

Expressing a wish to continue or stop working as related to the meaning of work

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ABSTRACT

Non-financial reasons for continuing employment were determined by posing the 'lottery question', which asked individuals: 'If there were no financial reasons to carry on working, would you stop or continue working?' Approximately 90 percent of two representative samples of the Israeli labor force indicated that they would continue working. Significant predictors of an inclination to stop working in 1981 were a strong instrumental orientation, low work centrality, organizational obligation, intrinsic orientation, and being a female. In 1993, significant predictors of discontinuing work included low work centrality, low occupational satisfaction, high instrumental orientation, and strong interpersonal relations. The above findings are examined in light of recent changes observed in Israeli society, as well as implications to work and employment.

Key words: 'lottery question', meaning of work, work centrality, instrumental orientation, obligation norm.

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INTRODUCTION

In modern society people spend a great deal of time working or preparing for it through education and training. Consequently, work plays a central role in people's lives and in the fulfillment of several important needs. Two main perspectives, one economic (or instrumental) and the other social (or intrinsic), offer reasons for the centrality of work. The first perspective emphasizes an instrumental or economic orientation, asserting that people work in order to secure their basic sustenance and satisfy their material needs. The second view of the importance of work is socio-psychological or intrinsic in nature. It maintains that not only does work contribute to one's sense of personal identity, but it also lends stability and continuity to that awareness. Thus, work plays a crucial role in helping individuals to achieve and maintain their self-esteem, status, and sense of accomplishment.

The distinction between instrumental and intrinsic aspects of work is discussed extensively in the literature (Kanungo, 1982; Pinder, 1998; Warr, 1982). Warr (1982) refers to the intrinsic motivation for working as 'non-financial employment commitment'. A useful indicator of the non-financial employment commitment of individuals is the so-called 'lottery question'. This question asks whether a person would continue working if he/she won a lottery or inherited a large sum of money. Thus, the question proposes a situation in which the economic rationale or necessity for working is eliminated. Thereby the stage is set to assess a person's non-financial or socio-psychological commitment to work. Hence, one objective of the present study is to determine the scope of non-financial employment commitment via the 'lottery question'.

The ‘Lottery Question’

Morse and Weiss (1955) first posed the ‘lottery question’ in their classic study on the function and meaning of work. In a national USA sample of employed men, 80 percent of respondents indicated that they would continue to work even in the absence of any further need to earn money (Morse & Weiss, 1955). Similar responses (some lower and some higher) were found in subsequent studies conducted by others among different occupational groups (Campbell, Converse & Rodgers, 1976; Quinn & Staines, 1979; Tausky, 1969; Kaplan & Tausky, 1974; Vecchio, 1980).

Data on the ‘lottery question’ in other countries, revealed that during the 1980s, 69 percent of two representative sample of British males expressed a preference for work continuation (Warr, 1982; Harpaz, 1989). In the ‘Meaning of Work’ project, responses to the ‘lottery question’ (indicating a wish to continue working) ranged from a low of 69 and 70 percent in Britain and Germany, respectively, to a high of over 93 percent in Japan (Harpaz, 1989). A restudy of the ‘lottery question’ in the late 1980s revealed a significant drop in the wish to continue working in Germany to 64.4 percent (Ruiz-Quintanilla & Wilpert, 1991).

In Israel, Mannheim and Rein (1981) examined the ‘lottery question’ for the first time in the early 1970s. More than 85 percent of the respondents indicated that they would continue to work. Similar findings have been reported among various samples of men, women, blue collar workers and unemployed in the Israeli labor force (Bar-Hayeem et al. and Bar-Yosef et al., in Shamir, 1990; Harpaz, 1988; Laor & Handels, 1985; Shamir, 1990).

Some caution needs to be exercised when considering responses to the lottery question. The latter proposes a situation that is hypothetical, and it is highly unlikely that respondents will indeed be faced with the opportunity to quit work because they have come into an unexpected fortune. Thus, it is interesting to observe what bona fide winners essentially do concerning their work. Systematic empirical or scientific studies of the behaviour of actual lottery winners are scarce. Nevertheless, Kaplan (1985) reports that in his

study of 576 lottery winners in the USA, only eleven 11 percent of them ceased working. Similarly, in a recent study, Harpaz, Arvey, and Hui (2001) disclosed that more than 86 percent of an American sample that won an average of \$3.39 million (s.d \$5.08 million) in the lottery, continued working. Hence, these findings are supportive evidence that the hypothetical ‘lottery question’ may in fact be regarded as an accurate indicative of actual behavioral intention in the work place.

The ‘lottery question’ may serve as a measure of behavioural intention concerning work persistence. This study asserts that if, despite of not needing to work due to winning the lottery, people nonetheless indicate that they would continue doing so, then conceivably work is highly important in their lives. Hence, in this regard the utilization of the ‘lottery question’ may provide important information since it can serve as one vehicle for portrayal of the prevailing meaning of work values in an organization, or assess attitudes at a societal level.

Conceptualization of the Meaning of Work

The conceptualization presented here is based on the MOW research project, carried out comparatively in eight countries (including Israel). The MOW model consists of five major domains (see their description below) and portrays the meaning of work in terms of the subsequent six dimensions: work centrality, entitlement norm, obligation norm, instrumental orientation, intrinsic orientation, and interpersonal relations (MOW- International Research Team, 1987). A brief description of the core concept addressed by each is specified below (for an elaboration of the MOW project, domains, model, etc. the reader may refer to MOW- International Research Team, 1987).

Work centrality. Work centrality refers to the degree of general importance that working has in one’s life at any given time (MOW-International Research Team, 1987). The assertion that work plays a central and fundamental role in the life of an individual has been supported empirically in most industrialized countries (Brief & Nord, 1990; England &

Misumi, 1986; Harding & Hikspoors, 1995; Mannheim, 1993). Individuals with high work centrality seem to be more committed to their organizations and derive a purpose and contentment from their jobs. Hence, it is conceivable that a sudden possession of a large sum of money or wealth would not prompt individuals to relinquish their jobs.

Entitlement and obligation: societal norms regarding work. *Entitlement norms* represent the underlying rights of individuals and the work-related responsibilities of society and organizations to all individuals (i.e., all members of society are entitled to have work if they so desire). In contrast, *obligation norm* represents duties individuals have to their organizations and to society (i.e., everyone has a duty to contribute to society by working). It appears that if a society generally holds positive norms and attitudes towards work, then work would tend to be central and highly cherished. In such a society, it would be considered a deviation from the norm to stay away from the work force, or not actively seek employment.

Instrumental orientation. This concept assumes that people work mainly for, are motivated by, and enjoy obtaining the instrumental aspects of their work context. It was disclosed that the most important role of work with which people identify, is that of providing income for sustaining life and fulfilling other important needs (England & Harpaz, 1990; MOW-International Research Team, 1987). Accordingly, it seems that people with a high inclination toward instrumental values perceive work as a main vehicle for providing income. On that account, once an alternative becomes available for obtaining money from a source other than employment, work may be seen as superfluous.

Intrinsic orientation. It is generally agreed that intrinsic work aspects such as an interesting job, variety, autonomy, challenging work, etc. are important for the development of a strong job involvement or work centrality among employees (Kanungo, 1982; Pinder, 1998). Intrinsic orientation emerged as the strongest predictor of work centrality in Germany, Israel, Japan, and the USA (Harpaz & Fu, 1997). An individual's intrinsic needs, such as interesting and challenging work, autonomy, and variety, can ordinarily be satisfied by way of

one's job, through organizational participation. It is difficult to achieve intrinsic work outcomes away from a work setting; accordingly, if these needs can be satisfied within organizations, an individual is likely to remain a member and contribute through continuous organizational participation. Moreover, individuals committed to their organizations are less likely to quit their jobs (Somers, 1995).

Interpersonal relations. Humans are social beings and interaction between them is essential for their mental health (McAdams, 1988). The importance of interpersonal relations between people, for their well being and subsistence, has been extensively discussed by various scholars (Battle, 1990). The need for affiliation, and specifically the desire for friendly and close interpersonal relationships, is part of most need theories (e.g. McClelland, 1985). It seems that satisfaction from interpersonal contacts and social relationships, as well as the need for belonging, are fulfilled in work settings and through continued work involvement, rather than away from work. Therefore, it seems that people will prefer to continue working in order to realize their need for social interaction, rather than relinquish working even if there were no economic necessity for working.

The subsequent variable of *occupational satisfaction* was not an integral part of the original MOW research. However, occupational satisfaction has received a great deal of consideration in the literature, due to its prominence in determining employee attitudes towards their jobs and organizations, as well as individuals' job involvement (Cranny, Smith & Stone, 1992; Mortimer & Lorence, 1989; Pinder, 1998). An often-cited finding in the satisfaction literature is the association between dissatisfaction and voluntary turnover (Dalton & Todor, 1993), it was also found to be a significant predictor of early retirement (Schmitt & McCune, 1981).

A final set of variables to be included in this study, due to their relevance to work attitudes and values, are demographic variables of sex, age, and education. The literature shows that gender seems to be an important contributor to work centrality. Men exhibit a

significantly higher work centrality, regardless of country of origin or cultural orientation (Harpaz & Fu, 1997; Mannheim, Baruch, & Tal, 1997). The general picture that emerges pertaining to the relationship between age and work is that work assumes greater importance as individuals advance in age (Cherrington, 1980; MOW-International Research Team, 1987; Yuchtman-Yaar, 1984). Concerning educational level, Tausky (1969) found in an early study that education is positively related to centrality of work. Mannheim (1993), MOW-International Research Team (1987) and Harpaz (1990) reported similar findings.

Trends in Israeli Society

Since the 'lottery question' in this study is explored over two time periods, the 1980s and the 1990s, it is necessary to examine the major social, economic and cultural events that occurred in these two decades, which may have had an influence on the way in which individuals view the meaning of work. From early 1980s and into the 1990s, Israel underwent dynamic social, political and economic changes, alongside its increasing exposure to the norms and values of Western culture. Israeli society has continued a gradual move from a collectivist orientation, which was a major cultural characteristic from the pre-statehood period until the 1970s, toward individualistic values (Horowitz and Lissak, 1990). Israeli society has become more pluralistic and decentralized, while individuals' rights have come to occupy a more central position, in contrast to the collective (Knei-Paz, 1996). Relative prosperity has further strengthened materialistic values, intensifying the individualistic trend. Considerable exposure through the media (television, cable, satellite, and Internet) to Western culture enhanced these norms and values (Shvat, 1997). The mass immigration in the 1980s and early 1990s further contributed to pluralism and greater societal heterogeneity, while distancing collectivist norms and values (Horowitz, 1996).

Significant economic changes occurred during this same period, which also left their mark on the job market and on work values. Among the foremost are the triple-digit inflation

rate of the early and mid-1980s and an 11.2 percent unemployment level in 1992 (Statistical Abstracts of Israel, 1999), primarily due to the massive immigration wave, and changes in the economic structure. Abramson and Inglehart (1995) found that rises in the rates of inflation and unemployment led to a marked increase in materialistic values. It appears that the economic condition led to a notable rise in the importance attributed to earnings, money, and other subsistence and material values (including job security), as reported in Harpaz's (1999) research into the meaning of work in Israel.

A major transition occurred in the balance of power in the labor market and industrial relations. Particularly noteworthy was the breakdown of a large part of the Histadrut's (labor federation) industrial sector, and a shift of approximately 40 percent of the Israeli labor force from collective bargaining agreements to personal contracts (Zosman, 1995). These resulted in an overall reduction in Histadrut's influence as a trade union, especially regarding wage determination. An upheaval in the governing elite and the political philosophy led to stronger emphasis on privatization, a decrease in health and welfare budgets, and erosion of subsidies. This further exacerbated the way individuals perceived their situation in the labor market (Sharabi & Harpaz, 1998).

The goal of the present study is to examine responses to the 'lottery question' within the broader meaning of work for individuals, and in the context of the changes taking place in Israeli society. Specifically, it probes the extent to which meaning of work variables can explain willingness to continue or stop working in case of winning the lottery.

Based on the description portrayed in the introductory section, we expect to find the following concerning the 'lottery question'. Men, older individuals, high educational level, as well as individuals with high: work centrality, obligation norm, low instrumental orientation, interpersonal relations, and occupational satisfaction, will tend to continue working in case of winning the lottery. In contrast, women, younger individuals, low educational level, as well as individuals with low: work centrality, obligation norm, instrumental orientation, interpersonal

relations, and occupational satisfaction, will tend to quit working in the event of winning the lottery. In addition, based on the trends observed in Israeli society, a stronger materialistic inclination, and decreased occupational satisfaction, would be observed in the 1993 sample in contrast with that of 1981. Finally, overall the proportion of individuals expressing a wish to continue working (in contrast to those wishing to stop) will be high, at both times.

METHOD

Samples and Data Collection

Data were collected at two periods, the first in 1981 and the second in 1993.

1981 sample

In 1981, a questionnaire probing the Meaning of Work was completed by a representative sample of the Israeli labor force, consisting of 973 respondents. The sample was drawn from ten socioeconomic strata using an ecological method. This resulted in a stepwise random selection according to random household identification, random choice among those who fell within prescribed categories, and random quota sampling as per Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics specifications. Due to the length of the questionnaire and its complexity, and in order to increase valid response rate, respondents were interviewed in their homes by professional interviewers from a national survey agency. Each interview lasted about 25 minutes on average. Comparisons with census data showed a high degree of representation (MOW-International Research Team, 1987).

The sample population comprised 57.4 percent men and 42.6 percent women, with a mean age of 39.4. Regarding their educational level, 19.1 percent had only a primary school education, 46 percent had a secondary school education, 18.5 percent had some college or vocational-technical (votech) education, and 16.3 percent had a university degree.

1993 sample

Data on a new representative sample of the labor force were collected in 1993. This sample followed similar procedures to those undertaken in the 1981 sample concerning sampling and interviewing. Respondents were selected by various random methods and were interviewed individually in their homes by professional interviewers from a national survey agency. The questionnaire contained the same items that were used in 1981, with an average interview lasting about 25 minutes. Comparisons with Statistical Abstracts of Israel census data showed a high degree of representation (Statistical Abstracts of Israel, 1999). The 1993 sample population consisted of 942 respondents, including 57.9 percent men and 42.1 percent women, with a mean age of 38.2. Concerning education, 6.9 percent had a primary school education, 50.3 percent had a secondary school education, 21.9 percent had some college or vocational-technical (votech) education, and 20.9 had a university degree.

Measurement and Analysis

The lottery question

The 'lottery question' probes: "Imagine that you won a lottery or inherited a large sum of money and could live comfortably for the rest of your life without working; what would you do about work?" A choice of three responses was offered: (1) I would stop working; (2) I would continue to work at the same job; (3) I would continue to work, but under different conditions. Answers 2 and 3 were both considered expressing a desire to continue working and were thus combined. Therefore, respondents were categorized as (1) those who would stop working and (2) those who would continue to work, regardless of the setting. This was done for methodological reasons to enable a comparison with previous studies on the topic, most of which offered only two possible responses (e.g., Mannheim and Rein, 1981; Morse and Weiss, 1955; Vecchio, 1980).

The proposition that those who expressed a preference to continue working would do so in any circumstances, whether at the same job or under different conditions (that is, making alternatives 2 and 3 equivalent) was tested empirically. Two versions of the lottery question, one offering a choice of two answers and the other a choice of three, were put to 313 adult students (all working full time) in 15 classes of the Extension Division of the University of Haifa in Israel. Only a small proportion of each group indicated that they would choose to stop working altogether. The majority preferred to continue, regardless of the specific conditions. The availability of a third choice does not appear to have affected the overall pattern of the expressed intentions to continue or stop working. (Further details regarding this study are available upon request from the author).

Meaning of Work and Independent Variables

Below is a description of the five meanings of work domains and their measurement scales. A description of the procedure for the extraction and development of the six dimensions used in the present study follow this. These five domains are identical to those employed in the MOW study (MOW -International Research Team, 1987) and the 1981 Israeli data collection. In order to maintain uniformity for replication and comparability, they were also used in the 1993 data collection.

Work centrality. Two measures of work centrality were used. The first was an absolute measure (Likert-type scale) that indicates the overall importance of work in the individual's life (from one, low to seven, high). The second was a relative measure that had respondents assign up to a total of 100 points to the following areas of their lives: leisure, community, work, religion, and family.

Societal norms regarding work. Respondents evaluated a set of ten normative statements about work in terms of what one should expect from working-entitlements or obligations. *Entitlements* (e.g., "If a worker's skills become outdated, his or her employer

should be responsible for retraining"), and what one should expect to contribute through working. *Obligations* (e.g., "It is the duty of every able-bodied citizen to contribute to society by working"). Respondents rated these ten normative statements-five statements of entitlements and five of obligations-from one (disagree) to four (agree).

Valued work outcomes. Respondents were asked to assign up to 100 points to the following six outcomes that work provide: status and prestige, income, time absorption, interesting contacts, service to society, and satisfaction.

Importance of work goals. Respondents ranked 11 goals or aspects of their work life according to their importance: opportunity to learn, interpersonal relations, possibilities for promotion, working hours, variety, interesting work, job security, match between job and abilities, pay, working conditions, and autonomy.

Work-role identification. Respondents ranked six work roles in order of their importance: task, company, product/service, coworkers, occupation, and money.

The five MOW domains described above measured thirty five different items altogether, of which only nineteen items were explicitly related to the six MOW dimensions studied in the current research, as described in our literature review. An account of their psychometric treatment follows

As indicated above, responses to the MOW 1981 and 1993 surveys were collected using a variety of methods. These included: a) scoring items on a one to seven Likert scale, b) scoring items on one to four Likert scale, c) an allocation of a 100 points among several items according to their importance, and d) ranking items according to a given priority. As noted, a utilization of different measurement approaches is a unique characteristic of the MOW study; however, comparing relationships among all items becomes problematic. This is mainly apparent in our ability to create indices, moreover, to examine their reliability in the standard psychometric procedures. Consequently, in order to surmount this complication, an alternative procedure, that of Multi Dimensional Scaling (MDS) was employed. For the reader unfamiliar

with this process, MDS is a scaling method that attempts to estimate the number of variables underlying an attribute or issue. It is based on the same mathematical models as factor analysis and may be used when it is not known which dimensions individuals are using in responding to a group of stimuli. Hence, it enables the researcher to determine the composition of those dimensions (Nunnally, 1978). In multidimensional scaling, the complex phenomenon under study is usually represented by geometrical space, and the number of dimensions distinguishing the stimuli is usually unknown. Points in that space characterize individual stimuli, and it requires responses in terms of similarities or variations among stimuli. The more similar the stimuli, the closer are the points (Nunnally, 1978). The objective of multidimensional scaling is to determine the number of dimensions, and to obtain scale values for the stimuli on a selected set of dimensions (Ghiselli, Campbell, & Zedeck, 1981).

To measure the relationships among the miscellaneous scaled items, an ordinal distance matrix was formed by the absolute difference between normalized items scores, corrected for central tendencies and interdependencies. An alternative transformation of the ordinal relationship among the thirty-nine MOW items, to an interval scale, was carried out through a Multi Dimensional Scaling method (Klahr, 1969). The ordinal multidimensional scaling was prepared by SAS MDS procedure (1992). The procedure used Kruskal and Wish's (1978) stress formula with weighted Euclidean distances in which each matrix is allowed differential weights for the dimensions (in accordance with the Indscal model formulated by Carroll & Chang, 1970). The two samples were analyzed discretely. The input for the analysis consisted of the ordinal relationship matrix calculated for each respondent, and an output matrix from the combined samples MDS as initial values.

Analysis of the MDS output configurations resulted in a model consisting of nineteen items (with 19.6 percent stress) comprising the six-factor pattern or dimensions of 'work centrality', 'entitlement norm', 'obligation norm', 'instrumental orientation', 'intrinsic orientation' and 'interpersonal relations'. Only one element, that of 'convenient work hours',

unexpectedly fell within the instrumental orientation dimension, and was therefore excluded from further analysis. Intra-item correlation (Intraclass correlation for between samples similarity) for the items ranged from 0.968 to 0.991, indicating that patterns of an item's configuration are similar in both 1981 and 1993 samples. A Stepwise Discriminant Analysis, using the item's configuration from the two samples, revealed a significant contribution to the discrimination among the six factors (ranging from $p < 0.0001$ to $p < 0.0013$). Table 1 portrays the five MOW domains and their components, as well as the variables comprising the resulting six dimensions.

Insert Table 1 about here

The above procedure clearly illustrates those items forming each MOW dimension remained in a similar configuration across time. Hence, the results indicate a distinguished stability in the structure of these dimensions between both measurement periods (1981 and 1993). The analysis disclosed that the measurement model is solid, and the variables or dimensions consistently represent the meaning of work constructs. Consequently, these dimensions serve as the main independent variables in the present study. The items composing each dimension are as follows:

1. *Work centrality*: (a) absolute significance of work in an individual's life, (b) relative importance of work in relation to other life areas.
2. *Entitlement norm*: (a) opportunity to make suggestions at work, (b) entitlement to a job, (c) a right to meaningful work, (d) retraining responsibility
3. *Obligation norm*: (a) a contribution to society through work, (b) a responsibility to save for future, (c) value any work even if boring or unskilled.
4. *Instrumental orientation*: (a) pay as a work goal, (b) income as a valued work outcome, (c) the significant role of money.

5. *Interpersonal relations*: (a) working permits interesting contacts, (b) type of people one works with, (c) good interpersonal relations.
6. *Intrinsic orientation*: (a) variety, (b) interesting work, (c) job-ability match, and (d) autonomy.

Occupational satisfaction was measured as a variable composed of two questions: (a) "If you were to start all over again, would you choose the same occupation or would you choose a different one?" (1-different; 2-same); (b) "Would you recommend your occupation to your children?" (One-no, two-yes). A linear transformation of the occupational satisfaction index yielded a scale ranging from one (low) to seven (high). The results show that occupational satisfaction was moderately high among this population, with a mean response of 5.01 (s.d. 1.25) in 1981, and 4.24 (s.d. 1.93) in 1993. The decline in occupational satisfaction between 1981 and 1993 was found to be significant ($t = 10.46, p < .0001$). In addition to the meaning of work variables and occupational satisfaction, three demographic variables- *sex*, *age*, and *education* (4 categories)-also serve as independent variables in the present study.

A logistic regression model was applied to examine the relationships between the independent and dependent variables. Since our dependent variable-continue/stop working-is dichotomous, we chose the SAS logit regression model to test the relationship. The logistic procedure fits linear logistic regression models for both binary or ordinal response data, using the method of the Maximum Likelihood Estimates. Coefficients in the logistic regression analysis describe the log odds, or likelihood ratio of "success". The hypothesis that a coefficient is not different from zero is tested with the Wald statistic (Hosmer & Lemeshow, 1989).

RESULTS

Results of the response to the 'lottery question' in the 1981 and 1993 samples, along with the distributions by sex, age, and education, are presented in Table 2.

Insert Table 2 about here

A majority in each sample, 87.9 percent in 1981 and 89.7 percent in 1993, indicated that they would prefer to continue working even if there were no longer a financial need to do so. Overall, responses ranged from a low of 80 percent to a high of 93 percent, indicating a wish to continue working regardless of financial need. Significant differences were found between educational levels, at both time periods, the lower it is, the greater is the propensity to quit working.

Items composing the various meaning of work variables were derived from different questions with varied response options. Therefore, a linear transformation was carried out on these variables to place their scores on a scale of 1 (low) to 7 (high), with the exception of obligation and entitlement norms, which were originally scored on a response scale of 1 (low) to 4 (high). Means and standard deviations of study's variables in 1981 and 1993 are presented in Tables 3.

Insert Table 3 about here

The most notable finding is the significant increase in the instrumental orientation of the labor force from 1981 to 1993, and the significant decrease in occupational satisfaction in 1993. Since there are marked differences between samples educational levels, mainly their lowest level (primary school) education was controlled for each predictor by year. An ANOVA test revealed that only occupational satisfaction seem to have been affected by education ($f = 14.38$, $df 3$) hence, possible changes in the former should be considered accordingly. Correlation coefficients are depicted in Table 4. It should be noted that due to

Insert Table 4 about here

large sample sizes all correlation coefficients of .07 and higher are significantly different than 0 ($p < .05$). Since there is a relatively high correlation between obligation and entitlement norms, the latter will not be used in the regression analysis. Results of the Logistic Regression analysis applying independent and demographic variables for 1981 are presented in Tables 5.

Insert Table 5 about here

Testing the null hypothesis $\text{Beta} = 0$, a likelihood ratio test resulted with a χ^2 of 86.24 (10 df, $p < 0.0001$), indicating a good model fit. The results emerging from this analysis show that high instrumental orientation is the strongest predictor of one's wish to stop working. Low work centrality is the second most significant predictor of the inclination to discontinue working. The model also depicts that the stronger the individual's obligation norm (towards one's organization and society), as well as high intrinsic orientation, the lower is the desire to stop working. Finally, the model illustrates that men chose to continue working more than women do.

Table 6 presents the results of the Logistic Regression analysis applying all the independent and demographic variables for 1993. Testing the null hypothesis $\text{Beta} = 0$, a

Insert Table 6 about here

Likelihood ratio test resulted with a χ^2 of 60.47 (10 df, $p < 0.0001$), indicating a good model fit. The analysis shows that low work centrality is the strongest predictor of the proclivity to discontinue working. Other significant predictors were low occupational satisfaction, high instrumental orientation, and low interpersonal relations.

In sum, the analysis shows that our hypothesis were partially supported: significant predictors of an inclination to stop working in 1981 were a strong instrumental orientation, low work centrality, organizational obligation, intrinsic orientation, as well as, being a women. In 1993, significant predictors of discontinuing work included low work centrality,

low occupational satisfaction, high instrumental orientation, and strong interpersonal relations.

DISCUSSION

The various analyses and findings of this study reveal that a very high proportion of the Israeli labor force would choose to continue working, even if there were no economic necessity to do so. This tendency does not appear to have changed over the 12-year period between the measurements of the two cohorts; on the contrary, it has even increased slightly. High work centrality was a consistent strong predictor, at both time periods, of an expressed desire to continue working, even if this was not needed due to a lottery win. Thus, it is evident that work and working are highly important to people and play a fundamental role in their lives. Instrumental orientation exhibited the most significant change over time; the increase in its importance from 1981 to 1993 is unequalled in its magnitude by any other variable in the study. Furthermore, in addition to work centrality it was also a consistent predictor of the wish to stop working over both time periods, as reflected by both regression models.

In contrast to these similarities between predictors in 1981 and 1993, there are some variations between them. In 1981, other predictors of quitting work were low obligation norm towards one's organization, low intrinsic orientation, and being female. It seems that these predictors are related to the era during which they were measured, namely, the late 1970s and early 1980s. During that period there was a strong emphasis on obligation and commitment to organizations, and most studies reported a relationship between intrinsic work aspects and positive organizational outcomes (Kanungo, 1982). Differences between men and women are in accord with that reported previously in the literature. Women show a greater propensity than men do to stop working, on account of work being less important for them than for men (Harpaz, 1990; Mannheim, 1993; Misumi & Yamori, 1991).

In 1993, in addition to work centrality, and instrumental orientation, additional significant predictors of work termination were occupational satisfaction, and interpersonal

relations. Occupational satisfaction, which declined significantly between the 1980s and the 1990s, turned out to be a significant predictor of the desire to continue working in 1993. Hence, individuals with higher levels of satisfaction would tend to continue working, while those with low satisfaction would opt to stop working in case of a substantial lottery win. This finding is in accord with data on the relationship between dissatisfaction with work and absenteeism and turnover (Carsten & Spector, 1987; Tett & Meyer, 1993). The prevalent explanation for this relationship is that a dissatisfying work setting will encourage individuals to withdraw from work, either by absence or by changing jobs (Arnold & Feldman, 1982). Seashore (1973) notes an ultimate form of withdrawal from work, namely, totally opting-out of the labor force without trying to secure other gainful employment. He maintains that individuals can escape psychologically from an unsatisfying job by changing their value structure regarding important values such as skill usage and the function of income, or by "seeking primary value realization off the job" (Seashore, 1973).

A final predictor of job quitting in 1993 is low interpersonal relation. Perhaps this is due to organization's diminished ability to provide the need for social interaction in the midst of the changed societal conditions and the unstable industrial relations system.

An examination of the social and economic circumstances prevailing in Israel between 1981 and 1993 may explain their possible effect on attitudes and work values, particularly the strengthening of instrumental orientation and the decrease in occupational satisfaction. The social, political and economic changes that Israel has undergone appear to have swayed the labor force, as well. Work values, which occupy a central role in individuals' lives, also seem to have been somewhat affected during this period of change, from a highly collectivist society to a relatively individualistic one. Negative labor market conditions such as high unemployment and inflation rates may partly explain the increase in the importance of typical instrumental aspects, such as "good pay" and "job security" (Harpaz, 1999). The gradual erosion in the status and power of the once mighty Histadrut Federation of Labor has

taken its toll as well. Mass redundancies, in addition to the privatization of state-controlled organizations, led to the almost complete termination of the sacred Israeli institution of tenured employment. It also resulted in increased unemployment and financial uncertainty among the labor force. Apparently as a result of these events, there has been a significant increase in the importance of job security for Israeli workers, much like in other Western countries (Harpaz, 1999). Similar findings are reflected by the data of the European Values System Study, conducted in 1981 and again in 1990, in ten West European countries. In these countries, good pay was ranked first overall, and job security second (Harding & Hikspoors, 1995). It is conceivable that the impact of inflation and unemployment, along with the negative climate that ensued, have contributed to the observed shift toward a stronger emphasis on personal employment security and materialistic values.

Substantial changes in economic conditions may have an effect on individual values and may cause a shift toward materialistic values (Abramson & Inglehart, 1995). The value changes that have taken place in Israel seem to be characteristic of countries, which are moving to a market economy, characterized by instability and employment uncertainty. A typical example of this can be found in the case of East Germany, which has experienced a change in values because of the collapse of the socialist regime and its economy in 1990. A dramatic rise in unemployment from an official rate of close to zero in 1990 to 30 percent within two years, has contributed to a striking increase in the importance of materialistic values (Abramson & Inglehart, 1995).

Notwithstanding the turmoil of recent years in the Israeli labor market, as well as the dynamic social and economic events, work centrality seemingly retained its importance in this population. This is in contrast to empirical findings from such countries as Germany, Japan and the United States, which have indicated a decline in work centrality (England, 1991; Misumi & Yamori, 1991; Ruiz-Quintanilla & Wilpert, 1991). It may be concluded from the present study that while work remains of high importance in Israeli society, its centrality may

be coupled to different attributes in 1981 in contrast to 1993. It may be implied that the early 1980s signify an end of an era in Israel when extrinsic values and altruism were part of the Judeo-Protestant work ethic and provided the foundation of work centrality. It appears that the latter maintains its prominence in the 1990s owing to different perspectives. Due to the change in values, relative job insecurity, and strengthening of materialistic values, work is conceivably central to individuals primarily because of its instrumentality in their lives. This assertion is supported by results from a different study conducted on the Israeli labor force. It revealed that in the 1990s, as compared to the 1980s, individuals who were asked to select one primary important work aspect, consistently preferred money or income above all other variables, including intrinsic and interpersonal goals, or service to society (Harpaz, 1999). The present study also indicates that Israeli workers have become more materialistic and economically oriented in the 1990s, as instrumental and personal achievements outweigh every other work attitude.

Several perspectives implicit in the findings of the present study may be encouraging to organizations and policy makers. Work centrality is one of the most important concepts in the meanings that people attach to work. Of particular importance is the finding that despite the shift observed in Israeli work values, work continues to be central to the work force. This is significant for organizations since it was found that work centrality have been related to some important organizational variables. For instance, a positive correlation was reported between work centrality and factors such as participation in decision-making and job satisfaction (Kanungo, 1982). Dubin and Champoux (1977) indicate that high work centrality is likely to produce longer job tenure. Other findings show that highly involved workers tend to spend more time and effort on the job than workers who are less involved. These workers also tend to be more committed to work and contribute more to their organizations (Jans, 1989; Mannheim, Baruch, & Tal, 1997; MOW-International Research Team, 1987). Thus,

achieving and maintaining work centrality should be a positive goal sought by organizations; it should be recognized, nurtured, monitored, maintained, and further developed.

Of similar importance is the disclosure that individuals with a strong obligation to the organization, high occupational satisfaction, and intrinsic work values, would tend to retain their membership in organizations, rather than quit. Implications drawn from this seem to be associated with the way in which employees are treated. If organizations wish to instill a high level of obligation and commitment in employees, as well as enhance their satisfaction, specific measures should be taken to create and maintain a positive environment and climate conducive to these. Likewise, individuals with a high tendency toward intrinsic work values may be identified as early as the employment selection process, thus enhancing the success rate of suitable job placement.

The strong emphasis on instrumental and economic values and the significant increase in its importance needs to be addressed as well. Generally, it would seem that organizations are unable to provide their employees with substantial instrumental needs, beyond what is currently distributed. Nevertheless, it seems that unique or particularly successful individuals, with a high demand for their services or talent, will continue to enjoy a positive market and good jobs with attractive rewards, while the rest will need to compromise with reality. One possible outcome of such a situation may be reflected by a further decrease in employee satisfaction and an increase in discontent, such as that observed between 1981 and 1993.

The present study, based on data collected in 1981 and 1993, may serve as a baseline for observing future trends, by comparing it with similar current or future data. An additional contribution may be achieved by conducting a multinational comparative study focusing on the 'lottery question'. Likewise, future research should attempt to reach samples of actual lottery winners and empirically study post-award behaviour focusing on their decisions concerning work, an endeavor hardly reported previously. Such a study could potentially make a substantial contribution to advancing our knowledge of the role of work and its

importance in the lives of individuals at the beginning of the 21st century. The study could also furnish data on the interesting relationship between attitudes: what people say they would do if they were to win the lottery and what they in fact do in practice.

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TABLE 1: Description of central MOW domains, their components and final MOW dimensions (obtained via Multi Dimensional Scaling)

Central MOW Domains	Theoretical items/components (utilized in MDS)	Composition of final (empirical) MOW dimensions
(a) Centrality of Work as a Life Role	(a1) Absolute importance of work (a2) Relative importance of work	Work Centrality (a1, a2)
(b) Societal Norms about Working	(b1) Retraining responsibility, (b2) Duty to work, (b3) Educational preparation, (b4) Saving responsibility, (b5) Employee participation, (b6) Worker contribution, (b7) Meaningful work entitlement, (b8) Monotony-pay acceptance, (b9) Job providing responsibility, (b10) Value any work	
(c) Importance of Work Goals	(c1) Learning opportunity, (c2) Interpersonal relations, (c3) Promotion opportunity, (c4) Convenient hours, (c5) Variety, (c6) Interesting work, (c7) Job security, (c8) Ability-job match, (c9) Pay, (c10) Working conditions, (c11) Autonomy	Entitlement Norm (b1, b5, b7, b9)
(d) Valued Work Outcomes	(d1) Status-prestige, (d2) Income, (d3) Time absorbing, (d4) Interesting contacts, (d5) Serve society, (d6) Job Satisfaction	Obligation Norm (b4, b6, b10)
(e) Work Role Identification	(e1) Task, (e2) Organization, (e3) Product, (e4) Type of people, (e5) Occupation, (e6) Money	Instrumental Orientation (c9, d2, e6)
		Interpersonal Relations (c2, d4, e4)
		Intrinsic Orientation (c5, c6, c8, c11, d6)

**TABLE 2: Responses to the ‘lottery question’ in 1981 and 1993
expressing a desire to continue/ stop working**

Category	1981			1993		
	<i>n</i>	<i>Would continue working</i>	<i>Would stop working</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Would continue working</i>	<i>Would stop working</i>
Total Sample	973	87.9	12.1	942	89.7	10.2
Men	531	88.9	11.1	539	90.4	9.6
Women	400	85.5	14.5	393	89.1	10.9
<i>Age Category</i>						
18–29	230	86.4	15.6	274	89.8	10.3
30–39	274	89.4	10.6	248	91.1	8.9
40–49	178	87.6	12.4	238	91.2	8.8
50–59	149	88.0	12.0	118	87.3	12.7
60 +	85	87.1	12.9	49	81.6	18.4
<i>Educational Level</i>						
Elementary school	176	80.1	19.9	65	84.6	15.4
Secondary or vocational	429	88.1	11.9	470	87.6	12.4
Some college or votech	171	88.9	11.1	206	93.2	6.8
University degree	156	92.9	7.1	196	92.9	7.1
	$\chi^2 = 13.51, p < .01, df 3$			$\chi^2 = 13.51, p < .01, df 3$		

Note: only educational levels showed significant differences (within years, but not between them).

TABLE 3: Means and standard deviations of study's variables in 1981 and 1993

Variable	1981		1993		<i>t</i> -value
	<i>Mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>s.d.</i>	
Work Centrality	4.01	1.03	4.07	1.01	ns
Entitlement Norm	3.35	0.41	3.25	0.43	4.830***
Obligation Norm	3.20	0.46	3.10	0.46	4.968***
Instrumental Orientation	3.73	1.47	4.65	1.43	13.819***
Intrinsic Orientation	3.26	1.12	3.59	0.94	-6.815***
Interpersonal Relations	3.18	1.16	3.13	1.03	ns
Occupational Satisfaction	5.01	1.25	4.24	1.92	10.46***

*** $p < .001$

Note: Score range is 1 (low) to 7 (high) for all variables except for the obligation and entitlement norms, which range from 1 (low) to 4 (high).

**TABLE 4: Pearson correlation coefficients for 1981
(upper diagonal) and 1993 (lower diagonal)**

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Work centrality	-	.09	-.14	.09	.05	-.08	.07	-.13	.09	.06
2. Obligation norm	.17	-	-.16	-.10	.50	-.00	-.03	-.10	.18	-.10
3. Instrumental orientation	-.14	-.11	-	-.23	-.13	-.05	-.06	-.18	.02	-.28
4. Intrinsic orientation	.19	.00	-.25	-	-.03	.03	.10	.02	-.03	.25
5. Entitlement norm	.08	.47	-.11	-.08	-	.01	-.02	.03	.02	-.02
6. Interpersonal relations	-.06	.00	-.19	-.05	.00	-	.01	.11	-.02	-.04
7. Occupational satisfaction	.23	.09	-.30	.22	-.03	-.07	-	.06	.08	.03
8. Sex ¹	-.13	-.09	-.10	.07	.06	.14	-.05	-	-.25	.19
9. Age ¹	.05	.20	-.06	.04	.07	-.05	.05	-.11	-	-.14
10. Education ¹	.14	-.02	-.27	.34	.01	-.08	.26	.03	.10	-

Note: all figures .07 and above are significant at $p < 0.05$

¹ Spearman correlation coefficients

TABLE 5: Logistic regression model of the variables predicting a desire to continue/stop working for 1981 (Analysis of maximum likelihood estimates)

Variable	d.f	Parameter Estimate	Standard Error	Wald Chi-Square	P Value
Intercept	1	1.26	1.40	0.80	ns
Work Centrality	1	-0.35	0.11	9.68	0.002
Entitlement Norm	1	-0.43	0.30	2.02	ns
Obligation Norm	1	-0.78	0.29	7.52	0.006
Instrumental Orientation	1	0.36	0.09	15.33	0.0001
Intrinsic Orientation	1	-0.27	0.11	5.92	0.015
Interpersonal Relations	1	0.07	0.10	0.52	ns
Occupational Satisfaction	1	-0.12	0.09	1.83	ns
Sex	1	0.52	0.24	4.71	0.029
Age	1	0.01	0.01	1.28	ns
Education	1	0.15	0.13	1.25	ns

Note: The model tests the global null hypothesis of quitting work.

Likelihood Ratio: $\chi^2 = 86.26$ (10 df)

Association of predicted probabilities and observed responses: Concordant = 76.0%; C = 0.762

TABLE 6: Logistic regression model of the variables predicting a desire to continue/stop working for 1993 (Analysis of maximum likelihood estimates)

Variable	d.f	Parameter Estimate	Standard Error	Wald Chi-Square	P Value
Intercept	1	0.35	1.49	0.05	ns
Work Centrality	1	-0.30	0.11	7.24	0.007
Entitlement Norms	1	-0.39	0.29	1.83	ns
Obligation Norm	1	-0.54	0.27	4.21	0.040
Instrumental Orientation	1	0.26	0.10	6.09	0.010
Intrinsic Orientation	1	-0.11	0.15	0.59	ns
Interpersonal Relations	1	-0.25	0.12	4.47	0.034
Occupational Satisfaction	1	-0.16	0.07	5.61	0.018
Sex	1	0.25	0.23	1.17	ns
Age	1	0.02	0.01	3.52	ns
Education	1	-0.10	0.15	0.45	ns

Note: The model tests the global null hypothesis of quitting work.

Likelihood Ratio: $\chi^2 = 60.47$ (10 df)

Association of predicted probabilities and observed responses: Concordant = 72.5; C = 0.729

