8 (730)
Intrinsic	41.4 (586)	37.2 (432)
	100.0 (1414)	100.0 (1162)

Phi .07 p .02

Another background variable identified in the literature as an influence on one's orientation to work is religious affiliation. In a study of a stratified sample of Detroit residents Lenski found differences in work values between four socio-religious groups. His general finding was that, Protestants were more likely to be committed to the ideals of the Protestant Ethic than Catholics.[4] In a table not reported the author found a negligible positive association between orientation to work and religion (Phi .07).

However, religious affiliation is not the only variable used in explaining orientation to work because researchers have pointed out that an intrinsic orientation to work is primarily a middle class work value.

In order to assess the extent to which social class mediates the
relationship between orientation to work and religious affiliation the
author ran the correlation again controlling for social class. Table 5
illustrates the findings.

TABLE 5

ORIENTATION TO WORK BY RELIGION BY SOCIAL CLASS

ORIENTATION TO WORK	MIDDLE CLASS	PROTESTANT	CATHOLIC
Extrinsic		59.0 (493)	59.7 (188)
Intrinsic		41.0 (343)	40.3 (127)
		100.0 (836)	100.0 (315)
	WORKING CLASS		
Extrinsic		62.2 (402)	68,4 (201)
Intrinsic		37.8 (244)	31.6 (93)
		100.0 (646)	100.0 (294)

Orientation to work by religion by social class (middle class)
Phi .01 p. N.S.
Orientation to work by religion by social class (working class)
Phi .06 p .06

It can be seen from the table that controlling for social class,
the strength of the relationship differs for the two groups. Among the
middle class, religious affiliation does not make much of a difference
with regards to orientation to work. It could be therefore argued that
middle class affiliation overrides the effect of religious affiliation.
However, there is a slight difference with regards to intrinsic orientation
among the working class, as working class Protestants are slightly more
intrinsically oriented compared to working class Catholics. In the view

of Hulin and Blood such workers are integrated into middle class work
values.[5]

One of the secondary hypotheses tested in this study was Turner
and Lawrence's finding that workers with a rural background are intrinsi-
cally oriented whilst those with urban background are extrinsically
oriented. Community background was categorised into 3 groups based on
population size - areas with - less than 20,000 were considered rural,
over 20,000 but below 500,000 considered urban whilst areas over 500,000
were considered metropolitan. Table 6 depicts the author's finding when
orientation to work is correlated with community background.

Table 6

ORIENTATION TO WORK BY COMMUNITY BACKGROUND

ORIENTATION TO WORK	RURAL	URBAN	METROPOLITAN
Extrinsic	59.7 (650)	60.9 (646)	59.4 (272)
Intrinsic	40.3 (439)	39.1 (415)	40.6 (186)
	100.0 (1089)	100.0 (1061)	100.0 (458)

Cramer's V .01 p. N.S.

The present analysis indicates a negligible positive association
between orientation to work and community background and even so, there
is no real differences in orientation to work between the 3 groups.
However, Turner and Lawrence conjectured that size of a community does
not in itself influence work values directly but religious affiliation
could mediate the relationship. They therefore wrote:

"Frequently this urban rural dichotomy is associated with religion in that the rural type of response to work is thought to be more closely related to the "Protestant Ethic" whereas the urban type of response is more likely to be identified with Catholicism. It can be argued for example that a rural and Protestant upbringing tends to promote an attitude toward living in which involvement in work and the job are more highly valued than in a culture with less stress on individual achievement and more interest in social and political activity off the job".[6]

To test Turner and Lawrence's finding, the author introduced religion as an explanatory variable dichotomised into Catholic and Protestant.

TABLE 7

ORIENTATION TO WORK BY COMMUNITY BACKGROUND BY RELIGION

ORIENTATION TO WORK	PROTESTANT	RURAL	URBAN	METRO
Extrinsic		59.6 (377)	60.5 (347)	60.6 (171)
Intrinsic		40.4 (256)	39.5 (227)	39.4 (111)
		100.0 (633)	100.0 (574)	100.0 (282)
	CATHOLIC			
Extrinsic		63.7 (179)	64.5 (178)	60.3 (38)
Intrinsic		36.3 (102)	35.5 (98)	39.7 (25)
		100.0 (281)	100.0 (276)	100.0 (63)

Orientation to work by community background by religion (Protestant)
Cramer's V .01 p N.S.
Orientation to work by community background by religion (Catholic)
Cramer's V .02 p N.S.

Table 7 reveals that the introduction of religion as a control variable did not change the pattern markedly among both groups. Besides, the relationship was statistically insignificant and extremely weak. The author therefore did not find any support for the contention that ruralities are likely to be intrinsically oriented and hence derive satisfaction from intrinsic aspects of the job.

Another influence on orientation to work identified in the literature is respondent's skill level. A study by Centers and Bugental reported that the value placed on intrinsic and extrinsic rewards in work was a function of occupational level.[7]

TABLE 8

ORIENTATION TO WORK BY SKILL LEVEL

	MANAGERS	SKILLED	SEMI-SKILLED
Better pay and benefits	18.8	23.5	22.1
More security	10.4	14.1	18.0
Better opportunities for advancement	28.5	24.0	18.9
Over extrinsic orientation	57.7	61.6	59.0
More interesting work	7.6	9.8	12.4
Better chance to use abilities	16.7	16.3	14.0
More control over workplace	0.7	2.0	5.9
Greater sense of accomplishment	17.4	10.3	8.7
Overall intrinsic orientation	42.3	38.4	41.0
Number of cases	144	1523	715

Cramer's V .11 p.05

As an analysis not reported here, found differences in orientation among the three skill levels was to be statistically insignificant and

weak, an analysis of the components of orientation to work by skill level was undertaken. Among the three skill levels, concern for better pay and benefits was important whereas the semi-skilled in addition stress more security. On the intrinsic dimension, the managerial class appears to be more concerned with a greater sense of accomplishment than the other two levels. Although there is only a low positive association between orientation to work and skill level the finding is in the predicted direction.

In their "Affluent Worker Studies", Goldthorpe et al asserted that, the extent of social mobility (highest occupational status achieved) was important in determining a respondent's orientation to work. They remarked that, "a fair amount of evidence can be produced from our study to lend support to the idea that downward mobility in some forms at least, may be a source of a markedly instrumental view of work".[8] To examine the influence of work history on a respondent's orientation to work the author correlated orientation to work with present job, controlling for the influence of first full-time job.

TABLE 9

ORIENTATION TO WORK BY PRESENT JOB BY FIRST-FULL-TIME JOB

ORIENTATION TO WORK	UNSKILLED	SEMI-SKILLED	SKILLED	FOREMAN	WHITE-COLLAR
Extrinsic		62.1 (197)	64.6 (462)	65.9 (58)	61.3 (19)
Intrinsic		37.9 (120)	35.4 (253)	34.1 (30)	38.7 (12)
		100.0 (317)	100.0 (715)	100.0 (88)	100.0 (31)
SEMI-SKILLED					
Extrinsic		57.2 (127)	61.2 (255)	51.8 (44)	62.9 (22)
Intrinsic		42.8 (95)	38.8 (162)	48.2 (41)	37.1 (13)
		100.0 (222)	100.0 (417)	100.0 (85)	100.0 (35)
SKILLED					
Extrinsic		58.7 (27)	58.6 (109)	50.0 (22)	53.2 (25)
Intrinsic		41.3 (19)	41.4 (77)	50.0 (22)	46.8 (22)
		100.0 (46)	100.0 (186)	100.0 (44)	100.0 (47)
WHITE-COLLAR					
Extrinsic		57.4 (31)	55.9 (57)	56.5 (13)	53.8 (14)
Intrinsic		42.6 (23)	44.1 (45)	43.5 (10)	46.2 (12)
		100.0 (54	100.0 (102)	100.0 (23)	100.0 (26)

Orientation to work by present job by first job (unskilled)
Cramer's V .03 p.N.S.
Orientation to work by present job by first job (Semi-skilled)
Cramer's V .06 p.N.S.
Orientation to work by present job by first job (skilled)
Cramer's v .07 p.N.S.
Orientation to work by present job by first job (white-collar)
Cramer's v .02 p.N.S.

As Table 9 reveals work history (first job) does not have any
marked influence on the relationship between orientation to work and
present job.

However, within the skilled and white-collar occupational categories, there is the tendency among those who have experienced downward mobility to be slightly less intrinsically oriented compared to those who are stable.

A respondent's father's education and occupation have been identified to be related to his orientation to work. Elder has noted that a father's occupation should be considered an important factor in the socialisation process and the transmission of work values to children.[9] Generally, having a well educated father would mean that the parental values to be transmitted will stress responsibility and other intrinsic work values. However, social class in North America (as in most parts of the world) is primarily determined by income and education and occupation is considered an index for the two variables.[10] The relationship between social class and orientation to work could therefore be explained as the cumulative effects of education and occupational position. To examine the relationship between a respondent's father's occupation and his work values the author controlled for father's education and the results are presented in Table 10 below.

TABLE 10

ORIENTATION TO WORK BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION BY FATHER'S EDUCATION

ORIENTATION TO WORK		WHITE-COLLAR	BLUE-COLLAR	FARMER
	LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL			
Extrinsic		61.9 (96)	61.9 (867)	61.0 (230)
Intrinsic		38.1 (59)	38.1 (534)	39.0 (147)
		100.0(155)	100.0(1401)	100.0 (377)
	HIGH SCHOOL OR MORE			
Extrinsic		48.4 (30)	51.2 (64)	53.8 (7)
Intrinsic		51.6 (32)	48.8 (61)	46.2 (6)
		100.0 (62)	100.0 (125)	100.0 (13)

Orientation to work by father's occupation by father's education
(less than high school)
Cramer's V .01 p.N.S.
Orientation to work by father's occupation by father's education
(high school or more)
Cramer's V .03 p.N.S

The relationship between a respondent's orientation to work by father's occupation controlling for father's education is not statistically significant. As Table 10 reveals, regardless of father's occupation respondents whose fathers had less than high school education tend to stress extrinsic orientation. However, among respondents whose fathers had high school or more education occupation does make a difference with regards to orientation to work. The relationship between higher education and occupation of respondent's father (especially white-collar) supports Saleh and Singh's finding that there is a positive relationship between

the skill level of the father's occupation and intrinsic work values.[11]

As Silverman has pointed out, one of the objections to social action analysis is that by playing down the importance of organisational determinants of work orientation, it appears to imply that only factors external to the organisation are important. He further points out that a quick reading of the analysis of the Luton material (Goldthorpe, 1966) could easily lead to the conclusion that the action frame of reference is correctly and perhaps completely characterised by an assumption that external factors alone shape orientations to work, a perspective which the author rejects.[12]

In his analysis of influences that shape an individual's orientation to work, the author focused on the relationship between orientation to work and the inplant situation indexed by the worker's relationship to technology. For the purposes of this study the author was only interested in variations in orientations that are a result of a worker's relationship to a specific technology so he used craft, mass and continuous process production system.

TABLE 11

ORIENTATION TO WORK BY TECHNOLOGY

ORIENTATION TO WORK	CONTINUOUS	CRAFT	MASS
Extrinsic	64.5 (245)	61.3 (750)	58.9 (277)
Intrinsic	35.5 (135)	38.7 (473)	41.1 (193)
	100.0 (380)	100.0 (1223)	100.0 (470)

Cramer's V .04 p.N.S.

As Table 11 reveals regardless of technology blue-collar workers in this sample tend to stress extrinsic orientation to work.

In this section of the analysis, the author has attempted an investigation of the factors that shape a worker's work values. As evident from the tables, most of the relationships are weak and one cannot make any substantive inferences from such relationships. However, quite a few such as education, skill level and social class showed a low positive association with orientation to work which indicates that work values could be the characteristics of socially stratified groups. An important influence on one's orientation to work could be his class position which is built on the cumulative effects of educational training and occupational position. Education is improtant in that it provides or fails to provide the ability for self direction whereas the importance of occupational position lies in the extent to which it also provides or fails to provide the experience of self-direction in work.

ORIENTATION TO WORK AND JOB SATISFACTION

The overriding concern of the author in this study is to test his contention that job satisfaction cannot be meaningfully understood unless it is considered in relation to the worker's orientation to work. For the purpose of this study orientation to work was defined as the worker's attitude to work as a whole, as well as, specific aspects of it. Job satisfaction, the major dependent variable was defined as a function of the discrepancy between what an individual wants out of his job and what he perceives the job situation to be providing. The primary

hypothesis then is that job satisfaction is contingent upon work value
fulfillment and the more important the value, the more crucial will job
satisfaction depend on its fulfillment.

A question which directly measures a worker's work value was
asked and it included both intrinsic and extrinsic work value systems.
Besides this question another, which measures the perceived rewards
from a respondent's organisational environment was also employed.

Following the author's conceptualisation, respondents whose work
value is congruent with the perceived organisational reward system
would be satisfied whilst those whose work values are incongruent with
the perceived rewards would be dissatisfied. Using multiple classifi-
cation analysis (MCA), the author investigated the influence of orientation
to work, classified into 3 categories on job satisfaction. Table 12
illustrates the findings.

TABLE 12

JOB SATISFACTION BY ORIENTATION TO WORK

JOB SATISFACTION UNADJUSTED ETA	ADJUSTED BETA	WORK-VALUE CONGRUENCY	CONTROLLING FOR AGE	CONTROLLING FOR MARITAL STATUS	CONTROLLING FOR SOCIAL CLASS	CONTROLLING FOR FATHER'S OCCUPATION	CONTROLLING FOR JOB LEVEL	ALL CONTROLS
3.60	3.62	Extrinsic	3.61	3.60	3.60	3.60	3.62	3.61
3.54	3.48	Mixed	3.54	3.54	3.54	3.54	3.54	3.56
3.77	3.86	Intrinsic	3.89	3.93	3.93	3.93	3.87	3.86
Eta .07	Beta .05		Beta .06	Beta .07	Beta .07	Beta .07	Beta .05	Beta .05
P. .01			.01	.07	.03	.01	.01	.03

MAIN EFFECTS OF WORK-VALUE CONGRUENCY ON JOB SATISFACTION .08.

a. Job Satisfaction has a grand mean of 3.60

b. The mixed category represents those whose work values are incongruent with their perceived organisational reward system.

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From the Table we can see that job satisfaction has a grand mean of 3.60. Respondents whose work values are congruent with the perceived organisational reward system have a mean satisfaction which is more than the grandmean (3.62 for extrinsic and 3.86 for intrinsic) compared to 3.48 for those whose work values are incongruent with the perceived organisational reward system. Thus, whilst those whose work values are congruent with the perceived organisational reward system have above mean satisfaction those whose work values are incongruent have below mean satisfaction. This finding therefore provides empirical support for the author's hypothesis.

In order to ascertain the influence of the biographical variables on the relationship, the author controlled for selected variables singly and collectively, but that did not affect the relationship significantly. On the whole, work-value congruency explains .08 of the variation in job satisfaction.

Another secondary hypothesis that was tested was Saleh and Hyde's finding that workers who are intrinsically oriented would be more satisfied than those who are extrinsically oriented. Table 13 which is a partial reproduction of Table 12 illustrates the author's confirmation of their hypothesis.

TABLE 13

JOB SATISFACTION SCORES FOR INTRINSICALLY & EXTRINSICALLY ORIENTED WORKERS

ORIENTATION TO WORK	JOB SATISFACTION SCORE
Extrinsic	3.62
Mixed	3.48
Intrinsic	3.86
Beta	.05

From the Table we can see that though both groups of respondents whose work values are congruent with the perceived organisational reward system are satisfied those who are intrinsically oriented are slightly more satisfied than those who are extrinsically oriented. However, it should be pointed out that while Saleh and Hyde's study tested their hypothesis across two job levels and for two educational levels the present study made no effort to do so.

In the analysis, the author also examined the contribution of all the facet satisfaction scores (JD1 Scores) to general job satisfaction. In his 2-Factory-Theory Herzberg postulated that factors intrinsic to the job are more important in determining a worker's job satisfaction than those extrinsic to the job.[13] Table 14 provides a confirmation of Herzberg's finding.

TABLE 14

CONTRIBUTION OF JD1 SCORES TO OVER-ALL JOB SATISFACTION

EXTRINSIC	RELATIONSHIP TO OVER-ALL SATISFACTION
	(Pearson's R)
Working Conditions	.25
Opportunities for Advancement	.38
Amount of Pay	.26
Amount of Security	.30
Amount of Contact	.26
INTRINSIC	
Recognition	.46
Control over Work Pace	.38
Amount of Decision-Making & Responsibility	.41
Extent to which skills could be used	.45
Feeling of Accomplishment	.52

It is evident from the Table that factors intrinsic to the job are generally more important to job satisfaction than extrinsic factors which explains why intrinsically oriented workers should be more satisfied than extrinsically oriented workers.

In this section of the study, the author has provided empirical support for his hypothesis that job satisfaction is a function of work value fulfillment and Saleh and Hyde's finding that intrinsically oriented workers would be more satisfied than extrinsically oriented workers. In the next section of the analysis the author will examine the explanatory power of technology relative to orientation to work in explaining job satisfaction.

TECHNOLOGY AND JOB SATISFACTION

Since this study was described as a contribution to an ongoing debate, the purpose of this section is to examine the extent to which the technologically determined characteristics of the job influence the satisfaction of workers in 3 different industries - Oil, Printing and Automobile, all of which employ different technologies.

In his book, Blauner asserts that "variations in technology are of critical interest to students of the human meaning of work because technology, more than any other factor, determines the nature of the tasks performed by blue-collar employees and has an important effect on a number of aspects of alienation"[14] (dissatisfaction). An important assumption underlying the technological approach, as already pointed out, is the universality of human needs, especially the need for self-actualisation. On the basis of this assumption, advocates of the technological approach argue that the technologically determined characteristics of the job are the most important independent variable since they determine the fulfillment of the self-actualisation need of workers. Thus in the view of advocates of this approach, job satisfaction (alienation) would be unequally distributed across industries to the extent that their distinctive technologies allow for the fulfillment of the self-actualisation need of their workers.

However, technology per se does not determine job satisfaction but more importantly it is the orientation of workers and its interaction with the perceived organisational reward system that determines job satisfaction. Technological determinists have pointed out the charactertics

of an ideal job to be those that provide opportunities for the use of
skills, autonomy, control over work pace and a feeling of accomplishment.
On the basis of these characteristics it is expected that workers in the
automobile industry should be least satisfied since the technologically
determined job characteristics of an assembly-line do not allow such
workers opportunities for self-actualisation. Table 15 below reports
the author's finding when job satisfaction is correlated with industry.[15]

TABLE 15

JOB SATISFACTION BY INDUSTRY

JOB SATISFACTION	OIL	PRINTING	AUTOMOBILE
Very Dissatisfied	3.4 (9)	3.8 (19)	9.1 (21)
Fairly Dissatisfied	10.8 (29)	15.2 (75)	19.0 (44)
Ambivalent	15.7 (42)	13.0 (64)	27.7 (64)
Fairly Satisfied	51.1(137)	51.2 (253)	37.7 (87)
Very Satisfied	19.0 (51)	16.8 (83)	6.5 (15)
	100.0(268)	100.0 (494)	100.0 (231)

Cramer's V .17   p .000

The relationship between job satisfaction and industry though
statistically significant (p.000) shows a low negative association as
indicated by a Cramer's V.17. However, it is evident from the Table
that workers in the Oil Industry are highest on job satisfaction 70
percent; followed by Printing 68 percent and least of all Automobile
44 percent. With regards to dissatisfaction workers in the Automobile
industry are highest 28 percent, whereas Oil is least 14 percent.
Following from the author's theoretical framework, it would be argued

that the high satisfaction expressed by Oil workers is the result of
the congruency between their work values and their perception of their
organisational reward system. However, this finding provides a strong
support for the technological explanation of job satisfaction in that
industries whose technologically determined job characteristics allow
for self-actualisation will have workers with high levels of job
satisfaction and vice versa.

However, in order to subject this finding to further statistical
test the author introduced orientation to work as an intervening variable.
The table below illustrates the findings when job satisfaction is
correlated with technology controlling for orientation to work.

TABLE 16

JOB SATISFACTION BY TECHNOLOGY BY ORIENTATION TO WORK

JOB SATISFACTION	EXTRINSIC ORIENTATION	OIL	PRINTING	AUTOMOBILE
Very Dissatisfied		3.2 (5)	4.4 (12)	6.1 (7)
Fairly Dissatisfied		9.6 (15)	13.1 (36)	13.2 (15)
Ambivalent		12.7 (20)	12.4 (34)	28.1 (32)
Fairly Satisfied		58.0 (91)	52.9 (145)	44.7 (51)
Very Satisfied		16.6 (26)	17.2 (47)	7.9 (9)
		100.1(157)	100.0 (274)	100.0 (114)
	INTRINSIC ORIENTATION			
Very Dissatisfied		4.5 (4)	2.6 (5)	12.0 (12)
Fairly Dissatisfied		12.5 (11)	18.4 (36)	25.0 (25)
Ambivalent		22.7 (20)	14.8 (29)	28.0 (28)
Fairly Satisfied		42.0 (37)	49.0 (96)	30.0 (30)
Very Satisfied		18.2 (16)	15.3 (30)	5.0 (5)
		99.9 (88)	100.1 (196)	100.0 (100)

Job Satisfaction by industry by orientation to work (extrinsic)
Cramer's V .15 p.002
Job Satisfaction by industrv by orientation to work (intrinsic)
Cramer's v .21 p .000

Controlling for orientation to work did not affect the pattern found in the zero-order test. In both categories, workers in the oil industry are highest on satisfaction whilst automobile workers are lowest. Though orientation to work could mediate the relationship between technology and job satisfaction, workers in industries where the technology allows for self-actualisation tend to be more satisfied than those whose technologically determined job characteristics do not allow for self-actualisation. However, the Cramer's V for the sub-samples suggest that with orientaion to work controlled technology affects extrinsic satisfaction but not intrinsic. This probably could be attributed to the fact that the technologically determined job characteristics of workers reflected in their skill levels affect such extrinsic rewards as pay and interpersonal relationships.

Following the author's conceptualisation of job satisfaction, he did a breakdown of orientation to work by industry to examine which of the components of orientation to work are stressed by the sample. This was then compared with the perceived opportunities available in the job situation for the satisfaction of that work value. Table 17 illustrates the breakdown of orientation to work by industry.

TABLE 17

ORIENTATION TO WORK BY INDUSTRY

Most important consideration
when thinking of taking
another job

		INDUSTRY	
EXTRINSIC	OIL	PRINTING	AUTOMOBILE
Better pay and benefits	25.7 (63)	21.6 (102)	20.9 (45)
More Security	9.8 (24)	10.8 (51)	19.1 (41)
Better opportunities for Advancement	28.6 (70)	26.2 (124)	13.5 (29)
Overall Extrinsic Orientation	64.1 (157)	58.6 (277)	53.5 (115)
INTRINSIC			
More Interesting Work	8.2 (20)	8.9 (42)	12.1 (26)
More Control over work pace & quality	2.4 (6)	2.5 (12)	9.3 (20)
Better chance to use abilities	16.3 (40)	18.6 (88)	15.8 (34)
Greater sense of accomplishment	9.0 (22)	11.4 (54)	9.3 (20)
Overal Intrinsic	35.9 (88)	41.4 (196)	46.5 (100)

Cramer's V .16 p .000

It is evident from the table that automobile workers have the highest score on overall intrinsic orientation. Thus, following from the author's conceptualisation of job satisfaction, the dissatisfaction expressed by the automobile workers could be a result of the unavailability of opportunities for the satisfaction of their intrinsic orientation. In other words, automobile workers experience a discrepancy in their perception of their organisational reward system relative to their work value and not because their work tasks do not possess the characteristics of the ideal job.

Since Herzberg, most studies of job satisfaction have abandoned the traditional view of the concept and instead have come to perceive it in terms of two set of factors- satisfaction with the nature of the

job (intrinsic satisfaction) and satisfaction with factors peripheral to the job (extrinsic satisfaction).[16] Besides comparing job satisfaction by industry, the author compared levels of intrinsic and extrinsic satisfaction across industries.

Intrinsic satisfaction was measured by responses to these questions:

How satisfied are you with the following aspects of your job? –

(a) The recognition you get from your job.
(b) Your control over the pace and quality of work.
(c) The extent to which you can use your skills.
(d) The feeling of accomplishment from the work you are doing.

Extrinsic satisfaction on the other hand was measured by responses to the following questions;

How satisfied are you with the following aspects of your job?

(a) The conditions under which you have to work (lighting, etc.)
(b) The opportunities for advancement in your job.
(c) The amount of pay you get on your job.
(d) The amount of security you have on your job.

Each of the measures of satisfaction took the form of a Likert type scale:
    Very Dissatisfied
    Fairly Dissatisfied
    Ambivalent
    Fairly Satisfied
    Very Satisfied

The four items were summed for each scale and had a theoretical range of 5 to 25. The range was arbitrarily divided into 3 categories with slightly different cut-off points for the two scales. Extrinsic satisfaction had a range of (5-9) high; (10-15) medium; and (16-25) low whilst intrinsic satisfaction had a range of (5-9) high; (10-16) medium and (17-25) low.

Table 18 shows extrinsic satisfaction by industry.

TABLE 18

EXTRINSIC SATISFACTION BY INDUSTRY

EXTRINSIC SATISFACTION	OIL	PRINTING	AUTOMOBILE
High (5-9)	38.7 (103)	19.2 (95)	15.5 (36)
Medium (10-15)	56.4 (150)	66.3 (329)	63.1 (147)
Low (16-25)	4.9 (13)	14.5 (72)	21.5 (50)
	100.0 (266)	100.0 (496)	100.1 (233)

Cramer's V .18 p .000

From the Table we can see that Oil with 39 percent is highest on extrinsic satisfaction whilst Automobile workers with 22 percent are lowest.

Table 19 illustrates intrinsic satisfaction by industry. Again Oil has the highest satisfaction (30 percent) and Automobile workers the least (34 percent). Because of the slightly different cut-off points these scales indicate different levels of job satisfaction, extrinsic and intrinsic by industry but Oil consistently shows highest satisfaction on both scales and automobile workers lowest.

TABLE 19

INTRINSIC SATISFACTION BY INDUSTRY

INTRINSIC SATISFACTION	OIL	PRINTING	AUTOMOBILE
High (5-9)	28.9 (77)	26.8 (133)	14.2 (33)
Medium (10-16)	58.6 (156)	61.1 (303)	51.9 (121)
Low (17-25)	12.4 (33)	12.1 (60)	33.9 (79)
	99.9 (266)	100.0 (496)	100.0 (233)

Cramer's V .18 p .000

In this section of the analysis the author has attempted to explore the relationship between technology and job satisfaction and also to compare the relative explanatory power of orientation to work and technology in explaining job satisfaction. It is evident from the results obtained that workers who are in technological environments in which the job characteristics allow for self-actualisation would be more satisfied than those whose jobs do not allow for the fulfillment of such a need. Hence the consistently high satisfaction of oil workers compared to the consistently low satisfaction of automobile workers - a relationship which was not affected by the introduction of orientation to work as a control variable. However, a finding which seems to provide some support for the author's conceptualisation and therefore explains the apparent dissatisfaction of automobile workers was that reported in Table 17.

It is evident from that table that, automobile workers had the highest score on overall intrinsic orientation, but they are in a job

environment where opportunities for the satisfaction of intrinsic work values are bleak. Following from the author's conceptualisation of job satisfaction the dissatisfaction of automobile workers could be explained as being the result of a lack of congruence between work values and perceived organisational reward system - a position which the finding in Table 12 provides empirical support. In conclusion, then, the statistical analysis of the data supports the original hypothesis but provides conflicting support for the explanatory power of orientation to work relative to technology in explaining job satisfaction.

In the concluding chapter the author provides a summary of the findings, explanations for the inability of orientation to work to influence the relationship between technology and job satisfaction, implications of the study and finally problems for further research.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Loubser, J. & Fullan, M., <u>Industrial Conversion and Workers' Attitudes to Change In Different Industries</u> (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970) p. 10.

2. Goldthorpe, <u>et al</u>, <u>The Affluent Worker</u> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968) p. 149.

3. Kohn, M. Schooler, C., "Class, Occupation and Orientation", <u>American Sociological Review</u>, 1969, 34, pp. 659-679.

4. Lenski, G., <u>The Religious Factor</u> (New York: Doubleday, 1961)p.47.

5. Hulin, C. & Blood, M., "Job Enlargement, Individual Differences and Worker Responses", <u>Psychological Bulletin</u>, 1968, 69, pp. 41-55.

6. Turner, A. & Lawrence, P., <u>Industrial Jobs and the Worker</u> (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1965) p. 69.

7. Centers, R. & Bugental, D., "Intrinsic and Extrinsic Job Motivations Among Different Segments of the Working Population". <u>Journal of Applied Psychology</u>, 1966, 50, pp. 193-197.

8. Goldthorpe, <u>et al</u>, <u>op. cit.</u> p. 167.

9. Elder, G.H., "Adolescent Socialisation and Development" in Borgatta, E. & Lambert, W. (eds.) <u>Handbook of Personality Theory and Research</u> (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1968) p. 46.

10. Blishen, B.R., "A Socio-Economic Index for Occupations in Canada" <u>Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology</u>,1967, 4, pp. 41-53.

11. Saleh, S. & Singh, T., "Work-Values of White-Collar Employees As a Function of Sociological Background", <u>Journal of Applied Psychology</u>, 1973, 58, pp. 131-133.

12. Silverman, D., <u>The Theory of Organisations</u> (London: Heineman Educational Books, 1970) p. 184.

13. Herzberg et al, <u>The Motivation to Work</u> (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc. 1959) p. 60.

14. Blauner, R., <u>Alienation and Freedom</u> (Chicago: University Press, 1964) p. 8.

15. Only workers working with the technology characteristic of the industry were included - continuous for oil; craft for printing and assembly-line for automobile. Therfore industry and technoloby are used interchangeably.

16. See for example, Wernimount, P. "Intrinsic and Extrinsic Factors in Job Satisfaction",Journal of Applied Psychology, 1966, 50 pp. 41-50.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study describes an attempt to develop a causal analysis
of the concept of job satisfaction whilst contributing to the debate
among industrial sociologists about the place of orientation to work in
explaining job satisfaction relative to technology. Advocates of the
technological approach argue that the nature of the job that an employee
performs is fundamental in determining whether he experiences satisfaction
or dissatisfaction in his work. In their Luton study, Goldthorpe et al
acknowledged the importance of technology in influencing job satisfaction
but on the basis of their findings, argued that the starting point for
an explanation of job satisfaction did not lie with technology per se
but instead the worker's ordering of wants and expectations which defines
his perception of the work situation and the meaning thus given to work.

In formulating the theoretical framework for this study the author
elected to focus on orientation to work, because in his view, the way a
worker orders his wants and expectations is the most important variable
that a sociological perspective should advance in any theoretical model
of job satisfaction. From this perspective job satisfaction is determined
by the degree of congruence between a worker's work value system and the
organisational reward system. This conceptualisation then gave rise to
the hypothesis that "Job Satisfaction is a positive function of the
fulfillment of work values. The more important the value, the more

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strongly will job satisfaction depend on its fulfillment".

A starting point in the analysis was the discovery of factors that account for variations in orientation to work among the sample. It was pointed out in the second chapter that human beings are not born with any genetically, inherent orientation to work and therefore whatever meaning they come to attach to work is a result of factors both external and internal to the job situation. Analysis reported in the previous chapter revealed that most of the relationships are weak and statistically insignificant and hence one cannot make any substantive inferences from such tables. However, in spite of the generally weak relationships, there appeared to be a low positive association between orientation to work and such variables as class, education and job level.

As could be seen from Table 4 workers with middle class background are more likely to stress an intrinsic orientation to work compared to those with working class background. This relationship could be said to be the cumulative effect of education and job level because as Blishen points out, class membership is a function of income and job levels. It therefore appears reasonable that any explanation of the relationship between social class and orientation to work must take into consideration the fact that both education and job level are included. Tables 3 and 8 reveal that although respondents with high school or more education and those in high level jobs are in the minority in both categories, they are more likely to stress intrinsic orientation compared to those with less than high school education and those in lower level jobs.

Education might be important in the formation of work values because it raises one's aspiration as to what he can do, a point noted

by Kohn and Schooler when they wrote; "Educational level is pertinent to values and orientation insofar as education provides the intellectual flexibility and breadth of perspective that are essential for self-directed values and orientation; lack of education must seriously inter-fere with men's ability to be self-directed".[1] Besides education, occupation as a component of social class also determines the extent to which occupational self-direction would be possible. Kohn and Schooler have noted that occupational position is important in value formation because it determines the conditions of self-direction that jobs provide or preclude. Thus whereas conditions of work at lower social class levels tend to restrict men to focus primarily on extrinsic rewards, those at higher occupational levels tend to stress intrinsic rewards.[2] In a study by Friendlander,[3] it was also pointed out that work values are a primary function of one's occupational culture, a point which gives some credence to the view that the values a worker places upon the various facets of his working environment are a primary function of the social location he occupies and the groups he identifies with.

One of the secondary hypotheses tested in this study was Turner and Lawrence's contention that workers with rural background seek satis-faction from intrinsic aspects of the job and hence are intrinsically oriented. In this study the author was unable to find any support for this hypothesis (see Tables 6 and 7).

The relationship between orientation to work and such background variables as marital status, number of dependents, age, work history and religion were no where near significance level. However, when the relationship between orientation to work and present job was run controlling

for first job it was found that within the skilled and white-collar
occupational categories there is the tendency among those who have
experienced downward mobility to be slightly less intrinsically oriented
compared to those who are stable (Table 9). In summary, although the
relationship between orientation to work and the background variables
are weak they seem to provide some slight support to Friedlander's
finding that orientation to work is a characteristic of socially
stratified groups.

The overriding interest of the author in this study was to find
support for his contention that job satisfaction is a function of work
value fulfillment; that is to say, workers whose work values are congruent
with their perceived organisational reward system will be job satisfied
and vice versa. As indicated in the previous chapter, two questions
were used to create a variable - work-value congruency which was used as
an independent variable in the analysis of variance. Table 12 revealed
that those whose work values are congruent with their organisational reward
system show above average satisfaction whilst those whose work values are
incongruent with their reward system show below average satisfaction - a
finding which provides empirical support for the author's hypothesis
although work value congruency explains only 8 percent of the variation
in job satisfaction.

Another secondary hypothesis tested in this study was Saleh and
Hyde's finding that intrinsically oriented workers would be more job
satisfied than extrinsically oriented workers. Table 13 which is a
partial reproduction of Table 12 shows that although both groups have
above average satisfaction, intrinsically oriented workers are slightly

more satisfied. This relationship was explained by the finding in Table 14 which shows the contribution of JDI scores to overall satisfaction. As can be seen from that table, factors intrinsic to the job contribute more to job satisfaction than those external to the job and hence explains the higher satisfaction of intrinsically oriented workers.

Since this study was described as a contribution to the debate between orientation to work and technology in determining job satisfaction, the author compared the explanatory power of those two variables in his analysis. As evident from Table 15 when job satisfaction is correlated with technology (defined by industry) it provides support for the argument of the technological school that in those technological situations which allow workers autonomy, discretion, use of skills, they would record high satisfaction compared to those which did not allow for such attributes. This therefore provides explanation for the high satisfaction of oil workers compared to the relatively low satisfaction of automobile workers. In order to provide support for the author's conceptualisation of job satisfaction, the run was repeated controlling for orientation to work but that did not affect the general pattern markedly as could be seen from Table 16.

From these findings it would appear that technology holds more explanatory power than orientation to work in explaining job satisfaction. In the last stage of the analysis, the author did a breakdown of orientation to work into its component parts and correlated with technology (industry). As could be seen from Table 17, automobile workers were highest on over-all intrinsic orientation. Following the author's conceptualisation of job satisfaction, the relatively low satisfaction of automobile workers

could be a result of their inability to find opportunities for the fulfillment of their intrinsic work value, and not because the technological situation does not provide the characteristics of the ideal job.

Though the author was able to find support for his view that job satisfaction is a function of work value attainment, in conclusion, it is fair to point out that when the relative strength of technology and orientation to work is examined it appears technology is more power-ful in explaining job satisfaction than orientation to work. In the next section the author provides an explanation for this situation.

CONCLUSION

In the previous chapter it was reported that the findings of this study indicate support for the socio-technical view of job satisfaction rather than the social action approach. The purpose of this section then is to attempt a speculative explanation for this contradictory finding.

From a social action perspective, Goldthorpe et al, pointed out that inspite of the structuring of tasks by the technical system a powerful determinant of work attitudes is the worker's orientation to work which defines the rewards the worker will either value or devalue. In their Luton study, their sample of workers were characterised by an instrumental orientation and although they expressed feelings of discontent with the intrinsic deprivations of their jobs, Goldthorpe et al asserted that it was unimportant in assessing their overall job

satisfaction. They stated that "The primary meaning of work is as a means to an end or ends external to the work situation; that is, work is regarded as a means of acquiring the income necessary to support a valued way of life of which work itself is not an integral part. Work is therefore experienced as mere labour in the sense of an expenditure of effort which is made for extrinsic rather than intrinsic rewards".[4] A major difference between the Luton study and the present one is the author's conceptualisation of work orientation as either intrinsic or extrinsic. A possible reason for the absence of support for the social action approach could be attributed to the fact that, the sample of workers in this study came from a different cultural background, and since culture is relevant in determining what one should strive to derive from work, and what a good job is supposed to be, they expressed different wants and expectations hence making it impossible to provide support for the social action approach.

The preceding discussion point at some shortcomings with the Luton study which invariably might have affected the findings of the present study. However, since the author conceptualised orientation to work as either intrinsic or extrinsic account was taken of cultural differences with regards to a workers expectation and wants from his job. In this study, orientation to work was made the central variable but as Daniel has noted the social action approach is fraught with problems of operational definition and measurement of its key variable - orientation to work.[5] A difficult task in hypothesis verification is the development of accurate measures for the theoretical constructs if results are to be significant and meaningful. This therefore means that measures should

exhibit construct validity, that is to say, a measure must reflect a construct according to the operational specifications set out by the conceptualisation. This is because the definition of a construct and its hypothesised relationship with other variables in a system of relationships places certain requirements on the operation employed to measure the construct.

Thus although any type of theoretically logical relationships may be hypothesised, what is important is that the measure acts as predicted, that is to say, the measurement must have construct validity. The definition of orientation to work is suggestive of the fact that one looks for at least two measures of the concept, which implies that the researcher should be able to ascertain those things which are least desired. Besides, one should also be able to assess the extent to which the employment situation can provide opportunities for the satisfaction of these desires, because it is possible that when one is unable to satisfy his desires he will probably make a trade off for something he has very good prospects of satisfying. These problems then attest to the importance of Vroom's assertion that a single measure of orientation to work would be misleading.[6] Thus it is not surprising that a poorly measured variable which was supposed to be central to the theoretical framework advanced was incapable of moderating the influence between technology and job satisfaction.

Future researchers using orientation to work would have to adhere Bennett's view that no single method should be used but instead, whatever measure is used should be complemented by others. He advocates the use of wide-scale questionnaire backed by indepth interviews and on this

basis, a total measure would be achieved by getting the individual to respond to a number of items with respect to desire and expectation. Finally, the score on each measure would be multiplied to achieve a composite orientation measure.[7]

In conclusion, the author hopes that when the idea of orientation to work as comprising two components - extrinsic and intrinsic is incorporated into the social action approach and with an accurate technique for measuring it, preferably that formulated by Bennett it will improve the explanatory power of the social action approach. The task of management then would be to try and enhance job satisfaction by minimising the discrepancy between orientation to work and organisational reward system.

FOOTNOTES

1. Kohn, M.L. & Schooler, C. "Class, Occupation and Orientation",
    American Sociological Review, 1969, p. 675.

2. Ibid, p. 676.

3. Friedlander, F. "Comparative Work Value Systems", Personnel Psychology,
    1965, 18, p. 4.

4. Goldthorpe, J. et al The Affluent Worker: Industrial Attitudes
    and Behaviour. Cambridge: University Press, 1968, pp. 38-39.

5. Daniel, W.W. "Industrial Behaviour and Orientation to Work - A
    Critique", Journal of Management Studies, 1969, 6, p. 366.

6. Vroom, V.H. Work and Motivation. New York: John Wiley and Sons,
    1964, p. 90.

7. Bennett, R. "Orientation to Work and Some Implications for Management".
    Journal of Management Studies, 1974, May, p. 161.

APPENDIX

A. First, we would like to ask you some questions about yourself. Please answer all questions as best you can by circling one number only for each question.

1. My sex is:

    (1) Male
    (2) Female

2. My age at my last birthday was:

    (1) under 20
    (2) 20 - 24
    (3) 25 - 29
    (4) 30 - 34
    (5) 35 - 39
    (6) 40 - 44
    (7) 45 - 49
    (8) 50 - 65
    (9) over 65

3. My present marital status is:

    (1) single
    (2) married
    (3) separated
    (4) divorced
    (5) widowed

4. How much schooling have you completed?

    (1) Some grade school.
    (2) Completed grade school.
    (3) Some high School (academic)
    (4) Completed high school (academic)
    (5) Some high school (technical or business)
    (6) Completed high school (technical or business)
    (7) Some College
    (8) Completed College
    (9) Graduate or professional training

5. How much schooling has your father completed?

          (1) Some grade school
          (2) Completed grade school
          (3) Some high school (academic)
          (4) Completed high school (academic)
          (5) Some high school (technical or
                            business)
          (6) Completed high school (technical
                            or business)
          (7) Some College
          (8) Completed College
          (9) Graduate or professional training

6. What is the size of the community in which you grew up?

          (1) Rural district, farm
          (2) Less than 5,000 population
          (3) 5,000 to under 20,000
          (4) 20,000 to under 50,000
          (5) 50,000 to under 100,000
          (6) 100,000 to under 250,000
          (7) 250,000 to under 500,000
          (8) 500,000 to under one million
          (9) One million and over

7. If you had to choose, to which one of the following social classes would you say you belong?

          (1) Upper class
          (2) Upper middle class
          (3) Lower middle class
          (4) Working class
          (5) Lower class

B. In this section, we would like to ask you about your job and how you feel about the work you do. Please check one number only for each question, when it applies.

7. What is your present job?

          (1) Managerial
          (2) Clerical
          (3) Foreman
          (4) Skilled Production
          (5) Skilled Trades (maintenance)
                  Technicians
          (6) Semi-Skilled production (including
                  inspection) Repairmen
          (7) Semi-Skilled Non-production
          (8) Unskilled
          (9) Apprentice

9. What was the last job you had before you took your present job?

    (1) Same job (as previous one)
    (2) Same job title
    (3) Professional, supervisory
    (4) Professional, non-supervisory
    (5) Entrepreneur, large business
    (6) Entrepreneur, small business
    (7) Managerial, high level
    (8) Managerial, intermediate
    (9) Clerical and Sales, supervisory
  (10) Clerical and Sales, non-supervisory
  (11) Labour, supervisory or foreman
  (12) Skilled Production
  (13) Skilled maintenance trades
  (14) Semi-Skilled production
  (15) Semi-Skilled non-production
  (16) Unskilled
  (17) Other
  (18) Unspecified
  (19) Farmers

10. What was your father's main job or type of work during most of his lifetime?

    (1) Professional, supervisory
    (2) Professional, non-supervisory
    (3) Entrepreneur, large business
    (4) Entrepreneur, small business
    (5) Managerial, high level
    (6) Managerial, intermediate or low
         level
    (7) Clerical and Sales, supervisory
    (8) Clerical and Sales, non-supervisory
    (9) Labour supervisory, foreman
  (10) Skilled Production
  (11) Skilled Trades
  (12) Semi-Skilled Production
  (13) Semi-Skilled Non-Production
  (14) Unskilled
  (15) Other
  (16) Unspecified
  (17) Farmer

11. When you think about taking a job in another plant or company, what do you think is the most important consideration?

    (1) Higher pay and benefits
    (2) More interesting work
    (3) More security
    (4) More control over my work pace and
         quality

11. (continued)

    (5)   Better chance to use my abilities
    (6)   Better opportunities for advancement
    (7)   A greater sense of accomplishment

12. What is your yearly income from your present job, before deductions?

    (1)   under $3,000
    (2) $3,000 to $3,999
    (3) $4,000 to 4,999
    (4)   5,000 to 5,999
    (5)   6,000 to 6,999
    (6)   7,000 to 7,999
    (7)   8,000 to 8,999
    (8)   9,000 to 9,999
    (9)   10,000 or more

13. Does your wife/husband have a steady paying job?

    (1)   Yes, full time
    (2)   Yes, part time
    (3)   No.
    (4)   I am not married

14. How many persons (other than yourself) depend on you for more than half of their support?

    (1)   None
    (2)   One
    (3)   Two
    (4)   Three
    (5)   Four
    (6)   Five or more

15. If your wife or husband works, please indicate what her or his yearly income is.

    (1)   Under $1,000
    (2) $1,000 to 1,999
    (3)   2,000 to 2,999
    (4)   3,000 to 3,999
    (5)   4,000 to 3,999
    (6)   5,000 to 5,999
    (7)   6,000 to 6,999
    (8)   7,000 to 9,999
    (9)   Over 10,000

16. Taking into consideration all the things about your job (work), how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with it?

        (1) Very dissatisfied
        (2) Fairly dissatisfied
        (3) Neither satisfied or dissatisfied
        (4) Fairly satisfied
        (5) Very satisfied

17. About how long have you been with the company?

        (1) Less than one year
        (2) 1 - 3 years
        (3) More than 3, but less than 6 years
        (4) 6 - 9 years
        (5) More than 9, but less than 12 years
        (6) 12 - 15 years
        (7) Over 15 years

18. How satisfied are you with the following aspects of your job? Please circle one number only for each aspect depending on how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with it.

    Working conditions

        (1) Very satisfied
        (2) Fairly satisfied
        (3) Not certain
        (4) Fairly dissatisfied
        (5) Very dissatisfied

19. Opportunities for advancement.

        (1) Very satisfied
        (2) Fairly satisfied
        (3) Not certain
        (4) Fairly dissatisfied
        (5) Very dissatisfied

20. Recognition respond gets.

        (1) Very satisfied
        (2) Fairly satisfied
        (3) Not certain
        (4) Fairly dissatisfied
        (5) Very dissatisfied

21. Amount of pay.

        (1) Very satisfied
        (2) Fairly satisfied
        (3) Not certain

21. Amount of pay (continued)

        (3) Not certain
        (4) Fairly dissatisfied
        (5) Very dissatisfied

22. Amount of security.

        (1) Very satisfied
        (2) Fairly satisfied
        (3) Not certain
        (4) Fairly dissatisfied
        (5) Very dissatisfied

23. Control over work pace and quality.

        (1) Very satisfied
        (2) Fairly satisfied
        (3) Not certain
        (4) Fairly dissatisfied
        (5) Very dissatisfied

24. Amount of decision-making and responsibility.

        (1) Very satisfied
        (2) Fairly satisfied
        (3) Not certain
        (4) Fairly dissatisfied
        (5) Very dissatisfied

25. Extent to which respondent can use his skills.

        (1) Very satisfied
        (2) Fairly satisfied
        (3) Not certain
        (4) Fairly dissatisfied
        (5) Very dissatisfied

26. Feeling of accomplishment.

        (1) Very satisfied
        (2) Fairly satisfied
        (3) Not certain
        (4) Fairly dissatisfied
        (5) Very dissatisfied

27. Amount of contact with other workers.

      (1) Very satisfied
      (2) Fairly satisfied
      (3) Not certain
      (4) Fairly dissatisfied
      (5) Very dissatisfied

28. Which one of the following comes closest to describing what you do on your job?

      (1) Minding and checking a continuous automatic process.
      (2) Using tools to produce something that requires a lot of skill.
      (3) Using and controlling a machine to do a job that requires a lot of decisions and skill on my part
      (4) Using or tending a machine that does not require much skill
      (5) Always doing the same part of the job on an assembly line while other workers do other parts of the whole job
      (6) Not a production worker

29. Which one of the following factors would you say is most important to you in your relationship to your company?

      (1) The material benefits I get from my job (such as pay, security, etc.)
      (2) My relationships and loyality to the men who work with me and the company itself
      (3) The sense of fulfillment and accomplishment I get from my job itself, quite apart from such things as security and wages
      (4) The feeling of being a part of a concern that is trying to achieve certain goals and that I am contributing to reaching these goals

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