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ABSTRACT

Jennifer M. Ashlock: Work Values and Control
(Under the direction of Arne L. Kalleberg)

Work values, the importance placed on various job characteristics, are key to understanding the quality of work experiences. Resources, opportunities and roles shape values starting in childhood, influencing the choices that people make about schooling, marriage, and preparation for the labor market. Experiences in the labor market also shape work values but the process by which this takes place has been the subject of debate. Evidence from multiple cohort studies suggests that income and other job rewards may reinforce work values such that declines in pay eventually come to decrease the importance that people place on income. According to national-level cross-sectional studies, the importance of income and other extrinsic rewards has increased over the past thirty years, however, at the same time that the value of wages has declined.

An improved approach to understanding work values may come from an examination of the major themes in classical social theory that explain general values. Structuralists conceptualize values as investments that are limited by opportunities. In this sense, values are assessments of risk. In contrast, the cultural perspective emphasizes the ways that experience is interpreted by beliefs. Values, therefore, can reflect strain between social institutions and the ways that individuals manage their role sets. In addition, psychological orientations impact values in terms of the kinds of experiences
that people seek out to validate perceptions of personal agency. From this context, it is possible to identify two main mechanisms that shape work values. People are continually selected into social contexts and socialized by their experiences. First, non-work resources and roles influence work values via socio-economic status (SES), gender role socialization, educational attainment, psychological agency (“locus of control” or LOC) and work experiences. Then, as people become employed, they come to value specific job characteristics according to interpretations of their work experiences. This project considers the hypothesis that people who have less control over their job rewards as a result of the disadvantages of structural position, role constraints and “external” LOC come to place more emphasis on the extrinsic aspects of work than other, more advantaged groups because low pay is problematic. Alternatively, people may simply come to value the kinds of jobs they have experienced. This alternative hypothesis suggests that job rewards reinforce work values.

To test the control framework, work values are examined in the last three waves of a nationally representative cohort of young people, the National Longitudinal Survey of the High School Class of 1972. The first time point used in this study, administered when respondents are 22, is used to establish the effects of socialization in social contexts and therefore the ways that work values reflect respondents’ characteristics and capabilities prior to labor market entry. As predicted, respondents from lower socio-economic status backgrounds and external LOC (low agency) are more likely to value extrinsic aspects of jobs than more advantaged respondents from higher socio-economic status backgrounds and internal LOC (high agency). Respondents who are White and those with a college degree are more likely to value intrinsic job rewards. In this initial
analysis female respondents value income and job autonomy less than males, suggesting that their work preferences are shaped by gender socialization and conflict between work and home life.

In the second empirical chapter, two job characteristics, weekly income and job autonomy, are incorporated into the analyses to test the idea that less control over job rewards is problematic. All else held equal, the results indicate that income and job autonomy reinforce their respective work values. Groups in the analysis that tended to earn low pay, however, tended to value it more than other, more advantaged groups. Female respondents earned considerably less than male respondents and have less job autonomy, but they value extrinsic rewards slightly more than males, suggesting that their work experiences became problematic as they accumulated labor market experience. Black respondents and those with low educational attainment also earn less income than advantaged groups and place more emphasis on extrinsic rewards. There is also some evidence that job autonomy reinforces intrinsic work values. Men with internal LOC have access to jobs with more autonomy and also come to place more emphasis on this job characteristic than external LOC men. Married women do not place more emphasis on income than single women even though they earn less, suggesting that financial aspects of jobs are not problematic due to their family roles.

The results provide mixed support for the hypothesis that work values are impacted by control over the attainment of job rewards. The role conflict that women experience appears to disadvantage them in the labor force and the results suggest that pay becomes increasingly problematic as they participate in the labor force. Advantage appears to accumulate over time for some men as they are able to find their valued job
characteristics in the labor market. Men’s ability to access jobs with the freedom to make decisions at work may explain why their internal LOC predicts greater interest in job autonomy over time.

Future research that examines work values and control over job rewards would benefit from additional panel studies that can account for the mediating effect of LOC. More detailed measures of work values and job rewards would improve evaluations of the problematic rewards hypothesis and reinforcement hypothesis. Rankings of the importance of work that is meaningful, secure, and an opportunity for enjoyable social interaction would be useful in panel studies. Policy aimed at improving the match between people and jobs should consider the effects of family background, educational attainment and long term disadvantage on work values, job rewards and LOC.
In Memory of my Father
William Ernest Ashlock
(1939-2012)
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CHAPTER 1: WORK VALUES IN SOCIAL CONTEXT

1.1 Statement of problem

Work values are shaped by many factors but it is not currently understood exactly how job characteristics impact them. Scholarship has identified the ways that work values are shaped by socialization mechanisms in family, educational and labor market experiences but few have also accounted for the more recent research which shows that work values play a role in selecting people into these contexts. The nature of the relationship between job characteristics and work values is also a matter of some debate. Cohort studies that tend to span short periods of time find that job characteristics have a reinforcing impact on work values (Johnson et al. 2012, Johnson 2001b, Mortimer et al. 1996) while cross-sectional studies have found that financial work values become more important since the 1970s, the same period in which extrinsic rewards have decreased (Kalleberg and Marsden 2013). The latter finding suggests that people may emphasize those aspects of jobs that are problematic. The two explanations have different implications for mental health. A reinforcing relationship between job rewards and work values suggests that people only value those job characteristics that have been forthcoming in their lines of work, thus closing any cognitive gaps between what they originally valued and their actual job rewards. An alternative hypothesis, that work values come to reflect the job characteristics that have been difficult to find, suggests that intermediary factors may be at work such as cognitive processes or perceptions of what is
attainable. Repeated exposure to work experiences that are incongruent with expectations may therefore negatively affect mental health.

An improved approach to understanding work values may come from an examination of the major themes in classical social theory that explain general values. Classical structural and cultural social theory suggests that values develop as a result of selection into social contexts and socialization from these experiences. If this is the case, work values may be impacted by the paths that individuals take in the life course and cumulative advantage. Control over work experiences is likely to be a large advantage and can be conceptualized in terms of a person’s characteristics and capabilities, as well as the characteristics of jobs that are available in the labor market in a particular time period (Kalleberg 1977). In addition, significant psychological and sociological research suggests that individual perceptions of agency which accumulate as a result of experiences may influence work values. The ability to find valued job rewards may be evaluated in light of previous experiences. This dissertation considers the hypothesis that people who have less control over their job rewards as a result of the disadvantages of structural position, role constraints and “external” LOC (low agency) come to place more emphasis on the extrinsic aspects of work than other, more advantaged groups because low pay is problematic. I present four general hypotheses and evaluate them using a nationally representative panel data set.

1.2 What are work values?

A conceptualization of work values developed out of the meaning of work research. One of the first to assert that work values were social products was C. Wright Mills in *White Collar* (1951). Work does not have inherent meaning and is thus
collectively constructed. “Whatever the effects of his work, known to him or not, they are the net result of the work as an activity, plus the meanings he brings to it, plus the views that others hold of it” (215). This body of work has grown to include work values, job satisfaction, commitment, work centrality, and motivations for working.

The subjective experience of work is a product of individual meanings, the characteristics of the work one does, and societal values of work. Kalleberg summarizes Kohn’s definition of work values:

The concept of “work value”… may be defined as the conceptions of what is desirable that individuals hold with respect to their work activity. Work values reflect the individual’s awareness of the condition he seeks from the work situation, and they regulate his actions in pursuit of that condition (1977, p.129).

Work values are distinguished from expectations, that which we think may happen, job values, specific to a particular workplace, and needs, the “objective requirements of an organism’s well-being” (Kalleberg 1977:129).

Work values are grouped into extrinsic and intrinsic categories (Herzberg 1959). Extrinsic work values refer to rewards distributed in exchange for work such as pay, fringe benefits, job security, and relationships with co-workers (Kohn et al. 1983; Kalleberg 1977; Kalleberg and Loscocco 1983). Intrinsic work values refer to the importance workers attach to the rewards that come from the process of doing the work itself. These rewards include elements built into the nature of the job, including the degree to which work is interesting, challenging, meaningful, or conducive to self-actualization. A wide variety of work values have been studied in addition to the aforementioned such as altruistic, social, entrepreneurial and leisure work values (see Halaby 2003; Johnson et al. 2007).
1.3 The importance of studying work values

Work values are a means to understand socialization, social institutions, social stratification and the nature of work itself. Trends in work values reflect changes in the economy, family, culture, and social structure (Katzell 1979). Religious upbringing is related to work values in terms of the ways that religion “limits one’s freedom in thought and action” (Schooler 1972:305). Early in childhood, boys and girls differ in their work values (Marini and Brinton 1984) and work values predict pathways into different social contexts such as marriage and postsecondary education (Johnson 2005, Johnson and Elder 2002).

Work values are impacted by political and economic changes as well. Economic recessions and involuntary unemployment can depress expectations for promotion (Gamberale et al. 1995) and reduce the emphasis that people place on extrinsic and intrinsic rewards (Mortimer et al. 1986). Kalleberg and Stark (1993) found that work values significantly differed between then-socialist Hungary and the United States, suggesting that economic systems shape worker orientations. In international studies, the relationship between social structure, values and personality in Poland and Ukraine has come to more closely resemble Japanese and American patterns since their transition to capitalism (Kohn 2006).

Work values also impact work motivation and job satisfaction. People are more motivated in the workplace when their jobs resemble expectations and feel greater sense of efficacy as a result. Greater certainty about aspirations increases the likelihood that young people will achieve their occupational goals in the long term (Staff et al. 2011). People tend to see work as more central to their lives when work values and job rewards
are strongly correlated (Mannheim 1993; Neil and Snizek 1987). Work values also impact daily experiences. When work values and job rewards are a fit between people and jobs, people experience greater job satisfaction and feel more committed to their jobs (Kalleberg 1977; Mortimer and Lorence 1979a).

Work values are also a factor in the kinds of jobs that people seek and find. Children from working class families, for example, are less likely to be interested in work that offers freedom on the job than children from middle and upper class families. As they grow into young adults, people from lower socio-economic status (SES) origins tend to have lower educational attainment and are matched to jobs with lower rates of autonomy and income than those from higher SES groups. Work experiences, in turn, affect values, but as discussed above, it is not clear how. Some studies suggest that work experiences reinforce values (Kohn 1969, Kohn and Schooler 1982, Johnson 2001a, Johnson 2001b, Johnson et al. 2012). But people with the same amount of control over their work experiences sometimes have different work values (Kalleberg 1977; Kalleberg and Marsden 2013). If control over job rewards is impacted by an individual’s resources and by the demand for their services in the labor market as Kalleberg suggests, work values reflect shifts in structural resources, cultural norms, access to jobs with valued characteristics as well as individual capabilities (Kalleberg 1977).

The nature of the mechanisms that contribute to work value trajectories is the subject of some debate in part due to the application of different theoretical approaches and also due to methodological constraints. In addition to prior experiences that are impacted by gender, educational attainment and work experiences, social psychological mechanisms may be a factor. People who have higher self-esteem and a greater sense of
personal agency tend to have occupational aspirations that correspond with higher pay and job autonomy (Korman 1970, Super 1995). In turn, some kinds of jobs facilitate a sense of well-being. Professional occupations offer contexts in which workers build psychological skills that make their job stress more manageable (Tausig and Fenwick 2011) and useful in other domains of life in addition to future jobs (Cunnien et al. 2009).

There are many methodological challenges in determining how these mechanisms may affect work values over time. While cohort analyses can observe the ways that job rewards impact work values to the extent that they impact individuals in the life course, they are typically limited by the window of time that can be observed. Work values may respond to slow but overall dramatic shifts that have occurred in the labor market since World War II such as the growth of the service industry and women’s increased labor force participation. What is a good framework for understanding work values, considering all of these different social elements? Below I approach this question with an overview of the different mechanisms of general values. The remainder of this chapter serves as an overview of the classical social thought concerning the origins and effects of general values and the way these different paradigms have been used in the key research on work values.

1.4 General values

Structural, cultural and psychological perspectives are orienting principles, identify variables, and guide understanding of mechanisms that explain the ways that control affects work values. Values can be conceptualized as the product of social structure, role socialization in social institutions, and psychological perceptions of agency. Values also have a variety of effects: action, affective states, need fulfillment,
social order and propagation of norms. Table 1.1, below, summarizes the perspectives that will be the subject of the remainder of this chapter.

**Table 1.1. Three theoretical conceptualizations of values**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paradigm</th>
<th>Theorists</th>
<th>Relationship to Values</th>
<th>Origins of Values</th>
<th>Values change when…</th>
<th>Outcomes of Values</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Structural</td>
<td>Marx, Goldthorpe,</td>
<td>Opportunities generated</td>
<td>Opportunities generated by social structures generate objective states that are</td>
<td>Opportunities or the amount of resources change within</td>
<td>Values generally reproduce social structures and therefore social stratification.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kohn</td>
<td>generated by social</td>
<td>accommodations to limited access to resources. Values reflect these objective</td>
<td>social structures.</td>
<td>Values can also inspire shifts in the power structures within social institutions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>structures generate</td>
<td>states. Those that share the same opportunities will have similar values.</td>
<td></td>
<td>This rarely happens because alienation and instrumentalism are more permanent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>objective states</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>states.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>Durkheim, Parsons,</td>
<td>Beliefs generate</td>
<td>Beliefs generate statuses in society which determine people’s needs in social</td>
<td>Beliefs change in response to tensions between social</td>
<td>Values propagate culture and norms, provide order.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dubin, Blauner</td>
<td>statuses in society</td>
<td>roles. Values derive from roles and constrain meaning.</td>
<td>institutions.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological</td>
<td>Maslow, Schwartz,</td>
<td>Values derive from</td>
<td>Values derive from universal needs (Maslow, Schwartz). They are responsive to</td>
<td>Emotional states or outcomes change or when people are</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rokeach, Bandura,</td>
<td>universal needs</td>
<td>norms and motivate behavior.</td>
<td>deprived of what they (universally) need.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rotter</td>
<td>(Maslow, Schwartz)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Structural explanations**

A structural perspective highlights the ways that values reflect accumulations of power and access to resources. A key assumption of structuralism is that over time
disadvantaged groups are denied access to purposeful action on the part of powerful
groups in order to maintain their hold on resources. Social structural positions eventually
impact internal states and values derive from these states. For example, Marx argued that
alienation is a state of mind derived from the opportunity structures in capitalism.
Culture, attitudes and values thus adapt to these opportunities and values reflect one’s
accumulation of social power. The objective features of social organization essentially
“constrain individual thought and action” (Rubenstein 1992:4). From a Marxist
perspective, opportunities limit attitudes and orientations that would otherwise change the
social structure.

One of the assumptions of the structural paradigm is that everyone will seek the
highest opportunity possible and that individual differences in preference are not
variations in subjective processes but “variations in the situations that determine people’s
possibilities” (Stinchcombe 1968:140). In this view, values are calculations about the
kinds of opportunities that the future will hold. They are rational responses and
assessments of risk given one’s structural constraints.

Values play a role in the choices that people make and from the structuralist point
of view, these choices tend to reproduce social structure. For example, people in lower
socio-economic statuses value leisure and family and tend not to invest themselves in
other kinds of opportunities that might generate wealth. People in upper classes tend to
value independence and status and they have access to opportunities that provide more
resources such as college education and higher status occupations. They continue to
accumulate power by acting on such values. A critique of this view is that individuals
have histories, memories, and personalities and thus should not be assumed to take advantage of every opportunity (Rubenstein 1992).

If the structural explanation of values is valid, values can be ascertained by considering social status and the distribution of opportunities in the population. Resources tend to be accessed in social structures such as family, schools, governments and the labor market. Thus, opportunities and resources likely vary by social class, gender, race, educational attainment, and family roles. If values are affected by risk assessment, these measures may serve as proxies for the kinds of accommodations that people make in response to structural constraints. Changes in social structures or the processes by which resources are distributed, then, will bring about changes in risk assessments and values. Social structures are fairly stable at a macro level, but as people move through the life course, values may change with respect to the different opportunities in the life stages.

**Cultural explanations**

A cultural perspective suggests that values order and constrain the kinds of meaning that people can seek. Durkheim suggested that without socially constructed norms and the guidance of values and structures, humans will be doomed to act on impulsive desires (1951). Acting in accordance with values tends to provide order and further propagate culture. “Under this pressure, each in his sphere realizes the extreme limit set to his ambitions and aspires to nothing beyond” (Durkheim 1951: 250). Values are internalized and made personal and that is where behavior is derived. Values are the motivations behind action (Kluckhohn 1951).
When passed on through action, values help to assign people to statuses. Values structure group experiences and these experiences are key to meaningful activity. People are therefore dependent on the consensus of norms and values because it is the basis of social structural cohesion. The more societal rules, the more people will feel meaningfully integrated into cohesive social groups. In this way, a cultural approach takes values to be the most important aspect of society because they provide structure for group experience.

In order to know how to act, values must be clearly transmitted in social groups. According to cultural theorists, beliefs shape the ways that statuses are assigned. Assignments are based on the beliefs behind them and the degree to which they order society. In some societies, for example, occupation is ascribed at birth in accordance with deeply embedded religious ideology. As secular societies emerged, the beliefs behind occupational assignments loosened and became achieved statuses. Achieved statuses can be more manageable in the sense that individuals have some flexibility in the ways that they can be navigated. On the other hand, ascribed statuses can provide guidelines for behavior that are intertwined with other statuses and meanings. In Japan, the effect of education on cultural values is much weaker than what is typical in the United States. “The persistence of traditional social structures, especially an emphasis on the social meaning of age, mitigates the homogenizing impact of modern educational achievement in shaping the social order” (Silver and Muller 1997:173). In order to be successful in Japan one must wait until they are older and more educated. In America individuals generally have more freedom in constructing their statuses. Ascribed statuses will tend to
have greater priority than achieved ones because the cultural beliefs behind them are stronger and therefore more meaningful for individuals.

When social institutions change, the ways that beliefs and therefore statuses are socially constructed can change over time and correspond with different role sets. When this happens the old roles may become difficult to manage. Some roles may become more demanding than others and over time this can develop into role strain, role conflict or status inconsistency. If it is difficult to manage role sets or statuses, or if there is only one way to express a role and the opportunities are not available to express it (Merton 1968), people may become constrained by their roles. Their roles may limit their integration into social structures and thus the ways that they can derive meaning. This can become confusing and frustrating.

Values can therefore reflect poor social integration into social structures. People have more options when social institutions function well and provide clear cut statuses that can be performed without too much difficulty and role conflict. When there is dysfunction, categories and roles can become unmanageable. Meaning becomes endangered and possibly lost. Durkheim argues that in the extreme, a pathological state of anomie emerges, a state of dysfunction and lawlessness (1951).

Women’s and men’s roles, and by extension their values, sometimes differ because their meaning is constrained in different spheres. Beliefs also shape others’ perceptions and how they may assign us to statuses. Cultural beliefs about race, for example, affect the number of roles available and lead to role conflict for people of color. Gender, socio-economic status, education and race can thus be proxies for various status assignments and their associated role set constraints.
Psychological explanation

A psychological perspective aids in the understanding of the ways that predispositions and perceptions of agency influence values. From this perspective, values reflect universal needs, as well as experiences and thus statuses that tend to have similar experiences.

One of the main tenets of psychological theory is that values reflect universal human needs. While values are subjectively experienced, all humans generally share the same ones. Maslow (1954) argued that values are the product of a set of ordered needs that all human beings share in the pursuit of self-esteem. People first look for physiological needs to be satisfied, then safety, love and belonging, self-esteem and confidence and, ultimately, self-actualization. Needs, therefore, are hierarchical and people tend to formulate values in the order that their needs are fulfilled. Values do not reflect higher order needs unless the lower order ones have been satisfied.

Highlighting Maslow’s ideas, psychologists Schwartz and Bilsky (1987, 1990) also argue that values have structure. Values represent a conscious response to three types of human needs that ensure group survival and welfare: physiological, coordinated social interaction, and “social institutional demands for group welfare and survival” (Feather 1995:1137). Schwartz (1992) proposed that there were ten value types: universalism, power, self-direction, security, benevolence, achievement, stimulation, hedonism and conformity/tradition. Analyses of data from 155 samples in 55 countries have consistently revealed the same ten factors (Ros et al. 1999 in Lyons, Duxbury and Higgins 2005).
Scholarship in the field of psychology conceptualizes values as a lens through which people interpret actions of themselves and others. Erickson (1995) wrote that values transcend situations and help people to determine appropriate conduct and end states. This happens because, as Rokeach (1973) suggests, individuals use values to make evaluations. A value is an “enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end state of existence” (Rokeach 1973:5). Values reflect desired outcomes according to this view.

Rokeach argued that expectations are the product of reinforcement. People generally understand their own values and their implications. People therefore change their values if it helps them to meet their goals or change their behavior to match their values (Mayton et al. 1994). People adjust values to avoid the cognitive dissonance that derives from incongruent values and experiences (Petty et al. 1997). This idea has been influential because it references the personal aspect of values and incorporates social aspects such as norms. Rokeach argued that demographically similar people should also share values. The categories he thought important were gender, age, ethnicity, religion and social class (Mortimer et al. 1986). Values, therefore, may reflect internal processes that involve cognition, learning and self-concept. Belief system theory is the perspective that values are central to self-esteem (Ball-Rokeach et al. 1984). In fact, “values serve as the central components that surround the self to maintain one’s self-esteem whenever necessary and to enhance one’s self-esteem whenever possible” (Mayton et al. 1994).

Beliefs about personal agency may increase when values and expectations are perceived to match up with experience. People tend to want to engage in experiences that
increase their perceptions of agency, and, by extension, their beliefs about their degree of influence on the world. Outcomes that confirm perceptions of agency therefore strengthen beliefs. A concept related to this idea in the field of psychology, locus of control (LOC), came out of the social learning theory literature and refers to the degree to which an individual perceives success and failure as being contingent upon personal initiative (Rotter 1966). LOC ranges from "highly internal", those who feel that success is a result of personal initiative, to "highly external", those who feel that environmental aspects, powerful others and luck determine success. People who believe that their efforts will be rewarded tend to acquire an internal LOC.\(^1\) External LOC, in its extreme, is associated with a sense that efforts are caused by external forces. Those with internal LOC are able to wait longer to obtain results and gratification (Miller et al. 1986). Some psychologists argue that LOC is stable over time as a primary component of personality (see Phares 2001) but some research suggests that LOC can change over the life course as a result of different experiences. Experiences which repeatedly illustrate that one’s efforts are not fruitful tend to develop external LOC (Rotter 1975, Gecas 2000, Mirowsky and Ross 2003, Twenge, et al. 2004) which can then come to influence values. If internal LOC increases over time as values and expectations are perceived to match up with experience, as suggested by Rotter (1966), then groups that tend to have the similar experiences may have similar LOC and therefore similar values.

\(^1\) LOC is similar to the concept of self-efficacy, the degree to which one believes their efforts will be successful in a particular situation, but the two concepts are distinguished. There is significant evidence that LOC tends to be the result of learned behavior (see Smith 1989 and Mirowsky and Ross 2003) while self-efficacy is not malleable (Bandura 1977, Bandura et al. 2001).
In summary, the psychological research suggests that values may reflect fulfillment of basic needs as well as LOC. The aforementioned proxies for control, i.e. SES, race, gender, educational attainment and family roles, may indicate experiences that impact levels of LOC.

1.5 Theories of work values

Like general values, work values both derive from and play a part in the creation of structure and culture. Work values, then, are likely to reflect access to resources in various social structures, the navigation of culturally constructed role sets and statuses, and psychological agency or “LOC”. These three paradigms are represented in the key research on work values. Over time the scholarship has identified a variety of socialization and selection mechanisms that shape work values.

Structural explanations of work values

In general the interpretation of the structural approach has been that work values reflect the availability of job characteristics in the labor market. Alienated workers who lack challenging or meaningful work will come to see it instrumentally as a means to funding other pursuits such as growing a family or leisure activities. An influential work in this vein is *The Affluent Worker*, a book by a group of sociologists, Goldthorpe, Lockwood, Bechhofer and Platt (1968) who studied car manufacturing workers and lower white collar workers in Luton, England. Goldthorpe and his colleagues found that the manufacturing workers that had involuntarily slipped into manual occupations were more likely to be “instrumentally oriented” than those who had experienced lateral mobility. Those in manual occupations did not attach meaning to work, were less involved in company sponsored activities, and valued pay more than their more upperwardly mobile
counterparts. This instrumentalism, Goldthorpe wrote, was produced by a combination of past experiences that led workers to bring a calculative rationality to the work role and, as a result, they did not derive belongingness or authenticity from work. They were also less likely to unionize than those who had experienced continuous employment. Expressive and fulfilling work was not attainable so it was not valued. This perspective has been used to explain why working class people tend to be in unrewarding jobs (see Gruenberg 1980).

Further clarification of the relationship between structure and work values comes from the research of Melvin Kohn. In *Class and Conformity* (1969) he hypothesized that class orientations of work values developed over time as a result of trends in the ability to access different kinds of job opportunities. He used three data sets, the largest of which was a sample from 1964 which included 1500 fathers of children 3 to 15 years of age. Measuring a wide variety of job attributes, Kohn, and, later, his colleagues found that freedom from supervision, task complexity, and variety on the job brought about self-direction in respondents' general outlook on life. The structure of the labor market places the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum in a more vulnerable position than those in the upper end. The jobs that his working class respondents tended to find did not offer much in the way of security or freedom at work and, tested longitudinally with panel data, this led to their valuation of pay, job security and sometimes psychological distress and feelings of incompetency. People that had access to challenging and autonomous work developed preferences for jobs that offered these characteristics and tended to parent in ways that transferred these orientations to their children (Kohn 1969, Kohn and Schooler 1978, 1982).
Importantly, Kohn and Schooler found that socialization processes which shaped work values were independent from processes whereby work values select people into jobs. Kohn suggested a “learning generalization model” of work orientations, the idea that from structure comes a variety of different opportunities that affect people’s preferences over time. Job characteristics tended to reinforce work values, at least for the aspects that were his focus, primarily work that developed skills and offered freedom on the job. Work characteristics affect internal processes such as the ability to manage stress and “self-directed orientations” and then these preferences select people into certain kinds of jobs.

Although some have been critical of Kohn and Schooler’s dimensions of personality, writing that they used fuzzy concepts, omitted dimensions, and failed to address master personality dimensions or processional dimensions of personality (Spender 1988), other scholarship has generally found similar patterns. Worker preferences impact job rewards and the jobs that they choose are an additional social context that influences future work values (Lorence and Mortimer 1979a, 1979b; Lindsay and Knox 1984; Mortimer et al. 1986; Johnson 2001a; Johnson et al. 2012).

Extending Kohn’s scholarship to the study of the ways that job characteristics influence work values, the use of psychological constructs to predict SES has been forthcoming. Freedom on the job can be beneficial to mental health. For example, Link, Lennon, and Dohrenwend (1993) found that direction, freedom and planning characteristics of occupations are strong mediators of SES and clinical depression. Tausig and Fenwick (2011) argued that the psychosocial nature of jobs is an important link between the individual, job characteristics and the reproduction of the segmented labor
market. “…Occupational differences in stress have less to do with differences in levels of job demands (risks) than with differences in amounts of resources available to manage demands (e.g., decision latitude), as well as differences in rewards, opportunities, and job security” (80). Over time, work trajectories which include repeated access to jobs with the leverage needed to manage demands may increase overall mental health and thus enhance people’s aspirations and capabilities both in the labor market and in other areas of life. Routine jobs in which people are not given freedom to direct their work lack this opportunity. They may also be more stressful which could decrease aspirations and capabilities.

**Cultural explanations of work values**

Scholarship on work values that has been influenced by the cultural paradigm tends to emphasize the ways that individuals interpret and choose work experiences based on the ways that they manage different statuses and roles. In contrast to the structural paradigm, work does not create deprivations but roles can (Gruenberg 1980:253). Other concepts in the meaning of work literature specifically address this idea. Dubin developed a scale that specifically taps the concept of central life interest, the relative importance that people assign to work, family, and other realms in an attempt to better understand the ways that roles influence work values and other meanings (1956). The cultural perspective suggests that job characteristics do not directly impact work values. Just like experiences in other social structures, work experiences validate or dispute belief systems and assign culturally constructed statuses in socialization processes. Individuals also select jobs that make sense to them in the context of their role sets.
Work values are important to take into consideration when understanding the ways that people experience their jobs. Relatively poor job rewards, for example, do not necessarily bring about dissatisfaction. Studying varying degrees of technology-based work, Robert Blauner (1964) argued that orientations are the product of educational attainment and status, not the degree to which it was objectively alienating as Marx argued. People are instrumentally oriented or expressively oriented based on their socially prescribed needs. In *Alienation and Freedom* (1964), Blauner argues that while technology is a source of objective alienation, it did not have a linear relationship with dissatisfaction. He studied textile workers and found that they are “objectively alienated”, experiencing a high degree of powerlessness. He saw that they were constantly tending to their machines, had little freedom of movement and supervisors acted effectively to police the work. Standardization of the end product and division of labor prevented employees from taking pride in their work. Blauner found that despite the objectively alienating character of the work, however, the textile workers were not subjectively alienated. They were satisfied with their work. He reasoned that this was because they lived in small communities with strong ties to kin and religion. They tended also to be less educated than average Americans and to have relatively low aspirations. They expected work to be monotonous and lived accordingly.

Blauner’s work is influential because it suggests that there is an important difference between the subjective and objective experience of work. Job rewards are not experienced directly but interpreted subjectively. People are more satisfied by their work experiences, for example, when their job rewards are perceived to be high and their emphasis on these rewards is low (Kalleberg 1975, 1977; Kalleberg and Loscocco 1983).
If experiences in non-work social structures such as family come to shape work values, then job experiences will be interpreted differently according to social class, race and gender, for example.

An important example of the ways that cultural norms shape work values is in the intersection between the social contexts of gender, family and work. Women used to have fewer roles than they do now because it was believed that they had inherent characteristics that made them better at childrearing than formal, paid work. In industrialization, women’s statuses and corresponding roles changed because the social institutions of family and the economy started to shift in the way that they functioned. Since the United States has become a more secular and industrialized, gender roles have become more flexible, especially for females, but still conflict and limit the ways that individuals can derive meaning. Women may still be sanctioned for behavior that falls outside of the boundaries of traditional beliefs about femininity but the worker status can be shed more easily, especially by middle and upper class women, if it cannot be performed authentically. Middle and working class men have fewer options for the ways that they can derive meaning and place significant emphasis on work as a means of performing masculinity. Working class families have had to navigate the ideal version of femininity and develop different role sets since their husbands’ masculinity has been endangered by the decline in real wages and uncertainty of employment (Hochschild 1989, Gerson 2010).

The cultural explanation also highlights the ways that work values shape action and thus how they select people into new social contexts such as college, marriage, parenthood, and jobs (Johnson and Elder 2002, Johnson 2005, Johnson and Monserud
Beliefs in the workplace influence hiring practices, for example, and the value assigned to different kinds of tasks. For individuals, beliefs inspire culturally constructed normative action which then brings about additional forms of socialization that further influences interpretations. The beliefs that people have about work and their options in this domain tend to influence their occupational aspirations and choices about educational attainment and marriage.

Psychological explanations of work values

The psychological approach to work values emphasizes how psychological attributes select people into jobs and the importance of labor market experiences as sources of need fulfillment and personal agency. Herzberg (1966), influenced by Maslow’s idea of ordered needs, argued that extrinsic rewards satisfy lower order needs and intrinsic rewards satisfy higher order needs. A modified idea that values are cognitive responses to fulfillment of basic needs has been influential in the field of the psychological study of work (Schwartz and Bilsky 1987, 1990; Schwartz 1992; see also Feather 1995). Schwartz and others have validated in work settings and elsewhere two main scales that measure human values. The first scale, “openness to change versus conservation” has higher order values on one end (self-direction, meaningful stimulation) and lower order values on the other (security, conformity and traditional values). The second dimension, “self-transcendence versus self-enhancement” ranges from values relating to altruism and benevolence to values which indicate the importance placed on wealth, status, prestige and power.

Schwartz’s bipolar dimensions have been forthcoming in terms of their ability to determine the value structure of those in various occupational profiles. For example,
acceptance of financial insecurity, positive attitudes towards risk and openness to change characterize college students that intend to be business entrepreneurs (Hirschi and Fischer 2013). Self-transcendence values in military personnel are associated with non-calculative motivation to be leaders (N=231; Clemmons and Fields 2011).

A psychological perspective suggests that work values may also be influenced by cognitive processes that reflect basic needs, past efforts and perceptions of outcomes. As described above, LOC indicates the kinds of reinforcement to which a person responds. Externally oriented people are more likely to value extrinsic job rewards and internally oriented people are more likely to value intrinsic job rewards (Mortimer and Lorence 1979a). While there is some debate as to malleability, some research suggests that LOC changes over time. The more feedback one receives over the life course, the more learning can take place about what is causally related to behavior and what is not. Therefore, it would follow that internal LOC increases as people enter the labor force and decreases when people retire (Knoop 1989). In interviews, Legerski, Cornwall and O’Neil (2006) found that over time involuntarily unemployed steelworkers became more externally oriented than their employed cohort and intermittent unemployment increased external LOC. Even with controls for education, minority status, age and gender, employed persons report greater internal LOC than the unemployed (Ross and Mirowsky 1992). Individuals who have had a history of interrupted employment are more likely to have external LOC as well (Ross and Mirowsky 1992). Those who have repeated experiences in which they perceive outcomes are not indicative of their work values may develop external LOC which can then become associated with extrinsic work values.
1.6 Combining structural, cultural and psychological explanations of work values

The evidence above suggests that all three paradigms are likely valid and function simultaneously. Work values influence and are influenced by structural and cultural aspects of social life. LOC is also likely influenced by structural and cultural processes and then selects people into various experiences. The review of general values identified the variables that are necessary to evaluate the ways that socialization and selection mechanisms shape work values.

The present project proceeds in the vein of Kohn and Schooler’s scholarship by examining the socialization and selection mechanisms that shape work values. Their research provided support for a connection between social structure, internal states and values. Importantly, the reviews above suggest that work values are shaped by interpretations of experiences, not the objective conditions themselves. Work values may be the product of the degree of control that people come to have over their work experiences and then the interpretations of these experiences. Kalleberg (1977) suggests that socialization shapes ideas about work prior to labor force entry, non-work roles impact the kinds of jobs that are meaningful to people, and work experiences impact people’s ideas about the kinds of characteristics that are attainable.

As shown above, psychological considerations such as fulfillment of basic needs and LOC likely affect work values. There is evidence that structural and cultural characteristics influence LOC (Gecas 2000, Mirowsky and Ross 2003) but there has been less understanding of the ways that LOC influences work values in light of previous experiences. Psychological considerations of agency likely shape perceptions of experience. This project may contribute to the understanding of work values by
evaluating the ways that LOC mediates the relationships between demographic characteristics, work values and job characteristics.

1.7 Summary

This review shows that classical social theories of general values identify the ways that work values may be shaped by socialization and selection mechanisms in different social contexts. Structural opportunities, culturally prescribed statuses and their corresponding roles affect work values first in families and schools, and then later in life as people embark on careers. This review also highlights the role of work values in various selection mechanisms. Values affect a variety of actions and choices which, in turn, introduce pathways into additional social contexts. Finally, psychological perceptions of agency that reflect fulfillment of basic needs and previous experiences may impact work values over the life course. An examination of the research concerning socialization and selection mechanisms, then, may provide hypotheses for testing the ways that work values are patterned by control over job rewards. Chapter two will proceed in this vein.

1.8 Plan for dissertation

Following from the review in the present chapter, chapter 2 presents the control framework of work values. I argue that the research concerning socialization and selection mechanisms of work values tends to show that work value trajectories are shaped by control over job rewards. Drawing from this research I present general hypotheses that predict how socialization in social contexts and selection into work experiences affect work values and how LOC impacts these patterns as well.
In chapter 3, I describe the data, methods, and measures I will use to evaluate the proposed control framework of work values. The benefits and the constraints of the methodological choices in this project are presented.

In chapter 4, I evaluate the mechanisms that shape work values prior to entering the labor force and the predictors of external LOC.

In chapter 5, I evaluate the selection and socialization mechanisms in work experiences that shape work values. Two different hypotheses for the ways that job rewards affect work values are evaluated, the reinforcement hypothesis and the problematic rewards hypothesis.

In the concluding chapter I summarize and evaluate this project in terms of its contributions, implications and limitations.
CHAPTER 2: THE CONTROL FRAMEWORK OF WORK VALUES

In the last chapter a review of three main paradigms of general values suggests that structural, cultural and psychological factors influence work values in different mechanisms. In this chapter I proceed by developing a framework that incorporates a consideration of the ways that work values are affected by socialization and selection mechanisms. I argue that the research tends to show that work value trajectories are shaped by control over job rewards.

In the control framework, socialization in family, community and school shape ideas about work prior to entering the labor force. Resources, roles, locus of control (LOC) and labor market forces then select people into jobs. The characteristics of jobs then provide an additional source of socialization, shaping ideas about the kinds of characteristics that are attainable. An assessment of the relevant literature indicates that people who have less control over their ability to attain job rewards are more likely to value extrinsic rewards. The control framework may provide an explanation of why people have different work values, as well as how work values are related to the social psychological concept of locus of control. Drawing on this scholarship, general hypotheses are presented at the conclusion of this chapter.

Figure 2.1 represents the model I will be testing in this dissertation (see below). The figure shows how work values are impacted by a number of factors over three time points in the NLS-72 survey. The present chapter will proceed by explaining the key points of this model. Section 2.1 will discuss the socialization mechanisms (depicted as
the dotted lines) such as the ways that family, school and work affect work values.

Section 2.2 will examine the ways that non-work roles and access to resources such as educational attainment then select people into jobs with different characteristics (depicted as dashed lines). Section 2.3 reviews the ways that LOC mediates structural and cultural factors, work values and job rewards. Section 2.4 will propose how these different mechanisms function over time to impact work values.

**Figure 2.1 The control framework of work values**

2.1 Socialization mechanisms

Starting in childhood, access to resources and role socialization in families shape the ideas that people have about work. As shown in chapter one, values are influenced by risk assessments in light of past experiences. Values can also be shaped by the management of role sets and the degree to which statuses can be authentically performed. The following discussion reviews how work values are shaped by the structural and
cultural aspects of socialization indicated by each of the major demographic variables used in this project, as well as by job characteristics.

**Socio-economic status**

Experienced primarily in the family but also at school and in communities, social class affects resources and opportunities as well as cultural beliefs. Over time social class shapes the way that children and adults come to view the world and their place in it. The degree to which social class is reproduced by values and resources varies significantly and there are many intervening factors.

The characteristics of parents and their role in the reproduction of social class has been studied extensively and most famously by Melvin Kohn, as noted in the last chapter. People in the working classes develop orientations which have tended to bring them success in the labor market, conformity to external rules and obedience to authority. Middle class parents are more likely to work in occupations that offer more freedom at work and skill which tends to bring about emphasis on independence and creativity (Kohn 1969, Xiao 2000).

Parents and extended kin may care for children in ways that reflect their own navigation of labor market opportunities as well as their views about formal education. Family structure and parenting styles tend to transfer parents’ beliefs. Working class families have historically been more committed to patriarchal beliefs and disciplinary means of order. Middle class families tend to be more egalitarian and to emphasize “order giving” as opposed to “order taking” (Kohn 1969, Collins and Annett 1975). This style of parenting may increase parents’ ability to keep their children within reach in
stressed environments. Middle and upper class parents are more likely to provide their children freedom in their daily activities which leads them to value autonomy and intellectual challenge (Kohn 1969, see also Mortimer and Kumka 1982, Gecas 1979).

Parents’ educational aspirations and educational attainment influences their children’s approach to academic development. Children from middle class backgrounds tend to have different educational aspirations than poor and working class children. They are more likely to believe that independence is a means of success and a path to self-actualization. Children from middle and upper class backgrounds also place more importance on intellectual development than poor and working class children (Bandura et al. 1996). When measures of family income, parents’ occupational prestige scores, and parental educational attainment are used to estimate adolescents’ extrinsic and intrinsic work values, the latter appears to be the only significant variable (Johnson and Mortimer 2011).

More so than middle and upper class communities, the social structural characteristics and values learned in poor and working class families tend to emphasize children and reliance on family bonds. In a participant observation study of a poor community in Chicago, Carol Stack found that her informants shared norms of reciprocity in informal, neighborly exchanges. People developed close ties as they regularly exchanged food, rent money, clothing, child care, appliances, and furniture (1974). Edin and Kefalas (2005) found that women in a poor Philadelphia neighborhood had children before marriage because they held motherhood in high esteem and did not want to wait for the right circumstances for marriage, especially since unemployment was so high in their communities. In a 1986 survey of ten thousand Americans, lower SES
respondents were twice as likely as high SES respondents to agree with the statement that “it was better for a person to have a child rather than to go through life childless” (Thomson 2001). The social structure and location of poor neighborhoods can be more isolating in terms of the kinds of information to which children have access. Children in poor communities may have limited information about employment opportunities, different types of careers and world events. Social networks in poor neighborhoods may be especially isolated (Wilson 1987). The use of neighbors and other strong ties to search for work may not be as effective as weak ties (Granovetter 1995, Elliott 1999).

Children from poor and working class origins tend to aspire towards occupations that are lower in terms of average pay, prestige and autonomy than middle and upper class families. Children from poor and working class families tend to have more siblings which divides resources into fewer amounts for each child. They also have fewer resources to achieve their occupational aspirations. Young people from low SES backgrounds are also inclined to enter the labor force earlier than middle class children. Their lower occupational aspirations are less likely to require human capital investment that might otherwise delay entry to the labor force (Shu and Marini 1998). Teenagers who work can be disadvantaged over time by jobs that offer limited opportunity to develop transferable skills or long hours that reduce investment in educational attainment (Etzioni 1986, Gould 2010, see also Mortimer and Staff 2004).

In time, young people from middle class backgrounds come to prefer intrinsic job rewards more so than youth from working class or poor backgrounds. SES, therefore, comes to be positively associated with wanting meaningful work, freedom at work, and jobs that provide a chance to use and develop skills. In a national sample of high school
seniors in the cross-sectional segment of the Monitoring the Future Study (1976-1991), respondents were less likely to place emphasis on extrinsic and security values and more emphasis on intrinsic values if they came from families in which both parents were college educated (Marini et al. 1996). People from high SES backgrounds also have more stable aspirations over the life course (Reynolds et al. 2007). They come from better schools and their expectations tend to be better informed.

**Gender**

Men and women’s work values are indicative of their socialization in families, transitions into new contexts as they age, and generational shifts in the social construction of gender. The influence of gender role socialization on general life values is apparent very early in life. Girls tend to emphasize the importance of family and community more so than work outside the home while boys emphasize the importance of working in the formal labor force and providing for the family (Bielby 1992). More so than males, adolescent females value compassion and care for others and in surveys rate finding purpose and meaning in life as more important than materialism. Adolescent males are more likely than females to value competition and material things. Even when controls are included for parental education, religiosity and perceptions of social support, gender differences in values generally remain. When asked the reasoning behind their answers, boys cite status and financial reasons while girls indicate altruistic and personal fulfillment (Marini and Brinton 1984). The degree to which boys and girls value materialism has grown more similar in recent generations (Beutel and Marini 1995, also see Konrad et al. 2000), suggesting that there have been some generational changes underway.
To some extent, adolescents and adults continue to value the domains of home and work life in ways that echo traditional gender role socialization and this affects their work values. In the late 1970s, women’s commitment to family roles generally exceeded men’s, and men’s commitment to paid work exceeded women’s (Bielby 1992). Among female adolescents in the Monitoring the Future Study, a study which took place in the 1990s, the importance of having a good marriage and family was still much higher than it was for the males, even with the effects of race and class controlled statistically. With the same controls, the importance of “having lots of money” was still greater for males even though no significant gender difference was found for “being successful in one’s career” (Ovadia 2001). Females are more likely to emphasize compassion and life purpose (Beutel and Marini 1995) and an emotional connection to people (Gilligan and Attanucci 1988 in Xiao 2000). On average, women place more emphasis on accomplishment at work, an opportunity for social interaction with the public and with co-workers, and for meaningful work. A repeated cross-sectional analysis of high school seniors from 1975 to 1991 shows that young women consistently place more emphasis on altruistic and social rewards than young men (Marini et al. 1996). The Monitoring the Future panel indicates similar gendered patterns in intrinsic work values (Johnson 2001b).

As young people age and move into life stages that include marriage, college and employment, women continue to place more emphasis than men on intrinsic, social and altruistic job rewards but there are fewer gender differences when it comes to extrinsic work values. Male senior high school students in 1975 place more emphasis than females on extrinsic rewards and the influence on the job, but, in the 1991 cohort, these differences are no longer significant (Marini et al. 1996). A panel study finds similar
convergence for a cohort that graduated high school in the late 1970s, though females placed slightly less emphasis on extrinsic job rewards (security, promotion and income) than males (Johnson 2001b).

Research derived from cross-sectional studies of adults show that there are generally fewer gender differences amongst individuals who are employed full-time. Working men and women value income and promotion at similar levels in the late 1970s and 1980s, roughly the period of study for this dissertation. Slightly more than men, women value meaningful work and jobs that give them a sense of accomplishment. Men are slightly more likely than women to value promotion (Rowe and Snizek 1995, Bokemeier and Lacy 1986, Lacy et al. 1983) and women are more likely to value shorter hours (Menaghan, 1991; Moen, 1992). This suggests that work experiences influence women and men’s work values but that gender roles continue to be a factor.

While there is evidence from analyses of the National Longitudinal Survey (NLS) that women’s occupational aspirations shifted in the late 1960s and early 1970s towards work that was associated with higher pay, and less likely to be “pink collar” (Shu and Marini 1998, 2008), Tolbert and Moen (1998) do not find a gender difference in the importance that multiple cohorts of married workers place on pay in the GSS. Overall, they find little evidence of cohort change since 1973. In a more recent analysis of the GSS, Kalleberg and Marsden (2013) also report this period of convergence; working men and women emphasized pay to about the same extent from the early 1970s to the mid-1980s and there was little overall change its prioritization in comparison to other job characteristics. Since this period, however, an emphasis on pay has increased, with men’s emphasis on pay becoming slightly more than women’s. This suggests that there may be
another cultural shift underway, perhaps towards greater materialism, or a mechanism which leads individuals to place more emphasis on pay as real wages have declined.

Scholarship also suggests that there are class differences in the ways that men and women come to value job rewards. Parents with college degrees are more likely to have egalitarian views about gender roles than less educated parents, partly because their jobs are less likely to be sex typed themselves and because prior beliefs influenced mothers’ entrance into college. While working and middle class parents tend to transfer occupational aspirations to their children that are correlated with their own jobs, typically sex-typed in the 1970s and 1980s, daughters from upper class households in this era were more likely than previous generations of women to have aspirations that included historically male-dominated, white-collar occupations. This trend consequently raised the earnings potential of upper class women’s preferred occupations (Shu and Marini 1998).

In addition to the egalitarian values learned in the household, it is possible that the second wave of the Women’s Movement influences young women in this era. Gender differences in high school seniors’ work values from 1975 to 1991, however, do not appear affected by controls for parents’ education, race or mother’s employment (Marini et al. 1996).

**Race and ethnicity**

Historical and contemporaneous structural disadvantages experienced by people of color in the United States have shaped ideas about work. In comparison to White youth, Black and Hispanic youth are more likely to come from lower SES families and communities with fewer resources. Black neighborhoods in particular have been subject to poor city planning. Freeways constructed in the 1950s and 1960s displaced
communities and divided the remaining residents geographically from centers of commerce. Federally institutionalized redlining practices by banks also prevented many Black families from the wealth generating investment of home ownership. Housing loans that Black individuals were able to secure often did not have the guarantees that Whites were granted (Pietila 2010). In addition, the GI Bill that provided access to loans and college tuition for many WWII vets did not benefit African Americans as much as Whites due to racist admissions policies at colleges and discriminatory lending. Discrimination contributed to fewer job opportunities and less resources for schools in predominantly Black neighborhoods. More so than poor White neighborhoods, poor African American neighborhoods have more close ties. They are more socially isolated and have fewer social resources available in their social networks (Tigges et al. 1998) thus decreasing the amount of information about occupations available to young people (Wilson 1987).

The experiences of different ethnic groups in the United States are evident in the ways that people parent. European Americans value individualism while ethnic groups tend to have more collectivistic beliefs about interdependence and family. European Americans tend to emphasize independence in their parenting such as encouraging children to sleep in their own rooms (Suizzo 2007). While SES has been shown to positively impact the degree to which European American parents emphasize autonomy on the whole, Kusserow (1999) also found that the meaning of independence varied according to SES, educational level and neighborhood. African American parents teach their children to help their families through various tasks and to value spirituality, group loyalty and ethnic pride. In addition, achievement and respect of ones self are highly rated by African Americans (Peters 2002 in Suizzo 2007, Ovadia 2001). In addition to an
emphasis on family and interdependence, Mexican American mothers value conformity, politeness and obedience more than independence (Rodriguez and Olswang 2003) which likely reflects an intersection of ethnicity, gender and socio-economic status.

In comparison to their parents, Black youth in the 1970s and 1980s aspired to occupations that were associated with higher incomes and educational requirements. A comparison of adolescents and young adults in the mid-1960s (the NLS) and the 1980s (the NLSY) shows that Black men in the latter cohort are more likely than previous generations to aspire to occupations that had more prestige, educational requirements and were more male-dominated (Shu and Marini 1998). The shift in occupational aspirations was especially large for young Black men in less educated families. The earnings potential of their aspirational occupations was much higher than that of their parents. Black women of the younger cohort also had slightly higher aspirations than the women before them. They aspired to occupations that tended to be paid more, an effect that lasted even through the economic recessions of the 1970s and early 1980s (Shu and Marini 1998). While the SES of White fathers’ occupations tend to positively impact their children’s aspirations in the late 1970s, no significant effect was found for Black fathers (Shu and Marini 1998).

Several factors likely contributed to the shift in occupational aspirations. Access to educational and occupational opportunities for young people and their parents likely increased Black and Hispanic aspirations overall (Wilson 1980). In the 1984 follow up to the High School and Beyond survey, Black male and female college students were more likely to major in a STEM field if their mothers attended college. Parents’ education did not affect White respondents’ choice of major (Maple and Stage 1991).
Cultural shifts may have also influenced the occupational aspirations of Black and Hispanic youth of this period. Researchers Shu and Marini (1998, 2008) attribute the shift in Black aspirations to the Civil Rights Movement. Black youth in the 1970s would have grown up learning about young people protesting discriminatory practices and laws, successful Black leaders, and positive representations of African heritage. Shu and Marini (2008) argue that it was not until later periods that Black Americans actually experienced upward intergenerational mobility. They find a similar cultural influence from the Women’s Movement which appears to have affected White women’s occupational aspirations.

Although the evidence suggests that Black youth in the late 1970s and 1980s had higher educational and occupational aspirations than their parents, it is not entirely clear how this change impacted this cohort’s work values. This question is particularly relevant for the current study as it follows young people in this time period. Black respondents rate extrinsic rewards higher than Whites, even when the effect of SES is controlled statistically, but race differences in intrinsic values have been more difficult to determine. In the GSS, employed Black adults consistently rank income much higher and intrinsic rewards lower than employed White adults (Martin and Tuch 1993, Kalleberg and Marsden 2013). In a panel survey from the 1990s, Black youth are more likely to value extrinsic rewards and intrinsic rewards than White respondents (Johnson 2001a, Kashefi 2011). Some evidence suggests that Black youth may decrease their emphasis on extrinsic and intrinsic rewards as a result of labor market experiences (Johnson 2001a).

In comparison to young Whites in the late 1970s and 1980s, there is evidence that there are fewer gender differences in Black youth’s work values. Black youth’s
occupational aspirations in this period are generally less likely to be influenced by their parents’ occupations. While White children in the NLSY tended to be influenced by their parents’ occupations through gender-linked role modeling, this relationship was not significant for Black youth (Shu and Marini 1998). Influenced by contexts beyond their parents’ occupations, young Black women in the mid-1970s and early 1980s may have placed more emphasis on intrinsic and extrinsic job rewards than White women.

**Education**

School resources, class size, the skill level of teachers and curriculum impact the kinds of job characteristics that young people eventually come to value. Educational funding impacts school characteristics and classroom experiences. Schools tend to have fewer resources if they are located in poor and working class communities due to the lower tax revenue, typically from property tax, that is generated from citizens in corresponding school districts. Schools with more funding have smaller classes and better prepared teachers (McPartland and McDill 1982, Ritter and Boruch 1999) and students perform better in small classes (Finn and Achilles 1999). Those who teach the courses in the lower tracks tend to have less experience and ability (Gamoran and Berends 1987) and those who teach in higher tracks have more experience (Ball 1981).

School experiences also impact the degree to which young people attach importance to educational attainment. Historically, teachers and administrators in primary schools have shared the paradigm that children should seek out and consume knowledge politely and attentively and it is assumed that all children seek out intellectual development in preparation for future schooling. Rosenthal and Jacobson’s (1968) classic work on the “Pygmalion effect” found that more so than control groups, student test
performance increased when teachers gave more attention to those randomly labeled by researchers as “intellectually gifted”. Children who were thought to be “average” received less attention than the “gifted” children and in time their achievement scores declined by comparison. The idea of the self-fulfilling prophecy in educational settings illustrates the ways that norms and socio-economic status are reinforced in schools. Working class children, girls and non-Whites might be less likely to be thought of as intellectually engaged because they do not appear to communicate values that are congruent with teacher expectations.

Children thought to have less intellectual promise or interest in school may receive less attention from teachers. Students who do not feel smart or confident may consequently feel less efficacious at school and are less likely to develop aspirations that include additional education. Children who perceive their teachers to be warm and supportive of their efforts tend to become more engaged in the classroom. Student engagement positively impacts academic performance. Children who do not perceive their teachers to be supportive tend to perform at lower levels which can, in turn, lead them to doubt their academic abilities (Skinner et al. 1998).

Tracking is another way that education affects aspirations. Research has found disproportionate placement of lower socio-economic and minority students into non-college tracks (Vanfossen et al. 1987). Higher SES parents are able to place their children in more advanced courses or tracks (Laureau 1987). Students in higher tracks tend to like school more than those in the lower tracks (Gamoran and Berends 1987) and consequently have higher educational aspirations (Rosenbaum 1980). Young people who
perceive that they have academic ability place less emphasis on extrinsic rewards (Anderson 1985, Johnson and Mortimer 2011).

Educational aspirations positively impact occupational aspirations (Jencks et al. 1983). Rindfuss, Cooksey and Sutterlin (1999) find that students in academic as opposed to vocational or private high schools have more consistent occupational aspirations. Good academic performance increases the chances of meeting occupational goals, suggesting that academic achievement is positively correlated with better “occupational knowledge”.

**College**

Values select young people into college and then, once engaged in institutions of higher education, students are further socialized by their experiences with professors, peers and curricula. Scholarship in this area indicates that the values of those who attend college tend to diverge significantly from the values of their peers in the years that follow high school graduation.

The choice to invest in a college education is indicative of prior occupational orientations, parents’ goals for their children, and financial support. In an analysis of the Monitoring the Future study, Johnson and Elder (2002) found that those respondents who selected into college began with a greater interest in autonomy than their peers. College-choosers also valued pay and job security less than their peers. This group may be more willing and able to take on the risk of educational investment because their economic circumstances provide the opportunity. When student goals and their parents’ goals are aligned, young people are more likely to attend college in the year after high school graduation (Kim and Schneider 2005).
Experiences while attending college also shape values. Earlier research suggests that even when the gender of the instructor is controlled in college courses, male students are more likely to be called on and to receive greater attention from teachers in general than female students (Karp and Yoels 1976). More often than female college students, young male students perceive that their input is valuable (Crombie et al. 2003). If male students perceive that their classroom participation is valuable, they may feel more efficacious about their college experience. Female representation among faculty is associated with higher educational attainment for female undergraduates (Sonnert et al. 2007).

Aspirations and ideas about jobs influence selection into undergraduate majors. Students planning to choose architecture, art, journalism, or drama as their occupational field have highly intrinsic values, whereas those planning to enter such fields as real estate, finance, law, and business have highly extrinsic values (Rosenberg 1957). First generation college students are less likely to select majors that they perceive to have ambiguous vocational applications such as English, art, and philosophy, instead choosing majors that might better translate into direct employment such as criminal justice, business and education (Mullen 2013).

Over time, college tends to socialize students in such a way that they place more importance on job autonomy than their peers and this effect is long lasting. The social context of college increases valuation of autonomy over time and the effect continues to grow four years thereafter to the age of 26 (Johnson and Elder 2002). This supports other research that finds a relationship between educational attainment and increased emphasis on autonomy (Kalleberg and Loscocco 1983, Rowe and Snizek 1995, Knox et al. 1993).
Cultural norms taught in college such as self-actualization through work, independence and leadership are likely to influence students. Long-term educational investment tends to raise expectations for jobs that offer prestige, monetary rewards of work, and independence on the job (Ross and Reskin 1992).

Those who do not attend college tend to experience a shift in values much greater than that of their peers. Groups that select vocational paths instead of college increasingly value security and influence in this period of their lives (Johnson and Elder 2002). Meanwhile, college choosers continue to decrease emphasis on job security. By the end of their four years of schooling, college graduates have increased their emphasis on meaningful work and a chance to use their abilities while their peers have decreased emphasis on these aspects (2002). Job security becomes more important and intrinsic rewards become less important to those without college experience, likely due to growing financial needs and restricted access to better quality jobs.

Marriage and parenthood

Ideas about work influence the choices that people make about marriage and parenthood. Experiences in young families then further shape values. Married women and men often have different sets of roles that highlight the intersections of gender and social class.

The decision to marry is influenced by work values. In a panel of young adults in the 1990s, stronger extrinsic and weaker intrinsic values during adolescence predicted marriage nine years out of high school. Parents’ educational attainment was negatively correlated with selection into marriage (Johnson 2005). Some evidence suggests that young people from lower SES families value children more than those from higher SES.
families (Edin and Kafalas 2005, Thomson 2001) and in the period of study (the mid-1970s and 1980s), marriage was seen as a path towards starting a family. Occupational aspirations are also a factor in the timing of marriage. For young men in the 1960s, neither marriage nor parenthood significantly affected occupational aspirations, at least in terms of prestige, earnings potential and educational requirements. But for women in the 1960s, marriage is associated with aspirations for occupations that have fewer educational requirements in comparison to their single counterparts (Shu and Marini 2008). Parenthood further downgrades women’s occupational aspirations in terms of the pay, prestige and their associated educational requirements (Shu and Marini 2008). An analysis of the NLS-72 indicates that educational attainment increases the likelihood that men and women will delay parenthood (Rindfuss et al. 1987). Young people with strong intrinsic work values may delay marriage in order to pursue the educational requirements and experiences needed to realize their occupational goals. Those with lower intrinsic work values may take a more instrumental view of work and start families sooner.

Although previous generations of women tended to make more trade-offs between work and family, women of the Baby Boomer generation began to engage in both domains due to financial necessity and changing gender roles. While married men typically find that masculinity, fatherhood and work are relatively manageable (West and Zimmerman 1987), women’s values reflect the conflicts that can arise between the statuses of “woman”, “mother” and “worker”. The household division of labor and the ability to outsource childcare and housework is a factor in the ways that women think about career. Lower SES women are more constrained by the methods by which they can simultaneously invest in career, family and still negotiate the “second shift” (Hochschild
1989). In 1980, husbands brought home more pay than their wives in 90 percent of married couples and role conflict was an issue for many women in the period of study. By 2007, this number had declined to 76 percent (Taylor et al. 2010).

Married women who are secondary wage earners are more likely to value flexible and convenient jobs than married women who do not work (Martin and Hanson 1985, Walker, Tausky, and Oliver 1982). The traditional division of labor within the family is also likely to lead women to value short hours more than men (Menaghan 1991; Moen 1992). Johnson (2005) finds that both married men and women value intrinsic job characteristics slightly less than their single counterparts, net of prior selection effects. The meaning and rewards of family relationships may become more important than the intrinsic characteristics of jobs.

The degree to which women and men value extrinsic rewards appears to be dependent on the assignment of the economic provider role and family size. Women marry earlier when they have greater emphasis on extrinsic job rewards, but, net of this effect, married women generally place less emphasis on extrinsic job rewards than single women. Married women may be less concerned about the financial aspects of jobs than single women because they are supported by their male spouses. Men with greater emphasis on extrinsic job rewards select into marriage earlier than other men but subsequently, married men and single men do not have significantly different preferences towards extrinsic aspects of jobs. Fathers prefer extrinsic job rewards more so than single men, suggesting that family size tends to expand men’s role as economic provider (Johnson 2005). In contrast, motherhood does not appear to affect married women’s extrinsic work values, perhaps because their role does not essentially change from
secondary wage earner. When women are breadwinners, however, extrinsic rewards are much more important to them. Single mothers place much greater emphasis on extrinsic job rewards than single women without children, at about the same level as single fathers (Johnson 2005).

Job characteristics

The kinds of jobs that people find in the labor market shape their ideas about what is attainable in the labor market. The body of research on the subject of work socialization provides evidence to support two possible conceptualizations of the way that this mechanism operates, the reinforcement hypothesis and problematic rewards hypothesis. People may come to value the kinds of jobs that they have experienced in the past and make downward adjustments in preferences if they come to find that their valued job characteristics are not attainable. Alternatively, jobs that do not pay well and do not satisfy basic needs may be distressing. People may focus preferences more intensely on income in these circumstances.

Reinforcement explanation

A popular perspective in the current research on work values is that people learn to value aspects of their jobs and devalue aspects that they are unable to attain. Work values thus come to reflect job characteristics over time. The reinforcement explanation thus suggests that job rewards positively impact work values in quantitative analyses.

The reinforcement hypothesis is consistent with the Marxist paradigm of work values. Values reflect available opportunities and work without meaningful challenge becomes a source of alienation. Over time, people without freedom to develop their skills
come to see their work as instrumental and a means to an end rather than as a source of meaning and fulfillment. This perspective is echoed by Goldthorpe et al. (1968). In that classic work, the auto workers who could not get challenging jobs later became disinterested in work with these characteristics.

Patterns in several panel studies indicate a reinforcing relationship between job characteristics and work values. Kohn found support for reinforcement of work values, specifically that the degree of substantive complexity on the job strongly increased self-directed orientations (Kohn and Schooler 1982). In several longitudinal studies, intrinsic work values develop as a result of meaningful work, challenging work, and work that provides freedom on the job (Mortimer and Lorence 1979b, Mortimer et al. 1996, Lindsay and Knox 1984, Johnson 2001b). Mortimer and Lorence also found that extrinsic rewards increased male college students’ emphasis on pay over time (1979b, Mortimer et al. 1986).

Other studies have found results which confirm that intrinsic rewards are reinforcing but that extrinsic rewards are not. Using the Monitoring the Future panel data, Porfeli (2008) tested the idea that past relative differences in work values and job rewards should predict the two measures’ degree of congruence over time. He found significant convergence patterns for intrinsic and interpersonal aspects but, in the extrinsic dimension, work values and job rewards became more dissimilar over time. Other research supports the reinforcement hypothesis for extrinsic work values. The way in which the Youth Development Study cohort experienced the Great Recession appears to support the reinforcement hypothesis. Johnson et al. (2012) found that earnings, the perception of job security and promotion opportunities tended to strengthen interest in
extrinsic work values. Although unemployment initially increased the likelihood that respondents valued extrinsic rewards, this effect diminished when a variety of more detailed extrinsic rewards were added to the model.

In the aggregate, the reinforcement mechanism may operate such that economic downturns lower expectations. Underemployment and involuntary unemployment reduces male college graduates’ emphasis on extrinsic and intrinsic work values (Mortimer et al. 1986). Reinforcement might reflect rationalizations and calculations as the structural paradigm suggests. In a study of 182 male engineers, Kopelman (1977) found that work values reflected respondents’ perceived chances of getting a salary increase. Respondents who believed the chance of a raise was slim assigned significantly less importance to pay four years later. Those who believed that the chances of attaining the rewards were good did not change their expectations.

If work values are shaped by perceptions, LOC may be an indirect influence. Reinforcement could be a means of reducing perceptual gaps between previous expectations and experiences that would otherwise cause external LOC. Rationalizations and neutralizations would therefore be important in reducing discrepancies between values and experience. As noted in chapter 1, Rokeach found in experimental conditions that people aim to reduce the gap between different classes of values and attitudes in order to feel that the outcomes are effective, preferable and favorable (1973). Applied to work values, the idea behind reinforcement suggests that gaps between work experiences and values narrow over time either by reframing experience or by motivating actions that change one’s circumstances. If work values are continually adjusted in ways that are associated self-efficacy, increases in internal LOC might be associated with increases in
the emphasis that people place on various aspects of their jobs. The reinforcement hypothesis assumes LOC will not be impacted by repeated outcomes which suggest to individuals that efforts are inadequate or ineffectual (see Kramen 1989, Knoop 1989). This perspective also suggests that the mechanisms which lead individuals to value pay are similar to those mechanisms which lead individuals to value job autonomy. Thus, in all circumstances, job rewards will be positively associated with work values.

*Problematic explanation*

Work values may be indicative of job rewards that have been difficult to find. Kalleberg and Marsden (2013) suggest that dimensions of work are hierarchical as Maslow (1954) suggests, though not necessarily contingent on satisfying them in order. People, therefore, tend to value what is “problematic”. Kalleberg and Marsden examined eight waves of the GSS between 1973 and 2006, which revealed increases in the ranking of financial rewards in the same time period that the United States has seen a decline in real wages. Their analysis shows a declining emphasis on accomplishment at work in the same period, coinciding with growth in the service industry. Together these findings suggest that if basic material security is not secured, people reduce their emphasis on intrinsic rewards and come to emphasize extrinsic rewards. When basic material security is secured, individuals can focus on higher order needs such as intellectual stimulation and self-actualization. Kalleberg and Marsden found more support in their study for a cohort effect than for changes within the life course. Work values may adjust their expectations when young people begin their careers but then values remain relatively

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2 This may be similar to the idea of a “deficit” explanation because the need for a specific job reward only becomes enacted when it is lacking (DeVaus and McAllister 1991 in Kashefi 2005, 2011). Johnson et al. (2012) calls this the “material needs” perspective.
stable afterwards (264). On the other hand, Kalleberg and Marsden are not able to test directly the ways that job rewards impact individual work value trajectories, using synthetic cohorts instead in one part of their analysis. Within GSS cohorts, they find that advancement becomes less important with age in comparison to income. Assuming that age positively correlates with advancement and income over the life course, the problematic rewards hypothesis appears to hold some weight. As respondents age, they earn more and gain access to jobs with greater status. They consequently value these job characteristics less than younger respondents. Rankings of job security and accomplishment did not significantly change within cohorts.

The problematic rewards hypothesis suggests that people place more importance on extrinsic rewards when their basic needs are not satisfied by work. This assertion runs counter to Goldthorpe’s Affluent Worker research which argued that people acclimate to jobs that provide fewer rewards than what they initially expected. A replication of this study by MacKinnon (1980) was performed by sampling 229 General Motors workers of British descent near Ontario, Canada to match the original Luton, England data. The results suggested that assemblers valued extrinsic rewards more so than the better paid craftsmen and that instrumentalism, therefore, is an outcome of working conditions. Similarly, a mixed methods study by Loscocco (1989) found that skilled and unskilled factory workers valued pay more as a result of their general values and perceived needs, not because of a predisposition to instrumental work or as a reduction in expectations in order to be more “realistic”. In interviews her respondents reported that they still considered freedom at work a desirable aspect even though their current jobs did not provide this opportunity.
There has not been consistent support for the problematic rewards hypothesis. According to this explanation, the realization of financial rewards should lead to greater emphasis on intrinsic rewards and extrinsic rewards should have a negative relationship with extrinsic values. As indicated above, the Youth Development cohort findings do not support this (Johnson et al. 2012). In a cohort of male college graduates, Mortimer et al. (1986) find a similar contemporaneous result, although they do not have the ability to test how income affects extrinsic values over the life course. When income is controlled in their analysis, however, a retrospective measure of perceived career instability (operationalized as unemployment and self-reported changes in occupational aspirations) increases emphasis on extrinsic rewards.

The problematic rewards hypothesis highlights the psychological impact of different job rewards. According to this perspective, work values reflect job rewards that have been difficult to find. People may perceive that their efforts have been unsuccessful if there is a large gap between the reality of their current job characteristics and their initial work values. This circumstance may increase external LOC. As noted in the first chapter, psychologists Schwartz and Bilsky (1987) have argued that values represent a conscious response to three types of human needs that ensure group survival and welfare: physiological, social interaction and social institutions. Individuals formulate goals based on the cognitive response to these basic needs. Work experiences which suggest that efforts are not forthcoming of their expected outcomes, and especially those outcomes related to the ability to eat and house oneself, may come to increase external LOC. The problematic rewards hypothesis draws from this position, suggesting that emphasis on extrinsic work values increases when the outcomes of work have not matched up with
expectations. People might be more psychologically distressed in these circumstances than when these needs are satisfied. If this is the case, job rewards would be negatively associated with work values.

Although the forthcoming analysis will not evaluate individual “fit” between work values, job rewards and the impact on LOC, job experiences may affect LOC over time in ways that can eventually shape work values. LOC is likely impacted by ongoing structural and culturally influenced experiences, and then in new contexts has an independent effect on work values and job rewards as well. This topic is discussed in a later section of this chapter.

Summary of socialization

The research described in this section identifies the mechanisms in non-work and work contexts which impact the importance that people attach to job characteristics. Much of the scholarship suggests that structural disadvantage such as low SES origins and low educational attainment can increase emphasis on extrinsic job rewards. Parents and extended family who have more resources tend to pass on values to their children that emphasize educational attainment and independence. Young people that continue their education aspire towards occupations that offer independence and prestige. Culturally constructed beliefs and roles impact work values as well. Young Black Americans in the 1970s and 1980s may have higher occupational aspirations than White Americans because they are influenced by the Civil Rights Movement. Overall, young men value pay slightly more than women in the period of study, but this is dependent on employment status and marital status. In comparison to men and single women, married women experience role constraints and come to place less emphasis on the extrinsic
aspects of jobs. Finally the scholarship presents two currently conflicting perspectives on the relationship between job rewards and work values, the problematic rewards hypothesis and the reinforcement hypothesis. In summary, then, it appears necessary to account for work and non-work experiences in order to determine how control over the attainment of job rewards affects work values. The ability to find jobs that correspond with work values is also likely to vary. The next section will describe the kinds of jobs available to the cohort of study and the ways in which this was shaped by cultural and structural factors.

2.2 Selection mechanisms

The mechanisms that select people into jobs are shaped by people’s attributes and the characteristics of the labor market. Educational attainment affects access to certain kinds of occupations and non-work roles impact the availability to work. The characteristics of jobs and demand for workers are influenced by work structures, technological innovation, global competition and business cycles. Industries, occupations, business organizations and labor unions, therefore, shape jobs over time and then they are distributed to individuals in various institutional, organizational and interpersonal processes.

Since World War II, the largest change to impact the kinds of jobs that are available to Americans has been the shift from a primarily manufacturing-based economy to a service economy. Manufacturing-based firms faced new forms of global competition that affected the size and shape of organizations. The growth of the service industry, computing and the 24/7 economy created a climate in which many firms merged so that
they could compete in the global marketplace, leaving the smaller firms to compete amongst themselves for the market share.

The period of study is characterized by the rise of post-Fordism, the idea that there was no longer an implied social contract between firms and workers. Prior to the mid-1970s, manufacturing-based firms were more likely to be bureaucratically organized and this tended to be characterized by internal labor markets and job security. With the growth of global competition, technological innovations and market instability, many manufacturing firms operated in an environment of increased uncertainty. Some organizations did not survive in this period and filed for bankruptcy, but many downsized domestically so that they could be more flexible. The firms that remained eventually consolidated, tripling the number of mergers and acquisitions between 1976 and 1986 (*Mergers and Acquisitions* 1987). Firms also diversified their products and services and developed off-shore manufacturing sites to lower production costs and externalize risk. Unionization rates declined as a result of these dramatic changes, leaving workers with less bargaining power over contracts and eventually declines in real wages. In the mid-1980s manufacturing jobs became characterized by deskilling, as technology developed, and insecurity as internal labor markets were dismantled and downsizing continued. When women and immigrants entered the labor force in greater proportions in the 1960s and 1970s, they tended to be assigned to low wage and low skill work.

Prior to the 1980s there were lower proportions of jobs with autonomy and they tended to be protected. The growth of the service industry is characterized by managerial, professional and service occupations. Food service, personal service and retail occupations have consequently increased but they are usually pay relatively low wages
with part-time hours, oftentimes because job tasks have been deskillled and routinized. The segmented labor market grew with the development of the service industry as firms became more flexible, eliminating middle management which had historically allowed access to better quality jobs within promotional ladders. In the 21st century, college degrees are in higher demand as they are more likely to grant access to primary jobs and professionalized occupations that offer transferable skills. This has evened the playing field in some ways but job queues still operate in much the same way as they have in the last century whereby employers protect access to “good” jobs by assigning workers with less preferable characteristics to other tracks (Reskin and Roos 1990). Consequently some occupations, usually deskillled or becoming less valuable, included women and people of color earlier than others in the shift to the service economy. Other occupations expanded such as real estate, insurance sales, and public relations. These lines of work could absorb more women and minorities. There is also some evidence which suggests that professional associations had more power prior to corporatization of health care organizations and law firms which limited workers’ access to these professional occupations (Hafferty and Light 1995).

The growth of the service industry has also coincided with the decline in real wages. Unions were better equipped to organize workers in large, fairly homogeneous bureaucratically organized workplaces such a semi-skilled and skilled manufacturing occupations. When many of these jobs faced downsizing, it was difficult for unions to maintain their hold. Unionization rates declined from approximately 33 percent of the labor force in 1955, their height to date, to below 25 percent in the mid to late 1970s. The decline in men’s real wages coincided with further increases in women’s labor force
participation rates, likely so that families could make ends meet. Members of the large Baby Boom cohort experienced intense competition for well-paying jobs as they entered the labor market in the early 1970s. Recessions and high employment in the late 1970s and early 1980s likely created an obstacle to finding secure jobs as this cohort was planning for their futures (Levy 1998).

**Gender**

In comparison to men, women tend to have limited access to jobs that offer high pay and job autonomy and they tend to select jobs that offer more scheduling flexibility. In the period of study especially, many women entering the labor force found employment in low-wage service occupations that were “feminized”: predominantly female, required fewer skills and offered, in many cases, social interaction with customers or co-workers. Consequently, women tend to be constrained into a fewer occupations than men. Service occupations such as food services, retail and personal services have less value due to deskilling and overall devaluation in the secondary labor market (Tilly and Tilly 1998). Feminized jobs that paid better than service occupations in the period of study were limited to teaching, nursing and clerical work. As women’s labor force participation increased, service occupations were expanding. In 1976 women’s total labor force participation rate was 47.3 percent and by 1986 this rate had risen to 55.3 percent (BLS 2013).

Women managed multiple roles as they entered the labor force in greater numbers and the value of men’s wages declined. The tasks and roles needed in order to maintain the home were negotiated alongside growing labor force participation. This presented considerable role conflict for many women (Spain and Bianchi 1996). With the exception
of higher SES women that could afford to outsource some domestic labor, discontinuous work histories in this period limited women’s ability to earn as much weekly income as men. Over time discontinuity also limited women’s ability to accumulate job experiences that could open doors to other jobs with less direct supervision. Timing of work experience accounts for 12 percent of the male-female wage gap in Baby Boomer’s wages in the NLS (Light and Ureta 1995). Women in this cohort were more likely to drop out of the labor force than men when they did not attain the occupations to which they aspired in their 20s (Rindfuss et al. 1999). Since the period of study, women’s work histories are more continuous and as young women approach work age, they anticipate that they will juggle work and family more so than young men (Johnson et al. 2001).

Men in this generation are likely to have more continuous work histories than women, working most of their adult lives. Continuous work histories increase financial resources and social capital. Women’s social networks tend to shrink relative to men during marriage and parenthood but then expand as familial responsibilities recede (Fischer and Oliker 1983). Women tend to learn about job opportunities from other women and men from other men (Hanson and Pratt 1991).

Women are more likely to be queued into jobs in organizations that have little room for advancement (Reskin and Roos 1990, Reskin 1988), thus creating the experience of a “glass ceiling” that prevents access to internal labor markets. As more married women entered the labor force, some employers were reticent to hire women generally because they believed they were not committed to work; they might drop out of the labor force when they have children and this continues today (Correll 2013).
More so than women, young men in the period of study have access to semi-skilled and skilled manufacturing jobs which tended to provide considerably better pay than feminized occupations. There were also more mid-level managers before firms developed flexible structures and these jobs tended to be assigned to men. When they put in extra hours at work, men are typically rewarded for their commitment but women may struggle to balance the demands at home and at work. In this time period especially, the ability to accumulate experience in organizations facilitated a mutual sense of commitment between employer and employee. This would, in turn, help employees to develop skills and access to promotional ladders. Though shifts were taking place in this time period, women were less able than men to build these kinds of working relationships even when they did find highly paid, autonomous work. Even after controlling for other demographic and work characteristics, women have less autonomy than men (Ross and Reskin 1992, Singelmann and Menchen 1992) and make less than men (Goldin 1990).

For those who worked full-time in 1980, women, on average, earned 60 percent of what men earned (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2000).

**SES**

Historically, SES has positively affected men and women’s pay and job autonomy. Informal social networks are sometimes key to accessing better quality work because most information about good jobs is not publicly available (Granovetter 1995). Those from low-SES backgrounds may be more socially isolated when it comes to information about jobs (Elliott 1999, McDonald and Elder 2006).

As indicated above, semi-skilled manufacturing jobs are available to low SES men in the period of study. Access to these kinds of jobs may decrease the impact that
SES origins might otherwise have on men’s pay. Similarly, SES background may not have a strong independent effect on autonomy because access to jobs with this characteristic tend to be limited by credentialing. Individuals from higher SES backgrounds are more likely to have the financial means and family support to attend college.

Race and ethnicity

White Americans are better able to access secure, well-paid work than Black and Hispanic Americans. White Americans have higher educational attainment levels than Blacks which explains some of the pay gap. When educational attainment is taken into account, race differences in job autonomy tend narrow significantly (Fenwick and Olsen 1986).

As the level of educational attainment has increased for Black Americans, some were queued into different tracks that have less mobility in organizations. This has tended to keep Whites in jobs that are higher quality (Reskin and Roos 1990, Reskin 1988). Minority groups have traditionally faced discrimination by employers due to stereotypes about their ability to do highly skilled work and their ability to lead. Greater educational requirements for entrance into primary jobs have also relegated many Black workers to secondary jobs in the shift to a service economy. Black men in the period of study likely had access to semi-skilled manufacturing jobs.

Service occupations growing in the period of study such a sales, food services and personal services have historically made applicants vulnerable to employers’ discriminatory views about “fit” between the organization, its clientele, and its employees. In interviews, employers of sales, clerical and customer service personnel
describe their ideal employee as having the right “personality” or “attitude” which is shaped by racial stereotypes and the tendency toward homophily in hiring (Kirschenman and Neckerman 1991). The racial composition of an establishment’s customers negatively impacts the hiring and wages of racial minorities. Service occupations are affected more so than other kinds of occupations. When hiring, employers appear to prefer Whites to have one-on-one contact with customers (Holzer and Ihlanfeldt 1998).

Education

In the service economy, jobs with highly complex tasks are more likely to require a college degree. Many employers require a college education or other formal certifications in order to be promoted into jobs with leadership opportunities and discretion over work (Ross and Reskin 1992, Fenwick and Olsen 1986). Credentialing is also a way that employers limit the labor pool and make hiring more efficient. Post-secondary education tends to be stronger predictor of earnings than intrinsic rewards because access to jobs with autonomy is guarded by professional associations, job queues and informal social networks. In addition to a college degree, jobs that offer freedom at work may require more on the job skill development and several years of work experience. Nationwide 14 percent of women and 21 percent of men had a college degree in 1980 (BLS 2013).

Marriage and parenthood

Marital status also affects the kinds of jobs that women and men attain. In the period of study single women tended to have higher earnings than married women. Married women and especially married women with children were more likely to have interrupted work histories than single women. As domestic work increases in the home,
women may work fewer hours or drop out of the labor force. As family obligations decrease, typically later in life, women may re-enter the labor force (Oppenheimer 1982). In the period of study, women spend more hours and men spend less hours in domestic work in comparison to current trends (Bianchi 2000; Spain and Bianchi 1996). On average, wives in 1976 contributed an average of 26.4 percent to the total family income and by 1986 the percentage had increased to 29 percent. By contrast, wives contributed 37.6 percent to the household in 2010 (BLS 2013). Women who delay marriage tend to have higher educational attainment which places them in jobs with more freedom at work than women who marry early in the life course. Men’s access to high paying, autonomous work tends not to be affected by marriage (Jacobs and Gerson 2004) though married men may work longer hours to support the family.

Fathers in the period of study are likely to have more continuous employment than mothers, and therefore longer tenure at organizations which may grant access to better quality jobs (Kalleberg and Leicht 1986, Kalleberg and Van Buren 1996). Temporary absences from the labor force reduce women’s overall work experience, accounting for more than half of the wage penalty for motherhood among American mothers (Gangl and Ziefe 2009). Net of cumulative work experience, the wage penalty is approximately 4 percent per child for Baby Boomer women in the NLSY (Gangl and Ziefe 2009). Upon re-entry to the labor market, women may change employers, work fewer hours and choose jobs that are more flexible, all of which can reduce wages over the long run.
Summary of selection

The selection mechanisms outlined above show that the “fit” between work values and jobs is a product of people’s characteristics and capabilities in addition to labor market processes that affect the availability of various kinds of jobs. College educated men in the period of study may be advantaged in the labor market over other groups because they face the fewest barriers to employment but they may have little job experience at this age in comparison to other men. Women and Black Americans face job queues that disadvantage them even if they have a college degree. On the other hand, women may find that they can make some inroads in new occupations in this time period such as public relations and real estate. Low SES and less educated men may still find work in the remaining skilled and semi-skilled manufacturing jobs of this era but they are likely disadvantaged by the recessions and layoffs in this period and especially so as they grew older. Those who had not planned for college may have been particularly affected.

2.3 The role of LOC as a mediator

As indicated in chapter one, psychological LOC may mediate the relationship between respondent characteristics and control over the attainment of job rewards. LOC indicates perceptions of agency and whether people look to external validations or internal validations of the self. As argued above, LOC is a function of psychological needs and their degree of satisfaction. LOC is also an indicator of the capacity to manage stress, to engage in problem solving behavior and may change in time as a result of experiences. The predictors of LOC are reviewed below, as well as the ways that work values and job rewards are influenced by LOC.
Structural and cultural predictors of LOC

As discussed above, LOC reflects psychological needs and the degree to which they have been satisfied (Schwartz 1992). Gecas (2000) has suggested that LOC is malleable such that shifts towards external LOC may be a coping strategy when there is threat to the self. People with external LOC perceive the social system to be unresponsive to one’s actions (Bandura 1977 in Gecas 1989). One might develop external LOC when there are objectively fewer opportunities available (Gecas 1989, Marx 1964), when there is structural inconsistency between goals and means (Merton 1968), or when there is role overload or dependency on others for sustenance (Mirowsky and Ross 2003). Thus, groups that generally experience more threats to the self may be more likely to develop external LOC in comparison to groups that are buffered from such threats. Groups that grow up with financial resources, social capital and values that encourage self-efficacious beliefs and coping strategies may have higher internal LOC than other groups.

Gender and LOC

Young people tend to have strong personal agency but this declines with age. Young women and men tend to have similar levels of internal LOC, but, over the life course, women experience a sharper change in internal LOC and a greater overall decline than men (Ross and Mirowsky 2002). Educational attainment, continuous employment, income and physical health, all positively associated with internal LOC, account for some this gap and suggest that men may be particularly advantaged in the sense that they perceive they have more agency than women. In comparison to unemployment, participation in the formal labor force increases internal LOC in contemporaneous tests (Bird and Ross 1993; Ross and Mirowsky 1992; Ross and Wright 1998), possibly
because efforts and compensation appear in a work environment to have a strong relationship. The more continuous work histories that men experience are thus conducive to internal LOC. Women may also have more routine jobs than men and this decreases their internal LOC (Ross and Wright 1998). Differences in fulfillment at work, economic hardship and self-reported health do not help to explain the gap in men’s and women’s internal LOC (Ross and Mirowsky 2002).

The sociological research that has examined the relationship between gender and LOC tends to assume that men and women have similar sources of LOC. Some psychological research suggests that women and men may derive internal LOC from different aspects of life. Women may derive greater agency from social adaptation and social interaction and men may feel more empowered from achievement and independence (Sherman et al. 1995). If this is the case, women derive efficacy from experiences outside of work with family and friends, or occupations and jobs that offer a chance to interact with customers or co-workers. If men derive efficacy from achievement, they may enjoy a greater sense of agency from upward mobility over the life course than women do. Many of the psychological studies that test gender differences in LOC have small samples, 300 and less, and thus further testing is needed. In a test of the NLSY, Goldsmith et al. (1995) find that in comparison to other males, unemployed men experience increases in external LOC the longer that they were unemployed. The effect was indistinguishable from the effect of having dropped out of the labor force. Women that withdrew from the labor force had lower levels of external LOC than women who had experienced unemployment, suggesting that labor force withdrawal that is motivated by family responsibilities is experienced differently.
Social class is likely to shape LOC due to environmental characteristics, access to resources, social networks, and cultural beliefs. SES is negatively correlated with external LOC (Caplan and Schooler 2007, Mirowsky and Ross 1983). The experience of living in a poor neighborhood tends to increase external LOC because it is more stressful. With the decline of manufacturing in the period of study, neighborhoods in cities became increasingly isolated from centers of commerce and unemployment increased. As a result, poverty rose in neighborhoods where the majority of breadwinners were previously employed in manufacturing firms. Lower SES neighborhoods are associated with economic hardship, neighborhood problems such as street crime, and neglect from municipal public services. In some cases, neighbors can come together and form closer social ties that facilitate the sharing of information and services such as childcare (Stack 1974, Venkatesh 2006). When people move out of impoverished neighborhoods, it can leave homes vacant and, over time, the people that remain in the communities struggle to stay organized. Collective efficacy can deteriorate in these circumstances which can further increase external LOC if neighborhood problems consequently increase (Ahlin 2013).

Childrens’ LOC is indirectly influenced by their parents’ psychological resources and mental health. Those in lower socio-economic statuses lack economic and social capital resources and consequently experience more stressful circumstances than those with more resources. Low SES children may have parents that have low internal LOC due to the characteristics of their jobs (Kohn 1969). Low SES families are more likely to live in areas that have fewer resources for schools. Parents with a greater sense of self-
efficacy tend to have better coping and problem solving skills (Bandura and Whalen 1996) which may further impact their children’s orientations and outlooks. Parents’ efficacy and educational aspirations indirectly impact childrens’ career trajectories as well (Bandura et al. 2001, Bandura et al. 1996a). As a result lower SES parents may feel less able to protect their children and to have the means to develop their children’s strengths and aspirations (Elder 1995). Parents with more self-efficacy themselves develop their children’s competencies to a greater extent than those without self-efficacy (Bandura et al. 1996b in Pallas 2000). Due to environmental and economic circumstances, parents with external LOC may have more rules and be more likely to enforce them in stricter ways than parents with internal LOC (Kohn 1969).

Schools in lower socio-economic status neighborhoods may also play a role in the development of LOC. In part due to lower funding of schools in low property tax areas, classes may be larger in poor and working class neighborhoods. Larger classes have less opportunity for individual attention from teachers. Feedback is important in the classroom setting as it emphasizes for young people the relationship between efforts and outcomes such as grades or intrinsically rewarding knowledge (Ritter and Boruch 1999, Finn and Achilles 1999).

Race and LOC

People of color tend to have higher rates of external LOC than Whites. Black and Hispanic Americans are more likely to experience institutional discrimination and harassment from individuals or groups both in the community and at school. Over time it is likely that experiences which repeatedly highlight barriers due to race limit the development of internal LOC. The effect of race on LOC tends to mediated in part by
education, employment and income (Hughes and Demo 1989) but still differences remain. In comparison to Whites, Black people are more likely to experience psychological distress which can be indicative of external LOC (Mirowsky and Ross 1990). Blacks and Hispanics are likely to experience status inconsistency in higher SES occupations as they run up against stereotypes about their ability to perform well in leadership positions or “fit” in service occupations. The management of various roles and constraints may be a challenge when one’s sense of personal agency is already low due to low SES-origins (Thoits 1991, 2006). In comparison to White Americans, Mexican Americans have higher rates of external LOC due to historical disadvantage and cultural beliefs about family (Mirowsky and Ross 1984, 1987). European Americans tend to emphasize personal responsibility and independence while Mexican Americans are more likely to conform to family norms and beliefs.

Education and LOC

Educational attainment tends to continuously build internal LOC. Even with controls for age, gender, race, ethnicity and status of origin, each additional year of education increases internal LOC (Mirowsky and Ross 2003). Internal LOC increases with level of education even when comparing individuals otherwise similar in terms of employment, job autonomy, earnings, household income and economic hardship (Mirowsky and Ross 2003, Schieman and Plickert 2008).

Educational attainment increases capabilities which leads to perceptions of agency. Education develops the ability to gather and interpret information, to solve problems and these skills increase internal LOC (Ross and Mirowsky 1989). From the ages of 14 through 22 dropping out of school interrupts the increasingly positive
relationship of educational attainment and internal LOC (Lewis et al. 1999). Even with controls for educational attainment, adults in school have more internal LOC than others of the same age working full-time (Ross and Drentea 1998).

College may benefit cognitive development and provide other psychological tools such that people become more discriminating consumers of information (Pallas 2000). This kind of skill might help college graduates to better discern useful sources of jobs and consequently increase their internal LOC. Cognitive ability is also likely to aid decisions about marriage, childrearing and wealth-building opportunities such as purchasing a home.

*Marriage and LOC*

Marriage impacts men’s and women’s LOC in different ways because the effects of household income, employment, and domestic labor depend on gender roles. Higher overall household incomes tend to increase married women’s internal LOC in comparison to single women. When household income is taken into account, it appears that married women have less internal LOC than single women (Mirowsky and Ross 2003). To some extent this is explained by women’s degree of role conflict. Household responsibilities can increase married women’s internal LOC if they do not work outside the home (Ross and Mirowsky 1992). But women who have household responsibilities in addition to formal employment tend to have low internal LOC (Ross and Mirowsky 1992), suggesting that there are greater costs to personal agency as role conflict increases. Although employment does increase women’s LOC overall, as indicated above, demands in the home decrease the positive effect that formal employment has on married women’s internal LOC (Ross and Mirowsky 1992, Rosenfield 1989) though perceived fairness of
domestic labor slightly aids internal LOC (Ross and Mirowsky 1992). Even for unemployed married women with few household tasks, there appears to be some loss in “personal control” (a sense of independence) the more that they are dependent on their spouses for financial support (Ross 1991).

When household income is taken into account, married males tend to have higher internal LOC than single men (Mirowsky and Ross 2003), perhaps because marriage provides psychological and financial stability for men, especially in the context of their reliance on the sometimes uncertain circumstances of employment. In general psychological distress is lower for married individuals (Ross 2000), likely because spouses provide social, economic and psychological support. But over the life course, marriage, motherhood and work experiences tend to lower women’s internal LOC in comparison to men’s, at least in contemporaneous tests (Mirowsky and Ross 2003).

Parenting and LOC

In some studies the number of children in the household has no significant effect on parents’ LOC (Ross 1991) but other studies have found that the timing of parenthood is a factor. Women who become mothers under the age of nineteen tend to experience decreases in self-efficacy in comparison to women who become mothers later in life (McLaughlin and Micklin 1983). Women may find that their attention is divided and their resources more constrained when they have children early in the life course. Later in the life course, motherhood may not affect LOC as much as marriage. Women tend to have a greater capacity to manage family roles and financial strains as they accumulate human and social capital. Alternatively, selection into marriage may be a greater influence on LOC than parenthood for both women and men. For most individuals in the period of
study, the entrance into paths that emphasize the role of family overall (such as marriage) may determine how women and men interpret parenthood.

In summary, financial strain, stress, role constraints and fewer opportunities tend to be associated with external LOC. SES plays a large role due to the environmental factors that can constrict resources available in families. Marriage may decrease external LOC but environmental factors can require that people take on additional roles that are difficult to manage, thus increasing external LOC. Black and Hispanic Americans are more likely than Whites to come from low SES backgrounds and also experience racism in institutional and interpersonal contexts. Both experiences are likely to increase external LOC. When people are able to attend college, internal LOC is likely to increase due to the structure of coursework and the cultural values one learns on college campus from teachers and peers. In addition, the opportunities available to college graduates tend to be build efficacy. One’s LOC, therefore, is likely to reflect cumulative experiences in a number of social contexts.

**LOC and work values**

Internal LOC is associated with higher occupational aspirations and intrinsic work values. Those with internal LOC tend to have “planful competence” (Shanahan, Hofer, and Miech 2003) and more stable occupational aspirations over time (Reynolds et al. 2007). In a sample of African American respondents, those with an internal LOC were more willing than their externally oriented counterparts to enter occupations that were traditionally closed to people of color such as airline pilot, judge, architect, and engineer (Glantz 1977). This suggests that internal LOC increases flexibility and may increase occupational aspirations as a result. While parents’ self-efficacy indirectly impacts their
children’s outlooks and aspirations, children’s own self-efficacy, rather than academic performance, positively predicts occupational aspirations (Bandura et al. 2001). In comparison to external LOC, those with internal LOC have higher occupational aspirations; respondents aspired to work in upper or lower-status professional occupations in the NLS-72 even when gender, SES origins, race, and high school GPA are controlled (Reynolds et al. 2007:375). Internal LOC is also associated with stronger perceptions of career goal realization (Niemiec, Ryan and Deci 2009).

Some research suggests that external LOC is associated with financial work values because people with this orientation feel powerless and psychologically distressed. Wheaton (1983) argues that “belief in efficacy of environmental rather than personal forces makes active attempts to solve problems seem pointless” (in Mirowsky and Ross 2003:195). People with external orientations may thus be fatalistic, more passive and more likely to ignore potential problems until they have already occurred. They may be more reactive when problems arise, seeking out pay because they are in a more desperate state. They may put aside other job rewards because they are not crucial to paying the bills. People with internal LOC tend to seek out information so that they can get ahead of problems. They may not view pay as a primary objective because they are planful. They seek out efficacy-building experiences that are well paid. People with internal LOC may rate pay as less important than those with external LOC.

Few studies test whether there are gender differences in the ways that LOC affects work values. Some of the social learning research has focused on the relationship between LOC and career goals (Lent et al. 1994) and there are some gender differences reported. Internal LOC generally elevates the occupational aspirations of young people in
terms of the associated pay, status and educational attainment required. In an Australian sample (N=467) of high school students, Patton and his colleagues (2004) performed separate structural equation models for males and females that tested the relationship between LOC (as well as other psychological measures) and whether respondents had set strong career goals. The authors also tested how active planning for careers was related to the other variables. For males, the path between internal LOC and was strongly (.40) associated with having certainty about career goals which, in turn, predicted the degree to which they had explored their career options (.45). By contrast, females’ LOC did not significantly predict certainty about career goals. Though active planning was directly predicted by LOC, the connection was much weaker than the males (.16). For males the belief that outcomes are within one’s control plays a mediating role between optimism and career goals, but this is not so for females (Patton, Bartrum and Creed 2004). In another analysis of Australian high school students (aged 16 to 18, N=261), external attributions (“getting a job depends on good luck”) were positively associated with instrumentalism and internal attributions were negatively associated with instrumentalism (Heaven 1995). Gender role socialization may emphasize for men the importance of career in evaluating one’s self. Women tend to be socialized to emphasize a variety of life experiences (Beutel and Marini 1995).

**LOC and job rewards**

Internal LOC is an advantage in many aspects of life and especially the labor force. Internal LOC tends to increase the quality of the job search. In a study of 121 university graduates in spring semester of senior year and then four months later, internal LOC positively affected the intensity of the job search in that it increased the number of
applications filed, improved interview performance, and reduced job search anxiety in both time periods (Saks and Ashforth 1997, 2000). Internal LOC tends to also be associated with better outcomes such as more job offers and a higher likelihood of employment (Saks and Ashforth 2000). Internal LOC does not necessarily increase the number of job interviews but it appears to be helpful in other aspects of the job search such as environmental and self-exploration, at least for college students (Blustein 1989). People with more self-efficacy are also more sociable (Caprara and Steca 2007) which may increase their social capital.

Internal LOC improves the likelihood of attaining aspirational occupations. People with internal LOC tend to want and to attain occupations that require formal credentials for entrance. (Reynolds et al. 2007). Women receive less benefit to internal LOC than men in terms of their ability to realize occupational aspirations (Reynolds et al. 2007). Higher educational attainment is associated with internal LOC (Ross and Broh 2000).

LOC is a significant predictor of earnings and job autonomy. In an analysis of the NLS Andrisani and Nestel (1976) found that internal LOC male respondents earned larger incomes than males with external LOC. With controls for educational attainment, IQ, SES, years of work experience, and having children, Grove (2005) tested a national sample of employed White women and found that external LOC has a negative influence on earnings. One standard deviation increase in the Rotter score was associated with a five percent decrease in wages. Contemporaneous tests indicate that internal LOC is positively correlated with income (Mirowsky et al. 1996) and job autonomy (Ross and
Wright 1998) but few longitudinal studies have tested the relationship between LOC and job rewards over time.

**Summary of LOC**

Internal LOC is shaped by experiences over the life course and appears to be an advantage in the labor force. A sense of personal agency appears to derive from structural opportunities and role sets that provide multiple options for meaning. Over time, people with internal LOC may have a stronger preference for work that offers an opportunity for efficacy-building experiences than for work that offers financial rewards. People with internal LOC are more capable of planning for jobs that offer latitude in decision making and seeking out the necessary credentials that can provide access to these jobs. People with internal LOC may also be advantaged by their desire for non-routine work because work that offers autonomy is likely to be “bundled” with higher incomes in the period of study. On the other hand, people with internal LOC have higher expectations so they may be more likely to be disappointed by their search outcomes.

People with external LOC may place less emphasis on income than those with internal LOC because this job characteristic validates their sense of self. But, they may be less likely to earn high incomes because their job searches are less productive and less planful. On the other hand, people with external LOC may have relatively low expectations and view their searches as more successful than people with internal LOC.

The labor market advantages associated with internal LOC may build opportunities to build a greater sense of overall agency. Thoits (1991, 2006) has illustrated the importance of mental health in the distribution of economic and social resources. Her research has found that self-efficacy increases the ability to problem solve...
and to plan in ways that decrease current and future stressors. Individuals who accumulate disadvantages may come to feel powerless in such a way that their efforts and abilities have little impact on their lives. Individuals with external LOC feel more distressed than others (Ross and Sastry 1999) and external LOC is linked with depression (Gecas 1989, Mirowsky and Ross 1986, 1989; Pearlin et al. 1981). Work values, job rewards and LOC could be a link between structure and well-being such that disadvantages and advantages are amplified over time.

2.4 Chapter summary and hypotheses

This review describes the ways that socialization mechanisms affect work values and selection mechanisms influence job rewards. Opportunities, resources, beliefs and role sets in different social contexts influence educational and occupational aspirations early in life and the kinds of job characteristics that young people come to prefer. Structural and cultural contexts also influence conceptualizations of personal agency. LOC and the initial ideas that people have about jobs select them into different educational pathways and choices about family which further affect their ideas about work. Job characteristics provide an additional source of influence on LOC, which can affect work values in time.

The ways in which young people develop work values may provide a way to test the two aspects of the control framework outlined above. One of the most dramatic shifts in work values comes about in the transition from school to the labor force, roughly between 18 and 24 years of age, depending on the pursuit of postsecondary education (Johnson 2002, 2001a, 2001b). Young people learn the labor market value of their characteristics and capabilities in this period. As they enter the labor market, those with
more resources, compatible roles and internal LOC will be better able to find jobs that correspond with their preferences. Educational attainment, SES, race, gender and marital status impact the kinds of jobs and therefore the job rewards that are distributed to young people. Job experiences will then be interpreted through the lens of prior life experiences. In time jobs will further shape work values as people learn what is attainable in the labor force. Job characteristics that do not reflect work values may be problematic, especially if they do not meet basic needs. Work experiences that are problematic may be correlated with external LOC, raising the importance of extrinsic rewards and decreasing the importance of intrinsic rewards. On the other hand, people may be able to adjust to work experiences that conflict with previous conceptualizations and valuations of jobs.

This project consists of two main analyses to evaluate the control framework of work values. In chapter 4 the demographic variables described above and LOC will be used to predict respondents’ work values prior to their entrance into the labor force. As described in this chapter, respondents with fewer resources due to lower SES backgrounds, those with lower educational attainment and external LOC are more likely to value extrinsic job rewards. Respondents with more resources due to higher SES backgrounds and Whites, men, and college educated respondents will value intrinsic job rewards. At this time point women will place less emphasis on income and job autonomy than men due gender role socialization. Due to social class and gender socialization, male respondents who are married by the age of 22 will place more emphasis on pay and less on job autonomy than others in their cohort. Married women will place less emphasis on pay and job autonomy than single women as they manage demands from family and work.
The analyses in chapter 5 will evaluate the impact of selection mechanisms and socialization mechanisms after respondents have entered the labor force. Respondents who have more control over their attainment of job rewards are likely to find jobs with higher incomes and more job autonomy. This includes respondents from higher SES origins, men, Whites, those with a college degree and those with internal LOC. It is likely that interpretations of labor market disadvantages will be shaped by work and non-work experiences. As such, the reinforcement hypothesis and the problematic rewards hypothesis will be evaluated. If job rewards positively influence work values, this will indicate that respondents are able to adapt to their work experiences, the assumption of the reinforcement hypothesis. This hypothesis will be supported if external LOC is negatively associated with work values, net of all other factors. If job rewards negatively influence work values, this will suggest that respondents value aspects of work that have been difficult to find, the assumption of the problematic rewards hypothesis. In this view, work values are the product of external LOC.

The results may also offer mixed findings which would suggest that different mechanisms are associated with each work dimension. After repeatedly being restricted access to higher pay, respondents with external LOC may be more likely to emphasize pay. But individuals that have access to jobs with autonomy may develop internal LOC as a result and consequently seek out work with this characteristic because it is enjoyable and provides validation of their worldview.

While all demographic variables are likely to impact work values, as suggested above, structural and cultural factors influence selection and socialization mechanisms to operate differently for men and women. Prior to entrance into the labor force, gender
socialization in a variety of non-work contexts is likely influence males to think of work as the primary way that they contribute to their own sustenance and well-being. By contrast, women negotiate work and family and at this point in their lives, and consequently young female respondents are less likely to value pay and autonomy as much as male respondents. Splitting the analysis by gender will allow for these differences to be ascertained.

As they enter the labor force, female respondents will likely work in feminized occupations and find it difficult to access jobs that earn as much as men, nor jobs that offer as many opportunities for upward mobility. The reinforcement hypothesis suggests that women will value pay and autonomy less than men. The problematic rewards hypothesis suggests that women will consequently value pay and autonomy more than men. LOC is likely to be affect men and women differently as well. Women’s psychological agency may not impact work values over time because they are more instrumentally oriented in the labor force and their level of engagement in what they want from work is low in comparison to men, at least at this point in their lives. Married women may not find their declining incomes problematic because pay is not strongly valued in the first place. Their spouses may provide a source of financial support and their non-work roles are essentially more influential to their work values than job characteristics.

General hypotheses

Chapter 4: Initial work values

H1.1 Respondents with more disadvantages (from low SES backgrounds, Blacks, those without college degrees, and those with external LOC) will place greater emphasis on pay than their counterparts. Respondents from high SES
backgrounds, those with college degrees, Whites and internal LOC will place greater emphasis on job autonomy than their counterparts. Women will place less emphasis on pay and job autonomy than men.

Chapter 5: Work values, job rewards and control

H1.2 Male respondents will be more likely than females to find valued job characteristics. Men, those from higher SES backgrounds, those with a college degree, Whites and those with internal LOC will earn more income and have more freedom on the job than their counterparts.

Reinforcement:

H1.3a Respondents with higher incomes, males, Whites, those from higher SES origins, those that have a college degree, and internal LOC will be more likely to value income.

H1.4a Respondents with more job autonomy, males, Whites, those from higher SES origins, those that have a college degree, and internal LOC will be more likely to value autonomy.

Problematic:

H1.3b Respondents with lower pay, females, Blacks, lower SES origins, those without college degrees, and those with external LOC will be more likely to value pay.

H1.4b Respondents with more job autonomy, males, Whites, those from higher SES backgrounds, those with college degrees, and those with internal LOC will be less likely to value autonomy.
CHAPTER 3: DATA AND METHODS

In this chapter I describe the matter of testing the control framework of work values. I describe the choice of data set, the methods used for data collection, the analytical approach, the variables, and the limitations of this study. There are several methodological issues which are important to evaluating this model.

3.1 Data set

The use of a nationally representative, cohort data set is necessary for this project because the ability to observe changes in respondent characteristics, work values and job rewards is key to testing the validity of the theoretical model. A large data set allows for a variety of independent variables to be statistically controlled. The external validity offered by a nationally representative sample is also advantageous because it means that the results are applicable to the population.

This project uses data from the National Longitudinal Survey of the High School Class of 1972 (NLS-72). As its title implies, the NLS-72 is a nationally representative sample of high school graduates (U.S. Department of Education). The data sample the same cohort of respondents in 1972, 1973, 1974, 1976, 1979, and 1986. Additional questions were added each year of the study but there are some core questions that were asked every year. Of particular interest to this dissertation were the last three follow-up surveys which asked respondents about job characteristics and their attitudes towards work. There are data for 12,359 respondents across the 1976, 1979, and 1986 follow-up surveys when the respondents are 22, 25, and 32 years of age, respectively.
The NLS-72 cohort also allows for an analysis of the factors that shape individuals’ work value trajectories over time. Cross-sectional data sets have been used to test the relationship between job rewards and work values in cohorts of people, but it is preferable to have panel data in this case so that effect of the independent variables and job rewards on work values can be observed over time for individuals. Though broadly defined, social psychological changes, may thus be captured with regard to work characteristics, LOC, role changes in the family, and educational attainment.

The NLS-72 contains self-reported questions about work values and job rewards that are useful for understanding the relationship between values and jobs. The NLS-72 has some self-reported measures of job rewards and measures regarding importance that respondents’ place on some of these characteristics. Respondents were asked “How important do you think each of the following factors [pay, autonomy, social aspects, etc.] is in determining the kind of work you plan to be doing for most of your life?”. Respondents were asked to report their answer along a scale of “not important”, “important”, or “very important”. Self-reported measures of job rewards have a greater impact on value formulation because they better explain variation in respondents’ feelings towards work (Phelan 1994, McDuff 2001, Hackman and Lawler 1971).

Employer reported measures of pay, occupational prestige, and task complexity have not been shown to be as useful (Hodson 1989; Loscocco and Spitze 1991; Bokeheimer and Lacy 1987).

Other longitudinal data sets contain information on work values and job rewards similar to the NLS-72. The Wisconsin Longitudinal Survey is a panel survey of 10,317 respondents from 1957 to 1975 but inconsistent wording of the work values ratings and
job rewards questions across the surveys make longitudinal comparisons difficult. The General Social Survey (GSS) is nationally representative cross-sectional sample (N=12,371) that includes rankings of work values which may be advantageous (discussion below) and the ability to evaluate intra and inter-cohort changes in work values. Since the present project was interested in better understanding individuals’ accumulation of experience, these two data sets were not chosen.

Two additional data sets that have panel components are more often used to evaluate work values than the NLS-72, the Monitoring the Future study and the Youth Development Study. Monitoring the Future (MTF) is primarily a nationally representative, cross-sectional survey that began in 1975. About 46,000 high school students are surveyed every year. Of particular note to researchers interested in work values is the panel subset of MTF. Questionnaires are administered to a proportion of the sample of the 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979 and 1980 senior high school student cohorts and consequently seven follow-up mail surveys have been collected from this cohort to 32 years of age. Combined, the five cohorts consist of 2,373 individuals, a 66 percent retention rate. In comparison to the NLS-72, the MTF panel subset has more extensive measurement of respondent work values. Fourteen questions assess work values, grouped by extrinsic, intrinsic, social and altruistic dimensions by Johnson (2001a, 2001b, 2002) and others. Job rewards in MTF include pay in terms of weekly earnings and intrinsic job rewards consisting of four measures such as opportunities to learn and to use skills, and the extent to which a job is interesting. SES-origins are operationalized by mothers’ and fathers’ educational attainment. Few significant race differences in work values have led
some researchers to combine Whites and non-Whites, omitting the ability to test for race differences in MTF (Johnson 2001a, 2001b).

The Youth Development Study (YDS) consists of about one-thousand 9th grade students enrolled in a St. Paul, Minnesota public high school in 1988. Approximately 17 follow up surveys of this cohort have been administered between 1988 and 2009, with a retention rate of 67 percent. Consistent measures of work values and job rewards were included in five of these follow-ups from 1995 to 2009 (Johnson et al. 2012). Work value ratings (from 1 to 4) included in the YDS are the importance of pay, job security, advancement opportunities and job prestige (sometimes combined as one extrinsic measure of work values), as well as ratings of decision-making authority, having responsibility, using one’s skills and abilities, opportunities to learn, contact with people and opportunities to help others (sometimes combined as one intrinsic measure of work values). Extrinsic job rewards include hourly and weekly pay and hours worked, perceived job security and opportunities for advancement. Intrinsic job rewards include seven items ranging from interesting work, meaningful work, a chance to help others and a chance to use skills. The demographic make-up of the YDS sample is comparable to nationwide trends; 78 percent of the sample identified as White in 1988. People of color and men have been more likely to drop out of the survey over time. SES origins is measured by parents’ educational attainment. Psychological measures were also administered in an early wave of the survey (1991) relating to educational self-efficacy, a 7-item Rotter scale relating to LOC, a Perceived Life Chances scale (Jessor, Donovan and Costa 1988), and a question designed to ascertain whether respondents believe their
children will do better or worse than them. The alpha for the components of YDS LOC factor is $\alpha = .76$.

Even though the NLS-72 includes fewer dimensions of work values and job rewards than the MTF and YDS, and my analysis will only use three waves from 1976 to 1986, it may be a useful data set for evaluating my theoretical framework. The NLS-72 is a nationally representative data set with approximately 5334 valid cases of employed individuals between the 3rd, 4th and 5th waves of the study, the time points that will be used in the current project. The retention rate between the 3rd and 5th wave is 87 percent (discussed below). Schools in low-income areas and with greater proportions of non-Whites were oversampled. Thus, the NLS-72 includes a greater proportion of non-Whites than the MTF; Whites make up 82 percent of the sample. Although the respondents of the NLS-72 are approximately the same cohort as the MTF sample, the greater proportion of non-Whites allows for evaluation of race differences between Whites, Blacks and, to some degree, Hispanics. SES-origin is a composite provided in the publicly available NLS-72 files. It is based on mother’s and father’s educational attainment, father’s occupation, and durable consumer items in the household (discussed below). In addition, a composite measure derived from four questions is used to determine a measure of LOC in all waves of the study. Although YDS has a measure of LOC, it is administered once, at the age of 17.

3.2 Limitations

While the NLS-72 has many properties which are essential for predicting work values, this dissertation was limited by these data due to sample design, operationalizations of measures, and coding. The longitudinal data set allows for the
testing of the social and psychological aspects of work values in terms of accumulated experience. But, as this cohort entered the labor force, they passed many family milestones and changed jobs frequently as most young adults do. Additional follow-up surveys, preferably in consecutive years may provide a richer analysis of work values (Johnson 2002, Johnson et al. 2012). There are seven years between the last two surveys, 1979 and 1986. This gap between the 4th and 5th follow-up survey is quite large and less preferable than yearly snapshots of respondent characteristics.

The measures of work values in the NLS-72 limit the analysis because single questions were used to ascertain them. A superior methodology is to use several measures of each dimension and then to combine them in a factor analysis. As indicated above, other studies have ascertained multiple extrinsic dimensions such as job security, advancement opportunities, and other intrinsic dimensions such as using one’s skills and abilities, opportunities to learn, and the chance to help others. While the NLS-72 includes work values beyond the two chosen, these were the only ones that had comparable job rewards in the survey. Finally, the work values scale of “not important”, “somewhat important”, and “very important” subjected the dependent variables to report bias. A scale which allows for greater variability would improve internal validity. A measure such as work values may be especially vulnerable to bias as it requires respondents to report an ambiguous concept that they may not have previously discussed with others.

Another limitation of the NLS-72 is that the data are from an older cohort that experienced labor market conditions and other social phenomena that may not be applicable to the ways that people develop work values today. As noted above, women’s labor force participation in the period of study has increased substantially due to a variety
of changes including declines in real wages, shifting gender roles, and declines in fertility rates. About 50 percent of civilian women ages 25 to 64 participated in the labor force in 1976 and by 2012 the figure increased to about 58 percent. Among women ages 25 to 64 who are in the labor force, the proportion with a college degree more than tripled from 1970 to 2012 (BLS 2013). As shown above, educational attainment places people on different work values trajectories. In addition, women with young children are now much more likely to be in the labor force. In 1976, the labor force participation of women with children under the age of six was about 40 percent and by 2012 it was 65. On the other hand, the proportion of women that work full-time and part-time has not changed substantially, remaining at about 73 percent for the former and 26 percent for the latter. Issues of role conflict are still relevant, especially for women. The NLS-72 may provide an examination at young people’s experiences in the labor force prior to some of these changes and shed some light on current gender differences in selection and socialization mechanisms. As indicated above, the YDS provides a similarly aged cohort that entered the labor force in the mid-1990s. By comparison, individuals the NLS-72 cohort may have more traditional beliefs about gender roles which are still influential today. Although the wage gap has narrowed, gender differences persist despite considerable increases in women’s educational attainment. Using comparisons to the YDS, the current project may contribute to the research on work values.

3.3 Sample design

The NLS-72 is one of many studies conducted as part of a larger program, the National Education Longitudinal Studies (NELS), that studies “longitudinally the educational, vocational, and personal development of high school students and the
personal, familial, social, institutional, and cultural factors that may affect that development” (National Center for Education Statistics 1987:1). The fifth and final follow-up survey was conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC). For all follow-ups of the study, questionnaires were administered by mail, phone, and in person.

In the spring of 1972, the base year of the NLS-72 was collected. A national probability sample of seniors from 1,070 public, private and church-affiliated high schools participated in the base-year survey. Approximately 19,000 high school seniors were asked to complete up to three data collection forms: a Test Battery, a School Record Information Form, and a Student Questionnaire. The student questionnaire was completed by 16,683 seniors. Students who had dropped out of high school prior to senior year are not in the NLS-72.

The sample design for the base-year survey was a stratified two-stage probability sample. Schools were selected with equal probabilities from 600 strata. The strata were based on type of control (public or private), geographic region, enrollment size, geographic proximity to institutions of higher education, proportion minority group enrollment (for public schools), income level of the community, and degree of urbanization. For all but the smallest size stratum, schools were selected with equal probabilities; schools with fewer than 300 students were selected with probability proportion to enrollment.

Schools in low-income areas and schools with high proportions of minority group enrollment were sampled at twice the rate used for remaining schools. Two schools from each of the final 600 strata were sampled and then a simple random sample of 12th
graders, 18 students from each of the sampled schools, were chosen. Excluded were students from schools for the physically or mentally handicapped, from schools for legally confined students, and from those special institutions such as vocational schools where students were also enrolled in other high schools in the sampling frame.

As a means to reduce the effects of a large base year school non-response, attrition and an incomplete frame of public schools, the NLS-72 first follow-up survey in the spring of 1973 added to the sample nearly 4,500 individuals. The sample was produced in a similar way as the base year, but from eight additional strata. These respondents were retained in the sample for subsequent follow-ups.

The fifth follow-up sample was collected somewhat differently. It is similar in that it retains the same basic sample design of the base year through fourth follow-up surveys. The fifth follow-up is different in that it is an unequal probability subsample of the 22,652 students who participated in at least one of the five previous follow-ups of the NLS-72. Several groups were retained at a higher rate by modifying the criteria of subsampling. Other groups were retained at a lower rate than other students because they were expected to be more expensive to locate. Hispanics, persons with a college or more advanced degree, and persons who were not married or whose parents were never-married were retained with higher certainty. Due to the policy interests of the organizations funding the study, teachers and potential teachers (those who had majored in education in college, etc.) were also retained with certainty because the new sponsors (the NORC) had specific interest in these populations. As a result of these changes, 3756 respondents were not sent questionnaires when the fifth follow-up survey was administered in the spring and summer of 1986. This represents approximately 16.5
percent of the respondents that ever participated in the NLS-72. Table 3.1 outlines the response rates of the samples used in this dissertation.

Table 3.1. Response rates for the 3rd, 4th, and 5th follow-ups to the NLS-72

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Follow-up</th>
<th>Administered</th>
<th>Returned</th>
<th>Response rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd follow-up (1976-1977)</td>
<td>21807</td>
<td>20092</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th follow-up (1979-1980)</td>
<td>20862</td>
<td>18630</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th follow-up (1986)</td>
<td>14489</td>
<td>12841</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2, below, shows a 19.5 percent rate of attrition between the third and fourth follow-up survey. As indicated above, attrition concerns led to a decision to subsample in the 5th follow-up.

Table 3.2 Detail of response rates for the 3rd, 4th, and 5th follow-ups of the NLS-72

A. 3rd follow-up to 4th follow-up survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>4th follow-up</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-participant (% of total)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd follow-up</td>
<td>2175 (9.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>1847 (8.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4022</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. 4th follow-up to 5th follow-up survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>5th follow-up</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-participant (% of total)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th follow-up</td>
<td>241 (1.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>1407 (9.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1648</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. 3rd follow-up to 5th follow-up survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>5th follow-up</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-participant (% of total)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd follow-up</td>
<td>161 (1.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>1487 (10.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1648</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3 shows that of the 14,489 people asked to participate in the 3rd, 4th, and 5th follow-ups, 12,359 (or 85.2 percent of those subsampled in the 5th follow-up) completed all three questionnaires.
There are negligible differences in the respondents who were not asked to complete the fifth follow-up or who dropped out of the NLS-72 and those that completed all three final follow-up surveys (see Table 3.4). Those who completed the last three follow-up surveys had significantly higher college graduation rates and originated from slightly higher SES families. Completers did not have significantly different weekly pay but rated pay slightly higher. Completers also reported slightly more autonomy in their jobs than non-completers. The greatest difference was 0.22 and most were less than 1/10th of a percentage point. These differences are attributed to attrition bias and the subsampling undertaken in the 5th follow-up. They will be taken into consideration when interpreting the results.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3rd follow-up</th>
<th>4th follow-up</th>
<th>Non-participant (%)</th>
<th>Participant (%)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-participant</td>
<td>Non-participant</td>
<td>96 (0.06)</td>
<td>74 (0.05)</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>65 (0.04)</td>
<td>209 (1.4)</td>
<td>274</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>Non-participant</td>
<td>145 (1)</td>
<td>199 (1.3)</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>1342 (9.2)</td>
<td>12359 (85.2)</td>
<td>13701</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1648</td>
<td>12841</td>
<td>14489</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dependent variables

The dependent variable in this project is work values. The wording in each follow-up to the NLS-72 asks all respondents in 1976 and 1979 to rate the importance of a series of job characteristics including job security and permanence, working that seems important or interesting, meeting and working with sociable, friendly people, and opportunity for promotion. In 1986 follow-up survey, only those respondents who had been employed, who had volunteered, or who had been in the military since 1979 were asked the work values questions. The work values used for this study are pay and autonomy and appear below, amongst the others that were asked in the NLS-72.
Work values questions in the NLS-72

“How important is each of the following factors in determining the kind of work you plan to be doing for most of your life?”

a. “Previous work experience”
b. “Relative or friend in the same line of work”
c. “Job openings available in the occupations”
d. “Work matches a hobby interest of mine”
e. “Good income to start or within a few years” (chosen for pay work value)
f. “Job security and permanence”
g. “Work that seems important or interesting to me”
h. “Freedom to make my own decisions” (chosen for autonomy work value)
i. “Opportunity for promotion and advancement”
j. “Meeting and working with sociable, friendly people”

Respondents are asked to rate each work value as “not important”, “important” or “very important”.

There are generally two schools of thought with regard to quantitative work value measurement: rankings and ratings. Rankings, in effect, force the respondent to prioritize values while ratings allow the respondent to assign similar values to all work values should they choose. Rokeach favored the rankings approach because he believed that instrumental values (desirable modes of behavior) and terminal values (goal states) were key to understanding the ways that values guide a wide range of behavior and emotions including action, judgment, and attribution (Hitlin and Piliavin 2004). Some researchers prefer the rankings approach because jobs tend to be “bundled” with various characteristics and ratings are not able to ascertain the nature of this effect. Some scholars have reported measurement bias with regard to the rankings approach as respondents may find it difficult to rank values that are essentially equal to them (Beatty et al. 1985). When ranking a short list of fairly concrete work values, as in the case of the GSS, respondents may not face the same issues as if they were ranking other kinds of values. Schwartz favors the ratings approach in his study of more abstract universal values. He cites the lack of evidence for Rokeach’s distinction (Hitlin and Piliavin 2004). Some scholars
prefer the ratings approach because forcing rankings with reference to work values may artificially bundle job attributes. Most panel studies use the ratings approach to work values.

It is advantageous to use multiple measures of work values but the NLS-72 is limited in this way. There were few comparable pairs of job reward and work value measures. For example, respondents are asked to rate the importance of “meeting and working with sociable, friendly people”. The only job rewards question that was related to this construct was “dealing with people on the job” which did not indicate the degree to which social interaction on the job was enjoyable. While income and job autonomy are important to job quality, additional indicators would have been preferable.

Independent variables

Job rewards

As indicated above, weekly pay and the degree of freedom at work were the two job characteristics used in this analysis. The 3rd and 4th wave of respondents were asked to report weekly gross earnings before deductions. In the 5th wave of the survey respondents could indicate their wages in a variety of increments (hourly, weekly, bi-weekly, monthly or yearly). Using division where relevant and the hours per week question when necessary, I then calculated average weekly pay for the 5th wave. The 1976 and 1979 weekly pay variables were converted to 1986 dollars. All pay variables were then split into deciles by locating median distribution values and then assigning a value from lowest decile to the highest.

The job autonomy question appears on the survey as follows in 1976, 1979 and 1986:
“Please think about your supervisor or the person who had most control over what you actually did on the job. Which of the following best describes how closely this person supervised you?”

1. My supervisor decided both what I did and how I did it.
2. My supervisor decided what I did, but I decided how I did it.
3. My supervisor gave me some freedom in deciding what I did and how I did it.
4. I was more or less my own boss within the general policies of the organization.
5. There was no such person.

This variable was used as a scale with the fifth response interpreted as the most autonomy. This is a relatively crude method of measuring of job autonomy because it confounds control over content (what people do at work) with control and over terms (how people get their work done). The two concepts are often conceived as separate dimensions (Hackman and Oldham 1980) and other surveys (such as the Quality of Employment Survey) have used separate questions to determine them. Content can also be ascertained by asking whether a worker or their supervisor decides to introduce a new task (Wright 1980) and terms can be determined by asking respondents to describe how the pacing of work is controlled (Wright 1980). Terms can also be described by the degree of control over scheduling and breaks (National Studies of the Changing Workforce 1992, 1997, 2002).

Demographic variables

The demographic variables in this study are self-reported gender, and self-reported race, SES, whether the respondent has a college degree, some college or no college, marital status, and if the respondent lives in the same home as a child under six years of age. As indicated above, the socio-economic status measure is provided in the publicly available version of the data set. It is a composite of the respondent’s parents’ education and income, father’s occupation, and consumer durable goods. According to
the NLS-72 codebook, the SES components were first subjected to factor analysis and this revealed a common factor with approximately equal weights for each component. Each of the components were then standardized and an equally weighted combination of the five standard scores yielded the SES composite.

**Locus of control**

A series of four questions are used to generate the composite measure of LOC that appears in the NLS-72. Respondents were asked to rate on a scale of 1 to 5 the degree to which they agreed or disagreed with four questions relating to LOC. The statements are as follows:

1. “Good luck is more important than hard work for success.”
2. “Every time I try to get ahead, something or somebody stops me.”
3. “Planning only makes a person unhappy since plans hardly ever work out anyway.”
4. “People who accept their condition in life are happier than those who try to change things.”

This scale is comparable to Rotter’s (1966) internal-external locus of control scale, though greatly abbreviated. Rotter’s original scale was composed of 29 forced-choice items including a wide range of questions such as the degree to which people believed in powerful others, the role of fate, chance and luck, and whether plans tended to be fruitful or not. The original scale also solicited answers about the behavior of politicians, teachers, and other leaders. This tended to take longer to administer, was susceptible to socially desirable answers and was difficult for less educated groups to understand (Duttweiler 1984). The reliability of Rotter’s scale has been found to be somewhat low. Of the 23 externally scored items in a sample of 400 males and females, 17 have correlations of less than .30 and only one item correlates over .40 (Duttweiler 1984).
Many other scales are based in Rotter’s general idea and most now include Likert scales for each of the questions in order to increase reliability and eliminate questions that could tap other constructs (such as the ones above concerning leaders) (Furnham and Steele 1993, Lefcourt 1966). Arguably, the most popular internal-external LOC scale is Duttweiler’s (1984) 28 item index in which respondents are asked to respond on a five point scale ranging from “rarely” to “usually”. Duttweiler’s index has good internal reliability at 0.85. Abbreviated I-E scales also offer reliable measurement. The three main categories covered in a typical internal-external LOC scale are degree of internal control, chance, and powerful others (Sapp and Harrod 1993). A nine item version of Levenson’s (1974) 24 item scale has an alpha of .58, .65, and .72 respectively for the internal, chance and powerful others groupings.

The abbreviated LOC scale that appears in the NLS-72 is reliable. Other scales contain questions with equal proportions of items worded such that internally oriented respondents would be expected to answer half at the “usually” end of the scale and the other half at the “rarely” end of the scale (Duttweiler 1984). The NLS-72 LOC items are all worded such that internally oriented respondents would be expected to answer all questions with “rarely” and thus introduces some report bias. The alphas for the components of LOC ranged from 0.70 to 0.78 in 1976, 1979, and 1986. I should also note that in the 1986 follow-up survey, I noticed that the “no-opinion” category was coded as “5”, otherwise treated as the “disagree strongly” category in the 1976 and 1979 coding. I confirmed this first with the staff at the NCES and then converted it to a neutral response. I then recalculated the composite using their recommended factor analysis.
3.5 Analytical strategy

The theoretical framework for this dissertation suggests that people who have less control over their job rewards will come to place more value on extrinsic aspects of their jobs. In order to test whether this hypothesis is valid, work values are compared before and after labor force entry. This is done in two steps. In chapter four, the main objective is to determine how the independent variables shape work values prior to more extensive labor force participation. To this end, work values are estimated when respondents are 22 years of age (1976) in a contemporaneous binomial regression. In chapter five, work values are estimated longitudinally (1976 to 1979, 1976 to 1986, and 1979 to 1986) with job characteristics added to the model. While control over job rewards cannot be ascertained directly, the independent variables are considered to be proxies of control, as suggested by the summaries in chapter 1 and 2. The relationship between job rewards and work values will thus be evaluated.

I used a structural equation model (SEM) framework in the approach to the longitudinal analyses in this project. The SEM framework was useful for facilitating the analysis which included lagged dependent variables. This allows for comparisons between groups that are represented by the independent variables, net of residual effects. The pay and autonomy values are generally increasing for respondents, and the parameter estimates from the SEM indicate the differences in these changes. Mplus is used to estimate the regressions for these panel data because it controls for the correlated heterogeneity across years for each respondent (Munthen and Munthen 1999).
3.6 Descriptive statistics

Dependent variables

Work values in the NLS-72 generally follow patterns observed in other data sets of young people in this time period (see table 3.5, below). Over time respondents increase their emphasis on pay. Although women lag men in their valuation in 1976, by 1986 this difference becomes insignificant. This may be due to the change to the sample in 1986. As indicated above, only those respondents who had been employed, in the military, or who had volunteered since 1979 were asked the work values questions in 1986. On average the importance of autonomy increases slightly between the start and end of the observation period at the same time the corresponding job reward increases. Respondents prioritize autonomy more than pay which is not typical for young cohorts (Johnson 2001a).

Over the three waves of the NLS-72, job rewards follow the patterns observed in other research on this time period (table 3.5). Job autonomy increases over time for the cohort. When split by gender, men’s and women’s average job reward differences become apparent. Men report substantial increases in pay and job autonomy. While women make gains in autonomy, their average pay declines. The averages here likely obscure the divergent paths for women at this point in the life course.
Independent variables

The other independent variables illustrate the characteristics of the NLS-72 cohort (table 3.6, below). By the age of 32 about 40 percent of the cohort will have completed an undergraduate degree with little gender difference in educational attainment. Most respondents will also be married by the age of 32 (70 percent) and a substantial amount will be parents or care providers of young children (43 percent). As the respondents age, external LOC appears to remain constant.

Table 3.5. Descriptive statistics for work values and job rewards by gender, 1976, 1979 and 1986.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
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<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
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<td>0.64</td>
<td>9391</td>
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<td>9845</td>
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<th>Std. Dev.</th>
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<th>Mean</th>
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<td>14324</td>
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<td>7582</td>
<td>2.91</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>6724</td>
<td>2.81</td>
<td>1.09</td>
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<td>7668</td>
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<td>5727</td>
<td>3.39</td>
<td>1.01</td>
<td>6106</td>
<td>3.18</td>
<td>1.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valid N</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>2851</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* All gender differences are statistically significant except for the pay work values in 1986.
Finally, the degree to which race and SES is correlated in the survey is relevant to
the broader discussions of disadvantage in this project. Table 3.7 indicates respondents’
average SES scores by racial group. Black and Hispanic respondents come from
significantly lower SES backgrounds than White respondents.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
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<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Coll 76</td>
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<td></td>
<td>12502</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>8949</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>9257</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Coll 79</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18580</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>9016</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>9557</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.43</td>
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<td>0.49</td>
<td>5773</td>
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<td>0.49</td>
<td>6442</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18231</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>8949</td>
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<td>9257</td>
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<td>0.45</td>
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<tr>
<td>Some 79</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18580</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>9016</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>9557</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.48</td>
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<tr>
<td>Some 86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12222</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>5773</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>6442</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Married 76       | 19478 | 0.42 | 9503 | 0.36 | 0.48
| Married 79       | 18510 | 0.56 | 8976 | 0.52 | 0.50
| Married 86       | 12841 | 0.71 | 6050 | 0.71 | 0.45 |
| Child<6 76       | 18349 | 0.19 | 8921 | 0.13 | 0.34
| Child<6 79       | 17775 | 0.36 | 8625 | 0.30 | 0.46
| Child<6 86       | 12554 | 0.43 | 5902 | 0.44 | 0.50
| Child<6 76       | 18349 | 0.00 | 8921 | 0.00 | 0.05
| Child<6 79       | 17775 | 0.03 | 8625 | 0.02 | 0.15
| Child<6 86       | 12554 | 0.26 | 5902 | 0.20 | 0.40
| extLOC76         | 19446 | 2.11 | 9450 | 2.14 | 0.72
| extLOC79         | 17558 | 2.08 | 8464 | 2.11 | 0.70
| extLOC86         | 19446 | 2.11 | 9450 | 2.14 | 0.72
| Valid N (listwise) | 8779 | 4071 | 4708 |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>5.94</td>
<td>0.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>-5.58</td>
<td>6.58</td>
<td>0.26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.7 Conclusion

Over the course of this dissertation, I will use the NLS-72 to test the hypotheses in the previous chapter. Even though there are methodological limitations to this research, there are considerable benefits to using the NLS-72 to test the hypotheses. The use of a national cohort survey to test the control framework is useful because it offers external validity and allows for an evaluation the respondents’ work values over time. The measures of work values and job rewards are consistent over the three waves. This time period is particularly important and the results can be compared to scholarship which focuses on the more recent cohort in the Youth Development Survey.
CHAPTER 4: INITIAL WORK VALUES

The control framework described in chapter two suggests that expectations about job rewards are shaped in childhood and adolescence by socialization mechanisms in families, schools and communities. Initial ideas about work affect the kinds of choices people make about further schooling, marriage and parenthood. The literature review in chapter two suggests that groups that experience disadvantage in these contexts are likely to value extrinsic job rewards more than other, more advantaged groups. Described in chapter two, structural and cultural influences may also affect psychological perceptions of agency (LOC).

This chapter seeks to evaluate the hypothesis that disadvantages prior to labor market entry increase extrinsic work values and external LOC. The first analysis of this chapter will evaluate valued job characteristics in the 1976 follow-up to the NLS-72, when respondents are 22 years of age. This snapshot will determine the degree to which the different demographic measures and LOC affect the value that respondents place on income and job autonomy before they become more engaged in the labor force. Second, external LOC will be estimated using the demographic variables in order to determine if perceptions of agency are influenced by access to fewer resources and by constrained roles. As argued in chapter two, there are likely to be gender differences in the ways that respondents formulate work values and thus the analyses are estimated separately for men and women, with the aggregate results also presented.
4.1 Work values in 1976

Hypotheses

As described in chapter two, socio-economic status, gender, race, educational attainment and LOC impact work values. The various structural and cultural dynamics behind each of these respondent characteristics are detailed below.

Gender

Gender roles learned in families and in schools affect the kinds of job characteristics that people value. Men can authentically perform masculinity by working outside of the home in a formal occupation. The roles associated with being a good worker also later contribute to being a good husband and father. Young men are likely to place emphasis on jobs that can offer good incomes and a path to a stable career later in life. At this young age, men may experience role strain because they do not yet qualify for jobs with higher incomes.

As children the women in the survey likely valued historically sex-typed occupations but many forces may have changed their aspirations as they became adolescents and young adults. Dynamics in the labor market such as declines men’s wages, technological changes that influenced new occupations, and constructions of femininity which emphasize independence and financial freedom were likely influential. Women’s work values may thus vary by SES-origins, educational attainment and marital status.

In comparison to the young men in the survey, young women likely experienced role conflict between the more traditional roles in the family and employment in the formal labor force. This may have affected their choices about educational attainment and
marriage. Although previous generations of women tended to make more trade-offs between work and family, the women in the current study likely engaged in both domains. Female respondents on the whole, therefore, may be less likely to value extrinsic rewards than males because they seek to successfully perform roles in both family and work. Engaging in both domains simultaneously presents considerable role conflict, especially when participating in norms that reproduce femininity. Women run the risk of being a “bad mother”, for example, if they work “too much”.

Although likely to vary by SES, educational attainment and marital status, women may generally place less importance on job autonomy than men. Though women develop occupational aspirations that tend to reflect a preference for work that offers meaningful experiences with the public and with coworkers, male respondents are more likely to view job autonomy as a context for skill development and therefore stable careers with the potential for upward mobility. Unlike women who do not seek postsecondary schooling, women who pursue a college degree are very likely to value job autonomy because they may make the association between job autonomy, upward mobility, and perhaps meaningful work experiences as well.

*Socio-economic status*

Most evidence suggests that young people from higher SES backgrounds tend to value freedom at work and are less inclined than those from lower-SES backgrounds to report that pay is very important to them (Kohn 1969; Kohn and Schooler 1978, 1982; Johnson and Mortimer 2011). SES may not have a strong impact on extrinsic work values at this age because all young people tend to have interest in financial rewards (Kalleberg and Loscocco 1983). Young people especially value economic independence (Erikson
and educational attainment at this life stage is likely to mask some of the effect of SES. An exception at this age might be upper and middle class women. Egalitarian gender norms are more common in higher SES families and young women socialized in these environments may be interested in more autonomous, higher prestige occupations than working class and poor women (Shu and Marini 1998). Women’s SES, therefore, may be positively associated with an emphasis on autonomy.

**Race and ethnicity**

As discussed in chapter two, Black and Hispanic youth are impacted by historical disadvantages that have shaped their families and communities. As shown in chapter three, Black and Hispanic respondents are more likely to come from low SES backgrounds than White respondents and this may lower occupational aspirations in terms of incomes and job autonomy. In addition, Black and Hispanic youth many not have as many resources to facilitate their planning for and entrance into college. Black and Hispanic respondents, therefore, may value extrinsic job characteristics more than White respondents.

On the other hand, the importance that Black respondents place on income and job autonomy may not be influenced by disadvantage and gender roles in the same way that they are for other groups. Noted in chapter two, the sex-typed role modeling of occupational aspirations observed in White families has not been observed in Black families in the period of study (Shu and Marini 1998, 2008). As noted in chapter two as well, previous research suggests that Black women and Black men in this cohort were influenced by the Civil Rights Movement. They may have higher occupational aspirations than their White counterparts. As a result Black men and women may place
more emphasis on extrinsic job rewards and more emphasis on intrinsic job rewards in comparison to White respondents. Hispanic women may be less likely to value careers and job autonomy than White women due to more traditional gender role socialization in the family.

Education

As described in chapter two, selection into postsecondary education tends to be contingent on occupational aspirations and family resources. Those who attend college tend to place less importance on extrinsic rewards and more on the intrinsic rewards than those who do not attend college. Young people who attend college also develop expectations about the value of their degree in the labor market which further increases their emphasis on job autonomy.

The relationship between intrinsic work values and education is likely to vary by gender. Women who pursue and then graduate from college may be much more likely to value job autonomy than women without college experience. Women who pursue a college degree may aspire to jobs in this time period that have more autonomy, nursing or teaching, than other feminized occupations. College may not be indicative of the degree to which men emphasize intrinsic aspects of work because they are generally socialized to value jobs that offer skill development and upward mobility regardless of their various occupational aspirations.

Marriage and parenthood

As described in chapter two, the importance of various job characteristics is influenced by two different processes related to marriage. Men and women with less
emphasis on intrinsic job characteristics tend to select into marriage earlier than those with greater emphasis (Johnson 2005). Married female respondents are unlikely to be the primary source of income in their households and they may do most of the domestic labor in the home. As a result of socialization in the context, married women in this cohort may not emphasize extrinsic rewards as much as single women. Men who are married by the age of 22 likely have stronger extrinsic work values than single men. Marriage may lower both men and women’s prioritizations of intrinsic rewards due to aforementioned selection effect at this age.

As indicated in chapter two, occupational aspirations that correspond with lower income and less job autonomy may select young women and men into parenthood at an earlier age than those with higher occupational aspirations. The transition to parenthood also increases the emphasis on extrinsic aspects of work due to the expenses associated with raising children. In comparison to other females, mothers in the survey may not place as much emphasis on job autonomy due to the demands associated with parenthood.

*Locus of control*

People with external LOC believe that their efforts have little impact on their future lot in life and this may impact the formation of work values. This may be because their past experiences have led them to believe that they have little power in the world. Consequently, those with external LOC tend to have occupational aspirations that require less schooling and preparation. Respondents with external LOC, then, may emphasize income more and job autonomy less than respondents with internal LOC.
The relationship between LOC and intrinsic work values may be more complex for the females in the survey than for the males. The women in the survey may be managing the demands of family and work. Women with internal LOC, then, may invest in other roles in addition to the ones associated with employment. Women who have high work and home demands may even experience a lowered sense of self-efficacy if they invest too much time or energy in any one role. In the 1976 analysis then, women with internal LOC may not value job autonomy any differently than women with external LOC.

Methods

The analyses presented in this section are estimations of the pay and autonomy work value measures from the 1976 wave of the NLS-72, when respondents are 22 years of age. By this age, most respondents are relatively new to the full-time labor force and may not have participated substantially in ways that allow them to be financially independent. The 1976 independent variables are used in order to create a snapshot of the ways that they influence the two work values in this year. Thus, this is a contemporaneous analysis which does not necessarily indicate causal relationships. All respondents are included in this analysis, even those who are unemployed and not in the labor force. For both the pay work value and the autonomy work value, the “important” and “very important” categories were collapsed as a single category and coded as 1. The “not important” category was coded as zero. Binomial regressions were generated in SPSS. The models were first estimated as a pooled sample and the female coefficients were found to be statistically significant (.82 for income and .73 for autonomy). The pay
work value and the autonomy work value were then estimated separately for males and females in order to further investigate the dynamics of each model.

**Results**

The results of the contemporaneous estimation of pay and autonomy work values is presented in tables 4.1a and 4.1b respectively.

**Table 4.1a Logistic estimation of Pay WV, 1976**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men (exp(B))</th>
<th>Women (exp(B))</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
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<td>0.77 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>2.43 *</td>
<td>2.73 *</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td>1.41 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SES</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>0.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>0.58 *</td>
<td>0.66 *</td>
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<tr>
<td>Some college</td>
<td>0.71 *</td>
<td>0.81 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>1.20 *</td>
<td>0.76 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child&lt;6</td>
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<td>1.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ext LOC</td>
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<td>1.14 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-squared</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05

**Table 4.1b Logistic estimation of Autonomy WV, 1976**

<table>
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<th>Men (exp(B))</th>
<th>Women (exp(B))</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>1.50 *</td>
<td>1.43 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SES</td>
<td>1.01</td>
<td>1.02 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>1.56 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some college</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.25 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>0.81 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child&lt;6</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>0.85 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ext LOC</td>
<td>0.83 *</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-squared</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05
The results of this initial analysis suggest that female respondents place less emphasis on pay and autonomy than male respondents. Put in very broad terms, the males in the survey may be socialized to place emphasis on secure careers while women seek to balance work and family. Women’s dual roles are especially notable as a greater range of factors appear to explain their work values. Unlike the male respondents, the degree to which females value job autonomy is influenced by SES-origins, educational attainment, and marital status, described in greater detail below.

Respondents from lower SES backgrounds are more likely to value extrinsic rewards but the coefficients are not significant. As predicted, women from higher SES families are slightly more likely to value intrinsic rewards than women from lower SES families. For men SES has a positive effect on intrinsic work values but the coefficient is not significant.

Black respondents emphasize extrinsic job characteristics and intrinsic rewards to a greater degree than White respondents. As discussed above, Black respondents in this cohort may have higher occupational aspirations than Whites as they enter the labor market. At the same time, Blacks are more likely to come from lower SES backgrounds, a context in which income tends to be important. Hispanic female respondents place more importance on extrinsic job characteristics than Whites but the effect is not significant for the men. Hispanic men have higher ratings and Hispanic women have lower ratings of intrinsic rewards than their White counterparts but the coefficients are not significant.

Respondents with college degrees value extrinsic rewards less than those without degrees. Educational attainment increases women’s emphasis on intrinsic rewards but, as predicted, the effect is not significant for men. Regardless of educational attainment, men
want stable careers and they may associate freedom at work with this objective. Women appear to select into college with much greater emphasis on intrinsic rewards than other women in their cohort. This may reflect their higher occupational aspirations relative to other women.

As predicted, married men emphasize extrinsic rewards more and married women value extrinsic rewards less than their single counterparts. Both married men and married women were less likely than their single counterparts to emphasize intrinsic rewards, though the coefficient is only significant for women. As indicated above, these findings may be evidence of a selection effect. Respondents who are married by the age of 22 tend to have lower intrinsic values than respondents who marry later in the life course. A separate analysis (not presented) indicates that the working married women in the sample place more emphasis on pay (0.86 compared to 0.76) and less emphasis on job autonomy (0.75 compared to 0.81) than the average married woman in the analysis. These relationships are congruent with the idea that working married women are more instrumentally oriented than the other married women in the survey. Employment status did not change married men’s work values.

Mothers and fathers of young children prefer income slightly more and job autonomy less in comparison to their peers. Similar to married respondents, those who place less emphasis on intrinsic aspects of work may select into parenthood earlier than those who delay childbirth (Johnson 2005). The pay work values are not significantly higher than others in the sample, however, which was not anticipated. The sample as a whole may especially value pay at this age. In addition, Johnson’s (2005) findings suggest that married women’s emphasis on extrinsic rewards appears similar to that of
married women with children. The relative difference between the circumstances of marriage and of having children may be very small for fathers as well, at least at this point in the survey.

A separate analysis investigated the effect of parenthood for working men and women (not presented). In comparison to the average woman with young children in the sample, working women place significantly more emphasis on pay when they have a young child. Employed women with children place less emphasis on job autonomy but the coefficient is not significant. Employment did not affect the results for the fathers. These results suggest that increases in role conflict are correlated with greater instrumentalism.

As predicted, respondents with an external LOC have a stronger preference for pay than those that have an internal LOC, supporting previous research on this relationship. For men, external LOC is also associated with a lower emphasis on intrinsic aspects of work. This may indicate that men with internal LOC prefer job autonomy, thus seeking experiences that develop their self-efficacy. External LOC does not predict women’s emphasis on job autonomy. As they manage the demands of work and home, women with external LOC may not view job autonomy any differently than women with internal LOC because they have multiple sources of efficacy. Women may also experience role conflict when they focus on one domain more than another.

Taken as a whole, the results from this section are consistent with the idea that structural, cultural and psychological aspects of social contexts shape work values. Educational attainment and race have the strongest impact on work values in this initial analysis, which likely indicates the strong influences of access to financial resources,
social capital, and the quality of early educational experiences. Cultural beliefs also appear to impact work values. Black respondents have much greater emphasis on autonomy than White respondents, perhaps a product of the social movements in this time period. Similarly, gender role socialization may generally explain women’s lower preferences for income and job autonomy in comparison to men. Psychological characteristics appear to impact work values, as shown in the finding that external LOC predicts greater emphasis on income and lower emphasis on autonomy. These results will be discussed in the context of hypothesis 1.1 in the discussion section of this chapter.

4.2 Independent variables and LOC

Hypothesis

The second analysis in this chapter evaluates the relationship between the independent variables used above and LOC in 1976. According to the literature review in chapters one and two, LOC indicates a person’s psychological sense of agency and whether it is oriented towards external validations or more internal validations. External LOC may develop over time as a result of fewer psychological needs being met, fewer resources, and role conflict (Gecas 2000, Mirowsky and Ross 2003).

While many of the independent variables are likely to contribute to variance in external LOC ratings, SES and race may have the strongest impact because they tend to be indicators of access to resources such as wealth and social capital. If external LOC is indicative of cumulative disadvantage it is expected that respondents from lower SES backgrounds, Blacks and Hispanics, and respondents who do not have a postsecondary education will develop higher external LOC than more advantaged groups.
External LOC may be indicative of role conflict as well. Women in this period are moving into the formal labor force in greater proportions than in previous generations. They may experience role conflict as they manage the demands of work and home and this has been shown to increase external LOC. At the same time, men at 22 years of age are more likely than women to be socialized to be self-reliant and financially independent. They may feel increasingly constrained by their ability to find secure employment. Family roles may accentuate the effect of gender roles on external LOC, such that married women perceive that they have less agency because they have more role conflict. On the other hand, some of the research presented in chapter two suggests that without controls for household income, marriage appears to lower married women’s external LOC because they have greater financial stability than single women. Married men tend to have lower ratings of external LOC because it likely provides some financial stability as well and perhaps emotional support (Mirowsky and Ross 2003, Ross 2000). Parenthood is likely to increase both men’s and women’s external LOC due the financial demands associated with having a young child and the negotiation of additional roles.

Methods

As indicated in chapter three, the LOC scale in the NLS-72 ranges from 1 (internally oriented) to 5 (externally oriented). The construction of this scale is described in chapter 3. SPSS was used to estimate a linear regression of the 1976 measure of external LOC using the independent variables.

Results

Consistent with the hypotheses, groups identified as having fewer resources and more role constraints score higher on external LOC than more advantaged groups (see
table 4.2, below). Those from higher SES backgrounds had lower external LOC. This may be because they have more consistent access to efficacy building opportunities such as schools that provide individual attention, parents that have the time and resources to foster internal LOC in their children, and more social capital.

As predicted, Black and Hispanic youth have higher ratings of external LOC than Whites. They are more likely to come from low SES families than Whites and the experience of institutional and interpersonal racism may increase feelings of powerlessness. Black women have considerably higher external LOC than White women. They may experience the intersections of class, race and gender in such a way that they are additionally disadvantaged. For example, Black women may have more role conflict than White women because they may need to play a larger role in the financial support of their families. The status inconsistency that many women experience in educational pursuits and in occupations may be especially intensified for Black women.
Table 4.2 OLS estimation of external LOC scores, 1976¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th></th>
<th>Women</th>
<th></th>
<th>All</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>β</td>
<td>Std Error</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>Std Error</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>Std Error</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>2.20 *</td>
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<td>2.14 *</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>2.20 *</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>-0.09 *</td>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>

*p<.05

¹ Negative values indicate internal LOC

Educational attainment is negatively associated with external LOC. As shown in chapter two, individuals that select into postsecondary education tend to have a lower sense of external LOC. College offers further opportunities to build efficacy. The structure of college coursework builds a perception that outcomes can be influenced by efforts.

According to table 4.2, male respondents have slightly higher ratings of external LOC than females. Although women and men at this age may have slightly different sources of efficacy, it may be that life stages have greater impact. The experience of transitioning from school, employment, and, for some, into new families may affect agency in patterns that are very similar for young men and women.
The effects of marriage and parenthood on LOC are negligible. Marriage slightly increased and parenting a young child decreased external LOC for both male and female respondents. Although single women may have fewer roles to negotiate, marriage combines incomes and therefore decreases external LOC for both men and women. Single women may experience economic uncertainty before they complete more schooling or accumulate job experience.

Men’s and women’s LOC is affected by parenthood similarly, though men experience slightly greater losses to perceptions of agency than women. Parenthood may be more demanding as it requires greater financial demands for fathers and greater role strain for mothers, assuming a gendered division of labor in the home for coupled individuals. Fathers may perceive that their agency is lower because they are expected to provide for their families to a greater extent than mothers, though in working class families, mothers are likely to work as well. In a separate analysis (not presented), the combined effects of marriage and parenthood were regressed on the external LOC scale. Tested separately, married men and women without children had similar levels of external LOC; the coefficients were comparable to what is indicated in table 4.2 for married respondents. Married parents’ external LOC ratings were not significantly different from single respondents’. Single parenthood increased both women and men’s external LOC in comparison to single respondents without children. It appears that regardless of whether they are parents, both men and women benefit from marriage in terms of internal LOC, at least at this life stage.
4.3 Discussion

The results in this chapter suggest that initial work values are patterned by socialization and selection mechanisms in a variety of social contexts. As predicted, fewer resources and external LOC appear to be associated with a greater emphasis on extrinsic aspects of jobs. Respondents from lower SES origins, those who are non-White, and have lower educational attainment are more likely to emphasize income and are also more likely to have external LOC.

Prior to more extensive experience in the labor force, men’s and women’s work values appear to be patterned by traditional gender roles. At the age of 22, males primarily invest in the work role, seeking out jobs that will provide them financial stability and security. As shown in this chapter, women’s work values are explained by a greater variety of factors. Educational attainment appears to play a key role in women’s work value trajectories. The women that pursue and complete postsecondary education have much stronger preferences for job autonomy than other women. Meanwhile, gender has very little impact on perceptions of personal agency. Even though men and women may seek out and participate in different domains, there is no clear difference in the degree to which they feel influential in these realms.

Though the influence of SES is small, respondents who grew up with fewer resources tend to have a greater interest in jobs that fulfill basic needs and to have higher external LOC. SES increases emphasis on job autonomy but the effect is only significant for women. Female respondents from upper class families in this time period may have exposure to more egalitarian gender roles and this may translate into higher occupational aspirations. If higher SES women sought to work in occupations that were historically
dominated by men, they had a greater likelihood of becoming employed in these jobs if they had a college degree. Higher SES women are more likely to attend college and to delay marriage and childrearing.

The analyses in this chapter suggest that Black and Hispanic respondents emphasize extrinsic job rewards and have higher external LOC than White respondents. Black and Hispanic parents may have been denied better quality jobs and access to educational institutions due to racial discrimination. They may not have been able to provide as many resources to their children as White families. The decline in manufacturing combined with historical housing discrimination likely harmed Black families more than Hispanic and White families, concentrating poverty in such a way that neighborhoods became more isolated from well-funded school districts, as well as from centers of commerce. Fewer educational and social resources have been shown to be correlated with external LOC and stronger emphasis on extrinsic rewards.

Importantly, Black men and women appear to have a stronger preference for job autonomy than White and Hispanic respondents. Growing up in the context of the Civil Rights Movement and finding access to more educational institutions than their parents, this cohort of Black Americans may have had “high hopes” as they entered the labor market. Even though Black respondents rate higher on external LOC than Whites and Hispanics, job autonomy may have been especially appealing as occupations with this characteristic are more prestigious, better compensated, and historically dominated by Whites.

As predicted, educational attainment decreases emphasis on extrinsic job rewards, increases emphasis on intrinsic rewards, and is associated with internal LOC. Selection
mechanisms that increase the likelihood of entering and finishing college likely play a role in these findings, as higher SES individuals have access to more resources and their parents are more likely to value a college education than low SES individuals. As indicated in this analysis, young people with such resources have higher internal LOC and may be better equipped to take the risks associated with delaying entrance into the labor force.

Women appear to select into college based both on lower extrinsic work values and higher intrinsic work values. Occupational aspirations of women on the path to a college degree are likely much different than that of female peers. Women in the college trajectory by the age of 22 may view their degree as a means of entering better quality jobs that are not otherwise accessible. Educational attainment does not appear to affect men’s emphasis on intrinsic rewards at this age, suggesting that they are socialized early in life to place emphasis on careers that offer decision latitude, regardless of their background and resources.

The selection and socialization mechanisms associated with marriage and parenthood are evident in these analyses. While both young men and women likely select into marriage with a stronger preference for extrinsic job rewards, females in the survey shift their emphasis away from pay, especially if they are not working. Marriage tends to increase overall household income and this may reduce some of the financial uncertainty associated with being single, as indicated by lower external LOC ratings for married respondents. Married men are more likely than married women to be assigned the role of providing financial stability through steady employment in the labor force.
The combination of lower SES background, lower educational attainment, but the intent to start families may explain why married women appear to be more instrumentally oriented than single women. They place less value on jobs that offer autonomy and may only work when their families need the extra income. On the other hand, the availability of high paying work may have influenced married women’s preferences, especially if there were few occupations available to them that provided the freedom to make decisions. As suggested by some research, marriage may delay or suspend educational trajectories for women, and in this time period a college degree was becoming a prerequisite for a greater variety of occupations. After starting families, women may not have the resources to invest in the kind of training or the time to take entry level jobs that eventually access work with more autonomy. Mothers value autonomy even less, congruent with the idea that they experienced more role conflict than married women, though in the present analysis it is not possible to discern whether this result is influenced by the kinds of jobs that this group tended to attain.

Married men may value job autonomy more than single men because they have a greater commitment to finding steady work that leads to careers and upward mobility. As they seek to provide a stable source of income for their families, married men may eventually find jobs with more autonomy as they work longer hours than single men, accumulating experiences that gain them upward mobility in organizations. Fathers of young children place less emphasis on job autonomy, likely because they are more instrumentally oriented than men that delay fatherhood.

As predicted, LOC appears to impact work values and the effect is independent from SES. External LOC is associated with greater emphasis on income and, for men,
less emphasis on intrinsic rewards. Men and women with external orientations may seek out work that has tangible rewards such as income. The finding that men but not women with internal LOC place more emphasis on job autonomy may reflect the ways that gender socialization influences role sets and interpretations of experiences. If men are socialized to be breadwinners, they may be more likely than women to use their work experiences as a lens through which they judge the effectiveness of their overall agency. In general, women may be socialized to use a greater variety of spheres to judge their agency. Experiences and roles that involve family may resonate with most women, especially in this time period, and marriage appears to decrease women’s external LOC. The ability to derive a sense of self-efficacy from the sphere of work may also be a relatively new possibility for this cohort of women, and especially accessible to those from higher SES backgrounds.

Overall the findings in this chapter are consistent with the control framework of work values. Fewer resources in non-work contexts and external LOC tend to be associated with a greater emphasis on extrinsic job rewards. At this age, female respondents are less likely to place emphasis on income and job autonomy than men, possibly due to gender role socialization and role conflict. This can be further investigated in the next chapter. **Hypothesis 1.1 is confirmed.**

### 4.4 Conclusion

The findings in this chapter suggest that disadvantage is evident in patterns of work values. Groups that had fewer opportunities and more external LOC were more likely emphasize extrinsic aspects of work than other groups. This initial analysis identifies the mechanisms which may be influential in the years to come. Disadvantage
may have ongoing influence on work values as respondents participate in the labor force. The analysis in the next chapter will evaluate how job characteristics reinforce or strengthen these initial work values over time. Men and women are likely to have different levels of control with respect to their job rewards which may further shape work values.
CHAPTER 5: WORK VALUES, JOB REWARDS AND CONTROL

As respondents grow older, become more financially independent and start families of their own, their work values are likely to change. This chapter will evaluate how job characteristics shape work values over time. In the first section, hypothesis 1.2 is evaluated: groups with more control over the attainment of job rewards will have higher weekly incomes and more job autonomy. The second section will then evaluate how these job rewards shape work values along with the other independent variables. It may be that work values are reinforced by job characteristics such that people come to value the kinds of jobs rewards they have tended to find, hypotheses 1.3a and 1.4a. Alternatively, people may value the job characteristics that have been difficult to find or “problematic”, hypotheses 1.3b and 1.4b.

Methods

The analysis in this chapter uses the last three waves of the NLS-72 to estimate job rewards and work values in a SEM. Linear regression models were used to estimate both work values as well as job rewards. The analysis allows for comparisons between groups, net of previous residual effects, including previous years of work values. The sample is constrained to those who had been employed at some point since the previous survey year.

See figure 5.1, below, for a slightly abridged diagram of the SEM in this chapter. Relationships between autonomy and income were also estimated as part of the model.
and the unabridged diagram can be found in the Appendix 1. Because one of the assumptions of the control framework is that work values are affected by cumulative experiences, only longitudinal relationships were estimated in the model. There are controls for the effect of the contemporaneous measures. The estimation of job rewards is presented in section 5.1 of this chapter and the estimation of work values is presented in section 5.2.

**Figure 5.1. SEM for job rewards and work values**

**5.1 Job rewards**

**Hypotheses**

The degree to which respondents have control over job rewards is likely to be influenced by respondents’ resources and roles, as well as the kinds of jobs that were
available to this cohort. As discussed in chapter two, the labor market in the period of study is characterized by a transition from a manufacturing-based economy to one that focuses on services. Downsizing, mergers, and insecure employment in the manufacturing sector likely impacted men’s jobs more so than women’s. Fewer white-collar occupations with autonomy are available in this time period than in the 21st century and they were protected by internal labor markets. Access to occupations such a mid and upper level management, then, may have been granted with a combination of postsecondary education and job experience, but these jobs were more likely to be assigned to men due to job queuing. Female respondents may have had difficulty gaining access to jobs with autonomy even if they had a college education. Overall, groups with more resources, education, fewer role constraints and internal LOC will earn higher incomes and have more job autonomy. Separate hypotheses are presented below.

Gender

As shown in chapter four, male and female respondents have different characteristics, and the availability of jobs is likely to benefit men in the period of study. Women will earn less than men and have less job autonomy. In addition, women are more likely than men to take work in service occupations that are growing in this period. Retail, waitressing, clerical, and low-level healthcare jobs offer some flexibility, and thus some freedom at work, but, on the whole, they are paid less than jobs in male-dominated occupations. In comparison to males in the survey, females are more likely to experience role conflict which may reduce the number of hours they can work. Women’s role conflict may also be associated with discontinuous labor force participation and this may be a disadvantage when it comes to accumulating job experience. Gender queuing may
affect female respondents, effectively creating a “glass ceiling”, and limiting access to internal labor markets in larger firms.

More so than females, young male respondents are likely to find full-time work in skilled manufacturing jobs and mid-level management. These jobs have generally higher incomes and greater job autonomy than the kinds of jobs that women can access. Men are likely to benefit from the promotional ladders in these occupations. Mid-level management jobs, if accessed by internal labor markets, may not require a college education in this time period. Role conflict may relegate women to part-time work in routine, “dead-end” jobs.

**H5.1 Women will earn less than men and have less job autonomy than men.**

As they search for their valued job characteristics in the labor market, women and men are likely to have different experiences. The analysis in the last chapter showed that female respondents in 1976 place less emphasis on pay and autonomy than male respondents, net of other factors. When women place lower emphasis on pay and job autonomy, they may be better able to find work that corresponds with their work values. On the other hand, the difference in women’s and men’s emphasis remains rather small, net of other factors. Men in the sample will likely earn much higher incomes and have jobs with more freedom than women, as described above, because they have fewer barriers to such jobs in the labor market. In addition, men likely have social networks that facilitate their job searches and experience less role conflict than women. Independent of all other effects in the analysis, then, female respondents may be less likely than men to find their valued job characteristics.
H5.2 Men with stronger extrinsic work values will earn higher incomes than men who do not place emphasis on this aspect of work. Men with stronger intrinsic work values will have more job autonomy. The importance that women place on pay and autonomy will not significantly affect these respective job rewards.

SES

In general higher SES families have more resources for their children and, as young adults, this is likely to advantage them when seeking employment. Though in decline in the period of study, semi-skilled manufacturing jobs are accessible to men from low SES origins, offering relatively higher incomes than low skill service work. But high SES young people likely had more financial and social resources growing up which facilitated preparation for jobs with higher incomes and more autonomy than those from lower SES backgrounds.

Generally speaking, SES background may not have a strong effect on job autonomy because there are more barriers to these kinds of occupations. High SES women may not be better able to access jobs with autonomy than low SES women because both groups face gender discrimination and job queues. In contrast, young men’s social networks may be particularly enhanced for individuals with high SES-origins. The ability to meet and share information with other middle and upper class men in general, especially those who are older and in leadership positions, is likely to be an advantage over the networks possessed by poor and working class men (MacDonald and Elder 2006).
H5.3 SES will be positively associated with men’s income and job autonomy. SES will positively affect women’s income.

Race

Due to their lower SES backgrounds, historical and contemporaneous institutional discrimination, less social capital and job queues, Black respondents will earn lower incomes and attain jobs that have less autonomy than White respondents. The race differences are likely to be larger for men than for women because White and Black women face some of the same barriers in the labor force.

H5.4 Black respondents will earn less pay and have less autonomy than White respondents.

Education

Respondents with a college degree will have access to much higher paying jobs with more autonomy than respondents without a degree. The effect of educational attainment may be stronger for pay than for intrinsic rewards because jobs which are characterized by less direct supervision tend to require several years of work experience, in addition to a college degree.

H5.5 Respondents with a college degree will earn higher income and have jobs with more autonomy than those without a college degree.

Marriage

Married men and women are likely to have different levels of pay due to the issue of role conflict. Married men may work longer hours than single men to provide for their families but marital status is unlikely to affect men’s wages, thus reducing the effect.
Married men may eventually gain access to jobs with more autonomy than single men because they have more job experience. Married women will earn lower weekly incomes than single women because they are less likely to be employed full time as they manage their family roles. Married women may be able to find some job autonomy and flexible hours in low paid service occupations. Over time, single women will earn more income but they may not have more freedom on the job than married women.

**H5.6 Married men will have higher weekly incomes and more job autonomy than single men. Married women will have lower weekly incomes than single women.**

*Parenting young children*

Mothers may make less than women without children due to discontinuity in their labor force participation. Fathers may work more hours than other men and therefore their incomes will be higher. Over time fathers’ commitment to work may lead to accumulations of job experience. This job experience may allow them access to jobs with more autonomy than men who are not parents.

**H5.7 Parenting a young child will negatively affect women’s weekly income and job autonomy. Parenting a young child will positively affect men’s weekly income and job autonomy.**

*Locus of control*

In comparison to respondents with internal LOC, those with external LOC may have occupational aspirations that correspond with lower incomes and less job autonomy. People with external LOC are less planful and thus less likely to prepare for occupations
that require a college education or other types of training. People with low self-efficacy are less sociable as well which may limit their social capital. Respondents with internal LOC may prefer work that offers an opportunity for efficacy-building experiences. They may aspire to occupations with more freedom to develop their skills. They may also be capable of more productive job searches due to the ability to plan ahead.

**H5.8 External LOC will be negatively associated with pay and job autonomy.**

**Results**

The forthcoming SEM will indicate significant differences over time but not the general trend in job rewards. To show the trend, average weekly incomes and job autonomy levels were calculated for men and women. Linear regressions for the pay and autonomy job rewards were estimated for each year of the survey and the coefficients were then used to calculate the average job rewards for male and female respondents as differentials.³ Thus, the job rewards presented below have controls for SES, race, educational attainment, marital status and external LOC. The average job rewards for men and women are reported in table 5.1 and split again by education in table 5.2, below.

These initial results provide support for some of the hypotheses above. Women earned considerably less than men, even when educational attainment is taken into account. Men and women without a postsecondary education earn less pay relative to their peers in all three waves of the survey (see table 5.2). All respondents eventually gain access to work with more freedom on the job. The levels diverge by gender and also

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³ To compare relative differences in pay and job autonomy for all groups, see the OLS regression tables for the 1976 job rewards in the Appendix 2.
slightly by education. Men and women with a college degree have more freedom at work, though gender differences remain by the last wave of the survey.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Table 5.1 Mean job rewards by gender, 1976, 1979, 1986.1</th>
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<tr>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* Significant at p < .05 in comparison to men.

1 Pay JR is in deciles and Auto JR is rated on a scale of 1 to 5, 5 as most autonomy.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Table 5.2 Mean job rewards by gender and education, 1976, 1979, 1986.1</th>
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<tr>
<td>Pay JR 76</td>
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<tr>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* Significant at p < .05 in comparison to men with college degrees.

1 Pay JR is in deciles and Auto JR is rated on a scale of 1 to 5, 5 as high autonomy.

The longitudinal relationships between the independent variables and job rewards are presented in the results of the SEM, below, in table 5.3.4

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4 The Hispanic category was used as a control and the results are not interpreted. The omitted category for having a child under the age of 6 is childless respondents.
The results in table 5.3 show that past job rewards positively affect future rewards but that 1976 levels of pay and job autonomy have much less influence on 1986 levels. The three year interval of the first time period indicates about as much change in job rewards as the second interval of seven years, suggesting that most increases in job rewards occur early in the work trajectory when respondents are younger. There are slight gender differences in timing. Men appear to make most of their gains in pay in the first interval, while women make more gains in the second interval. The same pattern is evident for job autonomy. This supports the idea that women work more hours and gain

<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
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<th>Autonomy JR</th>
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<td>-    -</td>
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* Only coefficients significant at p < .05 reported. For pooled model, chi-square value is 191 with 24 degrees of freedom. For separate models, chi-square value is 247 with 48 degrees of freedom. (Significant at p < 0.001)
¹ Negative values in external LOC indicate internal LOC
entrance into better paying, autonomous work slightly later in the life course than men. Women may work more continuously after their children are school-aged.

Table 5.3 shows that net of other effects, men earn more than women and have more freedom on the job, as predicted. The gender gap in job rewards is likely due to the varying characteristics and capabilities of male and female respondents as well as the jobs that were available in this time period. **H5.1 is confirmed.**

The results also show that the male respondents are better able to find their valued job characteristics than the female respondents. In the first time period, 1976 to 1979, male respondents who place a greater emphasis on extrinsic job rewards have higher incomes than men who do not value this aspect of work. The pattern does not hold in the next time period, 1979 to 1986. For female respondents, work values have no significant impact on weekly pay over time.

All respondents who placed emphasis on job autonomy had more freedom at work. It was not predicted that women’s emphasis on job autonomy would be more forthcoming of jobs with this characteristic. The relationship between values and job autonomy is consistent for males over both time periods. For women the effect is only significant in the second time period, 1979 to 1986. Women may have been able to access jobs with autonomy later in life as they worked their way up in the ranks of organizations and became more continuously employed. **H5.2 is generally confirmed.**

Respondents from higher SES backgrounds earn more income than those from lower SES backgrounds, likely due to parental financial support and social capital.
Higher SES origins did not provide as much access to jobs with autonomy but there is a weak effect for men between 1979 and 1986. **Hypothesis 5.3 is generally confirmed.**

As predicted, Black male respondents earn lower pay and have less freedom on the job than White males. Black men and women are consistently less able than Whites to find work with intrinsic rewards. Though significant just over the $p < .05$ threshold (and therefore not reported in table 5.3), it appears that Black women earn higher weekly incomes than White women (.36 of a decile more in 1979 and also in 1986). Black women have less job autonomy which may mean that they earn lower wages. Black women may work longer hours in more routine jobs than White women. **Hypothesis 5.4 is generally confirmed.**

Respondents with college degrees earn higher incomes and are more likely to have job autonomy than those without a degree. Recall that educational attainment did not affect men’s job autonomy in the analysis of the 1976 data in the last chapter, but over time this pattern emerges. Pay is likely more forthcoming than autonomy to those that have a college degree, consistent with the idea that jobs with more freedom are harder to access, especially early in one’s career. Women who have a college degree by 1976 have *lower* job autonomy than women without a degree by 1986. In a separate estimation, the 1976 education measure did not have a significant impact on the 1986 job reward if the 1979 education measure was left out of the analysis. This finding is difficult to interpret. If women who earn a college degree by the age of 22 delay their childrearing, this group may have experienced discontinuous employment thereafter. Discontinuous employment may be associated with overall decreases in access to jobs with autonomy. This explanation is not congruent, however, with the finding that women with
postsecondary education come to earn higher weekly incomes over time. **Hypothesis 5.5 is partially confirmed.**

Married men earn slightly higher weekly incomes than single men, as predicted, possibly because they work longer hours than single men. As predicted, married women earn less than single women. Due to the demands of work and family, married women are more likely to work part-time than single women. While not significant in the 1976 contemporaneous analysis, men who are married in 1976 eventually find jobs with more autonomy in comparison to their single counterparts, as predicted. Married men’s commitment to their work role may lead them to accumulate experiences which eventually gain them access to jobs with more autonomy. Surprisingly, women who were married by 1976 have more job autonomy than single women by 1979. Since their jobs tend not to be paid nearly as well as single women, married women may be finding work in flexible jobs such as those in service occupations. These jobs offer more freedom in their interactions with the public, for example, than the jobs that single women may be finding. Alternatively, married women’s perceptions of their job autonomy may be higher. They may report that they have more autonomy at work than single women because they find employment in formal occupations to be less routine in comparison to their duties at home. This difference is no longer significant by 1986. **Hypothesis 5.6 is generally confirmed.**

Surprisingly, women who are mothers by 1976 do not earn less than other women. Contrary to predictions, the fathers in the survey eventually earn less pay and have less job autonomy than male respondents without children. It is possible that the male respondents who become fathers may also experience role conflict as their families
grow. Alternatively, those with young children in this period may have lower educational attainment or lower SES-origins. **Hypothesis 5.7 is not confirmed.**

In comparison to respondents with internal LOC, external LOC appears to lower job quality in terms of income and autonomy. Men with external LOC appear to earn less pay over time, perhaps as disadvantages accumulate. **Hypothesis 5.8 is confirmed.**

Overall, the results of the job rewards portion of the SEM indicate that there are disadvantages in the labor market to those respondents who have had less access to resources, more role constraints and external LOC. Respondents from lower SES backgrounds, Black respondents, those without a college degree, and married women have lower incomes and less freedom at work, confirming that they have less control over their job rewards. The gender difference in job rewards is particularly important in the current analysis. All else held equal, male respondents have an advantage over female respondents in the labor market due to job queues that benefit them, greater access to social capital, and due to the jobs available in this time period that pay well regardless of educational attainment. Men also have fewer role constraints and have been socialized to value self-reliance and financial independence. Consequently men may have prepared earlier than women for work in the formal labor market. Men appear more likely to find their valued job characteristics in the labor market and this may benefit their sense of efficacy. **General hypothesis 1.2 is supported.**

The patterns identified in this analysis may have repercussions for the way that respondents come to value job rewards. The next section evaluates work values longitudinally, with job rewards included in the model. As employed female respondents generally have lower incomes and less job autonomy than males, they may come to
reduce their emphasis on these aspects of work. They may find that other aspects of life are more important and reorganize their priorities, in a sense. As a result women may place less emphasis on pay and autonomy than men, thus providing support for the reinforcement hypothesis. Alternatively, women may become increasingly concerned about their ability to support their households and themselves as they participate in the labor force. Women may consequently increase their prioritization of income and job autonomy relative to men because these job characteristics are difficult to attain. Women in the NLS-72 who do not attain their occupational aspirations are more likely to drop out of the labor force than men (Rindfuss et al. 1999). The women who remain employed throughout the survey may become especially concerned about income. This finding would support the problematic rewards hypothesis.

Disadvantage may accumulate for some groups. Black men earn lower incomes and have less autonomy than White men and over time these differences grow larger. The analysis in this section also finds that respondents without a postsecondary education earn lower incomes and have less freedom on the job than those who graduated from college. Over time these more disadvantaged groups may lower their emphasis on pay and job autonomy in order to avoid the dissonance that comes about from the mismatch between values and rewards. This finding would support the reinforcement hypothesis. Alternatively, Black respondents and less educated respondents may come to view income and job autonomy as more important than Whites and college educated respondents as the find pay to be increasingly problematic.

As predicted, external LOC appears to lower weekly incomes and job autonomy. Men with external LOC continue to earn lower pay over both time periods of the study.
and for women the effect appears to be limited to the period between 1976 and 1979. Following the reinforcement hypothesis, externally oriented individuals may place less emphasis on pay and job autonomy since these rewards are less forthcoming. The problematic rewards hypothesis suggests that respondents with external LOC may develop stronger preferences for pay and job autonomy as they are increasingly difficult to find.

5.2 Work values

Hypotheses

The results in the last section affirm the assertion in the control framework that characteristics, capabilities and resources shape the kinds of job characteristics that people find. The analysis in this section may shed light on the debate outlined in chapter two regarding the influence of job rewards on work values. The reinforcement hypothesis suggests that people come to value the job rewards that they have tended to find in their work experiences. Thus, declines in job rewards bring about downward adjustments in work values. The problematic hypothesis suggests that work values are indicative of job rewards that have been difficult to find and thus work values and job rewards should have a negative relationship. In each section below separate predictions are presented for the reinforcement and problematic rewards hypotheses.

Gender

As described in chapter two, the reinforcement hypothesis suggests that independent of other effects, job characteristics essentially “mold” work values. People increase their emphasis on rewards that they have been able to find and decrease their emphasis on job characteristics that have been scarce. In the current analysis, then,
income will positively affect extrinsic work values and freedom on the job will positively affect intrinsic work values.

**H5.9a Reinforcement: Men’s and women’s income and job autonomy will positively impact extrinsic and intrinsic work values.**

Also described in chapter two, the problematic rewards hypothesis suggests that low incomes may be problematic for individuals. People may be disappointed or frustrated to realize that higher incomes are harder to find than they initially anticipated. Respondents are likely to *increase* emphasis on income in these circumstances. Those with high pay will place *less* emphasis on extrinsic work values because they may feel that this need is satisfied. Overall, therefore, income may come to negatively affect extrinsic work values over time. Men who prioritize income but cannot find steady income, may find their circumstances especially problematic because they may be the main source of financial support for their families and they have learned that financial independence is linked with successful expressions of masculinity. On the other hand, women who enter and stay the labor force may be similarly motivated to support their families and thus low pay may be just as problematic for them. As people attain their job rewards they are less likely to seek them out. Such is the case for job autonomy.

**H5.9b Problematic: Men’s and women’s income and job autonomy will negatively impact extrinsic and intrinsic work values.**

As shown in the above analysis, women earn lower incomes in comparison to men and on average, women report that they have more supervision at work than men.
The reinforcement hypothesis suggests, then, that women will place less emphasis on income and job autonomy than men.

**H5.10a. Female respondents will place less emphasis on income and job autonomy than men.**

The problematic rewards hypothesis suggests that women who earn lower incomes and have less job autonomy will find this to be problematic. Women, then, will place more emphasis on pay and job autonomy than men.

**H5.10b. Female respondents will place more emphasis on income and on job autonomy than men.**

**SES**

As shown in the last section, higher SES backgrounds are an advantage because they offer resources and values that increase access to higher incomes and job autonomy. The reinforcement hypothesis suggests these respective job characteristics will increase emphasis on extrinsic and intrinsic work values.

**H5.11a Reinforcement: SES will positively impact extrinsic and intrinsic work values.**

Respondents from high SES backgrounds earn more over time and this will lower concerns about income. Male respondents from higher SES backgrounds are better able to find jobs with autonomy than other men. They will place less importance on job autonomy as they are able to attain this aspect of work.
H5.11b Problematic: SES will negatively impact extrinsic and intrinsic work values.

Race

The analysis above shows that Black respondents earn less pay and have less freedom on the job than White respondents. The reinforcement hypothesis suggests that Black respondents will therefore place less emphasis on both types of rewards in comparison to Whites. In the last section it became apparent that Black women have higher weekly incomes than White women. Following the reinforcement hypothesis, Black women may value pay more than White women.

H5.12a Reinforcement: Black men will have lower extrinsic and intrinsic work values than White men. Black women’s extrinsic work values will be higher than White women’s and intrinsic values will be lower than White women’s.

Black male respondents earn less than White males, and low pay is likely to be problematic. While Black females appear to earn more weekly pay than White women, it is unlikely that they have higher wages than White women since they have lower job autonomy. They may still find pay to be problematic as a result, especially if they are coupled with Black men. In addition, Black respondents will emphasize intrinsic rewards more than Whites since their jobs are more likely to have direct supervision.

H5.12b Problematic: Black respondents will be more likely than White respondents to value extrinsic job rewards and intrinsic job rewards.
Education

In the last section it was confirmed that educational attainment increases incomes and provides access to jobs with more autonomy. The reinforcement hypothesis suggests that respondents with a postsecondary degree will emphasize pay and job autonomy more than those who did not graduate from college.

H5.13a Reinforcement: Men and women with college degrees will emphasize extrinsic and intrinsic work values more than their less educated counterparts.

The problematic rewards hypothesis suggests that college graduates will continue to emphasize extrinsic rewards, but less so than other groups. All groups may essentially view pay as increasingly problematic due to upward mobility (i.e. “keeping up with the Joneses”). But men and women with postsecondary degrees will come to find pay less problematic. Respondents with college degrees appear to find jobs with more freedom to make decisions. Consequently they will place less emphasis on intrinsic job rewards than those without a postsecondary education.

H5.13b Problematic: Men and women with college degrees will value extrinsic and intrinsic rewards less than respondents without college degrees.

Marriage

As shown in the last section, married men have higher weekly incomes and eventually more job autonomy than single men. The reinforcement hypothesis suggests that married men will value pay and job autonomy more than single men.

Married women, on the other hand, earn less than single women. The reinforcement hypothesis therefore predicts that married women will value pay less than
single women. Women who married earlier than others in the cohort (by 1976) have slightly higher levels of job autonomy than single women. This cohort of married women, therefore, may value job autonomy more than single women.

**H5.14a Reinforcement: Married male respondents will value pay and autonomy more than single male respondents. Married female respondents will value pay less and autonomy more than single female respondents.**

Married men eventually have higher incomes than single men and therefore pay is not problematic. Although married women make less than single women, they are unlikely to be the primary wage earners in their households. This need may be fulfilled by their spouses and is therefore not problematic. Married men and women eventually have more job autonomy than single respondents and thus they are less likely to find it a concern.

**H5.14b Problematic: Married men will value income less than single men.**

Married women will not value income any more or less than single women. Married respondents will value intrinsic rewards less than single respondents.

*Parenting young children*

If job rewards are reinforcing, men with young children will value pay and autonomy less than other men because they earn lower incomes and have less freedom on the job. In terms of their income and job autonomy, mothers do not significantly differ from women without children.

**H5.15a Reinforcement: Men with young children will value income and autonomy less than men without children.**
If the problematic rewards hypothesis is valid, fathers will emphasize pay and job autonomy more than other men because they earn lower incomes and have less autonomy.

**H5.15b Problematic: Fathers will value pay and autonomy more than respondents without young children.**

*Locus of control*

The analysis above shows that respondents with external LOC have generally lower quality jobs in terms of pay and autonomy in comparison to those with internal LOC. The reinforcement hypothesis predicts that this group will place less emphasis on extrinsic and intrinsic job rewards.

**H5.16a Reinforcement: External LOC will negatively affect extrinsic and intrinsic work values.**

The problematic rewards hypothesis suggests that external LOC will positively affect extrinsic work values because this group earns less pay. Discussed in chapter two, some research indicates that external LOC is associated with repeated exposure to stressful or disempowering experiences. As respondents move into life stages that require additional financial resources, external LOC may become increasingly correlated with extrinsic work values. Individuals with external LOC tended to have jobs with more supervision than those with internal LOC. This may be problematic, thus increasing emphasis on job autonomy. While both men and women with external LOC earn less and have jobs with less autonomy, LOC may only affect the men in the survey. Men are more
likely to be the breadwinners in the home and therefore they may be more reliant on their jobs to provide a sense of efficacy.

**H5.16b Problematic: Respondents with external LOC will value extrinsic and intrinsic rewards more than respondents with internal LOC.**

**Results**

Table 5.4, below, presents the estimations of work values in the SEM. Overall, there are very few significant relationships in this model. The results of the separate models for men and women indicate some key differences.

Net of other effects, the job reward measure for income positively affects women’s extrinsic work values, consistent with the reinforcement hypothesis. Although not significant at the p < .05 level (but at the .10 level and therefore not reported in table 5.4), a similar effect was found for men; 1976 income has a small, positive impact (.04) on men’s 1979 extrinsic work values. Job autonomy also increases men’s and women’s emphasis on intrinsic job rewards. Note that although the negative relationship between men’s job autonomy and the pay work value may appear to support the problematic hypothesis, this “trade-off” is characteristic of jobs in this period such as semi-skilled manufacturing. Those who work long hours in a factory, for example, do not have autonomy but they are likely to value extrinsic rewards. **Hypothesis H5.9a is confirmed.**
Females in the last chapter’s 1976 contemporaneous analysis initially valued pay less than men (table 4.1a), but female respondents appear to value pay slightly more than the male respondents, net of all other effects. While the effect is small, this finding suggests that women view income as problematic as they continue to participate in the labor force. Women do not place less emphasis on autonomy even though they generally have more direct supervision at work than men. **H5.10b is generally confirmed.**

Respondents from higher SES-origins have stronger preferences for job autonomy than those from lower SES-origins. In the contemporaneous analysis from the last
chapter, the positive relationship between SES and a preference for job autonomy was significant for women only. The current analysis shows that this relationship is now only significant for men as high SES males have more job autonomy than low SES males. Even though respondents from higher SES backgrounds generally earn more, this does not appear to affect their preference for pay. **Hypothesis 5.11a is generally confirmed.**

Consistent with the problematic rewards hypothesis, Black respondents emphasize pay more as they earn less than Whites. By the last wave of the study, Black and White men come to earn similar levels of weekly pay, and the race difference in work values also diminishes, suggesting that pay is no longer problematic for Black men. As predicted, Black women value extrinsic rewards more than White women as they also earn higher weekly incomes. Even though Black respondents have less job autonomy, there does not appear to be any significant racial differences in the emphasis on job autonomy, perhaps because pay is more problematic. **Hypothesis 12b is generally confirmed.**

College educated women emphasize income less than other women which supports the problematic hypothesis, but men’s emphasis on pay is unaffected by educational attainment. Educational attainment appears to influence stronger emphasis on job autonomy which supports the reinforcement hypothesis. **Hypothesis 13a is confirmed for autonomy and hypothesis 13b is confirmed for pay.** While it is possible that respondents with college degrees value intrinsic rewards because their basic needs are more likely to be satisfied than other groups, it is not possible to evaluate this idea using the present survey due to the ratings approach to measuring work values.
Married men do not value pay more than single men even though they are earning higher weekly incomes. Married women’s lower incomes appear to have little impact on their work values, as predicted by the problematic hypothesis. As they are gaining access to jobs with more autonomy, married men place more emphasis on job autonomy than their single counterparts, congruent the reinforcement hypothesis. Married women have more autonomy at work than single women, and they are decreasing their emphasis on this aspect of work, congruent with the problematic hypothesis. Because the results are not consistent, neither hypothesis 14a nor hypothesis 14b is confirmed. Over time fathers make lower weekly incomes and have less autonomy but their work values do not appear to be different from other men in their cohort. Neither hypothesis 15a nor 15b is confirmed.

External LOC strengthens men’s emphasis on income, congruent with the problematic hypothesis, but the result is significant at the p < .10 level of significance (and is thus not reported in table 5.4). All else held equal, men with external LOC become less interested in job autonomy over time, consistent with the reinforcement hypothesis. As predicted, LOC does not significantly impact women’s work values. Hypothesis 5.16a is confirmed for autonomy and there is weak support for hypothesis 5.16b with regard to pay.

Overall the results presented in this section provide some support for the problematic hypothesis but there is evidence for the reinforcement hypothesis as well. Although job rewards reinforce work values independent of other factors, thus supporting hypotheses 1.3a and 1.4a in a general sense, groups with generally less control over their work experiences emphasize extrinsic rewards: women, Blacks, those without
postsecondary education, and external LOC. These findings support general hypothesis 1.3b. On the other hand, respondents with access to jobs with more autonomy appear to value this aspect of work more, and these are groups with a postsecondary education, men from higher SES-origins, and men with internal LOC. These findings support the reinforcement hypothesis, general hypothesis 1.4a. It appears, then, that extrinsic work values may be shaped by what is problematic and emphasis on job autonomy may be shaped by reinforcement. The exception to these general trends is the effect of marital status and this will be discussed below.

5.3 Discussion

The results in this chapter provide mixed support for the hypothesis that respondents with less control over attainment of job rewards tend to emphasize extrinsic work values. The analyses from section 5.1 in this chapter show that fewer resources, role constraints and external LOC are associated with lower incomes, less freedom on the job and lower likelihood of finding valued job characteristics in the labor market. The analysis from section 5.2 suggests that work experiences impact work values in patterns that provide some support for the problematic hypothesis and some support for the reinforcement hypothesis. All else held equal, job rewards appear to reinforce work values: higher incomes increase emphasis on extrinsic job rewards and greater job autonomy increases emphasis on intrinsic work values. On the other hand, this analysis also found that groups that earned lower incomes were more likely to value financial aspects of jobs. This confirms the hypothesis that that low pay is problematic. Importantly, groups with generally more freedom at work also come to value this aspect of work, thus supporting the idea that job autonomy is reinforcing. Though marriage and
parenthood appear to impact control over job rewards in section 5.1, the results in section 5.2 suggest that selection into these contexts may have a stronger influence on work values than work experiences.

LOC may be a mediator of respondent characteristics and work values but more investigation is needed. Respondents with external LOC are significantly disadvantaged in the labor market; their jobs tend to pay less and to offer less freedom in comparison to respondents with internal LOC. Over time men with external LOC increased their emphasis on income and decreased their emphasis on job autonomy. This suggests that perceptions may not affect work values immediately but, over time, lower perceptions of agency increase the importance that people assign to extrinsic rewards. To be clear, the analyses presented in this chapter do not allow for a direct evaluation of the ways that job rewards impact LOC. But this relationship is congruent with the idea that job experiences contribute to perceptions of agency in ways that affect work values.

The results presented in this chapter suggest that respondents with internal LOC may accumulate advantage over time. Young people with internal LOC may be on paths that lead to higher incomes and more job autonomy over time. As shown in the last chapter, low SES origins were associated with higher levels of external LOC, and, in comparison to White respondents, Black respondents have more external LOC as well. This suggests that fewer resources in childhood and adolescence decrease psychological agency. Young people who develop internal LOC may aspire to occupations that are associated with larger incomes, more prestige, and more job autonomy. Consequently, they may prepare for these goals and develop higher educational aspirations than those with external LOC. If LOC is a mediator of demographic characteristics, experiences and
work values, it would suggest that once granted access to good quality jobs, these new experiences become a source of further advantage. People in jobs that offer freedom and latitude in decision making may be more likely to develop skills and experiences that are transferable to even better quality jobs. Internal LOC, then, would be particularly advantageous for young people because it can potentially increase control over job reward choices. This orientation may be an advantage not only in finding jobs but possibly in other aspects of life as well such as family planning, saving money, and buying a home (Cunnen et al. 2009).

As indicated above, people with external LOC come to value extrinsic rewards over time, perhaps because outcomes and experiences that are vastly different eventually decrease perceptions of agency. However, this analysis showed that, independent of all other effects, declines in income are not negatively associated with pay work values but, rather, the opposite. Considered independently, losses in pay may not be a problematic scenario for respondents. People may adjust their extrinsic work values to make them more consistent with their experiences. When people do not find their valued job characteristics, they might experience negative emotions such as anxiety or frustration. Extrinsic rewards positively impacted extrinsic work values only in the first time period, 1976 to 1979, so it is possible that respondents made this small adjustment and consequently had greater peace of mind.

Overall, it appears that some men are advantaged by the kinds of jobs that they tend to find. As shown above, men’s initial emphasis on freedom at work is forthcoming of jobs with more autonomy. Over time, jobs with autonomy then increased men’s emphasis on intrinsic work values. Jobs with autonomy may foster a preference for jobs
that offer latitude in decision making because these experiences are meaningful. Once this preference is developed, people may be more strategic about their searches and preparation for jobs. Note that the women’s pattern is reversed temporally. Freedom on the job first enhanced the importance of this job characteristic but it is not until the second period that women’s work values actually predict job autonomy. The analysis does not allow for testing of the causality of these relationships but it is possible that women’s access to job autonomy wetted their appetite, so to speak, for jobs with more freedom. Also, it is likely that as women grew older and accumulated more job experience they were able to gain access to jobs with more autonomy and they came to value this aspect of work. This is notable as it is the only instance in which women’s work values positively impact future job rewards.

In addition, men’s external LOC was more strongly associated with job rewards than women’s external LOC. Put another way, men’s internal LOC appears to have brought about higher incomes and more job autonomy over time. If men with internal LOC had access to better quality jobs overall it is possible that they learned from these experiences or assumed even temporarily that their behavior was causally related to the kinds of jobs that they were able to secure. Over time this may have advantaged men over women, especially since, as indicated above, men appear to have earlier access than women to jobs that have autonomy. If men come to believe that their job rewards are influenced by their efforts, they may also learn the ways they can adjust their behavior so as to bring about preferred outcomes. Men’s greater access to jobs that offer freedom at work may also mean that the workplace becomes an efficacy building domain for them. Men’s jobs may thus further develop overall internal LOC. Over time it appears that men
with internal LOC come to place more emphasis on job autonomy and the relationship becomes significant when job rewards are included in the work values model. Considered together, these relationships suggest that men are better positioned than women to find jobs that are conducive to developing an internal sense of agency.

Women generally earn less than men and have less freedom at work in the analyses, but women’s work values are not predicted by LOC over time. As stated above, men’s external LOC is (weakly) associated with greater emphasis on pay, possibly because this group feels powerless and distressed, but women do not appear to experience this effect. Women may not rely on work to validate their LOC, at least while they are first entering the labor force. Congruent with research presented in chapter two on this general time period, women may derive self-efficacy from other roles such as wife, community leader or mother, at least at this stage of life. While young female respondents’ characteristics and capabilities tend to disadvantage them in terms of pay, this does not necessarily mean that they feel powerless or distressed. This could be temporary, however. Although women’s LOC does not appear to have an effect on the extent that they value intrinsic rewards in the first wave of the study (see chapter four), there is a relationship in a separate, contemporaneous analysis of the 1986 work values and independent variables (not presented). This suggests that for women the link between agency and their emphasis on autonomy is delayed until they have more continuous work histories or until they are promoted into jobs that offer more decision-making latitude. Family roles may conflict less with work roles, for example, when children become school-aged. This relationship deserves examination in future studies.
Black respondents initially valued intrinsic aspects of work to a considerably greater extent than White respondents and this appears to have been the result of differences in ideas about work and occupational aspirations, possibly inspired by the Civil Rights Movement and educational attainment, but not work experiences. The findings in this chapter show the reality: Black men and women have more supervision at work than White respondents and Black men earn lower incomes than White men. Pay is no longer problematic in the last period of the study as Black and White men come to earn similar weekly incomes. Importantly, Black men work at jobs that have less autonomy than White men, suggesting that their wages may be lower than those that White men attain. It could be that Black men put in additional hours at work to make up for the wage difference but this does not appear to be problematic to them. The recessions of this period and rising unemployment for those in the manufacturing industry may also have a levelling effect on the race differences in work values.

Black women appear to experience a shift in work values that indicates the intersections of family, race and gender. In the last chapter Black women’s emphasis on job autonomy was significantly higher than White women’s and taking their declining job autonomy into account in this chapter, it appears that these initial preferences did not reflect their work experiences. Despite their declines in autonomy, which suggests that they have lower wages, Black women earn higher incomes than White women. Perhaps Black women continue to focus their emphasis on income, making up for the difference in wages with longer hours, especially if income is problematic for Black families.

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5 As noted in chapter two, the job reward measure of weekly income may confound the separate issues of wages and hours worked.
men earn lower weekly income relative to White men, and Black women may come to work more hours in order to contribute to the financial stability of the household. Employers seeking to fill retail, clerical and personal services positions in this time period may have a preference for White women and these jobs have less supervision than the kinds of occupations to which Black women may have been relegated. Together these findings suggest that Black women emphasize pay because financial aspects of work are problematic. Black women appear to have higher occupational aspirations but over time they focus their sights on earnings.

Higher SES origins positively influence men’s intrinsic work values in the last time period. In comparison to the chapter 4 contemporaneous analysis and the present analysis that includes job rewards, the effect of men’s SES emerges, replacing the effect of women’s SES, thus supporting the idea that job autonomy reinforces intrinsic work values. The resources and values that male respondents obtained from their parents may also have a long lasting effect, especially as they accumulate wealth. It has been noted that higher SES individuals may be more comfortable with risk (Johnson and Elder 2002) and this may be evident in the continued interest in occupations that are characterized by more job autonomy in this time period, a job characteristic that is more forthcoming to the men from higher SES backgrounds. Social networks may also become more valuable as peers, acquaintances, and family friends find work and rise in the ranks.

The relationship between educational attainment and work values is weaker than expected but the results support the idea that low income is problematic and job autonomy is reinforcing. Women who graduate from college value pay less than other women, which suggests that pay is not problematic. While the results of the
contemporaneous model in chapter four indicate that men with college degrees also place less emphasis on income, this effect dissipates for men when job rewards are included in present models. Though it is notable that a college credential greatly increases men’s earnings over time, their preference for income does not appear to be influenced by educational attainment. In a linear regression of the 1976 job rewards (see Appendix 2), college educated men initially earn less than other men, perhaps as their time is more focused on school. This may have increased college educated men’s emphasis on income and levelled out any differences influenced by educational attainment.

College educated respondents not only earn more than other respondents, they tend to gain access to jobs that have more autonomy. The finding that educational attainment increases emphasis on job autonomy is consistent with the reinforcement hypothesis. It is also possible that the effect becomes significant as this group earns more pay, thus satisfying basic needs, as would be the case with the problematic rewards hypothesis, but it is not possible to evaluate this idea because work values are measured as ratings and not rankings.

Married women make less and married men make more than their single counterparts over time, but these experiences appear to have little influence on their work values. Young people may make decisions about work and family prior to marriage such that low earnings do not influence their preferences for different kinds of work. As Johnson (2005) notes, young people who are married by the age of 25 may be more engaged in their families, perhaps even deriving intrinsic rewards from raising children and spending time with loved ones. For women and men in the present cohort, marriage
appears to provide a greater sense of internal LOC which might shift women’s efficacy away from work.

There were several findings in this analysis that deserve further investigation. As indicated above, female respondents who complete a college education by the age of 22 appear to experience declines in job autonomy by the age of 32 even though they earn more than other women. If this group of women delayed marriage or childrearing, it is possible that discontinuity in their work trajectories would explain this to some degree, but their relatively higher incomes are not congruent with this.

Men also appear to experience “trade offs” between the rewards of income and autonomy. According to the results presented in table 5.3, the less that men emphasize intrinsic rewards, the greater their incomes become over time. This is a fairly high coefficient (.21) relative to the other relationships in the SEM and it could reflect the characteristics of some jobs that were available to men in this period that offer relatively good pay and the opportunity to work long hours but little autonomy such as semi-skilled manufacturing occupations. It might not be fruitful to emphasize both autonomy and income because these jobs do not offer much opportunity for advancement. Alternatively, the effect could be interpreted such that the more that men valued intrinsic rewards, the lower their incomes became over time. In this scenario, men’s values and job rewards would be mismatched, assuming that the jobs in this period that had more autonomy also paid relatively well. This latter interpretation, therefore, seems less likely.

In addition, there is a negative relationship (-0.09) between extrinsic work values and men’s job autonomy in table 5.3. A lower emphasis on extrinsic rewards may be associated with increases in job autonomy over time. The finding is weak and only
significant in the first time period but it may be consistent with the problematic hypothesis. Men who eventually secure jobs with more autonomy may have been initially less focused on extrinsic job rewards because they have financial support from other sources outside of work. This result can also be interpreted such that more emphasis on extrinsic rewards eventually decreases job autonomy. In poorly paid work, one would expect that autonomy is low as well, at least for men in this period. If this is the case, this result supports the problematic hypothesis. However, due to the aforementioned effect of jobs such as semi-skilled manufacturing occupations that offer relatively high weekly pay but little autonomy, this finding can also support the reinforcement hypothesis. This would explain why men without a college education are able to earn relatively high wages, especially in comparison to the female respondents.

The results presented and discussed here suggest that people who do not have control over their work experiences find this to be problematic but that, independent of other effects, job rewards reinforce work values. As mentioned above, there are multiple methodological issues that make this result questionable such as the measure of income and ratings for work values instead of rankings. On the other hand, this finding corroborates prior panel research on work values and suggests that the influence of job rewards operates independently from the sociological and psychological mechanisms that frame interpretations of work experiences.

The finding that low agency increases emphasis on extrinsic job rewards and decreases emphasis on intrinsic rewards supports the idea that job characteristics are not experienced directly but mediated by perceptions of agency. People with generally less control over their job choices appear to eventually prefer pay more than other groups. For
individuals who derive a sense of agency from participation in the labor force and are in a status that requires support of themselves and others, which has historically been men, the relationship between control and external LOC appears to be especially problematic. This pattern is evident in national-level cross-sectional studies as well: pay has become more important at the same time that there have been declines in real wages. On the other hand, social support has been found to alleviate some of the stress associated with external LOC (Mirowsky and Ross 2003). There is stronger evidence in this project for the idea that social and psychological advantages accumulate for some groups, especially men, and that this provides them access to jobs that foster internal LOC. Thus, work value trajectories diverge over time according to resources, roles and also psychological states such as LOC.

5.4 Conclusion

The results in this chapter provide mixed support for the control framework of work values. Net of other factors, weekly income and job autonomy appear to reinforce their respective work values. Groups with more access to job autonomy, men and those with postsecondary degrees, tended to increase their prioritization of this job characteristic, thus supporting the reinforcement hypothesis. Over time, however, it appears that groups that had lower earnings tended to increase their emphasis on extrinsic job rewards, suggesting that this circumstance is problematic. Interpretations of job rewards were influenced by non-work contexts. LOC appears to be a mediator of work values and job rewards which supports the idea that people interpret their work experiences. The findings have repercussions for reproductions of socio-economic status,
cultural norms and mental health. These subjects will be discussed in the concluding chapter.
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary of results

The results provide mixed support for the control framework of work values. It was hypothesized that groups that are disadvantaged due to fewer opportunities and external LOC would be more likely to value extrinsic aspects of work. This initial hypothesis was generally confirmed. Black and Hispanic respondents, those without a college education and respondents with external LOC had higher extrinsic values (general hypothesis 1.1). Second, it was predicted that respondents with more role conflict, fewer resources and external LOC would earn lower weekly incomes and have less freedom at work (general hypothesis 1.2) and this was generally confirmed. Finally, job rewards were taken into account in the model of work values (general hypotheses 1.3 and 1.4). Overall, pay is valued more by groups that have lower incomes, providing support for the problematic hypothesis. Job autonomy is valued more by groups that had access to jobs with this characteristic, thus providing support for the reinforcement hypothesis. All else held equal, income and job autonomy have an independent, reinforcing impact on work values. As predicted, culturally constructed beliefs and roles shape interpretations of job rewards. This is exemplified by the finding that married women do not value pay more even though they earn less than single women. They may not perceive their pay as problematic if they have access to a higher overall household income than single women. They may select into jobs with lower wages as a result of their preferences or role conflict.
In addition, the present study provided support for the idea that LOC is a mediator of demographic characteristics, work values and job experiences. Men’s and women’s internal LOC increased their ability to find jobs with higher incomes and with greater autonomy. Men appear to have a head start in finding jobs with characteristics that are conducive to self-efficacy. A relationship between internal LOC and an emphasis on job autonomy emerges for men when job rewards are included in the model, suggesting that over time men accumulate experiences both in non-work and work contexts that bring them a greater sense of agency. Although this project does not allow for direct testing of mediating effects, the results are congruent with the idea that job rewards are not experienced directly and that intervening factors such as LOC and non-work roles influence how people interpret their work experiences.

6.2 What was not substantiated?

The problematic rewards hypothesis predicts that work values indicate the job rewards that have been difficult to find and therefore declines in income will increase extrinsic work values. This hypothesis is congruent with the control framework as it suggests disadvantages due to fewer opportunities or resources bring about greater emphasis on aspects of work that provide financial security. Measured using the other independent variables, this was generally the case. However, weekly income increased the importance of pay. All else held equal, people may be able to reduce their prioritization of pay in the short term, especially when they are younger and have fewer responsibilities. There is an emotional incentive to downgrade expectations if discrepancies between values and outcomes cause unhappiness or distress (Rokeach 1973). The measures of pay and work values that were used in this analysis are
questionable and further testing is needed to fully evaluate this relationship. Also, since
the measures of work values are ratings and not rankings, it is difficult to determine how
pay work values and job autonomy values are related. This deserves further analysis as
well with panel data.

6.3 Implications for theories of values

Previous research tends to conceptualize work values as deriving from one of
three paradigms: structural, cultural or psychological. The findings from this project
suggest that structural and cultural contexts as well as psychological agency impact work
values in socialization and selection mechanisms. They suggest a link between micro and
macro influences of work values that could further explain reproductions of social
inequality and the perpetuation of gender norms.

The findings from this study suggest that structurally advantaged groups are more
likely to seek out jobs with autonomy. These jobs offer the chance to enhance feelings of
agency which is an important factor in mental health. Advantaged circumstances provide
stable environments in which parents give their children a variety of options in their play
and development. School districts with more financial resources can offer smaller classes
which increases the attention that teachers can give to individual students. Families with
more financial and social resources provide a variety of routes to human capital
accumulation and values that encourage intellectual development. All of these factors
increase perceptions of agency and individuals with greater internal LOC have higher
occupational aspirations and the ability to plan for any educational requirements. A
greater premium is placed on this kind of work in the labor market so jobs characterized
by autonomy and high pay tend to be protected by credentialing and queuing. The results
from the present study suggest that people from lower SES-backgrounds, Black Americans and those with low educational attainment are less likely to have the kinds of resources that lead to a preference for jobs that have autonomy. These same groups appear to have less control over their job experiences.

Postsecondary education appears to level the playing field to a degree, offering access to jobs that pay well and have less supervision. Those who enter college also develop their critical thinking skills and engage in coursework that builds a sense of efficacy. If college graduates are successful in finding jobs that correspond with their values, they may have access to jobs that offer higher income, more autonomy and opportunities to further develop internal LOC. In turn, these job characteristics tend to accentuate an interest in autonomy, possibly through reinforcement. Groups that delay postsecondary education or who do not have the resources to attend are likely to be disadvantaged in the labor market in the long term. This may be especially relevant to the current labor market where there are fewer jobs than in the period of study that offer secure employment without a postsecondary degree.

In their book about the relationship between social structure and job stress, Tausig and Fenwick (2011) emphasize the significance of job characteristics that offer a high degree of latitude over the content and pacing. They consider the origins of occupations that offer autonomy and the ways that they have tended to be “bundled” with high pay, arguing that psychological resources such as internal LOC tend to increase workers’ ability to manage their job demands and to even to shape occupations. While jobs that offer autonomy tend to be thought of as high status, thus suggesting that SES, occupational status and labor market structures bring about the bundling of good extrinsic
and intrinsic rewards on one hand, the authors highlight the role of perceptions of agency and the power of individuals to shape occupations and professions over time (Tausig and Fenwick 2011, also see Tilly and Tilly 1998).

The results here also suggest that work values play a role in the reproduction of cultural norms. As suggested above, the initial finding that women value extrinsic and intrinsic rewards less than men may be due to their gender role socialization and role conflict. After entering the labor force, work experiences appear to affect women’s and men’s work values similarly. Over time women’s work values appear to be reinforced by job rewards in the same way that men’s work values are impacted. Overall, women make considerably less than men, at least in this span of the life course, and women perceive this to be problematic.

Some may argue that if women had higher educational attainment in this time period, they may have had more control over their work experiences. If cultural norms and resources had been conducive to higher occupational aspirations to begin with, it is possible that the female respondents may have prepared for better jobs. When women are able to find work that provides good pay and a chance to develop their skills, they may view work as a source of efficacy. But choices such as these were complicated and continue to be influenced by many factors. While more occupations are accessible to women in the current economy, opportunities were quite limited as earlier generations of women entered in the labor force. Furthermore, the decision to attend college is constrained by family resources, knowledge of the value of college, and beliefs about women’s capabilities. Women had and continue to have other opportunities to build their sense of efficacy, especially if they have access to overall greater household income.
Motherhood in particular can compete with the efficacy building experiences that might be possible in the labor market. Perhaps these competing domains explain why the women in the NLS-72 did not find their incomes to be even more problematic.

Since the period of study, gender norms have relaxed somewhat in terms of the degree to which we assign men and women to different domains of family and work. Consequently, access to resources and internal LOC may be a greater determinant of occupational attainment today. New generations of women have higher occupational aspirations than women in the period of study and women now have more educational attainment than men. Women are less likely to delay or interrupt postsecondary education, marrying later in life and having children later as well. Between 1970s and 2006, the average age of first birth increased from 21 to 25 years of age (Matthews and Hamilton 2009) and women now have more continuous work histories when they become mothers. While there are other issues that affect women’s human capital such as gender differences in the choice of college major, convergence of men’s and women’s work values is likely to continue in future cohorts of adults. Structural issues related to the availability of jobs that meet basic needs are likely to be more influential than gender roles. Indeed, scholarship from the Youth Development Survey suggests few differences in the degree to which men and women value extrinsic and intrinsic rewards (Johnson et al. 2012).

6.4 Policy implications

The evidence in this project generally finds that structurally disadvantaged groups not only start out with fewer psychological resources but also get jobs that have fewer psychological benefits. Selection into college appears to coincide with less emphasis on
extrinsic job rewards. If this is the case, pathways into college could be enhanced for those that are otherwise disadvantaged. Jobs that fulfill basic needs are harder to find currently than in the time period of study. An undergraduate degree increases internal LOC, greatly improves ones chances of finding jobs that pay well, and offer opportunities for skill development. Grants and scholarships may provide the funding necessary for disadvantaged populations to enter college and earn a degree. Primary and secondary schools that provide small classes and support intellectual growth have a better chance at fostering educational efficacy in the short and long term. In this pursuit, better funding of low SES neighborhood primary and secondary schools would be an especially good investment since the relationships between SES and educational efficacy likely form early in life.

Efforts might also be taken to improve the quality of jobs and their security so that they foster internal LOC in employees. This can be done on the employer side by investing in workers’ skill development and maintaining promotional ladders. Since World War II, industrial, organizational and occupational shifts away from manufacturing and towards a service economy created an environment in which employers need to be flexible in order to be competitive. There are now fewer promotional ladders inside firms, at least in their traditional conceptualization. Technological innovations have also fundamentally changed many of the jobs that used to provide more stimulating work, better pay and security. Policies that promote the growth, development and stability of smaller, innovative companies in niche markets might provide jobs that require less supervision, increase skill development and foster internal LOC. Since peripheral firms are vulnerable to competition from core firms, they
need sources of support from external sources. This could come in the form of government subsidies or private financiers.

On the employee side, unionization efforts might be fruitful in as much as they can achieve better paid and more secure work for their members. Union members are likely to feel self-efficacious if their concerns are voiced to management and validated by fellow workers. For this to happen it would be important to make sure that employers comply with labor laws. This could be done by increasing the fines for breaking the law, deploying more investigators into the field, and educational campaigns about workers rights. In addition to increasing union density, more widespread social movements might bring attention to the precarity of work that fails to provide avenues to fulfill basic needs. Occupy Wall Street garnered widespread support after the financial collapse of 2008 and highlighted the issues of corporate crime, CEO pay, healthcare reform and many other class-based issues.

6.5 Limitations of the study

There are several limitations to this study. The NLS-72 is one of the few data sets that has the measures needed to test the control framework of work values, parallel work values and job reward questions over different time points and measures of LOC, but more time points would have better measured the shifts in work values and job rewards. The mechanisms of work value change are likely to take place continually. Work values shift not only as a result of change in jobs but also due to family roles, educational attainment and shifts in LOC. With only three time points, the NLS-72 is less able to capture incremental change which limits the internal validity of the results.
This project was also limited by the measures of work values and job rewards. A more detailed understanding of work experiences and expectations may come from additional measures of work values with corresponding job rewards. A better measure of autonomy would have been useful, one that not only taps direction but also control over tasks and planning as these dimensions have shown to have the most influence on well-being (Tausig and Fenwick 2011). Job dimensions that represent more levels of the needs hierarchy would have tested the problematic explanation with more rigor. Occupational prestige and job security have been shown to be more sensitive to structural conditions in the labor market and are some of the most highly valued aspects of jobs. Meaningful work and the opportunity to use one’s skills and strengths are also key elements absent from the project. Finally, a consistent measure of hourly wages, per Johnson’s findings, might be more sensitive to changes in the independent variables.

The project would have benefitted from scales which offer more variance such as the Likert. A very high proportion of answers fell into the “important” category and one must assume that a broader range of options for indicating work values would have allowed the relationship between work values and job rewards to be captured in better detail.

6.6 Future work

Further investigations into the role of disadvantage might illuminate the degree to which LOC is related to work values and job rewards. The impact of race is very strong early in the NLS-72 cohort but then job rewards and educational attainment become a greater influence. The present analyses do not investigate how Black workers’ LOC was impacted by their attempts to find their valued job characteristics, which appear to be
generally unsuccessful. Perhaps White Americans and higher SES individuals are less likely to develop external LOC when they have low incomes because they are less dependent on employment for their daily needs and emotional health. If this is the case, internal LOC could decline earlier for more vulnerable groups, which might impact a variety of choices later in life.

In this study it appears that the female respondents are generally less likely than males to derive self-efficacy from work. The results also indicate that women who pursue college and graduate have higher internal LOC. They have more control over their work experiences both in terms of pay and job autonomy. Does this control eventually lead to greater internal LOC for this group of women? Using a cross-sectional data set, Ross and Mirowsky (1998) have found that greater job autonomy is correlated with higher internal LOC. They have consequently argued that this is one of the factors that contributes to the gender gap in internal LOC over the life course. But the findings in the present study suggest that marriage, for example, increases internal LOC as well. Using the NLS-72 or another panel data set, it would be useful to identify the factors that contribute to women’s sense of agency because LOC contributes to overall mental and physical health.
APPENDIX 2: OLS ESTIMATION OF PAY AND AUTONOMY JRS, 1976

### OLS estimation of Pay JR, 1976

<table>
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<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
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* p<.05

### OLS estimation of Autonomy JR, 1976

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<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.02</td>
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</table>

* p<.05
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