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ABSTRACT

Successful work performance and its corollary, career success, generate both positive (intended) and negative (unintended) outcomes for individuals. The negative outcomes foster a sense of personal and social alienation, which in turn promote behaviors that have negative implications for work motivation and organizational and leadership processes. Research supporting these conclusions points to the need to recognize the multidimensionality of human life both inside and outside the work setting. Societies and organizations must decide how much they will stress such diverse values as achievement, self-actualization, technological progress, and affiliation, recognizing that emphasis on any value usually produces both positive and negative outcomes. Organizational psychologists should recognize the "limitations of the "linear society" that encourages achievement and performance at the expense of other values. (Author/CS)

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Career Success and Work Performance:
Desirable Goals or Double Binds?

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During the past few years I've had a number of conversations with friends and colleagues concerning my interest in the possible negative effects of career success. Among these people have been a number of academicians and more than a few executives, with their interest being stimulated, at least originally, by a book my wife and I have recently co-authored entitled Career Success/Personal Failure. In it we discuss, for laymen, our observations of what seems to be an increasing alienation of a personal and social nature among managers and executives who have been rather successful in a career sense. In this book we offer a number of explanations for the unhappiness and distress of at least some individuals who, paradoxically, seem to have it made career-wise. My conversation with these friends and colleagues then become even more intense when I indicate that I and some of my students have conducted research on these questions, that we are continuing to do so and that we are generally finding that alienation among the career successful is definitely a distinct phenomena, it does occur and that we are beginning to understand some of the factors that seem to be involved, factors I will be referring to later in my presentation. Our conversations then generally conclude with two questions, questions I believe that are the nub of the issue for us as industrial-organizational psychologists. The first question is, usually, "why is this issue and these research findings so surprising or important? After all, nobody but a fool would believe that achieving success in your career would lead to a more satisfying life. After all, life is very complex and work is only part of life, frequently and by no means the most important. Many other things are important (e.g. family, love, affection, health) and these not only have nothing to do with work. Achieving these may even hurt one's career!" My response to this question is generally another question which is "if what you say is true and that only a fool believes that career success would lead to a more satisfying life, then why are we so

concerned with career success? Why do we tell our children, and ourselves, to work hard if the result is not a more satisfying life?" The response to my posing of the question is usually a blank look and/or a shrugging of the shoulder and an end of the conversation. It is my belief that we as I-O psychologists cannot afford ourselves the luxury of a shrug. I believe we need to examine more fully many of our explicit, and also hidden, beliefs about the nature and meaning of work performance and career success and if these beliefs are found wanting, we need to revise them for the benefit of the individuals, organizations and society we concern ourselves with as researchers and as professionals. In line with this, my basic proposals in this paper are that career success and (effective) work performance are accompanied by and also generate both intended (positive) outcomes and also unintended (negative) outcomes. Furthermore, it is the latter, up to now mostly ignored in our society, which are generating the alienation we are observing among the career successful. In what follows I will try to detail to you what I believe to be some of these unintended negative outcomes of career success and effective work performances, my research evidence for these statements and where I think we may consider going in the future both as I-O psychologists and as concerned citizens of our, at times, confusing but always interesting society.

As background to my comments, I have listed in Table 1 several of the influences that have led to my interest in this area. Casual observation of Table 1 suggests, of course, that my research interest in this area did not originate as a result of any major theoretical perspective and that it was certainly not derived from any conceptual propositions. The influences, I believe, were far more pragmatic and every-day. Table 1 lists, from top to bottom in chronological order, those factors that originally piqued my curiosity. Of these, possibly the most significant were the state of cultural

products that seemed to hone in on my consciousness at the time of some personal changes in my life, and in those of some friends and colleagues who were in somewhat of a similar stage of life to me at the time. That is, we were all about 40 or so, we had all pretty much achieved our original career goals, we were all wondering what we were going to do with the rest of our lives and we all talked about these problems constantly. At the same time, it also seemed as if we were being assaulted everyday by media programs about financially successful American families with problems similar to us or even were extreme. We saw TV shows about affluent families who were bored with life and with each other, we saw movies about successful businessmen with nervous breakdowns, and we read books about corporate vice-presidents who could not reconcile the career success they had achieved with the disorder of their family life and the dreams with which they started. These cultural events of the time led me to conclude that the problems that were bothering my friends and myself were obviously not unique to us. They were bothering a lot of people in our society judging from this cultural explosion and as was suggested even further by my consulting assignments which were increasingly focusing on problems of management motivation or the lack of it. Therefore, there was something here, a problem that I believed needed to be investigated. Why was this occurring? Where was all this disaffection and alienation coming from? My growing interest in these questions, non-theoretical though they might have been, was supported even further by two steps which I summarize on the bottom of Table 1 and in Table 2. The bottom of Table 1 summarizes a review of academic literature which I undertook in order to determine whether the research literature was reflecting what I perceived to be an important societal problem and also to get some possible leads to my own research. As the bottom of Table 1 shows, I was reasonably successful in my search. There were some articles reflecting various

 (Table 1 about here)

dimensions of the problem, a problem which the Henry reference in Table 1 indicates was not unknown even back in 1961. However, the Zietgeist was not ready for this problem then and Henry's findings in these areas went pretty well unnoticed.

In Table 2 I detail my preliminary answers to the "so what" question

 (Table 2 about here)

with which I was bedeviled as a student, and with which I bedevil mine. It is, I believe, the most important question we need to ask when a research problem is originally presented. In Table 2 I list the original justifications I developed for myself when embarking on this research. As it turned out, and as I will point out later, the behavioral implications of this problem were even greater than I thought. But at least I had enough original justification to proceed.

The Theoretical Framework: In Tables 3 and 4 and Figures 1 and 2 I have summarized the theoretical structure this research program has generated up to this point. Table 3 states the basic proposal that career success, when it is

 (Table 3 about here)

based on effective work performance, is accompanied by and also generates both expected (positive) and also unexpected (negative) outcomes. The positive outcomes are listed in Table 4. There are benefits to be attained from career success, e.g. freedom from jobs of real drudgery, higher incomes, greater

Table 1

Indicators of Alienation and Dissatisfaction
Among Career Successful Individuals

1. Cultural Products during decade
of 1970-1980:
 - Novels - J. Heller, Something Happened
 - Films - I. Bergman, Scenes From A Marriage
 - J. Lennon, Save the Tiger
 - TV - "An American Family" - The Louds
 - "What if the Dream comes true"
 - "Marin County" TV, books and films
 - (e.g. "Serial")
2. Consulting Assignments -
 - Growth in Career Development Programs for Managers
 - Decline in Management Nobility
 - Growth of the "laid-back" ethic for managers
3. Personal Life Changes -
 - Age "40" introspections
 - Reflections on the achievement of life goals
 - Observation of changes in friends and family
4. Research Literature -
 - a) Lack of correlation between organizational level and job involvement (Rabinowitz and Hall, 1975)
 - b) Lack of personal affect and emotional ties with others in successful managers (Maccoby, 1977)
 - c) Feelings of personal stress, loss of personal alertness and a sense of meaninglessness among successful young executives (Bartolemi, 1972)
 - 4) Reports of intense frustration in their late 30's in 80% of a sample of 1000 middle-aged professionals and managers, never recovered (Schultz, 1974)
 - 5) Low correlations between life satisfactions and such indices as Family and Household Income and occupational prestige among national probability samples (.14) and Buffalo area probability sample (.10) (Campbell, 1976; Hunt, et.al, 1978)
 - 6) Doubts as to the meaning of success, considerable self-doubts, value conflicts and disquiet over careers among successful executives (Henry, 1961)
 - 7) Dissatisfaction and alienation among executives and managers in training programs (Tarnowieski, 1973)

Table 2

Implications of Alienation
Among Career Successful People

Individual level

Low levels of career and work aspirations among future labor force members if those who have achieved do not appear to have benefited from such achievement.

Feelings of guilt and self-loathing among career successful people unable to comprehend their alienation.

Organizational level

Low levels of work performance since career successful people can implement negative attitudes if they wish.

Low levels of work performance since career successful people with negative attitudes serve as negative role models for others.

Societal level

Necessary but difficult roles for societal growth and effectiveness will not be fulfilled if greater satisfaction is not attained by those choosing to meet these roles.

Dislocation and social status as institutions attempt to handle an unexpected problem.

Table 3

Conceptual Framework

Work performance, when effective, and its resulting career success generates both positive and negative outcomes. These negative outcomes group themselves into a set of factors that, in conjunction with normal ageing processes, generate senses of personal and social alienation. These are defined as follows:

Personal Alienation - perceiving a discrepancy between your everyday behavior and your image of yourself, the belief that there is a "real self" inside the self and that the person who is behaving in the everyday world is not that "real" person.

Social Alienation - perceiving the self as separated from others and as not having a common framework within which to interact. To be "alone" is the essence of social alienation.

These senses of alienation, in turn, generate behaviors of negative implications for work motivation and organizational and leadership processes.

 (Table 4 about here)

power over others, greater freedom from the cares of old age, etc. Career success is not to be sneezed at, at least not totally.

Figure 1 presents the reasons for my ambiguity. It is my belief that

 (Figure 1 about here)

career success will also generate feelings of Disconfirmed Expectations, a Perceived Sense of External Control, a loss of Affiliative Satisfaction and a Sense of Contradictory Role Demands through, a number of specific events which are listed along the left-hand side of Figure 1. Personal and Social Alienation, as defined in Table 3, are primarily a function of these feelings and of life-stage changes. To the extent that the events specified in the left-hand side of Figure 1 do not occur, there will be decreased alienation although there will always be some, due to inevitable life-stage problems.

What are the behavioral implications of the alienation? As shown in Figure 2, people who are personally alienated believe that their "real selves" are not acting in the everyday world. Hence, their intrinsic needs are ignored and the idea of self-actualization makes little sense for them. Why, also, try to achieve an everyday value for that "everyday person" since that same person is "not real"? People who are personally alienated are also anxious people, I propose, or they would exhibit their "true selves." Therefore, they are more likely to be motivated by anxiety and, as a result, consistency in their choices. Finally, they are also miserable and misery loves company.

Table 4

Expected (Positive) Outcomes of Career Success
and Effective Work Performance

- 1) Societal approbation for having achieved societal value;
- 2) Freedom from the drudgery of jobs calling for common everyday routine, repetitive tasks;
- 3) Higher income and the resulting ability to purchase an ever-increasing variety of consumer goods;
- 4) Greater ability to control one's life in both a career and non-career sense;
- 5) Greater ability to control the task activity of others and to assert power over others in general.
- 6) A more viable, cohesive family life because of greater income and the presence of a more desirable role model as the successful individual; and
- 7) Relative freedom from the cares and woes of middle- and -old age (due to greater income, greater status and the more viable family that this has generated).
- 8) In addition, to the benefit of the organization, it has also been assumed that the values derived by individuals have also generated an increased work commitment and intent.

Figure 1

Unexpected Outcomes of Career Success
and Effective Work Performance

- 1) Realization that all positions involve routine and repetitive tasks
- 2) Decreasing social value of work success
- 3) Increasing tax rates, inflation and aspiration levels
- 4) Transitory sensory quality of consumer satisfaction and goods and their likelihood of being over-promised by TV and other media
- 5) Realization that career success has not protected self from upsets of mid-life years
- 6) Continued presence of legal restrictions government control and union constraints
- 7) Continued societal and personal demand for success
- 8) Decline of nuclear familial relationships because of work commitment and geographic mobility
- 9) Decline of parental and extended family relationships because of changes in social status and geographic mobility
- 10) Lack of affiliative relationships with other individuals in the work setting
- 11) Decline of ability to establish affiliative relationships with other
- 12) Inability to reconcile needs of organizational superiors with those of subordinates
- 13) Inability to sufficiently meet needs relevant to other dimensions of human experience (e.g., humanistic interests, religious activities, affiliative desires, etc.).

Disconfirmed
Expectations
(of Career
Success)

Perceived
Sense of
External
Control

Perceived
Loss of
Affiliative
Satisfactions

Realization of
Contradictory
Role Demands

Personal
Alienation

Social
Alienation

&

Somewhat of the same perspective holds when we look at the Socially Alienated person. Those who are Socially Alienated are more anxious and consistent and do not view values in a world they do not care about as worth maximizing. They also seek company in their misery.

 (Figure 2 about here)

The results of these attitudinal and motivational processes results in phenomena of organizational and leadership significance. It results, I would propose, in both less planning and also less effective planning and it also results in uncertain, anxious, authoritative and hesitant leaders frustrated by the difficulties they have in dealing with a work population who are non-rational, non-value maximizing, anxious and who are unwilling to do anything about any of these. The results for the organization and for the individuals involved, as Figure 2 indicates, are quite negative, to say the least.

The Research Evidence

In Tables 5-11 I have summarized some of the research evidence relative to this framework.

Tables 5 and 6 refer to a study of business-school alumni earning a median of 40K a year and current MBA students in management positions which I conducted with Dorothy Lang and Ursula Wittig-Berman and which is to be

 (Tables 5 and 6 about here)

published in the Academy of Management Journal. Table 5 reports the construct validity of the measures we used and and Table 6 summarizes some of our findings. It indicates support for our basic hypothesis as to the

Figure 2

Impact of Personal and Social Alienation on Motivation and Organizational Process

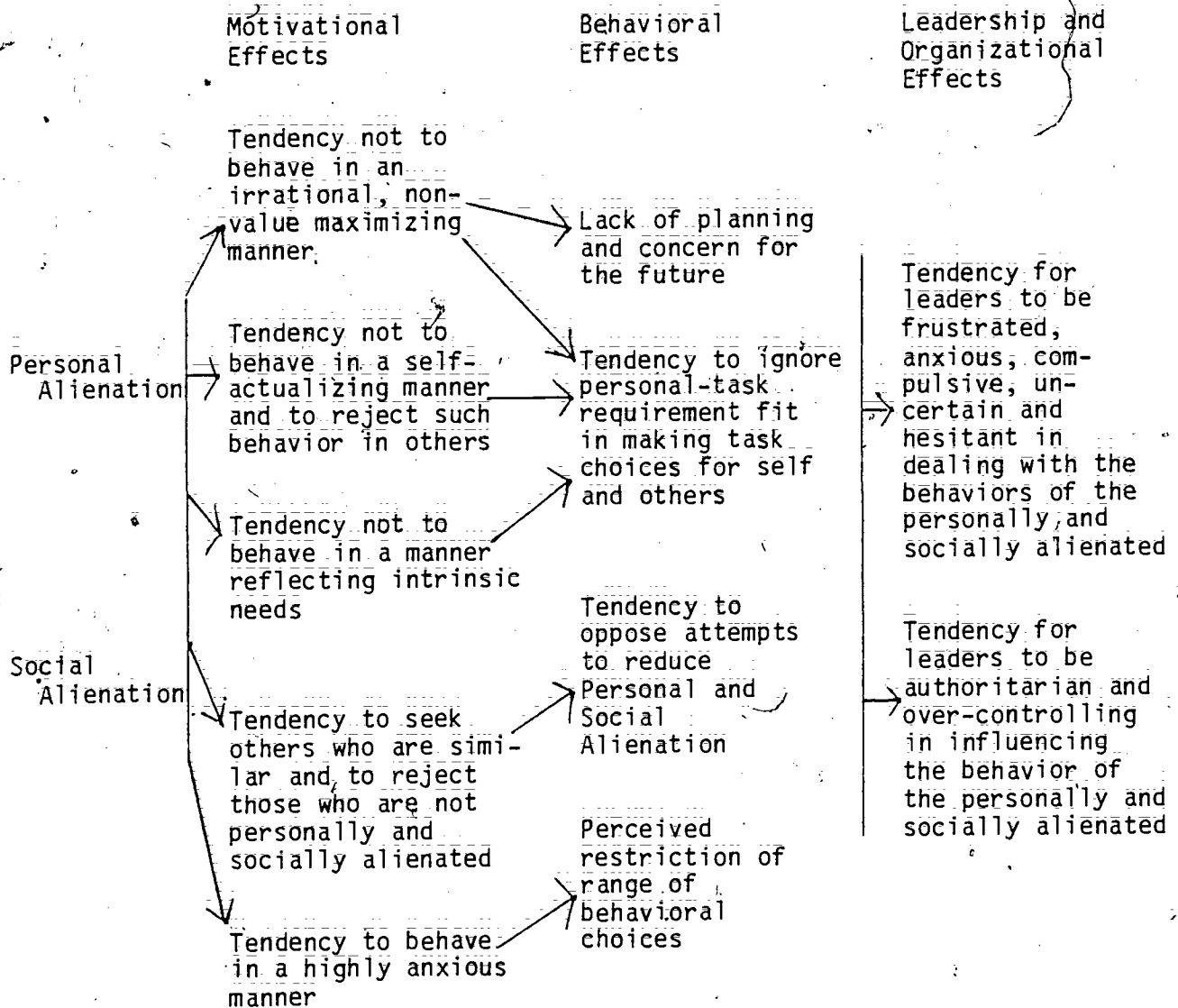


Table 5

Construct Validity Analyses: Personal
and Social Alienation Scales

<u>I. Personal Alienation - Correlates</u>	<u>Sample</u>	<u>Scales</u>	<u>"r"'s</u>
A. <u>Internal-External Control</u> (Rotter, 1966) - High scores indicate inability to control own fate and a belief that one is similar to a pawn controlled by external events. The world is seen as a controlling influence over-powering the self.	1. Undergrad Students (N=92)	Personal Alienation (PA)-Philosophy of Life	.31**
B. <u>Attitudes Toward Business Organizations</u> - High scores indicate antagonism toward large business organizations, a belief in their lack of responsiveness to societal requirements and a perception of them as violators of the environment and ethical norms	1. Grad. Business Students (N=97)	PA-Philosophy of Life	.38**
		PA-Error Choice	.17*
	2. Profs. + Mgrs. (Subsample of above, N=58)	PA-Philosophy of Life	.24*
		PA-Error Choice	.16
<u>II. Social Alienation Correlates</u>			
<u>Attitudes Towards Business Organizations</u>	1. Grad. Business Students (N=97)	Social Alienation (SA)-Philosophy of Life	.38**
		SA-Error Choice	.08
	2. Profs. + Mgrs. (Subsample of above, N=58)	SA-Philosophy of Life	.28*
		SA-Error Choice	.00
<u>III. Personal and Social Alienation</u>			
<u>Purpose-in-Life Test</u> (Crumbaugh, 1968) - High scores indicate a lack of meaning in one's life, an inability to relate to the world, to integrate one's needs with the world's demands	Insurance Executives (N=51)	PA + SA-Philosophy of Life	.31**

Table 6

Correlations Between Life Experience Factors and
Personal/Social Alienation

	<u>Philosophy of Life Scale</u>				<u>Error-Choice Scale</u>			
	Alumni Sample ^a (N=82)		M.B.A. Sample (N=67)		Alumni Sample (N=82)		M.B.A. Sample (N=67)	
	<u>Personal Alienation</u>	<u>Social Alienation</u>	<u>Personal Alienation</u>	<u>Social Alienation</u>	<u>Personal Alienation</u>	<u>Social Alienation</u>	<u>Personal Alienation</u>	<u>Social Alienation</u>
Disconfirmed Expectations	.59**	.52**	.53**	.44**	.28**	.24*	.09	.04
Contradictory Role Demands	.42**	.36**	.38**	.47**	.27**	.16	.02	.05
Sense of External Control	.48**	.38**	.36**	.44**	.10	.04	.12	.03
Loss of Affiliative Satisfactions	.57**	.48**	.50**	.46**	.23*	.20*	.02	-.22*

* p .05

** p .01

a See Footnote a Table 4

significance of these factors in generating alienation among the career successful.

Tables 7 through 9 report unpublished data which I believe are also consistent with the proposals I have suggested. Table 7 is a secondary analysis of data collected from a study of adaptation to plateauing among middle-to-upper level managers which I participated in with Tom Fereance of Columbia University, Jim Stoner of Fordham University and Joe Carnazza of the Stevens Institute of Technology. The smallest of the three companies studied has about 800 million dollars in sales and the other two are

 (Table 7 about here)

multi-billion firms in technology and insurance, respectively. They are, therefore, three major organizations and the managers we studied ranged from middle-to-very high level management. The data I report in Table 7 are sub-analyses of our over-all study which I undertook after developing this research framework. While not all the data are significant, I believe the thrust of the findings are consistent with the framework I have suggested.

Similarly with Table 8, which is also a secondary analysis of a study originally conducted in a different context. The setting in this case was an organizational development project I and some colleagues had undertaken for a major food company (of about \$1 billion dollars a year in total sales). As part of this project we conducted interviews with 150 executives ranging from middle-management to Executive Vice-President with the focus of these interviews being, in part, their perception of the degree to which they had experienced Disconfirmed Expectations, a sense of Hierachal, External Control and a loss of Affiliative Satisfactions. Since each of these 150 executives

Table 7

Comparative Study of Three Major Corporations:

- Company A - Industrial producer of heavy equipment and technology
(approximately 800 million in sales)
- Company B - Major Insurance Corporation
(6 billion in sales)
- Company C - Major technological corporation
(7 billion in sales)

Correlates of: "I wish I were living a different life from the one I am living now"

	Company A (N=376)	Company B (N=255)	Company C (N=315)
<u>Disconfirmed Expectations</u>			
I have found that rewards in life are generally rewarded unfairly.	.16**	32**	30**
<u>Sense of External Control</u>			
I feel that my life is out of my hands and controlled by external factors.	.25**	44**	38**
I have generally had a say in the decisions affecting my life.	-.16**	-.25**	-.27**
I have tried to fulfill the expectations my parents set for me.	.05	-.11	-.09
I have tried to fulfill my own goals, rather than the goals set by others.	-.09	-.37**	-.13*
I have generally gone along with what is "proper" rather than what I sometimes wanted to do.	.10*	.15*	.29**
I have rarely been interested in anything but making money and acquiring material goods.	.12*	.16*	
<u>Loss of Affiliative Satisfaction</u>			
I have had the opportunity to live in a location and community that is desirable to myself and my family.	-.16**	-.27**	-.22**
I have generally been in competition with others.	.14**	.08	-.01

Table 7
(continued)

	<u>Company A</u>	<u>Company B</u>	<u>Company C</u>
I have found that my interests have diverged from those of my spouse and family.	29**	29**	29**
I have often chosen friends who could help me in my career.	24**	00	04
I have often spent time with my family when I could have been working.	03	03	02
My spouse and I work on cooperative self-development activities.	-13*	-11	-08

(Table 8 about here)

had also completed the Porter Need Satisfaction questionnaire, it was possible to undertake a secondary analysis relating their perceptions of their experiences and their degree of personal alienation, as measured by appropriate items on the Porter scales. The results are seen in Table 8 and while all are not significant, the data are in general supportive.

Table 9 is a summary of some of our preliminary findings in our current research. It is designed to replicate and extend our work. While I would not over-emphasize these data, I believe they are reasonably consistent with the framework I am outlining.

(Table 9 about here)

Evidence for the other half of the framework, i.e. the effects of personal and social alienation, is given starting in Table 10 which directly tests predictions relative to motivational processes among graduate and undergraduate students. Table 11 refers to the general negative influence of alienation on performance in general. The latter is a second-order prediction based on the assumption that high anxiety, low rationality and low self-actualization would generate poor performance. Table 12 supports these predictions reasonably well.

(Table 10 and 11 about here)

Table 12 presents preliminary data testing some of the longer range predictions of the framework in the areas of career planning,

Table 8

Corporation Management Study: Factors Influencing Alienation
(N=150)

<u>Factors</u>	<u>The feeling of self-esteem a person gets from being in my position</u>	<u>The opportunity for personal growth and development in my position</u>	<u>The feeling of self-fulfillment a person gets from being in my position</u>
Disconfirmed Expectations	-15*	-17*	-10
Sense of External Control	-34**	-29**	-39**
Loss of Affiliative	-30**	-19**	-23**

** sig. at .01
8 sig. at .05

Table 9

Relationships Between Alienation and Types of
Social and Organizational Experience
(N=54)

	<u>Total</u> <u>Alienation</u>	<u>Personal</u> <u>Alienation</u>	<u>Social</u> <u>Alienation</u>
1. All jobs, regardless of their level and type, involve routine and repetitive tasks.	<u>.23*</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>24*</u>
2. It doesn't pay to work hard today since taxes will eat up any additional money you make.	<u>.30**</u>	<u>25*</u>	<u>29*</u>
3. Commercial advertisements provide no guidance for the shopper since they promise more than they deliver.	<u>17</u>	<u>05</u>	<u>19</u>
4. In most organizations there is competition between people and departments but true friendships are still possible.	<u>-.26*</u>	<u>-.23*</u>	<u>-.24*</u>
5. It doesn't pay to work hard today since most of the stuff you buy is junk anyway.	<u>.30**</u>	<u>31**</u>	<u>26*</u>
6. People who are successful at work have fewer problems.	<u>14</u>	<u>00</u>	<u>20</u>
7. One of the problems of being a manager is that your supervisor and your subordinate demand different things of you.	<u>20</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>19</u>
8. Succeeding at work is still valued by society today.	<u>-.11</u>	<u>-.19</u>	<u>-.05</u>
9. It doesn't pay to work hard today since inflation will eat up any additional money you make.	<u>14</u>	<u>08</u>	<u>16</u>
10. The work of executives is still satisfying today in spite of government regulations, environmental requirements, or labor union demands.	<u>-.27*</u>	<u>-.28*</u>	<u>-.26*</u>

Table 9
(continued)

Relationships Between Alienation and Types of
Social and Organizational Experience
(N=54)

	<u>Total</u> <u>Alienation</u>	<u>Personal</u> <u>Alienation</u>	<u>Social</u> <u>Alienation</u>
11. It is possible to be truly work committed and still have a satisfying family life.	<u>-33**</u>	<u>-25*</u>	<u>-31**</u>
12. One of the problems in being a manager is that you cannot be successful unless you are geographically mobile and being mobile leads you to lose touch with your family and friends.	<u>45**</u>	<u>41**</u>	<u>43**</u>
13. It doesn't pay to work hard today since most of the things you buy you get bored with very quickly.	<u>06</u>	<u>09</u>	<u>07</u>
14. Being successful at work does not take away time and effort from other interests, i.e., sports, religious interests, and charitable activities.	<u>-19</u>	<u>-17</u>	<u>-16</u>

Table 10

Summary of Findings: Alienation and MotivationI. Relationships for Personal Alienation With:

<u>Hypothesized</u>		(N=92) <u>Total</u>	(N=46) <u>Males</u>	(N=46) <u>Females</u>
Anxiety Motivation	Positive	+48**	+44**	55**
Expectancy-Value Motivation	Negative	-25**	-26*	-27*
Self-Actualizing Motivation	Negative	-19*	-15	-19
Consistency Motivation	Positive	.17*	17	18

II. Relationships for Social Alienation With:

Expectancy-Value Motivation	Negative	-11	-20	-01
Consistency Motivation	Positive	.19*	29*	.07

Table 11

Alienation and Supervisory Ratings of Work Performance

Independent Variable - "I wish I was leading a different life
from the one I am leading now"

<u>Dependent Variable</u>		Org. A (N=375)	Org. B (N=342)	Org. C (N=308)
Supervisory Ratings of Performance	F-Ratios	3.18**	2.72*	4.05**

* sig. 10 level

** sig. 05 level

self-implementation and related processes. This sample involved here included Coast Guardsman, other employed individuals, graduate students and the like. Generally, the results for Personal Alienation are consistent with our hypothesis but somewhat less so for social alienation. However, two other correlates for Social Alienation would have been significant at the .05 level (Items 6 and 9) except for a lost observation in each instance lowering the N to 53.

 (Table 12 about here)

Where Do We Go From Here?

There is much that still needs to be done in testing the framework directly and we are undertaking this work now. Most obviously, we need longitudinal research studies, a lack we are now in the process of remedying. We also need to test more behaviorally the implications of personal and social alienation, both in a short-and-long range sense.

Assuming for a moment, however, that the perspective we have been developing here continues to be supported by research, what are the long-range implications of these problems in a societal, organizational and individual sense? An overall framework for conceptualizing what I have been concerned with here and for organizing a program for change is outlined in Table 13. Basically, it is my contention that we need to recognize in both the work,

 (Table 13 here)

setting and outside it, the multi-dimensionality of human life. As Table 13 indicates, all societies and organizations need to decide how much they will

Table 12

Relationships Between Alienation and
Preference for Work Activities
(N=54)

	<u>Personal Alienation</u>	<u>Social Alienation</u>
1. Working on projects involving considerable planning.	<u>-39**</u>	<u>-28*</u>
2. Working on projects that are needed by the organization but which you don't particularly enjoy.	<u>-23*</u>	<u>-11</u>
3. Working on high-pressure projects.	<u>-31**</u>	<u>-13</u>
4. Working on projects where you get a chance to use your particular skills and abilities.	<u>-29*</u>	<u>-31**</u>
5. Working for an organization where most decisions concerning your future career are made for you.	<u>22*</u>	<u>08</u>
6. Working on projects where you don't need to worry about what each person thinks or wants but where the only concern is to get the job done.	<u>-05</u>	<u>22</u>
7. Working on projects where you get a clear chance to express yourself and your own ideas.	<u>-34**</u>	<u>-17</u>
8. Working on projects where you know what the possible outcomes might be and what the values of each outcome are.	<u>06</u>	<u>20</u>
9. Working on projects with short deadlines.	<u>-10</u>	<u>-22</u>
10. Working for an organization where the individual has to make most of the decisions concerning his/her career.	<u>-29*</u>	<u>-18</u>
11. Working on projects involving long-range future concerns.	<u>-15</u>	<u>00</u>
12. Working on projects that are simple and non-challenging but which are needed by the organization.	<u>-08</u>	<u>01</u>

Table 13

A Program for the Design of Social System

- I. The values with which any society must deal -
- achievement
 - Affiliation
 - technology and rationality
 - humanism
 - monogenuous experience
 - heterogenous experience
 - self-goals
 - organizational goals
 - equitable rewards
 - egalitarian rewards
 - specific planning (?)
 - general planning (?)
- II. Our problem up to now -
- 1) Our lack of recognition that emphasizing any value generates both positive and negative outcomes.
 - 2) Our overemphasis on achievement, technology and homogenous experience (e.g. the one-career system).
 - 3) Our underemphasis on affiliation and humanism.
 - 4) Our overemphasis on a "linear society" and our lack of recognition of the diversity of human experience.
 - 5) Our overemphasis on a "linear society" and the social, external controls this generates through its encouragement of appropriate goals, values and social norms.
 - 6) The, at times, irrational reactions to our overemphasis on a "linear society".
 - 7) The inconsistencies between our values, verbally stated, and our behaviors.
- III. A program for the future -
- 1) Reducing our emphasis on the linear society and stressing the multi-dimensionality of working life.
 - 2) Developing and accepting new measures of societal success and social value.
 - 3) Realizing and accepting the negative implications of any value emphasis.

stress such diverse value as achievement, affiliation, self-goal, over-all group goals, technology, humanism, etc. How much do we want each of these? We have, I believe, overstressed some (e.g. achievement, technology) and we have understressed others (e.g. affiliation and humanism). We need to recognize both the source of over-and-under emphasis and also the fact that stressing any value, regardless of what it is, usually generates both positive and negative outcomes.

We need to recognize as psychologists and as citizens the limitations of the "linear society" we have been encouraging i.e. the one based on achievement and performance, the values we have not encouraged and the difference between our rhetoric and our behavior. We have been willing to accept the values of achievement, career success and performance and they do bring value. But they also bring problems. It is time we began to recognize these problems and to make appropriate changes.