APPLIED PSYCHOLOGY: AN INTERNATIONAL REVIEW, 1999, *48* (1), 49–71

Basic Individual Values, Work Values, and the Meaning of Work

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On présente ici une théorie des valeurs individuelles de base qui est appliquée au monde de l'enseignement. Les objectifs ou les valeurs du travail seraient des expressions de valeurs de base dans la situation de travail. Les valeurs de base recouvrent quatre types de valeurs professionnelles: intrinsèques, extrinsèques, sociales, et de prestige. Ces quatre catégories proviennent du réexamen de recherches antérieures et d'une première étude portant sur un échantillon représentatif israélien (N = 999). Les intercorrélations trouvées entre ces quatre types vont dans le sens des hypothèses concernant la structure des valeurs professionnelles. La deuxième étude explore la signification du travail en tant que locomotion vers un but. Des enseignants espagnols (N = 193) et des élèves-professeurs (N = 179) ont évalué l'importance du travail et d'une série détaillée de valeurs de base comme principes directeurs. Pour les enseignants, le travail permet apparemment d'obtenir la stabilité sociale et des relations sociales étroites. Pour les étudiants, le travail est lié à ces objectifs, mais aussi à la promotion personnelle, à 'autonomie et à la recherche de sensations. Nous insistons, dans la conclusion, sur l'utilité de l'application de la théorie des valeurs de base à d'autres investigations portant sur le travail.

A theory of basic individual values is presented and applied in studying work. Work goals or values are seen as expressions of basic values in the work setting. Basic values imply four types of work values—intrinsic, extrinsic, social, and prestige. These four types emerge in re-examinations of past research and in Study 1 of a representative Israeli sample (N = 999). Intercorrelations among

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The work of the second author was supported by grant 94–00063 from the United States–Israel Binational Science Foundation (BSF), Jerusalem, Israel, by grant No. 187/92 from the Basic Research Foundation (Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities), and by the Leon and Clara Sznajderman Chair of Psychology.

these value types support theorising about the structure of work values. Study 2 explores the meaning of work as a vehicle for goal attainment. Spanish teachers (N = 193) and education students (N = 179) rated the importance of work and of a comprehensive set of basic values as guiding principles. For the teachers, work apparently serves to attain social stability and close social relations. For the students, work is associated with these goals and with promoting personal interests, independence, and excitement. In conclusion, we identify advantages of applying the theory of basic values to further studies of work.

INTRODUCTION

A major goal of research on values has been to explore the ways in which individuals' value priorities relate to their attitudes, behaviour, and social experiences and roles. One branch of this research has focused primarily on work (e.g. Elizur, 1984; Hofstede, 1980, 1991; Super, 1980). No attempt has been made, however, to clarify how work values and other aspects of work relate to basic individual values. For this purpose, we adopt a recent theory of the structure and content of the basic values distinguished by individuals (Schwartz, 1992, 1994). This theory has been used to predict and explain how whole value systems relate to various attitudes and behaviours (e.g. cooperation–competition, voting, contact with outgroups, religiosity; Ros, 1994; Ros, Grad, & Martinez, 1996; Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995; Schwartz, 1996; Schwartz & Huismans, 1995). This is the first attempt to integrate this general theory of the basic values of individuals with research on work.[1]

As background for the studies to be reported, the current article briefly presents the theory of basic individual values and notes some results of validation studies. Then, in Study 1, we employ this theory as an approach for clarifying the nature of work values, specifying the types of work values people are likely to distinguish, and postulating the structure of relationships expected among these work values. We also use the theory to organise some of the prominent theorising about work values found in the literature. Finally, we report an empirical study of a national sample in Israel that tested hypotheses regarding the relations of basic values to work values.

In Study 2, we employ the theory of basic values to explore the significance of work as a vehicle for reaching cherished goals. That is, we seek to infer the types of goals that people believe their work may enable them to attain. We do this by investigating the associations of work, treated as a value, with the different basic human values. We examine this question in two Spanish samples, secondary school teachers and education students.

[1] The current article uses a theory of 10 types of basic individual values to explain individual differences in work values. Schwartz (this issue) presents a theory of seven types of values appropriate for comparing cultures but not individuals. For discussions of the differences between the individual and cultural levels of value theory and analysis, see Schwartz (this issue) and Smith and Schwartz (1997).

Both samples focus on the same type of work—teaching. One sample had direct experience with teaching while the other did not. By comparing the associations of work with basic values in the two samples, we sought to deduce the effects of occupational experience as a teacher on the meaning of work. This study exemplifies the use of basic values to uncover group differences in, and influences of experience on, the meaning of work.

A THEORY OF BASIC INDIVIDUAL VALUES

The theory of basic human values has two core components (see Schwartz, 1992, 1994, for a fuller elaboration). First, it specifies 10 motivationally distinct types of values that are postulated to be recognised by members of most societies and to encompass the different types of values that guide them. Second, the theory specifies how these 10 types of values relate dynamically to one another. That is, it specifies which values are compatible and mutually supportive, and which are opposed and likely to conflict with one another.

The theory defines values as desirable, trans-situational goals that vary in importance as guiding principles in people's lives (cf. Kluckhohn, 1951; Rokeach, 1973). The crucial content aspect that distinguishes among values is the type of motivational goals they express. A typology of the different contents of values was derived using the following reasoning: in order to cope with the challenges inherent in human existence, groups and individuals translate the needs and demands they experience into concepts about which they can communicate, expressing them in the language of values. Values represent, in the form of conscious goals, responses to three universal requirements with which all individuals and societies must cope: needs of individuals as biological organisms, requisites of coordinated social interaction, and requirements for the smooth functioning and survival of groups.

Ten motivationally distinct types of values were derived from these three universal requirements (Schwartz, 1992). Table 1 lists these value types, defining each in terms of its central goal and noting, in parentheses, specific single values that primarily represent it.

The key to identifying the structure of value relations is the assumption that actions taken in the pursuit of each type of values have psychological, practical, and social consequences that may conflict or may be compatible with the pursuit of other value types. Analyses of the conflicts and compatibilities likely to arise when people pursue these types of values simultaneously suggest a potentially universal set of relations among values.

For example, the pursuit of achievement values often conflicts with the pursuit of benevolence values; seeking personal success for oneself is likely to obstruct actions aimed at enhancing the welfare of close others who need one's help. In like manner, the pursuit of tradition values conflicts with the

TABLE 1
Definitions

POWER: Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources (Social Power, Authority, Wealth).
ACHIEVEMENT: Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards (Successful, Capable, Ambitious, Influential).
HEDONISM: Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself (Pleasure, Enjoying Life).
STIMULATION: Excitement, novelty and challenge in life (Daring, a Varied Life, an Exciting life).
SELF-DIRECTION: Independent thought and action-choosing, creating, exploring (Creativity, Freedom, Independent, Curious, Choosing own Goals).
UNIVERSALISM: Understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature (Broadminded, Wisdom, Social Justice, Equalty, A World at Peace, a World of Beauty, Unity with Nature, Protecting the Environment).
BENEVOLENCE: Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact (Helpful, Honest, Forgiving, Loyal, Responsible).
TRADITION: Respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provides (Humble, Accepting my Portion in Life, Devout, Respect for Tradition, Moderate).
CONFORMITY: Restraint of actions, inclinations and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms (Politeness, Obedient, Self-discipline, Honouring Parents and Elders).
SECURITY: Safety, harmony and stability of society, of relationships, and of self (Family Security, National Security, Social Order, Clean, Reciprocation of Favours).

Definitions of motivational types of values in terms of their goals and the single values that represent them.

pursuit of stimulation values; accepting cultural and religious customs and ideas handed down from the past is likely to inhibit seeking novelty, challenge, and excitement. On the other hand, the pursuit of benevolence and of conformity values is compatible; both entail behaving in a manner approved by one's close group. And the pursuit of security and power is also compatible; both stress avoiding uncertainty by controlling relationships and resources.

The total pattern of relations of conflict and compatibility among value priorities that is postulated to structure value systems is represented in Fig. 1. Competing value types emanate in opposing directions from the centre; compatible types are in close proximity going around the circle. The location of tradition outside of conformity implies that these two value types share a single motivational goal—subordination on self in favour of socially imposed expectations.

As shown in Fig. 1, the total value structure is organised into two sets of opposing higher-order value types, arrayed on two bipolar dimensions. These higher-order types will be used to link basic values to work values. The first dimension—openness to change versus conservation—opposes

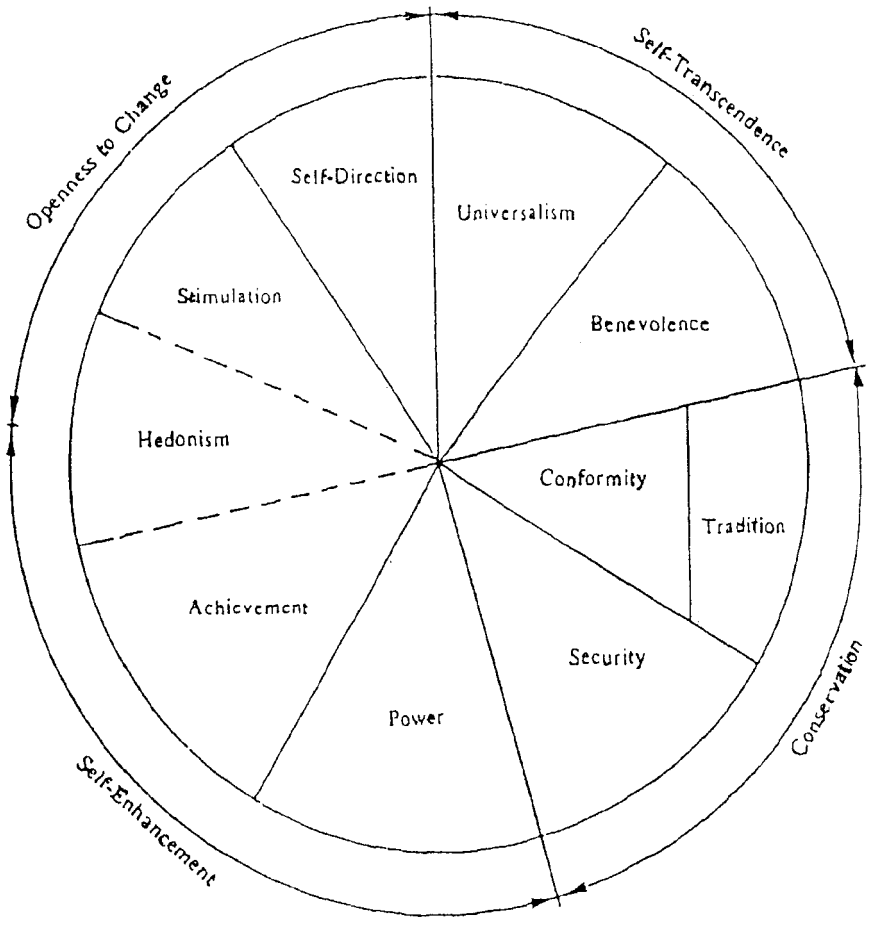

FIG. 1. The structure of relations among the value types according to the theory.

values that emphasise own independent thought and action and favour change (self-direction and stimulation) to values that emphasise submissive self-restriction, preservation of traditional practices, and protection of stability (security, conformity, and tradition). The second dimension—self-transcendence versus self-enhancement—opposes values that emphasise acceptance of others as equals and concern for their welfare (universalism and benevolence) to values that emphasise the pursuit of one's relative success and dominance over others (power and achievement). Hedonism includes elements of both openness to change and self-enhancement.

Analyses of responses to a questionnaire developed to measure the 10 value types, in 155 samples from 55 countries, provide substantial support

for the postulates of the values theory (Schwartz, 1994; Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995; plus unpublished data). Results of separate analyses of the match between the observed and theorised content and structure of values in each sample suggest that all 10 of the postulated value types are indeed discriminated in the vast majority of cultures. Moreover, the value types are usually related to one another in the pattern of oppositions and compatibilities described in Fig. 1. In addition, the four higher-order value types, arrayed on two bipolar dimensions, organise values in virtually all societies studied. That is, values that emphasise self-enhancement oppose those that emphasise self-transcendence, and values that emphasise openness to change oppose those that emphasise preservation of the status quo.

The analyses also permitted an assessment of the conceptual meaning of each single value in each sample. The results suggest that 45 of the values have cross-culturally consistent meanings. These values can be used to form indexes of the importance of each of the 10 value types for individuals, for use in group comparisons. This addresses the common problem of comparing values whose meanings are not the same across groups, a problem not tackled directly by other values research.

STUDY 1 BASIC INDIVIDUAL VALUES AND WORK VALUES

From the viewpoint of the theory of basic human values, work goals or values are specific expressions of general values in the work setting. This study employs the theory of basic individual values to generate and test hypotheses regarding the different types of work values that people are likely to distinguish, and regarding the structure of relationships among these work values. We also directly relate basic values and work values.

Like basic values, work values are beliefs pertaining to desirable end-states (e.g. high pay) or behaviour (e.g. working with people). The different work goals are ordered by their importance as guiding principles for evaluating work outcomes and settings, and for choosing among different work alternatives. Because work values refer only to goals in the work setting, they are more specific than basic individual values. But the work values usually studied are still quite broad; they refer to what a person wants out of work in general, rather than to the narrowly defined outcomes of particular jobs. Finally, work values, like basic values, are verbal representations of individual, group, and interaction requirements.

Work value researchers have assumed that a limited number of broad orientations towards work underlie people's ideas of what is important to them when making occupational choices. Researchers have therefore sought to identify a set of general types of work values. Viewing work values as specific expressions of basic values in the work setting implies that there

should be four general types of work values, each parallel to one of the four higher-order basic types of individual values. Moreover, these four types of work values should form two dimensions that parallel the self-enhancement versus self-transcendence and the openness to change versus conservation dimensions of basic individual values.

Despite a plethora of different labels, most work researchers appear to identify the same two or three types of work values: (1) intrinsic or self-actualisation values, (2) extrinsic or security or material values, (3) social or relational values (e.g. Alderfer, 1972; Borg, 1990; Crites, 1961; Mottaz, 1985; Pryor, 1987; Rosenberg, 1957). Elizur (1984) arrived at a related trichotomous classification of work values by considering the modality of their outcomes: instrumental outcomes such as work conditions and benefits; cognitive outcomes such as interest and achievement; affective outcomes such as relations with associates. This classification largely overlaps extrinsic, intrinsic, and social, respectively.[2]

These three types of work values can be viewed as conceptually parallel to three of the higher-order basic human values: intrinsic work values directly express openness to change values—the pursuit of autonomy, interest, growth, and creativity in work. Extrinsic work values express conservation values; job security and income provide workers with the requirements needed for general security and maintenance of order in their lives. Social or interpersonal work values express the pursuit of self-transcendence values; work is seen as a vehicle for positive social relations and contribution to society.

The theory of basic individual values suggests that there should be a fourth distinctive type of work values, one that parallels the basic self-enhancement higher-order value type. This type of work values, like self-enhancement, should be concerned with prestige or power. Items that refer to prestige, authority, influence, power, and achievement in work are common in empirical research on work. These values have usually been classified as extrinsic (Ginzberg, Ginsburg, Axelrod, & Herma, 1951; Herzberg, Mausner, & Snyderman, 1959; Rosenberg, 1957) or intrinsic (Borg, 1990; Crites, 1961; Elizur, 1984). Few theorists have recognised a distinctive prestige or power type (O'Connor & Kinnane, 1961; Pryor, 1987).

Re-examination of many past studies reveals that there is empirical evidence for a fourth, prestige type even in data that the researchers interpreted as revealing three types. To illustrate the results of our re-examination, we consider data from Elizur (1984). Elizur (1984) asked a

[2] Elizur, Borg, Hunt, and Beck (1991) also distinguish work values on a second facet—as resources that workers obtain merely by being located in the system (e.g. work conditions) or as rewards that are contingent on workers' performance (e.g. job status). This facet does not relate to the motivational aspect of values of concern here.

representative Israeli sample how important each of 21 work outcomes (values) is to them. He analysed the intercorrelations among these items with the same multidimensional technique used to validate the theory of basic individual values. Elizur partitioned the empirical space formed by the 21 work values into three regions that matched his conceptual distinctions between instrumental, effective, and cognitive outcomes of work.

Several anomalies in Elizur's results can be resolved by distinguishing a fourth, prestige value type. Specifically, the region of values that Elizur labelled cognitive outcomes can be divided into intrinsic and prestige regions that make better sense of the data. The work values in the intrinsic region (meaningfulness, responsibility, use of one's abilities) are values that contribute to a sense of personal growth and whose attainment derives directly from the nature of the work experience. The work values in the prestige region (achievement, advancement, status, recognition, independence, company that you are proud to work for, influence in work, influence in the organisation) are values whose attainment entails a comparison of self with others that implies personal superiority.

In a cross-cultural study, Elizur et al. (1991) partitioned a different set of work values into three regions following Elizur's instrumental, affective, and cognitive distinctions. Examination of the results in the samples from each of the eight countries (USA, Taiwan, China, Korea, Hungary, the Netherlands, Israel) revealed that the region designated as cognitive by the authors could be split into two separate regions of intrinsic and of prestige values in every single sample. Among the distinctive intrinsic work values were interesting work, meaningful work, opportunity for growth, and use of ability and knowledge. Among the prestige values were company that you are proud to work for, advancement, influence in the organisation, and influence in work.

In this case, the implications of the theory of basic values regarding the number and content of work values that should be found pointed to a clear distinction in the data that had been overlooked. The assumption that a separate type of work values should parallel each higher-order type of basic values enabled us to identify distinctive sets of intrinsic (parallel to openness to change) and prestige (parallel to self-enhancement) work values. The distinction between these two types of work values is probably of substantial practical importance. Their associations with other variables are most likely very different, as is the case for the higher-order basic value types on which they are based (Schwartz, 1994, 1996).

Evidence from some factor analytic studies also suggests that there are four types of work values, with one including largely prestige items (Pryor, 1980; Robey, 1974). In sum, secondary analyses of data from earlier research support the existence of four types of work values that correspond to the four higher-order types of basic values. The current study directly examined associations between work values and basic individual values.

Method

Samples and Procedures

A representative national sample of the adult, urban Jewish population in Israel ($N = 999$) completed a questionnaire as part of a survey conducted in 1992. Respondents first completed the measure of basic values and then answered a work values questionnaire. Background and opinion data were also gathered.

Analyses

Hypotheses regarding the content and structure of values were tested with smallest space analysis (SSA; Guttman, 1968), a nonmetric multidimensional scaling technique used widely in the literature on work values (e.g. Elizur et al., 1991) and basic values (Schwartz, 1992, 1994). SSA represents items (here, single values) as points in a multidimensional space such that the distances between the points reflect the intercorrelations among the items. To test whether the hypothesised distinctive types of values were discriminated, we examined whether the items intended to measure each value type formed separate regions in the space. To test the structure of relations among the value types—their conflicts and compatibilities—we examined whether the regions were located in the space relative to one another in a way that fits the hypothesised structure of relations.

Instruments

Basic Value Survey An abbreviated version of the Schwartz Value Survey that included 37 single values, chosen to cover the comprehensive set of ten value types (Schwartz, 1992), was used. Respondents rated the importance of each value as a guiding principle in their life on a 9-point scale from "opposed to my values" (−1), "not important" (0), to "important" (3), to "of supreme importance" (7).[3] The values were presented in three sets of 12, 12, and 13, listed on cards. Before rating each set, respondents chose the most and least important value in the set, in order to anchor their use of the response scale.

To index the importance of each basic value type for each individual, the ratings given to the single values that represent the value type were summed

[3] In principle, responses lie on a bipolar scale from values that respondents rate most important to revere and pursue to those most important to condemn and avoid. Testing in multiple cultures revealed that respondents view most values as worthy of pursuit and very few as worthy of avoidance. The current scale provides more positive and fewer negative discriminations, thereby eliciting a distribution of responses that optimally captures the actual distribution of respondents' value assessments.

and divided by the number of values included. The values included in each index are listed in Table 1. They were selected on the basis of *a priori* theory, corrected for the results of a smallest space analysis of the intercorrelations among the values in this study.

Work Value Survey Ten items, selected to represent the four types of work values we postulated, were included. These items were based on items widely used in the work values literature. Respondents rated each item on a scale from 1 (very important) to 4 (not at all important) in response to the question: How important is each of the following to you in choosing an occupation? Table 2 lists the 10 items, categorising them according to the *a priori* value type they were intended to represent. Both multidimensional scaling analysis (SSA) and principal components factor analysis with oblique rotation were performed on the matrix of intercorrelations among the 10 items. Table 2 provides the result of the factor analysis.

Both types of analysis supported the *a priori* assignment of work values to value types. As shown in Table 2, for example, four factors (with eigenvalues greater than 1.0) emerged, equivalent to the four postulated types of work values. In the SSA, four regions emerged, with item 10 in the centre of the space. Both types of analyses were also performed in subsamples formed of five occupational groups (unskilled blue collar, skilled blue collar, clerical, managerial, professional). The analyses yielded similar results for all but items 6 (being your own boss) and 10 (advancement in work).[4] To index the importance of each of the four types of work values for each individual, the ratings given to the single values that represent the value type were summed. Items 6 and 10 were excluded because they had multiple and inconsistent loadings in the factor analyses, and central or inconsistent locations in the SSAs in the different subsamples.

Results and Discussion

First we examined whether the structure of relations among the four types of work values took the form implied by the view of these values as expressions, in the work setting, of basic individual values. Intrinsic work values were hypothesised to oppose extrinsic work values because these types presumably express the opposing higher-order openness to change versus

[4] Item 6 emerged with the prestige values in all occupational groups but professionals. This suggests that being your own boss meant being free of others' control and having control over resources. For professionals, it emerged with the intrinsic values, apparently signifying freedom to pursue independent goals. Item 10 emerged with different value types in different occupational groups, suggesting considerable variation in the meaning of advancement: greater independence (intrinsic) for professionals; greater independence and power over others (intrinsic and prestige) for managers; greater income and security (extrinsic) for skilled blue collar workers.

TABLE 2
Factor Loadings for the Work Value Survey Items

	Factor Loadings			
Work Value Type and Item	*I Social*	*II Extrinsic*	*III Prestige*	*IV Intrinsic*
Social				
7. Contributing to people and society	0.79	−0.09	−0.06	0.15
4. Work with people	0.77	−0.01	−0.04	0.24
9. Social contact with co-workers	0.67	0.08	0.12	0.18
Extrinsic				
1. Good salary and work conditions	−0.13	0.90	−0.04	−0.10
2. Job security (permanent job, pension)	0.09	0.79	−0.07	−0.07
Prestige				
8. Authority to make decisions over people	0.18	−0.08	0.69	0.14
5. Prestigious, highly valued work	0.15	0.05	0.63	0.03
Intrinsic				
3. Interesting and varied work	0.30	0.17	0.10	0.80
6. Work in which you are your own boss	−0.21	0.17	0.61	0.50
Mixed				
10. Opportunities for occupational advancement	0.20	0.43	0.32	0.34
Percent of Variance Explained	31%	14%	11%	8%

$N = 999$.

conservation basic value types, respectively. Prestige work values were expected to oppose social work values because these types presumably express the opposing higher-order self-enhancement versus self-transcendence basic value types, respectively. The SSA confirmed these hypotheses. The regions representing the four types of work values were ordered in a two dimensional space in precisely this manner.

Second, we directly tested the conceptual relationship between the four types of work values and the four higher-order basic individual values by correlating their indexes (see Table 3). As expected, extrinsic work values correlated positively with conservation values (0.24) and negatively with openness to change values (−0.28), whereas intrinsic work values correlated negatively with conservation values (−0.23) and positively with openness to change values (0.23; all $P < 0.001$). Neither of these types of work values was significantly related to the other bipolar dimension of basic values. Also as expected, social work values correlated positively with self-transcendence

TABLE 3
Israeli National Sample

Higher-order Basic Human Value Types	*Types of Work Values*			
	Extrinsic	*Intrinsic*	*Social*	*Prestige*
Conservation	0.24*	−0.23*	0.17*	−0.19*
Openness to Change	−0.28*	0.23*	−0.16*	0.22*
Self-transcendence	−0.01	0.04	0.25*	−0.23*
Self-enhancement	0.06	−0.05	−0.32*	0.29*

Correlations between four types of work values and four higher-order basic value types in representative Israeli national sample.
$P < 0.001$.
$N = 999$.

values (0.25) and negatively with self-enhancement values (−0.32), whereas prestige work values correlated negatively with self-transcendence values (−0.23) and positively with self-enhancement values (0.29; all $P < 0.001$).

However, this full support for the hypothesised relations between basic individual values and work values must be qualified. The social and prestige work values were also significantly related to the other bipolar dimension of basic values, although more weakly (correlations between /0.16/ and /0.22/). Social values correlated positively with conservatism and negatively with openness to change basic values, whereas prestige work values showed the opposite pattern of correlations. This finding suggests that social and prestige work values are also expressions of additional basic values in the work setting. The self-constraint aspect of conservation values and the rejection of the social independence aspect of openness to change values may also find expression in the work setting in social work values. And the self-assertive aspect of openness to change values and the rejection of the self-abnegation aspect of conservatism values may also find expression in the work setting in prestige values. This merits further investigation.

STUDY 2 THE MEANING OF WORK AS A VEHICLE FOR GOAL ATTAINMENT

We next apply the theory of basic values and the methods developed to validate it in order to explore the significance of work for people as a vehicle for reaching important goals. That is, we seek to infer the types of goals that people believe their work may enable them to attain. In one sense, this is an investigation of the meaning of work for individuals. Before presenting our own views, we consider a few of the prevailing approaches to studying the meaning of work.

As noted in the introduction to Study 1, one widely recognised and influential perspective distinguishes between work activities as means to attain goals extrinsic to the work itself (e.g. pay) and work activities as sources of intrinsic satisfaction (e.g. interest; Herzberg, 1996; Hertzberg et al., 1959). The presumed importance of intrinsic and extrinsic work goals has been measured directly in self-report questionnaires. In Study 2 we employ a less direct approach to identifying the goals associated with work and provide a wider selection of possible goals.

A second perspective considers the social and psychological functions of work (Jahoda, 1981, 1982; Warr, 1987). Jahoda, for example, distinguished five latent functions: to structure time, provide shared experiences and social contact, promote social goals, grant status and identity, and provide regular activities. People may or may not be aware of the importance of these latent functions in their own work. The indirect approach in Study 2 can identify latent functions that respondents associate with their work.

Two international projects have also studied the meaning of work as an arena in which valued goals are pursued, expressed, and attained. Harding, Phillips, and Fogarty (1986) identified three main dimensions of work values or goals: personal development, pleasant climate, and security and material rewards. The approach employed in Study 2 permits us to relate work to this set of goals and to others overlooked by these authors (cf. goals identified in Study 1).

The MOW (1987) project team conceptualised the meaning of work on multiple dimensions—centrality in people's lives, importance both in itself and relative to other life areas, the goals it promotes, and the societal norms that define it. In a reanalysis of the MOW work goal data, England and Ruiz Quintanilla (1994) identified three categories of goals: social, expressive, and instrumental. These categories recall those found by other researchers, and they parallel the social, intrinsic, and extrinsic types, respectively, that we derived from the theory of basic values and validated in Study 1. The prestige type is notably missing from this classification. Study 2 relates work to these goals and examines two other aspects of work meaning conceptualised by the MOW team—its centrality and its importance.

One way to elucidate the meaning of work for individuals is to identify the basic values that people associate with work. They might view work primarily as a way to attain public acclaim, for instance, or as an opportunity to exercise power, to gain security, or to express their independence. Rewarding work can itself be an important goal in life, one that serves as a guiding principle that influences decisions and evaluations. Hence "work" can be included in the list of values to which people respond.

The motivational meaning of "work" for people can be revealed by its empirical associations with the whole integrated system of basic values. Say, for example, that the primary meaning of work to the members of a sample is

to provide a secure living, enabling them to support their families and to acquire basic necessities. Then, the more importance these people attribute to security values as guiding principles in their lives, the more importance they will attribute to work.

The structural postulates of the theory of basic values enable us to predict that the importance of work will correlate not only with security values but also with the other value types that form the higher-order conservation dimension together with security—conformity and tradition. Moreover, in such a sample, the importance of work would correlate negatively with the importance of the higher-order openness to change value types—self-direction, stimulation, and hedonism. That is, people who see work primarily as a vehicle for actualising values of conservation are unlikely to see it as a vehicle for actualising openness to change values, and vice versa.

Study 2 uses the basic values theory and the methods for examining the structure of value systems to explore the meaning and importance of work among educators (Ros & Grad, 1991, provide a fuller report). It also investigates the effect of the occupational experience of teaching on the meaning of work among educators. The value priorities of members of an occupational group reflect both selection into the occupation and socialisation through occupational experience (Kohn & Schooler, 1983; Mortimer & Lorence, 1979). We postulate that occupational experience also influences the meaning of the work of teaching. Education students, lacking concrete experience, are likely to have an idealised conception of the work of teaching. Teachers, who have faced the realities of teaching, are likely to have adapted their understanding of their work to the structural demands of the job experienced in the school setting.

Specifically, we hypothesise that, for education students, the importance of work is positively associated with the importance of all four higher-order value types. Having an idealised view of their planned occupation, they anticipate that work can provide opportunities to pursue and express many of their valued goals. In contrast, we hypothesise that work has a narrower meaning for teachers. This meaning should reflect the structural constraints on secondary school teachers built into the school setting—low autonomy, moderate income, and a high level of interpersonal contact (Ros, Munoz-Repiso, Mendez, & Romero, 1989). In light of these constraints, work is not likely to be associated with the self-enhancing power, achievement, and hedonism value types among experienced teachers. The goals of these value types cannot readily be attained through their job. In contrast, work should be associated with the self-transcending benevolence and universalism value types, and with the conservative tradition and conformity value types. These types of values are compatible with and often demanded by the structure of teaching in the school system.

Method

Samples and Procedure

For the teacher sample, 179 currently employed Spanish secondary school teachers, averaging approximately five years of occupational experience, were randomly sampled from a pool of teachers attending summer school courses at a university in Madrid. These courses, needed for career advancement, are standardly attended by a large number of teachers in the Madrid district. For the sample of students with no teaching experience, 193 education students at the Complutense University in Madrid, who were training to become secondary school teachers, were recruited in classroom sessions. In both samples 75% of respondents were women, and the distribution of political orientations (mostly leftist) and years of formal education were similar. Mean age was 30 for teachers and 25 for education students. The only socio-demographic characteristic on which the two samples differed substantially was years of teaching experience, the crucial variable used to interpret differences between the samples in the importance or meaning of values.

Respondents completed the Schwartz (1992) value survey that was used in the studies that validated the theory of basic individual values. This survey includes 56 single values, each followed by a parenthetical explanation that clarifies its meaning, and selected to represent the 10 value types specified by the theory. As described in Study 1, respondents rated each value on a 9-point scale of importance as a guiding principle in their life. Most of the values in this survey were listed in Table 1. One item was added to the survey as value number 57. This value was WORK (to earn a living with dignity). The phrase in parentheses narrowed the conception of work to the activity of earning a living rather than simply exerting effort on a short-term task. The words "with dignity" helped to define the work as a value—a desirable end-state.

Analyses

An SSA was performed to reveal the structure of relations of similarity and distance among the 57 values (including work).[5] The two-dimensional spatial protection of the values yielded a set of regions for the value types similar to the theorised structure of regions in Fig. 1. The coefficient of alienation was 0.27 in both the teacher and student samples. Although this is above the conventional level for good representation of the correlation matrix, it is a reasonable stress value when 57 items are represented in only two dimensions (Schwartz, 1994). The fact that the theorised motivational

[5] The correlation matrixes on which the SSAs in Figs. 2 and 3 are based, and the coordinates of each value in the two dimensional space, are available from the first author.

structure of relations among values emerged even in this representation indicates that this motivational structure is the most important organising principle accounting for correlations among values. It was therefore possible to assess the associations (meaning) of work by examining the location of this item relative to the regions of each of the 10 value types.

To index the importance of each basic value type for each individual, the ratings given to the single values that represent the value type were summed and divided by the number of values included. Indexes of the importance of the four higher-order value types were computed by averaging the ratings given to the two value types that constitute that higher-order type (three, including hedonism, for the self-enhancement higher-order type). To simplify presentation here, we use only the higher-order types. Data are reported as standardised scores.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

There were no differences between the teacher and education student samples in the importance they attributed to the higher-order value types or to work (see Table 4). Both groups rated self-transcendence values most important, openness to change values second, self-enhancement values third, and conservation values last. Moreover, both groups rated work as a very important value, on a par with the self-transcendence values. Both groups attributed significantly greater importance to self-transcendence values and to work than to the three other higher-order types (all comparisons, $t > 7.5$, $P < 0.001$, 137df for teachers and 167df for students).

There is thus no evidence that the experience of teaching influenced the importance of basic value or even the importance of work. This suggests that selection into the occupation, which had already occurred for most students, was more important than job socialisation in determining value importance. As noted, both samples were quite similar in their background characteristics.

However, the similarity between education students and teachers in the importance they attributed to work as a value, obscured differences in its motivational meaning. For students, the importance of work was associated with the importance of all four of the higher-order value types. Work correlated positively and significantly ($P < 0.05$) with self-transcendence values (0.39), openness to change values (0.28), self-enhancement values (0.28), and conservation values (0.21). Apparently, as hypothesised, the students felt that work is compatible with the pursuit of all types of values.

This pattern of associations is also reflected in the location of work in the SSA projection for students (Fig. 2). Note first that eight of the ten basic value types are fully distinguished in this analysis, and the other two, conformity and tradition, are intermixed. Moreover, the regions of the value

TABLE 4
Teachers and Students

	Teachers (N = 138)	*Students (N = 168)*
Work	0.88	0.91
	(0.58)	(0.59)
Self-transcendence	0.59	0.55
	(0.25)	(0.24)
Self-enhancement	−0.23	−0.22
	(0.37)	(0.32)
Openness to Change	0.18	0.24
	(0.43)	(0.45)
Conservation	−0.30	−0.35
	(0.33)	(0.33)

Means and standard deviations for the importance of work and of the higher-order value types among teachers and students.

Importance ratings have been standardised.

types form the expected structure of compatible types around the circle and conflicting types emanating in opposite directions from the centre (cf. Fig. 1). "Work" is located virtually at the centre of the multidimensional value space. This is because it correlates positively with all the different value types. Thus students viewed work as a potential vehicle for attaining all types of values.

For teachers, the importance of work was associated only with the importance of two higher-order value types. As hypothesised, work correlated positively and significantly ($P < 0.001$) with self-transcendence (0.49) and conservation values (0.52). Apparently, the teachers saw work as demanding and providing an opportunity to express concern for others in social relations and to maintain the status quo. Work was correlated neither with self-enhancement (0.11) nor with oppenness to change values (0.01). Teachers did not see work as a vehicle for promoting their own interests or for pursuing independence and excitement.[6]

The location of work in the SSA for teachers (Fig. 3) reflects these meanings. In this analysis, all 10 value types form separate regions, and the structure of relation among them is exactly as postulated by the theory (cf. Fig. 1). "Work" is located on the border of the regions of the benevolence and tradition value types. It is closest to the values "responsible" (52),

[6] The correlation of work with openness values was stronger among students than teachers ($P < 0.01$), whereas the correlation of work with conservation values was stronger among teachers ($P < 0.001$). The correlations for self-transcendence and self-enhancement did not differ.

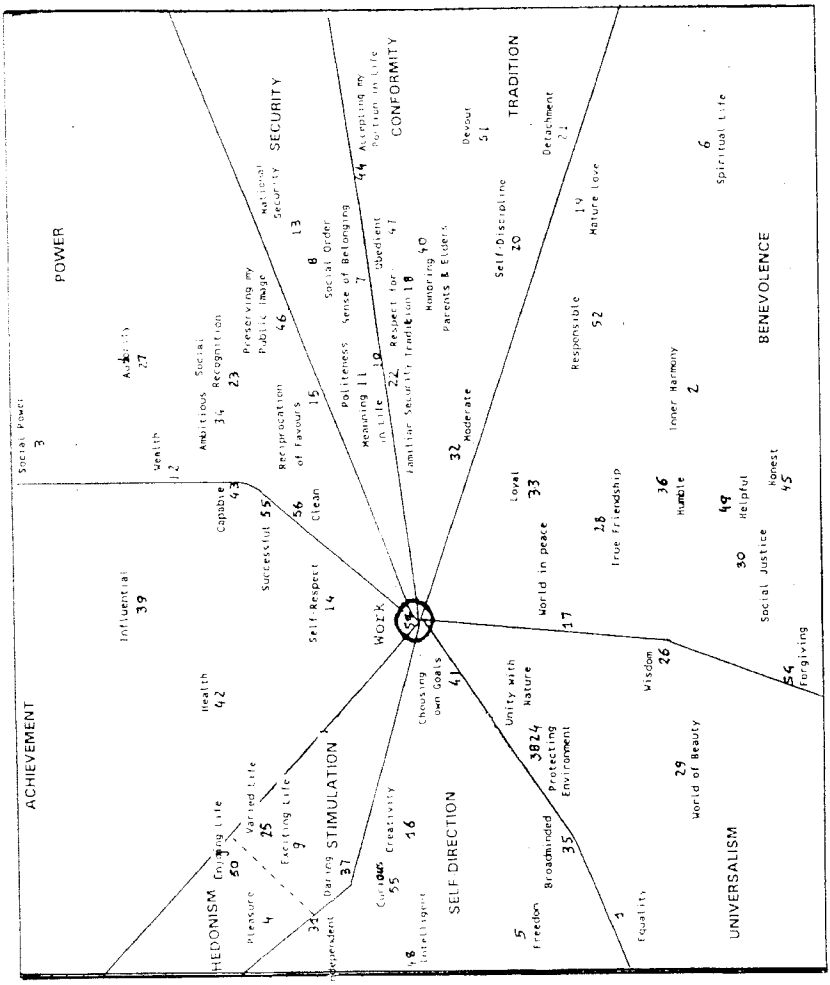

FIG. 2. Smallest Space Analysis of relations among values in the student sample.

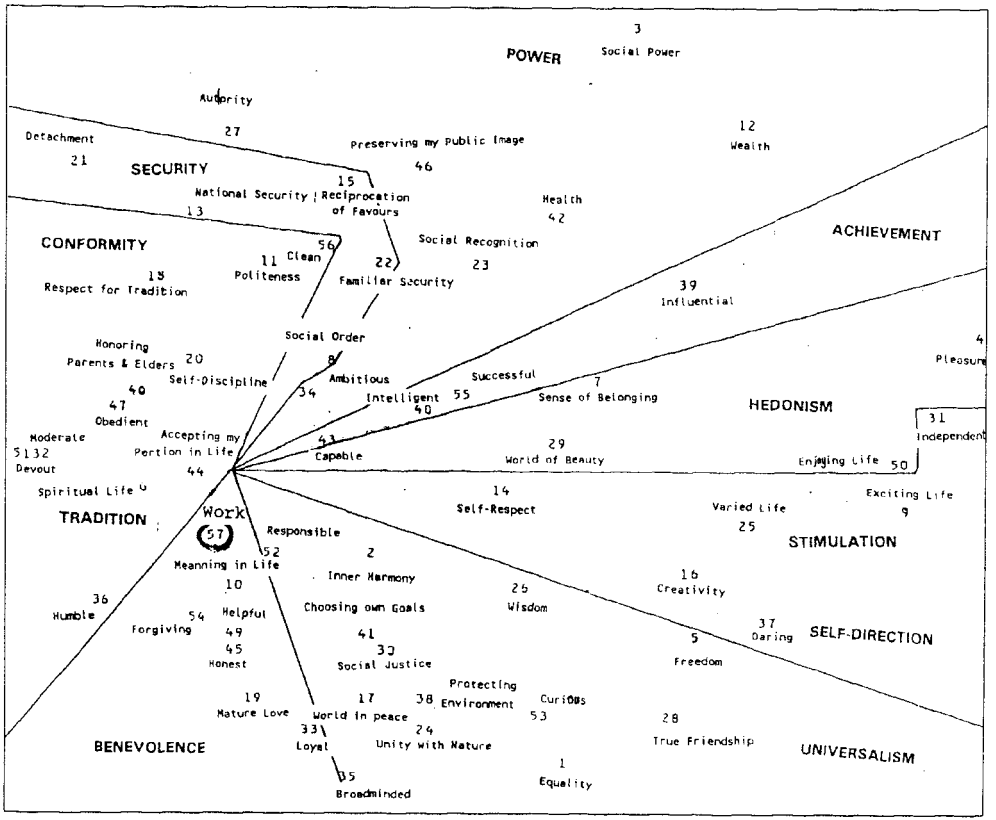

FIG. 3. Smallest Space Analysis of relations among values in the teacher sample.

"meaning in life" (10), "forgiving" (54), "accepting my portion of life" (44), and "spiritual life" (6). "Work" is especially distant from the regions of the hedonism and stimulation value types. Apparently, work has taken on a meaning for teachers that entails accepting external requirements and finding significance in life through fulfilling one's duties to others while forgoing pleasure and excitement for self.

Study 2 demonstrates how the theory of basic human values can be exploited to identify the particular meanings of work in any occupational group or other sample. The location of work in the SSA also provides information about the centrality of work in respondents' lives. The more central an item is in an SSA projection, the more it serves as an organising principle for the whole set of other items. Thus, our findings suggest that, in its idealised form, work as teachers is very central to the student sample. Work appears less central for teachers. With the experience of teaching in a constraining school setting, they have apparently learned that work cannot organise and contribute much to pleasure and excitement in life. Nor, judging by its location, is work a vehicle for achieving much recognition or exercising much power.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Much of the literature on work values has developed without attention to the broader research on general values. The types of work values proposed until now have derived from empirical analyses, from attempts to operationalise isolated theoretical hunches, or from applications of classical distinctions (cognitive, affective, instrumental) that have no relevance to the motivational content of values—the essence of values as goals. We have presented an overview of a theory of basic individual values, of the methods developed to operationalise it, and of its cross-cultural validation. This theory has the promise of providing some of the missing infrastructure for theorising about the content and structure of work values. Grounding the theory of work values in the broader theory of values is one key strength of our approach. Because the theory holds across cultures, it may be useful for integrating cross-cultural research on work values, another strength of the approach presented here.

We have demonstrated that drawing on the basic types of individual values can organise the findings of past research on work values (goals). The basic values approach has several advantages:

1. It suggests how many general types of work values it is worthwhile to distinguish.
2. It gives a reasonable basis for postulating that these types of work values, like the basic human values of which they are specific expressions, are likely to be found in most cultures.

3. It suggests that there is a structure of dynamic relations of compatibility and opposition among the different types of work values, not merely a typology, and it specifies what this structure is likely to be.

Application of the theory and methods of research on basic individual values has the potential for other types of contributions to the study of work as well. We have demonstrated a method for determining the meaning that people attribute to work as a vehicle for reaching goals. The associations of work with the full range of basic values reveal its motivational significance. Differences in the meaning of work can be independent of differences in its importance, as shown by the teacher/student comparison. Moreover, differences in the meaning of work apparently reflect differences in the experiences that respondents have had in the world of work.

The method employed here of determining the meaning of work through its location in the SSA is applicable to assessing the meaning of any concept within its network of associations. Caution must be exercised in adopting this method, however. The location of a single concept in the multidimensional space may vary somewhat as a function of chance. Therefore, replications of the analyses with subsamples from the population of interest are crucial (Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995).

Finally, application of the theory can help work researches to generate hypotheses about the correlates of work values. There is a growing literature that relates basic individual values, as integrated systems, to their social structural antecedents (e.g. age, income, occupation), correlates and consequences (attitudes and behaviours: see Schwartz, 1996, for references). In so far as work values are specifications of basic values, the same types of reasoning can be used to generate hypotheses about their relations to attitudes, behaviour, background, and social experience variables.

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