1983

Motivation, Management Motivation, and Its Perceived Decline in American Bureaucratic Organizations in the Context of Changing Attitudes and Values

Jon Lawrence Johnson

MOTIVATION, MANAGEMENT MOTIVATION, AND ITS PERCEIVED DECLINE IN AMERICAN BUREAUCRATIC ORGANIZATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF CHANGING ATTITUDES AND VALUES

Jon Lawrence Johnson, B.S.

A Digest Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the Lindenwood Colleges in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts

1983

This Culminating Project represents an inquiry into the existence, applications, and parameters of human motivation and its impact on perceived management attitudes, values, and motivation to manage.

The topic is examined from three vantage points. Part I embodies a selective indoctrination in human motivation concepts and suggests relevant organizational applications and examples in illustration. The term "motivation" has evolved into a popular but often misapplied catch phrase. Therefore, a foundation in prominent human motivation theory is provided as precedent to issues subsequently discussed in the Project, to offer the reader an accurate base of subject knowledge.

Part II addresses the prevalent attitudes and values of college students and managers in terms of past and present career expectations and egocentricity levels. Demographic trends, an increased interest in preserving identity and individuality, and decreased advancement opportunity are among possible explanations cited for declining career commitment.

Part III introduces the Miner Sentence Completion Scale as a means of measuring college students' motivation to manage and of forecasting future managerial quality and quantity. In four MSCS administrations from 1960-1980 Miner found a sharp decline in management motivation from 1960 to the early 70's but a general stabilization from the early 70's to 1980. My linear regression correlation factor validity coefficient calculations generally substantiate Miner's claim of current stabilization in the decline of motivation to manage in University of Oregon business students over the past two decades.

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COMMITTEE IN CHARGE OF CANDIDACY:

Adjunct Assistant Professor Kathryn Kelly, B.A., M.B.A.

Adjunct Instructor William E. Holloway, B.S., M.B.A.

To Dee Ann, whose assistance in the clerical preparation of this Project was invaluable and instrumental to its success.

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CHAPTER I

MOTIVATION THEORY FORMULATION

Motivational Dispositions and Arousal

A business student who spends considerable time at a part-time job earning tuition money may be seen squandering money at the video arcade for quite a different motive. An individual carries many possibilities of motivated action within him, even when they are not being expressed. These possibilities are properly termed motivational dispositions and are defined as persistent tendencies to express particular motives when conditions are appropriate (Hilgard, et al, 1971).

In comprehending motivational dispositions, two points must be considered. Initially, people differ in the strengths of their motivational dispositions. Secondly, at any one time relevant behavior may not correspond to the strengths of the persisting dispositions. In illustration, at any given time, the "dedicated" worker may demonstrate a diminished work output while the "apathetic" worker may display spurts of industriousness.

Motivational dispositions become evident in behavior when the conditions are appropriate, such as when a state of need is created through need or incentive. This need is termed motivational arousal and is the catalyst for motivational dispositions. If two people are beset with equal conditions of arousal, the one who more strongly demonstrates the motivated activity has the stronger motivational disposition.

A 1958 study by Elizabeth G. French illustrates how behavior is affected jointly by motivational dispositions and conditions of arousal (French, 1958). She selected two groups of 128 people each. The first group was found to be high in achievement motivation but low in affiliative motivation, and the second group, high in affiliative motivation but low in achievement motivation. The task consisted of assembling a story from phrases of short sentences printed on separate cards. The subjects had to cooperate to obtain the information but were not permitted to show each other their cards. The subjects in each group worked in teams of four. The experimenter periodically interrupted the task to record scores and to give feedback to the teams of each group. She told the teams that they were working efficiently or cooperatively to arouse achievement motivation or affiliative tendencies, respectively.

Figure 1 illustrates that the group performance of those with high achievement dispositions was better when those tendencies were aroused through feedback. It

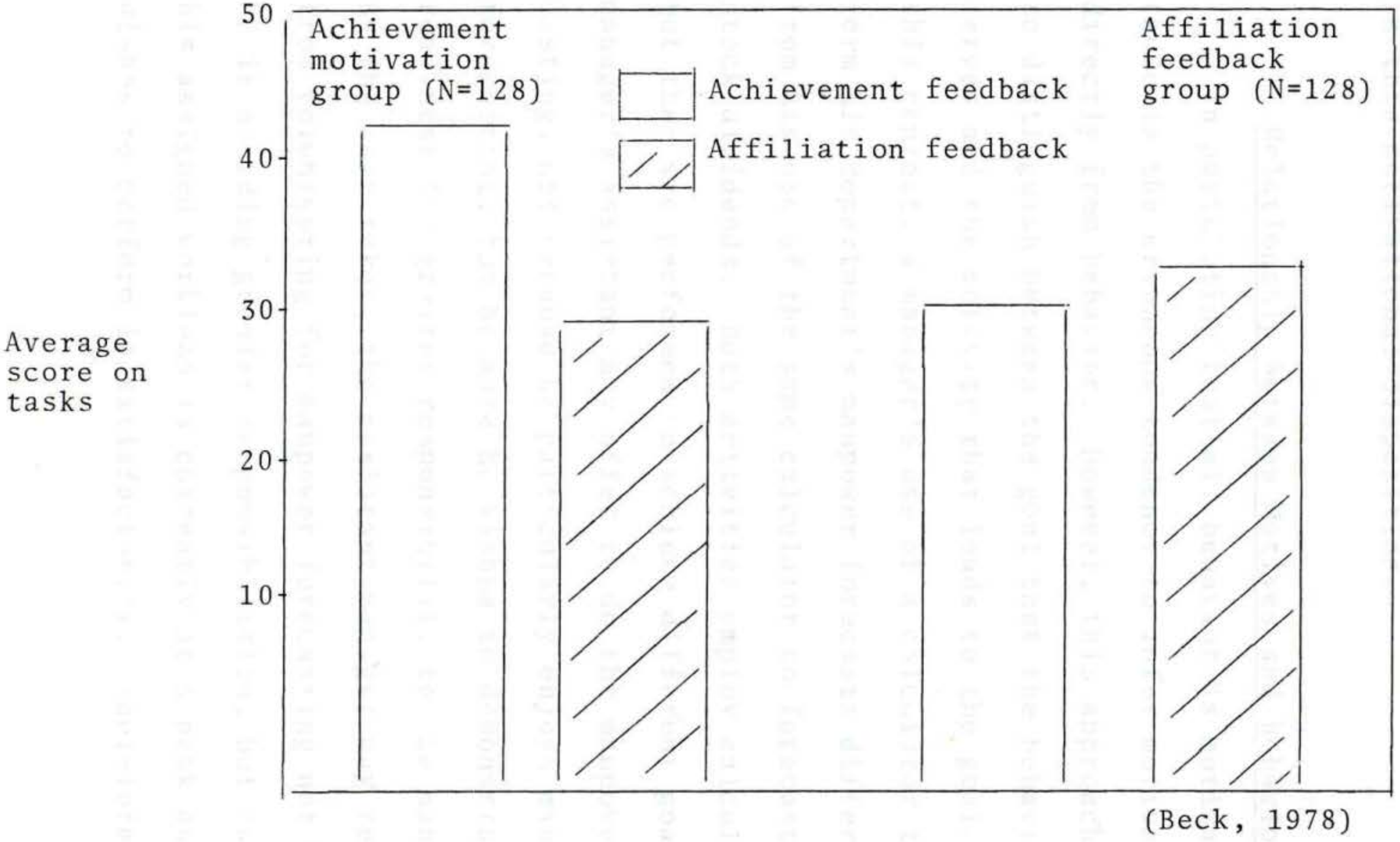

50
40
30
20
10
Average score on tasks
Achievement motivation group (N=128)
Affiliation feedback group (N=128)
Achievement feedback
Affiliation feedback
(Beck, 1978)

Figure 1

follows that when conditions of arousal favor those with a given motivational disposition, their performance of the required task is superior to those lower in this motivational disposition.

Relationship Between Motives and Behavior

In postulating that all behavior is motivated, there is the erroneous tendency to infer motives directly from behavior. However, this approach fails to distinguish between the goal that the behavior serves and the activity that leads to the goal. In this context, a manager's use of a calculator to perform his department's manpower forecasts differs vastly from his use of the same calculator to forecast his stock dividends. Both activities employ calculations, but they are performed to achieve different goals. The manager's assistant may offer to do the manpower forecasting, not because he particularly enjoys manpower forecasting, but because he wishes to demonstrate his readiness for greater responsibility to the manager. By the same token, the assistant manager may refrain from volunteering for manpower forecasting not because he is avoiding greater responsibilities, but because his assigned workload is currently at a peak and he wishes to perform it satisfactorily. Therefore, actual behavior is often the result of a compromise between conflicting goals.

The same goal may be obtained by different kinds of behavior. The assistant manager may obtain a promotion by performing his duties with quiet efficiency, or he may secure the promotion by volunteering to perform the manager's manpower forecasting in addition to his own job.

Different goals may be reached by the same instrumental behavior. One candidate may be seeking a promotion because he needs the extra income while another seeks the promotion for an increase in power and prestige.

Any single act of instrumental activity may have several goals at once. The employee attending night school may be motivated by the challenge of the curriculum, the status of attaining the credential, and the desire for a better position. This multiple determination makes the description of given motives at given times quite difficult.

Inventory of Motives

The previous text demonstrates that an inventory of behavior will not be an inventory of the goals that such behavior serves. However, in motivation study, as with the study of any science, there is the tendency to develop classificatory schemes to yield correlations, which in this case, would be between motivational dispositions and human behaviors. Henry Murray pioneered this undertaking in 1938 with his postulation of 12 viscerogenic (physical) needs and 28 psychogenic needs. The thrust of this project is most concerned with the psychogenic needs as detailed in Table 1.

The Murray list is regarded only as a fundamental foundation, and not as an end unto itself; it does not have the authoritative stature of the Periodic Table of the Elements. Among its shortcomings are its failure to rank the status of different needs, for instance, whether achievement is in itself a goal to be served, or merely a conveyance to serve other needs, such as recognition.

Abraham Maslow is credited with the first significant refinements of Murray's concept with his Hierarchy of Human Needs (Bourne, et al, 1976). He postulated that man's physiological, safety and security, love and belongingness, and self esteem needs are satisfied in this order, with the higher needs strived for only after the lower needs are satisfied. At the pinnacle of his needs is a quasi-utopia which Maslow termed self-actualization, which is essentially total

Table 1

A. Needs associated chiefly with inanimate objects.
   1. Acquisition: need to gain possessions and property.
   2. Conservation: need to preserve things.
   3. Orderliness: need to organize and be tidy.
   4. Retention: need to be economical.
   5. Construction: need to organize and build.

B. Needs expressing ambition, will power, accomplishment.
   6. Superiority: the need to excel, achieve.
   7. Achievement: need to overcome obstacles, to exercise power, to do something difficult.
   8. Recognition: need for praise and to command respect.
   9. Exhibition: need to excite, amuse, shock others.
   10. Inviolacy: need to preserve one's "good nature".
   11. Avoidance of inferiority: need to avoid failure.
   12. Defensiveness: need to justify one's actions.
   13. Counteraction: need to overcome defeat by striving and retaliating.

C. Needs having to do with human power exerted, resisted, or yielded to.
   14. Cominance: need to influence or control others.
   15. Deference: need to admire and gladly serve a superior.
   16. Similance: need to emulate and agree with others.
   17. Autonomy: need to strive for independence.
   18. Contrariness: need to act differently from others.

D. Needs having to do with injuring others or oneself.
   19. Aggression: need to maliciously ridicule or assault.
   20. Abasement: need to comply and accept punishment.
   21. Avoidance of blame: need to behave and avoid blame.

E. Needs having to do with affection between people.
   22. Affiliation: need to form friendships and associations.
   23. Rejection: need to be discriminating and exclude.
   24. Nurturance: need to aid and protect another.
   25. Succorance: need to seek aid and be dependent.

F. Additional socially relevant needs.
   26. Play: need to relax, seek diversion, amusement.
   27. Cognizance: need to explore, satisfy curiosity.
   28. Exposition: need to lecture and demonstrate.

(Hilgard, et al, 1971)

self-fulfillment. Pure self-actualization is, like infinity, an abstract concept which is never fully attained.

The content of Chapter I has introduced motivation theory formulation with an emphasis on work environment application. Appropriate theorists' contributions have been cited in the areas of achievement motivation (French), psychogenic and human needs (Murray and Maslow, respectively), and the relationship between motives and behavior.

Chapter II will address Freud's contributions to motivation study and the impact that sex and aggression share in influencing human behavior.

CHAPTER II

PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORY

Sex

In addition to its utilization in treating neurotic disorders, psychoanalysis is widely regarded as a psychology of human motivation. This theory was elevated to its present status chiefly by Freud's Interpretation of Dreams in 1900.

Although Freud was aware of physiological needs and the role of fear, he regarded sex and aggression as the most powerful of human motives. In his conception, Freud saw sex and aggression as being rooted early in the individual's life. In childhood, sex is expressed in the pleasure derived from both stimulation of the sensitive zones of the body, and aggression, in biting or hitting. Societal and parental restrictions are soon placed on the individual's conscious expressions of sex and aggression, and they are repressed by the individual and can remain active only as unconscious motives. Thus, according to Freud, unconscious motives are expressed through behavior such as dreams and Freudian slips.

This is not a "black and white" principle; sometimes a person is aware of certain motives in himself but unaware of how important they are. An individual may know that he works hard at establishing social contacts and enjoys socializing without being aware of how incapable he is in dealing with solitude or loneliness. Therefore, a motive does not have to be totally unconscious to have undergone some unconscious distortion.

The theory of unconscious motivation postulates that sexual motivation has many ramifications which are not directly sexual. Although Freud assigned sexual motivation as the underlying factor in virtually all human behavior, later psychoanalysts have directed some emphasis to the ego (the part of the individual which copes realistically with all aspects of the environment).

The ego's role in suppression of sexual expression is illustrated in a 1952 experiment by R. A. Clark (Clark, 1952). Clark assigned the subjects (male college students) to first view pictures of nude females, then to write stories while they viewed photos of neutral content. Half of the group performed the exercise in a classroom and the other half at a party under the influence of alcohol. Foremost among the results were that:

a. Direct arousal under classroom conditions did not increase the overt sexual imagery appearing in the stories. (This implies that whatever sexual fantasies were aroused under these conditions led to some anxiety and suppression.)

b. Direct arousal under classroom conditions did increase the indirect or symbolic expression of sex. (This supports the premise that sexual fantasy was aroused.)

c. Direct arousal under the alcoholic condition did increase the overt sexual imagery in the stories. (This indicates less anxiety and suppression under the influence of alcohol.)

d. Direct arousal under the alcoholic condition did not increase the indirect or symbolic expression of sex. (Direct expression eliminates the need for disguised representation.)

The crux of this experiment is that suppressed motives find indirect, symbolic, or disguised expression.

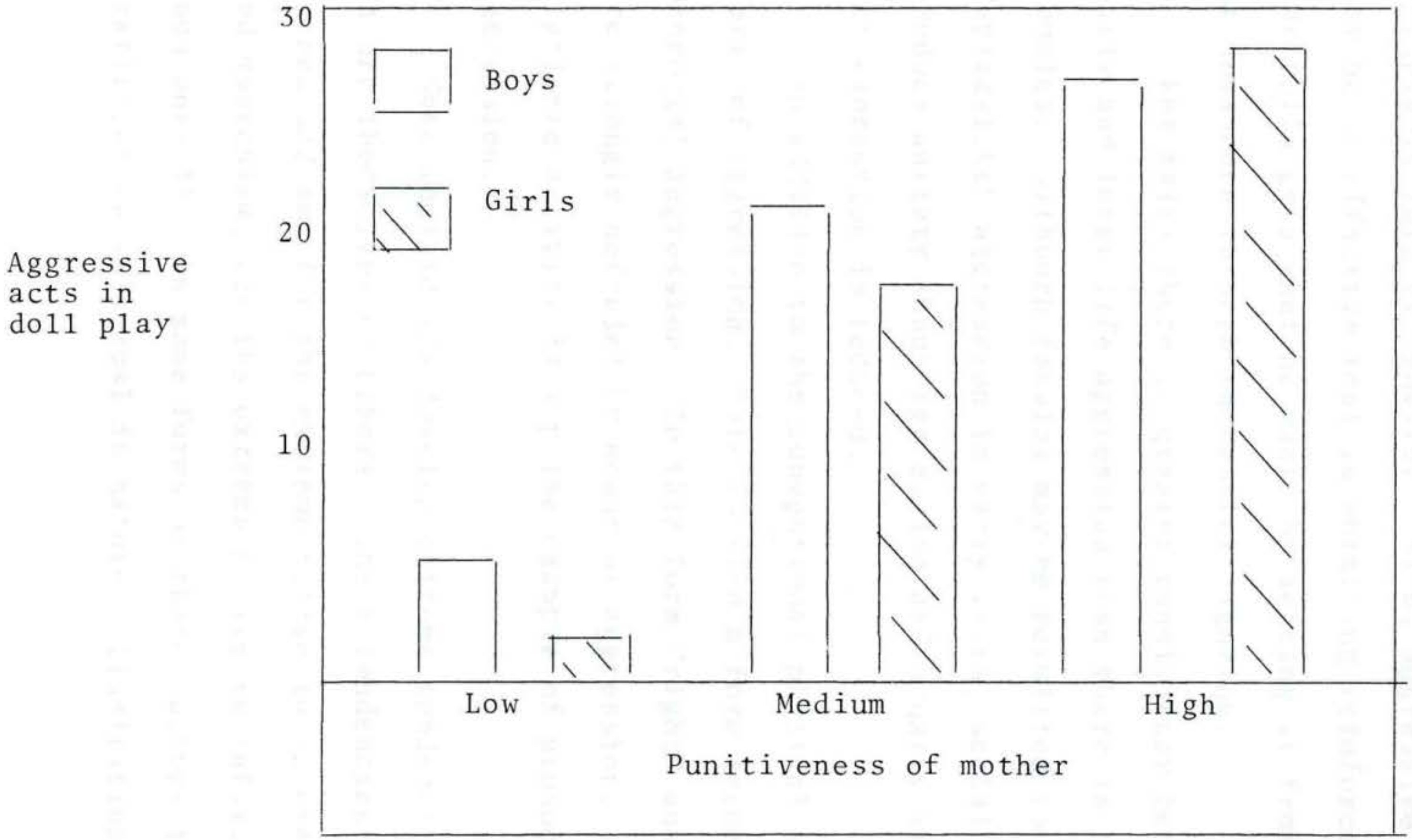
Aggression

Human aggression is defined as behavior toward another with the intent of doing physical or psychological harm. K. E. Moyer distinguishes eight forms of aggression, differentiated by specific behavior and by what Moyer believes to be different physiological bases. These are: predatory, intermale, fear induced, irritable induced, territorial defense, maternal, sex related, and instrumental (Beck, 1978). Instrumental aggression involves harm-doing behavior rewarded by something other than the aggressive behavior itself.

Dollar, Doob, Miller, Moyer, and Sears postulated that aggression is the consequence of frustration and is virtually always accompanied by anger. This theory is termed the frustration-aggression hypothesis (Bourne, et al, 1976). This theory is exemplified by a greater incidence of child abuse in times of high unemployment.

Punishment of aggression also has its consequences. A parent who punishes a child excessively tends to instill in the child a desire to punish others in return. In 1953 Sears, et al, illustrated this in an experiment involving the doll play of children grouped according to the aggressiveness of their mothers (Sears, et al, 1953).

As is illustrated in Figure 2, the more aggressive



(Sears, et al, 1953)

Figure 2

the mother, the more aggressive are the acts shown in doll play.

When a child observes aggressive behavior in a parent, physical attack is perceived by the child as an acceptable form of behavior. Also, aggressive behavior may be an effective tool in obtaining reinforcement: the child gets what he wants by seizing it from another, or dominance through successful fighting.

For males there is greater consistency between early and later life aggression than there is for females. Although females may be permitted to exhibit "unladylike" aggression in early years, social pressures produce anxiety about aggression and usually with age its expression is reduced.

In addition to the conventional physical and verbal forms of aggression, there is also a form termed prosocial aggression. In this form "right" and "order" are strongly defended by means of aggression. Pure vigilante activity is a prime example of prosocial aggression.

Some individuals develop extreme tendencies to injure themselves or others. These tendencies are termed sadism, for the extreme motive to injure others, and masochism, for the extreme motive to inflict pain upon oneself. In some forms of these motives the gratification is sexual in nature, illustrating how the strands from different motivational dispositions can become intertwined.

Freud's psychoanalytic theory, although controversial, is a tenet of human motivation theory construct. The significance of unconscious motives on human behavior has been established, as has the relationship between early and later life aggression. The frustration-aggression hypothesis translates especially well to contemporary work-life motivation and behavior.

Chapter III will address specific behavior systems with the importance of dependency drives and affiliative behavior on the motivation process.

CHAPTER III

BEHAVIOR THEORY

Behavior Systems

Whiting and Child proposed that adult behavior can be appropriately classified into a few behavior systems, each system consisting of a set of habits or customs motivated by an early acquired motive leading to common satisfactions (Hilgard, et al, 1971). They selected five behavior systems for consideration: the oral, anal, sexual, dependency, and aggression. The first three systems are developed from motives with evident physiological bases; the other two are assumed to be developed from motives acquired universally in early childhood as a result of the infant's helplessness and frustrations, respectively. One need only glance at the systems to recognize the significant derivation from the psychoanalytic theory.

The following conclusions are implied in the behavior system approach to human motivation:

a. The motive that defines a behavior system can be identified in early childhood.

b. The methods of "socializing" the motive can be identified and studied. Each culture rewards the approved methods of satisfying the motive and punishes the attempts to satisfy the motive in other ways.

c. The causal connections between the early manifestations of the motive and social behavior of adult life can be studied to determine whether the later practices are to some extent continuous with and predictable from the early experiences.

As an example of the behavior system approach, the hunger drive, which is based initially on the helpless infant's need for nutrients, leads to a variety of food related behavior. In addition to the obvious acts of food consumption, related activities include procurement, preparation, and storage. Less apparent activities include smoking, dieting, religious fasts, Communion, and social standards for eating. Therefore, as the individual's social behavior proliferates, some of it can be traced from a common denominator (the hunger drive) while some is motivated by other factors.

In relating behavior to the dependency motive, the early dependency of the infant upon the adults who care for him serves as foundation for later affiliative behavior. Although children form attachments to people other than the mother, her special role in feeding and handling make her relationship of primary importance in the development of the dependency motive. In 1953 Sears studied preschool children in an attempt to test this assumption (Sears, et al, 1953). First, an attempt was made to determine their present disposition and show dependent behavior. Teachers rated their dependency and research assistants derived dependency scores based on observation of the children's reactions. Reactions of the children were observed both to other children and the teacher in school, and under controlled conditions in which the child played with dolls representing his family. A single dependency score was concluded that best characterized the child at nursery school age.

The same children received separate ratings on infancy experiences, based on interviews with their mothers. Scales were designed to rate nurturance and frustration. The feeding practices of mothers who used the self-demand schedule were scored as high nurturance; those based on rigid schedules, as low nurturance. The abruptness and harshness of weaning determined the score on feeding frustration. The resulting correlations between infant experiences and later dependent behavior are given in Table 2.

Infancy experiences	Correlations with total dependency measures*	
	Girls	Boys
Self-demand feeding	-.38	-.08
Weaning severity	.54	.40

*With the number of children (N) between 18 and 21 in the different comparisons, correlations must reach at least .35 to approach significance.

(Hilgard, 1971)

Table 2

Contrary to the researchers' initial expectations, the most carefully nurtured children (self-demand schedule) showed less dependent behavior than those whose nurturance was strictly scheduled. It is implied that feeding frustration results in later dependent behavior, assuming that severe weaning and rigid scheduling are frustrating.

The researchers explained their findings in terms of basic needs and compensations. Given that to survive all infants must have basic needs (e.g. hunger drive) met, they all develop a normal amount of dependency motive. If the mother's behavior in scheduling or weaning produces frustration, something happens in addition to the normal hunger drive satisfaction. The mother comforts the frustrated infant, and in so doing provides other satisfactions to encourage dependency. Therefore, the infant who has experienced a great deal of feeding frustration with feelings of helplessness will turn to others for support in later life.

An experiment by Schachter in 1959 tests the assumption that the dependency drive (and hence affiliative behavior) will be exhibited by the adult when confronted by anxiety producing conditions (Levine, 1975). Some university women reporting for an experiment were shown an apparatus that they were made to believe could deliver severe electric shocks. These subjects comprised the high anxiety group. Another group, reporting for the same experiment, were assured that the experimental procedures would be routine, and were offered no evidence to the contrary. These subjects comprised the low anxiety group. When the subjects in both groups were given the choice between waiting for their turn alone or with others, a larger proportion of the threatened group preferred to wait with others. The actual breakdown of subjects' preferences is displayed in Table 3. It may be generally interpreted that the more anxious and threatened subjects turned to companionship because their affiliative needs were aroused.

This experiment also showed that only and first-born children showed higher tendencies toward affiliation under the threat of pain. Schachter interprets this to mean that the first born probably experiences more adult responsiveness to his uneasiness that later born children.

In general, it may be concluded that adult affiliative behavior may have a historical connection with early childhood experiences related to dependency. Additionally, the dependency/affiliation motive becomes more prominent when aroused by threat such that

Experimental manipulation	Waiting conditions chosen			
	Together	Don't care	Alone	Total
High anxiety	20	9	3	32
Low anxiety	10	18	2	30

(Beck, 1978)

Table 3

CHAPTER IV

COGNITIVE THEORY

When an individual is motivated according to his cognitions he makes clear plans, is guided by his expectations and the risks involved, and moves deliberately toward his goals. As many aspects of human motivation are represented in awareness, (cognition has the root meaning of "to know") it is possible to formulate a theory of human motivation in these terms.

When an individual knows what he wants, is aware of the effort required, and has a conception of the satisfaction of attaining the end state, he can formulate his goal. This obviously represents purposeful behavior. The student who enters an MBA program to train himself for a management career knows in general what the profession of business management is and what coursework he must pursue to achieve his goal. Accounting may be an obstacle for him, but he attempts to learn it despite the risk of failure.

Goal setting has been studied in experiments on the level of aspiration. In these experiments level of aspiration refers to a fairly immediate goal, such as the weight attempt of a power lifter. The lifter sets his bar such that he expects to succeed, but still high enough that there is the risk of failure. No satisfaction could be derived from setting the bar so light that he could expect to lift it successfully every time.

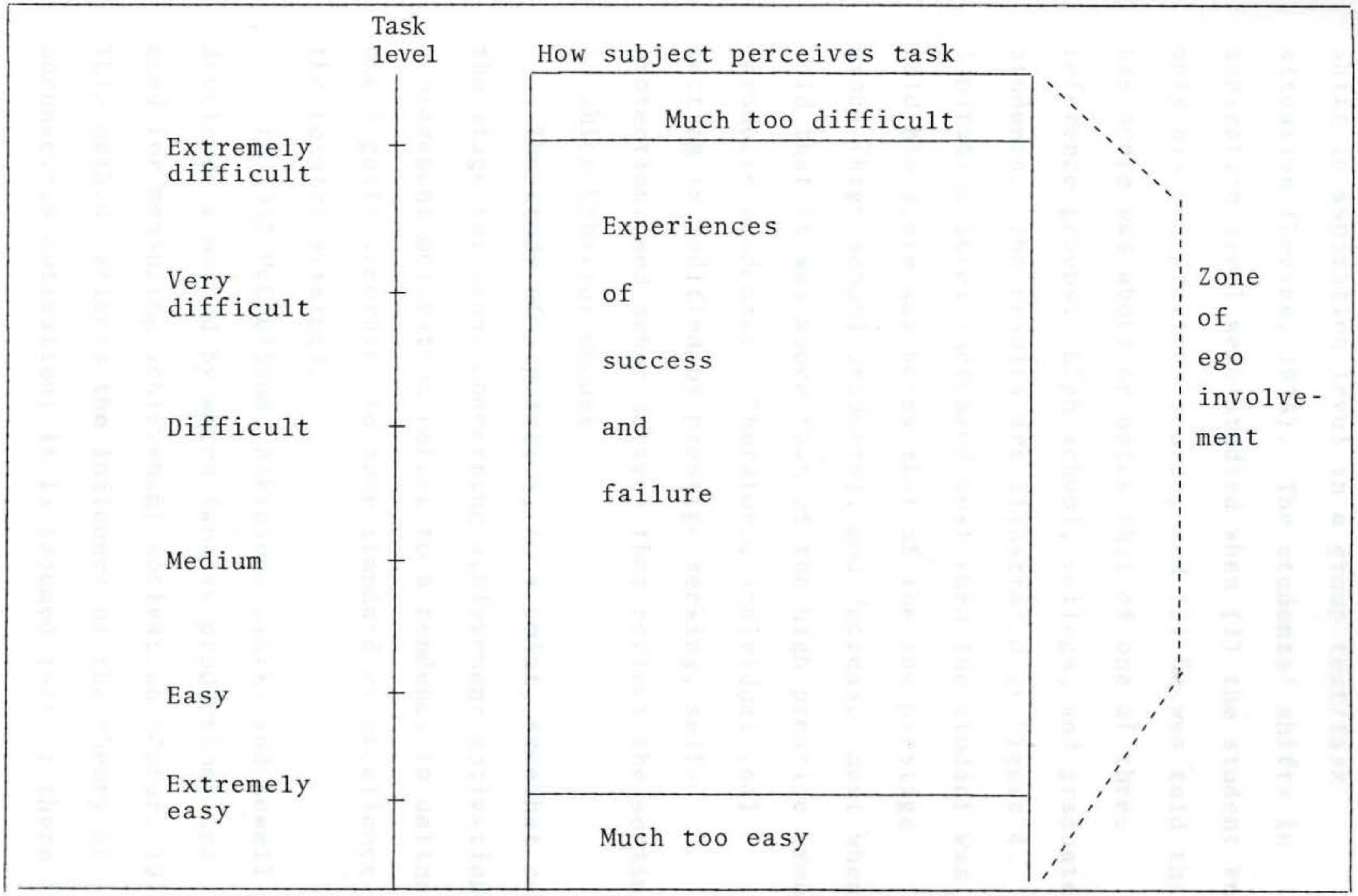
Studies of aspiration level illustrate cognitive type motivation because the individual becomes involved in a task, estimates his own level of achievement, sets his goal, and experiences success or failure.

In 1930 F. Hoppe conducted the first experiment concerned with aspiration problems, revealing that the person's feeling of success or failure depends on the difficulty of the task (Atkinson and Raynor, 1974).

As is illustrated in Figure 3, a task may be much too easy, as previously discussed. Conversely, the task may be much too difficult. Lacking ego involvement, a person who makes no pretense of knowing Shakespeare will not experience a sense of failure if he is unable to converse knowledgeably about Shakespeare's work; he does not expect it of himself. Success and failure experiences come in the intermediate range: between the point at which success is highly probable, but failure possible, and that at which failure is highly probable, but success possible.

In 1942 Leon Festinger studied college students'

Figure 3



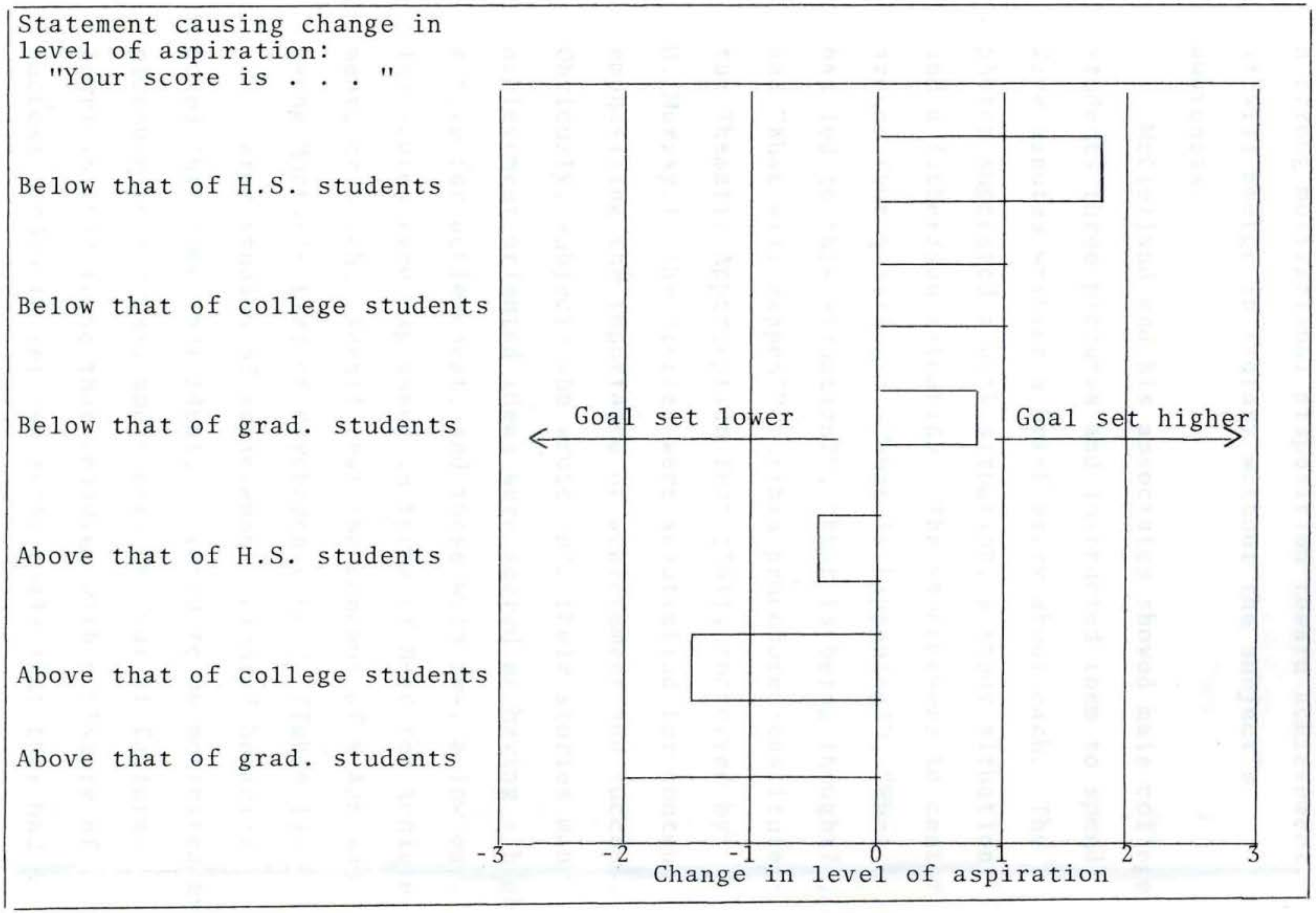
(Atkinson & Raynor, 1974)

shift in aspiration level in a group test/task situation (Levine, 1975). The students' shifts in aspiration level were studied when (1) the student knew only his own previous scores, and (2) he was told that his score was above or below that of one of three reference groups: high school, college, and graduate students. The results are illustrated in Figure 4. Aspiration level increased most when the student was told his score was below that of the low prestige group (high school students), and decreased most when told that it was above that of the high prestige group (graduate students). Therefore, individual goal setting is modified by prestige seeking, self-protection, and other motives that reflect the settings in which behavior occurs.

The study of aspiration, to a point, somewhat sets the stage for study concerning achievement motivation. Achievement motivation refers to a tendency to define one's goals according to some standard of excellence in the results attained.

In 1953 McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, and Lowell developed a method by which fantasy productions are used for measuring achievement motivation (Cofer, 1972). This method reflects the influence of the theory of unconscious motivation; it is assumed that if there is

Figure 4


Statement causing change in level of aspiration: "Your score is . . . "
Below that of H.S. students
Below that of college students
Below that of grad. students
Above that of H.S. students
Above that of college students
Above that of grad. students
Goal set lower
Goal set higher
-3
-2
-1
0
1
2
3
Change in level of aspiration

a strong motivational disposition toward achievement, it will emerge in fantasy without the subject's awareness.

McClelland and his associates showed male college students three pictures and instructed them to spend five minutes writing a brief story about each. The photos suggested a work situation, a study situation, and a father/son situation. The stories were to center around four questions: "What is happening?", "What has led to this situation?", "What is being thought?", and "What will happen?". (This procedure constitutes the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), conceived by H. Murray.) The stories were scrutinized for content emphasizing the importance of achievement and success. Obviously, subjects who wrote into their stories many achievement-oriented ideas were scored as having a high motive for achievement, and those with few, a low one. The scores were expressed in terms of Need for Achievement, or N-Ach. Recall that the concept of N-Ach was among Murray's List of Psychogenic Needs (Table 1).

Later studies of achievement-oriented behavior noted that some individuals appeared to be motivated by pleasure in success, and others by fear of failure. Sears in 1940 found that children with a history of success tended to set realistic goals that they had a chance of reaching and enjoying, while children with histories of failure either set goals very low, so as to avoid the repeated experience of defeat, or very high, so that they would not feel degraded by their failure. This translates readily into Hoppe's "Zone of Ego Involvement" concept (see Figure 3); high achievement children aim for tasks within this zone while low achievement children aim around it.

Therefore, the cognitive theory of motivation may be regarded as a theory of preferential choice or decision making. That is, the decision to engage in a given activity in preference to alternatives is based on cognitive considerations.

Among the more prominent theories of cognitive motivational process is the expectancy theory. It is regarded as cognitive since it assumes that people consciously direct their behavior in a way that will lead to satisfaction. Moreover, in the context of work, expectancy theory postulates that employees or job seekers attempt to maximize their expected satisfaction in any situation.

Individuals, in seeking to advance their own self interest, are subjectively rational. Due to environmental uncertainty these self interests can only be sought; there can be no assurance of their actual attainment. For instance, an advancement seeker may believe that successful experience will result in his promotion into a supervisory opening. However, in seeking this position, this candidate may be passed over in favor of a supervisory recruit from an outside organization. By the same token, these things in which an individual anticipates satisfaction may not actually contain it. Had the in-house aspirant received the promotion he may have decided that it was not as satisfying as he expected. Again, expectancy theory does not imply satisfaction, only individuals' attempts to attain and maximize it.

In motivating specific work behavior, expectancy refers to an individual's perceptions about his ability to engage in a particular behavior. The degree of strength of an employee's expectancy perception can dictate such activities as applying for a given job or quitting one job with the expectation of obtaining another. The more confident the individual is about engaging in a given behavior, the higher the motivation toward that behavior.

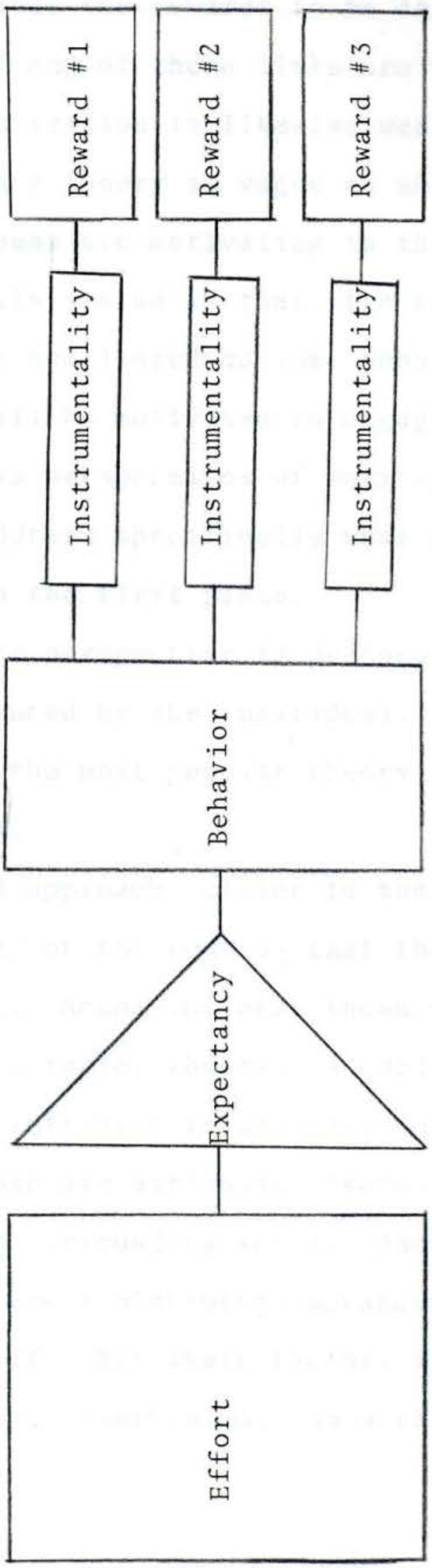
A second strong motivator of specific behavior pertains to the perceived consequences of the behavior. Two perceptions regarding these results of behavior are considered by the individual instrumentality perceptions and valence perceptions.

Instrumentality perceptions link behaviors to rewards for those behaviors. A basic question an employee might ask himself is, "If I perform well, will I receive a pay raise?" There may be a unique instrumentality perception for each potential reward. For instance, an employee may feel that volunteering for overtime will incur the supervisor's praise and that volunteering for overtime will not be instrumental in consideration for promotion (high instrumentality for praise, low instrumentality for promotion).

As instrumentality perceptions establish a cause and effect relationship between behaviors and perceived rewards, valence perceptions assess the desirability of these potential rewards. For example, an employee may perceive consideration for promotion as highly valent while being indifferent toward supervisory praise.

The flow chart diagram of Figure 5 shows how perceptions of expectancy, instrumentality, and valence combine to influence motivation. An employee is expected to be motivated toward a behavior (such as good attendance) if he feels capable of successfully achieving the behavior (high expectancy), believes that the behavior will lead to rewards (high instrumentali-

Figure 5


Reward #1
Reward #2
Reward #3
Instrumentality
Instrumentality
Instrumentality
Behavior
Expectancy
Effort

ties), and finds the rewards to be desirable (positive valence). If any of these links are weakened, the employee's motivation is likewise weakened.

Expectancy theory is vague on what aspects of the work environment are motivating to the individual. All that is clearly stated is that if a reward is positively valent and linked to some behavior, the individual will be motivated to engage in that behavior. Two perspectives of motivational content attempt to address specifically what employees find motivating in the first place.

The first perspective is defined in terms of needs experienced by the individual. Maslow's Hierarchy is the most popular theory along these lines (see page 12).

A second approach, closer to the expectancy model, focuses on the rewards that the individual seeks in work. Among the best known is Frederick Herzberg's two-factor theory. According to this perspective, intrinsic rewards are more important to motivation than are extrinsic rewards (work conditions vs conditions surrounding work). Among the intrinsic work rewards are achievement, advancement, growth, and the work itself. Extrinsic factors are company policy, salary, supervision, and working conditions.

Research on recruitment advertising holds that these positive intrinsic rewards are also crucial to the attraction of employees to an organization (Pell, 1969).

The greatest problem with the need hierarchy and two-factor theories is their failure to address individual differences. Given that different employees will assign different values to different rewards, there are broad classes of conditions which employees often find valent. These fall into three general groups: the work itself, personnel policies, and social environment. Part II will address these further.

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PART II. BUSINESS STUDENTS AND MANAGERS: PREVALENT ATTITUDES AND TRENDS

CHAPTER V

THE COLLEGE EXPERIENCE

Part I introduced some of the prominent motivation elements and cited examples of their impact on an individual's work and life experiences. These theories are readily applicable to the observation and analysis of work environment attitudes and behavior.

Just as a manager's earliest formal training begins with his college years, many of his career attitudes and goals formulate in the college experience. Some of these attitudes may survive to influence performance in later life, while others are altered or diminished as new situations are encountered.

There exists an interesting paradox between what are widely held as student attitudes versus the perceived attitudes and performance of middle management. The current generation of college students are regarded as socially apathetic, pragmatic, realistic, and career conscious to the point of obsession. Yet their "elder siblings" in middle management are perceived as having lost touch with the work ethic key to keeping the United States an economic contender.

In attempting to understand this transition, the college experience should first be examined.

The college experience itself has changed vastly in the last 30 years, both in terms of population and in student purpose and expectations. In the past, college was, for many, a phase of maturation through which the student might gain an educational foundation as preparation for life's challenges. College was held as a "whole experience" to enhance the development of the "whole person" by fostering adaptability, potential, and intellectual inquisitiveness.

The experience of higher education was usually restricted to the children of the affluent, effectively regulating the supply of graduates. Due to the comparative rarity of college educated individuals to the whole population, the college group of yesteryear found themselves heavily in demand for fast-track, and ultimately, higher echelon management and professional positions. Quite often, specific academic preparation was a secondary consideration to the graduate's demonstrated potential in attainment of the degree itself. Specialization within the college curriculum was less emphasized then than now. It was generally understood that specialization, as necessary, would occur as a more gradual process during the course of one's career. Then, as now, career prepration and enhancement was an objective, but hardly the "end unto itself" which drives the majority of present-day college students.

In explaining the shift in priorities from an educationally-oriented to a vocationally-oriented student body, the numbers tell much of the story. In 1950 there were approximately 2.4 million enrolled undergraduates. In 1960 there were nearly 3 million. There are currently 10.5 million enrolled students in 3,000 undergraduate schools (Whittenmore, 1983). With an enrollment growth rate exceeding 300% in 30 years, clearly college attendance has become a national mandate.

What factors have contributed so heavily to this enrollment growth? By and large, the greatest endorsement for college education has been the perceived success of past graduates. Parents who have attended college and who attribute elements of their success to higher education often encourage their children to pursue advanced education. Parents who did not opt or have the opportunity to continue their educations often promote college to their children as a potential means to more success than they themselves were able to achieve. The most frequent incentive is the students' citation of role model(s) outside the family whose career the student wishes to emulate and for which college is perceived as a prerequisite.

Foremost among the factors enabling a greater number of prospective students to attend college over the last three decades has been government participation at the federal, state, and local levels. The G.I. Bill was among the pioneers in government's mission to educate the masses. It led a proliferation of loan and scholarship programs representing government's investment in the future of its citizens. State universities have also expanded the opportunity by, in effect, subsidizing actual tuition costs.

The alteration of some college environments has been instrumental in enrollment growth. The advent of community and commuter campuses and programs has represented the opportunity for students of all ages to pursue higher education outside the traditional "dorm-life" setting.

The emergence and success of community and commuter colleges as well as the introduction of continuing education curricula has had a profound impact on the shift in priorities from an educationally-oriented to a vocationally-oriented student body. As the merits of higher education become popularized, employed people desiring career change or advancement looked to these programs and institutions as a means to participate in the college experience while continuing to fulfill their job and family responsibilities.

The primary forces changing the education-oriented college population of yesteryear to a vocational-oriented contemporary group are the economy and job market. With the overall proliferation of college graduates, employment opportunities traditionally held as commensurate with degree holders' abilities have not kept pace. This is due in part to a prolonged recessionary economy. Openings which might otherwise exist have been shelved in general business reduction. However, the recessionary business climate can be held only partly responsible.

The job market itself has changed radically and continues to do so. Where the employment emphasis since World War II has been on industrial production, the present employment emphasis continues to shift toward information-based and service occupations, with a heavy emphasis on automation. The implications of these changes upon current college student preparation have been stark.

> "What job openings <u>are</u> there demand specific technical training. The result is a trend further away from liberal arts, with students tending to choose only those courses that can help in one particular field. In response to the job market, more are getting involved in computer related studies" (Whittenmore, 1983).

This represents a marked departure from the traditional "well rounded education" which has been characterized as college's original mission. It can also become a point of confusion in some students' anticipation of employer requirements. Julie Hinds, a senior at the University of Michigan, expresses a typical degree of skepticism.

> "Employers come in and stress, "We want well-rounded individuals," but then they hire people with more narrow education backgrounds anyway. How can you trust what they say?" (Whittenmore, 1983).

Many students choose not to ponder this inconsistency, instead simply following curricula which they feel will lead to the most likely employment prospects. If one chooses to debate the difference between education and training, better to do so when gainfully employed.

The growing tendency toward "career myopia" among college students has contributed to a general lack of interest in extracurricular activities except where students feel they can gain a competitive edge in applying for graduate school or jobs. Work is among the prominent distractions. More than 50% of all college students now hold jobs, an increase of about 25% over 1969 (Levine, 1981). What social activities are engaged in are largely unstructured and often "escapist" in nature. Fraternities and sororities are experiencing an increase in popularity from their decline in the sixties, but relative to the total college populations then and now, still stand at a lower level than in 1965 (Levine, 1981).

In answering the question of what students expect to gain from the college experience, a 1976 survey by Carnegie is highly indicative of the trend. An examination of Table 4 shows that career related areas enjoyed the greatest increases, with value and goal formulation, and social interaction suffering substantial decreases between the periods of 1969 and 1976. Current material would suggest that these gaps have widened further in the years since 1976.

The data outlining increased career preoccupation coupled with a strong de-emphasis on social life, concerns, and extracurricular activities indicates that Tom Wolfe's "me-generation" and "me-decade" concepts have persisted into the eighties. Many students describe their peers as being preoccupied with themselves (Levine, 1981). There are, however, dissenting opinions. Abbie Hoffman perceives the current group of college students as having a social conscience equal to their sixties counterparts, with a superior understanding of the mechanics of the power system (Hoffman, 1983). Col. Malham M. Wakin, Chairman of the

TABLE 4

What undergraduates feel is essential to get from a college education: 1969, 1976

	Percent of undergraduates saying essential		
	1969	1976	% change
Learning to get along with people	76%	66%	-10%
Formulating the values and goals for my life	71%	62%	-9%
Training and skills for an Occupation	59%	67%	+8%
Detailed grasp of a special field	62%	68%	+6%
Well rounded general education	57%	57%	0%

(Carnegie Surveys, from Levine, 1981)

Philosophy Department of the U.S.A.F. Academy, detects similar changes in cadets of the sixties versus contemporary cadets.

> "There isn't any question that they (the students) have changed. They are much more conservative . . . They are much more concerned about other human beings. And they are more concerned about service . . . and moral values . . . and they are far more willing to work hard" (Wakin, from Roark, 1982).

In summary, the consensus of authority depicts today's college students as being far more directed, motivated, and sophisticated than their counterparts of years past, with an overriding sense of career urgency. The next chapter will address the motivations, attitudes, and performance of some of today's college students' recent predecessors, the middle management group.

CHAPTER VI

REARRANGED PRIORITIES: THE NEW GROUND RULES

The content of Chapter V asserted that contemporary college students are keenly aware of the "world of work" beyond graduation. Moreover, it was asserted that these students possess the motivation and potential essential to successful competition in corporate America.

Why, then, has a perceived deficiency of managerial and employee motivation become a recurring theme in news, business, and social science literature? The alleged dearth of middle managers with enough drive and ambition to carry them to the boardroom has become a chronic lament of current top executives.

To be sure, these are not complaints of sloth or incompetence. Rather, they represent a critical distinction between satisfactory performance and total commitment; between giving 100% to a job when 110% is desired and may be required for top-level advancement. Nevertheless, these allegations suggest an obvious and intriguing inconsistency between career conscious college students and their middle management counterparts.

To comprehend this criticism of current middle management, it is appropriate to first profile the source, current top executives. After all, it is against their standards that they tend to evaluate their middle management. Paul Weingarten effectively summarizes the general values and priorities of this group in their climb to the top.

> "For a generation of Depression kids, middle management - their first taste of being the boss - was the land of opportunity. They could see the top from there. The rat race was beginning to pay off in terms of a bigger house, a second car, all the perks of the good life. And once they tasted it, they wanted it all. They were obsessed with the climb, relentless in their striving.
>
> Sacrifice was the only way. They worked weekends and nights . . . and ran on nervous energy until they finally dropped . . . into their suburban sanctuaries.
>
> Why did they do it? Money, of course; but also, they said, to give their kids all the advantages" (Weingarten, 1982).

The "kids" are currently in their late twenties and thirties. Those who comprise the middle management group, in many instances, are injecting a new value system into the work experience. It is this value system which is largely responsible for senior management's reservations regarding the drive of their younger counterparts.

For many of the new generation of managers, work is no longer a motivator in and of itself. Rather, it must play a harmonious role in a much larger concern: quality of life. This includes a greater emphasis on family life, recreation, interpersonal relationships, and overall individuality than was typical of the preceding generation. Dr. Arthur Witkin, chief psychologist for Personnel Services Center of New York adds his perspective.

> "The whole idea of quality of life is new. The younger generation believes that work should be satisfying and fulfilling, and that one does not make sacrifices that the older generation made just to get ahead and for achievement" (Witkin, from Weingarten, 1982).

Much of this aversion to total work sacrifice is traceable to a desire not to repeat the "mistakes" they (the current generation) perceive their fathers to have made. Many harbor a suppressed resentment against their fathers for forfeiting their health and homelife for the greater glory of their companies and careers. For the current generation of middle managers, generally speaking, weekends and vacation time are inviolate.

Why are these people taking a comparatively irreverant stance against the employment which generates their livelihood? The major reason is that their material needs are satisfied and have been satisfied for quite some time. They are not struggling against a depression as their parents were, and have the "luxury" of seeking higher needs. This may support Maslow's theory, previously mentioned on page 12.

The single greatest contributing factor to this new value system, however, is the fact that most of the current generation of middle managers no longer derive their identities mainly from their jobs. They are far less apt than their fathers to regard themselves as a "Busch person", a "Monsanto person", or an "Assistant Sales Manager". They have stronger self-images and seek fulfillment in both the business and personal areas of their lives (Koehn, 1982).

A variety of factors comprise personal life fulfillment as it relates to this group. As previously mentioned, the family and child-raising is enjoying an increased time commitment among those opting for marriage and family. This factor plus other smaller elements may be accurately described as "lifestyle". A desirable lifestyle may include friends, hobbies, neighborhoods, and general geographic location. If managers in their twenties and thirties enjoy their lifestyles and the cities they live in, they often refuse to relocate, even if it means losing a promotion (Sanoff, 1981).

Despite a resistance to identifying themselves solely in terms of a given organization or occupation, current middle managers seek an equal degree of fulfillment from their jobs.

> "They demand improved work content, expect open attitudes and communication, seek greater participation in management decisions, firmly reject authoritarianism, and require life-long learning" (Koehn, 1982).

These objectives represent a strong commitment to the concept of individuality: a desire to make an individual contribution to the organization without subordinating one's self to the organization. This goal implies a degree of disdain for the corporate ritual. Superiors are not automatically perceived as role models. The current group of middle managers are also more prone to foregoing non-essential or "cosmetic" overtime - staying over for appearance's sake only. Paul Weingarten quotes an anonymous insurance account executive with some comprehensive perspectives on overtime and sacrifice in general.

> "When they talk about great managers they all often tell the same story about the manager who was so good he got in at 9 and left at 5, and the place ran like a top. But there seems to be a red badge of courage involved in working long hours. Typically, the ones who do that are the

> people who are divorced or have never been married or whose family life is generally in a shambles or nonexistent.
>
> Those who stay late at work always make a point of mentioning it. They may get to the top, but they left everything else behind several years ago" (from Weingarten, 1982).

Interestingly, the Japanese, whose management practices and productivity American business is currently striving to emulate, have incorporated "cosmetic" overtime into their workday to the point that it is a standard practice. It is their habit to remain at work at least until their immediate supervisor leaves. The supervisor, likewise, stays over until his supervisor leaves, and so on. Therefore, it is not uncommon to find a virtually fully staffed office until 7:30 p.m.. By this time, however, the majority of employees are sitting quietly at their desks, more likely writing letters or reading novels than working (Golden, 1983). It has been my observation that this custom, albeit to lesser proportions, is not unique to Japanese culture.

While the instrumentalities cited by both Weingarten's insurance account executive and Golden's Japanese office are remarkably similar, their valences are quite dissimilar. Sacrifice in the American work culture is made most often for the goal of individual distinction from the group, while in Japan, it is a symbol of deference to the group. Herein lays the greatest obstacle to American business' replication of the Japanese "management miracle". An American generation whose culture has emphasized the value of individuality often resists subordinating self-interests to those of the group.

The group, however, is increasingly becoming the basic operative unit of American business. Technological advances yielding greater efficiency have likewise increased task complexity, necessitating occupational specialization. The resulting fractionalization of work often requires a consortium to accomplish tasks and decisions formerly undertaken by individuals. This imposes a degree of anonymity upon the individuals in the group, often conflicting with each one's desire to preserve his identity. Senior management, however, is justifiably concerned that efforts toward the individual's maintenance of a strong self-image may compromise his drive and dedication in fulfilling the organization's objectives. As is evidenced by citations earlier in the text of this chapter, many of these concerns are well founded.

Chapter VII will address the climate in which the prevalent middle management attitudes currently thrive and will cite factors contributing to these attitudes' adoption and acceptance.

CHAPTER VII

EFFECTS AS CAUSES: POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS

Chapter VI introduced the emergence of a new value system influencing the attitudes and behavior of many contemporary middle managers. This value system is heavily ego-centered and is a radical departure from the course of sacrifice and self-denial which their senior management followed.

This chapter will seek to identify both the intrinsic and extrinsic causes of this change in values. As the "rules" have changed, perhaps so has the "game-board".

A most prominent factor influencing attitudes and composition of the work force has been the "babyboom". Peter Morrison, a demographer with the Rand Corporation, defines the babyboom generation as those persons born between 1945 and 1964 (Morrison, from Gottschalk, 1982). They comprise the largest segment of the population, and their passage through society has been compared to the "movement of a watermelon through a snake" (Koehn, 1982). The majority of this country's social, educational, and commercial/marketing planning will increasingly be centered about this group. Even now this group's influence is evidenced by a variety of services geared to an "aging youth". Among these are continuing education programs as mentioned in the last chapter, a proliferation of leisure and recreation services, and the entertainment industry. Even the casual observer may readily cite the parallel between the babyboom's aging and the evolution of services targeting this group as their primary market. Radio programming typifies this evolution. Many of the rock stations which sprang up during the sixties and seventies are now changing their programming or losing audience to "adult contemporary" or "soft rock" programming. Their advertising has changed or matured accordingly.

As evidenced by the prolonged recession and high unemployment, the labor market has not experienced such a smooth transition in absorbing the aging baby-boom group. The middle management ranks have been proportionately affected, and future candidates will find opportunities tighter still. From 1980 to 1990, the number of persons 35 to 44 years old in the U.S., the prime "middle manager" candidate group, will increase to 36.1 million from 25.4 million, a 42% increase. For the same period, the Bureau of Labor Statistics projects the number of jobs for managers and administrators to increase to 10.5 million from 8.8 million, only a 21% increase (Gottschalk, 1982).

The implications of this gap are painfully clear.

An increasing number of management-caliber people and senior management aspirants will not be afforded the opportunity to realize their highest potential. On the contrary, a vast number will be stuck "where they are" or on the lower rungs of the management ladder. In comparing current advancement opportunities to those of the late 1950s and 1960s, J. Arthur Johnson, Vice President for Industrial Relations of Southern California Gas Company, offers a grim assessment.

> "We told people: 'go to school, study hard, work hard on your job and the sky's the limit.' That's not the case anymore. The truly superior performer is always in short supply. But the large group that's not quite that outstanding will have it tough" (Johnson, from Gottschalk, 1982).

Some observers are hopeful that the increase in high technology industries will take up much of the slack in management demand. This is probably unwarranted optimism, however, as these industries' greatest demand will be for engineers, computer specialists, and technicians. Their requirements for traditional management personnel will be small by comparison and insufficient to offset the current and coming glut.

It would appear that many middle managers are well apprised of their proportionately bleak chances for advancement. Their growing emphasis on different values and self-interests, as detailed in Chapter VI, may well be a safety valve against the anxiety of unmet expectations. As well established in Clark's 1952 experiment (pp. 16-17), suppressed motives find indirect, symbolic, or disguised expression. An individual with even a moderate degree of achievement motivation who, for whatever reason, cannot advance or achieve to his level of aspiration on the job, will seek alternatives in his personal life.

The concept of disengagement applies well to the consequences of blocked career paths. Disengagement is one way that people cope with a lack of opportunity. They "write off" the organization or their career as anything to be concerned with for anything short of strictly instrumental (monetary) reasons. Disengagement can take the form of depressed aspirations, low commitment, or non-responsibility (Kanter, 1977).

In addressing depressed aspiration, it should be noted that aspirations are not necessarily low to begin with. However, they may be lowered as people encounter the realities of their job situation. Things may be perceived as less desirable as they are perceived as less likely. A study by Henry Purcell on workers negative about their chances for advancement revealed that many of them denied that they would even want a promotion (Kanter, 1977). A relationship between negative mobility perceptions and low aspirations may be inferred.

The prophecy of middle-management disenchantment is comparable to studies of level of commitment done on industrial workers. Common ground exists in that conditions of low opportunity yield low work commitment. Blue collar subjects commonly emphasized leisure and consumption. These may be equated with the current middle management age group's emphasis on "lifestyle", as established in the last chapter. An individual with low commitment may perform satisfactorily, but he is generally resigned to his situation of low opportunity and derives his identity and achievement from "life on the outside".

At the lower end of the disengagement spectrum exists non-responsibility. Personnel in this category are characteristically in a "dead-end" in their careers. They are in a job-oriented depressed state and take no initiative (Kanter, 1977).

The "bottleneck" of advancement candidates versus available opportunities is predictive of increased incidence of disengagement through this decade. This does not bode well for business leadership's desire for increased commitment, dedication, and sacrifice from its middle-management corps. Ironically, a good deal of disengagement is instilled by the present conditions of over-supply, versus the "get-ahead" drives which are desired of middle-management. According to Dr. Kenneth R. Brousseau, business professor at University of Southern California, a major obstacle to reconciling decreased opportunity for advancement against desired increase in employee commitment is the traditional way of looking at career success in America.

> "In America, the notion of success is heavily oriented toward a linear career path. The common (belief) is that the only good move is a move upward. If you stay where you are or if . . . you take position at a lower level, you are quickly seen as a failure" (Brousseau, from Weingarten, 1982).

Further skewing the advancement supply and demand distribution is the fact that many companies are streamlining or cutting back middle-management positions, particularly in depressed industries. This decrease is compounded by the shift to technical jobs away from management and administrative positions. According to Max L. Carey, an economist for the U.S. Department of Labor, the number of technical workers will increase by 30% from 1980 - 1990, versus a 21% increase in managers and administrators in the same period (Gottschalk, 1982). This will serve to flatten the organizational pyramid, greatly increasing the ratio of "pieces" to "players".

Some companies are countering this effect by creating dual hierarchies, one traditional management, and a second of "technical executives". An increase in lateral personnel transfers are also being implemented in some organizations to compensate for the scarcity of promotion.

As might be expected, humanistic arguments attempting to justify disengagement's and individuality's effect upon the workforce's productivity and commitment are not universally subscribed to. Many senior executives and authoritative social observers regard the commitment necessary to fulfill the organization's objectives as being middle management's primary responsibility. This commitment should not be diminished by the lack of advancement prospects nor by an individual's philosophy of self-fulfillment.

Amitai Etzioni, Director of the Center for Policy and Research, reflects an intolerance of the "new values" in his most recent book, An Immodest Agenda: Rebuilding America Before the 21st Century. Among his more salient points are that:

> "Emphasis on the 'quality of life' and interesting experiences over careers and status has wrought a retreat from work, a widespread inability to defer gratification, and a misuse of the environmental movement to thwart the economic development that America desperately needs" (Leo, 1982).

These thoughts seem to suggest a return to the "protestant work ethic". Every middle manager should, by these standards, strive for the next level, regardless of his desire for or chances of reaching it. This desired aspiration is an ideal which the individual may or may not act upon. Perceived "payoff" is a central issue in this behavior.

Unfortunately, a majority of workers do not believe that hard work pays off (Koehn, 1982). Obviously, this attitude does nothing toward bringing about economic recovery, nor is it compatible with the resurrection of a strong work ethic. Before dismissing the concept of "payoff" out-of-hand as being a trapping of ego-centered individuality, it should be reviewed in the context of human motivation. Management motivation is, after all, what business seeks to increase.

As was established on pages 37-39, instrumentality postulates the linkage of specific behavior to perceived rewards for that behavior. In this case, hard work equals the specific behavior and the "payoff" (advancement) equals the reward. In past perceptions of a strong work ethic, the specific behavior (hard work) was more apt to be its own reward.

Why has the "payoff" concept eclipsed the previously held concept of pride in a job well done? Hank E. Koehn, Vice President - Futures Research Division of

Security Pacific attributes this change to a current belief in the entitlement ethic. This is entitlement to security and happiness without financial or emotional risk (Koehn, 1982). Philip C. Grant holds a more balanced view, acknowledging both perspectives.

> "For employees to be motivated, they must receive valuable outcomes for high effort. For those with strong work ethic, high effort in-and-of-itself generates satisfaction with employment. But among American workers the perceived values associated with hard work and work well done are diminishing" (Grant, 1982).

Grant also perceives the proliferation of guaranteed rewards and the inability of existing rewards to satisfy emerging needs as factors in declining employee motivation. Guaranteed rewards are mainly a rough uniformity of pay and benefits within a classification, and offer only token differentials for merit. Indeed, these rewards are largely independent of performance.

Organizations have failed to adjust the nature of their rewards from the satisfaction of lower-level needs to the satisfaction of higher-level needs. Base pay and benefits, largely guaranteed rewards, have satisfied the lower level needs of economics and security. Paralleling Maslow's Hierarchy, the lower needs being satisfied free self-esteem to emerge as a need. Organizations generally have not incorporated mechanisms for satisfying higher-order needs (Grant, 1982). The proposed fostering of employee "self-actualization" is a noble objective. However, the extent to which a profit seeking organization in a capitalistic society can or should be responsible for individuals' self-esteem is subject to question.

A more tangible hindrance to commitment and optimal performance, ironically, has been the group. As was established on page 58, the advent of group tasks and "groupthink" is largely a result of business' desire to meet task complexity with increased efficiency. The result is not only a degree of anonymity in terms of identity, as discussed earlier, but also a degree of anonymity in terms of sanctions placed on superior or unsatisfactory performance. A reward, when distributed among a group, has less positive reinforcement value to the individuals in the group than when it is bestowed upon the individual. By the same token, a punishment for unsatisfactory performance loses individual impact when it is absorbed by a group. This "averaging" of the consequences of behavior has invited substantial performance mediocrity.

In concluding this discussion of perceived middle management's motivation and attitude deficiencies versus the performance ideals desired by senior management, the battle lines have been drawn between maxims of the past and evolving ideals. Robert W. Hogan, a New York advertising executive, accuses American business of some very "unproductive" thinking in its standards and rhetoric for recruiting middle managers. He begins on a familiar note.

> "Funny, I always thought that concern for the individual was an inherently American value. But you'd never know it to look through the help-wanted ads.
>
> What about 'aggressive', that most tired of business banalities? Does that mean they want yet another loud-mouth ladder-climbing bully in the corporate ranks? We already have too many of them.
>
> . . . this is . . . somehow symptomatic of the outdated, narrow and unproductive thinking of American business on the subject of people. From these job ads it's hard to believe that companies are interested in real people at all. Instead, they're in the market for a set of character traits that borrow heavily from Machiavelli. They disdain the well-rounded, humane personalities that true leaders historically possess. Perhaps such future leaders are not wanted, despite how sorely they are needed" (Hogan, 1983).

Although Hogan's comments have much validity, certain "character traits" are accurate predictors of future business success. A very prominent tool for predicting future business success and motivation to manage, the Miner Sentence Completion Scale, will be described in Chapter VIII.

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PART III. MANAGEMENT MOTIVATION: MEASUREMENT AND FORECAST

CHAPTER VIII

THE MINER SENTENCE COMPLETION SCALE

The content of Part II established some prevalent attitudes, behaviors, and trends of college students and middle managers regarding their work and careers. In asserting that a change in attitudes and behavior has generally occurred, idealogical causes, criticisms, and justifications were cited to address this claim.

Dr. John B. Miner, Professor of Business Administration at Georgia State University, concurs with Part II's assessments of changes in attitudes and behavior. Indeed, he was among the first to postulate that such changes were occurring. His, however, has been a more pragmatic evaluation. Where the majority of observations previously cited have been of an idealogical, rational, and often judgmental nature, Miner's work has emphasized the basic verification and measurement of motivation trends and their impact on managerial quality and quantity. A substantial amount of Miner's research has been on the concept of "managerial motivation", its measure, and its perceived decline.

> "As student activism on campus has waned and business school enrollments have blossomed, one frequently hears the contention that prior patterns must be reversing, that the decline in managerial motivation that characterized an earlier period must be a thing of the past. On the other hand, it is possible to point to other events suggesting a continued problem" (Miner, 1982).

Miner's reasoning parallels that set forth in Chapter VI, that college student attitudes, or more specifically, business student attitudes, are viable predictors of future middle managerial attitudes and success. Miner's research tool, the Miner Sentence Completion Scale (MSCS), is of his own design and rates subject responses against seven elements he considers essential to success and achievement in bureaucratic organizations. These elements are termed "subscales" and are displayed and defined in Table 5.

The MSCS itself contains 40 items. Five of these items are "throw-aways". The items are incomplete sentences and the respondent's task is to complete each one. The items were chosen to conceal the true purpose of measurement, and coupled with the five "throw-aways", make it difficult for respondents to present a consciously predetermined picture of their own motivation. The 35 relevant items yield seven five-item subscales as shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5

Subscales of the Miner Sentence Completion Scale and Their Interpretation

Subscale	Interpretation of positive responses
Authority Figures	A desire to meet managerial role requirements in terms of positive relationships with superiors.
Competitive Games	A desire to engage in competition with peers involving games or sports and thus meet managerial role requirements in this regard.
Competitive Situations	A desire to engage in competition with peers involving occupational or work-related activities and thus meet managerial role requirements in this regard.
Assertive Role	A desire to behave in an active and assertive manner involving activities which in this society are often viewed as predominantly masculine and thus to meet managerial role requirements.
Imposing Wishes	A desire to tell others what to do and to utilize sanctions in influencing others, thus indicating a capacity to fulfill managerial role requirements in relationships with subordinates.
Standing Out from Group	A desire to assume a distinctive position of a unique and highly visible nature in a manner which is role-congruent for the managerial job.
Routine Administrative Functions	A desire to meet managerial role requirements regarding activities often associated with managerial work which are of a day-to-day administrative nature. (Miner, 1971)

Subscale scores are categorized as either positive, neutral, or negative and are summed to produce a range of from +5 to -5. The total score, therefore, will vary from +35 to -35. In interpreting total and subscale scores, positive responses indicate a desire to meet role requirements hypothesized to be inherent in hierarchic or bureaucratic organizational systems. Negative responses indicate aversions to these requirements, and neutral responses are not indicative.

The basic component of the MSCS, the incomplete sentence, is a vehicle readily comparable to earlier motivational research cited in Part I. McClelland's 1953 administration of the Thematic Apperception Test (pg. 35), in which achievement motivation was measured by male college students' written responses to photographs, appears to be an obvious ancestor to the MSCS. The Strong-Campbell Vocational Interest Blank represents another earlier attempt to predict vocational success, as does the Kuder Preference Record. More sophisticated and targeted devices, comparable to the MSCS, are represented by England's Personal Values Questionnaire (PVQ) and Ghiselli's Self-Description Index (SDI) (Brief, et al, 1977).

The original MSCS has evolved into a variety of established at .83. The subscale reliability falls in the .44 - .63 range (Miner, 1982). Acknowledging Miner's contention that shorter test-retest intervals should boost these coefficients, the subscale scores appear better suited to group analysis than to individual analysis. In tests with 25 different samples, validity coefficients have ranged as high as .69 (Miner, 1978).

Research administration of the MSCS has been performed in several U.S. universities, including the University of Oregon, Georgia State University, Portland State University, University of Maryland, University of Western Michigan, and University of South Florida (Miner, 1974). The focus of this chapter and the next is on MSCS administration performed at the University of Oregon on four occasions over the last two decades. This series of reported MSCS results over the last 20 years best represents the range of business students' responses in a uniform setting over the course of the study. In addition, data from MSCS administration at Georgia State University is reported to demonstrate the impact of age and full-time employment upon responses.

> "The Georgia State University students tended to be employed, often in full-time jobs, and the samples contained a larger proportion of

> older students than would have been typical at most other universities, including the University of Oregon" (Miner, 1982).

Mean respondents' scores for appropriate administered periods at the University of Oregon and Georgia State University are displayed in Tables 6 - 10.

As is evidenced by Tables 6 - 8, there appears to have been a general decline in managerial motivation from the early 1960's to the early 1970's. The changes between the 1972-1973 and the 1980 test periods (M scores) are far less pronounced, not statistically significant, and indicate a "leveling off". Quite notably, however, the "lost ground" in managerial motivation was not regained in the past decade.

The only exceptions to these general results fall in the Imposing Wishes and Standing Out from Group subscales (Miner, 1982). These were virtually immune to change throughout the period. The Standing Out from Group results are quite understandable and are well aligned to the identity and individuality priorities addressed in Chapter VI. Conversely, the Imposing Wishes results are a mystery when generalized to a generation accused of desiring neither to lead nor follow.

The "males only" results (Table 7) are virtually identical to those of the total sample (Table 6). This

TABLE 6

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON BUSINESS STUDENTS - MALE & FEMALE

MSCS subscale	1960-1961 M scores (N = 287)	Δ/year	1967-1968 M scores (N = 129)	Δ/year	1972-1973 M scores (N = 86)	Δ/year	1980 M scores (N = 124)
Total score	3.33	-.40**	.52	-.47**	-1.84	.00	-1.86
Authority Figures	1.17	-.10**	.47	-.06	.15	.00	.14
Competitive Games	1.18	-.07**	.71	-.06	.40	.00	.39
Competitive Situations	-.55	-.07**	-1.04	-.11**	-1.60	.05	-1.23
Assertive Role	.32	-.05*	.00	-.15**	-.77	-.03	-.99
Imposing Wishes	.37	-.01	.33	-.04	.15	-.01	.11
Standing Out from Group	.38	-.02	.26	-.01	.22	.01	.27
Routine Administrative Functions	.45	-.09**	-.20	-.04	-.38	-.02	-.55

Note. MSCS = Miner Sentence Completion Scale. Δ = rate of change. Rate of change values refer to the difference between the two adjacent mean scores; significance for these values was determined using *t* tests.
* p < .05. ** p < .01. (Miner, 1971, 1982)

TABLE 7

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON BUSINESS STUDENTS - MALES ONLY

MSCS subscale	1960-1961 M scores (N = 246)	Δ/year	1967-1968 M scores (N = 114)	Δ/year	1972-1973 M scores (N = 69)	Δ/year	1980 M scores (N = 71)
Total score	3.62	-.43**	.60	-.52**	-1.99	.01	-1.93
Authority Figures	1.18	-.12**	.35	-.06	.04	.00	.01
Competitive Games	1.29	-.06*	.85	-.08	.45	.00	.47
Competitive Situations	-.50	-.07*	-.96	-.14**	-1.64	.05	-1.27
Assertive Role	.40	-.06*	-.01	-.16**	-.81	-.01	-.92
Imposing Wishes	.45	-.01	.35	-.03	.19	-.01	.08
Standing Out from Group	.42	-.03	.21	.02	.29	.00	.28
Routine Administrative Functions	.37	-.08**	-.19	-.06	-.51	-.01	-.59

Note. MSCS = Miner Sentence Completion Scale. Δ = rate of change. Rate of change values refer to the difference between the two adjacent mean scores; significance for these values was determined using *t* tests. (Miner, 1971, 1982)

TABLE 8

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON BUSINESS STUDENTS - FEMALES ONLY

MSCS subscale	1960-1961 M scores (N = 41)	Δ/year	1967-1968 M scores (N = 15)	Δ/year	1972-1973 M scores (N = 17)	Δ/year	1980 M scores (N = 53)
Total score	1.59	-.24	-.07	-.23	-1.23	-.07	-1.78
Authority Figures	1.15	.03	1.33	-.15*	.59	-.04	.30
Competitive Games	.54	-.13	-.40	.12	.18	.01	.28
Competitive Situations	-.85	-.11*	-1.60	.03	-1.47	.03	-1.19
Assertive Role	-.17	.03	.07	-.13	-.59	-.06	-1.08
Imposing Wishes	-.12	.04	.13	-.03	0	.02	.15
Standing Out from Group	.15	.07	.67	-.15	-.06	.08	.25
Routine Administrative Functions	.90	-.17**	-.27	.08	.12	-.08	-.49

Note. MSCS = Miner Sentence Completion Scale. Δ = rate of change. Rate of change values refer to the difference between the two adjacent mean scores; significance for these values was determined using *t* tests.
*p < .05. ** p < .01. (Miner, 1971, 1982)

TABLE 9

Differences in MSCS (Form H) Scores Between
Males and Females in 1960-1961 and 1980

MSCS subscale	1960-1961		1980	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Total score	3.62	1.59*	-1.93	-1.78
Authority Figures	1.18	1.15	.01	.30
Competetive Games	1.29	.54*	.47	.28
Competetive Situations	-.50	-.85	-1.27	-1.19
Assertive Role	.40	-.17*	-.92	-1.08
Imposing Wishes	.45	-.12**	.08	.15
Standing Out from Group	.42	.15	.28	.26
Routine Administrative Functions	.37	.90*	-.59	-.49

Note. MSCS = Miner Sentence Completion Scale. For 1960-61, male n = 246, female n = 41. For 1980, male n = 71, female n = 53. *t* tests were performed to test the significance of the differences between the sexes.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. (Miner, 1982)

TABLE 10

GEORGIA STATE UNIVERSITY BUSINESS STUDENTS

MSCS subscale	M scores 1975 (N = 74)	Δ/year	M scores 1979 (N = 51)
Total score	-.51	.14	.04
Authority Figures	.66	.00	.67
Competitive Games	.62	-.14	.06
Competitive Situations	-1.28	.04	-1.14
Assertive Role	-.31	-.10	-.71
Imposing Wishes	-.23	.22*	.65
Standing Out from Group	.15	.09	.49
Routine Administrative Functions	-.12	.03	.02

Note. MSCS = Miner Sentence Completion Scale. Δ = rate of change. Rate of change values refer to the difference between the two adjacent mean scores; significance for these values was determined using *t* tests.

* $p < .01$. (Miner, 1982)

is largely attributable to the low representation of females in the sample, yielding a largely male dominated respondent group (Miner, 1982). In the males group, again, statistical significance was not obtained in the 1972-1973 versus 1980 comparisons.

The "females only" results (Table 8) do not lend themselves to the clear-cut interpretations derived from Tables 6 and 7. Although there were increases and decreases from period to period, the small sample sizes for the 1967-1968 and 1972-1973 periods are largely responsible for the fluctuations (Miner, 1982). In comparing the number of statistically significant changes, there were 9 out of 24 among the males versus 3 of 24 among the females. (In examining the tables, note that the asterisks denote statistical significance.) Overall, the forces governing a decline in motivation to manage appear to be diminished in their impact on female respondents. Where in the 1960's the M score data indicates a higher motivation to manage among males than females, the 1980 data indicates no significant difference (Miner, 1974, 1982).

While consistent with the University of Oregon results in their small degree of change from the mid-1970's to 1980, the Georgia State University M scores are consistently higher in each subscale and time frame comparison. Although the research offers no explanation for this, the greater age (and maturity) of the Georgia State respondents, coupled with their work experience, may account for the higher scores. Tempered by the realities of work and organization, their values may have changed accordingly.

Overall, Miner expresses little optimism for future prospects of a reversal in managerial motivation trends.

> "It has been demonstrated that college students exhibit a strong preference for companies that are perceived as reflecting attitudes and values much like their own and reject those perceived as having dissimilar images. Given this fact, many companies can be expected to face major difficulties in attracting and keeping managerial talent in the future" (Miner, 1974).

The majority of bureaucratic organizations' images and objectives diametrically oppose the values and attitudes of increasing numbers of business students, as evidenced by the MSCS data. It would be specious to suggest that these organizational objectives could be as effectively sought if business were to align these objectives to the emerging attitudes and values.

Yet the modified attitudes and values are being applied to the organizational structure, and, by Miner's account, without a smooth congruity.

> ". . . more and more older and higher scoring managers from a prior generation are leaving the labor force through retirement and death. They are being replaced by a continuing flow of both men and women who lack both the desire to manage and the motivational drive to meet managerial role requirements in a manner that can be evaluated as successful, competent, and outstanding" (Miner, 1982).

In summary, Miner indicates a discouraging prognosis for future managerial performance (and thus organizational success) as measured by the MSCS, despite the ostensible stabilization of MSCS scores in recent test periods. Beyond his indication of "stabilization" in MSCS, Miner neither attempts to predict future MSCS results, nor their implications for future business students and managers.

Chapter IX will address the prediction of future MSCS scores from past results, via linear regression, and the correlation factor validity of these predictions.

CHAPTER IX

THE MSCS: FUTURE PREDICTIONS

Chapter VIII introduced the Miner Sentence Completion Scale and cited Miner's University of Oregon test results for administration periods spanning the past two decades. Highlighted among his results and interpretations are that managerial motivation among undergraduate business students experienced a decline in the 60's and stabilization (but not resurgence) in the 70's, and that these findings will have a profound negative effect upon future managerial quality.

How valid is this perception of management motivation stabilization, and what results might be expected of future MSCS respondents? The best method, of course, would be to administer the MSCS in successive future time periods, as likely will be done. However, this does not address the question of "What may be known now?".

The statistical process of linear regression may be applied to the known data to predict future respondents' group mean scores. These predictions' accuracy (significance) is measured by calculating a correlation coefficient for each regression line. For regression and prediction performed in this chapter, my

The first regression line and prediction for the MSCS Total Score - Males and Females for University of Oregon business students is plotted on Figure 6.

As is displayed in Figure 6, the regression line plotted implies a negative correlation. The correlation coefficient for this set of scores is -.92, as shown in Table 11. Since -.92 is further from -1 (a perfect negative correlation) than -.95 (the test value), the null hypothesis cannot be rejected and must be accepted.

The predictions for 1983 and 1986, -3.53 and -4.36 respectively, likewise do not meet or exceed the 95% accuracy specification. The regression line and predictions are, however, significant at the 90% mark, and although not sufficient to reject the null hypothesis, are somewhat respectable.

Data for the regression lines and predictions for the remaining Total Score and Subscales is shown on Tables 11-13. Utilizing descriptive statistics, these tables define 24 different regression lines without undertaking the laborious process of plotting each one. The validity for each row of data is displayed in the right-hand column under the "Correlation" heading.

In surveying the Correlation columns on Table 11 for MSCS male and female respondents, it may be inferred

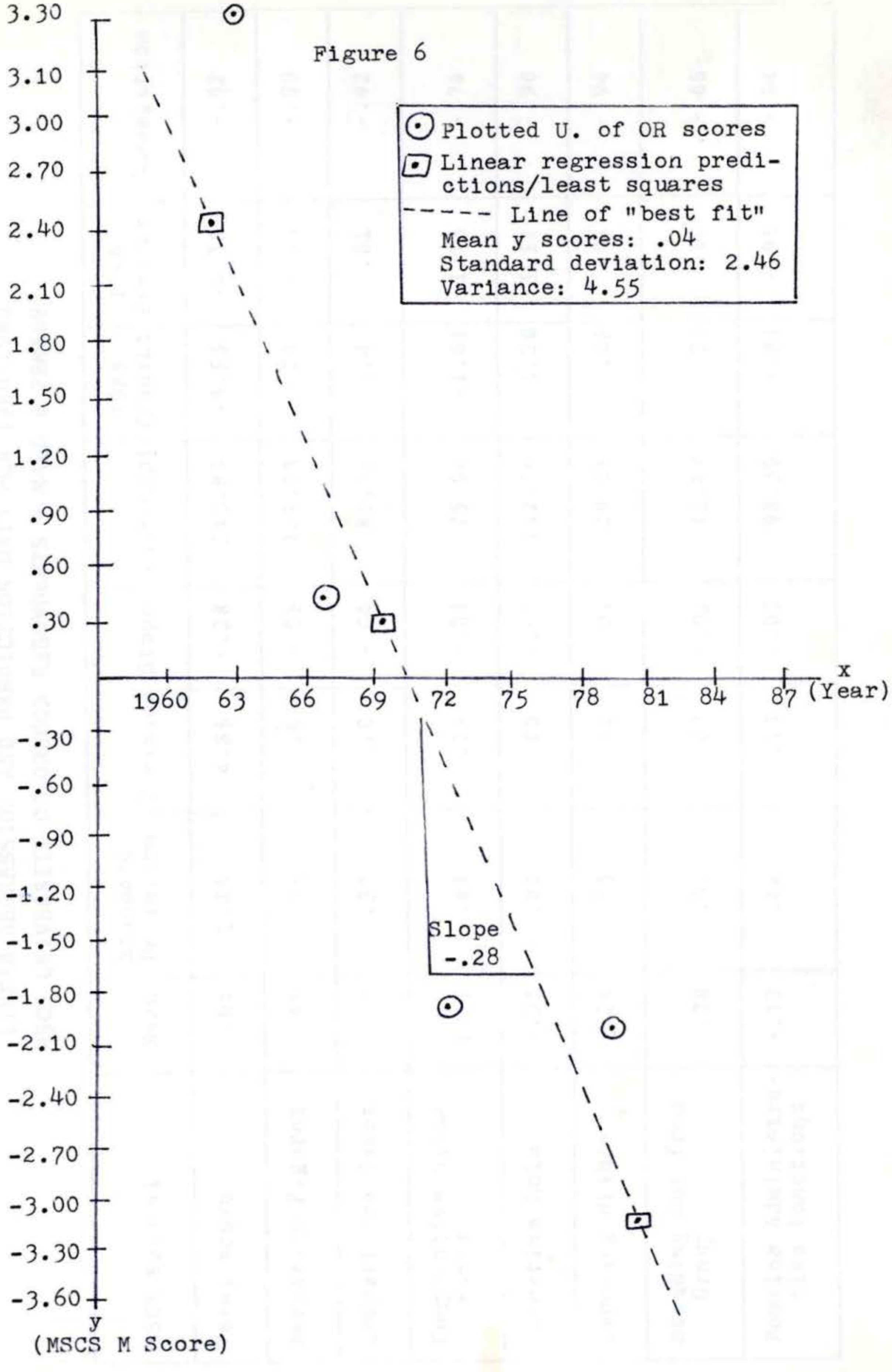
Figure 6
Plotted U. of OR scores
Linear regression predi-ctions/least squares
Line of "best fit"
Mean y scores: .04
Standard deviation: 2.46
Variance: 4.55
3.30
3.10
3.00
2.70
2.40
2.10
1.80
1.50
1.20
.90
.60
.30
-.30
-.60
-.90
-1.20
-1.50
-1.80
-2.10
-2.40
-2.70
-3.00
-3.30
-3.60
y
(MSCS M Score)
1960
63
66
69
72
75
78
81
84
87
x
(Year)
Slope
-.28

TABLE 11

LINEAR REGRESSION AND PREDICTION DATA FOR 1960-1980

MSCS UNIVERSITY OF OREGON RESONDENTS - MALE & FEMALE

MSCS subscale	Mean	Standard Deviation	Variance	Slope	Intercept	1983 Predict	1986 Predict	Correlation
Total score	.04	2.46	4.55	-.28	545.85	-3.53	-4.36	-.92
Authority Figures	.48	.48	.18	-.05	105.03	-.20	-.36	-.90
Competitive Games	.67	.37	.10	-.04	82.51	.14	.01	-.92
Cooperative Situations	-1.11	.44	.14	-.04	75.90	-1.61	-1.73	-.74
Assertive Role	-.36	.62	.29	-.07	142.38	-1.29	-1.51	-.96
Imposing Wishes	.24	.13	.01	-.01	29.25	.05	.01	-.94
Standing Out from Group	.28	.07	.00	-.01	11.47	.21	.19	-.68
Routine Administrative Functions	-.17	.44	.14	-.05	98.39	-.81	-.96	-.94

TABLE 12

LINEAR REGRESSION AND PREDICTION DATA FOR 1960-1980

MSCS UNIVERSITY OF OREGON RESPONDENTS - MALES ONLY

MSCS subscale	Mean	Standard Deviation	Variance	Slope	Intercept	1983 Predict	1986 Predict	Correlation
Total score	.08	2.65	5.28	-.30	585.24	-3.75	-4.64	-.92
Authority Figures	.40	.55	.22	-.06	117.84	-.37	-.55	-.90
Competitive Games	.77	.40	.12	-.04	87.64	.20	.06	-.92
Cooperative Situations	-1.09	.48	.17	-.04	87.40	-1.67	-1.81	-.76
Assertive Role	-.34	.64	.30	-.07	143.84	-1.28	-1.50	-.95
Imposing Wishes	.27	.16	.02	-.02	39.23	.01	-.05	-.99
Standing Out from Group	.30	.09	.01	-.01	11.38	.23	.21	-.53
Routine Administrative Functions	-.23	.44	.14	-.05	97.94	-.87	-1.02	-.94

TABLE 13

LINEAR REGRESSION AND PREDICTION DATA FOR 1960-1980
MSCS UNIVERSITY OF OREGON RESPONDENTS - FEMALES ONLY

MSCS subscale	Mean	Standard Deviation	Variance	Slope	Intercept	1983 Predict	1986 Predict	Correlation
Total score	-.37	1.49	1.66	-.18	345.84	-2.64	-3.16	-.97
Authority Figures	.84	.48	.17	-.05	99.95	.19	.04	-.86
Competitive Games	.15	.40	.12	.00	9.43	.09	.08	-.10
Cooperative Situations	-1.28	.34	.08	-.01	26.28	-1.46	-1.50	-.34
Assertive Role	-.44	.51	.19	-.05	102.72	-1.12	-1.27	-.85
Imposing Wishes	.04	.13	.01	.01	-22.27	.19	.22	.74
Standing Out from Group	.25	.31	.07	.00	8.77	.20	.18	-.12
Routine Administrative Functions	.07	.61	.28	-.06	121.64	-.73	-.91	-.83

that the null hypothesis is rejected only for the Assertive Role subscale (r = -.96). The Correlation column for male MSCS respondents on Table 12 indicates rejection of the null hypothesis in both the Assertive Role and Imposing Wishes subscales (r = -.95 and -.99, respectively). The Correlation column on Table 13 for female MSCS respondents indicates rejection of the null hypothesis for the Total Score only (r = -.97). By rejection of the null hypothesis, acceptance of the respective 1983 and 1986 MSCS M score predictions (as being statistically significant at the .05 level) is implied for the aforementioned subscales and total score.

The balance of the Correlation column data displayed on Tables 11-13 indicate acceptance of the null hypothesis. Although regression line score predictions generally show a decline for 1983 and 1986, the respective Correlation columns do not support these predictions within the prescribed statistical significance limits of the null hypothesis. It is importantly noted, however, that there exist several incidences of correlation factor validity in the -.90 to -.94 range in Tables 11-13. Although these and their corresponding 1983 and 1986 MSCS M score predictions are insufficient to reject the null hypothesis, they warrant speculation on continued decline in their respective subscale areas.

In summary, my results support Miner's contention of a stabilization in the decline of MSCS measured motivation to manage, when strictly interpreted against the experimental conditions prescribed in my null hypothesis. In my estimation, however, the subscale areas reflecting correlation factor validities of -.90 - -.94 justify continued observation.

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X. CONCLUSIONS

The results of Miner's successive University of Oregon MSCS administrations and my correlation factor validity calculations both generally indicate a stabilization in Miner's purported decline of business students' motivation to manage. I believe, however, that these results may conceal the possibility of further declines, as evidenced by the high incidence of r values in the -.90 - -.94 range. Although these r values are not statistically significant in the construct of my test, I consider a 90-94% degree of certainty too high to ignore.

I question the accuracy of postulating the undergraduate business student group as a representative sample of aspirants to business careers in organizational bureaucracies. Business curricula has been popularized largely as a result of fewer employment opportunities in alternative fields. This implies a marked decrease in the ratio of business students genuinely interested in business management careers to business students whose primary career interests and aptitudes may be aligned to currently less employable disciplines. Miner's research has shown lower MSCS scores for non-business student and non-management respondents (Miner, 1974). I find it reasonable, then, to expect a similar gap in scores between business students who truly desire a business career and business students who might rather be studying anthropology. By the same token, an overall decrease in MSCS scores corresponding to an increase of "non-business" business students in the samples should be anticipated. This overall reduction in scores would be similarly effected by students who have a genuine interest in business, but whose career interests lay in non-management directions, such as consulting or the teaching of business. I submit that the contemporary business student group is not distinctly homogenous, and that the accuracy of the MSCS in forecasting the quality and quantity of future managers may be compromised in neglecting to address this.

This is neither meant to imply that career aptitudes are not transferable among fields, nor that students whose primary career interest is business have a monopoly on success in organizations or on motivation to manage. However, I consider it a logical conclusion that business students who aspire to management will generally exhibit a higher level of management motivation than those who do not.

I consider fears of a shortage of motivated, qualified aspirants to top management to be unwarranted. There will continue to exist an adequate supply of people with the competence and drive to advance within organizations to the highest levels. Exceptional performers will distinguish themselves much as their superiors and predecessors have. Although some of these exceptional performers may fit the "workaholic" image or Robert Hogan's "loudmouth corporate bully" stereotype, I consider these expressions to be largely misapplied generalizations to individuals able and willing to forge success from their aptitudes and sacrifices. These individuals, however, represent a "chosen few" in the total scheme of organizational bureaucracies, and there will invariably be fewer still chosen for top-level advancement. The highest echelons will continue to attract quality talent, if for no other reason than because their staffing requirements are relatively low.

This supply and demand ratio conversely represents a dilemma in the motivation of those solid performers in middle management who are not "superstars". For those who perceive hard work as its own reward, the problem may solve itself. For many who pursue their careers with culturally inbred expectations of linear advancement, a scarcity of opportunity may suppress these expectations as well as the motivation and performance they influence. The effects of this suppression are now evident and, if unrelieved, will increase. It may very well be that, under the circumstances, solid performers are already motivated to advance as much as should be expected. This thought is not an indictment of job commitment, positive attitudes, or conscientious performance. Neither does it advocate apathy, incompetence, or mediocrity. Yet business' indiscriminate exhortations to middle managers to strive for the executive suite when so many of these managers' prospects for next-level advancement are blocked, indeterminate, or non-existent, seems rather specious.

Obviously, organizations can not produce unjustified advancement opportunities from thin air, however well earned or deserved. There exists much compensatory room for improvement in lateral directions. For example, an engineering administrator becoming dissatisfied in his current position might benefit from a rotation to the manufacturing or marketing functions. Although such a move would not be a promotion, it would have some of the same effects in terms of a fresh assignment perhaps more to the individual's preference. Such rotations could not be made indiscriminately, and transferable skills and aptitudes would need to be a major consideration. Organizations, nevertheless, generally seem to resist action of this nature, likely due to transfer's temporarily disruptive impact on short-term productivity and operational continuity. I suspect that the long-term inhibiting effect of a stifled middle management corps on optimal organizational performance may prove to be far greater.

If organizations are serious about refocusing their employees' commitments from their avocations and personal lives to their careers, innovative and concerted measures, beyond standard rhetoric, are essential.

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