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PRIMARY RELATIONS AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION:
A THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION

By

Subhash Durlabhji

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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1981

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ABSTRACT

PRIMARY RELATIONS AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION:
A THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION

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Views of scholars from the fields of organization behavior, psychology, and sociology on the question of the determinants of individual and societal well-being are brought together in this dissertation. The role of work organizations in the enhancement of individual and societal well-being is explored.

A set of propositions are developed from this interdisciplinary survey. Primary relations, that is, relations constituted as ends in themselves rather than as means to an end, are viewed as being necessary for the achievement and maintenance of psychological equilibrium. They are also viewed as being necessary for achievement of moral solidarity, that is, a degree of homogeneity of values of members of society. It is suggested that industrialization is accompanied by the erosion of traditional sources of primary relations, resulting in a loss of psychological and sociological well-being.

Work organizations are proposed as an alternative to traditional sources of primary relations. Japan is presented as a society in which work organizations do play this role, allowing Japan to avoid many of the social and psychological problems that often accompany industrialization. Aspects of

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Japanese work organization considered encouraging of primariness of the individual's relationship with the organization (PIRO) which may be applicable to the American context are combined to yield the notion of TYPE of organization.

An exploratory investigation with eight manufacturing companies was conducted, using interviews, and semi-projective (sentence-completion) and objective survey measures. Relationships among PIRO, TYPE, and the emotional well-being (EWB) of respondents were examined. A strong relationship between PIRO and EWB was obtained, at the individual level of analysis ($r = .36$, $s = .002$, $N = 64$) and at the organizational level of analysis ($r = .72$, $s = .02$, $N = 8$). Relationships between TYPE and PIRO ($r = .30$, n.s., $N = 8$) and between TYPE and EWB ($r = .33$, n.s., $N = 8$) were not significant, but in the expected direction.

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I am extremely fortunate to have been guided in this dissertation by a committee of professors whose patience and generosity went well beyond the call of duty. Their ready accessibility, their careful review of my efforts, and, most especially, their abundance of ideas in response to my needs made this dissertation an enriching experience for me. I wish I had been able to incorporate all of their valuable suggestions in the work reported here. Flaws in the dissertation should be attributed to an inadequate grasp of their suggestions by me, and not at all to any lack of attention on their part.

It is impossible to separately specify the contributions made by each member of the committee. Dr. Stan Stark continued to guide, and not impose, as dissertation committee chairman, as he has done since 1975 as my adviser. His influence on the ideas contained in this dissertation are fundamental. I am also grateful to him for rating interview data. My association with Dr. Ken White has been almost as long; his contributions to my development have not been any less. Dr. Ben Schneider insisted on my learning a few basic lessons; I am extremely grateful that he did. I called upon Dr. Harold Teitlebaum, who was not formally on

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the committee, almost as much as I called upon the committee members; his help was invaluable.

Many other people at this university have contributed, directly or indirectly, to the ideas presented here. Among the most prominent of these are: Dr. Eugene Jennings, Dr. Winston Oberg, Dr. Henry Tosi, and Dr. John Wanous in Management; Dr. John McKinney and Dr. Ellen Strommen, in Psychology; Dr. Chris Vanderpool and Dr. John Gullahorn, in Sociology; and Dr. Warren Samuels, in Economics.

As raters for the sentence-completion instruments used in the dissertation I needed sharp people who would do the job with dedication. In Dave Bowen, Linda Kohl, and Dave VanHouten I found the perfect raters--and perceptive critics as well.

Ginger Noell typed two or three drafts and the final dissertation with astonishing speed and accuracy.

As the fourth rater and as my wife, Neelam Kher has been a constant source of support and encouragement. The peace and stability that she brings to my life enhances every facet of my existence and allows me to devote all my energies to my work.

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INTRODUCTION

The nature of interpersonal relations predominant in a society is viewed in this study as having a profound influence on individual and societal well-being. Consequences of changes in the nature of interpersonal relations brought about by industrialization and modernization are examined. The possible role of work organizations in alleviating some of the more dysfunctional of these consequences is suggested.

This dissertation is divided into two parts. Part I consists of a theoretical investigation of primary relations and social organization. A guiding conviction in this discussion is that psychological, organizational, and sociological phenomena cannot be studied in isolation from each other. An interdisciplinary review and synthesis of the literature results in the formulation of the following propositions:

1. Individuals need primary relations to achieve and maintain psychological equilibrium.
2. The stability and adaptability of a society depend on its ability to develop "moral solidarity" in its members.
3. In traditional societies, the system of primary relations was the mechanism

through which such solidarity was developed.

4. As societies modernize and industrialize, the traditional sources of primary relations weaken.
5. Work organizations, through their choice of control mechanisms, are able to provide the environment in which primary relations can develop. The outcomes would relate not only to the emotional equilibrium of individuals and the moral solidarity or integration of society as a whole, but also to the efficiency and effectiveness of the organization itself.

These propositions are the subject of discussion in Part I (Chapters I through IV). The objectives of this discussion are limited to elaboration of the concepts contained in the propositions and of the meaning of the propositions. Arguments made by various writers that serve to support the propositions are presented. These arguments are rarely supported by "data," in the current sense of the word. While this does not mean they are not empirically derived, their appeal is mostly to logic. No critique of the methodology used by these writers is presented in this dissertation, though inclusion here implies its evaluation by the writer.

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The issues raised earlier about the sources of individual and societal well-being have been addressed by so many scholars in so many fields that it is beyond the capacity of a single individual to review, let alone synthesize, all that has been written on the subject. The selectivity imposed upon the available material is influenced, in the final analysis, by the writer's values and biases.

These propositions then form the point of departure for Part II of the dissertation, which is a report of empirical testing of a small subset of the assertions contained in the propositions. The work of Ouchi and his colleagues (Johnson and Ouchi, 1974; Ouchi, 1981; Ouchi and Johnson, 1978; Ouchi and Price, 1978) provided the impetus for the effort reported here, which may be viewed as a replication and extension of their work.

Chapter V translates proposition 1 and part of proposition 5 into testable hypotheses. The variables that emerge from the effort in Part I are described here in much more detail, especially with the objective of constructing instruments capable of measuring them.

Chapter VI describes the instruments which were used to collect data; some of these instruments were developed for this study, while others are standardized measures. The sample from which data were obtained is also described in this chapter.

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Chapter VII describes the analysis performed on the data. The results of the analysis and hypotheses-testing are discussed, and some tentative conclusions are reached. The exploratory nature of the empirical investigation is emphasized.

Chapter VIII contains a discussion of the lessons learned from this research experience, pertaining to the research process itself and to the conceptual or theoretical aspects. Directions for future research are indicated. The most important of these are summarized in the last section of the chapter, along with the major conclusions of the research.

PART I

LITERATURE SYNTHESIS

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CHAPTER I

PRIMARY RELATIONS AS A DETERMINANT OF INDIVIDUAL MENTAL HEALTH

This chapter elaborates upon Proposition 1, which states that individual mental health cannot be achieved without a history of primary group membership, nor can it be maintained without continued membership in the same or different primary groups. In the absence of a background of being related to others in primary relationships, individuals will grow up to be alienated and anomic, anxious and hostile. And when an otherwise psychologically balanced individual loses his/her primary relationships, s/he will be unable to maintain his/her psychological balance for long without finding other primary relationships.

The concept of "primary relations" is described first, then some possible components of "psychological equilibrium." Finally, the relationship between these two concepts, as stated in Proposition 1, is discussed.

Primary Relations

Primary relations are those relations among individuals typically found in primary groups. The term "primary group" comes to us from Cooley (1962). "By primary groups I mean

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those characterized by intimate face-to-face association and cooperation" (page 23).

As examples of the most important primary groups, Cooley lists the family, the play group of children, and the neighborhood or community group of elders. Cooley wrote in 1909, hence it is not certain that he would characterize the modern-day counterparts of these groups as primary. Even then Cooley noted that "the intimacy of the neighborhood has been broken up by the growth of an intricate mesh of wider contacts which leaves us strangers to people who live in the same house" (page 26).

Ritchie and Koller (1964) have drawn up a more extensive list of characteristics that distinguish primary groups from what we may call secondary groups. Primary groups tend to involve the whole personalities of their members, rather than fragments or segments of personalities as in secondary groups. They demand and achieve face-to-face relationships over long periods of time, whereas secondary groups rely more heavily upon intervening media such as pictures, letters, advertisements, and formal forms of discourse utilized more intermittently. Primary groups are characterized by a spontaneous, unrehearsed, relaxed informality, in contrast with the structured, formal procedures common in secondary groups. Wirth (1938), in describing urban life as consisting of mostly secondary rather than primary contacts among people, suggests that, in secondary contacts, the persons tend to

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stand in a relationship of utility to each other in the sense that the role which they play in each other's life is overwhelmingly regarded as a means for the achievement of their own ends.

This distinction between relationships as a means to an end and relationships as ends in themselves forms the basis for Tönnies (1940) famous theory of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. Tönnies seeks to suggest in this treatise that societies exhibit a decided historical change from being predominantly Gemeinschaft to being predominantly Gesellschaft. These are distinguished from each other primarily by the form of relationships among people predominant in each type. The fundamental difference in the form of relationship relates to the kind of human will that underlies the relationship. When a group or a relationship is willed because those involved wish to attain through it a definite end and are willing to join hands for this purpose, even though indifference or even antipathy may exist on other levels, then the basis for the relationship is rational will, in which means and ends have been sharply differentiated. If people associate because they think the relationship valuable as an end in and of itself, it is natural will that predominates. Tönnies identifies five main Gemeinschaft ties, characterized by being based predominantly on natural will: between mother and child, father and child, sisters and brothers, friend and

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friend, and rulers and subjects. By contrast, of course, Gesellschaft ties are the kind that exist between businessmen and employees, professional and client, and so on.

Warren (1972), in his discussion of the "great change" in American communities that we will refer to in Chapter III, specifies the following distinction between primary and secondary groups:

Where the primary group is intimate, involving the participation of the 'whole' personality, the secondary group is more casual, and individuals participate with only that segment of their personality which represents the shared interest . . . a rigid dichotomy is not indicated, but rather a continuum between these two extremes (page 60).

The last sentence is significant; primary and secondary are ideal types that, to a certain extent, coexist in the same relationship. Thus, while groups in work organizations are predominantly secondary, they are not devoid of primary group characteristics. The recognition of the distinction between "task functions" and "maintenance functions" in Organization Behavior attests to this. What Thibaut and Kelly (1959) wish to point out in specifying this distinction is that, in addition to activities directly serving the ends for which the group has been constituted, members engage in activities and interactions which serve an integrative function, and which are based more on spontaneous relationships based on sentiment than on the formal structure of the group. A parallel distinction is made by Parsons between Instrumental Activity and Expressive Activity, and is mentioned in this context

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by Warren (1972). It is this same distinction that forms the basis for the distinction between "Initiating Structure" and "Consideration" roles of the leader, or, as Kerr and Jermier (1978) put it, for the recognition that people in work groups seek "guidance" as well as "good feelings."

The description of primary relations may be rounded out by reference to the ideas of philosopher-poet Buber (1952), who suggests that people tend to look at other people and objects either as a series of "Its" and relate themselves to each It in an I-It relationship, or alternatively, as "Thous" and relate themselves to each Thou in an I-Thou relationship. For Buber, the I-Thou relationship is distinguished from the I-It as mutual sympathy and compassion are distinguished from manipulation and exploitation. One might wish for more neutral descriptors than "manipulation" and "exploitation" for relationships in which rational will predominates; in any case, it is clear that secondary relations may be expected to have more of the I-It element than primary relations. Table 1 summarizes the main distinctions between primary and secondary relations.

This discussion of primary relations may be closed with some remarks of Maslow's (1954) which are concerned with his understanding of self-actualizing persons. His description of the "love of a self-actualizing person" is remarkably similar to what we have called a primary relationship.

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There is too much talk in the psychological literature of rewards and purposes, of reinforcements and gratifications, and not nearly enough of what we may call the end experience (as contrasted with the means experience) . . . Horney in a lecture has defined unneurotic love in terms of regarding others as per se, as ends in themselves, rather than as means to ends (pages 254-255; emphasis added).

TABLE 1

MAIN DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN PRIMARY
AND SECONDARY RELATIONS

Primary	Secondary
Based on Natural Will	Based on Rational Will
Ends in themselves	Means to an end
Whole persons involved	Segments of persons involved
Face-to-face interaction	Mediated interaction
Long-term	Often brief
Frequent contact	Intermittent contact
Spontaneous and informal	Structured and formal
Warm, intimate, personal	Indifferent and impersonal
I-Thou	I-It

In this section, one of the key concepts of Proposition 1 has been described in some detail. In the next section, the other key concept of Proposition 1, psychological equilibrium, is described. It may be noted at the outset that, for the purposes of this project, the terms "mental health," "emotional well-being," and "psychological equilibrium" are considered to be equivalent.

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Psychological Equilibrium

Individuals interact with their environments as they seek satisfaction of their animal and human needs, and as they seek to exercise their capabilities. In doing so, they face many situations containing potential problems some minor, some major, many of them involving other people. Bradburn (1969) arrives at a definition of "mental health" in the following passage.

The fact that human beings are not self-sufficient but must live in an interdependent society where other human beings are also engaged in the pursuit of their goals and desires leads inevitably to a succession of interpersonal conflicts. For the most part, the rules of social life establish a framework in which individuals are able to interact with each other and to help each other toward the mutual satisfaction of their goals. But inevitably situations occur in which the course of life does not go smoothly, and problems arise. The ability to cope with these difficult situations without undue pain to oneself or others is one of the common criteria used for distinguishing 'mental health' (page 2).

White (1959) develops the concept of "competence" as "an organism's capacity to interact effectively with its environment." While this is a more neutral concept than Bradburn's definition of mental health in that it makes no reference to avoiding "undue pain to others," one may reasonably assume that "effective" interaction at least subsumes "without undue pain to others."

Without disagreeing with Bradburn or White, one may add that this ability to cope affords a measure of self-confidence to the mentally healthy individual which

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characterizes his or her dealings with the environment. It is the facing of each day and each situation without anxiety that defines for us an individual who has achieved psychological equilibrium; and if the individual is able to emerge from each situation without any substantial loss of equilibrium, then he has succeeded in maintaining his psychological equilibrium. This definition applies equally to the socially adapted individual and to the individual engaged in socially maladapted behavior: a criminal is not automatically to be characterized as lacking in mental health.

Ouchi and Johnson's (1978) pioneering work, which, as stated before, this study will attempt to partially replicate and extend, measures "emotional well-being" by the following dimensions: happiness, doing well in life, positive affect, perceived efficacy, anxiety, hostility, negative affect, and anomie. In the following pages two of Ouchi and Johnson's eight dimensions--Anomie and Perceived Efficacy--are discussed in some detail, because of their special relevance to the present theoretical framework.

Anomie

Anomie is most commonly conceptualized as "normlessness." The scale used by Ouchi and Johnson (1978) measures an individuals "generalized pervasive sense of self-to-others belongingness at one extreme compared with self-to-other distance and self-to-others alienation at the other pole of the continuum" (pages 305-306). With reference to the

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passage from Bradburn (1969) quoted above, Anomie is the subjective state of individuals who do not have in their possession the "framework of rules of social life."

Durkheim (1951), who brought the concept into the mainstream of sociological thought, thinks of Anomie as the lack of "moral regulation" in the activities of individuals. Gould and Kolb (1965) have abstracted from the work of MacIver the following description of Anomie:

The fulfillment of the process of desocialization, the retreat of the individual into his own ego, the skeptical rejection of all social bonds . . . the state of mind of one who has been pulled up from his moral roots, who has no longer any standards but only disconnected urges, who has no longer any sense of continuity, of folk, of obligation (page 9).

Blauner (1964) thinks of Anomie as "social alienation," and other writers have given slightly different interpretations of the concept, as a perusal of the collection of readings edited by Marcson (1970) makes evident.

There is ample justification for viewing Anomie as a component of poor mental health, since it is clear that Anomie is likely to be an uncomfortable state in and of itself. Thus, Durkheim (1951) traces the cause of a peculiarly modern type of suicide to Anomie. It is also likely that the anomic individual's dealings with the environment will be wrought with anxiety as he attempts to produce behaviors that would result in satisfying outcomes without the help of "rules of social life." One way to conceptualize this

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experience would be to suggest that the anomic individual experiences each situation as unique and unrelated to any other situation. This is equivalent to being confronted with more stimulation than the individual is able to relate to. Such overstimulation would lead to anxiety, stress, and immobility. Another image useful in this context is to view social norms as the rudder with the help of which individuals steer through the innumerable social situations of daily living. The lack of direction, control, and stability suggested by the image of a rudderless ship in often turbulent waters is an apt representation of the experience of the anomic individual.

Anomie is an important concept in this dissertation for another reason, namely, as the psychological counterpart of the idea of "moral solidarity," which is a key concept in Propositions 2 and 3. While "moral solidarity" will be discussed in detail in Chapter II, it might briefly be suggested here that a society lacking "moral solidarity" is a society composed of anomic individuals.

Perceived Efficacy

Inkeles and Smith (1974), the source from which Ouchi and Johnson (1978) obtained their scale for Perceived Efficacy, define the concept in terms of the belief that man can learn how to exert considerable control over his environment. The efficacious individual would tend to advance his own goals, rather than being dominated by the forces created by more powerful men or by nature itself.

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The sense of efficacy . . . includes, as well, the sense that one can effectively do something if officials are proposing what one considers to be a bad law, and the belief that care will help prevent accidents, that human nature can be changed, that men can arrange their affairs so that even nations can live in peace. [The efficacious individul] would express his confidence in his ability, alone and in concert with other men, to organize his life so as to master the challenges it presents at the personal, the interpersonal, the communal, the national, and even the international levels (Inkeles and Smith, 1974, page 22).

While Ouchi and Johnson view Perceived Efficacy as a component of emotional well-being, it may be argued that Perceived Efficacy is by itself simply an orientation or generalized expectancy acquired by the individual from his experiences in a particular cultural milieu. Lack of Perceived Efficacy may or may not be associated with poor mental health. For example, the perception of Personal Efficacy in the face of uncontrollable negative events may result in feelings of guilt and in disequilibrium.

The relationship of Perceived Efficacy to psychological equilibrium is evident, however, in the contribution it may make to the self-confidence of the individual, a characteristic of mental health suggested earlier. White (1959) also talks about a "feeling of efficacy" in the context of his discussion on competence. One may also note the striking similarity between the concept of Perceived Efficacy and Internal Locus of Control, a concept developed by Rotter (1966) that has subsequently become a central construct of personality theory (see Lefcourt, 1972, 1976;

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Phares, 1976). Lefcourt (1972), in a major review article, defines Locus of Control as:

The degree to which individuals perceive the events in their lives as being a consequence of their own actions, and thereby controllable (internal control), or as being unrelated to their own behaviors and, therefore, beyond personal control (external control). It is a generalized expectancy, an abstraction developed from a host of experiences in which expectancies have been met with varying degrees of validation (page 2).

Throughout the book written four years later, Lefcourt (1976) refers to this concept as "perceived control," bringing it even closer to the idea of Perceived Efficacy being discussed here as a possible contributor to confidence in one's ability to cope with contingencies presented by the environment.

The perception that events in one's life are not related to one's actions and are therefore uncontrollable may also result in feelings of powerlessness under certain circumstances. Lefcourt and Ladwig (1965) used a Powerlessness scale developed by Dean (1969) as a "second" test of perceived control. Powerlessness is a fundamental characteristic of Alienation. Marx, whose characterization of man in capitalist society as alienated remains the starting point for all discussions of the phenomenon, finds the root of Alienation in the relationship of labor to its product.

. . . the object produced by labor, its product, now stands opposed to it as an alien being, as a power independent of the producer. The alienation of the worker in his product means not only that his his labor becomes an object, assumes an external

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existence, but that it exists independently outside himself, and alien to him, and that it stands opposed to him as an autonomous power (Marx, 1963; pages 122-123).

For Marx, the "product of labor" that now stands opposed to the worker as an autonomous power is capital, the means of production. Marx finds the first characteristic of alienation in the fact that labor¹ finds itself in a relationship of relative powerlessness to its own product, the means of production. Ollman (1971), in his analysis of Alienation, also attaches primary importance to the relationship between Alienation and Powerlessness: ". . . Marx claims that one of the manifestations of alienation is that 'all is under the sway of inhuman power'" (page 132). Powerlessness as an aspect of Alienation is a fundamental precept of more recent students of Alienation as well. Faunce (1968) describes Alienation as Powerlessness, Normlessness and Meaninglessness. Melvin Seeman (1959) adds

¹It is important to remember that by "labor" Marx refers not to workers but activity of workers; furthermore for Marx "worker" is not the "blue-collar worker" on whom modern studies of alienation have primarily focused (see Marcson, 1970), but all individuals who work--that is, mankind as a whole. The fact that it is not merely the proletariat but "man in capitalist society" who is alienated is brought forth clearly in Ollman's (1971) analysis of Alienation: "The connection Marx sees between proletarian alienation and that of the rest of mankind is expressed in his claim that 'the whole of human servitude is involved in the relation of the worker to production, and every relation of servitude is but a modification and consequence of this relation.'" Not only "workers" but capitalists and consumers as well suffer from Alienation. Alienated work has the character that "it is not the satisfaction of a need, but only a means for satisfying other needs" (Marx, 1964; page 125). Capitalists and managers are not excluded from this phenomenon.

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to this list two further meanings of Alienation--Isolation and Self-Estrangement. In his discussion of Alienation as Powerlessness, he writes:

The idea of alienation as powerlessness is, perhaps, the most frequent usage in current literature. The contributors to Alvin Gouldner's volume on leadership, for example, make heavy use of this idea; as does the work of C. Wright Mill--and, I suppose, any analysis of the human condition that takes the Marxist tradition with any seriousness. This variant of alienation can be conceived as the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcement he seeks (page 784; emphasis in original).

In short, the concepts of Perceived Efficacy and Locus of Control are shown to result in feelings of powerlessness and alienation, under certain circumstances. The problems of Anomie and Alienation, examined a century ago by Durkheim and Marx, seem not to have lost their relevancy for discussions of the current human and social condition.

Relationship between Primary Relations and Psychological Equilibrium

Participation in a primary group is at least a necessary condition for the achievement and maintenance of psychological equilibrium. The reference to the achievement of psychological equilibrium implicates the complex dynamics of the development of personality, while the maintenance of psychological equilibrium refers to successful coping with the problems of daily life. The two processes are not independent of each other; maintenance assumes the prior achievement of relative psychological equilibrium, while

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the achievement of equilibrium is strengthened and consolidated with the successful coping with daily life (as well as being subject to degradation with failure to cope).

Role of Primary Group Membership in
Achievement of Psychological
Equilibrium: Anomie

Membership in primary groups is a necessary, though not sufficient, condition for the achievement of psychological equilibrium. Sociological and psychological evidence is quite persuasive with regard to this hypothesis. Cooley (1962), with whom the concept of primary groups originated, states that primary groups are: ". . . primary in several senses, but chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual (page 23).

For the individual to internalize the "rules of social life," or, more broadly, for him to internalize social norms regarding the ends to be sought and the means by which he may seek these ends, he must experience the moral force of these norms. Secondary relations do not contain the potential for this experience. In other words, if it is the social existence of man that determines his consciousness, as asserted by Marx (1971), then his "social existence" must provide the experiences from which he abstracts social norms of behavior, and makes them part of his consciousness.²

²It is not being suggested that this abstraction and internalization is a conscious process, nor that these norms exist in a form that can be verbalized.

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Now one way to conceptualize social existence is to distinguish in it primary from secondary relations. What is being suggested here is that secondary relations do not contain the potential for the necessary experiences because they do not have a hold over the individual strong enough for him to feel the weight of the sanctions that follow deviance from the norms.

Implicit in the above statements is a model of human behavior that assumes that individuals seek positive outcomes from their interactions with objects and people in their environment. Which positive outcomes are most intently sought depends on a host of subjective and objective factors, but an outcome that is desired in early childhood and generally continues to be desired in adulthood is to be noticed and accepted (Jersild, Telford, and Sawrey, 1975). But the significant point for this discussion is that such notice and acceptance is differentially valued depending on the relationship between the individuals concerned. Even the young child discriminates between primary and secondary relationships by showing considerably different levels of need for notice and acceptance from mother as compared to, say, the postman. Sullivan (1953) has developed quite fully the point that a child is not affected equally by all the people with whom he comes in contact. A child's self-evaluations are influenced dominantly by the "significant others" in his social world. The child is born into a given culture with criteria and standards of worth already defined

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and established. From the moment of birth, the child is subject to a set of built-in rewards and punishments for being or failing to be a certain type of person and for doing or not doing certain things. He comes to evaluate himself and his worth as an individual in terms of these social reinforcements. The point to be emphasized is that these social reinforcements are effective only if they come from "significant others," that is, from people who have primary relations with the child.

In the complex interaction between parents and child, the person not only learns about the conventions and standards that govern social life, but he also internalizes them, that is, incorporates them in his own personality. The process by which values and specific rules are internalized is complex, but it is usually tied closely to the intimate relations between children and parents (Sullivan, 1953, page 336; emphasis added).

All development does not occur in the parent-child relationship, of course. Later experiences with peer groups and with other adults also have profound implications for the achievement of psychological equilibrium, but in all of these cases as well, it is from primary relations that the greatest influence flows. It is not being suggested that having primary relations is sufficient in itself for the achievement of psychological equilibrium, only that it is necessary. Furthermore, primary relations do not guarantee the development of socially adaptive personalities. For example, Haimowitz (1966) has developed the hypothesis that the only way a person can become a professional criminal is by getting the idea that he is expected to be

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an outlaw by those whom he takes seriously: his parents, friends, neighbors, or teachers (emphasis added). A great number of forces influence the achievement of a stable and well-adapted personality. There is no intention to discuss all of these here, only to indicate that one necessary condition for the achievement of psychological equilibrium is the existence of primary relations. In the absence of primary relations, experiences in which the worth of the "rules of social life" are impressed upon the consciousness cannot occur. The resulting paucity of internalized norms is what we have identified as anomie.

Role of Primary Group Membership in
Achievement of Psychological
Equilibrium: Alienation

Bronfenbrenner (1972) expresses a sense of alarm about the social and political apathy of the majority of students surveyed by Yankelovich (1972). While perceiving gross injustice in the major institutions of their society, most students are apparently not motivated to do very much about it. Bronfenbrenner suggests that this apathy is caused by feelings of powerlessness and defeat which result from a decrease, over a 25-year period, in all spheres of interaction between parents and children. Among the causes of this decline are changes in the structure of the family--working mothers, single-parent families--and the influence of television. Bronfenbrenner quotes from the report prepared for the White House Conference on Children (Report to the President, 1970):

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The primary danger of the television screen lies not so much in the behavior it produces as the behavior it prevents--the talks, the games, the family festivities and arguments through which much of the child's learning takes place and his character is formed. Turning on the television set can turn off the process that transforms children into people.

We may mention briefly here the observation in the introduction by Rieff to the 1962 reprint of Cooley's Social Organization that the TV penetrates even the bedroom:

"Television in the bedroom helps the members of even that sticky primary group [to] ignore each other" (page xiv).

The clue to the process by which this decline in interaction in a primary group results in the apathy and feelings of powerlessness of youth is contained in Bronfenbrenner's suggestion that it is primarily through observing, playing, and working with others older and younger than himself that a child discovers what he can do and who he can become (emphasis added). This sense of control over actions and over one's personality will not develop in an environment that does not provide the individual an opportunity to actively manipulate his physical and social environment, and to learn from the consequences of such activity. Clearly, secondary relationships do not provide such an environment, both because of the paucity of interactions in which the individual attempts to influence the other person's behavior, as well as because of the relatively lower value of social reinforcement obtained from secondary sources. The lack of a sense of personal efficacy that results from a childhood in which

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secondary relationships predominate may result, as suggested earlier (page 19), in feelings of powerlessness and apathy.

Ritchie and Koller (1964) emphasize the time element as the reason for the importance of the primary group:

The longer the exposure to others, the greater the impact . . . the less the exposure to others, or if the relationship is fleeting, passing, or momentary, as is true of many secondary groups, then the more shallow are the results in personality-building. . . . It is true that secondary-group situations also build personalities, but by comparison with [primary group] experiences, they are less profound in their impact and can be more easily nullified by other secondary and especially primary group circumstances (pages 77-78).

The emphasis on the time element is especially significant to this discussion, because stability of employment is the most important of the characteristics of work organizations that will be hypothesized to be related to emotional well-being (see page 80).

Role of Primary Group Membership in the Maintenance of Psychological Equilibrium

Durkheim

In discussing the role of what he calls "occupational groups" in social life, Durkheim reveals his views on the relationship between primary group membership and emotional well-being in the following words:

[The individual] . . . suffers from pain and disorder produced whenever inter-individual relations are not submitted to some regulatory influence (of an occupational group). That is why when individuals who are found to have common interests associate, it is not only to defend these interests, it is to associate, that is, not to feel lost among adversaries, to have the pleasure of communing, to make one out of

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many, which is to say, finally, to lead the same moral life together (page 15).

Durkheim's work is more concerned with the sources of "moral solidarity" of the members of a society, and will be discussed in detail in Chapter II below. One of his ideas that is relevant here, however, is his prescription of establishing occupational "corporate groups" to correct the state of anomic deregulation in which society finds itself. Durkheim found it necessary to add a lengthy preface to the second edition of The Division of Labor in Society (Durkheim, 1933) to comment on this "urgent and significant" need. Durkheim is alarmed at the lack of sources of occupational ethics, especially since he finds that an increasing number of individuals pass their lives almost entirely in the industrial and commercial world, and are consequently spending the greatest part of their existence outside the moral sphere. Durkheim feels that:

An occupational activity can be efficaciously regulated only by a group intimate enough with it to know its functioning, feel all its needs, able to follow all their variations. The only one that could answer all these conditions is the one formed by all the agents of the same industry, united and organized into a single body. This is what is called the corporation or occupational group (page 5).

In addition to the primary group character alluded to in the above passage, Durkheim mentions permanence as a necessary characteristic of the occupational group if it is to serve its function of moral regulation, a fact that becomes significant in the light of discussion in Chapter IV.

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Marx

Marx emphasizes man's productive activity as being his most significant experience in the shaping of his consciousness. Ollman (1971) quotes Marx:

The whole character of a species . . . is contained in the character of its life activity. At the core of life activity is productive work. . . . Productive activity is the life of the species. What [individuals] are ' . . . coincides with their production, both with what they produce and with how they produce' (page 111).

In examining man's productive activity in the society which he is investigating, Marx (1963) finds that man's work is not the satisfaction of need, but only a means for satisfying other needs. It is from this alienated nature of man's relationship to his productive activity that Marx draws his conclusions about man's alienation from his species as well as from himself. "A direct consequence of the alienation of man . . . from his life activity . . . is that man is alienated from other men" (page 129). Presumably, this occurs because man relates to other men as means to an end rather than as ends in themselves. "Every man regards other men according to the standards and relationships in which he finds himself placed as a worker" (page 129). In other words, since workers find themselves alienated from their productive activity, they regard other men accordingly as well. This "alienation from other men" is, of course, no different than what we have identified as anomie. We can conclude, therefore, that Marx finds man in a state of alienation and anomie because he relates to his life activity

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and to other men as means to an end, that is, because his relations to other men are of the nature of secondary relations. This does not directly suggest that primary relations are essential for unalienated and socially integrated individuals to emerge, but one can justifiably make that inference.

Homans

While Homans (1950), in his classic study of human groups, does not distinguish between primary and secondary groups, he does make clear that he is dealing with "small groups," which share many of the characteristics of primary groups. Homans is quite direct and emphatic about the role of (small) group membership in the maintenance of psychological equilibrium:

Now all the evidence of psychiatry . . . shows that membership in a group sustains a man, enables him to maintain his equilibrium under the ordinary shocks of life, and helps him to bring up children who will in turn be happy and resilient. If his group is shattered around him, if he leaves a group in which he was a valued member, and if, above all, he finds no new group to which he can relate himself, he will, under stress, develop disorders of thought, feeling, and behavior. His thinking will be obsessive, elaborated without sufficient reference to reality; he will be anxious or angry, destructive to himself or to others; his behavior will be compulsive, not controlled; and . . . he will, as a lonely man, bring up children who have a lowered social capacity (pages 456-457).

Summary

Views of many scholars have been gathered together in this chapter to support Proposition 1, which states:

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Individuals need primary relations to achieve and maintain psychological equilibrium.

Primary relations are defined in various overlapping ways, but most fundamentally as ends in themselves rather than as means to an end. Psychological equilibrium is conceptualized as the ability of the individual to face each day and each situation without anxiety, and to emerge from each situation without loss of equilibrium. Membership in a primary group is shown to be, in the view of many authors, necessary for the achievement and maintenance of psychological equilibrium. In the next chapter, the role of primary relations in the achievement and maintenance of sociological equilibrium is discussed.

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CHAPTER II

PRIMARY RELATIONS AS A DETERMINANT OF SOCIETAL HEALTH

This chapter elaborates upon Propositions 2 and 3, which state that the stability and adaptability of a society depend on its ability to develop "moral solidarity" in its members, and that such solidarity was developed, in traditional societies, through the system or network of primary relations. It is suggested that, in the absence of a certain degree of homogeneity of norms and values in its members, a society's stability and ability to respond effectively to environmental contingencies are impaired. It is further suggested that in pre-industrial, traditional societies, such homogeneity of norms and values was a consequence of the participation of individuals in group life. The process by which this development of homogeneity occurs is described. The chapter is divided into two sections, each dealing with one of the propositions.

Societal Health and "Moral Solidarity"

Societal Health

It may be useful to think of the stability and adaptability of society as "sociological equilibrium" in close analogy with "psychological equilibrium" of

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individuals. If psychological equilibrium may be understood as persistence in the smooth and coordinated functioning of the "vital functions" of the person, sociological stability may be understood as persistence in the smooth and coordinated functioning of the "vital functions" of society: production, distribution, communication, government, justice, etc. Just as individuals demonstrate psychological resiliency when they emerge from potentially stressful situations relatively unscathed (and maybe even stronger), societal adaptability is the ability of the society to maintain its essential stability while at the same time changing to achieve a new equilibrium with a changed internal or external environment. The relationship between the idea of "adaptation to change" and "coping with contingencies presented by the environment" may be noted in this context. If the contingency presented by the environment becomes an enduring part of the environment, continued successful coping with it becomes equivalent to adaptation to change. The reference in Chapter I to "coping ability" of the individual as an ingredient of psychological equilibrium has, as its sociological counterpart, the ability of a society to respond effectively, i.e., successfully, to contingencies presented by the internal or external environment.

The problem of sources of stability and adaptability of societies is basic to sociology and to political economy, and analogous problems are basic to many other fields as

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well. As suggested above, a central problem of psychology might be stated as "the achievement and maintenance of the stability and adaptability of individuals." In economics and political science, many scholars have dealt with the problem of balancing the needs for continuity and change, or freedom and control.

. . . the distinctive modern problem is to have freedom (enough and of the right kind) for change and progress, without having so much (and of the wrong kind) as to bring chaos or to destroy itself (Knight, 1948, page 493).

Similarly, organization theory is concerned with an identical problem when it discusses the relationship between the organization and the environment. For example, Thompson (1967) develops a theory that seeks to explain the structures and processes by which organizations, while adapting to the changing environment, manage to protect the stability of their "technical core."³

³Piaget's (1971) thought-provoking synthesis of his life-work provides the even more startling suggestion that the simultaneous achievement of stability and adaptability is a central problem in Biology as well as in Epistemology; it informs and channels the "construction" of the individual organism, of the species (evolution), and of the intelligence. The essential characteristic of life, for Piaget, is this property of conservation in the face of transformation, the property of biological structures of adapting to the environment while preserving the integrity of the already existent structures as well as the property of the structures of intelligence of changing to incorporate new information while retaining the essential elements of the structures already constructed. Building on these parallels between Biology and Knowledge, Piaget amasses evidence for an essential continuity between Biology and Knowledge, between the organism, man, and the highest products of his mind, that is profound in content and implications.

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One perspective on the question of stability and adaptability of society may be obtained by considering an organization and extrapolating to society as a whole. If an organization were infinitely adaptable, the people it served could vary infinitely, inter-individually as well as intra-individually over time, and the organization would simply adapt to the specific client. If people were infinitely adaptable, then the organizations they use could vary infinitely, inter-organizationally and intra-organizationally. If organizations were absolutely invariant, at least intra-organizationally over time, people could "standardize" their dealings with these organizations, since they could predict accurately the behavior of the organizations. If, finally, people were absolutely invariant, inter-individually or intra-individually over time, organizations could standardize their every operation, product, and service. Far from being infinitely adaptable, of course, organizations (and institutions and society) have a great deal of inertia, because it requires tremendous energy to adapt, and because individuals, who form the core of organizations, are not infinitely adaptable. This inertia of social systems places a definite limit on the variability of the clients they can serve. Similarly, the inertia of human beings, their inability (or unwillingness) to adapt to an infinite variety of organizations, places a limit on the forms organizations can take. The existence of inter-individual invariances in the goals people seek, and in the

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means they employ to achieve these goals, is what has been called "moral solidarity."⁴ Without such inter-individual invariances of values and norms, all predictability from social life would disappear, and the organizations and institutions of the society would, under the pressure of too much variation in the demands placed on them, sink into anarchy and impotence. This lack of stability would be accompanied by a lack of adaptability to challenges placed on the society, both from within and from external sources, since a group of individuals pulling in different directions cannot produce a unified response to threats, and without unified response no civilization has been able to survive the forces of disintegration.

At the level of the tribe, the village, the small group, at the level that is, of a social unit each of whose members can have some firsthand knowledge of each of the others, human society, for many millenia . . . has been able to cohere. And almost every . . . civilization has worked out and adopted a single body of values and beliefs, shared in some degree by all the citizens. The appalling fact is that, after flourishing for a span of time, every civilization but one has collapsed. The ruling class . . . has lost its capacity to lead; the formal organizations that articulated the whole have fallen to pieces; . . . A civilization, if it is to maintain itself, must preserve at least a few of the characteristics of the group, though necessarily on a much expanded scale. Civilizations have failed in failing to solve this problem (Homans, 1950, pages 454-456).

⁴The existence of intra-individual invariances can be viewed as a component of psychological equilibrium, as brought out in the term, "stable personality."

"Moral Solidarity"

The notion of "moral solidarity" or inter-individual invariances in goals and means emerges in the above discussion as an essential ingredient of sociological equilibrium. Just as psychological equilibrium demands an integrated personality, in which the various segments of the personality bear a consistent and synergetic relationship with each other and with the whole, so also the stability and adaptability of a society depends on the achievement and maintenance of "moral solidarity" or integration, in which the various segments of the sociological entity bear a consistent and synergetic relationship with each other and with the whole. Such "moral solidarity" exists in a society when norms and beliefs about individual and social goals to be pursued, and the means to be used, are widely shared by the members of the society. Such solidarity has, as cause and consequence, a self-imposed or internalized regulation of individual behavior, resulting in the smooth and coordinated functioning of the various segments of society. Thus, Angell (1951, 1974) describes moral integration as the degree to which the life of the group proceeds in terms of shared ends and values, and as a sense of mutual responsibility for each other and a loyalty to the institutions of the group. Angell measures the moral integration of American cities by "welfare" and "crime" indices, the former assumed to be positively related to moral integration, since it identifies the degree to which

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-a community "pitches in" to meet the needs of its members, and the latter clearly negatively related to moral integration. Durkheim (1933), from whom Angell obtains the theoretical justification for his empirical study, thinks of "moral solidarity" as the links that bind the people of a society together, as the "glue" that enables societies to cohere and to respond as an entity, that is, as a unified whole, to contingencies presented by the environment.

It must be pointed out that Durkheim's concept of "moral solidarity" is evaluatively neutral: "moral" is a reference not to "good" or "desirable," only to the operation of group consciousness in the feelings and behavior of individuals. The term as used in this dissertation has the same neutral meaning. Its continued use here is justified since Durkheim's concept has consistently been translated into "moral solidarity." The term is enclosed in quotation marks whenever it occurs to remind the reader of its special meaning.

The dilemma is, as suggested by the quote from Knight (page 32), that there are strong limits on the degree of inter-individual invariance that is possible or even desirable. Human variation is rightly considered the source of all "progress," the source of new ideas that form the basis of improving man's ability to cope with the complex environment and provide for man's increasing needs. Furthermore, history is replete with examples of the self- and other-destructive potential of societies that have

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managed to develop a high degree of "moral solidarity" in their members. The potential created by cohesiveness can be quite easily misused if the reins of power fall into the hands of morally callous people. Finally, many of the means for inculcating "moral solidarity"--for example, force or coercion, like brainwashing--are firmly rejected by most "free" societies.

It is not necessary to review here the historical circumstances that released the individual from the "apron strings" of the ruling or governing classes, especially in the United States, but one wonders if the same motion did not also sever the umbilical cord that provided sustenance not only to the individual but to the firmament that held societies together. While the ties of the vassal to the feudal lord were based on exploitation, and are not being defended here, the question nonetheless remains: what are the consequences for society of the loss of the sources of "moral solidarity" that the breaking of this tie represents?

This section suggests that a problem fundamental to the achievement of sociological equilibrium is the achievement and maintenance of "moral solidarity" among the members of society. Earlier, it was suggested that only primary relations contain enough "moral force" for the transmission of values and norms from one person to another. These ideas, then, lead logically to the suggestion contained in the next section.

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"Moral Solidarity" and Primary Relations

Proposition 3 states that in traditional societies, the system of primary relations was the mechanism through which "moral solidarity" was developed. Much of the discussion in this section is based on the work of Durkheim, who held an enduring interest in "moral solidarity" and its psychological counterpart, "moral regulation" in the individual, the lack of which is called anomie. Cooley's views are also of interest in this section.

Durkheim

Durkheim's (1933) The Division of Labor in Society might well have been subtitled "Sources of Moral Solidarity in Traditional and Modern Societies," since this is his main concern in the book. He notes that, while being a social fact of the first order, "moral solidarity" depends on the individual: in order to exist, it must be contained in the physical and psychical constitution of individuals. This fact is what makes the lack of moral solidarity a sociological counterpart of anomie. In tracing the sources of social solidarity, Durkheim finds it necessary to distinguish between mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity. The type of solidarity that exists in "primitive" or traditional societies is mechanical. The primary group was fundamental to the formation of mechanical solidarity.

Mechanical solidarity emerges from the shared sentiments of the members of the group, from what Durkheim

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calls the collective or common conscience--the totality of beliefs and sentiments common to average citizens of the same society. There are, in each of us, according to Durkheim, two consciences: one which is common to our group in its entirety, which is "society living and acting within us"; the other represents that in us which is personal and distinct.

Solidarity which comes from likenesses is at its maximum when the collective conscience completely envelops our whole conscience and coincides in all points with it. But, at that moment, our individuality is nil . . . we are no longer ourselves but the collective will. (Durkheim, 1973, page 73).

In the solidarity produced by the lack of differentiation between the individual and the group, where individual identity and will are nothing other than the group identity and will, the social molecules cohere simply because they have no actions of their own, as the molecules of inorganic bodies. (This is the analogy from which Durkheim obtains the term mechanical solidarity.)

In terms of the previous discussion, mechanical solidarity is the relative lack of inter-individual variation of values and norms. Durkheim finds the proof of the suggestion that this type of solidarity predominates in primitive societies in the fact that penal or repressive law is predominant, relative to restitutive law, in these societies. Repressive laws are distinguished from restitutive laws by the kinds of sanctions attached to them. In repressive law, the essence of the sanction is the

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imposition of suffering on the criminal. It makes demands on his fortune, or on his honor, or on his life, or on his liberty. Repressive law is aimed at the control of actions that offend the collective conscience, control of crime that shocks sentiments "found in all healthy consciences."

Repressive law does not set forth the obligations but specifies only the sanctions, because the obligatory rule associated with it is known and accepted by everybody. "An action does not shock the common conscience because it is criminal; rather, it is criminal because it shocks the common conscience." Restitutive law, by contrast, is concerned not with the imposition of suffering for the agent, but in the return of things as they were, not in offenses of a "moral" nature but in offenses involving breach of contract. There is no loss of honor attached to defeat in litigation involving restitutive law. We may suggest with justification that repressive law regulates relationships based on natural will and restitutive law regulates relationships based on rational will.

Durkheim's point is simply that the predominance of repressive law in primitive societies is an indication of the strength of the collective conscience relative to "individuality." But what is the source of this greater strength? Durkheim does not directly deal with this question, but the following passage contains a clue to the answer he might have given:

We have only to notice what happens, particularly in a small town, when some moral scandal has just

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been committed. They stop each other on the street, they visit each other, they seek to come together to talk of the event and wax indignant in common. From all the similar impressions which are exchanged, from all the temper that gets itself expressed, there emerges a unique temper, which is everybody's without being anybody's in particular. That is the public temper (page 102).

We may presume that it is not only in response to the commitment of moral scandal that interpersonal interaction, the source of the "public temper," takes place. Scandal assumes a prior standard, and a similar process must underlie the establishment and continued acceptance of the standard. In other words, the process of socialization implicated in the internalization of the "rules of social life" is identical to the process of the development of "mechanical solidarity," with the same important role played by primary relations in the latter as in the former.

Tönnies' (1940) distinction between natural and rational will that was suggested as the basis for the distinction between primary and secondary relations (see page 8) is parallel to the distinction Durkheim (1915) makes between the "sacred" and the "profane" in The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life. In this work we again find the importance of the group in the life of traditional societies. In seeking the source of the sacred character of objects used by Australian aborigines, Durkheim suggests that it emanates from a force that is felt by the members of the tribe when they assemble for religious ceremonials. In these ceremonials,

which may last days or months and which are entirely separated from the "profane" utilitarian life of the tribe, men feel overpowered by a force greater than themselves, which results from the collective effervescence of the occasion. The totem, which symbolizes this sacred energy, at the same time symbolizes the clan group as a whole. "So if it is at once the symbol of the god and of the society, is that not because god and the society are one?" (Quoted by Giddens, 1971, page 109). In other words, the totemic principle is the clan group itself. Society commands both obligation and respect, the dual characteristics of the sacred, and the superiority of the sacred in fact symbolizes the superiority of society over the individual. The individual believes himself to be held to certain ways of behavior which are imposed upon him by the nature of the sacred principle with which he feels he is in communion. The religious beliefs are the same as the moral ideals upon which the unity of society is founded. In the religious ceremonial individuals, who are liable to become detached from these ideals in their activities in the day-to-day life in the profane world where they pursue their own egoistic interests, renew and reaffirm their identity with the collective conscience.

The only way of renewing the collective representations which relate to sacred things is to retemper them in the very source of religious life, that is to say, in assembled groups. Men are more confident because they feel themselves stronger; and they really are stronger, because forces which were languishing are now reawakened in the consciousness (Durkheim, 1915).

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The dual outcomes of psychic strength and moral solidarity from membership in the group life is what is being emphasized here. The phenomenon is not restricted to the religious life of primitive peoples, of course. All religions have performed similar functions. Thus, Homans (1950) suggests that, until recently, Christianity was the "single body" of values and beliefs for Western societies that allowed it to cohere. But the identification of the "sacred" with what emanates from the group and of the "profane" with what emanates from the individual ego is the peculiarly Durkheimian proposition that is of special significance here.

Cooley

Cooley's (1962) ideas regarding the fundamental importance of primary groups in forming the "social nature and ideals" of the individual are relevant in the context of the present discussion:

The result of intimate association, psychologically, is a certain fusion of individualities in a common whole, so that one's very self, for many purposes at least, is the common life and purpose of the group. One lives in the feeling of the whole and finds the chief aims of his will in that feeling (page 23).

Cooley goes even further, and suggests that whatever is peculiarly human in our nature emanates from the group. For Cooley, human nature means those sentiments and impulses that are human in being superior to those of lower animals, particularly sympathy, and those that belong to mankind at large, and not to any particular race or time. Since

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human nature thus understood is universal and stable, and since it is impossible for the sentiments of sympathy to have existed at the time of birth, there must exist in the life of all peoples experiences from whence these sentiments arise. But what other experience is as universally to be obtained as the experience of primary relations?

What else can human nature be than a trait of primary groups? Surely not an attribute of the separate individuals--since its typical characteristics, such as affection, ambition, vanity, and resentment are inconceivable apart from society. If it belongs, then, to man in association, what kind or degree of association is needed to develop it? Evidently nothing elaborate, because elaborate phases of society are transient and diverse, while human nature is comparatively stable and universal. In short, the family and neighborhood life is essential to its genesis and nothing more is (Cooley, 1962, pages 30-31).

For Cooley, too, an important outcome of participation in primary groups is that "they give the individual his earliest and completest experience of social unity."

Summary

The notions of societal health and "moral solidarity" have been introduced in this chapter. In analogy with psychological equilibrium, societal health is described in terms of the stability and adaptability of society, where adaptability is viewed as continued coping with an enduring internal or external situation. "Moral solidarity" is described, similarly, as the sociological counterpart of anomie. The relationship between the ideas of Chapter I and Chapter II runs deeper than these parallels between psychological and sociological concepts, however. What is

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being suggested in these two chapters is that the consequence of a "system of primary relations," that is, a society composed of individuals with one or more primary group memberships, is not only a society of psychologically balanced individuals, but also a society that is itself in balance, that is, a "sociologically balanced" society.

Propositions 2 and 3 are restated below:

The stability and adaptability of a society depend on its ability to develop "moral solidarity" in its members.

In traditional societies, the system of primary relations was the mechanism through which such solidarity was developed.

One may conceptualize a continuum which has, at one extreme, individual consciousness completely enveloped by the collective conscience, and, at the other, individual consciousness elaborated entirely free of any collective conscience. If the individual ego is nonexistent at the first extreme, the collective conscience is nonexistent at the other. Durkheim (1933) calls these extremes the "collective" type and the "individual" type, and asserts that the effacement of one is the necessary condition for the appearance of the other. The following chapter considers the proposition that Western societies have moved continuously over the past few centuries from one end of the continuum to the other. There is a gap between the Australian aborigines considered in this chapter and the

kinds of societies with which the study of "the great transformation" begins; but this is only a gap in our knowledge about them, not a discontinuity in the phenomenon itself. On the other hand, the transformation has certainly not been orderly and without its ups and downs.

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CHAPTER III

THE GREAT TRANSFORMATION: THE ATTENUATING EFFECT OF MODERNIZATION ON PRIMARY RELATIONS

This chapter elaborates Proposition 4, which states that, as societies modernize and industrialize, the traditional sources of primary relations weaken. Warren (1972) has labeled the changes he notices in American communities over the past few decades as the Great Transformation. As this chapter makes clear, however, the phenomenon Warren refers to is centuries old, and has been a theme in the work of many scholars over the centuries.

Possibly the most well-known elaboration of this thesis is contained in Tönnies' (1940) Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Sorokin, in the foreword to the translation referenced here, suggests that, "like many an eminent thinker" Tönnies was a man of one central idea which he developed in its various ramifications in practically all his theoretical works. This central idea is his theory of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft as two different modes of mentality and behavior, and as two different types of society. Sorokin goes on to point out that the idea is much older than Tönnies, and is contained in the work of Confucius, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, St. Augustine de

Flore, St. Aquinas, and many others:

. . . The Gemeinschaft type of mentality was extolled by Confucius: Confucius' theory of the five fundamental social relationships of father and son, elder brother and younger, husband and wife, ruler and subject, friend and friend closely resembles Toennies' main Gemeinschaft ties between mother and child, father and children, sisters and brothers, friends and friends, and rulers and subjects. Confucius not only unfolded the Gemeinschaft type of society but also set it off against the Gesellschaft type . . . Plato in his Republic and Laws likewise gave a full portrait of both types of society, as well as of human personality. His ideal republic, especially the personality and social regime of the Guardians, is clearly and definitely of the Gemeinschaft type, while his detailed picture of the oligarchic or capitalistic society and man is a conspicuous example of the Gesellschaft type. Aristotle and, after him, Cicero, in their analyses of the true and false friendship, gave us in clear-cut form the classical outlines of the two types. The same types are found running through the works of the Church fathers, especially those of St. Augustine. Here the theory of the Church and the 'City of God' as the corpus mysticum of Gemeinschaft type is contrasted to the 'society of man' depicted along the lines of the Gesellschaft type. Throughout the writings of the great medieval thinkers like Joachim de Fiore, Albertus Magnus, St. Thomas Aquinas, Nicolaus Cusanus, and others the dichotomy persists . . . it is also the central idea of Ibn Khaldun, in History of Berbers and in his Prolegomenes to the Universal History. . . . In Germany particularly, as Gierke has clearly shown, the Gemeinschaft type was deeply rooted in the very soil of the Teutonic culture . . . immediately preceding the appearance of Toennies' work both types of society and personality were well depicted by many a German thinker, beginning with the leaders of the Historical School, Savigny and Puchta, and ending with Hegel, whose 'Family-Society' and 'Civic Society' are almost twins of Toennies' Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. (Tönnies, 1940, pages vii-viii).

St. Augustine's distinction between the "City of God" and "the society of man" is especially relevant in the light of

Durkheim's distinction between the "sacred" and the "profane." In varied forms, the categories continued to function in the writings of the social thinkers of the later centuries. Thus, Hegel's "Family-Society" and Civic Society" are almost twins of Tönnies' Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, according to Sorokin. Weber's interest in the "rationalization" of human life and society may be seen as a continuation of this idea. More recently, Stark (1979) has documented some current manifestations of the Great Transformation.

What is the theme that has fascinated so many thinkers? In the following pages, a few of the more recent scholars who have documented and commented upon the Great Transformation will be discussed. Of the authors mentioned by Sorokin, only Tönnies will be included in the present discussion. Weber's interest in rationalization, Stinchcombe's views on the type of people needed in the task of administration of modern industrial organizations, Warren's documentation of the changes in American communities, and the ideas of Cooley, Wirth and other sociologists are shown to be pointing to the same phenomenon that Tönnies wrote about.

Tönnies

Tönnies documents a historical shift, over centuries, of societies from being of the Gemeinschaft type to being of the Gesellschaft type. The essence of the distinction between Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft is contained in the basis for the relationships that predominate in these two

types. All social relationships are created by human will, but this will may vary from one situation to another. The distinction between rational will and natural will was mentioned earlier (page 8). When a relationship is constituted in order to achieve a specific purpose, regardless of the sentiments of the parties to the relationship, it is said to be based on rational will. If people associate with each other "merely" for the pleasure of association, the relationship is said to be based on natural will: the relationship is not a means to an end, but an end in itself.

In the Gemeinschaft, natural will forms the basis for the relationship between men as well as between man and his "life activity," his work. Thus, the calling of the peasant, the hunter, craftsman, or the artist is a way of life, not merely a means to an end. In Gesellschaft, rational will is the predominant basis for social relationships and for man's relationship to work. Marx's (1963) observation, that alienated work is work which is not the satisfaction of a need but only a means for satisfying other needs, may be recalled here. Tönnies suggests that when people are used as mere means to ends, even as "inanimate things," such usage is governed by rational will. There can be little doubt that this is Buber's (1952) I-It relationship. Tönnies is careful to point out that the contrast is not between rational will and non-rational will, because:

. . . intellect and reason belong to natural will as well as to rational will. Indeed, intellect

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in natural will attains its fruition in the creative, formative and artistic ability and works (page 17).

The importance of the collective conscience in Gemeinschaft is indicated in the following passage:

. . . in Gemeinschaft, [individuals] remain essentially united in spite of all separating factors, whereas in the Gesellschaft they are essentially separated in spite of all uniting factors. In the Gesellschaft, as contrasted with the Geminschaft, we find no actions that can be derived from an a priori and necessarily existing unity; no actions, therefore, which manifest the will and the spirit of the unity even if performed by the individual; no actions which, insofar as they are performed by the individual, take place on behalf of those united with him (page 74).

Weber

The "engine" of this Great Transformation, according to Tönnies, is the development of trade. Introduction of large-scale trade into the integrated communities of agrarian and town societies, with the attendant desire for profitable use of money, liquidated the old ideologies and brought about the capitalistic age with its rationalistic intellectual attitude. The relationship between the growth of "rationalism" and the growth of capitalism is most thoroughly maintained by Weber. Giddens (1971) finds the concept of rationalization entering into so many of Weber's historical writings that elucidation of the main spheres of its application is difficult. For Weber, the Great Transformation manifests itself in the growth of rationalization--or in Tönnies' terms, the increasing use of rational will in all social

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affairs. Contrary to Tönnies, however, Weber is unwilling to attribute this growth to any single cause like trade, for he sees rationalization as both cause and consequence not only of trade but of a host of other factors as well. Nonetheless, Weber is convinced that, (1) the possibility of rational calculation of profits and losses in terms of money, (2) the use of a technology constructed and organized on the basis of rational principles, and (3) the separation of home and work place are all among the conditions essential to modern capitalistic enterprise. Weber is also convinced that rational legal administration, that is, bureaucracy, as well as democracy, are also intimately linked both to rationalization and capitalism.

Weber was of the opinion that increasing bureaucratization of the modern world was inevitable. The increased role of rational will in all social affairs implicated by this cannot fail to undermine the role of natural will:

The specific character (of bureaucracy), which is welcomed by capitalism, develops the more completely the more the bureaucracy is 'dehumanized,' the more completely it succeeds in eliminating from official business, love, hatred, and all purely personal, irrational and emotional elements which escape calculation (Weber quoted by Giddens, 1971, page 216).

In other words, the more societies modernize and industrialize, the more society is dominated by rational will and the more social relations take on the character of secondary relations. Nor is this true only of capitalist

societies; Weber is convinced that such bureaucratization and rationalization is unavoidable in socialist societies as well. The functional specialization demanded by bureaucratization heralds for Weber the demise of the "universal" man, the "thorough and complete human being" whom Durkheim speaks of. It is the conception men have of themselves as means to an end rather than as ends in themselves in the modern society that is at the root of Weber's concern. In Weber's eyes, according to Giddens (1971, page 235):

The progression of bureaucratization increasingly reveals a tension between the demand for technical efficiency of administration on the one hand, and the human values of spontaneity and autonomy [values based on natural will] on the other. The main normative issue, in Weber's view, is not how the process of bureaucratization can become reversed, because that is impossible in a society which requires calculative precision in the administration of its various institutions; 'the great question thus is . . . what can we set against this mechanization to preserve a certain section of humanity from this fragmentation of the soul, this complete ascendancy of the bureaucratic ideal of life?'

What one finds in Weber, in other words, is the proposition that bureaucratization of society leads to a fundamental change in man, a change in which man moves from being a "whole" to a fragment, a change from universal man to functional specialist. Such a fundamental change occurs, of course, because interpersonal relationships have changed from a predominance of primary to secondary characteristics. Jacoby (1973), in discussing the

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"social effect" of bureaucracy, quotes Ruhle-Gerstel as follows:

Neurosis is not a sickness, but a way of life. In neurosis the separation of the individual from his sense of association (Gemeinschaft) with other individuals becomes a distinguishing category of the mind.

Neumann (1944) relates bureaucracy directly to the form that human relations take:

Bureaucratization, correctly understood, is a process operating in both public and private spheres, in the state as well as in society. It means that human relations lose their directness and become mediated relations in which third parties, public or private functionaries seated more or less securely in power, authoritatively prescribe the behavior of man (emphasis added).

Stinchcombe

Stinchcombe (1974) makes essentially the same point in his discussion of the social sources of individual rationality. Stinchcombe notes Weber's emphasis on the degree to which rational administration or bureaucracy depends on the differentiation of role behavior in administration from familial, local, and friendship ties; that is, the predominance of rational will rather than natural will. Stinchcombe argues that, to the degree that people are appropriately socialized for work in modern administrative structures, they should be personally inclined to differentiate their administrative activity from "primordial" ties. Furthermore, an important component of individual rationality--the inclination to abstract--is tied to the decline of primordial motivations. The essence

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of Stinchcombe's argument is this: if life's experiences are to be interpreted in terms of abstractions like the past and the future as is required in the administration of bureaucracy, then this can only occur at the expense of interpretation in terms of primordial ties of family, neighborhood, and age groups. Once again then, the ascendancy of rational will in society is related to the decline of the sources of primary relations, to the decline of the importance of natural will.

Warren

One may mention briefly Maine's famous observation, referred to by Warren (1972), that there is a historical change of social relations from those based on family relations--a situation in which status in the family was of central concern--to those based on the individual's relationships to others outside the family which are formalized in the nature of a contract. Warren (1972) himself has documented the "great change in American communities" in "recent decades" in terms that leave little doubt as to its identity with the Great Transformation being discussed here. More relevant to the proposition that this change is associated with a weakening of the traditional sources of primary relations is Warren's observation that the change toward interdependence and the proliferation of individualized functions that accompanies the division of labor has resulted in fewer of these functions being performed within the individual family.

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The family becomes less significant as a locus for recreational and service functions, as well as those of economic production. The division of labor is also at the root of the structural differentiation of American communities, which has weakened the contribution that shared occupation and occupational interests make toward community cohesion. The shift from reliance on primary relations to reliance on secondary relations that is implied by this differentiation has "profound" implications for the individual and the community. Warren (1972) quotes Linton as follows:

The modern city, with its multiplicity of organizations of every conceivable sort, presents the picture of a mass of individuals who have lost their bands and who are trying, in uncertain and fumbling fashion, to find some substitute. New types of grouping based on congeniality, business association, or community of interests are springing up on all sides, but nothing has so far appeared which seems capable of taking over the primary functions of the local group as these relate to individuals. Membership in the Rotary Club is not an adequate substitute for friendly neighbors (page 61).

For the community, the "great change" results in the decline of the neighborhood as a significant social unit in both rural and urban areas. Since the neighborhood's significance as a social unit is precisely in its potential as a locus for primary-group relationships, the outcome of division of labor and differentiation of interests is a weakening of the sources of primary relations.

The decline of the family and neighborhood as a locus for recreational, service, and economic functions leaves all these functions to be performed by specialized agencies,

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private as well as public. Richmond (1979) sees in this the essential engine for the phenomenal growth in local and federal government. Jacoby (1973) makes essentially the same point:

Once capitalism transformed the traditional way of life, factors such as the effectiveness of competition, freedom of movement, and the absence of any system of social security compelled the state to assume responsibility for the protection and welfare of the individual (page 147).

The state is, of course, a more distant and abstract entity than the community. For many reasons--including, for example, its intention to be equitable--the government's dealings with its citizens can be expected to be impersonal, universal, and formal. In other words, in the growth of government can be seen, as cause, a decline in the sources of primary relations and, as a consequence, an increase in the sources of, and necessity for, secondary relations.

One may also speculate that this loss of traditional sources of socialization is at least partly responsible for the decline in the performance of the school system. Many of the functions once performed by the family and neighborhood now fall upon the school system. Combined with prohibitions against "moral education" that are usually imposed on school systems, the increased demands placed on the system may partly account for its inability to perform its most basic functions.

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Cooley's (1962) observation, as early as 1909, that the intimacy of the neighborhood has been broken up by the growth of an intricate mesh of wider contacts which "leaves us strangers to people who live in the same house" has been mentioned before (see page 7). The result is a diminished economic and spiritual community with one's neighbors. Cooley points to commerce and industry as the leading causes of this phenomenon. Wirth (1938) begins with the same forces and suggests that the essential character of urban society results from an increased level and density of population, and the heterogeneity of individual and group life. These, in turn, lead to a fundamental change in the way people relate to each other. The characteristics listed by Wirth leave no doubt that he is talking about a shift from primary relations to secondary relations. The paradox of people further apart from each other psychologically and emotionally, living closer together physically, has perverse consequences:

This close living together and working together of individuals who have no sentimental and emotional ties fosters a spirit of competition, aggrandizement, and mutual exploitation. To counteract irresponsibility and potential disorder, formal controls tend to be resorted to (page 21).

The last sentence is significant in its suggestion that formalized mechanisms of control become imperative in modern, industrial-urban societies. Essentially the same

suggestion was made by Jacoby (1973), quoted earlier (see page 56). Warren (1972) too, has suggested that there is an increase in the formalized and impersonal mechanisms of control to compensate for the loss of influence of the community over individual behavior brought about by the decline of the community, in Tönnies' Gemeinschaft sense of the word.

Angell (1951, 1974) is one of the few scholars who has attempted to "measure" the moral integration of American cities. His use of welfare and crime indices in this connection has been mentioned before (see page 35). In a study of 43 cities conducted in 1940, Angell found that heterogeneity and mobility accounted for 62 percent of the variance among the cities in moral integration. Angell suggested that metropolitan growth is accompanied by the following developments: (1) increase in size and complexity of all kinds of bureaucracies, thereby adding to alienation and apathy; (2) the tendency for life to become more impersonal and unrewarding; (3) reduced thoroughness in the internalization of norms, as the interests of family members become more distant in space and more divergent in character; and (4) the reduced ability of both formal and informal social controls to maintain public order. After a follow-up measurement in 1970, Angell (1974) concludes that the moral integration of large American urban communities was "seriously impaired" during the period 1940 to 1970.

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Finally, Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) suggest that length of residence is a central and crucial factor in the development of the social bonds of kinship. The suggestion that mobility is inversely related to the development and maintenance of primary relations is contained in many of the writings discussed above. An examination of Table 1 (page 11) makes evident that length of residence should be expected to be a crucial factor in the development of primary relations, not only because of the time involved in the development of such associations, but also because participants in a relationship would be less likely to fear loss of psychological investment when they expect each other to "stay put." Cooley's (1962) observation that primary relations form a comparatively permanent "anchor" to which the more transient secondary relations are attached brings to mind the image of the child who, having recently learned to walk, ventures a few feet away from his mother, never letting her be lost from his line of vision, yet, even with that, returning joyfully every few minutes to briefly touch and be "in the presence," before toddling off again.

It remains to be suggested that industrialization and modernization are accompanied by increased mobility. The idea that mobility is a pre-condition for rapid industrialization is so well-established, at least in the Western developed countries, that mobility is often used as an index of industrialization. In a more

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theoretical vein, Stinchcombe (1974) suggests that effective industrial administrators are "cosmopolitans" who are characterized by a detachment from the local system. One factor in the development of such detachment is the mobility of cosmopolitans, the fact that they travel more. Jennings (1967) has developed extensive theoretical notions of the role of an individual's career mobility in his success in modern American business. Jennings became interested in mobility when he discovered that the career history of the most successful executives in the country's largest corporations invariably consisted of a great deal of mobility. These men rarely spent more than two or three years in the same position. Originally, this mobility was merely a result of the fact that corporations grew faster than they could develop the talent necessary to fill the staffing needs to sustain this growth. This incidental mobility was converted to a required mobility, however, when it was discovered that it led to the development of extremely competent managers. Jennings believes that mobility results in competence because of the larger variety of experiences and problems encountered by the mobile manager.

In addition to the role mobility plays in the development of talent, one may expect that the ability of organizations to rapidly adjust the size of the labor force in response to changes in the environment would enhance their efficiency. In the absence of legal

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prohibitions against the use of this strategy of adjusting the labor force, we may expect industrial organizations to use it, thereby contributing to the mobility in society.

For whatever causes, the census statistics of mobility leave no doubt that America is a country "on the move." Lansing and Mueller (1967) call geographic mobility a "basic characteristic" of the population of the U.S. At the time of their report as much as 20 percent of the civilian population one year old and over were reported to have moved in the last year. Of these, close to 7 percent moved across county lines. Data collected in 1960 revealed that almost half the population of the country moved to a new address within a five-year period. More significantly, the reasons for moving are largely economic: in 1963, 72 percent of the movers reported that they moved for purely economic or partly economic reasons, such as taking up a job, looking for work, or job transfer. Especially significant for this study is the statistic that the "Average Duration of Employment" for the whole U.S. industrial economy is about two years (Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1970, page 218). In other words, the average annual labor force turnover for the whole industrial-commercial economy is 50 percent. As much as half of the labor force presently employed will not be working at the same location next year, for voluntary or involuntary reasons. While information about the median duration of employment, if it were available, might temper

the conclusion being made here, there can nonetheless be little doubt that mobility is indeed a basic characteristic of American society.

Summary

In conclusion, there is an impressive array of evidence and thought that suggests that it is the very processes that are essential to industrialization and modernization that result in the erosion of sources of primary relations in societies. While the discussion here has focused on recent history, and therefore on industrialization, the Great Transformation is presented as a continuous movement of Western societies, over many centuries, from being of the "collective type" towards being of the "individual type." The discussion here is not meant to belittle the benefits to humanity of industrialization, nor is there any suggestion that the writer wishes for a return to a previous form of social organization. On the contrary, the thrust of the next chapter is to locate a mechanism whereby the benefits of industrialization may be enjoyed by humanity without concurrent declines in individual and societal health.

Proposition 4 may be viewed as a version of the Great Transformation:

As societies modernize and industrialize, the traditional sources of primary relations weaken.

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Primary relations had earlier been shown to be essential to the achievement and maintenance of psychological equilibrium by individuals, and to the achievement and maintenance of sociological equilibrium. If there is any validity to these suggestions, then the urgent question is: Where do we go from here? This is the question addressed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

ORGANIZATIONAL PRIMARY RELATIONS AS A
DETERMINANT OF SOCIETAL, ORGANIZATIONAL,
AND EMPLOYEE HEALTH

Without work all
Life goes rotten
But when work is
Soulless, life
Stifles and dies.

Albert Camus

Proposition 5 contains an answer to the question posed at the end of the last chapter. This chapter elaborates on Proposition 5, which states that work organizations may be able to provide an environment in which primary relations can develop. Implicit in the discussion above is the proposition that modern, industrial societies must locate and develop substitutes for the traditional sources of primary relationships. Homans (1950) is emphatic in asserting that democratic civilizations cannot survive without the values of the small group.

At the level of the small group, society has always been able to cohere . . . if civilization is to stand, it must maintain, in the relation between the groups that make up society and the central direction of society, some of the features of the small group itself. If we do not solve this problem, the effort to achieve our most high-minded

purposes may lead us not to Utopia but to Byzantium (page 468).

Fromm's (1941) conclusion is that civilization may fall simply because men will not tolerate loss of primary group association for long. Fromm says that in the last 400 years men have been gradually set free from the restraints of traditional society. But in losing these restraints, they have also lost the sense of belongingness to a group whose members cooperate in securing the deepest interests of each. If freedom is to mean no more than emotional isolation, it will not survive. Men will do "any mad thing, even merge in a mass under the sword of a tyrant," to escape from freedom of this kind. Certainly, recent history contains numerous events that fit this description.

This chapter begins to provide a partial response to this problem. The impetus for the suggestions contained here, and indeed for the dissertation as a whole, comes from the work of Ouchi and his colleagues (Ouchi, 1981; Ouchi and Johnson, 1978; Ouchi and Price, 1978). Presently constituted groups in society that may contain the potential for becoming a source of primary relations are first located. The work organization is shown to be ideal in this regard. The question of how the potential may be actualized then leads to an examination of alternate forms of organization of these groups in non-western cultures, specifically China and Japan. The Japanese form of work organization is found to be of special interest. Characteristics of Japanese work organizations that appear to be related to their

ability to be a source of primary relations are examined, with a view to locating those characteristics that are not culture-bound, and hence may be applicable to the American situation.

The Potential of Work Groups

What alternatives exist for the replacement of traditional sources of primary relations? What kinds of groups exist in modern, industrial societies which have the potential for the development of primary relationships, that is, which involve people in continuous, face-to-face interaction over many years? Clearly, one such group is the work group. Durkheim's (1933) own prescription was what he called the occupational group, in which members of a particular occupation would unite and organize into a single body. This group would function as a locus for the formation of close relationships among members, resulting in the effective regulation of industry or profession, and contributing to the moral solidarity of the society. The similarity of Durkheim's occupational group to today's trade or professional organization is striking, and the investigation of whether or not professional organizations perform the functions Durkheim expected occupational groups to perform would be worthwhile.

One suspects, however, that the occupational groups Durkheim had in mind would be considerably smaller and much more localized geographically than the modern-day professional associations. Contact among members of

professional associations seems too intermittent and too purposive (i.e., rationally motivated) to result in the kinds of relationships that would contain the potential for moral regulation. Nonetheless, the contribution of professional associations to the "moral regulation" of member behavior is evidenced by the "codes of ethics" that exist in the older and well-established associations.

Work organizations often result in close, face-to-face interactions of the same people over long periods of time. But work organizations, too, bring people together around a purpose, and may be expected to be dominated by relationships based on rational will. Such was the conviction of students of organizations in the decades before Roethlisberger and Dickson, and Mayo. Now it is known, of course, that no work organization exists without an extensive informal organization that influences profoundly the behavior of the members of the organization.

But more significant for our present discussion is the proposition that the formal organization may be structured in ways which promote the likelihood of the organization becoming a locus for primary relations. In his introduction to Mayo's (1975) "The Social Problems of an Industrial Civilization," Donham notes:

Mayo shows us for the first time in the form of specific instances that it is within the power of industrial administrators to create within industry itself a partially effective substitute for the old stabilizing effect of the neighborhood. Given stable employment, it might make of industry a socially satisfying

way of life as well as a way of making a living (page xiv).

Mayo finds the social mechanism that would achieve the necessary social integration in the "working group." Mayo found the roots of this solution to the problem in traditional societies, where the social order is maintained not by a direct tie between each individual and the state, but rather by the relationship of each individual to a clan, a smaller, primary group. All clans were then related to the larger government of the state. Mayo further observed that in modern industry management is not related to single workers but always to working groups. Here, Mayo is referring not only to formal work groups, but also to the informal groups that inevitably form in departments that do not call for formal work groups as such. Thus, Mayo concludes that the fundamental objective of management must be to aid the creation and maintenance of stable, effective working groups within the enterprise. In the opinion of Ouchi and Price (1978), "all contemporary efforts at organizational development can be said to conform to this basic principle" (page 29). Thus, one finds in the works of McGregor (1960, 1966) and Likert (1961, 1967) the consistent assertion that the development of cohesive small groups that are linked to each other leads to organizational success, and that the focus of organizational development efforts should be the development of interpersonal skill. This latter prescription is also found in Argyris (1964, 1974).

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Ouchi and Price (1978) review the work of the Human Relations school, represented by the authors mentioned above, and conclude that the fundamental propositions that seem to underlie this school of thought may be stated as follows:

- (a) The hierarchical structure (a system of superior-subordinate relationships based on legitimate authority, close monitoring of activity, job specialization, and individual responsibility) is the predominant form of organization in modern, industrial societies.
- (b) Hierarchical organizations are naturally and inevitably hostile to the growth needs of individuals, because of the high degree of specialization, the narrow economic measures of performance, and the fostering of a state of dependence of subordinates on superiors.
- (c) Consequently, steps must be taken to mitigate these negative effects of hierarchy.

What Ouchi and Price fail to find in the Human Relations school is an explanation for proposition (a) above. Why does hierarchy seem to be the inevitable response to industrialization? What essential functions of managerial control are served by hierarchy? Is hierarchy the only structure that serve these functions?

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A logical place to look for the beginnings of the answer to the last question is the typical forms of industrial organization in non-Western cultures. Whyte's (1973) study of modernization in China provides a suggestion to the effect that the hierarchical structure may not be the only way to organize collective effort.

The Maoist ideology is, in fact, opposed to bureaucracy on the grounds that it allows the educated to set themselves apart from the rest of the population and to advance themselves and their relatives at the expense of the common man. For the same reason, a high degree of specialization and the development of professionalism is to be discouraged. If allowed, these would lead to "the masses [feeling] incapable of affecting the decisions affecting their lives," leading to discouragement and lack of dedication. This would undermine whatever decisions their superiors would make. Superiors should, therefore, be less concerned about establishing their professional prerogatives and more concerned about forging close ties with their subordinates. Individuals are supposed to obey, not because they are subordinate in a legitimate organization or because they have less technical knowledge than their superiors, but because of their commitment to the goals of the group. This commitment is to be the outcome of group solidarity. Considerable emphasis is placed upon minimizing differences between superiors and subordinates,

through similarity of dress, through the location in the same building of the more spacious apartment of the administrator and the smaller residence of his unit's janitor, and through "mass line" procedures, in which managerial cadres regularly spent part of their time out of their offices and working with their hands alongside subordinates.

The basic vehicle for the participation of the masses in decision-making are the discussion groups--the factory work group, the school row, the office section, the military squad--all of which are to maintain their form outside the activities and hours of the formal organizational life. People are expected to treat each other not just as holders of narrow roles, but as whole individuals with problems and private lives which may affect organizational performance. Individual performance gains that result from wider differentials and status distinctions--basic tools of the motivational trade in Western organizations--are held by the Maoists to be more than offset by lowered organizational cohesion and morale.

Thus, after extensive interviews with captured Chinese soldiers during the Korean War, George (1967) finds that much of the impressive performance of the Chinese Army against the more heavily armed U.N. forces could be attributed to the encapsulation of soldiers in small groups with regular political rituals and group criticisms, and the

maintenance of comradely relations and mutual consultation between officers and men.

The Maoist alternative to hierarchy may thus be seen to be the small group or the "clan." There is, however, an essential difference between the "cohesive work group" sought by the Human Relations school and the "discussion group" of China. The Human Relations school does not see the cohesive group as serving the control functions that the discussion group is to serve; that is, it does not see the cohesive group as an alternative to hierarchy. The Maoist system seeks to obtain organizationally required behaviors through ensuring that individuals, because they value their membership in the group, will be committed to the goals of the group.

Japan

A significant segment of Japanese industry shares some of the characteristics of the Maoist system, yet is radically different in other characteristics. For the Western observer, the most striking characteristic of Japanese industrial organization is the Nenko, or lifetime employment system, prevalent in large businesses. Abegglen (1958), who first introduced Western readers to the Japanese factory, calls this the "critical" difference between Japanese and U.S. work organization:

When comparing the social organization of the factory in Japan and the United States one difference is immediately noted and continues to dominate and represent much of the total difference between the two systems. At whatever level of organization in the Japanese factory, the worker commits

himself on entrance to the company for the remainder of his working career. The company will not discharge him even temporarily except in the most extreme circumstances. He will not quit the company for industrial employment elsewhere. He is a member of the company in a way resembling that in which persons are members of families, . . . and other intimate and personal groups in the U.S. (page 11).

The yearly turnover quoted by Abegglen for individual firms in the 1949-1953 period ranges from a tenth of a percent to 2 and 3 percent for men, and 10 percent for women. The contrast with an average national turnover rate of up to 50 percent in the U.S.A. (see page above) is striking. The Western relationship is more nearly "contractual," that is, dominated by economic factors or "rational will," whereas the Japanese policy tacitly recognizes that the relationship between the company and the worker is not simply a function of the economic convenience of the two parties.

Loyalty to the group and an interchange of responsibilities--a system of shared obligation--takes the place of the economic basis of employment of worker by the firm (Abegglen, 1958, page 17).

The policy of lifetime employment may be expected to significantly influence the kind and intensity of relationships that will form among members of the organization. One can imagine the experience of a new employee in a large organization in Japan who is introduced to his fellow employees and who realizes that these are the people who will be his colleagues for the rest of his working life. In contrast, the entrant in a Western

counterpart would be aware that the people he associates with today may be gone tomorrow, or that he himself may leave. Not only do people have insufficient time to develop broad ties in this setting, they would also be motivated to protect themselves against the costs of losing friends by not forming friendships. We may expect, then, the stability of employment to be an important determinant of whether or not the work organization is experienced by employees as a locus for primary relations.

In this context, the conclusions of Hall et al. (1970) and Hall and Schneider (1972) from their research in various U.S. organizations are of interest. They were interested in the correlates of "identification" which they view as the "process by which the goals of the organization and those of the individual become increasingly integrated or congruent." They found that tenure (length of service) and organizational identification were significantly ($p < .01$) related in the forest service and with priests that they studied. They explain this relationship by suggesting the operation within individuals of such factors as (1) increasing investment the person makes in the organization, and (2) the effect of foregoing outside opportunities. Note, however, that Katz (1978) finds that "overall satisfaction of workers with considerable job longevity is not related to the task characteristics of their present jobs," thus suggesting that employment stability may be related to satisfaction through the increased opportunity for primary

relations rather than other factors. This is, of course, congruent with the ideas discussed above.

Another striking difference between Japanese and American work organization relates to the system of rewards and incentives used. Under norms of rationality in the American system, reward is generally given in relation to the capacity of the individual to contribute to efficient and maximal production. Payment would be based on factors relating to the position an individual occupies and the extent to which he effectively fulfills the demands of his job. Rewards, in other words, are a motivational device and should be closely related, as one is urged by Lawler (1973), to performance. In Japan, on the other hand, payment is based mostly upon these three non-performance factors: age, education, and seniority.

. . . recompense in the Japanese factory is in large part a function of matters that have no direct connection with the factory's productivity goals. They can be termed relevant to factory pay only when the relationship between worker and firm, and the assumptions on which that relationship rests, are defined outside the more limited range of productivity, output, profit, and efficiency. . . . individual effort is not a component of wage calculation--it is group work, and group output that measure success (Abegglen, 1958, pages 67-69).

In other words, the structure of the reward mechanism, which includes the monitoring of performance, will also significantly influence the kind and intensity of relationships that form in the work organization. In the Japanese example, many factors combine to make the work organization, for most employees, the focal point,

not only of their economic life, but also of their social, recreational, and emotional life. The company is held to be, and considers itself, responsible for the total person, including his food, clothing, shelter, education, and medical needs.

The Japanese worker's group membership transcends his individual privileges and responsibilities--or, to use Durkheim's terminology, his conscience coincides with the collective conscience at many, many points. Abegglen (1958) finds himself using the metaphor of "family" repeatedly in his book.

[The Japanese factory] is family-like. When a man enters the large Japanese company, it is for his entire life. Entrance is a function of personal qualities, background, and character. Membership is revocable only in extraordinary circumstances and with extraordinary difficulty. As in a family, the incompetent or inefficient member of the group is cared for, and a place is found for him. Again, family-life, the most intimate kinds of behaviors are the proper province of concern and attention from the other members of the group. Fidelity and tenure bring the highest rewards, and, should the group encounter financial difficulty, it is expected that all members will suffer these difficulties together (page 99).

Ozawa (1980) suggests that, for the Japanese, one's company (or kaisha) is not merely a place of work, but a "sharing group." He quotes Nakane as follows:

The term kaisha symbolizes the expression of group consciousness. Kaisha does not mean that individuals are bound by contractual relationships into a corporate enterprise, while still thinking of themselves as separate entities; rather, kaisha is 'my' or 'our' company, the community to which one belongs primarily, and which is all important in one's life (page 46).

One may view the employee-organization relationship in Japan as exhibiting many of the characteristics of the relationship between a person with his primary group. Using Marx's (1963) formula, that "every man regards other men according to the standards and relationships in which he finds himself placed as a worker" (page 129), we may expect that Japanese workers find in their work organization a rich source of primary relationships.

Drawbacks of the Chinese and Japanese Organizational Forms

The point of the above discussion is not to endorse the Maoist ideology or the Japanese system as superior or preferable to what exists in the West. The point is simply to answer in the affirmative the question, "Can organizations, through their choice of control mechanisms, create the environment in which primary relations may develop?"

It might be worthwhile mentioning some of the drawbacks of the type of organizational structure being discussed here. Abegglen (1958) himself mentions a number of disadvantages, from the lack of flexibility of adjusting the size of the labor force to possible losses of productivity and efficiency. Oh (1976) points out that the costs of the Nenko, or permanent employment system, are borne by the large pool of temporary workers from which the smaller companies satisfy their highly fluctuating demand for labor, and who receive considerably lower wages than permanent workers. When one notes, in addition, that these smaller companies are most

often subcontractors to the larger firms, it becomes evident that the larger firms probably use the subcontracting relationship to pass on the costs of reduced inflexibility. Oh (1976) also notes that within the context of the hierarchical structure based on seniority, the intense emotional involvement in the life of the group, and the early indoctrination into the group ethos, there are areas in which competition is intense and motivating. Ozawa (1980) makes the same point: "Individual aggressiveness is directed outward--intragroup harmony develops--but a keen, sometimes bitter, intergroup rivalry occurs" (page 46). Cole (1973) mentions also the reduced flexibility for quick readjustment of the labor force as a significant disadvantage. One may also expect that there will be at least a few individuals for whom opportunity for personal achievement may be more valuable than membership in a cohesive and warm group. The Japanese system, by discouraging and frustrating such individuals, may suffer losses of innovativeness and productivity. Ozawa (1980) suggests that such individuals become entrepreneurs in Japanese society, but one wonders about the number of people who would like to advance rapidly who are suppressed by the system.

Type "A" and Type "Z"

It is now necessary to be more specific about the dimensions along which the control structures of organizations may be observed to differ. Proceeding from their interest in the differences between Japanese and

American companies, Johnson and Ouchi (1974) formulated two ideal types which described alternative mechanisms of organizational control used in American and Japanese companies. Subsequently, a further ideal type which described American companies that have some characteristics similar to the pure Japanese ideal type was constructed. The pure American prototype is called "Type A" by Ouchi and Johnson (1978), and the set of characteristics that made the American companies "Japanese" in style is called "Type Z." The essential difference between "Type A" and "Type Z" is that the former maintains control through a tightly monitored system, while the latter maintains control through a process of acculturation or socialization of employees. Ouchi and Price (1978) distinguish between the market-bureaucratic form of social control and the clan form of social control: the former is characterized by a combination of reward-for-performance incentive system requiring close and frequent monitoring of behavior, and an authority system based on contract (that is, rational will); the clan form of social control is based on a more or less complete socialization of the individual into the organizational group, so that individual goals become closely identified with organizational goals. Control in the clan mechanisms is a function of the desire of the individual to become and remain a valued member of the group. Ouchi and Price (1978) mention specifically that such complete integration can only occur when membership turnover is low, giving members a

greater vested interest in integrating themselves. This is similar to the argument made earlier, namely, that high mobility discourages the formation of primary relationships.

Ouchi and Johnson (1978) contrasted "Type A" and "Type z" organizations on seven dimensions, on six of which they differ, as indicated in Table 2. Note again that both "Type A" and "Type Z" describe American organizations.

TABLE 2
TWO IDEAL TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONAL CONTROL

TYPE A	TYPE Z
Short-term employment	Long-term employment
Individual decision-making	Collective decision-making
Individual responsibility	Individual responsibility
Frequent evaluation and promotion	Infrequent evaluation and promotion
Explicit, formalized evaluation	Implicit, informal evaluation
Specialized career paths	Nonspecialized career paths
Segmented concern for people	Wholistic concern for people

The first dimension of length of employment is the crucial dimension in the sense that all the rest of the characteristics can be understood as adaptations to it. In other words, the Type A organization incorporates those elements of a control mechanism which are adapted to high rates of employee turnover. Since high turnover makes interdependence costly, decision-making and responsibility are highly individualized.

Since only relatively new employees are available for promotion, evaluation and promotion take place frequently. These evaluations cannot rely on subtle or personal knowledge of ability or performance, because there has not been sufficient time for supervisors and subordinates to know one another; so the evaluation system tends to be formalized and to rely upon "hard" measures which have high apparent legitimacy and impersonality. To the extent that employees are specialized, they can transfer between organizations and quickly become productive in the new setting. Finally, the segmented concern for people results from the kind of dynamics discussed earlier, in which insufficient time and high risk of loss of friends discourage the development of primary relationships.

Ouchi and Johnson (1978) emphasize that:

These two 'ideal types' come from real experience, via a long although clinical period of interviewing managers from many different kinds of companies and government agencies. They do not match exactly . . . any real organization, but they are at once sufficiently concrete and specific to guide a systematic collection of data and sufficiently abstract and general to provide theoretical meaning. As we think through the control process implied by each type, we see that stability of employment is almost certainly more important than the other variables (page 295).

It is also noted later in the same article that Type A is very similar to the common description of the Gesellschaft, or contractual society, while Type Z is similar to the Gemeinschaft, village, or non-contractual society:

In the descriptions of the Type A and the Type Z organization we find forms of social

organization which bear a striking similarity to earlier and, by now, classic descriptions of whole societies. Our description of Type A is very similar to the common description of the Gesellschaft (Toennies, 1940) or contractual (Sumner, 1907; Maine, 1930) society. Similarly, the Type Z description sounds much like the Gemeinschaft, village, or non-contractual, society (page 310).

Outcomes

The proposition that work organizations, through their choice of control mechanisms, can create an environment benign to the formation of primary relations has now been outlined. The last proposition, that the outcomes will relate to individual emotional well-being, societal solidarity, and organizational effectiveness, is based on the ideas discussed earlier. Some additional support for this proposition follows.

Research by Burke, Weir, and Duncan (1976) suggests that work relationships may have an important role to play in helping individuals mitigate or resolve their stress experiences. Burke (1971) asked a group of managers to describe how they coped with stress. One popular answer was: talking through problems with others was instrumental in stress reduction. We may add that who one talks to--specifically, how long one has known the listener, and how close and supportive he has been in the past--will certainly have an influence on the relationship between "talking through" and stress reduction. That work organizations may provide fertile ground for primary relationships is suggested by data collected by Burke and

Weir (1975). Husbands and wives were asked to indicate two people they would go to for help with stress-producing problems. Ninety percent of the males' first two choices and 32 percent of the females' first two choices were identified as people from the husband's work environment.

Ouchi and Johnson (1978) identified a Type A and a Type Z company in the electronics industry by asking "industry experts" to nominate, from a list, companies which they felt most resembled a one-paragraph description of each ideal type. Categorization as Type A or Type Z was further validated by interview and questionnaire data from company officials, and by observation of the "climate" in each company. Employee emotional well-being and attachment to the company were measured by surveys. The results indicate that the employees in the Type Z company scored significantly higher on emotional well-being and attachment to the company.

With respect to outcomes related to organizational effectiveness, the point may be made that an employee's emotional well-being may be expected to influence his performance on the job. Sales (1970) suggests that a person's ability to cope with stressful events can have a significant effect on the state of his psychological and physical health, which, in turn, will affect his overall functioning and productivity. Oh (1976), in his review of Japanese management, concludes that the employment security resulting from the Nenko system intensifies cohesiveness and

group consciousness, and is an important factor in the stabilization which large enterprises need for rational economic planning in the face of rapid technological change. Ozawa (1980) concludes that "one clear economic benefit" of industrial paternalism is enhanced effectiveness of on-the-job training, since the employer's investment in on-the-job training is sure to be recouped over the long run. Cole (1973) finds that long-term employment contributes to the development of loyalty to the organization, resulting in high motivation to achieve organizational goals. In addition to avoiding instabilities of high turnover, poor returns on training costs, high cost of recruiting and terminating, and high levels of alienation, the permanent employment system also results in reduced union and worker resistance to technological innovation, since much of this resistance derives from threats to employment security.

Summary

This chapter has identified some characteristics of work organizations that may be related to the creation and maintenance of an organizational environment that encourages the development of primary relations, not only among employees, but also between employees and the organization. The thrust of this entire theoretical framework is to suggest that the consequences of membership in such organizations are likely to include enhanced employee well-being, as well as enhanced social and organizational well-being.

Proposition 5 states:

Work organizations, through their choice of control mechanisms, are able to provide the environment in which primary relations can develop. The outcomes would relate not only to the emotional equilibrium of individuals and the moral solidarity or integration of society as a whole, but also to the effectiveness of the organization itself.

The empirical part of this dissertation, aimed at obtaining evidence for Proposition 1 and part of Proposition 5, is reported in Part II.

PART II

EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION

CHAPTER V

HYPOTHESES AND OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

Hypotheses of the Empirical Investigation

This chapter introduces the empirical part of the dissertation, which is a test of a revised Proposition 1 and a part of Proposition 5, both of which are repeated here in their entirety:

1. Individuals need primary relations to achieve and maintain psychological equilibrium.
5. Work organizations, through their choice of control mechanisms, may be able to provide the environment in which primary relations can develop. The outcomes would relate not only to the emotional equilibrium of individuals and the moral solidarity or integration of society as a whole, but also to the efficiency and effectiveness of the organization itself.

Both propositions, and the dissertation's literature synthesis (theoretical investigation) in general, deal with Primariness in the context of interpersonal relationships. For the empirical investigation, however, a different context is proposed: Primariness of the Individual's Relationship

with the Organization. In all that follows in Part II of the dissertation, therefore, Primariness is a concept of Individual-Organizational relationship.

Another difference between the theoretical and empirical parts of the dissertation is that the term, "psychological equilibrium" is herein replaced by the concept, Emotional Well-Being. The change is made for two reasons: (1) operationalization of "psychological equilibrium" turns out to be a matter mostly of emotions and feelings; and (2) Emotional Well-Being is the term employed by Ouchi and Johnson (1978), whose study provided the main impetus for the present empirical investigation. It should be noted, however, that Emotional Well-Being as presently used differs somewhat from Ouchi and Johnson's concept. Concern for precision and parsimony yielded a concept containing fewer dimensions defined in considerably more detail than their concept.

Precision and parsimony considerations also motivated a similar treatment of their concept of Organizational Type, yielding similar results. They use seven dimensions of organizational control mechanisms to distinguish organizational "ideal type" A from "ideal type" Z. The present approach retains the labels "Type Z" and Type Z," but fully employs only two of their seven dimensions. Along with a part of a third dimension, these make up the third variable of this empirical investigation, which is called TYPE.

Proposition 1 and the part of Proposition 5 being tested may now be restated, in terms of these variables, as follows:

1. Individuals need a primary relationship with their work organization to achieve and maintain Emotional Well-Being.
2. Work organizations, through structuring their control mechanisms in the pattern of ideal Type Z, are able to provide an environment in which individuals develop a primary relationship with their work organization.

This empirical investigation is viewed fundamentally as an exploratory effort. Alternatively, or concurrently, it can be viewed as a construct validation exercise. In either case, the implications of causality in the propositions are considered inappropriate at this point. Removing these implications, and rephrasing in the language of statistics, results in the following hypotheses for this study.

H1: The correlation between the average level of Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization (PIRO) of individuals within an organization and the TYPE of organization will be positive and significantly different from zero. (High positive value of TYPE signifies Type Z; see below.)

H2: The correlation between the average level of Primariness of Individual's Relationship with

the Organization (PIRO) of individuals within an organization and the average level of Emotional Well-Being (EWB) of individuals within the organization will be positive and significantly different from zero.

Finally, the third remaining pairwise correlation, between TYPE and Emotional Well-Being enters into a third hypothesis. Note that Ouchi and Johnson (1978) do not measure Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization (PIRO) or any variable similar to it, and their major finding is that of a relationship between TYPE and Emotional Well-Being. Support for H3 would constitute confirmation of the Ouchi and Johnson finding.

H3: The correlation between TYPE of organization and the average level of Emotional Well-Being (EWB) of individuals within the organization will be positive and significantly different from zero.

These three hypotheses are stated at the organizational level of analysis, since the average level of PIRO and the average level of EWB are organizational values, and TYPE is also an organizational characteristic. Variations of individuals around these averages are, at this level of analysis, "error variance." Thus the N for statistical analysis to be performed to obtain evidence about these hypotheses will equal the number of organizations in the sample.

Proposition 1 above can also be taken to suggest that, regardless of the type of organization individuals belong to,

Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization (PIRO) will be correlated with Emotional Well-Being. This suggests a fourth hypothesis, at the individual level of analysis:

H4: The correlation between Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization and Emotional Well-Being for all individuals will be positive and significantly different from zero.

The N for statistical analysis here will be the total number of individuals in the study.

The next section of this chapter contains "operational" definitions and a brief discussion of each variable. This is followed by sections in which data generation and collection procedures are described.

Definitions

The definitions contained in this section, while containing many elements from the work of researchers mentioned in Chapter II, are specified in this final form by the writer.

Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization (PIRO)

PIRO is defined as the extent to which the organization, like the family, is a source of meaning and belongingness for the individual, regardless of its significance as a means of existence. It is, in other words, the extent to which the organization is central to the individual's

self-concept, or to which the individual finds beliefs and values that are essential to his own personality expressed in the objectives and methods of the organization, or to which the organizational interests are not differentiated from self-interests, just as family interests are not differentiated from self-interests. Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization is, in summary, the extent to which the organization is of significance to its utilitarian significance, or, the extent to which organizational membership is the satisfaction of a need, rather than only a means to the satisfaction of needs.

A number of points must be noted about this definition. The organization is to be distinguished from the profession and also from any sub-groups that may exist within the organization. PIRO has reference only to the individual's relationship with the organization as a whole. The distinction is important, since people are often found to be in primary relationship with their profession or with a small group of colleagues within the work organization. Organization is conceptualized here as a more or less organic entity with a character, personality, or identity distinct from that of any individual or group of individuals within the organization. Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization has reference to the individual's relationship with the Gestalt evoked by the name of the organization.

The reference to the centrality of the organization to the individual's self-concept may remind the reader of Dubin and Goldman's (1972) Central Life Interest concept. The analogy is only partially useful, since Dubin and Goldman's reference is to the job as being more or less central to the individual's life, while PIRO refers to the organization as being more or less central to the individual's life or self-concept. The distinction is important, since, in the former case, the organization itself may be subordinate to the individual's career goals, which would lead to a classification of his relationship with the organization as low in Primariness.

The suggestion that Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization is the extent to which organizational interests are not differentiated from self-interests is not meant to imply that conflicts between organizational interests and self-interests are less frequent for the high PIRO individual. On the contrary, they may be more frequent, and more keenly felt, by such an individual, since in the absence of a primary relationship there is no potential for conflict: organizational interests are generally subordinate to self-interests. The idea may be stated alternatively by suggesting that high PIRO will be accompanied by a higher tolerance for conflict. It would take a great deal of conflict before the individual would consider severing his ties with the organization. The analogy of the family is again useful: consider the amount

and intensity of conflict that must occur before a person will sever his ties with his family.

The definition has been carefully worded to avoid the implication that a relationship that has utilitarian significance disqualifies it from being primary. Primary is defined not negatively in terms of absence of utilitarian significance, but positively in terms of presence of significance beyond the "merely" utilitarian. Primary relationship is distinguished from secondary relationship in which the purpose or utility is the center or focus of the relationship; it is its most important referent. The fate of a secondary relationship is tied up intimately with the fate of the purpose--when the purpose is diminished or eliminated, so is the relationship.

Finally, there is a need to distinguish what may be called "Primariness Orientation" from primariness of individual's relationship with the organization. The latter refers to the primariness of the individual's existing relationship with the organization, while primariness orientation refers to an enduring characteristic of the individual which predisposes him to view relationships with people and with social systems in a primary light. Primariness orientation is the characteristic of the individual who seeks meaning and belongingness in relationships in which others may be content with finding only utilitarian significance. It is a characteristic of the individual, whereas primariness

of existing relationships is a characteristic of relationships. Primariness orientation, along with other individual characteristics, will interact with organizational and contextual variables to determine PIRO, as well as other characteristics of the individual's relationship with the organization.

TYPE

TYPE is defined by (1) the extent to which an organization includes the whole of the individual under the umbrella of the relationship it seeks to establish and maintain with the employee, (2) the extent of longevity of tenure of employees, and (3) the extent of availability of "global" criteria for decision-making, that is, criteria derived from the purpose or mission of the organization. These three dimensions of TYPE are called Wholistic Concern, Employment Stability, and Global Philosophy of Management, respectively. TYPE may thus be defined by the extent of Wholistic Concern, Employment Stability, and Global Philosophy of Management that exists with the organization. These three interdependent dimensions are described below.

TYPE is conceptualized as a continuum ranging from TYPE A (Low Wholistic Concern, Low Employment Stability, and absence of Global Philosophy of Management) to TYPE Z (High Wholistic Concern, High Employment Stability, and availability of Global Philosophy of Management). These dimensions are adapted from the work of Ouchi and

his colleagues (Ouchi and Johnson, 1978; Ouchi and Price, 1978).

Wholistic Concern is the extent to which the organization includes the totality of the individual's needs, concerns, and interests in the organization-individual relationship. It is contrasted with "segmented concern," in which the relationship is presumed to cover only those segments of the individual that are narrowly and directly relevant to his or her duties in the organization--for example, specific manual or mental capabilities. In the image of a "psychological contract" between the organization and the individual, Wholistic Concern is the inclusion of a broad and comprehensive range of behavior, needs, and interests. Wholistic Concern is indicated by the existence of programs and policies that address needs, concerns, and interests of employees that go well beyond physical working conditions and compensation. More fundamentally, Wholistic Concern is the inclusion of these "wholistic" considerations in the policy-making process of the organization; that is, the extent of sensitivity to, and incorporation of, the impact of policy decisions not only on work, production, and profit, but also on the employee as a whole. Wholistic Concern is the extent to which decisions in the organization reflect a sensitivity to the multiplicity of roles that an employee assumes in the course of daily living--spouse, parent,

citizen, friend, etc.--rather than a consideration only of his or her work role and its significance to the organization.

The TYPE Z organization may be viewed as responding differently than a TYPE A organization to the possibility that employee non-work concerns will have a powerful impact on his work performance. The TYPE Z organization seeks to understand this impact in order to incorporate it in the organization-individual relation--and, ultimately, to influence the impact. The TYPE A organization, in contrast, seeks to ignore, deny, or de-emphasize this impact. (The TYPE Z organization views non-work concerns as a source of "systematic variance," the TYPE A views it as a source of "error variance.") The TYPE A organization insists that non-work concerns do not, or should not, have anything to do with the employee's behavior while at work. Consequently, the organization-individual relationship can legitimately concern itself only with the exchange of specific employee behaviors for compensation; the individual, in turn, is expected to leave his non-work concerns and needs outside the door of the organization.

It may be noted that Wholistic Concern is defined here as a characteristic of the organization. Similar concern in interpersonal relationships within an organization may occur independent of, or in spite of the absence of, Wholistic Concern, though one would

expect the two to be related. In the superior-subordinate relationship, the superior's similar concern for the subordinate would be an indication of Wholistic Concern if the superior is representing organizational policy. Wholistic Concern is also distinct from the individual including the whole of the organization in the organization-individual relationship. This distinction is especially important, since an individual who seeks to include the whole of the organization in the organization-individual relationship may be seen as an individual with a Primariness Orientation (see above). Conceptual similarity between Wholistic Concern and Primariness Orientation calls for special care in operational segregation of TYPE and PIRO, a problem which is addressed in the Data Generation Procedures section below.

Employment Stability was defined as the longevity of tenure of employees, that is, as long average duration of stay of employees in the organization. A corollary of long average duration of stay is the relative absence of work force size variations in response to short-term variations in demand. In other words, Employment Stability reflects organizational policies seeking a long-term, even permanent relationship with employees, and organizational avoidance of work force size variations in response to short-term variations in demand for the product of the organization. It may be useful to view Employment Stability as the temporal aspect of Wholistic Concern,

in the sense that it indicates a policy to seek a relationship with the whole of the individual in terms of all the years of (at least) his working life. Similarly, avoidance of variations in work force size may be viewed as resulting from an organizational sensitivity to emotional and psychological costs associated with such ups and downs, costs to the laid-off employee as well as those left behind, rather than organizational sensitivity only to its financial costs. In analogy with the previous discussion, Employment Stability may be viewed as the response of the TYPE Z organization to the possibility that concerns about the future may have a powerful impact on the present work performance of the employee. Policies to assure the employee that he will not be discarded when the organization no longer needs him may be expected to reduce significantly the emotional or psychological cost of uncertainty for the employee, and he may reasonably be expected to pass along much of this saving to the organization.

Note that avoidance of lay-offs may be motivated by a purely "dollars and cents" calculation, that is, in the absence of any sensitivity to employee concerns about job security. Variations in work force size are, after all, quite costly to the organization, in the traditional sense of the concept of "cost." Such calculation has nothing as such to do with TYPE Z. It is not only the existence

of Employment Stability, but also of non-economic motivations underlying Employment Stability that is indicative of a TYPE Z organization. For example, if Job Security has been extracted from the organization by union action, or if it is simply an artifact of legislation, then it would not be an indicator of TYPE Z. It is for this reason that the dimensions of Wholistic Concern and Global Philosophy of Management are necessary supplements to Employment Stability in the definition of TYPE.

Global Philosophy of Management is the availability in the work environment of "global" criteria for decision-making, that is, criteria specified in terms of the purpose, mission, or objectives of the organization. In the words of Ouchi and Price (1978), an organizational philosophy of management is recognition of the "plain fact that measurable, quantifiable techniques of control are helpful but incomplete, and that, if the equally important but more subtle goals of the organization are not expressed openly through a philosophy, then numbers will rule to the detriment of the organization" (page 44).

In other words, it is not the absence of quantifiable cost/benefit calculations, but the inclusion in the decision-making metric of more intangible and less easily quantifiable factors that characterizes TYPE Z. Global Philosophy of Management is the extent to which long-range and broad criteria, specified in terms of

the overall mission and basic strategy of the organization, are explicitly recognized as being the general framework within which the criteria of production and profit are to operate. Global Philosophy, if widely known in the organization, makes available to individual decision-makers a motivational scheme that enables them to understand their own role in the organization and bring better judgment to bear on the decisions they make, since they have a larger and more comprehensive set of criteria than the goals of production or profit can provide.

It is clear that the dimensions of Wholistic Concern and Employment Stability are consistent with this view of Global Philosophy of Management, and could even be thought of as aspects of it. Thus, in Wholistic Concern, recognition is given to employee concerns that go beyond the narrowly specific factors of production and profit. Similarly, lay-off decisions are to be made not simply on the basis of the quantity of manpower required currently, but also on the basis of psychological and emotional consequences to the employees. Note that profit and production are not being ignored or even subordinated; theoretically at least, a consequence of viewing profit and production in a broader, global, long-range framework is expected to be enhanced profit and production.

While the availability of an explicit and written statement of Global Philosophy of Management would indicate TYPE Z, the more relevant criterion is the

extent of awareness of the philosophy in the employees of the organization, and the extent of use made of it by policy makers.

Emotional Well-Being (EWB)

Emotional Well-Being is conceptualized as the state of that individual who is relatively free from feelings and emotions that serve to impair successful coping with situations encountered in the course of daily living. These feelings and emotions may be viewed as being supported by certain perceptions. Thus, hostility may be viewed as being supported by the perception that other people threaten one's interests or self-concept. The perceptions underlying the feelings are not usually salient in the consciousness; the feelings themselves are often keenly salient in the consciousness. Emotional Ill-Being is the existence of feelings, emotions, and perceptions that prevent an individual from seeking and producing coping responses in two ways: by creating a predisposition in the individual such that a coping response is less likely to be elicited, and by creating a drain on the emotional energy of the individual, so that less energy is available to seek and produce a coping response. A "spiral" process is implicated, where the perceptions support feelings which impair coping, which in turn contributes to an intensification of the perceptions and feelings. Emotional Ill-Being is conceptualized as the state of that individual who

is more likely to get started in this spiral; therefore it makes reference to generalized perceptions, feelings, and emotions. A higher level of Emotional Ill-Being leads not only to a greater propensity to get launched along the spiral, but also to a reduced ability to arrest the spiral. Emotional Well-Being, in contrast, leads not only to a lower likelihood of getting started on the spiral, but also to an increased ability to arrest the spiral if it has begun.

The concept of a "coping response" is central to the identification of those generalized perceptions, feelings, and emotions that contribute to Emotional Ill-Being. Whether a response is coping or non-coping cannot usually be determined without reference to the specific person-situation matrix: what may be a coping response in one situation for one individual may be dysfunctional in the same situation for another individual, or in a different situation for the same individual. For this reason, it is necessary to identify those feelings, and the perceptions that underlie them, that are likely to result in non-coping responses in "most" situations encountered in daily living in this culture.

It is proposed that generalized anxiety is the most basic of such emotions. Generalized feelings of depression, hostility, and helplessness or powerlessness may also be included. All these may be expected to be

interrelated. Nonetheless, each can be considered as a distinct feeling or emotion. Generalized fear is considered to be almost identical to generalized anxiety, and is not separately included. Each of these is discussed below in terms of its relationship to Emotional Well-Being, and in terms of the perceptions that may be expected to underlie them.

Generalized Anxiety is a diffuse or objectless feeling of apprehension, fear, or uneasiness, which exists as a relatively enduring or stable characteristic of the individual's personality, and which is intense enough to impair his or her ability to cope with situations encountered in the course of daily living. This feeling is produced in response to the perception that she may encounter, "anytime" in the course of daily living or "sometime" in the future, threatening situations which will demand skills or resources that are beyond her reach. These threatening situations, and the consequences of failure to cope with them, may or may not be clearly visualized.

This definition is a synthesis of definitions and discussions of anxiety from a number of sources. Some of these definitions are repeated here because of the fundamental importance of Anxiety to the present concept of Emotional Well-Being.

May (1977) defines anxiety as a diffuse, unspecific, vague, and objectless apprehension "cued off

by a threat to some value that the individual holds essential to his existence as a personality." The special characteristics of anxiety are the feelings of uncertainty and helplessness in the face of the danger. May quotes Tillich's definition of anxiety as man's reaction to the threat of non-being: man's self-conscious awareness of his being is accompanied by the awareness that at any moment he might cease to exist, not only physically but, maybe more importantly, psychologically and spiritually. In this latter sense, anxiety is man's response to the threat of the loss of sources of relatedness and meaning in his life. Hamacheck (1971) defines anxiety as a chronic, complex emotional state . with apprehension or fear as its most prominent component. He suggests that anxiety is aroused whenever a person's assessment of the situational demands leads him to conclude that they are greater than his own resources. Finally, Weinberg defines anxiety in Gould and Kolb's (1964) Dictionary of the Social Sciences as a "reaction of apprehension ranging from uneasiness to complete panic, preceded by a real or a symbolic condition of threat which the subject perceives diffusely and to which he reacts with an intensity that tends to be disproportionate."

The two components of feeling and perception mentioned in the recent definition of Emotional Well-Being may be noted in each of these definitions. The last definition

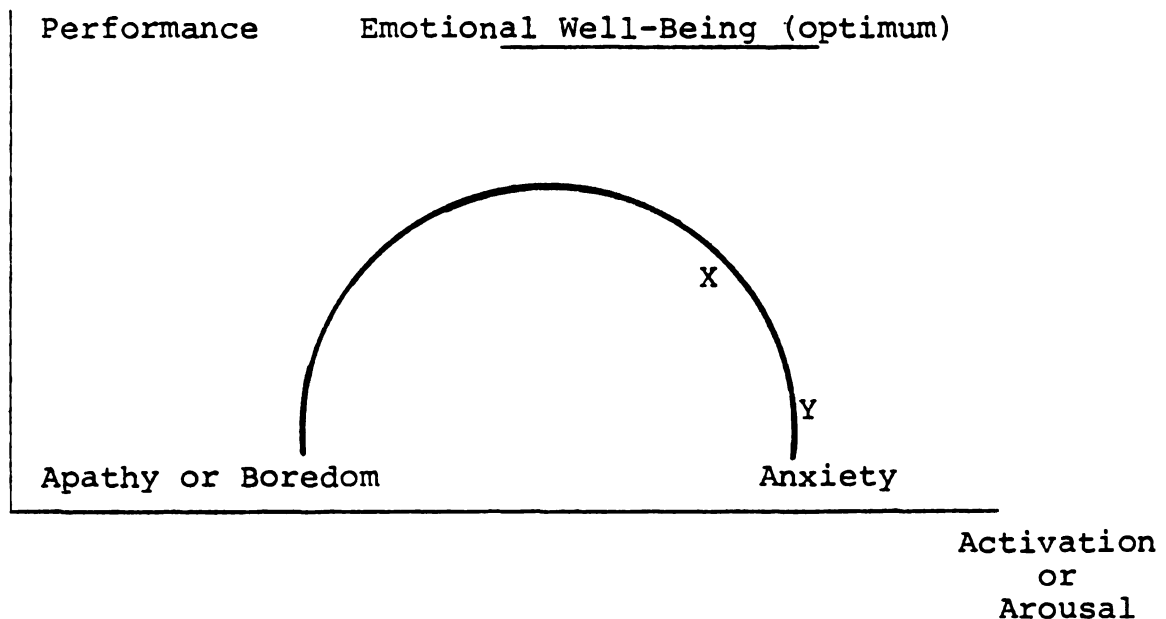
quoted suggests that anxiety is a continuum that may range from "uneasiness to complete panic." It is important to note that the boundary between "uneasiness" and being in a state of alertness is by no means sharp. An inverted U relationship between Performance and Activation may illustrate this state of affairs (see Figure 1). Very low levels of Activation or Arousal may be viewed as a state of Apathy or Boredom. Very high levels are what is being called Anxiety, that is, "intense enough to impair" coping performance. Emotional Well-Being is that state between Boredom and Anxiety where coping or Performance is at or close to the maximum that the individual is capable of. (An example that has invariably led to a rapid understanding of these ideas by students is that of sexual performance.)

Point X may be associated with feelings of "uneasiness," point Y with feelings of "complete panic." It should be clear that these points are selected arbitrarily, and furthermore, that the point at which "alertness" slips into "uneasiness," or the latter into "panic" is entirely subjective--witness the often-heard statement, "I work well under pressure." Note that this continuous gradation is recognized in most discussions of Anxiety--for example, May's (1977) distinction between Normal Anxiety and Abnormal Anxiety; or the suggestion by Kirson (quoted above) that Anxiety represents a "disproportionate" response. "Activation"

or "arousal" may be less confusing, however, since "Normal Anxiety" seems to be a contradiction in terms. In any case, in the present study, Anxiety is defined as a high level of Activation that results in an impairment of coping with situations encountered in daily living.

FIGURE 1

THE ACTIVATION CONTINUUM



This extended discussion of Anxiety is justified on the grounds that Anxiety is the most basic of the emotions that defines, by its absence, Emotional Well-Being. Thus, May suggests that Anxiety is the psychic common denominator of all disease as well as of all behavior disturbances.

. . . the central problem in psychotherapy is the nature of anxiety. To the extent that we have been able to solve that problem, we have made a beginning in understanding

the causes of integration and disintegration of personality (page XV).

Generalized Depression and Helplessness may be defined as a level of Activation so low that it results in an impairment of coping with situations encountered in daily living. Depression is a feeling of reduced drive, enthusiasm, or zest characterized by apathy and cheerlessness. Helplessness may be viewed as the feeling of despair about one's ability to exercise influence in situations one may face in the course of daily living. Miller and Seligman (1975) suggest that "learned helplessness" is a laboratory analogue or model of naturally occurring depression. In other words, Depression and Helplessness are closely allied feelings in which the individual suffers a reduced drive for action. It may be noted that "learned helplessness" is induced in animals by administering inescapable shock. This might suggest that continued experience of Anxiety may result in the individual "jumping" from the high Activation extreme of Figure 1 to the low Activation extreme. While the perception in Anxiety was that the situation may demand more resources than what the individual can command, the perception in Helplessness may be the conviction that there is no use in seeking coping responses because the situation does indeed demand more than what is available. The typical responses in Anxiety might be "fight" or "flight"; the

typical response in Depression or Helplessness is probably "freeze."

The concept of Locus of Control is of interest in this connection, since the generalized expectancy that responses and reinforcements are independent of each other might lead to the perception that there is no use in seeking coping responses. In the presence of the need to influence the reinforcement, i.e., in the presence of the need to have an impact upon the events that one experiences, External Locus of Control may result in feelings of frustration, Helplessness, and Depression.

Generalized Hostility. Whether the individual feels Anxious or Depressed and Helpless, one may expect him to seek for causes of the pain or unpleasantness he is experiencing. Since Anxiety is an exceedingly painful experience, one tends to be angry and resentful towards those thought to be responsible for placing one in such a situation of pain. The need to preserve one's self-concept will typically prevent the individual from locating the source of Anxiety or Depression within oneself. When the scapegoat is found in the physical environment, say the weather, the result is usually a futile expression of anger or rage, or, more mildly, "bitching," at the forces of nature. When the scapegoat is found in the social environment, however, different consequences are likely to ensue. There are constraints on the expression of hostility against people; furthermore, the social environment is a reactive

environment, so the expression of hostility does not necessarily lead to a dissipation of hostility--it may lead to an intensification of hostility. (In another sense, too, interpersonal expressions of hostility may lead to the opposite of dissipation of hostility. One person's expression of hostility may result in the receiver of the hostility feeling hostile, maybe not towards the initiator, but towards other people, a sort of "circle of badness." The boss beats up the subordinate, the subordinate beats up his wife, the wife beats up the kids, the kids beat up each other and the dog.) When these repressed and intensified hostilities cease to be directed towards specific people, they become generalized. Generalized Hostility is thus defined as an enduring feeling of resentment, anger, or rage directed towards non-specific others--individuals, groups, or institutions--which are perceived to be opposed to one's own interests or goals, that is, which are perceived to be directly or indirectly responsible for the occurrence of undesired outcomes or events, or for the non-occurrence of desired outcomes or events. Hostility is expected to accompany Anxiety or Depression in many instances.

Summary

This chapter has specified the following hypotheses to be subjected to empirical testing:

H1: The correlation between the average level of Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization (PIRO) of individuals within an organization and the TYPE of organization will be positive and significantly different from zero.

H2: The correlation between the average level of Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization (PIRO) of individuals within an organization and the average level of Emotional Well-Being (EWB) of individuals within the organization will be positive and significantly different from zero.

H3: The correlation between TYPE of organization and the average level of Emotional Well-Being (EWB) of individuals within the organization will be positive and significantly different from zero.

H4: The correlation between Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization (PIRO) and Emotional Well-Being (EWB) for all individuals will be positive and significantly different from zero.

Primariness of the Individual's Relationship with the Organization is defined in various, overlapping ways, as the extent to which the organization is of significance

to the individual in and of itself, regardless of its utilitarian significance. TYPE is defined as the extent of Wholistic Concern, Employment Stability, and Global Philosophy of Management that exists within the organization. Emotional Well-Being is defined in terms of freedom from feelings of Generalized Anxiety, Generalized Depression and Helplessness, and Generalized Hostility.

The next chapter describes the sample from which data were obtained and the instruments by which data were obtained.

CHAPTER VI

SAMPLE AND DATA COLLECTION

Sample

Eight companies in the automobile parts manufacturing industry participated in this study. The companies are all located in the lower peninsula of Michigan, within a 100-mile radius of Lansing. Products manufactured by the companies include brakes, jacks, ball-bearing parts and subassemblies, and many different metal stamping parts. All the companies depended heavily, though usually not exclusively, on the "Big Three" (General Motors, Ford, Chrysler) for the market for their products. Companies in the sample would all fit into the small-batch, job-shop category, producing automobile parts to customer specifications. Meeting promised delivery dates was an overriding concern for all of them; price and quality were other important considerations.

Table 3 contains descriptive information about each company in the sample, and the average characteristics of respondents within each company. While most companies were founded in the early part of this century, company number eight has been in existence since 1809. This was also the company with the highest percentage (67) of

TABLE 3

DESCRIPTIVE INFORMATION ABOUT
SAMPLE COMPANIES

	Co. #1	Co. #2	Co. #3	Co. #4	Co. #5	Co. #6	Co. #7	Co. #8
Established in	1923	1909	1923	1922	1909	1935	1913	1809
No. of Employees	374	2000	180	262	1400	336	180	600
No. of Respondents	7	5	9	11	10	6	7	9
Ave. Length of Service (TES)	8.9	25	16.1	32.5	23.3	15	6.7	22.6
Average Age	54	44	42	51	49	46	35	43
Average No. of Children	3.8	4.6	2.7	1.9	4.1	2.5	2.7	2.3
Percent Male	71	100	100	91	100	100	100	89
Percent presently married	100	80	100	73	70	67	86	89
Percent with College Degree	14	0	22	9	20	0	29	67
Percent Rural Childhood	28	60	78	36	20	50	43	67

respondents with a college degree. While most of these companies began as small, privately owned establishments, all except two are presently subsidiaries of larger corporations. There seemed to be considerable variation in the extent of autonomy from the parent corporation with which the companies operated. There was, as well, considerable variation in the extent of identification with the parent corporation expressed by the top officers of the companies. Officers of one company expressed, with some sadness, the conviction that it is difficult in today's environment to survive without corporate affiliation. This conviction was not shared by officers of another company, which remains not only privately held, but also non-unionized. All other companies were unionized. Two had recently had considerable difficulties with contract negotiations, including strike action.

The size of the companies, in terms of number of employees, ranged from 180 to 2,000, with a median size of 350. The overall average length of service of respondents was 18.7 years, but there was considerable variation among companies with respect to average length of service of respondents, ranging from a low of 6.7 years to a high of 32.5 years. The respondent with the shortest length of service had been with the company only three months; the respondent with the longest length of service had just finished 58 years with the same company.

While there seems to be somewhat of a pattern in the company values for average length of service and average age of respondents, the relatively low variance in average age and the paradoxical values for the two variables in company 1 prevent us from making any inferences. The management of the companies in the sample would seem to fit the male-dominated stereotype of American industry: none of the top officers of the companies in the sample were female, and very few of the middle managerial positions were filled by females. The relatively low percentage of respondents with college degrees may also be noted.

Some observations about the sample can also be made from interview data. Two or three officers of the top management team were interviewed by the writer to obtain information about TYPE. All the companies were affected more or less seriously by the depressed conditions in the automobile industry at the time. For example, almost all the companies had cut back on their blue-collar workforce and "even" some white-collar employees were on lay off. Questions in the interview that dealt with Wholistic Concern and Global Philosophy of Management often drew a blank, suggesting that these are concepts alien to the companies in the sample. Finally, it may be mentioned that the writer was received cordially and fairly punctually by officers of the companies in the sample. The interviewees seemed comfortable and unconstrained during the interviews.

Data Generation Procedures

The principles that guided the selection and construction of data generation procedures may be briefly stated as follows: the "state of the art" of measurement in the social sciences being what it is, the only prudent procedure for data collection is to use multiple tests and multiple methods. Wherever possible, already-developed tests, with known characteristics and relationships to measures of other variables, are desirable. If relatively "objective" measures are available for any of the variables, these should be used. A significant problem in measurement is that of relevance or "non-attitudes" (Sellitz, et al., 1979), that is, eliciting responses from subjects which do not reflect their views and feelings. Limited response items such as the ones typically used in survey research may tap such "non-attitudes." Semi-projective techniques may reduce this source of "error variance" and should be employed when non-attitudes are likely to be a problem. Finally, independent sources for the different variables are to be preferred if this is at all possible in conceptual and operational terms.

From each company in the sample, data were obtained from two groups of respondents. The "top management" group consisted of two or three of the highest ranking officers of the company. Members of this group were interviewed with the purpose of obtaining information on TYPE only. The "middle management" group consisted of

managerial employees other than those included in the top management group. Members of the middle management group responded to a survey questionnaire containing a number of scales as described below. Additionally, some members of the top management group also consented to respond to the survey. A copy of the survey questionnaire is contained in Appendix A.

Primariness of Individuals' Relationship
with the Organization

Data on PIRO was obtained from responses of the middle management group to two scales in the survey. These scales are described below.

POS (Primariness-Organization-Sentence Completion) is a 15-item sentence completion scale designed to direct the respondent's attention to his/her relationship with the organization. This particular "projective" technique was selected because it has the potential of avoiding the problem of "non-attitudes" while at the same time allowing enough structure to obtain responses from the domain of interest. The instructions also attempt to enhance the likelihood of obtaining the desired response set. An initial, longer version was modified and shortened after pilot testing. Coding or rating of the completed sentences was done by two raters working independently of each other. Instructions to the raters of POS are reproduced in Appendix B.

POQ (Primariness-Organization Questionnaire) is a 17-item scale that appears directly after POS on the survey. These Likert-type items are based directly upon the operational definition of primariness of individual's relationship with the organization (PIRO). Some of the items were modeled after items contained in Hemphill's (1956) Group Dimensions Description Questionnaire. One of the dimensions Hemphill uses is called Potency, and is defined as follows:

Potency is the degree to which a group has primary significance for its members. It is reflected by the kind of needs which a group is satisfying or has the potentiality of satisfying, by the extent of readjustment which would be required of members should the group fail, and by the degree to which a group has meaning to the members with reference to their central values (page 4).

The similarity of this concept to PIRO is obvious. It was found, however, that many of Hemphill's items were inappropriate for PIRO; consequently, only part of the wording of a few of the items were incorporated into POQ. The rest of the items in POQ were developed by the writer.

TYPE

TINT (TYPE-Interview) is a rating of TYPE for each company based on interviews with two or three members of the top management group. The top management group was employed for this purpose, since organizational character is likely to be more accurately reflected in the perceptions of this group because of its vantage point. In addition, organizational character is more likely to

be influenced by the perceptions of this group, for obvious reasons.

The average interview lasted about 45 minutes. A schedule of questions was used to provide general direction. The questions were all derived directly from the definition of TYPE. Interviews were taped, and ratings were made directly from the tapes by the writer. A small random sample of the tapes were also rated by an independent rater to provide reliability check. Materials associated with the interview are reproduced in Appendix C.

TYPEQ (TYPE-Questionnaire) is a Likert-type scale included in the survey that was filled out by the middle management group. These 14 items were constructed by the writer, based upon the definition of TYPE.

TPD (TYPE-Published Data) is a rating for TYPE obtained by calculating an "employment stability" index for each company from information contained in the Directory of Michigan Manufacturers from 1957 to 1978. The directory is published every three or four years, and contains brief descriptions of manufacturing companies in Michigan. The employment stability index was computed by counting the number of officers listed in edition $n + 1$, who were also listed in edition n , and dividing this number by the total number of officers listed in edition n . A similar measure was employed by Ouchi and Johnson (1978) using information from Dun and Bradstreet publications. TPD is thus an independent measure of TYPE.

TES (TYPE-Employment Stability) is another measure of "employment stability," this one obtained from information supplied by respondents on a "demographic information" questionnaire. One of the items in this questionnaire asked the respondents to indicate the year he/she joined the company. Average length of service of respondents from each company were computed from this information.

Emotional Well-Being

Of the three variables of this study, EWB is closest to being a widely used construct. Consequently, two of the four measures used in this study are standardized measures.

ESC (Emotional Well-Being-Sentence Completion) is a sentence-completion scale constructed by the writer. An initial list of 39 items was modified and reduced to the present version of 15 items after pilot testing. The items are designed to orient the respondent toward his/her general feelings. The semi-projective technique was considered well-suited to the nature of the concept being evaluated. ESC was placed before the other EWB measures to prevent contamination by any defensiveness or discomfort that may be elicited by them. Coding or rating of the completed sentences was done by raters working independently of each other, and independently of the raters for POS. Instructions to the raters of ESC are reproduced in Appendix D.

TRAIT is the part of the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI) that measures Trait Anxiety or Generalized Anxiety

(Spielberger, et al, 1970). Trait Anxiety refers to relatively stable individual differences in anxiety proneness, that is, to differences between people in the tendency to respond to situations perceived as threatening with elevations in State Anxiety intensity. State Anxiety is conceptualized as a transitory emotional state or condition of the human organism that is characterized by subjective, consciously perceived feelings of tension and apprehension, and heightened autonomic nervous system activity. Similarity of these ideas to the definition of anxiety given earlier may be noted.

One-hour, 20-day, and 104-day test-retest reliabilities for the Trait Anxiety measure range from .73 to .86. This finding on stability is confirmed in a 10-month test by Newmark (1972). Alpha coefficients of internal consistency range from .83 to .92. Correlations of TA with various standard measures of generalized anxiety are high. Significant correlations at the .01 level are reported for Aggression (.44) and Impulsivity (.39); and at the .05 level for Achievement (.2), Endurance (.21), and Affiliation (-.38). A review by Dreger in Buros (1978) states that, in his judgment, the authors of the test provide enough data to show that the trait scores are related to real-life criteria. The review concludes that "The . . . STAI is one of the best of standardized anxiety measures, if not the best." High praise is also to be found in Katkin's review (Buros, 1978), who reveals that there is probably more

published research on the STAI than any other anxiety inventory. This statement is supported by the existence of translations in many languages, and by the large number of references (333) listed by Buros.

EPS (Emotional Well-Being-Physical Symptoms) is a list of physical symptoms that is part of a very comprehensive interview protocol used in the Quality of Employment Survey of the Institute for Social Research (Quinn, et al., 1977). It is included here for its relevance to the EWB variable. No data on reliability or validity are available.

ECL (Emotional Well-Being-Check List) is the brief version of the Multiple Affect Adjective Check List (MAACL) developed by Zuckerman and Lubin (1965) to obtain a measure of Generalized Anxiety, Depression, and Hostility. The test manual does not actually contain definitions for these terms. Affect is conceptualized as "the psychological aspects of emotion," presumably to distinguish them from physiological aspects. Test characteristics are satisfactory, though not superior. Median odd-even reliability is reported as .72. Seven-day test-retest reliability ranges from .54 to .7. The three scales of Anxiety, Depression and Hostility are highly intercorrelated. For the present study, this fact is not a problem, since the three are not conceptualized as being independent. The Anxiety and Depression subscales seem to exhibit greater reliability and higher correlations with ratings of these emotions by independent experts. The authors hypothesize that, while the entire test is subject

to "denial defenses," Hostility may be considered especially socially undesirable. Correlations between the Anxiety scale and social desirability response set measures were significant but "not remarkably high," according to the authors. They range mostly from .26 to .48. Similar results and a similar argument led the authors to claim that little of the variance of the MAACL can be explained by an acquiescence response set. They conclude that "response sets do not appear to be an important influence."

Despite this barely satisfactory report, review of the test in Buros (1972) is quite favorable. Kelly states that the scales appear to have sufficient differential validity to reflect meaningful differences in affect for groups of subjects. Note that this is exactly the use to which the test is being put in this study. Megargee concludes that the data suggest that MAACL Anxiety scale provides a brief, reasonably valid self-report trait measure of a negative affect condition. Buros (1978) lists 246 references, indicating extensive use. Among these references is the Miller and Seligman (1975) study referred to earlier, and Houston (1972), who suggests that Anxiety was greater when the subjects thought they were helpless to avoid shock. Finally, the ease and rapidity of administration and scoring may be mentioned in favor of MAACL. The scales for the various variables are listed together in Table 4.

TABLE 4

SCALES USED TO MEASURE VARIABLES

PIRO	TYPE	EWB
(Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization)		(Emotional Well-Being)
1. POS (Primariness-Organization-Sentence Completion)	1. TINT (TYPE-Interview) 2. TYPEQ (TYPE-Questionnaire) 3. TPD (TYPE-Published Data) 4. TES (TYPE-Employment Stability)	1. ESC (Emotional Well-Being: Sentence Completion) 2. TRAIT (Trait Anxiety) 3. EPS (Emotional Well-Being: Physical Symptoms) 4. ECL (Emotional Well-Being: Check List)
2. POQ (Primariness-Organization-Questionnaire)		

Demographic Information

Because of the nature of the information solicited in the survey, it was considered inadvisable to request any information that could be viewed as personal identification. The hypotheses do not require such information, but some information about the group as a whole was needed to describe the characteristics of the sample. A demographic information form was consequently included with the survey, but was not stapled to it. This form requested general information about the age, sex, and other such characteristics of the respondents.

Data Collection

Data were collected from each company in a single visit to the plant. Contact was established in each of the companies, either with the president, plant manager, or personnel manager. Most contacts requested a copy of the questionnaire prior to consenting to participate in the study. This was provided with a request that it not be shown to potential respondents.

In most companies, the following procedure was followed: the surveys were given to one of the top officers for distribution to the middle management group, which had been previously identified by the contact person. These surveys were completed during the time members of the top management group were being interviewed by the writer. They were usually collected by the same person who distributed them.

The writer was unable to administer the survey to the respondents in a group setting, which would have been the preferred procedure.

CHAPTER VII

DATA ANALYSIS RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter describes the procedures that were employed to prepare the data for hypothesis testing, including missing data manipulations, internal consistency or reliability analysis for the scales in the questionnaire, and discriminant-convergent validity analyses. The results of the analyses that provide information about the hypotheses are then reported and discussed.

Missing Data

Sixty-nine completed questionnaires were obtained from members of middle management groups of the eight companies in the sample. These contained an average of 4.5 percent missing data. Missing data were concentrated in the sentence-completion portions of the survey. They were further concentrated by case; that is, respondents who omitted any sentence completion item tended to omit all. The worst of these cases were removed from the data set. Removing five such cases (7 percent of 69) resulted in a 65 percent reduction in missing data. Of the remaining missing data, 97 percent were located in the sentence completion items. For all the remaining

missing data, the following procedure was followed: each occurrence of a missing value was substituted by the mean score obtained by the whole group ($n = 64$) for that particular item.

Internal Consistency

Coefficient alpha (Cronbach, 1951) was computed from standardized item scores for each of the scales contained in the survey. Note that the sentence completion scales for Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization (PIRO) and Emotional Well-Being (EWB) were coded by two raters each. The ratings are treated as independent scales in this analysis, and the standardized item alpha (Cronbach's alpha using standardized items) is reported for each under the headings POS1, POS2, ESC1, and ESC2.

Table 5 contains internal consistency coefficients for all the scales. The coefficients range from .64 to .85. Examination of item-total correlations for the items in the PIRO scales, POS1 and POS 2, revealed that, for both raters, the second item in the scale had a negative correlation with the rest of the scale. This suggested that there might be some problem with the item itself, and it was thus decided to remove the item from subsequent analysis. The standardized item alpha for POS1 and POS2 with the remaining 14 items in each scale was .71 and .67, respectively.

TABLE 5

INTERNAL CONSISTENCY COEFFICIENTS -
STANDARDIZED ITEM ALPHA (N = 64)

Scale	Number of Items	Standardized Item Alpha
PRIMARINESS OF INDIVIDUAL'S RELATION- SHIP WITH THE ORGANIZATION		
POS1: Primariness-Sentence Completion, Rater 1	15	.69
POS2: Primariness-Sentence Completion, Rater 2	15	.64
POQ: Primariness-Organization Questionnaire	17	.85
TYPE		
TYPEQ: TYPE-Questionnaire	14	.77
EMOTIONAL WELL-BEING		
ESC1: Emotional Well-Being, Sentence Completion, Rater 1	15	.77
ESC2: Emotional Well-Being, Sentence Completion Rater 2	15	.69
TRAIT: Trait Anxiety	20	.84
EPS: Emotional Well-Being, Physical Symptoms	13	.72

Inter-rater reliabilities were obtained for POS and ESC by computing correlations between the two sets of ratings of each scale produced by the two raters. Inter-rater reliability for POS stood at .86 and for ESC at .84. These reliabilities were considered adequate to justify combining the scores produced by the two raters into one score for each case.

Table 6 reports reliability coefficients for POS and ESC after this is done. In addition to coefficient alpha, equal-length Spearman-Brown and Guttman split-half coefficients are also reported.⁴ The coefficient alpha values for the combined, 28-item POS scale is .84, and for the 30-item ESC scale it is .86. All subsequent analyses involving POS and ESC were performed using this combined scale.

TABLE 6
RELIABILITY COEFFICIENTS, COMBINED RATINGS,
SENTENCE COMPLETION SCALES (N = 64)

Scale	Number of Items	Coeff. Alpha	Spearman Brown	Guttman Split- Half
POS: Primariness: Sentence Completion	28	.84	.92	.92
ESC: Emotional Well- Being: Sentence Completion	30	.86	.91	.89

The magnitudes of the internal consistency coefficients were considered sufficiently large to justify combining scores on each item with a scale into one scale score per

⁴Matzek (1978) states that the Spearman-Brown coefficient was designed to answer the questions: given two equally reliable parts, how reliable would the whole be if they were combined into one? The Guttman split-half coefficient is similar to the Spearman-Brown but does not presume equal reliabilities or equal variances for the two parts.

respondent, for each scale in the survey. Subsequent analysis was performed on scale scores, not on item scores.

Multi-Trait Multi-Method Matrix

The procedures up to this point may be viewed as having the objective of obtaining evidence for the claim that each of the scales employed is sampling from a specific, bounded domain. Evidence for the further claim that some of these scales are sampling from the same specific, bounded domain, while others are sampling from different domains, is contained in the multi-trait multi-method matrix (Campbell and Fiske, 1959); the procedure is more simply called triangulation by Jick (1979). If the scales are grouped by the variables they purport to measure, correlations between scales within a domain should be substantial and larger than correlations between scales across domains. The extent of contribution of method, as compared with the trait, to the correlations obtained can also be examined.

Table 7 contains the multi-trait multi-method matrix for data generated by the present survey. Correlations are Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients. Note that the survey contained only one scale for the TYPE variable. Other independent measures for this variable were obtained, but they are all company-level measures and will appear in later discussion.

Two scales, POS and POQ, attempt to measure the variable PIRO (primariness of individual's relationship with

TABLE 7

MULTI-TRAIT MULTI-METHOD
MATRIX (N = 64)

	PIRO		TYPE		EWB	
	POS	POQ	TYPEQ	ESC	TRAIT	ECL
PIRO: PRIMARINESS OF INDIVIDUAL'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ORGANIZATION						
POS: Primariness-Sentence Completion						
POQ: Primariness-Organization Questionnaire	.66					
TYPE						
TYPEQ: TYPE-Questionnaire	.29	.37				
EMOTIONAL WELL-BEING						
ESC: Emotional Well-Being Sentence Completion	.16	.37	.20			
TRAIT: Trait Anxiety	.08	.32	.14	.54		
EPS: Emotional Well-Being, Physical Symptoms	-.15	.13	-.04	.31	.46	
ECL: Emotional Well-Being, Check List	.26	.42	.21	.44	.64	.42

the organization). The correlation between these two scales, .66, is the largest correlation in the matrix, suggesting that indeed the two scales do sample from the same domain. Recall that the internal consistency coefficients for POS and POQ were .84 and .85. The two scales employ widely different methods (sentence-completion and Likert-type responses on a five-point scale); thus, a large part of the common variance in these two scales can be attributed to the trait itself. These observations suggested that it would be reasonable to combine POS and POQ into a single scale. This was done and the combined scale is called PIRO (primariness of individual's relationship with the organization). The alpha coefficient for PIRO is .90.

The inter-correlations between scales measuring Emotional Well-Being are all "substantial" and "larger" than correlations between these scales and scales measuring PIRO and TYPE, with one exception. While the .31 correlation between EPS (EWB-Physical Symptoms) and ESC (EWB-Sentence Completion) is larger than correlations between EPS and all non-Emotional Well-Being scales, it is considerably lower than inter-correlations between other Emotional Well-Being scales. EPS is a list of physical symptoms requiring responses along a four-point Likert-type scale (see page 124). Instructions request the respondent to indicate how often each has happened in the last year. Since the other Emotional Well-Being scales are specifically directed toward the measurement of generalized emotional ill-being, the focus

of EPS on recent experience of the respondent might explain its low correlations with the other Emotional Well-Being scales. Since dropping EPS would not cripple the ability of the present study to make reasonably valid tests of the hypotheses, it is not used in subsequent analysis. The other three scales for Emotional Well-Being are combined into one score for each respondent, called EWB. The alpha coefficient for EWB is .91.

Of especial interest in this analysis is the magnitude of the correlation between POS (Primariness, Sentence Completion) and ESC (Emotional Well-Being, Sentence Completion). A large correlation between these two scales, which have the sentence-completion methodology in common, would have thrown considerable doubt on the ability of the scales to measure the variables in question. The relatively low correlation (.16) suggests that the method itself is not contributing substantially to the variance in the scores on these scales.

Organizational Level Analysis

The manipulations up to this point have resulted in reducing the data to three scores for each of the 64 respondents to the survey. All except one of the hypotheses of this study are stated at the organizational level. The next step was to aggregate the scores of respondents within each company into one company score for each variable. The three scales that measured TYPE at the organizational level from the outset (TYPE-Interview: TINT; TYPE-Published

Data: TPD; TYPE-Employment Stability: TES) are introduced at this point in the analysis. The final step in preparing the data for hypothesis testing consisted of examining the inter-correlations between the various measures of TYPE, and reducing them to one index, if possible.

Interviews from which TINT (TYPE-Interview) scores were obtained were all rated by the writer. Of the total of 19 interviews conducted, a random sample of three interviews was also rated by an independent rater, using the same set of instructions and definitions used by the writer. Each rater produced four judgments for each company, one for each dimension of TYPE, and a global rating of TYPE. Thus, 12 judgments were available from both raters. The Spearman rank order correlation coefficient between these two sets of ratings is .65. This level of correlation has less than .01 probability of chance occurrence ($S < .01$), suggesting that the ratings are based on information about the focal concept as revealed in the interviews, and are not random. The high correlations between this and other measures of TYPE presented in Table 8 provide further justification for the retention of TINT.

An observation made by the independent rater of the interviews deserves special mention. There seemed to be a considerable we-they mentality in the thinking of the top officers of many of the companies, such that there are, in reality, two "TYPES" of organizations co-existing side-by-side, one for management and one for workers. For example,

there was typically two sets of employment policies in each company, such that the ratings of the company on the dimension of, say, employment stability would be different depending on whether reference was being made to managers or to workers. A company rated as TYPE Z on the basis of employment stability in the managerial ranks might well turn out to be much closer to TYPE A if employment stability in the worker ranks is computed.

TABLE 8
CORRELATION MATRIX,
"TYPE" SCALES (N = 8)

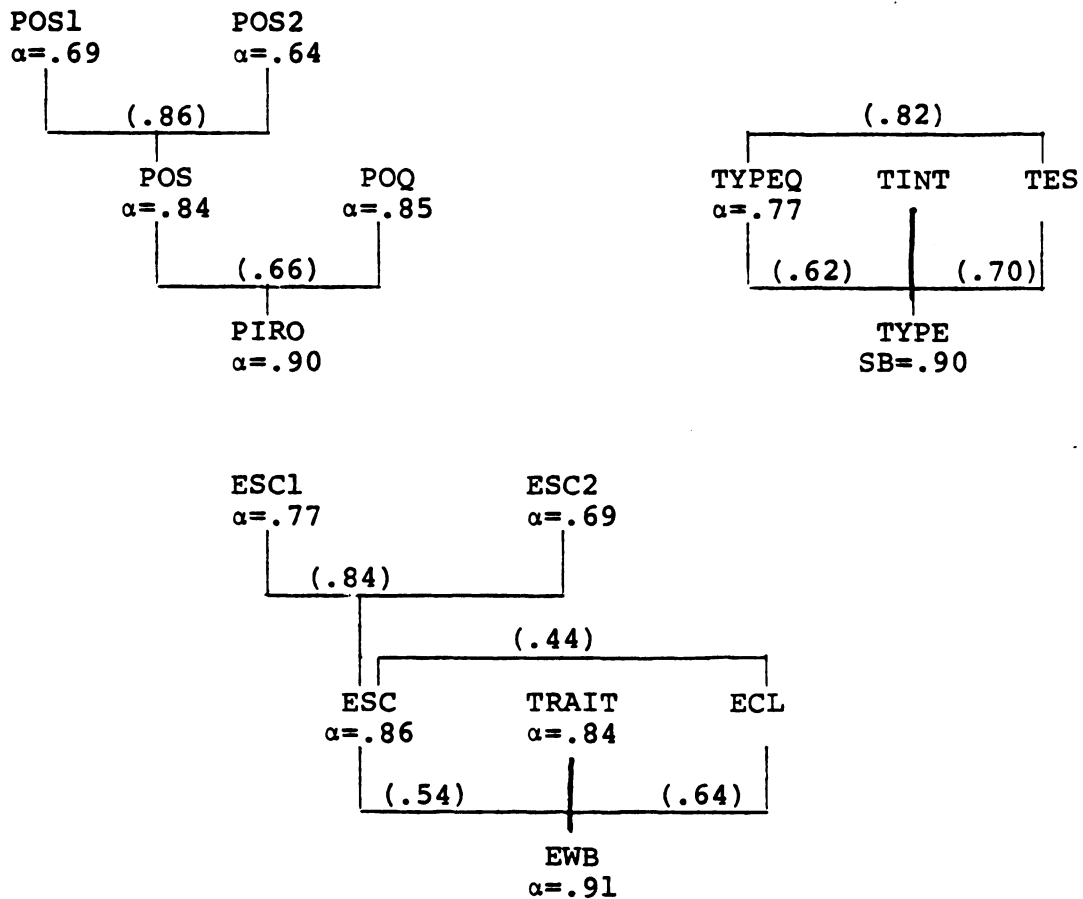
	TYPEQ	TINT	TPD	TES
TYPEQ: TYPE-Questionnaire				
TINT: TYPE-Interview	.62			
TPD: TYPE-Published Data	.32	.63		
TES: TYPE-Employment Stability	.82	.70	.28	

Table 8 lists the inter-correlations between the four scales measuring TYPE: TYPEQ, TINT, TPD, and TES. Note especially that N for this and all subsequent analyses is the number of companies in the sample, eight. Note also that no value of TINT (TYPE-Interview) for company number two was available since it was not possible to conduct interviews with officers from this company. The company was assigned a

value of 2.5 for TINT, which was the mean value obtained by the other seven companies on this scale.

Figure 2 summarizes information about the "structure" of the various scales retained for hypothesis testing, and their relationships to each other.

FIGURE 2
MEASUREMENT STRUCTURE



Numbers in parentheses are correlation coefficients; α is standardized item alpha (Cronbach's alpha with standardized items); SB is an estimate of reliability produced by the Spearman-Brown prophecy formula.

Results

The results of hypothesis-testing are presented below.

First, however, the hypotheses are reproduced here:

H1: The correlation between the average level of Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization (PIRO) of individuals within an organization and the TYPE of organization will be positive and significantly different from zero.

H2: The correlation between the average level of Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization (PIRO) of individuals within an organization and the average level of Emotional Well-Being (EWB) of individuals within the organization will be positive and significantly different from zero.

H3: The correlation between TYPE of organization and the average level of Emotional Well-Being (EWB) of individuals within the organization will be positive and significantly different from zero.

H4: The correlation between Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization (PIRO) and Emotional Well-Being (EWB) for all individuals will be positive and significantly different from zero.

The null hypothesis in all cases is that of a correlation not different from zero.

Table 9 presents evidence relevant to H1-3. Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients and associated levels of significance are reproduced. One-tailed tests of significance are applied, since the hypotheses are stated in directional terms.

TABLE 9
CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS, PIRO
TYPE, AND EWB (N = 8)

	PIRO	TYPE	EWB
PIRO: Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization			
TYPE	.30 (.20)		
EWB: Emotional Well-Being	.72 (.02)	.33 (.20)	

Numbers in parentheses are one-tailed significance levels.

H1: While the correlation between Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization (PIRO) and TYPE of .30 is in the expected direction and not insubstantial, there is nonetheless a 20 percent probability of rejecting a true null hypothesis; that is, a 20 percent probability that the true correlation between PIRO and TYPE is zero, and the observed correlation is merely obtained by chance.

H2: The hypothesis pertaining to the relationship between Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the

Organization (PIRO) and Emotional Well-Being (EWB) fares much better with a correlation of .72, that is, with 52 percent of the variance in EWB "accounted for" by variance in PIRO. This level of correlation has only a 2 percent probability of chance occurrence when the null hypothesis is actually true; in other words, one may be quite confident in rejecting the null hypothesis of zero correlation.

H3: The hypothesis pertaining to the relationship between TYPE and Emotional Well-Being (EWB) fares the same as H1, with an almost identical correlation of .33. This level of correlation has a 20 percent probability of chance occurrence.

Table 10 presents the results of an identical analysis in which TYPE (the sum of TYPE-questionnaire, TYPE-Interview, and TYPE-Employment Stability) is replaced by TYPE-Employment Stability (TES). Recall that TES is simply the average length of service of the respondents for each company (see page 122). As can be seen from Table 10, if TES had been used as the only indicator of TYPE, both H1 and H3 would have been supported at substantially higher levels of significance. However, TES may not be a very satisfactory measure of TYPE, since it does not incorporate the influence of potential length of service. Information about two factors that affect potential length of service, the age of respondents and the number of years the company has been in existence, is available in this study. Each of these is separately combined with average length of service

of respondents (TES) to yield two indices of employment stability.

TABLE 10
CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS, PIRO
TES, AND EWB (N = 8)

	PIRO	TES	EWB
PIRO: Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization			
TES: TYPE-Employment Stability	.54 (.08)		
EWB: Emotional Well-Being	.72 (.02)	.57 (.07)	

Numbers in parentheses are one-tailed significance levels.

Table 11 presents the Spearman correlation coefficients of these indices with Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization (PIRO) and with Emotional Well-Being (EWB). When modified by the average age of respondents, TES fails to correlate significantly with PIRO or with EWB. When modified by the number of years the company has been in existence, TES correlates .48 (not significant) with PIRO and .77 ($S < .01$) with EWB. These results are further discussed in the following section.

H4: Evidence relevant to H4 is available from an analysis performed at the individual level of analysis. The correlation between Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization (PIRO) and Emotional

Well-Being (EWB) is .36 ($N = 64$), which is found to be significant at the .002 level. One may be quite confident in rejecting the null hypothesis of zero correlation between PIRO and EWB at this individual level of analysis (which disregards specific organizational membership).

TABLE 11
CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS, TWO INDICES
OF EMPLOYMENT STABILITY
WITH PIRO AND EWB

	ES1*	ES2**
PIRO: Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization	.36 (.19)	.48 (.11)
EWB: Emotional Well-Being	.29 (.25)	.77 (.01)

*ES1 = TES/Average Age of Respondent

**ES2 = TES/(Age of Company/Age of Youngest Company)

Numbers in parentheses are one-tailed significance levels.

Table 9-A presents the results of applying an attenuation correction formula to the correlations reported in Table 9. The objective of this analysis is to examine what the magnitude of the correlations would be if the scales measuring the variables were perfectly reliable. Cronbach's alpha coefficients of internal consistency for the composite measures of PIRO and EWB stood at .90 and .91, respectively. Reliability of the TYPE composite measure was estimated as

.90 by the Spearman-Brown Prophecy formula. TES was assumed to have a reliability of 1.00; while self-reports of date of joining an organization might be expected to suffer from some unreliability, the procedure used here would lead to a more conservative estimate of corrected correlation.

TABLE 9-A
CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS CORRECTED FOR
ATTENUATION, PIRO, TYPE AND EWB (N = 8)

	PIRO	TYPE	EWB
PIRO: Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization			
TYPE	.33 (.20)		
EWB: Emotional Well-Being	.80 (.01)	.37 (.18)	

Numbers in parentheses are one-tailed significance levels.

The correlations in Table 9-A may be viewed as estimates of the "true" correlation between the variables. Because of the fairly high estimates of internal consistency, the corrected correlations are not much higher than the uncorrected ones. The shifts in the level of significance are not substantial either. The discussion of the results below, which uses uncorrected correlations, would not be substantially different if corrected correlations were used.

Discussion

Hypothesis 1

Nine percent of the variation in each variable in the Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization (PIRO)-TYPE pair of variables is associated with variation in the other variable in the pair. In the murky world of the social sciences, even the faint glimmer of a relationship is not to be discarded lightly, especially in view of the small size of the sample. The main shortcoming of the study might then simply be the small sample size.

Another possible explanation of the absence of a stronger obtained relationship between Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization (PIRO) and TYPE is that either or both of the variables might suffer from inadequate measurement. Inadequate measurement might result from lack of conceptual clarity in the descriptions of the variables, or from failure to construct precise measurement instruments.

With respect to the latter possibility, the convergent and discriminant validity information presented in Tables 7 and 8 suggest that the main problem is not one of the precision of the measurement instruments. Furthermore, the independence of much of the information used for TYPE from that used for PIRO gives further confidence in the validity of the measures.

Of the two variables, Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization can probably be rated

higher on the "conceptual clarity" dimension than TYPE, not only because TYPE is "borrowed" from external sources (Ouchi and Johnson, 1978), but also because TYPE is a compound of three concepts (Wholistic Concern, Employment Stability, and Global Philosophy of Management). Recall also that the original seven dimensions of TYPE were reduced to three in this study; it is possible that three are too few or that they are not the "correct" ones to adequately represent the original concept.

Alternatively, three may be two too many. Recall that a single index of Employment Stability, TES, is able to "account for" 29 percent of the variance in PIRO. While the significance of this remark may be tempered somewhat by the results presented in Table 11, one may recall also that TYPE has its origins in Japanese management methods, in which Employment Stability is a strong and central feature. It has earlier been suggested (page 80) that TYPE Z characteristics represent an organizational environment in which employees are able to form a primary relationship with the organization. It is not unreasonable to suppose that it is simply the assurance of (relatively) permanent employment that enables the employee to make the emotional investment characteristic of a primary relationship.

Still another possible explanation for the absence of a stronger obtained relationship between TYPE and PIRO is that none of the three dimensions (Employment Stability, Wholistic Concern, Global Philosophy of Management) is a

characteristic that encourages Primariness of the Individual's Relationship with the Organization.

Four other possibilities may be raised in this context:

1. Since the scales TYPE-Questionnaire (TYPEQ) and TYPE-Interview (TINT) both measure at no better than the interval level of measurement, it is possible that the companies in the sample are concentrated at one end of the TYPE A-TYPE Z continuum. In other words, employees rating their company on this variable would use as end points of the dimension extremes that they can conceptualize based on their own experience. If they know of no company with better employment stability than their own company, they would tend to rate their own company "very high" on this dimension, even if actual employment stability may be low in absolute terms. This restriction in range would naturally result in low correlations between TYPE and other variables. Furthermore, the relative positions of the companies in the sample on TYPE would also be subject to greater error, since the difference between "high" and "very high" would be less distinct for a respondent who has experienced a smaller range of values on the dimension in question than one who has experienced a larger range. Some evidence that this phenomenon may be operating here can be found upon re-examination of the interview data; for example, none of the companies in the sample demonstrated any substantial degree of "global philosophy of management,"

and all of them reported more or less substantial lay-offs at the time of interview.

2. The depressed conditions in the industry may have influenced respondent scores on TYPE, especially on TYPE-Questionnaire (TYPEQ). The direction of this influence is unpredictable since some of the respondents might feel gratitude and relief that their company has not yet released them, and others might feel insecure and distrustful of the company.

3. There is evidence in the interview data, as mentioned earlier (page 137), that it may be inappropriate to think of companies as having a single value on TYPE. One gets the rather strong impression that the companies in the sample view rank-and-file employees considerably differently than they view white-collar employees. Especially, it seems clear that many of the companies in the sample view rank-and-file as "they," to be dealt with strictly according to provisions of the "contract." In other words, companies seek to be one "type" of organization to white-collar employees, and another "type" to rank-and-file. All the respondents to the survey were from the white-collar category, but the questions in the survey do not discriminate between the two "types" of policies. For example, the response to the item, "the company avoids laying off employees" can range from "very true" to "not at all true," depending upon which group of employees the respondent is

thinking of in his/her response. This would tend to seriously undermine the TYPE measures.

4. Finally, shortcomings in the measurement of one of the indices of TYPE, TES, were mentioned before (page 138). Is the average length of service of respondents in company A comparable to the average length of service of respondents in company B if the average ages of respondents in company A and company B are 50 years and 25 years, respectively? Similar doubts may be raised about the comparability of average length of service of respondents across companies with varying dates of establishment. Table 11 (page 144) presents correlations of length of service (TES) modified by age of respondents and age of company with rimiriness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization and with Emotional Well-Being. The mixed results again suggest that re-examination of the TYPE variable is required. For example, recent growth in a company which resulted in a large addition to the work force would reduce the average length of service of the employees. The employment stability indices used here would all be lowered. But clearly, recent growth is not to be taken as any evidence of a movement of the company towards TYPE A.

Hypothesis 2

If faint glimmers of relationship in the murky waters of the social sciences are not to be discarded lightly, neither should findings of extremely strong relationship be spared careful scrutiny. While it is hoped that the .72

correlation between Primariness of Individual's Relationship R with the organization (PIRO) and Emotional Well-Being (EWB) is valid, and hence indicative of a carefully worked out and valid theory, some sources of possible spuriousness may be mentioned.

All the information used in producing this correlation coefficient came from the same source--the respondents to the survey. Thus, the most likely source of common variance, other than the relationship hypothesized, is simply the lack of independence of sources of information for PIRO and EWB. To the extent that there is evidence of responses having been obtained from different domains of experience within the individual (discriminant validity), the suspicion that high correlation is an artifact of the lack of independence of variable values can be discounted. Examination of the multi-trait, multi-method matrix (Table 7) suggests that lack of independence might be a more significant problem for the POQ (Primariness-Questionnaire) measure of PIRO than for the POS (Primariness-Sentence Completion) measure, since POQ has moderately substantial correlations with all three of the scales used in emotional well-being (.37, .32, and .42) even before the data is aggregated by company-membership. Before examining the correlation between primariness-sentence completion (POS) and EWB, common-method between POS and ESC (emotional well-being: sentence completion, one of the components of EWB) may also be suggested as another source of spuriousness in

the PIRO-EWB relationship. These observations led to the computation of the correlation coefficient, at the organizational level of analysis, between POS alone and EWB with ESC removed from it. Surprisingly, the correlation between these two stood at .73, identical to the correlation between PIRO and EWB.

Possible conceptual proximity of the variables PIRO and EWB might also be considered in this context, even though examination of the definitions and descriptions of the two variables (see page 96) does not provide much support for this suggestion. Empirically as well, Table 7 (page 134) contains evidence for the claim of success in discriminating between the two variables.

Hypothesis 3

Comments made under H1 above apply equally to results of the hypothesis test for H3. The correlation between TYPE and Emotional Well-Being is .33, accounting for about 11 percent of the variance in the variables. While this is not insubstantial, it has a 20 percent probability of chance occurrence when the null hypothesis of zero correlation is true.

Note than, when TYPE-Employment Stability (TES) alone is used as a measure of TYPE, the correlation between it and Emotional Well-Being stands at .57, which is significant at the .07 level. If substituting TES for TYPE results in substantial increases in its correlations with both EWB and PIRO, this further suggests that the "problem" is to be

located in TYPE and not in EWB and/or PIRO. The use of two standard scales in Emotional Well-Being also suggests the same thing. Possible shortcomings with the concept and measurement of TYPE have been discussed earlier (page 148).

Note that H3 is similar conceptually to Ouchi and Johnson's (1978) main result, though considerably different operationally. Only three of their seven dimensions of TYPE were used in this study, and few of the measures of TYPE or Emotional Well-Being that Ouchi and Johnson used were employed here. Furthermore, the analysis employed here is considerably different. Consequently, results obtained here can be no more than suggestive in terms of their implications for Ouchi and Johnson's work. One may say that the results obtained here provide "limited support" for Ouchi and Johnson's results. TYPE, as interpreted in this study, failed to discriminate very sharply between companies that had different scores on Emotional Well-Being but the direction of the relationship obtained is the same as predicted by Ouchi and Johnson, and the magnitude of the relationship is not insubstantial. In reviewing Ouchi and Johnson's (1978) paper, one notices with interest that, of the seven dimensions they used, employment stability was the dimension containing the greatest difference between the TYPE A and TYPE Z organizations. To the extent that the present study contains some evidence of a similar nature, it tends to confirm at least a small part of Ouchi and Johnson's results.

Hypothesis 4

With $N = 64$, there is only one-fifth of 1 percent probability that a correlation of .36 between Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization (PIRO) and Emotional Well-Being (EWB) could have been obtained by chance when the true correlation is zero. Nonetheless, it is important to remember that the variance accounted for in this relationship is only 13 percent. PIRO is the one variable which is somewhat unique to this study, constructed to explore the process by which TYPE of organization might be related to Emotional Well-Being. The results obtained suggest that PIRO is significantly associated with EWB, but that it is not the only "explanation" for high Emotional Well-Being. There is, of course, no suggestion in the ideas discussed in Part I that PIRO was expected to be the only or even major explanation for EWB. There are many sources of primary-relatedness in an individual's life. This study has only sought to suggest that work organization is one source, destined, as discussed in Part I, to become a major source if industrialization is not to be accompanied by alienation and anomie.

Possible sources of spuriousness are mentioned above. "Relationship" involves the individual's thoughts and emotions, and a source of common variance between PIRO and EWB might be a "halo" phenomenon, where how one feels in general may influence how one "feels" about or towards the organization, even though the former may be attributed

to entirely non-PIRO influences on EWB. Alternatively, how one feels about the organization may influence how one rates oneself on EWB when there is no "real" relationship. This second possibility is of special concern in this study, since the scales assessing PIRO all preceded physically the scales assessing EWB. If the respondent found himself "feeling pleased" about the organization while he was responding to the PIRO items, this might result in his feeling reluctant to "complain" about how he generally feels, in the EWB section of the survey. This would inflate the present result, leading to an erroneous conclusion that a relationship exists between PIRO and EWB.

Possible explanations for the lack of a larger correlation need also to be mentioned. The most serious source of contamination is probably social desirability or defensive response sets stimulated by both PIRO and EWB items. The items are fairly transparent with respect to their intent. Furthermore, the surveys were not administered by, or in the presence of, the writer, so it is not known what might have been said to the respondents before they filled out the survey. The placement of the EWB scales at the end of the survey was designed to control for defensive response set, as was the request that the questionnaire be administered by the writer to the respondents as a group. This request was denied by every company in the sample on the grounds that it would be too disruptive.

In conclusion, the least that can be said about the PIRO-EWB results at individual level of analysis is that they provide enough reason to pursue exploration and refinement of these ideas.

Summary of Results

- a. All the correlations are in the expected direction, and none is less than .30. Correlations between Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization (PIRO) and Emotional Well-Being (EWB) are significant, both at the individual level of analysis and at the organizational level of analysis. Correlations of TYPE with PIRO and with EWB are not significant.
- b. The "weakest" variable in the study seems to be TYPE. A large part of this weakness probably has conceptual sources, both in terms of the elaboration of the concept itself and in terms of the specification of its relationship with the other variables.
- c. There is some evidence to suggest that employment stability may be a central dimension in the TYPE construct.
- d. There is considerable room for improvement in conceptual as well as methodological areas.
- e. There is considerable justification for pursuing this line of inquiry further.

CHAPTER VIII

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, the implications of the research reported in the last three chapters are discussed. The particulars of the research effort impose certain limitations on the kinds of conclusions that may be made. Thus, the first task of this chapter is to discuss briefly these limitations. The research reported here was viewed as a lesson in "disciplined inquiry" (Cronbach and Suppes, 1969) and as a construct validation exercise. The results reported in Chapter VII may thus be viewed from each of these perspectives, as a measure of the success of the learning experience and as a measure of the validity of the conceptualizations on which the research was based. Both of these perspectives are employed below. Within each perspective, the discussion deals with internal consistency/reliability analyses and with the correlational analyses. Implications for future research are suggested throughout the following discussion. The most significant of these are collected together in the final section of the chapter, along with other major conclusions of the research.

Limitations on Interpretation

Generalizability

Limited generalizability may be the most important restriction to be placed on the conclusions to be drawn from this research. There is no reason to believe that the sample from which the data were obtained is representative of the population of "U.S. work organizations" implied in the theoretical position developed in Chapter IV. The procedures by which participation of the organizations in the sample were obtained are replete with selectivity of various kinds. Use only of companies engaged in the manufacture of automobile parts, for example, might impose a severe restriction of range on the TYPE of organization included in the sample. More than 30 companies in the industry were contacted with requests for cooperation in the study, of whom only eight consented. Again, this self-selection imposes serious limitations on generalizability. Similarly, the sample cannot be assumed to be representative of the population to which the theoretical propositions make reference along a wide variety of dimensions, including size, age, profitability, nature and location of business, nature of ownership, and so on.

This restriction of generalizability was expected right from the design stage of the project. That is, it was at least partially deliberately imposed to accommodate limitations of time and resources, as well as limitations of the scope of the study, in that a more comprehensive

project would have been inappropriate at this stage even if it had been possible. Along with this restriction on "spatial" generalizability may be mentioned a restriction on "temporal" generalizability, which may be specially relevant for the present research. The economically depressed conditions in the industry from which the sample was drawn may be expected to influence the variables of the study in various, unpredictable ways, such that the results obtained here may not be replicable, even with the same sample and the same respondents, a few months from now. This restriction of generalizability along the temporal dimensions is, of course, an unplanned and unfortunate consequence of the present atypical situation in the industry.

In a more technical vein, limitations on the interpretation of correlational analysis have the same consequence of restricting generalizability. While the use of correlations and regressions as descriptive statistics does not require any assumptions about "the form of the distribution, the variability of y scores within x columns, or the true level of measurement represented by the scores" (Hays, 1973, page 636), assumptions do become necessary in the use of correlations to make inferences about true linear relationships in populations. The same point is made by Carroll, quoted by Glass and Stanley (1970):

No assumptions are necessary for the computation of a Pearsonian coefficient, but the interpretation of its meaning certainly depends upon the extent to which the data conform to an appropriate statistical

model for making this interpretation. As actual data depart from a fit to such a model, the limits of the correlation coefficient may contract, and the adjectival interpretations are less meaningful (page 126).

In summary, the results of the research reported here cannot be used to make any strong conclusions about the theoretical propositions described in the first part of this dissertation, since the theoretical statements are naturally meant to have general and broad applicability. This was not unexpected: it is for this reason that the research was described in Chapter IV as "exploratory" and as a "construct validation exercise" (see page 90). Evidence from a large number of studies in various settings with random selection of organizations for inclusion in the sample, is required to achieve generalizability.

Interpretations of Correlations

Other limitations on the interpretation of correlational analysis may also be mentioned. The most well-known of these is that correlations calculated on the basis of non-experimentally obtained data provide information only about association or co-variation, not about causality. The tendency to view the .72 correlation between *Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization* (PIRO) and *Emotional Well-Being* (EWB) as evidence that *Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization* causes *Emotional Well-Being* must be carefully avoided. This tendency exists partly because such a causal relationship is implied and even stated in the theoretical position

developed in the first part of the dissertation.⁵ Simple correlational analysis based on one-time survey data contains no evidence relevant to the possibilities that it might be Emotional Well-Being that "causes" Primariness of the Individual's Relationship with the Organization, or that a third variable (for example, primariness orientation) may be the cause for both.

Closely related to this are limitations imposed by what Cronbach and Suppes (1969) called the indivisibility of social systems: "The essential difficulty in research on social processes is the interaction of variables" (page 141). Thus, while employment stability seems the most promising of the organizational dimensions as an explanation of a primary relation between the employee and the organization, one suspects that employment stability is one of several factors--organizational, environmental, and individual--that come together to result in primariness of the individual-organization relationship. One notes, for example, the wide cultural context within which the nenko, or permanent employment system, of Japanese industry exists. As Hodgson (1978) former U.S. Secretary of Labor and former ambassador to Japan, observed:

American society is first and foremost underpinned by the venerable Judeo-Christian objective of individual justice. The Japanese, however, spurn individual justice as a priority goal. Instead, they seek something in many ways the opposite; they seek group harmony. We American

⁵An examination of Chapter VII reveals that discussion of this pair of variables always lists PIRO first and EWB second, evidence that the tendency does exist.

justice-seekers speak proudly of our rights. The harmony-minded Japanese stress not rights but relations. . . . In American life the individual strives to stand out. The Japanese citizen, however, seeks to fit in, and fit in he does--into his family, his school, his company, his union, his nation (page 8).

That environmental, individual and organizational variables other than TYPE are not considered in this study is, of course, a limitation of the theoretical framework, but the point being made here is that simple correlational analysis does not reveal information about interactions. Tasks for the future suggested by these considerations are incorporation of anthropological, sociological, psychological, and organizational variables other than TYPE in the explanation for primariness of the individual-organization relationship, and the use of more sophisticated statistical techniques to test relationships among these variables.

Two other limitations on the interpretation of correlations may be mentioned. (1) The possibility exists that a substantial correlation may be due to the presence of "identifiable groups of subjects with different means" (Glass and Stanley, 1970, page 123). If organizations located in rural areas tend to have higher scores on Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization and Emotional Well Being than organizations located in urban areas, pooling these groups together may produce a high correlation between the two, even though within each group the variables correlate essentially zero. (2) The existence of non-linear relationships would not be revealed at all by

linear correlational analysis. While the possibility of non-linear relationships can be checked by the use of scatterplots, the small number of companies in the present sample limits the use of scatterplots for this purpose. A low correlation between TYPE and Emotional Well-Being (EWB) may be due to the reasons suggested in Chapter VII, or it may mask a high non-linear relationship: it may be that "pure" TYPE A and TYPE Z companies, by being obviously one or the other, attract employees temperamentally suited to working in them, while an organization intermediate between TYPE A and TYPE Z may not be able to attract the right type of employees because of the mixed signals it provides. Linear correlational analysis would not reveal the non-linear relationship between TYPE and Emotional Well-Being that might result from this situation.

Conclusion

All these limitations are discussed here to justify not drawing any strong conclusions about the theoretical propositions, either confirmatory or dis-confirmatory, from the results of this exploratory study. The low correlations of TYPE with Primariness of the Individual's Relationship with the Organization (PIRO) and with Emotional Well-Being (EWB) does not invalidate the suggestion that a work organization can create an environment which encourages formation of a primary relationship between it and its employees. Nor does the high correlation between Primariness of the Individual's Relationship with the Organization and Emotional Well-Being justify the conclusion that individuals need

primary relations to achieve and maintain psychological equilibrium. This does not mean, of course, that nothing useful came out of the experiences reported in this study, as the following discussion should make abundantly clear.

Lessons in Disciplined Inquiry

Scientific research may be viewed as the process by which figments of one's imagination are transformed into conceptual tools for communication and for the achievement of human purposes. The process consists of subjecting the products of one's imagination to the dual disciplines of logic and data: not only must one's ideas and conceptualizations be internally consistent and logically sound, they must also be demonstrably grounded in reality. While intuition and bias must necessarily inform imagination throughout the researcher's career, ideas and images remain in the realm of poetry until they have been subjected to logical and empirical scrutiny.

Beginning with vaguely formulated ideas, the researcher confronted with the task of obtaining empirical confirmation for the "real world" existence of the phenomenon of interest must first and foremost bridge the gap between his ideas and the experiences of people in the real world. To the extent that the experiences of respondents conform to the researcher's conceptualizations of these experiences, as contained in his hypotheses, to that extent responses to a series of stimuli designed by the researcher will conform to statistical patterns suggested in the hypotheses. This

requires the stimuli, or questionnaire items, to be grounded in the experiences of prospective respondents--in other words, be in fact "stimulating." They must be couched in language the respondent is likely to understand, and must refer to concerns and interests the respondent is likely to have. At the same time, they must emerge entirely from the conceptualizations that are being subjected to empirical test. They must derive directly from the definitions of the variables, and refer to no more and no less than the implications of the definitions. The researcher's success depends on the degree of clarity of conceptualization and specially on his ability to imagine the world from the perspective of the prospective respondents.

Information about the degree of success actually achieved is contained in the analyses of the data finally collected. The internal consistency coefficient measures the extent to which responses to items in a scale correlate with each other. For example, the .85 coefficient of internal consistency for the 17-item primariness-organization questionnaire (POQ) scale of Primariness of the Individual's Relationship with the Organization indicates a high degree of success in translation of the concept from its vague, original formulation to 17 specific items that tap the same domain of experience in the respondent. The values for this coefficient range from .67 to .85 for the scales for which this coefficient could be computed, indicating reasonable to high degrees of success of operationalization.

Of special interest in this context are the internal-consistency coefficients for the sentence-completion scales, in which sources of "noise" include not only inadequate translation of concepts to questionnaire items, but also inadequate communication of concepts to raters. Fair success, represented by the .67 to .77 range of values for internal consistency suggests not only that the items elicited responses from a specific, reasonably bounded domain, but also that the domain of interest was adequately communicated to raters. Items had to achieve a balance between being structured and specific enough to tap the domain of interest, yet being unstructured enough to retain the projective nature of the sentence-completion methodology.

Two comments may be made in the context of this discussion about the sentence-completion methodology.

(1) As stated earlier (page 118), this methodology was selected to avoid the problem of "non-attitudes" (Sellitz, et al., 1979). Likert-type questionnaire items may elicit responses from respondents even though they may not agree with any of the alternatives provided, or even though they may not ever have thought about the subject of the item.

By not limiting the respondent to a specific set of alternatives, sentence-completions, and other projective-type methodologies, avoid or reduce this potential threat to validity. The reduction in reliability that may be the price for this increase in validity was discussed above.

(2) A couple of limitations of the methodology may be

mentioned. The influence of expressive ability of respondents on the responses they make is a cause for concern, specially if this expressive ability varies systematically with other variables of interest. Future use of this methodology might be designed to control for this influence. Secondly, the "cost" associated with the coding of the responses, in terms of rater time, may limit use of the methodology considerably. Reduction of the number of items seems inadvisable in the face of the range of internal consistency coefficients obtained in this study (.67 to .77).

Internal consistency analysis only provides information relevant to the claim that bounded domains of experience of respondents have been tapped. Evidence relevant to the claim that these domains are the ones described by the researcher is mostly contained in discriminant and convergent validity analyses, and is discussed in the next section. Combined with "face validity," internal consistency does provide some information relevant to construct validity, since, if the scale items are all transparently related to the construct as defined, high inter-correlation among responses to items contains evidence not only that a bounded domain has been tapped, but that the specific bounded domain referenced by the concept has been located.

In conclusion, the most important lesson to emerge from this experience might be that the gap between "the ideas of the researcher and the experience of people in

the real world" (see page 164) can be minimized from the outset by conceptualizing operationally, that is, by viewing "conceptualization" and "operationalization" as a unitary task. If concepts were developed right from the beginning with the awareness that they will have to be subjected to the discipline of data, by oneself or by others, the result would be sharper conceptualization and easier construction of reliable measuring instruments.

Construct Validity

If respondent scores on different scales designed to measure the same variable correlate substantially with each other, one's confidence is strengthened that the phenomenon described by the variable does exist in the real world. This is even more true if the scales employ different methodologies. If respondent scores on a scale designed to measure variable A correlates substantially less with scores on a scale designed to measure variable B, this lends weight to the claim that variable A is distinct from variable B. This is even more true if the scales employ the same methodology. Information on convergent and discriminant validity of this type is contained in the multi-trait multi-method matrix (Table 7, page 134) and in Table 8 (page 138). Finally, the strongest evidence of construct validity is the demonstration that the variable "behaves" in relation to other variables as predicted by theory, that it "fits in" as expected in a nomological network. This study contains

all these types of evidence. Each of the three constructs of the study is discussed below.

Primariness of Individual's
Relationship with the
Organization (PIRO)

Respondent scores on the two scales employed in this study to measure PIRO (primariness-organization-sentence completion: POS; and primariness-organization-questionnaire: POQ) correlate .66 with each other. Note that both scales had internal consistency coefficients higher than their correlation with each other, a prerequisite for the conclusions being made here. The two scales employ widely different methodologies: sentence-completions and Likert-type questionnaire. These facts contain strong evidence that the scales measure the same thing, hence that the concept as described exists in the experience of the 64 respondents to the survey.

The average correlation between POS and five other scales designed to measure other variables in the study has a magnitude of .19, and the correlation between POS and the only other scale employing the same methodology (Emotional Well-Being: sentence completion: ESC) is .16, indicating that Primariness of the Individual's Relationship with the Organization as measured by POS is quite distinct from the other two variables of the study, TYPE and Emotional Well-Being (EWB). In contrast, the average correlation between POQ, the questionnaire measure of PIRO, and five other scales designed to measure other variables is .32, and the average

correlation between POQ and three scales employing the same methodology but measuring different variables is .29. Thus, evidence that POQ measures a phenomenon distinct from TYPE and Emotional Well-Being rests on less firm empirical ground than evidence that POS, the sentence-completion measure of PIRO, measures a phenomenon distinct from TYPE and EWB. If it were not for the high correlation between POS (the sentence-completion measure of PIRO) and POQ (the Likert-type measure of PIRO), use of POQ in subsequent analyses would have had weak justification. It is possible that some response sets commonly associated with Likert-type scales may be operating in the data generated by POQ. It is also possible that POQ, as well as the other Likert-type scales, may be eliciting "non-attitudes."

Referring now to the correlations of the composite measure of Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization with the composite measures of TYPE and of Emotional Well-Being reported in Table 9, significant positive correlations were predicted by theory. Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization and Emotional Well-Being correlate .72 in the data obtained in this study, which is significant at the .02 level. This result lends considerable support to the construct validity of PIRO, especially since there is strong evidence for the validity of the Emotional Well-Being construct (see below). The high internal consistency estimates of the composite measures of both variables (see page 139) may also be cited

in favor of this conclusion. Note that limitations on generalizability discussed earlier suggest that this confidence in the primariness-of-individual's-relationship-with-the-organization concept be somewhat tempered by consideration of the possibility that its existence and operation according to theory may be some artifact of the particular sample employed.

In contrast, the .30 correlation between Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization and TYPE is not significant. This suggests that (1) the present operationalization of PIRO is inadequate, (2) the present operationalization of TYPE is inadequate, and/or (3) PIRO and TYPE do not relate with each other as suggested by theory in this sample. Of these possibilities, (1) is the least plausible, in view of the discussions above. Elaboration of the second suggestion is contained in the discussion of TYPE in the next section, which raises some doubts about the concept and its measurement in this study. The third possibility cannot be ruled out, however, even if TYPE does prove to be less than satisfactorily operationalized in this study. Limited generalizability may again be kept in mind, but the negative result should lead to a close examination of the ideas that resulted in the formulation of the hypothesis of a significant positive relationship between PIRO and TYPE. Some of this examination was begun in Chapter VII. The possibility that Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization may be

associated with cultural and social variables was raised earlier (page 161). PIRO may also be associated with individual variables other than emotional well-being, such as educational achievement, salary, age, and so on. It may also be associated with organizational variables other than TYPE, either with some other organizational structural variables, or even with variables such as industry or product. Finally, for those who would see PIRO in these terms, the adequacy of applying concepts originating from the Japanese culture to organizations in the U.S.A. may also be questioned.

In conclusion, while the data justify strong confidence in the concept of Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization, they also suggest close examination of the propositions regarding the determinants of PIRO. Further examination of anthropological, sociological, organizational, and psychological literature is indicated. Future research should include assessment of possible determinants of PIRO in addition to the ones used here, as well as incorporate improvements in the concept and measurement of the TYPE construct, as suggested below.

TYPE

Only one scale for measuring TYPE was included in the multi-method multi-trait matrix (Table 7, page 134), since only one scale for TYPE was included in the questionnaire administered to respondents. Other measures of TYPE were also obtained, from independent sources, and inter-correlations among the various measures of TYPE are reported

in Table 8 (page 138). Convergent validity information available in Table 3 (page 138) strongly suggests that the various measures of TYPE succeed in measuring the same thing. The average inter-correlation among four measures of TYPE, TYPEQ (questionnaire), TINT (interview), TPD (published data) and TES (employment stability) is .56. In contrast, the average correlation of the questionnaire measure of TYPE, TYPEQ, with six scales measuring different variables had a magnitude of .21, while the average correlation of TYPEQ with three scales employing the same methodology was .18. These numbers contain moderate evidence that TYPEQ succeeded in tapping a domain of experience in respondents distinct from Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization and Emotional Well-Being. Note, also, that estimates of reliability are not consistently available for these scales, reducing their interpretability considerably.

The correlation of TYPE with Emotional Well-Being (.33) and with Primariness of the Individual's Relationship with the Organization (.30) both fail to achieve the stipulated level of significance. In other words, evidence that the concept measured by the TYPE scales is the same concept as suggested by theory is weak, suggesting limited success of operationalization. To the extent that the high inter-correlations among various measures of TYPE suggest construct validity, the low correlations of TYPE with PIRO and EWB suggest re-examination of the theory as well.

At the operational level, the experiences represented by the numbers above suggest the following: (1) The writer's inexperience with interviewing probably accounted for a paucity of information on some of the dimensions of the TYPE variable. (2) The influence of prior familiarity of some interviewees with the questionnaire, which could not be avoided, serves to shed further doubt on interview data. (3) The reliability of ratings of interview data was not adequately assessed. Interview data might better have been coded by a rater other than the interviewer, and more than three interviews might have been independently rated. (4) While independent measures of variables are recommended, they must generate data whose reliability can be estimated. For example, while the internal consistency of TYPEQ, the questionnaire measure of TYPE, could be computed, no estimate for the reliability of TYPE-employment stability (TES) was available. Adequate thought to the assessment of reliability was not given prior to data collection.

Future research involving use of interviews, and involving assessment of the TYPE variable, should incorporate the improvements suggested above. The experience with the TYPE variable reported here also suggests some conceptual problems. Some possibilities were identified in Chapter VII. With reference to the discussion about conceptualization above, TYPE may be singled out as the variable in which the gap between the researcher's ideas and the experience of

"real world" people remained the widest. Partly, this might be because the operationalization of this variable did not involve writing as many structured and semi-structured items as it did, for example, in the operationalization of primariness of individual's relationship with the organization. Wholistic Concern and Global Philosophy of Management, two dimensions of TYPE about which the interviews revealed little, seem not to have been defined in terms of the experiences of prospective respondents. As conceptualized at present, they remain "slippery." An urgent task for the future is clarification and elaboration of these dimensions.

There is confusion, as well, in the idea of employment stability, which is the third dimension of TYPE used in this study. As used in the scales of TYPE employed here, employment stability is simply the length of tenure of respondents or employees. But length of tenure must be evaluated in terms of potential length of tenure of respondents in a particular company, which will be influenced by such factors as age of employees and date of establishment of company. Furthermore, how adequate a measure of an organizational policy to encourage employment stability might length of tenure be? TYPE makes reference to the existence of such an organizational policy. Employment stability as measured also does not incorporate the possibility that employment stability of one group of employees may be maintained at the expense of the job security of another group. Possibly more useful than

employment stability might be a concept describing how the costs of instability or uncertainty in the environment are distributed among various groups in the organization.

In conclusion, operational and conceptual weaknesses in the TYPE variable have been suggested. The possibility that the low obtained correlations are due to the fact that TYPE is simply not related to Primariness of Individual's P Relationship with the Organization or to Emotional Well-Being may also be mentioned, and was discussed in a previous section. Much work for the future is identified by these considerations.

Emotional Well-Being

Of the three variables of this study, the construct validity of Emotional Well-Being may be viewed as being least in doubt. The concept has been measured and examined by social scientists for many decades. Evidence from the present study serves to further strengthen the claim for the existence of the phenomenon. The average inter-correlation among four scales designed to measure Emotional Well-Being is .47, suggesting that the scales measure the same thing. Two of these scales employ Likert-type items, one is an adjective check list, and the fourth is a sentence-completion scale. The use of different methodologies reduces the possibility that the high inter-correlations may be due to the contribution of common method to the co-variance of scale scores. Finally, the inclusion of two standardized scales in the group of four scales measuring Emotional

Well-Being further strengthens the claim of construct validity being made here.

The average inter-correlation between the four scales measuring Emotional Well-Being and three scales measuring other variables has a magnitude of .21. The inter-correlation between the sentence-completion scale of Emotional Well-Being (ESC) and the other sentence completion scale of the study (POS) measuring a different variable is .16 (see Table 7, page 134). The average inter-correlation between Emotional Well-Being scales that employ Likert-type items and other scales of the study that employ the same methodology for the assessment of different variables is also .16. All of this is evidence that the scales designed to measure Emotional Well-Being succeed in tapping a domain distinct from domains tapped by scales designed to measure the other variables of the study.

This evidence for construct validity is further bolstered by the .72 correlation between the composite measure of Emotional Well-Being and the composite measure of Primariness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization. Not only is there evidence that the study succeeds in locating and measuring a specific construct, but its behavior with another construct as expected by theory also suggests that it is the specific construct described by the theory. This is further strengthened if the other construct has superior reliability/validity characteristics, as is the case in this study.

In contrast, the correlation of .33 between Emotional Well-Being and TYPE fails to reach the stipulated level of significance. The three types of possibilities raised in the context of the discussion of Primariness of the Individual's Relationship with the Organization may be raised here as well. The first possibility of inadequate operationalization of the Emotional Well-Being construct may be discounted in light of the above discussion. Possible weaknesses in the TYPE variable were discussed in the previous section. Finally, the low correlation between Emotional Well-Being and TYPE may also be due to a lack of a real-world relationship between the two variables, either in this sample or in the population as a whole. It may be that Emotional Well-Being has no organizational correlates, or none that are contained within the TYPE construct. The theoretical position outlined before assumes a centrality of work and work organization in the lives of respondents that may not be valid, so that TYPE of organization may in fact be unrelated to Emotional Well-Being. Alternatively, in the absence of availability of need satisfactions in the work organization, individuals, rather than becoming "unhappy," might simply turn to other sources of need satisfaction. This would again result in a lack of correlation between TYPE and Emotional Well-Being. Of interest in the context of this discussion is the fact that Ouchi's (1981) most recent work makes no direct reference to Emotional Well-Being at all, preferring instead to emphasize

the link between TYPE and organizational effectiveness. It is not clear whether this is the result of a change in Ouchi's thinking or simply a difference of emphasis arising out of a difference in the audience he has chosen to address.

The possibility that Emotional Well-Being and TYPE may be unrelated in this particular sample may be raised again. This may be for many reasons, as suggested in the discussion of limitations on generalizability. For example, the "restriction of range" suggestion made in Chapter VII (page 148) as a possible explanation for the lack of a stronger obtained relationship between TYPE and the other two variables of the study may be a consequence of the characteristics of the particular sample employed here. It is for these reasons of limitations on generalizability that the hypothesis of a relationship between Emotional Well-Being and TYPE cannot completely be ruled out by the results of this study.

In summary, the validity of the Emotional Well-Being construct is generally upheld by the results of this study. The proposed relationship between Emotional Well-Being and TYPE requires a re-examination. Future research must incorporate other possible co-variates of Emotional Well-Being, as well as improve upon the ones included in this study.

Conclusions

The following conclusions may be drawn from the results of the "construct validation exercise" reported in this dissertation.

1. Data from the sample used in this study confirm the existence, in the experience of the respondents of this study, of the notion of primariness of individual's relationship with the organization. Respondents reported having relationships with their employing organization that vary along the dimension of primariness.
2. Data from the sample used in this study do not provide strong confirmation for the existence, in this sample, of the notion of TYPE of organization as described in this dissertation.
3. Data from the sample used in this study confirm the existence of the notion of emotional well-being. Respondents tended to vary along this variable in expected ways.
4. As hypothesized, respondents who reported having relationships with the organization high in primariness also tended to report higher levels of emotional well-being than respondents who reported having relationships lower in primariness. This result cannot be assumed to apply to other employees of the companies in the sample, nor to employees of companies not included in the sample.
5. As hypothesized, the average level of primariness of respondents' relationships with the organization was associated with the average

level of emotional well-being of respondents from a company. This result cannot be assumed to apply to companies other than the ones included in the sample.

6. Contrary to expectation, the average level of primariness of respondents' relationships with the organization and the average level of emotional well-being of respondents were both not associated with the TYPE of organization. This negative result may be attributed to conceptual and operational weaknesses in the TYPE construct and/or to the lack of a relationship between TYPE and the other variables in the sample used in this study. This result also cannot be assumed to apply to companies other than the ones in the sample.
7. There is no evidence in this study regarding the causal nature of the relationships investigated and reported.
8. The most important recommendations for future research are stated below.

A careful re-examination of the TYPE construct is a prerequisite to any future research using this or a similar variable. This re-examination needs to cover the entire range from conceptualization and operationalization to specification of the form and nature of its relationships with other variables of interest.

While continuing to accumulate evidence for the validity of the idea of primariness of the individual's relationship with the organization, future research must incorporate anthropological, sociological, organizational, and individual variables that may have an influence on it.

Similarly, possible co-variates of emotional well-being other than primariness of the individual's relationship with the organization and TYPE need to be included in future research of this nature, in order to better understand the relative role of work organization in employee emotional well-being.

The results reported in this study should encourage the use of sentence-completion scales in future organizational and social science research. They represent a reasonable compromise between structure and specificity required for reliability and precision, and openness required for validity.

All instrumentation in future research must have as a prerequisite the availability of usable reliability estimates. Without this, data and results remain uninterpretable.

The use of multiple scales and multiple methodologies must be continued. The inter-disciplinary approach must not only be retained but extended as well.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

WORK AND QUALITY OF LIFE
RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE



WORK AND
QUALITY OF LIFE

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THIS RESEARCH PROGRAM IS HIGHLY APPRECIATED. YOUR RESPONSES TO THE QUESTIONS ARE COMPLETELY ANONYMOUS -- I REQUEST YOU NOT TO PUT YOUR NAME OR ANY OTHER IDENTIFYING INFORMATION ON THIS QUESTIONNAIRE. I HOPE TO USE THE INFORMATION PROVIDED BY YOU TO UNDERSTAND WHAT THINGS ABOUT WORK ARE RELATED TO THE QUALITY OF LIFE OF WORKING PEOPLE. THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS. I URGE YOU TO READ THE INSTRUCTIONS IN EACH SECTION CAREFULLY, AND TO ANSWER TO THE BEST OF YOUR ABILITY. PLEASE DO NOT SPEND TOO MUCH TIME ON ANY ONE ITEM.

THANK YOU,

s. durlabhji

INSTRUCTIONS : COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING SENTENCES WITH THE FIRST THING THAT COMES TO YOUR MIND. YOU DO NOT HAVE TO USE ALL THE SPACE THAT IS PROVIDED.

1. I am in this company because

2. My future in this company

3. I will leave this company

4. For this company I

5. I hope to be working in this company

6. If this company had to close down

7. My relationship with this company

COMPLETE THE SENTENCES WITH THE FIRST THING THAT COMES TO MIND.
8. Being a member of this company
9. When this company is praised
10. If I had to leave this company
11. I am in this company to
12. Being a member of this company means
13. About this company, I feel
14. When this company is criticized
15. In this company, most of my needs

INSTRUCTIONS

PLEASE THINK ABOUT YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THIS COMPANY. INDICATE HOW TRUE EACH STATEMENT IS ABOUT YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE COMPANY BY CIRCLING THE APPROPRIATE LETTER TO THE RIGHT OF THE STATEMENT.

- a = Completely true
b = Mostly true
c = Partly true and partly false
d = Mostly false
e = Completely false

COMPLETELY TRUE
MOSTLY TRUE
PARTLY TRUE
MOSTLY FALSE
COMPLETELY FALSE

16. I get a feeling of being honored by being recognized as a member of this company.	a	b	c	d	e
17. Failure of this company would mean little to me beyond the loss of my source of income.	a	b	c	d	e
18. My social status is increased by being a member of this company.	a	b	c	d	e
19. Membership in this company gives me a feeling of superiority.	a	b	c	d	e
20. Failure of this company would lead to embarrassment for me.	a	b	c	d	e
21. I gain in prestige among outsiders by working in this company.	a	b	c	d	e
22. I would lose self-respect if this company should fail.	a	b	c	d	e
23. If another company in this area offered me a similar job, with 10 % higher pay and no loss of benefits, I would accept it.	a	b	c	d	e
24. I would feel ashamed if this company was found to be involved in illegal activities.	a	b	c	d	e
25. If I were stranded on a desert island, one of the things I would miss most is the opportunity to practice my profession.	a	b	c	d	e
26. This company as a whole feels like a large family to me.	a	b	c	d	e
27. If it were not for my friends in this company, I would look for another job.	a	b	c	d	e
28. I feel I owe this company what they pay me for, and nothing more.	a	b	c	d	e
29. If I were asked to describe myself, and I could tell only one thing about myself, I would say: "I work for (the name of this company)".	a	b	c	d	e
30. Membership in this company is a source of pride for me.	a	b	c	d	e
31. The most important thing for me about working in this company is the opportunity to engage in my profession.	a	b	c	d	e
32. I don't think any other company would mean as much to me as this one.	a	b	c	d	e
33. If I were stranded on a desert island, one of the things I would miss most is my friends in this company.	a	b	c	d	e
34. I would feel personally honored if this company were to receive some award from the community.	a	b	c	d	e
35. It is the opportunity to employ my skills and training that keeps me in this company.	a	b	c	d	e
36. If I hear anyone criticizing this company, I would get very upset.	a	b	c	d	e
37. When I think about my future, this company is always part of it.	a	b	c	d	e
38. The most important thing about working in this company is the opportunity to be with my friends.	a	b	c	d	e

INSTRUCTIONS

PLEASE THINK ABOUT THE GOALS, METHODS, AND POLICIES OF THIS COMPANY. THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS ARE WAYS OF DESCRIBING A COMPANY. PLEASE INDICATE HOW SIMILAR EACH DESCRIPTION IS TO THIS COMPANY.

	VERY SIMILAR	SOMEWHAT SIMILAR	SLIGHTLY SIM. / DIFF.	SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT	VERY DIFFERENT
a - Very similar to this company b - Somewhat similar to this company c - Slightly similar to and slightly different from this company. d - Somewhat different from this company. e - Very different from this company.					
39. When business declines, the company begins to lay people off immediately.	a	b	c	d	e
40. The company cares a great deal about its employees	a	b	c	d	e
41. What matters most in the company is the numbers: production and profit.	a	b	c	d	e
42. When faced with lean times, everybody in the company works a reduced workweek.	a	b	c	d	e
43. When there is no policy about something, it is usually easy for employees to figure out what management would like them to do.	a	b	c	d	e
44. Company policies make it clear that personal problems, concerns, and interests of employees have no place in the company.	a	b	c	d	e
45. The company has one policy : profit.	a	b	c	d	e
46. If employees do not perform as well as the company expects them to, the company will try to help them improve.	a	b	c	d	e
47. When business declines, the company would do anything, even lose money, to avoid layoffs.	a	b	c	d	e
48. The company tries to be a friend to employees rather than only an employer.	a	b	c	d	e
49. Company policies are designed to encourage employees to remain with the company for their whole life.	a	b	c	d	e
50. Management makes it clear that employees are expected to leave personal problems outside the doors of the company.	a	b	c	d	e
51. If employees do not perform as well as the company expects them to, they are likely to find themselves without a job quite quickly.	a	b	c	d	e
52. When business declines, the company is very reluctant to lay people off.	a	b	c	d	e

INSTRUCTIONS : COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING SENTENCES TO DESCRIBE HOW YOU GENERALLY FEEL. WRITE DOWN THE FIRST THING THAT COMES TO YOUR MIND. YOU DO NOT HAVE TO USE ALL THE SPACE THAT IS PROVIDED.

53. Often, a feeling of

54. When I wake up, I feel

55. There are so many thing that make me feel

56. It is rare for me to be

57. In the evening, I often feel

58. When I think about the world, I feel

59. There are so many things to

COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING SENTENCES TO DESCRIBE HOW YOU GENERALLY FEEL
60. When I think about the future, I feel
61. My life is full of
62. I never thought I'd be so
63. In the afternoon, I often feel
64. I keep trying to find
66. It's not easy for me to feel
67. There are so many people I
68. At work, I often feel

INSTRUCTIONS

A NUMBER OF STATEMENTS WHICH PEOPLE HAVE USED TO DESCRIBE THEMSELVES ARE GIVEN BELOW. CIRCLE A LETTER TO THE RIGHT OF THE STATEMENT TO INDICATE HOW YOU GENERALLY FEEL. THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS. GIVE THE ANSWER WHICH SEEMS TO DESCRIBE HOW YOU GENERALLY FEEL.

- a = Almost never
b = Sometimes
c = Often
d = Almost always

ALMOST NEVER
SOMETIMES
OFTEN
ALMOST ALWAYS

69. I feel pleasant	a	b	c	d
70. I tire quickly	a	b	c	d
71. I feel like crying	a	b	c	d
72. I wish I could be as happy as others seem to be	a	b	c	d
73. I am losing out on things because I can't make up my mind soon enough	a	b	c	d
74. I feel rested	a	b	c	d
75. I am "calm, cool, and collected."	a	b	c	d
76. I feel that difficulties are piling up so that I cannot overcome them	a	b	c	d
77. I worry too much over something that doesn't really matter	a	b	c	d
78. I am happy	a	b	c	d
79. I am inclined to take things hard	a	b	c	d
80. I lack self-confidence	a	b	c	d
81. I feel secure	a	b	c	d
82. I try to avoid facing a crisis or difficulty	a	b	c	d
83. I feel blue	a	b	c	d
84. I am content	a	b	c	d
85. Some unimportant thought runs through my mind and bothers me	a	b	c	d
86. I take disappointments so keenly that I can't put them out of my mind	a	b	c	d
87. I am a steady person	a	b	c	d
88. I get in a state of tension or turmoil as I think of my recent concerns and interests.	a	b	c	d

INSTRUCTIONS

FOLLOWING IS A LIST OF PHYSICAL SYMPTOMS. PLEASE INDICATE HOW OFTEN EACH HAS HAPPENED TO YOU IN THE LAST YEAR.

a = Often
b = Sometimes
c = Rarely
d = Never

NEVER
RARELY
SOMETIMES
OFTEN

89. Trouble breathing or shortness of breath	a	b	c	d
90. Pains in my back or spine	a	b	c	d
91. Becoming very tired in a very short time	a	b	c	d
92. Having trouble getting to sleep	a	b	c	d
93. Having trouble staying asleep	a	b	c	d
94. Finding it difficult to get up in the morning	a	b	c	d
95. Feeling my heart racing or pounding	a	b	c	d
96. Hands sweating so that they feel damp and clammy	a	b	c	d
97. Feeling nervous or fidgety and tense	a	b	c	d
98. Poor appetite	a	b	c	d
99. Spells of dizziness	a	b	c	d
100. Smoking more than I used to	a	b	c	d
101. Drinking more than I used to	a	b	c	d

INSTRUCTIONS

PLACE A CHECK MARK ON WORDS THAT DESCRIBE HOW YOU GENERALLY FEEL.

102. CHEERFUL	103. WILTED	104. AFRAID	105. UNDERSTANDING
106. GLOOMY	107. ANGRY	108. KINDLY	109. LOST
110. MERRY	111. LOW	112. WARM	113. MAD
114. UPSET	115. POLITE	116. BLUE	117. CALM
118. CRUEL	119. TENSE	120. SUNK	121. AMIABLE
122. TORMENTED	123. NERVOUS	124. ALIVE	125. MISERABLE
126. DISCOURAGED	127. FRIGHTENED	128. TENDER	129. FORLORN
130. FEARFUL	131. DEVOTED	132. WORRYING	133. FINE
134. HOPELESS	135. SYMPATHETIC	136. AWFUL	137. SHAKEY
138. DISAGREEABLE	139. HEALTHY	140. PANICKY	141. ALONE
142. AGREEABLE	143. REJECTED	144. COOPERATIVE	145. SUFFERING
146. UNHAPPY	147. ACTIVE	148. TERRIBLE	

INSTRUCTIONS

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IS BEING REQUESTED SEPARATELY FROM THE QUESTIONNAIRE TO DESCRIBE THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GROUP AS A WHOLE. PLEASE CHECK THE ITEMS THAT APPLY, OR FILL-IN.

PRESENT STATUS

1. SEX M F 2. AGE _____
3. PRESENT MARITAL STATUS
 (a) MARRIED
 (b) DIVORCED
 (c) SINGLE (Never married) _____
4. NUMBER OF CHILDREN _____
5. RESIDENCE LOCALITY
 (a) RURAL _____
 (b) URBAN _____
 (c) SUBURBAN _____
 (d) _____ (Other) _____
6. PRESENT POSITION IN COMPANY
 (Specify) _____
7. PRESENT RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION (if any)
 (Specify) _____
8. (a) DO YOU GET ANY REGULAR PHYSICAL EXERCISE? yes no
 (b) IF YES, HOW?
 (a) JOGGING _____
 (b) SWIMMING _____
 (c) GYM WORKOUT _____
 (d) _____ (Other) _____
9. DO YOU USUALLY VOTE IN:
 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS yes no
 ELECTIONS OF STATE REPRESENTATIVES TO FEDERAL GOVERNMENT yes no
 STATE ELECTIONS yes no
 LOCAL (City) ELECTIONS yes no
10. DO YOU PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS IN ANY OTHER WAY? yes no
11. IF YES, HOW?

BACKGROUND

12. FATHER'S OCCUPATION _____
 MOTHER'S OCCUPATION (if any) _____
13. LOCALITY WHERE YOU SPENT MOST OF THE YEARS OF YOUR CHILDHOOD
 (a) RURAL _____
 (b) URBAN _____
 (c) SUBURBAN _____
 (d) _____ (Other) _____
14. RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION DURING CHILDHOOD, IF DIFFERENT FROM PRESENT RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION. _____
15. COLLEGE DEGREE/S
degree year field college
degree year field college
16. ETHNIC BACKGROUND
 (a) ANGLO _____
 (b) BLACK _____
 (c) ITALIAN _____
 (d) _____ (Other) _____
17. POSITION WHEN YOU FIRST STARTED FULL-TIME WORK _____
18. NUMBER OF PREVIOUS EMPLOYERS _____
19. DATE WHEN YOU JOINED THIS COMPANY
 _____ month _____ year
20. POSITION AT TIME OF JOINING THIS COMPANY

APPENDIX B

INSTRUCTIONS FOR RATERS OF SENTENCE
COMPLETION TEST - PIRO

Instructions for Raters of Sentence Completion Test - PIRO-S

1. Each participant to be rated on the variable Primaryness of Individual's Relationship with the Organization (PIRO). This is defined and described separately to enable you to refer to it as you make your ratings. Please read this carefully before you rate the first participant. If there is anything that requires clarification or elaboration, please discuss with me before proceeding.
2. Put the Participant Number from the sentence completion test on to the rating form. Put your initials in the space provided.
3. Read the entire sentence completion test for the participant. Then re-read the responses, examining each carefully for evidence of High or Low Primaryness of the participant's relationship with the organization. Rate each item according to the following scale:
 - 5 = Highly Primary; the participant's response contains evidence that his relationship with the organization is highly primary.
 - 4 = Quite Primary
 - 3 = Somewhat Primary
 - 2 = Only Slightly Primary
 - 1 = Not At All Primary
 - 0 = No information. The participant's response contains no information relevant to the focal concept.
 - 9 = No response. The participant left the item blank, or made a response too incomplete to rate.
4. Refer to the definition and the illustrative ratings whenever you have any doubts. Beyond this, however, your ratings have to be independent of any other influences. Do not discuss any items with other raters, for example.
5. Use the remaining space on the rating form for any comments about the participant's relationship with the organization, or anything else that strikes you as particularly interesting.
6. Repeat steps 2-5 for each participant.

DEFINITION AND DESCRIPTION OF PIRO

Primariness of Individual's Relationship to the Organization (PIRO) is described in the following passages in various, partially overlapping ways. Please try to get an overall understanding of the concept from this and the illustrative ratings.

PIRO is the extent to which the organization, like the family, is a source of meaning and belongingness for the individual, regardless of its significance as a means of existence. Note that PIRO has reference to the organization, distinct from the profession or any sub-groups within the organization. Evidence that the individual derives meaning and a feeling of relatedness from the profession or from the job is not evidence of PIRO; it may even be evidence of low PIRO, as suggested below.

PIRO is the extent to which the organization is central to the individual's self-concept, the extent to which the individual finds beliefs and values that are essential to his own personality expressed in the objectives and methods of the organization. PIRO is the extent to which the individual's answers to the question "Who or what am I?" would contain references to the organization. Again, this is distinct from the extent to which the individual defines himself in terms of the job or the profession. An individual whose "Central Life Interest" (Dubin) is the job or the profession may view the organization itself as only a means to the chance to engage in his profession. He might "ditch" the organization without much remorse if a better professional opportunity came along. In that case, we would classify his relationship with the organization as low in Primariness.

PIRO is the extent to which organizational-interests and self-interests are not differentiated from each other, just as family interests are typically not differentiated from self-interests. For a person with low PIRO, there are no conflicts possible between self-interest and organization-interest -- the organization-interest is always subordinate. For the high PIRO individual, possibilities for conflict may be greater; he may often feel torn between self-interest and organization-interest. At the same time, however, his tolerance for conflict may be expected to be higher; it would take a great deal of conflict before the individual would consider severing his ties

with the organization, just as people endure considerable conflict before they think about severing their ties with their families.

PIRO is, finally, the extent to which the organization is of significance to the individual in and of itself, regardless of its utilitarian significance. It is the extent to which organizational membership is the satisfaction of a need, rather than a means to the satisfaction of needs. This does not mean that utilitarian value has no place in a primary relationship; it means that if the relationship is important only for its utilitarian value, it is not a primary relationship. For example, quite often the individual's relationship with the organization is based on his need for income; if this is the only, or major, reason for his membership in the organization, we would classify the relationship as "Not At All Primary". If, on the other hand, the individual's need for meaning and belongingness are the major reasons for his membership in the organization, we would classify the relationship as "Highly Primary".

Illustrative ratings

PIRO-S: The following ratings of sentence completions are only illustrations - they are neither exhaustive nor binding. Please use your own best judgment after you have understood the definition thoroughly.

	Highly Primary	Somewhat Primary	Not at all Primary
1. For this company, I...	would die; have very high respect	wish for the best; have respect.	have no feelings don't give a damn.
2. I am in this company because...	I love it; its like my home; I love the company	its pleasant	I need a source of income
3. If this company had to close down...	it would be the end of my world	it would be too bad	I wouldn't care
4. As far as I'm concerned, this co....	is like home; is my life	will do; plays fair with me	has no impact on me, is just a place to earn my living
5. My future in this company...	is forever	looks OK	is nil; will be brief
6. I hope to be working in this co....	forever; the rest of my life	hopefully for sometime	for another few months; until I can move up and out
7. When I think of this co.	I feel proud; I feel good	I feel thankful	I don't feel anything
8. I will leave this co. if...	I'm forced to;	the need arises	I am able to financially
9. This co. belongs...	to all of us who work here; to the workers	to everybody	to the boss; to others
10. My relationship with this co....	is the most important think in my life; is precious	is important; needs improvement	is limited to the paycheck

	Highly Primary	Somewhat Primary	Not at all Primary
11. Being a member of this co....	makes me feel important and proud	is safe; is OK	is not a relevant part of my life
12. When this co. is praised...	I feel proud; it feels good		it is no reflection on me
13. If I had to leave this co....	I would feel lost, destroyed, I would cry	it would make me sad	I would lose my source of income; it would be no big deal
14. I am in this co....	because I am happy here; because I love it	to make a contribution	to make a buck
15. Being a member of this co. means...	everything to me	quite a bit to me	nothing to me
16. About this co. I feel...	proud, wonderful.	quite good; its got its good points.	nothing;
17. I will leave this co....	never; only if I absolutely have to; reluctantly	maybe some-day	when it is advantageous for me to do so
18. When I talk about this co....	it is with a great deal of pride	it is sometimes with pride, sometimes with anger	I have very little to say
19. This co.'s goals and my goals...	are exactly the same	are more or less compatible	don't have anything to do with each other
20. In this co. my needs...	are all met; are highly respected.	are reasonably satisfied	are met financially; are unimportant

RATING FORM FOR SENTENCE COMPLETION TEST - PIRO-S

Participant Number

Rater's Initials

Rate each item according to the following scale:

- 5 = Highly Primary
- 4 = Quite Primary
- 3 = Somewhat Primary
- 2 = Only Slightly Primary
- 1 = Not At All Primary

- 0 = No Information About Primaryness
- 9 = No Response

Card No.

	Rat- ing	Col. #
1. I am in this company because -----		
2. My future in this company -----		
3. I will leave this company -----		
4. For this company I -----		
5. I hope to be working in this company -----		
6. If this company had to close down -----		
7. My relationship with this company -----		
8. Being a member of this company -----		
9. When this company is praised -----		
10. If I had to leave this company -----		
11. I am in this company to -----		
12. Being a member of this company means -----		
13. About this company, I feel -----		
14. When this company is criticized -----		
15. In this company, most of my needs -----		

Do not write
in second col.Comments:

APPENDIX C

INSTRUCTIONS FOR RATERS OF
INTERVIEW DATA

Instructions for Raters of Type - I

1. The material given to you consists of a number of tapes. Each tape has a unique tape number assigned to it. These tapes contain interviews with officers of companies.

Each interview is to be rated on each of the three dimensions of Wholistic Concern, Employment Stability, and Global Philosophy of Management. These are defined separately, and should be understood thoroughly before any ratings are done.

2. Note down the tape number on the rating form.
3. Position the tape, through rewinding as necessary, to the beginning of the interview being rated. Set the tape counter to 000.
4. Listen to the tape carefully for evidence of high or low Wholistic Concern, Employment Stability, or Global Philosophy of Management. When you come across any information that seems, in your judgment, to be relevant to any of the three dimensions, note down the tape counter number then showing. The tape counter numbers should be noted down on the rating form at the appropriate location on the appropriate dimension. Please see the example below.
5. Use the space available on the rating form for any comments you wish to make. Your overall impression or anything that strikes you as particularly interesting may be noted here.
6. Indicate with an arrow your overall rating of the similarity of the company to TYPE Z.
7. Please make sure the tape numbers on the tape and the rating form match.
8. Repeat steps 2-7 for each interview.

EXAMPLE

In tape 9999, if:

At 97 you found evidence of a great deal of Employment stability;
 At 123 you found evidence of some Wholistic Concern;
 At 138 you found evidence of a little bit of Employment stability;
 At 253 you found evidence of a great deal of Global Philosophy;
 At 372 you found evidence of none at all Employment Stability;
 And at 417 you found evidence of some Wholistic Concern;
 Your rating form would look like the one attached.

RATING FORM FOR TYPE (Interviews)

Type #	Rater's initials	(Leave blank)
9999	XX	

	WHOLISTIC CONCERN	EMPLOYMENT STABILITY	GLOBAL PHILOSOPHY	SIMILARITY TO TYPE 2
COMPLETE				
A GREAT DEAL		97	253	
SOME	417 123			←
ONLY A LITTLE BIT		138		
NONE AT ALL		372		

Comments:

APPENDIX D

INSTRUCTIONS FOR RATERS OF SENTENCE

COMPLETION TEST - EWB

Instructions for Raters of Sentence Completion Test - EWB-SC

1. Each participant is to be rated on "Emotional Well-Being". This concept is defined and described on a separate sheet of paper to allow you to refer to it as you make the ratings. Please read this carefully before you rate the first participant. If there is anything that requires clarification or elaboration, please discuss with me before proceeding with the ratings.
2. Put the Participant Number from the sentence completion test on to the rating form. Put your initials in the space provided.
3. Read the entire sentence completion test for the participant. Then re-read the responses, examining each carefully for evidence of the presence or absence of Emotional Well-Being. Rate each item according to the following scale:
 - 5 = Very High EWB; participant feels Not At All Anxious, Depressed, Helpless or Hostile.
 - 4 = High EWB; participant feels Only Slightly Anxious, Depressed, Helpless, or Hostile.
 - 3 = Moderate EWB; participant feels Somewhat Anxious, Depressed, Helpless, or Hostile.
 - 2 = Poor EWB; participant feels Quite Anxious, Depressed, Helpless, or Hostile.
 - 1 = Very Poor EWB; participant feels Highly Anxious, Depressed, Helpless, or Hostile.
 - 0 = No information. Participants response is emotionally neutral and contains no information about the focal concept.
 - 9 = No response; the item was left blank or the response is too incomplete to be revealing.
4. Refer to the Definition, and the illustrative ratings, whenever you have doubts. Beyond this, however, your ratings must be independent of any other influences. Do not discuss any items with other raters, for example.
5. Use the remaining space on the rating form for any comments about the participant's overall EWB, or anything else that strikes you as particularly interesting.
6. Repeat steps 2-6 for each subject.

DEFINITION AND DESCRIPTION OF EWB

Emotional Well-Being (EWB) is described in the following passages in various, partially overlapping statements. Please try to get an overall understanding of the concept from this and the illustrative ratings.

EWB is conceptualized as the state of that individual who is relatively free from feelings and emotions that result in the impairment of successful coping with situations encountered in the course of daily living. An individual's ability to cope depends on his level of Activation (See Figure 1). A person who is not aroused into action easily may be gripped by feelings of depression, helplessness, boredom, or apathy. A person who is overly activated or aroused by the situations that confront him in the course of daily living may be described as being anxious. Emotional Well-Being is defined as that happy medium between these two extremes where the individual is alert and alive but not anxious. In this state, the individual's performance in the situations he finds himself in is at an optimum. By contrast, at the either extreme of depression and anxiety, the individual's ability to cope with situations of daily living is impaired. (These ideas may be illustrated by reference to the effect of too low or too high activation or arousal on sexual performance).

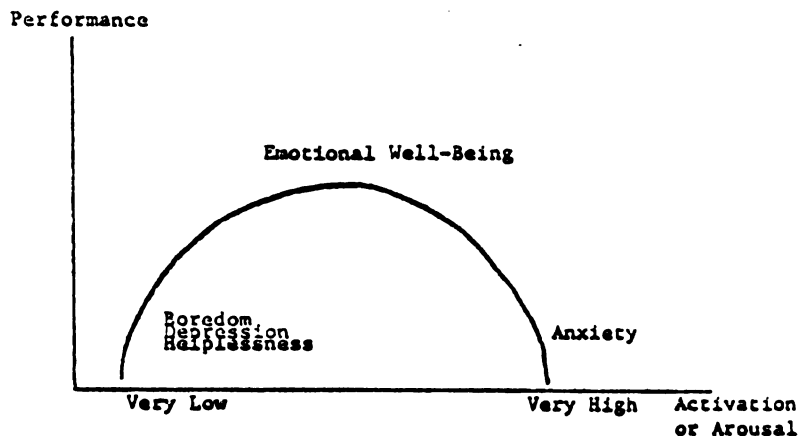


Figure 1 : The Activation Continuum

Emotional Well-Being can thus be thought of as relaxed alertness or relaxed awareness, and is most often associated with a self-confidence about one's ability to cope with situations one is likely to face in day to day living. Since EWB is defined in terms of the absence of anxiety and depression, these terms are described below in some detail.

Anxiety is a diffuse or objectless feeling of apprehension, fear, or uneasiness intense enough to impair one's coping abilities. Anxiety is man's reaction to the threat of nonbeing, not only in the sense of loss of physical being, but also in the sense of loss of sources of meaning and belongingness in one's life. Anxiety is supported by the individual's assessment that situational demands are greater than his resources. These threatening situation, and the consequences of failure to cope with them, may or may not be clearly visualized. Anxiety can range from a vague uneasiness to complete panic.

Depression is a feeling of reduced drive, enthusiasm, or zest characterized by apathy and cheerlessness. Helplessness is the feeling of despair about one's ability to exercise influence in situations and event in one's life. Depression and helplessness may be the result of continued high levels of anxiety : while the perception in anxiety was that the situation may demand more resources than the individual can command, the perception in helplessness may be the conviction that the situation does indeed demand more than what is available. The typical response in anxiety might be "fight" or "flight"; the typical response in depression or helplessness is probably "freeze".

Both anxiety and depression require the individual to seek for the sources of the pain or discomfort he experiences. Feelings of anger and resentment towards these supposed sources are a frequent accompaniment of anxiety and depression. When other people are blamed for these unpleasant experiences, feelings of hostility may be expected to emerge. Hostility in turn further impairs the ability of the individual to cope with life's situations, since a great many of these situations involve other people. Hostility may be defined as an enduring feeling of resentment, anger, or rage directed towards people or institutions perceived to be responsible for the occurrence of undesired outcomes, or for the non-occurrence of desired outcomes. Presence of hostility in an individual constitutes another indication of poor Emotional Well-Being.

EWB-SC Illustrative Ratings

The following ratings of sentence completions are only illustrations - they are not exhaustive or binding. Please use your own best judgement after you have understood the definitions thoroughly.

	<u>Very High EWB</u>	<u>Moderate EWB</u>	<u>Very Poor EWB</u>
1. Often, a feeling of . . .	elation comes to me; peace comes over me.	confusion comes over me	desperation, apathy comes over me.
2. When I wake up, I feel. . .	full of energy; good about the day.	awake	depressed; crabby
3. There are so many things that make me feel...	glad to be alive	a little uneasy	dissatisfied, depressed
4. In the evening, I often feel...	relaxed or very active, it just depends.	weary; tired	negative about the next day
5. It is rare for me to be...	depressed; anxious	unhappy for long	satisfied with my job; cheerful.
6. In the afternoon I often feel. . .	energetic; happy	slow; anticipation for the evening; busy	like going home; like crying
7. When I think about the world, I feel...	confused, but always hopeful; excited	sad; a little anxious	angry; horrified; depressed; very anxious
8. In the silence of the night...	there is peace; there is time to reflect.	I often feel melancholy; I wonder if it will ever get better for me.	I feel afraid; I lie awake sweating.
9. There are so many things to. . .	know, learn, and experience	occupy my time	worry about; be afraid about.
10. When I think about the future, I feel. . .	excited; wonder	uncertain; small	terror; pessimistic

	<u>Very High EWB</u>	<u>Moderate EWB</u>	<u>Very Poor EWB</u>
11. At work, I often feel. . .	busy and content; interested	distracted	angry and dissatisfied
12. There are so many people I...	love; hope to meet	could do without	dislike; hate
13. My life is full of. . .	joy; happiness; peace	interesting people; work.	disorders; grief; pain
14. I never thought I'd be so. . .	Content; happy	stupid; silly	pessimistic; depressed; bored.
15. I keep trying to find...	new things to learn and experience	a place in the sun	meaning; a way out
16. When I think about tomorrow, I feel. . .	hopeful, excited wonder	a bit worried	alone; scared
17. If only I had a dollar for every time I've felt. . .	happy	confused, uncertain	dissatisfied; angry; anxious
18. Its not easy for me to feel. . .	depressed; hate	very optimistic	positive; happy
19. Just around the corner lies...	more beauty; more growth; success	another corner	disaster; danger
20. It is difficult for me to be...	critical of others	open	positive about myself

RATING FORM FOR SENTENCE COMPLETION TEST -- EWB-SC

Participant #

Rater's Initials

Rate each item according to the following scale:

- 5 = Very High EWB ; Not at all anxious, depressed, helpless, or hostile
 4 = High EWB ; Only slightly anxious, depressed, helpless, or hostile
 3 = Moderate EWB ; Somewhat anxious, depressed, helpless, or hostile
 2 = Poor EWB ; Quite anxious, depressed, helpless, or hostile
 1 = Very Poor EWB ; Highly anxious, depressed, helpless, or hostile

Card #

	Rat- ing	Cgl
53. Often, a feeling of -----		
54. When I wake up, I feel -----		
55. There are so many things that make me feel -----		
56. It is rare for me to be -----		
57. In the evening, I often feel -----		
58. When I think about the world, I feel -----		
59. There are so many things to -----		
60. When I think about the future, I feel -----		
61. My life is full of -----		
62. I never thought I'd be so -----		
63. In the afternoon, I often feel -----		
64. I keep trying to find -----		
66. It's not easy for me to feel -----		
67. There are so many people I -----		
68. At work, I often feel -----		

Do not
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Comments:

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