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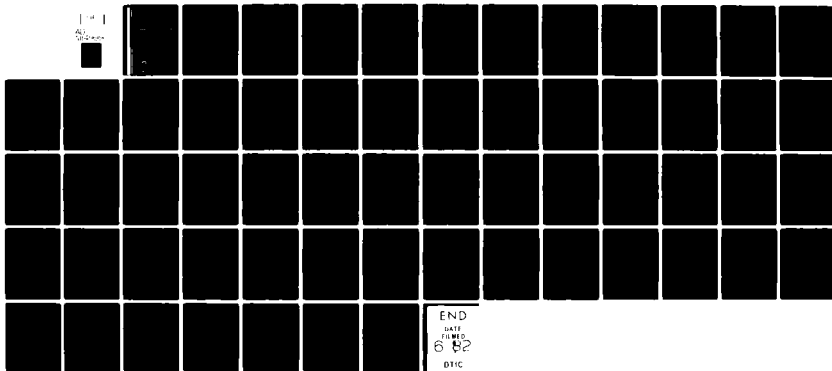
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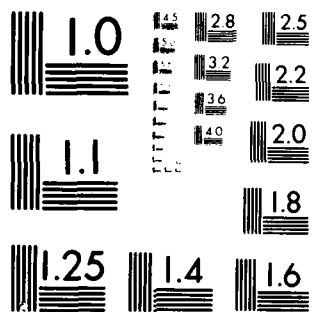
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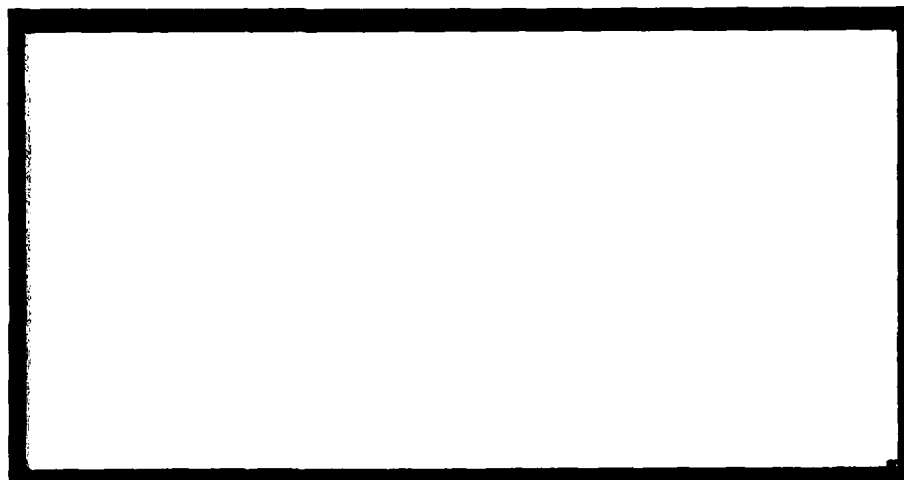
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PERSONNEL TECHNOLOGY

AN EXAMINATION OF HISPANIC AND GENERAL POPULATION
PERCEPTIONS OF ORGANIZATIONAL ENVIRONMENTS
(Harry C. Triandis, Principal Investigator)

AD A114999



DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY
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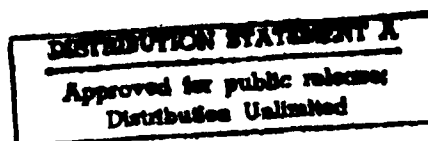
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WORK VALUES OF HISPANIC AND MAINSTREAM NAVY RECRUITS

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20. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number) Navy recruits (81 Hispanic and 79 Mainstream) responded to 132 Likert format items measuring work values. The items were based on Buchholz's five work ethics (Protestant work ethic, leisure ethic, organizational		

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belief system, humanism, and Marxist-related belief system) as modified by Ross and Hulin. Cluster analyses revealed some similarities in the way Hispanics and Mainstream recruits responded, but there were also several culturally-specific clusters. Comparisons across those items with similar meanings (because they clustered similarly) suggested that the Hispanics are somewhat more ideological and collectivistic, emphasizing interpersonal cooperation and help. Both groups had moderately positive attitudes toward work, but the Hispanics tended to be more positive than Mainstream recruits. It is probable that the more positive Hispanic work values reflect two factors: Hispanics attempt to make a good impression to a greater extent than do Mainstream recruits, and the Navy is selecting Hispanics who have values similar to the values of the Mainstream recruits. The latter point has implications for Navy recruiting policies.



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Work Values of Hispanic and Mainstream Naval Recruits

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In the last ten years there has been a growing awareness of Hispanic Americans as a minority group. Preliminary figures released by the United States Census Bureau indicate that approximately 6.4% of the U.S. population identified themselves as Hispanic in 1980. As the number of Hispanics in this country continues to increase their influence will be felt by a greater number and variety of organizations.

One important set of variables influencing motivation and behavior is an individual's value system. A value is a broad class of central beliefs and attitudes, thought to be relatively stable and to exert a small, but pervasive influence across a broad range of specific beliefs and attitudes (Rokeach, 1968).

Hispanic values have received relatively little attention from the scientific community, and there are very few articles on Hispanic work-related values. Yet these values may be important in determining work behaviors. It is the purpose of this paper to investigate the nature of Hispanic work-related values and compare Hispanic values with those of their mainstream counterparts.

A System for Studying Work Values

There are hundreds of values that influence behavior in some way. However, it would be difficult to identify and measure all the work-related values a group espouses without first conducting lengthy exploratory studies. One method that bypasses this lengthy procedure is to use an instrument that includes those values that are related in some theoretical system such as the one developed by Buchholz (1978).

He attempted to measure beliefs and attitudes that were related to work both empirically and logically. These patterns of work values are called work ethics. Buchholz measured five work ethics: (a) the Protestant Work Ethic, (b) the Leisure Ethic, (c) Humanism, (d) Marxist-related beliefs about work, and, (e) the Organizational Belief System (also called the "Organizational Man" Ethic). Each of these belief systems is defined in Appendix A; further definitions may be found in Buchholz (1978).

More recently, alternative scales have been developed to measure the first four of Buchholz's five work ethics. Buchholz saw each work ethic as unidimensional. However, Hulin & Ross (Note 1) have argued that each work ethic is a pattern of beliefs and attitudes, which may not be unidimensional. Unlike Buchholz, who developed five unidimensional (factorially pure) subscales, Ross, Sheppard, and Hulin (Note 2) have developed scales to measure a set of ten work-related values. These beliefs and attitudes are: Beliefs about a Worker-run society, attitude toward labor unions, belief about the importance of work, attitude toward hard work, belief about whether free time should be spent for business-related purposes, preferences for intrinsic or extrinsic rewards, beliefs about whether managers are supportive or exploitive, beliefs about whether most workers are lazy or are hardworking (McGregor's Theory X or Theory Y; 1960), belief as to whether free time should be spent helping others, and finally, whether one favors using compromise or direct confrontation as a dispute resolution technique. These subscales were chosen because the advocates of the different work ethics would take different positions in each of

them; they are summarized in Table 1.

Insert Table 1 about here.

Previous research using work ethics measures indicates that this type of measure is related to a number of other, work-related, outcomes. Endorsement of the (secularized) Protestant Work Ethic (as measured by Blood, 1969) has been shown to moderate the relationship between task characteristics and job satisfaction (Janous, 1974). Merrens and Garrett (1975) claim that persons holding Protestant Ethic values are more productive on psychomotor tasks. Other studies have found the Protestant Ethic related to career choices using the Strong Vocational Interest Blank (Mirels & Garrett, 1971) and to reactions to criticism on a task (Greenberg, 1977). Buchholz (1978) noted that Union Leaders and blacks tended to be relatively high on Marxist-related beliefs about work. No studies have yet linked Organizational Man and Leisure Ethic values to work-related behaviors.

Previous Research on Hispanic Work Values

The Hispanic community has not been extensively tested to see what work value system best describes it. However, some studies have looked at specific work-related beliefs and attitudes, although most of these are anthropological studies of mostly lower class, highly specific

Table 1
Positions of each of Four Work Ethics on Ten Job-Related Dimensions

<u>Dimension</u>	<u>Ethic</u>			
	Protestant Ethic	Marxism	Humanism	Leisure Ethic
Beliefs about a worker-run society	Opposes (Fullerton, 1928)	Favors (Laski, 1967; Mayo, 1960)	Favors (Harman, 1978)	Neutral
Attitude toward labor unions	Neutral or Anti-Union No position is mentioned	Favors (Laski, 1967)	Neutral	Favors (Levitan & Johnson, 1973)
The importance of work	Yes (Berger, 1962)	Yes	Not Necessarily (Harman, 1978)	No (Levitan & Johnson, 1973; Berger, 1962)
Should free time be used for business purposes?	Yes (Berger, 1962)	Neutral	No (Harman, 1978)	No (Levitan & Johnson, 1973; Berger, 1962)
How hard should one work?	Very hard (Fullerton, 1928 Proverbs 22:29)	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral, or not very hard

Table 1 (Continued)

	Protestant Ethic	Marxism	Humanism	Leisure Ethic
Should work emphasize intrinsic rewards?	Both (Fullerton, 1928)	Extrinsic (Laski, 1967; Mayo, 1960)	Intrinsic (Harman, 1978; Foulkes, 1972)	Extrinsic (Leviton & Johnson, 1973)
Workers are:	Evil (Fullerton, 1928)	Good (Mayo, 1960)	Good (Maslow, 1954; Alderfer, 1972; Argyris, 1957)	Neutral
Managers are:	Neutral	Exploitive (Laski, 1967; Mayo, 1960; Bottomore, 1964)	Good (Harman, 1978)	Neutral
Conflict resolution	Neutral	Accepts confrontation and possible violence (Laski, 1967)	Always through cooperation	Neutral
Should one spend one's free time serving others?	Yes (Berger, 1962; Fullerton, 1926)	Yes (Mayo, 1960)	Yes (Harman, 1978)	No (Leviton & Johnson, 1973)

groups of Hispanics.

Protestant Work Ethic . A number of writers have reported that Hispanics do not endorse the fundamental values of the Protestant Work Ethic. Hofstede (1980), for example, reports that work is not viewed as a central aspect of many Latin American worker's lives. Other writers (Madsen, 1972; Szalay, Ruiz, Strohl, Lopez, & Turbyville, 1978) claim that Hispanics do not view achievement and personal advancement as specially important goals.

Consistent with this view is an emphasis on a "being" rather than a "doing" orientation (Saunders, 1954; Meier & Rivera, 1972) where working long and hard is not seen as a virtue. Tuck (1974, p.136) described the Hispanic ideal as the achievement of "a golden mean of effort and enjoyment." Burma (1970) also argues that Mainstream-Americans see "busyness" as a virtue, whereas Hispanics regard it as an affliction.

On the other hand, some writers note that Mexican Americans prefer self-employment to working in an organization (Mead, 1953; Clark, 1959). Among mainstream subjects, such vocational preferences have been shown to be positively correlated with scores on a Protestant Ethic measure (Mirels & Garrett, 1971). Grebler, Moore, and Guzman (1970) also argue that there are no major differences between Mexican Americans and mainstream individuals in their endorsement of the values of the Protestant Ethic. These findings serve as a warning that, although much of the literature indicates that Hispanics do not endorse the Protestant Ethic, the evidence is by no means conclusive.

Leisure Ethic . Wolf (1956) and Seda (1973) suggest that Hispanics

see work as a means to an end rather than an end in itself, and that idleness and leisure are given a high value. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) also note the positive view of idleness and contemplation on the part of Mexican Americans.

Hagley (1968) suggests that such views reflect the influence of Iberian culture on Latin America where the ideal lifestyle was exemplified by the behavior and attitudes of the rural gentry. These persons shunned manual labor, valued formal etiquette, and placed a high regard on kinship and social class. Although many see such views as "old fashioned," Hagley believes this ideal still has a strong influence over the behavior of members of all classes in Latin American society.

A present- rather than a future-orientation is also assigned to Hispanics (Burns, 1970; Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961). Madsen (1973) and Murillo (1976) argue that Mexican Americans believe that each moment should be lived to its fullest. This emphasis on enjoying each day is accompanied by a certain lack of planning for the future, and a relatively stronger desire for immediate gratification. These preferences and behaviors are certainly consistent with the Leisure Ethic.

Humanism. There are little direct data on work values associated with Humanism. However, there are other data from which one may draw inferences about these values. Humanism embraces the idea that the job should be a source of new experiences and a place to learn new skills (Hartman, 1978; see also Alderfer, 1972). As previously noted, some of the literature claims that Hispanics tend to see the job as simply a

place to earn one's pay. If this is true, then Hispanics are unlikely to see work as a place for important new experiences.

Other evidence comes from research on individual's attitudes toward education. It seems likely that a Humanistic view of work, with the emphasis on self-development and self-actualization, should be related to a positive view of education. Early studies with unrepresentative samples (e.g. Bullock, 1964) report that many male Hispanics see education as "unmasculine" and view it with suspicion. Similar results were reported by Dworkin (1965), who found that 78% of his sample of native-born Mexican Americans saw themselves as lazy, indifferent, and unambitious. Such a self-image is more consistent with the Leisure Ethic than with Humanism.

The question of whether Hispanics see managers as supportive (as would a Humanist) or exploitive (as would a Marxist) is addressed by Padilla (1964) in her early anthropological studies. She reports that Puerto Ricans in New York see most companies as uninterested in them and that they prefer Spanish-speaking managers who have a paternalistic relationship with their workers. This preference for a Spanish-speaking manager may be justified. Whitehead and King (1973) found that mainstream managers held different expectations for mainstream and Hispanic employees. From these data one may infer that Hispanics do not see most mainstream managers as supportive. Perhaps this reflects the stereotypes that mainstream managers hold of Hispanics.

To summarize, the evidence does not indicate that Hispanics hold many of the beliefs and attitudes important to the philosophy of

Humanism. The evidence against the humanism position however, is weak and relatively indirect. The present study provides an opportunity to discover which, if any, of the tenets of humanism Hispanics endorse.

Marxist-related Beliefs . No articles were uncovered that proposed that Hispanics endorse Marxist-related beliefs about work any more or less than do mainstream. Because work does not appear to be of central value to employees, there seems to be little drive on the part of Hispanics to promote greater worker participation or to establish a worker-run society. Similarly, there is little mention of labor unions in the literature. Padilla (1964) states that Puerto Ricans in New York see most labor unions in the United States as uninterested in serving Hispanic interests.

One explanation is that because Hispanics live in conditions of poverty, they may be more interested in finding and keeping a job than in improving their share of the economic benefits from the job (Poston & Alvarez, 1973). However, the success of the United Farm Workers union argues for Hispanics' interest in organized labor where they do not feel they are discriminated against and where their interests are taken into consideration.

Organizational Belief System. From early childhood, the Hispanic is taught to be group oriented and cooperative (Padilla, 1964; Wells, 1969). While the center of this group loyalty is the family, Mintz (1956) presents evidence that the collectivist orientation is found within work organizations as well. Such a group orientation could reflect an Organizational Belief system.

Are Hispanic Values Changing?

Several writers have raised a number of issues regarding the generality of the above conclusions about Hispanic work values. The four issues most often raised are: (a) any statement of mean differences between two groups ignores the variability within each group; (b) part of the difference between Hispanic and mainstream values may be due to the poverty in which many Hispanics live (Baca, 1979; Burma, 1970; Ramos, 1979); (c) a large part of the difference may be attributable to the agrarian environments in which many Hispanics were raised (Achor, 1978); and (d) these traditional values may be changing as Hispanics become acculturated, urbanized, and their standard of living improves within American society. One concern is the fact that many of the generalizations found in the literature are based on small samples of mostly rural, lower-class groups of Hispanics. These considerations limit the generalizability of the results found in most studies on Hispanics. For a fuller discussion of each of these four issues the reader is referred to Lisansky (note 3).

Hypotheses

Based on the literature, 16 hypotheses were developed. These fall into three distinct groups.

First, there is no guarantee that the Hispanic and mainstream samples will structure the world of work in the same way. For example, some cultures have different classifications for colors (see Triandis, 1964) which influence information coding and retrieval (Brown, 1953; Brown & Lenneberg, 1954). It is entirely possible then that Hispanic and mainstream naval recruits will have different categories of work

values. This possibility is enhanced because the two work values questionnaires used in this study (Buchholz, 1978; Ross, Sheppard, & Hulin, Note 2) were developed using heterogeneous samples of mainstream recruits, most of whom worked in the Eastern United States. It is entirely possible that both the Hispanic and the mainstream naval recruits will perceive work differently, not only from each other, but from the samples upon which the different scales were devised.

The hypotheses based on the literature are as follows:

Hypothesis 1 . Hispanic recruits will be less likely to hold consistent opinions regarding a worker-run society and worker participation than will mainstream recruits.

Hypothesis 2 . Hispanic recruits will hold less consistent opinions about labor unions than will mainstream recruits.

Hypothesis 3 . Mainstream recruits will hold more consistent beliefs about work being a central aspect of life than will Hispanic recruits.

Hypothesis 4a . Mainstream recruits will have a cluster of beliefs based on the concept of hard work; Hispanic recruits will not.

Hypothesis 4b . Hispanic recruits will have a cluster of beliefs pertaining to the concept of leisure; mainstream recruits will not.

Some writers suggest that work and leisure are clearly differentiated among mainstream individuals but not among Hispanic (Head, 1953). From this, one can generate an alternative hypothesis regarding work and leisure:

Hypothesis 4c . Mainstream recruits will see leisure and hard work as two different concepts; Hispanic recruits will tend to merge the two

concepts.

The Navy is a "Total institution;" it closely regulates free time and contact with persons outside the organization (such as family visits). Often, "liberty" is uncertain for the individual, and certain locations and activities during free hours are prohibited. Persons joining the Navy must accept these restrictions on one's free time. Further, persons usually are aware of this situation when they enlist. Therefore, hypothesis 5 is as follows:

Hypothesis 5. Members of both ethnic groups are likely to hold consistent opinions about whether the organization's business should take priority during what would otherwise be one's free time.

Hypotheses 6. Results similar to Hypothesis 5 will be obtained for the idea that free time should be spent helping others (e.g. volunteer or charitable work).

Even if Hispanic recruits and mainstream recruits structure the world of work differently, one cannot assume that they differ in their attitudes toward work concepts. To return to the analogy of color, just because a culture does not have a color name for a particular color does not mean that those individuals enjoy that color less than people who do have the name. One can, therefore, propose several hypotheses based on attitudes toward the belief statements:

Hypothesis 7. Both Hispanic recruits and mainstream recruits will oppose a worker-run society. This can be proposed because the U.S. Armed forces are commonly seen as opposing communism (of which a worker-run society is a central principle), and because new recruits are anxious to adopt the values of their organization (see O'Reilly ..

Caldwell, 1981).

Hypothesis 8. Mainstream recruits will be pro-union relative to Hispanic recruits.

Hypothesis 9. Mainstream recruits will be more positive toward the idea that work should be a central and an important aspect of one's life than will Hispanic recruits.

Hypothesis 10. Mainstream recruits will favor hard work more than will Hispanic recruits. Conversely, Hispanic recruits will favor leisure more.

Hypothesis 11. Both mainstream recruits and Hispanic recruits will probably agree that free time should be spent for business-related purposes.

Hypothesis 12. Both mainstream recruits and Hispanic recruits will probably agree that one should spend one's free time helping others (as with community charities).

Hypothesis 13. Mainstream recruits are more likely to see managers as concerned and supportive. Hispanic recruits are more likely to see managers as persons seeking to exploit them, unconcerned with their welfare.

Hypothesis 14 . Both Hispanic recruits and mainstream recruits will prefer compromise as a dispute resolution technique rather than ideologism and confrontation. This is posited because it has been shown that Hispanic recruits tend to be cooperative, and mainstream recruits tend to be pragmatic rather than ideological (see Lisansky, Note 3).

It should be noted that for many of the comparisons, the individual's identification with specific subgroups within the Hispanic

sample (Puerto Rican, Mexican, and "Spanish") will be used. Simply reporting Hispanic and mainstream recruits differences may obscure potentially important discoveries. No specific hypotheses will be developed for these comparisons.

Hypothesis 15. In general, mainstream recruits will tend to give responses suggestive of the Protestant Work Ethic, with a mixture of Humanistic Beliefs about work. This hypothesis is based on the responses of the sample in Hulin and Ross (Note 1). Hispanic recruits will tend to give responses consistent with the Leisure Ethic. This general hypothesis will be supported if the two cultural groups cluster ideas and have mean scores consistent with the statements in Table 1.

Finally, there may be other variables that account for most of the variance within each sample on their work values. No specific hypotheses will be offered. Rather the following, general hypothesis will be tested:

Hypothesis 16. Within each sample, acculturation, biculturation, modernity, and/or socioeconomic status will account for a large and significant portion of the variance of the scores on the work values items.

Method

Subjects

Mainstream (N=79) and Hispanic (N=81) naval recruits served as subjects. All were male. There were three blacks, 76 whites; 30 Mexican Americans, one Cuban, 25 Puerto Ricans, 17 Spanish Americans, and eight 'unclassified' Hispanics.

Questionnaires

Subjects completed the Buchholz (1978) Work Ethics scale and an early version of the Work Values Scale (Ross, Sheppard, & Hulin, Note 2). The latter is identical to the 54 item scale presented in Hulin & Ross (Note 1). Additional items were written for each of the ten work dimensions; a total of 26 items were added. The effect of including these items is that more information is obtained, although the homogeneity of the subscales is reduced. This seemed acceptable, given the exploratory nature of the study.

Two acculturation scales were constructed from responses to personal information items (Triandis, Hui, Lisansky, & Harin; Note 4). These were designed to see how well Hispanic subjects had adopted mainstream culture. One scale contained items pertaining to family history, the other dealt with preferences for mainstream coworkers and mainstream schools. Furthermore, three biculturation indices, measured whether the Hispanics had learned to use the norms of both cultures. These indices pertain to preferences about the media, interactions, and social events (such as a birthday party). A general biculturation measure was also obtained from the mainstream recruits. The items were different because many of the Hispanic items would be irrelevant to

most mainstream recruits.

Socioeconomic Status was measured by questions about family income, mother's occupation, father's occupation, and the subject's perception of having been poor or rich when growing up.

A modernity scale developed by Inkeles and Smith (1974) was administered to assess the degree to which subjects were "traditional" or "modern."

Procedure

Questionnaires were administered by naval personnel to the recruits at three centers: San Diego, California; Great Lakes, Illinois; and Orlando, Florida. These questionnaires were administered as part of a larger study of perceptions of the social and work environment. The order of presentation of the different measures was randomized to control for fatigue effects. When a Spanish surname recruit was to be classified, the classification officer noted whether the recruit described himself as "Hispanic." If so, he was asked to complete several questionnaires. Mainstream subjects were randomly selected at the same sessions.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Given that both the Hispanic and mainstream samples are somewhat different from the heterogeneous mainstream samples used in previous studies (Buchholz, 1978; Ross, Sheppard, & Hulin, Note 2) one cannot assume that the scales used in this study will necessarily have satisfactory psychometric properties. This is because both if the mainstream and Hispanic subjects have different views of work than the original subjects, then homogeneous subscales may appear heterogeneous to these subjects. Items written for two different subscales may be seen as belonging together by one or both of the samples. For these reasons, the first step was to compute the alpha coefficient as a measure of internal consistency for the different scales. With a heterogeneous sample of mainstream subjects from the Eastern United States, Ross, Sheppard, and Hulin (Note 2) obtained alphas ranging from .42 to .78 (median = .67) for the 54-item version of the Work Values scales. In the present study, alpha coefficients on the Work Values Scales ranged from .00 to .73 (median = .39) for the mainstream respondents, and from .00 to .74 (median = .45) for the Hispanics. Note that the 54-item version was used for computing the internal consistency coefficients so that comparisons could be made with the previous study. For the Buchholz scales, the range was from .55 to .77 for the mainstream subjects (median alpha = .60), while for Hispanics the internal consistency estimates ranged from .30 to .77 (median alpha = .56).

From these initial results it is apparent that what were

constructed to be fairly homogeneous scales were not perceived as such by either the mainstream or Hispanic subjects in the present study. If they had perceived the subscales as homogeneous, one could have simply compared their means. However, because the respondents are constructing the world of work in ways not corresponding to the subscales, different analyses are needed.

Cluster Analysis: Clusters common to mainstream and Hispanics

The original subscales do not correspond to the way the subjects grouped items. How do the recruits group beliefs? A cluster analysis was performed to answer this question. This was a single-link cluster analysis using BRUP-77 (Dixon & Brown, 1977). Cluster analyses were performed for the Hispanics and mainstream data separately. The Buchholz Work Ethic Scales and the Work Values Scales were combined for these analyses.

Results indicate that although none of the clusters contains exactly the same items, many clusters contain some of the same items and convey essentially the same concepts. One might argue that one has "emic" (culture specific) measures for "etic" (universal) concepts (see Brislin, 1980), with a few etic items included. In short, several common themes appeared in both samples' clusters. The themes and corresponding sample items are presented in Table 2.

Insert Table 2 about here.

One cluster common to both groups contained items pertaining to self-actualization through work. There are 28 items in the mainstream

Table 2

Common themes found in Hispanic and Mainstream samples

Theme	Sample item	Mean agreement on item	
		1 = Strongly agree 5 = Strongly disagree <u>Anglos</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
Self-actualization through work	Work should enable one to learn new things.	2.1	2.0
Worker Participation	The working classes should have more to say in society.	2.5	2.5
Worker-run Organizations (Industrial Democracy)	Workers could run an organization better than could management.	3.2	3.3
Pro-work/ Pro-hard work	One should do just enough to "get by" at work.	4.0	3.8
Collectivism (Should free time be spent helping others?)	Free time should be spent helping others.	2.7	2.6
Familism	The health and well-being of one's family and friends should be more important than one's job.	2.3	2.1

sample; 18 in the Hispanic sample. Fourteen are common to both clusters. The means are 2.15 for mainstream, and 2.08 for Hispanics on these fourteen items (the scale is: 1=strongly agree, 2=agree, 3=undecided, 4=disagree, 5=strongly disagree). These means are not significantly different. This finding disagrees with Hypothesis 3 (mainstream will hold more consistent beliefs that work is a central aspect of life). Contrary to Hypothesis 9 (mainstream will have a more positive attitude toward the 'centrality of work' concept), the data support the idea that work is a central concept to both groups.

A second common theme is found in small clusters pertaining to worker participation. These clusters indicate that both samples consider worker participation to be important, i.e., both groups favor participation (mainstream cluster mean = 2.5; Hispanic cluster mean = 2.7). The mean on the one common item was 2.5 for both groups. These two clusters fail to support Hypothesis 1 (Hispanics will hold less consistent opinions about a worker-run society than will mainstream). The data provide mixed support for Hypothesis 7 (Both groups will oppose a worker-run society). Neither group appears to be strongly opposed to a worker-run society.

A pro-work/pro-hard work cluster was common to both groups. The Hispanic cluster mean was 2.6 while the mainstream mean was 2.2. The average of the means on the common items were: Hispanic, 2.4; mainstream, 2.2. None of these differences were significant. These results fail to support Hypothesis 4a (mainstream will have a cluster of beliefs based on the concept of hard work; Hispanics will not). Both groups see hard work as important. Hypothesis 10 is not supported

by these data; both groups moderately favor hard work.

A general collectivism cluster also emerged in both samples. This as a major notion the idea that one should help others during one's free time. The cluster mean for mainstream respondents was 2.8 (2.7 for two common items); for Hispanics the cluster mean was 2.5 (2.6 for two common items). Hypothesis 6 (both samples will have a similar 'free time' cluster) and Hypothesis 12 (that the means on the 'free time' scale would be similar) were both supported.

A cluster that is common to both ethnic groups contains items suggesting that free time is to be used to help the employer. A few items pertained to the more general idea of helping people during one's free time. The mainstream cluster mean was 3.2 (3.3 for the two items common with the Hispanic cluster also). The Hispanic cluster mean was 2.9 (3.1 for the two common items). These differences are not significant. Hypothesis 5 (Both groups will hold a consistent opinion about spending free time for business purposes) was supported. Hypothesis 11 (Both groups will agree that one should spend one's free time performing business-related activities) was not supported.

A small cluster emerged in each sample reflecting familism. Written for the "Importance of Work" subscale of the Work Values Scale, the items contrast the importance of one's job with the importance of the family. Both groups felt that the job was not more important than the family. The means were: mainstream total cluster = 3.6, (3.7 for the one item common with the Hispanic cluster); Hispanics total cluster = 4.0; (3.9 for the one common item). The difference in means on the one common item was not significant. Again, this argues against support

for Hypothesis 3 (mainstream alone will hold consistent beliefs about the centrality of work) and Hypothesis 9 (mainstream recruits will favor the 'centrality of work' concept more than Hispanic recruits).

Finally, both groups contain completely emic clusters concerned with general cynicism at work. This was not one of the topics discussed in the literature, and therefore, did not appear in the list of hypotheses. No mean comparisons were made using common items as there were none.

Cluster Analysis: Clusters Unique to Mainstream Respondents

The clusters that were unique to mainstream subjects are listed in Table 3. These clusters provide further evidence bearing upon Hypotheses 1 through 6 (regarding the structuring of beliefs about work).

First, the mainstream subjects have a cluster of items concerning labor unions. Hispanics do not. This suggests support for hypothesis 2.

Second, the mainstream recruits have a cluster of beliefs about management. Hispanics do not. This was not anticipated.

Third, mainstream subjects have three clusters based on the theme of hard work. One cluster contains items about laziness and poor work. A second contains items that discuss how hard work leads to desirable outcomes. A third suggests that hard work has no undesirable outcomes. None of these three clusters has a parallel in the Hispanic sample. These data (in contradiction to the common cluster discussed earlier, entitled "Pro-work/pro-hard work") provide support for Hypothesis 3 (mainstream will hold consistent opinions about the 'centrality of

work' concept) and Hypothesis 4a (Mainstream alone will have a cluster of beliefs based on the concept of hard work; Hispanics will not).

However, mainstream subjects also have a cluster of beliefs about Leisure. Hispanics, by contrast, do not. This provides support for the idea that mainstream recruits differentiate work and leisure better than do Hispanics. The findings are consistent with Hypothesis 4c (Mainstream will see leisure and hard work as two different concepts; Hispanics will tend to merge these two concepts). Findings are not consistent with Hypothesis 4b (Hispanics will have a cluster pertaining to leisure; mainstream will not).

Mainstream data yielded two clusters of items on the general topic of societal change. One concerned the struggle between the classes; the second pertained to the notion of a worker-run society. While the mainstream respondents have two clusters on this topic, Hispanics only have one. However, Hispanic items are found in both Mainstream clusters. These results do not support Hypothesis 1.

Insert Table 3 about here.

Cluster Analysis: Clusters Unique to Hispanics

Just as there are clusters of variables unique to Mainstream, there are others that emerged only from the Hispanic data. These are listed in Table 4.

Insert Table 4 about here.

Table 3

Mainstream themes not found in Hispanic sample

Theme	Sample item	Mean agreement on item 1 = Strongly agree 2 = Strongly disagree
Union Attitude	Labor unions exist simply to collect annual dues; they seldom live up to their promises.	3.4
Managers are supportive	Most managers make a serious attempt to understand the needs of workers.	2.6
Hard Work leads to positive outcomes.	Hard work is the key to success in life.	2.3
There is nothing negative associated with hard work	Hard work never hurt anybody.	2.3
Rejection of laziness	To do a poor job on one's work is to be a poor person.	2.6
Attitude toward leisure	More leisure is good for people.	2.5
Class struggle	The work of the laboring classes is exploited by the rich for their own benefit.	2.9
Cynicism about work	Few managers are seriously concerned about employee welfare.	3.2

Table 4

Hispanic themes not found in Mainstream sample

Theme	Sample item	Mean agreement on item
		1 = Strongly agree 2 = Strongly disagree
Work as social activity	One's contribution to the group is the most important thing about his work.	2.2
Dispute resolution	Principles are more important than short term dispute settlements.	2.4
Identification with work	You are what you do; to do nothing is to be nothing.	2.1
Organizational communication	Workers generally carry out instructions promptly and efficiently.	2.7
Self-reliance	Only those who depend on themselves get ahead in life.	2.5
Tempered expectations from work.	It is wrong to assume that every job should offer a sense of achievement.	3.3
Cynicism	Dull jobs are a fact of life.	2.4

One cluster grouped beliefs around the idea of "work as a social activity." It included items emphasizing the group and social aspects of work.

Another cluster that emerged focused on dispute resolution methods. This does not fit any of the hypotheses; however, it was anticipated that both groups would have a dispute resolution cluster.

Hispanics have a cluster directly concerned with the importance of work. This has been labelled "Identification with Work," and it does not support Hypothesis 3.

Hispanics also have a cluster of items pertaining to communication between managers and employees. This is unique to this group.

A cluster of beliefs about persons being self-reliant emerged from the Hispanic subjects. Independence, while important to the Protestant Work Ethic, was not one of the dimensions relevant to the specific hypotheses. Therefore, no hypothesis is supported or refuted by this result.

Finally, the Hispanics had a cluster of two items that suggested that persons should temper their expectations as to what jobs would offer intrinsic rewards. This cluster may have emerged due to the similarity of the wording of the two items. Or it may have emerged because intrinsic rewards are seen as important by Hispanics. These data do not support Hypothesis 3.

Comparisons of Different Ethnic Groups.

Comparisons were made using Analysis of Variance to see if the different ethnic groups (mainstream, Mexican American, Puerto Rican, and "Spanish Americans") differed in their means on the identical items

of the common clusters. Means were also compared on the items that constituted the unique clusters for each group (mainstream or hispanic). The eight unclassified Hispanics and the one Cuban subject were not included in this analysis. The three black subjects were combined with the 76 white subjects to form a mainstream sample with 79 members.

No significant differences were found using analysis of variance with planned comparisons. Therefore, we concluded that there are no differences among the various groups on the work beliefs clusters, either common or unique.

In making the above mentioned comparisons it was determined that the Hispanics had an acquiescence response set that was stronger than the response set of the mainstream respondents. We examined 39 randomly chosen, positively worded items and found that the Hispanics agreed with 23 of them to a greater extent than the mainstream respondents. The mainstream subjects were more positive than Hispanics on only four items, and there were no differences on the remaining 12 items. Such a distribution is not likely to have occurred by chance ($\chi^2(2) = 14, p < .01$). To eliminate this response set we converted the data to z-scores. This has the effect of making the overall mean of the Hispanics the same as the overall mean of the mainstream respondents, and both equal to zero.

The responses of the mainstream respondents were then compared with responses of the Hispanics who are highly acculturated and those who are less acculturated. Analyses of Variance were employed for these comparisons. Particular attention was paid to those results where the

Mainstream and the low acculturation Hispanics were at opposite poles and the highly acculturated Hispanics were in the middle.

These analyses revealed some interesting differences:

1. The less acculturated Hispanics agreed more than the highly acculturated Hispanics (who agreed significantly more than the mainstream respondents) with the statement "If you want to accomplish something you have to fight for it." Further, the Hispanics agreed more than the mainstream subject on 16 additional items that can be characterized as "pro-work." For example, the mainstream respondents agreed more than the Hispanics with "One should do just enough to 'get by' on the job." The opposite trend occurred with only three items. Such a distribution is unlikely to have occurred by chance ($p < .01$ using a binomial test).
2. The less acculturated Hispanics agreed significantly more than the mainstream respondents with "I believe that people should devote their free time to helping others," and "People should spend their free time working on community projects." Such "collectivist" items were more likely to be favored by the Hispanics than the mainstream subject on 6 out of 7 cases. This distribution is unlikely to have occurred by chance ($p < .06$ using a binomial test).
3. The mainstream recruits agreed more than the highly acculturated Hispanics who, in turn, agreed significantly more than the less acculturated Hispanics with the statement "Parties should never use violence in resolving a problem." On two additional items there was a tendency for mainstream subjects to agree with compromise in settling disputes.

4. The less acculturated Hispanics agreed more than the highly acculturated Hispanics with the statement "Principles are more important than short-term dispute settlements." Similarly, highly acculturated Hispanics were more in agreement with this item than the mainstream respondents.

5. There appeared to be a trend for the Hispanic recruit to have a more positive view of workers than his mainstream counterpart. Hispanics disagreed relative to the mainstream with "A responsible worker is a rarity." This was true on four out of four items that reflected such attitudes.

Influence of Other Variables on Work Values

Subjects answered questions about socioeconomic status (SES), Acculturation, modernity, and biculturation, in addition to completing work values questionnaires. How did Hispanic and mainstream subjects differ on these variables? The sample were not compared on Acculturation and Biculturation scales since these variables have a different meaning for the two groups. Furthermore, there were not significant difference on the modernity scale. The modernity scores for both groups were fairly normally distributed. The mainstream mean was 46.7 (Standard Deviation = 9.3); the Hispanic mean was 46.9 (Standard Deviation = 10.4), where scores could range from zero to 95.

There was a significant difference between the groups on socioeconomic status. The mean for the mainstream recruits was higher than for Hispanics, ($t = 3.1$; $p < .01$, two-tailed). Both mainstream and Hispanics had middle range scores on the SES scale where the maximum possible score was 24, and the minimum possible score was 2.

He explored the possibility that the different variables, such as SES, may account for a significant proportion of the variance on the work values questionnaires. To test this idea, hierarchical multiple regression analyses were performed on each sample. The regressions were performed on (a) the clusters unique to both Hispanics and mainstream, and (b) the items within the common clusters that were shared by Hispanics and mainstream. Most of the regressions for the samples did not account for more than ten percent of the variance in the work values data. Of the Hispanic data, the largest change in the variance accounted for occurred with the variable, "The working classes should have more to say in running society." Affective Biculturation accounted for approximately ten percent of the variance (simple $r = .31$). This was increased to approximately 17% when SES was added to the regression equation (simple $r = -.25$).

For the mainstream respondents, the items dealing with the idea that managers are supportive and the Modernity scale were negatively correlated ($r = -.30$). When SES was added into the Multiple Regression equation, the percentage of the variance explained rose from nine to fifteen percent (simple $r = .21$).

None of the other Multiple Regression solutions accounted for more than 25% of the variance. These results indicate that, for the most part, differences in acculturation, biculturation, modernity or socioeconomic status do not account for much of the variance in the work values data.

For a summary of the evidence supporting each of the 16 Hypotheses see Table 5.

Table 5

Summary of evidence for hypotheses

Hypothesis	Does most of evidence support hypothesis?
Hispanics will be less likely to hold consistent opinions regarding a worker-run society and worker participation than will Mainstream subjects.	No
Hispanics will hold less consistent opinions about labor unions than will Mainstream subjects	Yes
Mainstream subjects will hold more consistent beliefs about work being a central aspect of life.	Mixed
Mainstream subjects will have a cluster of beliefs about hard work; Hispanics will not.	Mixed
Hispanics will have a cluster of beliefs pertaining to leisure.	No
Mainstream subjects will see leisure and hard work as two different concepts; Hispanics will tend to merge these.	Yes
Both samples will hold consistent opinions about the idea that free time should be spent for business purposes.	Yes
Both groups will hold consistent ideas about using free time to help others.	Yes
Both groups will oppose a worker-run society.	Mixed
Mainstream subjects will be more pro-union compared to Hispanics.	No
Mainstream subjects will be more positive to the idea that work should be a central aspect of one's life.	No
Mainstream subjects will favor hard work; Hispanics will favor leisure.	No
Both groups will agree that free time should be spent for business-related purposes.	No
Both groups will favor spending free time helping others.	Yes

Table 5 (Continued)

Summary of evidence for hypotheses

Hypothesis	Does most of evidence support hypothesis?
Mainstream subjects are more likely to see managers as supportive; Hispanics are more likely to see managers as exploitive.	No
Both Hispanics and Mainstream subjects will prefer compromise as a dispute resolution technique.	No
Mainstream subjects will give responses consistent with the Protestant Work Ethic belief system; Hispanics will give responses consistent with the Leisure Ethic.	No
Within each sample, acculturation, biculturation, modernity, and/or socioeconomic status will account for a significant and large portion of the variance of the work values items.	No

Discussion

These results indicate that mainstream individuals and Hispanics who join the U.S. Navy are generally similar in their work values and modernity, although mainstream recruits tend to be somewhat higher on socioeconomic status. There is little evidence that either Hispanics or mainstream subjects who differ on their level of biculturation and acculturation have different work values.

Although there appear to be few differences in work attitudes, the differences in how the world of work was divided by each group may suggest interesting differences that should be pursued in future work. Hispanics tended to mention ideological positions when discussing disputes, whereas for mainstream subjects, disputes were not even a separate cluster. The Hispanic clusters pertaining to organizational communication and "work as a social activity" suggest that Hispanics attribute more social functions to work than mainstream subjects. The latter tend to see more conflicts in work as evidenced by clusters about labor unions, management, class struggle, and the clusters contrasting leisure and hard work. These results are important. Leaders who know how the different groups perceive work (including the leader) can be better prepared to alleviate grievances and provide appropriate reinforcements contingent upon satisfactory performance. One may find, for example, that consideration (see Fleishman & Harris, 1962) is a more effective leadership style with Hispanics given that they seem to see communication and the social aspects of work as important.

Comparisons of the responses of the two groups, after controlling

for their tendency to acquiesce, shows that the Hispanics give responses that reflect a more positive view of work and workers, of cooperation and interpersonal help, and high levels of ideologism. The mainstream suggest greater willingness to compromise in settling conflicts. Such findings could have two meanings; the Hispanics may be trying to present themselves in the best light or the kinds of Hispanics the Navy recruits do have a more positive view of work than the mainstream.

Actually, these meanings are not in conflict. It may well be that the Hispanics in the Navy are indeed different from those rural, lower-class Hispanics studied in the early anthropological research. Those Hispanics join the Navy appear to be particularly eager to make a good impression. Furthermore, the greater collectivism and ideologism identified in our analysis is consistent with previous studies in the literature. Given the consistency of these findings with previous research we are inclined to have some confidence in our results.

Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that these results are tentative; due to the small number of subjects in each ethnic group, conclusions can only be drawn with extreme caution. Further research with larger sample sizes is needed to establish confidence in the weights obtained in the multiple Regression equation, and in the cluster analysis results. If a large enough sample is obtained, then alternative analyses, such as principle components factor analysis can be performed on the data. These might give more useful information concerning similarities and Hispanic and mainstream differences.

In conclusion, it appears that both Hispanics and mainstream

workers have moderately positive attitudes toward work--particularly as a setting for achieving self-actualization. Although the Hispanics appear to have slightly more positive work attitudes than the mainstream, this could be a reflection of the actual characteristics of this group of Hispanics and/or their attempt to present themselves in a positive light.

Because only one out of five Hispanics who request information about the Navy actually joins, it seems that the Navy selects those Hispanics who are similar to the mainstream recruits, or, perhaps only those Hispanics who are similar to the mainstream individuals are interested in joining the Navy. This conclusion is consistent with the results of Triandis, Ottati and Marin (Note 5); Triandis, Hui, Lisansky, and Marin (Note 4); and Hui, Triandis, and Chang (Note 6) where few differences have been found between Hispanic and mainstream Naval recruits.

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Footnotes

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Appendix A: Definitions of five work ethics

Protestant Work Ethic

Humanism

Marxism

Leisure Ethic

Organizational Belief System
("Organizational Man" Ethic)

Protestant Work Ethic

Honest work is virtuous. It keeps one from succumbing to the temptations awaiting the idle. One should therefore cheerfully accept whatever type of honest work one might obtain. One should also seek to excel at one's profession. So the individual should take advantage of opportunities to "become a success" through hard work and individual initiative.

A worker is not to demonstrate poor stewardship with his or her earnings. One is not to spend one's pay foolishly or extravagantly. Pay should be reinvested, saved, or spent for charitable purposes. Similar uses are to be made with one's free time.

Humanism

Work has the potential for being one of the central forms of fulfillment for many people. Ideally, work should be intrinsically interesting. It should offer a challenge to the worker. Unfortunately many jobs do not offer such intrinsic rewards. The jobs need to be redesigned so workers can enjoy some power and responsibility and can feel they have control over their own work.

This suggestion indicates, of course that both managers and employees are basically good. It also implies that both groups share the common desire for jobs to be more than simply the production of goods. Ideally, the workplace should be a place where individuals are encouraged to grow and mature as members of society. The individual is encouraged to look to the welfare of others both on and off the job.

Marxism

According to Marx, the central source of man's fulfillment can be work. Ideally, work should combine both physical labor and intellectual stimulation.

Workers should have the real power in the workplace. They should select their own supervisors, and the working class should collectively own the factories. This suggests a worker-run society.

Such a system of work differs dramatically from the system present in many companies in the Western world. A Marxist is likely to believe that factory owners and the ruling class are constantly seeking to exploit employees' talents. Therefore, work will tend to produce alienation and discontentment. Eventually, laborers will realize that by banding together, they can overthrow the private ownership economic system. Only then can a true classless society be created. One byproduct of the new system will be fulfilling and satisfying employment.

Leisure Ethic

People have an innate tendency to develop their abilities. The workplace, however, is not the place for such fulfillment, for most people. To the advocate of the Leisure Ethic, work is something people must do in order to meet their basic needs. It is not the major source of fulfillment, nor can it ever be despite job rotation or redesign. This is because work is activity performed by someone for the benefit of others. One finds one's own fulfillment away from the workplace.

Society must learn that it is to its own benefit to have fulfilled employees. Companies should support programs fostering worker growth. But individual development does not occur at the plant or office. So programs such as expanded blocks of free time or better pay should be emphasized. This gives the individual the opportunity for self-directed activity--activity that may be used to encourage self-development.

Organizational Belief System ("Organizational Man" Ethic)

Work has meaning only as it affects the group or work organization. Work can contribute to one's status and position in the organizational hierarchy.

Work is a means valued for how it serves group interests and contributes to one's success in the firm. This success does not depend on individual initiative as much as one's ability to adapt and internalize the group norms. In other words, it depends on the ability to get along and "play the game" rather than on individual productivity.

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