Work Motivation and Change in Eastern Europe

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Work Motivation and Change in Eastern Europe
WTM-series
A small and busy place,  
firm point in turbulent events,  
analysis and work,  
the fight to understand,  
but, step by step, producing sense.

From the window I see  
the people of the city on their way,  
The glass distorts and twists their figures;  
strange things happen to them as they pass:  
they swell and shrink,  
loose their heads,  
lower their brains,  
adapting their souls...?

Is this reality?

Proud people, perhaps,  
just changing appearance through systems unseen,  
moulded by glass...

Each driver navigates the potholes.  
'Why should one plug the holes of society?  
If I stoop down, adding my effort to the cause...?  
Who knows... you make me stumble,

I fall,  
my head fills the pit,  
fitting it perfectly.

You laugh and - object of my fear -  
you run your bloody car over it,  
taking advantage.'

Distrust!

The real: unreal,  
the unreal: true,  
perception corrupted.  
Reality is flexible,  
and, for survival, so are we.
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1. TOWARDS NEW INSIGHTS IN WORK MOTIVATION?

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1.1. Starting point?

The symposium ‘Work Motivation and Change in Eastern Europe’ might be seen as the formal starting point of an interesting discussion on the issues of work motivation and change. This symposium was organised by the Work and Organisation Psychology Unit of Delft University of Technology on the 12th of June 1998 in Delft. The reason to organise this event was that dr. Laurens A. Ten Horn was leaving the unit as senior lecturer and scientist.

The theme of the symposium was work motivation and change in Eastern Europe. Three speakers, prof. dr. Irina L. Zinovieva (Sofia University, Bulgaria), prof. dr. Robert A. Roe (Tilburg University, The Netherlands) and dr. Laurens A. Ten Horn (Delft University of Technology, The Netherlands) were invited to present the results and the experiences gained during their involvement in the project ‘Work Motivation and Quality: Social Prerequisites for Socio-Economic Change (WMQ)’. This three years project was funded by the European Commission and was held in Bulgaria, Hungary and The Netherlands.

The project was based on the idea that society can only change if people are changing their individual behaviours, and that people do not just change their behaviour according to the blueprints of politicians, economists and lawyers (see Roe in chapter 3). It was postulated that the behaviour of people at work follows its own laws of motivation and performance, and that change can only occur and be effective if people’s needs, feelings, and habits are taken into account.
The research objectives were rather straightforward and this also holds for the research approach. However, the results which came out of the project were not that straightforward. During the symposium it became clear that intensive discussions and broader theoretical notions are necessary to interpret the data properly.

The core research tool was the Extended Delft Measurement Kit (EDMK), a set of standardised questionnaires regarding Quality of Work and Organisation.

1.2. EDMK

It all started with a questionnaire for higher personnel at Philips in Eindhoven during the mid sixties. Due to the increase of personnel at higher positions in the Philips organisation the need was felt to know more about this particular category of personnel. Until this period only attention was paid to the attitudes of so-called blue collar workers.

This questionnaire was the basis for the development of a more general questionnaire at Delft University of Technology in 1969. This questionnaire was already used for consultancy purposes especially by consultancy agencies. At this time 20 to 30 cases were analysed.

Questionnaire development was influenced by the theoretical work of Maslow (Huizinga, 1970; Horn, 1983). Apart from work situational factors (work content, work relations, and work conditions) also the workers' needs were now taken into account. In the mid eighties the questionnaire approach developed so far (with its underlying theoretical model) received its name by Robert A. Roe and was called 'Delft Measurement Kit (DMK)'.

The DMK was used in some 25 organisations in The Netherlands in various sectors and job levels: government agencies, social services, hospitals, public libraries, retail organisations, technical advisory firms, and industrial firms from shipyards to computer companies. During the eighties more than 3000 respondents filled in the questionnaire. In most instances, the questionnaire was used for investigating problems in the respective organisation like low moral, absenteeism, job design problems or reorganisation. It was also used for more scientific purposes like the study of the effects of automation on
motivation and work. The DMK is used for consultancy as well as scientific purposes. The questionnaire is rather well known in The Netherlands.

Later the DMK was translated into the English language. In the beginning of the nineties the DMK was also translated in Hungarian and Bulgarian. In 1993 the DMK has been a model for the Extended Delft Measurement Kit (EDMK). Factors of performance (task performance and performance of work roles) has been added to the EDMK and also some of the scales have been enlarged (see for more details the contribution of prof.dr. Irina L. Zinovieva chapter 2).

1.3. Discussion

The value of the WMQ project can be found at two levels; the ’consultancy level’ and the ’theoretical level’. At the first level, the WMQ project has provided individual organisations with valuable results on which helpful advice could be based. The contribution of prof.dr. Irina L. Zinovieva and dr. Laurens A. Ten Horn are both pointing towards the diagnostic power of the EDMK in individual cases. However, at the second level there is potentially still much to be gained. The interpretation of the research results is for the researchers a ’painstaking’ process. Many interesting observations can be made, but it is very hard to position these results in the existing theoretical frameworks. For example, the workers in the former communist countries do have feelings of alienation from their organisations but are still highly motivated. In other words, it is time to come with new insights concerning the theories of work motivation and organisational change.

In this booklet a first start is made to generate these new insights.
1.4. Contributions

- prof. dr. Irina L. Zinovieva is giving account of seven years of experience with Delft Measurement Kit. She is discussing the development of the DMK into the EDMK due to the specific circumstances found in a changing society. Also in this contribution the consultancy and scientific values of the EDMK are shown.

- prof. dr. Robert A. Roe offers the reader the first outlines of a new approach of studying organisational change. He is advocating a much broader approach which is based on a framework of 5 dimensions.

- dr. Laurens A. Ten Horn is starting rather sceptical, but is ending with interesting suggestions on how to study work motivation in specific organisations. He argues that we should start with a generic model which needs to be translated to specific situations. A similar approach can be seen in other disciplines as well. For example, the application of generic guidelines in the development and evaluation of software. The generic guidelines are translated on the basis of situation information to specific guidelines.

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Profound socio-economic changes in Eastern Europe have introduced new phenomena that determine the context of organisational life: downsizing of large state owned plants, privatisation of a significant proportion of industries, accompanied by closing down a large number of enterprises. The resulting high inflation, job insecurity, severely lower income, and strong decrease in overall well-being created completely different picture of the economy in the East European countries from those known in the past. All these changes occurred in parallel without more or less clearly defined program, and brought an enormous disorientation in the formerly overregulated societies. In such a context the rigorous scientific research is in the position to produce essential messages to communicate to society. The mere description of the situation in a systematic way, and testing models capable of (even partial) explanation of ongoing processes might be of significant help. If such knowledge is not available, the policy-making is led by intuition, stereotypes or spontaneously formed beliefs.

Following this line of thoughts, and being absorbed by deep scientific interest in understanding one of the greatest challenges of our times - the building up of a new society - a small group of researchers from Bulgaria and The Netherlands (Irina Zinovieva, Sofia University 'St. Kliment Ohridsky', Bulgaria; Laurens Ten Horn, Delft University of Technology, The Netherlands; and Robert Roe, Tilburg University, The Netherlands) started a common project in Bulgaria in the beginning of the changes (the
fall of 1991). The aim was to investigate the social costs and social benefits of the transformation process.

In the beginning the team had a well-structured research project and a number of good reasons for the steps to follow. It acted as any research group. However, the studied reality had its own requirements which changed the research plans several times by closing the ways to certain goals, and simultaneously opening unique opportunities and challenges. They led from the position of observers and researchers to the position of actively involved in facilitating change in consultancy projects and policy-making support. This is a story which took seven years and could serve as an example of working social science.

In an effort to more or less systematically describe the human side in the emerging reality, we tested some beliefs widespread in the society and rooted in former ideological stereotypes. One of them was the presumption that workers in the East European countries display low level of work motivation. It was supposed that former socialist type of work organisation is associated with lack of meaningful goals and sufficient rewards for good performance, which could result in detachment from work. Another widely shared assumption was that the former command economy has fostered obedience and lack of initiative in the employees (Frese, 1992; 1994). As a result, it was supposed that certain characteristics of people consist a threat to the reform, and that changing people will be more difficult, and will take more time, than the economic measures alone. In this respect we were lucky to have at our disposal well tested (although in different settings) instrument: the Delft Measurement Kit (Ten Horn, 1989) focused on work motivation and quality of working life. It was previously applied in surveys as well as in companies, where it was accepted very well (Roe & Ten Horn, 1990).

Since privatisation was declared by the economists to be the most efficient means in the transition from state owned to market economy, the privatisation was another focus of the study. More specifically, the question has been whether the quality of work life will improve in the process of privatisation. To allow comparison with respect to privatisation, a third of the firms had to be chosen among those where privatisation was foreseen in a short time, another third had to stay state-owned for a long time, and the last part to consist of firms established as private. The Delft Measurement Kit (DMK) was translated (Zinovieva, 1992) and used as instrument for the research project, which intended to follow a number of organisations in the process of the transformation.
2.1. Delft Measurement Kit (DMK) and the 1992 study

DMK theoretical model

The conceptual basis of Delft Measurement Kit (DMK) lies in interactionism (Endler & Magnusson, 1976; Ten Horn, 1983; 1989). Its basic assumption is that work outcomes are produced by the interaction between the organisational setting and some individual characteristics of the employees. This model is represented in Figure 1. In line with the quality of working life tradition, the characteristics of the work situation comprise job content, and social relations at work. Job content is described by autonomy, task variety, task identity, feedback from the work, task specialisation, standardisation of work procedures, deviations from the normal course of events, and span of control. Social relations at work are measured by necessity of work contacts, opportunities for informal contacts at work place, and organisational climate. An additional, and very interesting supplement is made in the model by L.A. Ten Horn. In his interpretation, the model includes the opportunities for satisfaction of the basic (Maslow type of) needs (Maslow, 1970) of the employees as an important aspect of work situation. Individual characteristics concern the strengths of Maslow type of needs, preferred leadership style, education, age, sex, terms of employment, and job level.

Outcome variables in the model could concern the organisation or the person. Organisational outcomes cover productivity, efficiency, product quality, innovativeness etc. Personal outcomes involve job satisfaction, stress, tendency to leave the organisation, satisfaction of the basic needs at work place, job involvement.

The questionnaire in its original version (Ten Horn, 1989) measures the variables presented in the boxes A, B, and E. Boxes C and D are not covered. Part of the scales are adapted from other instruments (Hackman & Oldham, 1974; Langdale, 1974).

Sample

Seventeen industrial firms in Bulgaria (N=1067) were investigated in early 1992. Most firms were state-owned, some recently privatised. Several were to be privatised shortly according to the large scale privatisation plans of the government at that time. The firms differed in branch, location (both in urban and rural areas) and size (from 20 to 1200 employees). The economic condition of the firms varied greatly; some were on the verge
of collapse, others enjoyed some prosperity. In their recent history, many had experienced strong changes in profitability and number of employees. Care was taken to make the sample a good cross section of Bulgarian industry. The idea was to adopt a follow-up approach in the selected firms in order to detect the changes which were expected to occur as a result of the foreseen privatisation. Data were collected by filling in the questionnaire at the place of work in the presence of a researcher, and without interference of supervisors.

Problems

The actual study ran into several problems. Some of them were more technical, others had to do with the insufficiencies of the theoretical model, and of the instrument. The more technical problems appeared in the application of the questionnaire in the new setting. The scales 'organisational climate', 'job involvement', 'autonomy', and 'security' split, i.e. each "Dutch" scale yielded two "Bulgarian" scales. It appeared that the local condition should be described in a different way. This point had additional aspect: The anchors of some scales did not have sufficient magnitude to account for the reality. For example: the organisational climate scale presumed mainly positive relations at work. The strongly negative ones were not included. In trying to answer the question, respondents did not have the needed category and were forced to chose from the available ones, which did not correspond to their experience. Some of the respondents found a special way of expressing their opinion: they made a cross far out of the scale, in the white margin of the questionnaire, recording this way how larger the scale should have been in order to include their position. Clearly, enlargement of certain scale anchors was needed.

Some specific properties of modern psychological research caused other problems. In the quest for high Cronbach alphas, the scales had to include up to 13 items. This large number of questions has been detected by respondents like 'asking all the time the same', followed even by cases of protest. The same grounds yielded the very long overall time for filling in the questionnaire - more than an hour, which is unacceptable for in-firm use. The precision of the format of many scales: 7- (or 9-) points also seemed redundant since several options have only rarely been used by the respondents, but, at the same time, brought considerable confusion of the meaning of each option in the scale answers.

Other problems, however, were more of a fundamental nature. It mainly comprised insufficiencies in the theoretical model and the capacity of the quality of work life
concept to answer the managers' needs for information. As it was mentioned earlier, the important blocks of the theoretical model C and D (Figure 2.1.) were not covered by the questionnaire. These are the interaction of input and output variables as well as the organisational outcomes. In addition, the model is too simple, it does not allow to understand what the intermediary factors could be.

Since the access to companies was dependent on the managers' interest in the project, keeping their involvement was crucial. The managers found lacking certain information which was very important for them. Particularly, they wished to learn not about quality of work life alone but about quality of work life in relation to job involvement, responsibility, organisational commitment, and performance of the employees. For them work motivation and quality of work life were one part of the picture, where the lacking part was more important. In fact, when managers understood that information on organisational commitment, and performance was not available, some of them lost their interest in the study. At the stage of the discussion of the results, they were ready to disregard the results. This situation was potentially dangerous for the follow-up steps.

It is quite understandable that managers and researcher may have controversial focus. While managers stress the productivity, researchers might be interested in the human costs of it. However, in order to continue the research project some adaptation of the research ought to be done.

Figure 2.1.: Interactive Model of Work Activity
This controversial focus also indicates differences in the cultural context: the same method which was most welcome in a number of firms in The Netherlands seemed not sufficient in the Bulgarian firms.

What was achieved by this study?

At this stage it was difficult to make any conclusions about privatisation since private companies were few in number and small in size, and not sufficient for getting reliable data. This analyses was foreseen for the next steps of the study when some firms would undergo a process of privatisation.

The other research goals led to unexpected and counterintuitive results (Zinovieva et al., 1993):

1. The structure of the work motivation in Bulgaria is the same like in the Western countries.
2. The level of work motivation is not low.
3. A behavioural reaction pattern was identified among Bulgarian workers, called 'ego-centrism in work'. It is characterised by dominance of higher level Maslow type of needs and high involvement in work combined with a partial alienation from the organisation and income.

Although started as a research project, due to the conditions of in-firm entry, the study had to face the need to adopt a semi-consultancy approach. Such expectations were clearly expressed by the managers of almost all firms included in the sample. This meant that in the future researchers had to be prepared to act as consultants as well if they wish to continue their study. At this point the research team had an important advantage: DMK could be used and has already been used as a tool for organisational consultancy. However, the DMK in this case stands for a method for organisational consultancy. The DMK method consists of a set of instruments, questionnaires, interview schemes, methods of analysis etceteras that can be used in diagnosing organisations with respect to work motivation and quality of working life. The consultancy approach developed in connection with the DMK is focused on organisational change based on the outcomes of the diagnosis.
2.2. DMK as organisational consultancy method

The philosophy and procedure are described elsewhere (Roe & Ten Horn, 1990). As mentioned earlier, DMK was inspired by the quality of working life concept. Quality of working life refers to things like: working conditions (physical conditions, like noise, heat etc.); job content (referring to the task itself: autonomy, variety, dependence on rules and regulations, required knowledge and skills etc.); social relationships at the work place (style of communicating, leadership style, participation, contacts with colleagues), and outcomes of work such as satisfaction with the job, stress, tendency to leave. The background philosophy of DMK is in line with the participative style of management. Some level of institutional trust is essential for the successful application of DMK procedure. One cannot expect DMK to be helpful in an organisation where basic trust between the management and the employees is completely absent since the whole procedure requires open discussions and feedback for all parties involved.

A DMK consultancy project has three main phases: orientation, diagnosis and advice. In the orientation phase the consulting team explores and discusses large number of issues with individual employees, groups of employees, or managers in order to detect the main problems of the organisation. The diagnostic phase consists of administering the DMK questionnaire to some 70 percent of the employees, processing the data, and feedback sessions with the main work groups in the organisation. It concludes in an integration of the results of individual and group interviews, questionnaire data, and the structured observations made by the consultants' team in a final report. The advice is usually first given to the general manager in the form of a presentation of the results, a discussion of the findings, and common thinking on the possible actions. The final report is delivered to the general manager, who, shortly after, arranges a discussion in the management team.

It was clear that in the future the researchers might have to use DMK in its capacity of a method for organisational consultancy as well. The problem, however, shifted to another issue: could the DMK be successfully applied in organisations with authoritarian leadership style, if the basic assumptions of the method are participation and trust.
2.3. Second version - Extended Delft Measurement Kit

Two years later, according to the initial plan, the research programme has been developed further with the intention to execute the second study in the firms. Shortly after the start, the changes in the society, however, brought considerable change in the initial design. First of all, most of the firms were not privatised yet, and it was not clear whether and when they will be privatised. Such was the case regardless of the fact that still in 1992 an official announcement was made that they will be privatised until the end of the year. Meanwhile two Governments have changed, and the old plans were completely outdated. In addition, some of the firms have been closed down. In others the new manager were appointed who had no idea about the study, which brought back the problem of the in-firm entry.

In this situation it was decided to consider the 1992 study as exploratory, to improve the model and the instrument by eliminating the insufficiencies found in 1992, and to employ a new research design, based on survey approach. This time work motivation and quality of work life had to be followed not within firms but in a longitudinal study on an individual basis, in which respondents from a representative sample of the country will be interviewed in equal time intervals of 18 months. The privatisation should be studied on the subsample of the respondents who worked in the first round of the study in a state owned firm, and in the second round in a private firm, but did not change their work place. Some in-firm changes had to be monitored directly through case studies where real-life consultancy would be provided by the researchers.


Unlike the first survey of the study, which was triggered by the individual initiative and sponsored mainly through small scale subsidies from Delft University of Technology or paid privately by the researchers, the 1994 programme was supported by the European Commission, under COPERNICUS contract ERB-CIPACT-930256. The terms of the sponsorship required larger dissemination of the results and more direct applications of the results in real-life settings. In fact, this called for widening of the project scope. The focus was shifted to work motivation and quality of work life as prerequisites for successful socio-economic change.
At this stage, the project was redesigned to combine research on some fundamental problems of psychology with questions of interest particularly to work and organisational psychology. This was the reason to investigate not just a number of firms, but to work with representative samples for the countries. The academic research was supplemented by further elaboration of the method for organisational consultancy under new cultural and economic conditions. The testing of the method in real organisations intended to act as practical consulting of organisations and support for real change efforts there. At the same time, the consultancy had to give feedback to the researchers about the strengths and weaknesses of the method, and also to provide opportunities to test the theoretical models in real-life settings.

**The project design**

This study intended to shed some light on the way in which the societal context influences the motivational structures of individuals and the possibility the work motivation and quality of work life to affect the social change. This had to be achieved by:

1. comparison of three countries with different socio-economic conditions: Bulgaria, Hungary, and The Netherlands;
2. by a longitudinal analysis from two or more moments of time during the process of socio-economic change.

The joint comparative and longitudinal study of work motivation and quality of working life under conditions of socio-economic transformation is without a precedent in the scientific literature.

The new study was based on DMK. However, the new aim needed not only a new design, but also new theoretical model and additional variables to account for the new scope of the study. A new version of DMK had to be developed to meet these requirements. This version was called Extended Delft Measurement Kit (EDMK).

**New concept of work motivation**

In the work on the Extended Delft Measurement Kit it was essential to overcome the insufficiencies, found in the 1992 study. The core concept of work motivation had to be revised in order to make it more specific for work settings. An entirely new concept of work motivation was developed. In the literature one can distinguish three main
approaches towards the concept of work motivation. The first one deals with the factors originating and stimulating hard work. These could be called 'motivational stimuli'. The second approach to work motivation has to do with the actual state of being motivated to work and acting as such. This approach represents the motivational states. The third approach to work motivation comprises investigating the functioning of needs in work settings. The three sides are complementary and have their own importance. If in the DMK work motivation was meant as Maslow type of needs operating at work, in the EDMK they were supplemented with some motivational states. Thus, in EDMK the term 'work motivation' was reserved for the motivational states, i.e. job involvement, organisational commitment, responsibility, and meaningfulness of work. Responsibility and meaningfulness of work were treated as motivational states by Hackman and Oldham (1980). Job involvement and organisational commitment, however, were widely accepted as work outcomes. In EDMK they were interpreted as motivational states since these two concepts express actual state of being absorbed by the work or by the organisational goals. In addition, they both mean internal readiness which is actively being effectuated. In our view, this is the core meaning of motivation. On the other hand, taken as work outcomes, job involvement and organisational commitment are not supposed to lead to other work outcomes. Taken as motivational states, they are expected to produce some further work results.

**New theoretical model**

In view of the new aim of the study the model had to be enlarged to cover more contextual factors, i.e. firm characteristics, and some attitudes towards social transformation. At the individual level additions were made as well (Figure 2.2.). Important situational variables were derived from the specific East European organisational set-up, e.g. forced autonomy (autonomy imposed by the deficit of raw materials or the necessity to cope with all kinds of unexpected happenings and breakdowns), autonomy from the context, etc. Personal characteristics were extended with the need for sense (the need to be aware of the reasons and consequences of one's own behaviour, as well as of the sense of life), socio-economic well-being, and experience of unemployment. Some personal characteristics were included in order to test the validity of the assumption that people from the former 'socialist countries' were lacking initiative, did not search for control over their own lives, were not prepared for changes. These were represented by the variables control rejection, self-efficacy, readiness to change, authoritarianism, and some values.
The theoretical model assumed two groups of intermediary variables: work motivation and work activity, which are directly responsible for the work outcomes, both for the organisation, and for the person. As mentioned earlier, work motivation comprised job involvement, organisational commitment, responsibility, and meaningfulness of work. Work activity was measured by the expenditure of effort put in the work. The organisational outcomes, which were not included in DMK, were represented in the extended version by two variables: task performance, and performance of work roles. Personal outcomes were kept without change.

Thus, we achieved a model, which was a generic instrument, i.e. a tool for identifying possible relations. It did not present causal links given once and forever. Under different conditions one could expect quite large diversity of combinations. Many of the variables can be lacking in one setting but be important in another. These differences would be even more pronounced in comparing different cultures.

In the elaboration of the new version of DMK some scales were enlarged by adding new anchors in them in order to make them able to record more options. For example:

The item as used in DMK:
How do supervisors and employees treat each other?

- The supervisors are polite but always at a distance
- The supervisors are polite and friendly but usually at a distance
- The supervisors are friendly without a clear distance
- The supervisors and employees are friendly to each other without any distance

The item as used in EDMK:

How do supervisors treat employees?

- Hostile
- Rude
- Polite
- Friendly

This model was studied in surveys with longitudinal design starting in the spring of 1994 with 1106 respondents from Bulgaria, 1200 respondents in Hungary. In late 1995, when the second administration of the questionnaire took place in the two countries, the study was executed in The Netherlands as well with 356 respondents. The samples are representative for the working population of the countries with certain quotas. Only in Bulgaria the study is still going on, and the forth administration will be executed in the fall of 1998.

In order to record the general context of each administration of the questionnaire, a special 'country profile' was created. It had to cover economic, demographic, political, and societal conditions, e.g. GDP, inflation, income and wages, rate of unemployment, main political changes, major changes in legislation etc.

The detailed description of EDMK is given in the Appendix. The complete EDMK and the technical instructions for its application, as well as the scale properties are available as well (Ten Horn et al., 1996a).

**What was achieved by this study?**

1. The project had a chance to get into some answers to both fundamental and applied problems of psychology. There is evidence accumulated that allows relevant treatment of fundamental psychological questions such as:
To what degree do the motivational patterns keep their stability under the extreme conditions of a profound socio-economic change that reaches the basics of the society and produces systematic change for the individual? (Ten Horn et al., 1996b)

How do people respond to such conditions? (Zinovieva et al., 1997)

Do some personal characteristics such as need for sense, self-efficacy, control rejection, and similar variables change as a result of extreme circumstances?

Are the models developed in different socio-economic conditions valid in the countries in transformation? (Ten Horn et al., 1997)

The data collected shed some light on important questions in the field of organisations and work, in particular:

What are the dynamics of work perceptions and work attitudes in the particular context of socio-economic transformation? (Zinovieva, 1997)

What are the consequences of work motivation as found in the time of the studies for the work results at the level of a single organisation, as well as at the level of the society?

What is the structure of work motivation and its relationship with working conditions and work outcomes, including quality of working life in countries in economic transition as compared to countries with stable economic system (e.g. such as The Netherlands)? (Zinovieva et al., 1997)

What are the outcomes for people from the process of organisational transformation under economic restructuring (especially privatisation)? (Roe et al., 1997)

The available data are now being analysed. Some attempts for answers to the above mentioned questions have been published already, others are in preparation.

The practical side of the Programme 'Work motivation and quality of life as prerequisites for successful socio-economic change'

Policy-making support

An understanding of the level of motivation and insight into the personal and situational factors that influence work attitudes are necessary for taking the appropriate actions on the way to economic recovery. Knowledge of motivation and attitudes is particularly
important to avoid mistakes caused by the application of guidelines and principles that may have proved successful elsewhere, but may not be applicable to the situation at hand. It may well be that suppositions underlying these principles are not met or that the preconditions for successful implementation are not fulfilled. These were the reasons to arrange workshops for policy-makers: politicians, experts from the relevant ministries, trade unionists, managers, and professional consultants to discuss the project results and their possible implementation.

The other practical tool to support policy-making prepared by the Programme were Annual Reports issued in two versions: research report and report for policy-makers and managers. Country profiles for Bulgaria and Hungary on large number of socio-economic indicators were made as well. All these are available on request.

The Reports answered some questions of direct interest for policy-makers like:
- What is the level of work motivation in working population in three European countries: Bulgaria, Hungary and The Netherlands.
- How do environmental conditions that appear to be crucial for invoking a good work motivation in the West influence the workers' reactions in Eastern European countries such as Bulgaria and Hungary.
- What are the attitudes of the employees in these two countries to the present conditions of transition that exist in the firms.
- How workers' reactions influence the process of organisational change itself.
- Which work motivational patterns currently prevail, how are they affected by the present transition, and what will be the implications for the overall change of the economy.

Differences between selected strata are reflected as well:
- Job level
- Branches of the Economy
- Ownership of the organisation
- Urban - Rural distinction
- Level of education
- Age
- Gender
Such information gives insight into the processes which are the object of influence by the policy-makers. Understanding the nature of the process which is to be managed could indeed make a difference in the preferred decisions.

Consultancy for organisations

Apart from policy-making support, the practical side of the Programme included consultancy for firms. The EDMK method is a tool for making a detailed diagnosis of personnel related aspects of a work organisation. About fifty variables provide information on characteristics of the employees, the nature of the work, organisational policies, work motivation and work outcomes. Given the results of this method one could answer questions like would the employees in a particular organisation be more involved in their work if given more variety or autonomy; would more participation improve performance; what consequences arise from delegation in decision making; how to improve work motivation: what is to be changed in order to make people more involved in their work or more committed to the organisational goals etc. Essential differences exist between the knowledge provided in management courses about how organisational matters relate to each other in general and the particular reality in the firm at hand. The particular case can show substantial deviations from the general one and even show relationships in the opposite direction.

The EDMK method is not suitable for personnel selection or assessment purposes since the role of the consultant in such cases is in contradiction with the role implied by the EDMK: evaluation versus facilitation. It is not directed at the diagnosis of individual problems or the evaluation of the performance of particular persons. It is focused at problems that pertain to organisational functioning in a broader sense, the effect of certain organisational or social policies, managerial behaviour, etc..

The results from the EDMK are firm specific but they are also reported in a way that makes it possible to compare the firm to other firms in the same sector or in the same country. Using the large database of the Programme comparisons could be tuned to the needs of the client firm. The following comparisons are possible:

- with the branch in the same country
- with the total sample of country
- with the total samples of the other countries
- with the same branch in any other country
These comparisons give very good idea of the strengths and weaknesses of the client firms. In order to reveal some intra-organisational differences other comparisons could be made according to:

- job level
- level of education
- age
- gender

A system for training experts in using EDMK was elaborated as an outcome of the Programme.

What problems appeared in using EDMK in organisational settings in East European countries?

First of all, the inherent participative approach of EDMK caused difficulties in the organisational entry. The managers, most of whom had hardly any experience in discussions with subordinates on the problems of the organisation, felt quite reluctant to use a method which involves knowledge of the results from the organisational diagnosis by all of the employees.

Having in mind the assumptions concerning participation one can pose the question whether the EDMK could be applied in the context of an authoritarian led organisation. The experience has proven this to be possible, but benefit from the consultancy will be different from the case of a company with participative culture. A prerequisite for success was making very detailed clauses in the contract with the firm on the confidentiality of individual information as well as on the employees' protection against any sanctions for their participation in the project. Usually in the beginning all participants are extremely sceptical about the success of the project.

In isolated cases the feedback sessions with main work groups provoked some problems for the participants, and even some conflicts with supervisors. It may happen that an open expressed opinion is brought to the supervisor by some of the present co-workers. Such openness could be interpreted by the boss as unloyalty.

At the same time, the feedback sessions are very important and should not be avoided. This is an essential means for stimulating the change process, aimed by EDMK: the change towards participative culture in the organisation. In one of the authoritarian led firms, when the results were reported back to groups of employees in each department,
they were quite astonished. These people had never had the experience before of being shown the results of an investigation of the firm’s problems. Usually they had to fill in questionnaires that served unknown intentions. Participants in the feedback sessions confirmed the results as adequately reflecting the reality. They participated in the discussion eagerly and gave several comments and proposals. Their main concern was whether the managers would know these results. When they were assured that this was going to happen, the employees expressed their hope that this would make the managers more responsible for the future of the company. A lot of scepticism was expressed as well.

Once again, like its predecessor, the EDMK proved to be too long, especially for administration in firms. To overcome this problem a modular form was developed. On the basis of the orientation phase of the consultancy procedure a choice should be made which EDMK modules to be used in the particular project. They are included in the standardised questionnaire. Although containing some 380 questions altogether, as every standardised tool, EDMK is not sufficient to describe the specific sides of organisation. Two ways were used to deal with the problem: a) additional questions, specific for the organisation were identified in the preliminary interviews and added to the questionnaire, and b) interviews and feedback sessions helped to correct the interpretation of the questionnaire data.

2.4. Third version of the questionnaire

After the first administration of the questionnaire in 1994, and especially after the first consultancy cases in Bulgaria and Hungary, it became clear that other, not covered in EDMK, variables are very important in the organisational settings at hand: leadership, information processing, and decision-making. These were included in EDMK as well. By doing this the organisational characteristics were covered in much more detail than in DMK. Included were the information processing and decision-making (both for daily matters and policy-making), leadership practices (five different scales), and consultative climate. These scales were added in the 1995 version of EDMK.

Later on some variations of the method for different purposes were developed. The complete EDMK was kept for research purposes and continued being administered in the longitudinal study. A reduced version of EDMK was elaborated for consultancy purposes. It was found useful to prepare an EDMK screening version for initial
orientation. Now EDMK consists of modules each being focused on a part of the model and can be used separately upon certain conditions. Modules could be combined following a number of prescriptions.

In 1997, after the termination of the programme 'Work Motivation and Quality of Life as Prerequisites for Successful Socio-Economic Change' the research entered a new phase. An expansion into new countries started. Projects were initiated in Greece, and in the Czech Republic. Researchers from Croatia and the United Kingdom expressed interest to replicate the EDMK survey in their countries.

2.5. Conclusion

A long lasting attempt to investigate the work motivation and quality of working life in the process of transition from 'socialist' to market economy was described. It represents a case, in which the research logic makes continuous effort to adapt to the strange and versatile reality. On the other hand, this is a clear example of working social science, which directly serves the real practice.

It seems, in times of social transition, it is essential to answer questions which are posed not by academic models, but by the social reality itself. In turn, the extreme conditions open unique opportunities to test academic models in their ultimate form.

The projects as described brings into consideration a new type of integration in psychology. This is a multilevel integration:

- Different levels of the studied reality, i.e. the individual, the firm, and the society, are combined in a single theoretical model and in a single empirical research.
- The psychological research is integrated with practical work. Psychological research produces knowledge and tools for organisational consultancy in real settings. The organisational consultancy raises requirements and reveals insufficiencies of the research models and the research tools, which are adjusted accordingly.
- The psychological research enters policy-making. The research results are directly conveyed to policy-makers and suggestions are discussed on how they could be implemented.

All these aspects of the integration are capable of opening a new place and new role of psychology in society. Through the requirements for research funding, which get
increasingly more practically oriented and less interested in testing theoretical models, the society gives clear indications that the above mentioned integration is the required mode of existence for the Social sciences.

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3. THOUGHTS ABOUT BEHAVIOURAL CHANGE DURING SOCIETAL TRANSITION

Looking back at a 3 year research project

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During the years 1993-1997 a small research team including Laurens Ten Horn has worked on a project that aimed at clarifying the nature and role of work motivation as a factor influencing work attitudes and behaviour of employed people in Bulgaria and Hungary, both countries in transition from a Communist system to a liberal market society.

The proposal for the project, which was funded by the European Commission, was based on the idea that society can only change if people are changing their behaviours, and that people do not just change their behaviour according to the blueprints of politicians, economists and lawyers. It was postulated that the behaviour of people at work follows its own laws of motivation and performance, and that change can only occur and be effective if people's needs, feelings, and habits are taken into account. As the title of the project suggested: there are social and psychological prerequisites for successful socio-economic change.

The research scheme was broad and encompassing. We covered a great range of situational variables, personal characteristics (needs, values, attitudes) and outcome variables. Variables at different levels (national, institutional, job and individual level) were included. There were 2 moments of measurements, 1,5 year apart. And the two countries were compared to The Netherlands.

Information came from a variety of sources: country-wide surveys, case-studies in firms, historical and statistical records. Communication about the study took place with various local policy makers, as well as with scientists.
After finishing the active part of the study, with 'data mining and processing', we have entered into the stage of deeper processing, reflecting and writing up the results. Bit by bit, the evidence collected is looked at, analysed, interpreted, re-interpreted. Rather than following the logic of the data themselves and the research questions initially posed, we are now trying to make sense out of the whole.

What was it we have been studying? What have we seen? What actually happened? What have we learned? What do we know about change, that is about changes in the economy as a whole, in business life, and what about the part individual working people play in it.

We now should ask ourselves: Were our ideas about what happens in these transient societies correct? Did we grasp the phenomenon we wanted to study?

The reason for raising these questions in the context of this symposium, dedicated to the work of Laurens Ten Horn at Delft University of Technology, is the need for a deeper understanding that we all somehow felt after the project, but that was particularly articulated by Laurens himself. I would like to offer some thoughts that may help him in his quest for the 'real cause', the discovery of the 'big idea'.

I will first put up a frame for looking at the matter, by applying the logic of the project to another setting. Merely changing the focus from 'those former Communists countries' to a context nearer by, may gives us a different feel of the problem. I will propose to take The Netherlands with its changing economy and work life as the object of our inquiry. By applying all the questions and arguments to ourselves we may better see the complexities of what we have been dealing with.

Next, I will discuss some facets of change in society, relevant from the perspective of people's behaviour at work, distinguishing 5 interrelated dimensions. And finally, I will address the question: 'What is needed for working people in a transient society to effectively change their behaviour and what else is needed to obtain effective changes at the level of organisations and society'. To this purpose I will propose a simple model.

Hopefully you will agree that the quest for the 'big idea' justifies such an ambitious plan. Let me add that I will limit myself in the exposure of my thought in order not to consume too much time.

3.1. Framing the matter

Suppose we are dealing with a study of how Dutch people feel and think about their work, using - of course - the Delft Measurement Kit. How would we proceed in order to
understand what would happen if major changes would be imposed on the country by foreign governments and banks? What if our politicians would decide to change the rules of the law and the economy, present an overhaul of everything we had as Dutchmen, for good or for bad, in our communities, our firms, our schools, our health care, etc. What changes would we as individuals have to display - in all our different rules - for an outsider who came to observe us and look at our DMK-scores to say ‘they are moving the right direction’ or ‘they have done well, the change has come’?

Thousands of ideas come to mind about what might happen. How people would react, who would take profit from the new situation, who would oppose, or try to stay out. How changes would be proposed and implemented, how other plans would be put forward at the same time. Who would get engaged, why, with what effect. How certain projects might go smoothly and others would be thwarted or effectively sabotaged. How long it would take for us to really change, what would go fast, and what would take years. How successful we would be in the end - what end?

3.2. The hierarchical dimension

The dimension macro-meso-micro, referring to the society, the firm and individual workers, is readily accepted. But it is not so easily understood how it should be applied to social change. First, there is the problem of aggregation: there may be one single macro, but there are many meso's, and numerous micro's. It is difficult to imagine how they relate to each other when dealing with change.

For example, if 1/3 of all individuals move in one direction, 1/3 in the opposite direction, and 1/3 do not change, the apparent overall picture - at the aggregate macro level - is one of no change. One finds this situation in various forms: the transition process for the country as a whole is composed of many different changes at the lower levels: change, restoration, stagnation (Roe, 1996). The success of newly established or privatised firms is counter-balanced by the failure of state firms and by privatised firms which are less lucky on the market.

In our study, we have noted the problem but not properly dealt with it, perhaps mainly because we did not have the proper tools. What one would need is a clear idea about how to conceptualise these different and simultaneous types of change, including their interrelationships.
Next there is a similar problem of *causality*. It seems plausible that without the proper motivation to change among individuals, there will be no individual change, and as a result no change at the level of organisations and the overall economy. On the other hand, it is equally plausible that there must be some type of change at the macro level lest people are ready to change themselves ('Why should I, if the others don't?'). Thus, it seems that causes and effects are distributed over the 3 levels, which make them difficult to analyse, unless one disposes of appropriate intellectual tools - which in our case we did not.

### 3.3. The temporal dimension

Changes can only be observed by searching for evidence along the time-line (following the track through time). One has to careful note what happens first, what next, what later - the sequence of events. In our study we could not do that. We were far off what would have been needed in this respect, having only 2 moments of observations in the main study. Even in the case studies, which lasted several months, there was limited room for time-based observation.

One difficulty with the study of time is that the 3 levels have a different *historicity*. The notion of time flowing in one direction - from past through present to future - may apply to the state, the firm and the worker, but the scale of resolution needed for its description is different. What happens from day to day is noise at the macro-level, but it may appear as regularity or a chain of important events at the micro level. One might perhaps say that society changes at the scale of years or decades, institutions change in quarters or years, and individuals change over weeks or months (or even days).

Aggregation many have to do with this. The speed of societal change and individual change would be the same if every citizen in society would change in the same moment (and the same direction). If people do not change at the same time, error variance appears and overall change slows down. And this is generally the case as we know from statistics (birth rate, real estate sales).

Another issue is that of *delay*. Change processes take time. Even discrete events such as the establishment of new legal rules do not affect people directly, but evoke slowly unwinding chains of effects. E.g. considerable time elapses before a newly accepted law gets implemented, known, observed, and sanctioned. In other cases, such as organisational
restructuring, changes have an even more gradual character. Time is needed to define, declare and implement changes, and it takes long before they take effect on people's behaviour. True, there are sudden changes with immediate effects as well, such as dismissal, job change, sudden price-rises. These changes may force people to stop following old habits, but still there it may take weeks or months before new behaviour patterns get established.

3.4. The structural dimension

Of course, society is not an amorphous set of individuals, a population from which behavioural scientists can draw their subjects. It has a structure which should be taken into account in analysing change.

By segmenting society into socio-economic classes and smaller social entities, one discerns various types of agents, i.e. networks of actors with particular positions, resources (powers) and interests. The different agents cannot be assumed to play the same role in the transition process - quite the contrary. Some may grasp the opportunity to strengthen their position, while others will vehemently defend the positions they used to have. E.g. in the countries studied the new businessmen and the former members of the political elite, the Nomenclature, had widely different stakes and competed to get the best out of it.

Thus, when looking at a society in transition, one should identify the various groups of actors and examine the roles they play with regard in the process of change, countercharge and preservation. That is, one should look at (old and new) politicians, governors, bankers, firm managers, trade unionists, but also at the clergy, the police, the military, the Mafia etc. It will then become obvious that what we call overall change is a melting pot of processes involving coalition, opposition, open fight between such groups, as well as corruption and crime.

Again, in our study we have not followed this perspective. We did not study particular groups nor did we examine their interaction with the large mass of workers and citizens. But we did, from time to time, run into phenomena emerging from coinciding and clashing interests of agents, and made some observations of how workers were affected - especially in the case studies.

Much the same applies to institutions, the patterns of collective behaviour built up in the past. Institutions related to production, consuming, housing, education, child rearing, work, transportation, civic behaviour - being mutually reinforced patterns of activity, reproduced in
everyday life - are not likely to be equally responsive to economic and legal changes imposed by politicians. In some domains changes may indeed be adopted and implemented smoothly, but in others one would rather expect 'resistance to change', a continuation of older patterns, especially when articulated by specific agents.

One of the most striking findings of our research relates to this domain. It is the tendency of people to behave the old way, that is to persist in patterns that were developed under Communist rule, or even before. I refer to some 'remnants of the past' in the firm management and employee relations found in our case studies (Zinovieva, 1996; Dienes, 1995) - and to so-called 'egocentrism at work' (Zinovieva et al., 1993, 1998). However, it should be admitted that our analysis was not especially geared to institutional phenomena, and deeper knowledge might have been found by utilising other methods of study.

3.5. The demographic dimension

When dealing with change one should, of course, not overlook the demographic dimension, that is the altering composition of the population due to births and deaths, migration, and ageing. The mere fact that significant numbers of better educated and entrepreneurial people left their country and migrated to Western countries, has contributed to the overall change, in economic as well as in social respect. Apart from this it seems that generations assume different roles in the overall transition process, older people - the pensioners, who spent most of their life under Communism - withdrawing from work and social life, and younger people, grown up after the Communist times, being quick in taking on new roles and adopting elements of a cosmopolitan life style. Thus generational groups seem to be a proper entity to study behavioural change.

It would be interesting to know to what degree change and stability are indeed a matter of inter-generational differences, and to what degree changes occur within each generation. Similarly, it would be of interest to look into the role of intergenerational conflict in change processes, e.g. in organisations where younger and older people compete for influence.

In our study we have, of course, included age, but we have as yet done little to analyse its effects. And we have not engaged in a closer analysis of generational groups. However, we have found some indications of intergenerational differences and conflicts in our case studies.
3.6. The contextual dimension

If only the world around us were to change, and we as Dutch workers would passively wait for things to come, there would be change among us after some time as well. No country is isolated from the surrounding world anymore. Thus, the national economy, in whatever state it is, is part of a global economy. Considerable *cross-border interaction* is taking place on a day-to-day basis. In some areas, such as that of finance, consumer products, entertainment, tourism and crime, foreign actors penetrate deeply in society. Similar influencing takes place in the cultural and political domain. Again the change is, of course, not only one-directional. Opposition to foreign intervention or to the adoption of foreign work methods and cultural exports does also occur.

This interaction makes the study of change processes, at each of the three levels, even more difficult than it already is for the other reasons mentioned. Yet, as social scientist, one would somehow have to account for contextual influences, that is to identify them and gather information about how they operate. This, however, has been very difficult, if not impossible, to achieve for us. In a way, our own project, representing a transfer of know-how from Western to Eastern Europe, can be considered as part of the wider process of cultural influence just mentioned. Prudent as we may have been, or thought we were, in implementing only those parts which seemed compatible with local culture, we did not look into the matter of cross-border influence more generally. Again, I believe, we would have needed other tools to highlight this aspect of change.

3.7. Behavioural change

Do we know what makes people change their behaviour? Looking at societal change from a psychological perspective, it is important to understand how people change their behaviour, what makes them change, and what consolidates the results. There is an extensive body of literature relevant here, covering such topics as learning and training, adaptation, coping, and parts of career theory, and developmental psychology. Most of the concepts and methods have been developed in a context of relative stable and predictable society in which the change is limited to individual role and career transitions. The situation we are dealing with is a different one, however, since it implies a dynamic but unpredictable context. Thus the person is facing strong pressures to change and considerable ambiguity at the same time. Even if the willingness to change is there, the possible direction and form of change is unclear, and the effects cannot be foreseen.
What follows is a proposition of factors hypothetically involved in effective behavioural change, which might apply under unstable external conditions.

As for individual change the key assumption is that people in a steady state, fulfilling given roles and getting what they want or need, on a daily basis, will not change. On the contrary, habits make people immune to change, especially when they are embedded in a network of social roles. In order for change to occur, it seems necessary that something is blocking people's everyday behaviour or that a new opportunity is presented which poses a real challenge to their habit. Thus, the appearance of a barrier and/or a new opportunity seem conditions favouring the emergence of a new action goal or a new means to achieve an existing goal. Economic events, such as losing one's job, a drastic decline in income, or the acquisition of property by e.g. restitution can be considered as examples of conditions which can evoke changes.

However, new goals and means do not always come by themselves. People also need relevant experience and knowledge, creativeness and examples to develop goals. E.g. setting up a business requires at least some idea about what to strive for and how to achieve it. Moreover, it is necessary to overcome the hurdle of uncertainty and find a personal route - an action plan - compatible with personal motives, experience, and competencies. For the starting entrepreneur knowing somebody who did the same, may be a great help. Generally speaking, examples can be particularly helpful in modelling new behaviour. Finally, there is a need for persistence in order to carry out one's plans after a change has been launched. Persistence might be enhanced by perceived progress and success, which points at the effect of feedback and positive rewards. Summarising this, the likelihood of effective change seems to depend on:

1. barriers
2. opportunities
3. exemplary goals
4. compatible action plans
5. feedback and rewards.

In retrospect, it seems that the legal and economic measures introduced as part of transition policies (the macro level) or organisational changes (meso level) can be effective indeed, in eliciting individual change, in the sense that they force people to reconsider the need fulfilment in the lower range of Maslow's hierarchy, i.e. the physiological and/or security needs. But they are not sufficient conditions for effective change, since other goals and actions have to be developed before effective change can take place. The conditions 3 through 5 seem to be of a more social and psychological nature.
they are not sufficient conditions for effective change, since other goals and actions have to be developed before effective change can take place. The conditions 3 through 5 seem to be of a more social and psychological nature.

Whether people do change or not, and whether there are successful will not only depend on change-promoting factors but also on hindering factors. Apart from objective impediments to change, such as the absence of job vacancies, there may be social and psychological factors affecting people's readiness to change (Frese, 1995), or alternatively said, their resistance to change. Here, one would think of contextual unclarity, the lack of transparency of what is and what is not possible, which is very typical for post-Communist countries. Social information processing - sharing views and spreading rumours - may promote false expectancies, such as the expectancy of a return to the earlier situation or the hope for "better times". Counter-evidence of other people not changing under similar conditions, may be another factor. Factors such as these may induce people to postpone or abandon the revision of goals and means. Goals and means may also be unrealistic, and result in trial-and-error. And finally, change may have adverse effects, evoke criticism from others or result in failure. As a consequence people may abstain from change and adopt a passive attitude.

1. contextual unclarity
2. false expectancies
3. counter-evidence
4. trial-and-error
5. inadequate or negative feedback and failure.

However premature all this may be, I consider it to be the core of a behavioural model of individual change applicable to the conditions we are interested in. It may help to understand the occurrence and non-occurrence of individual change, but also be applied to changes at the meso-level (that of firms) and the macro level (that of the state), in as far as they are initiated by individual actors. After all, intentional organisational changes can be considered as changes launched by individuals in their role as manager or politician. But of course, many more factors are supposedly involved in the resulting process of change.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to propose an elaborated scheme for changes as these higher levels. However, in the project we have developed a scheme (attached) showing summarising some main factors contributing to successful change at the higher levels, starting from individual motivation and performance. Of course, this scheme is much too simple to account for all the factors pointed at before.
3.8. Conclusion

Having come to the end I would like to raise the question where we stand in our effort to understand behavioural change in transition, and whether we were right in assuming that individual factors, especially motivation, play a crucial role. My conclusion is that only now we begin to grasp the complexity of the issue. There are many factors beyond the motivation of the individual worker which determine whether people change and in which direction. Motivation as we have investigated it, seems to be important, but perhaps more as a factor hindering change - at least egocentrism in work refers to a pattern from the past rather than from the present - than as a trigger of change. Since change and stability can be considered as two sides of the same phenomenon, this remains an important finding that helps us to understand the further course of the transition process. The most intriguing question from a psychological point of view remains how change is brought about and how individual activity is altered. If we could answer this question one day, we would also be farther in our understanding of how changes at the macro, the meso and the micro level interrelate.
Figure: 3.1: Multiple obstacles model of performance
4. CRUMBLING COMMITMENT; UNDERSTANDING MOTIVATION AND WORK SITUATION IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

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*Dear colleagues!*

I have been asked to disagree with the two distinguished speakers, who have spoken before me. I do not want to detract anything from what they have said. They did a good job. In fact their contributions were interesting, stimulating, very enlightening, provocative and thoughtprovoking. However, and I hesitate to say so, they missed the point.

Let me gradually lead you into my reasoning.

4.1. Introduction

When preparing this contribution, it was my intention to take stock of the six years of research the three presenters of today and Dr. Dienes of the Research Institute of Labour in Budapest conducted into work motivation, commitment and organisation in Central and Eastern Europe. I felt the need to summarise and systematise our results in a few clear-cut
outcomes that could easily be explained and that could stand as general signposts on the route to change.

I realised, however, that this was a desire I had not felt before with any other study I have been involved in. So, in some way this study had been special. May be, it had been particularly complicated or perhaps it had been too many-sided to allow for summarising in a limited set of lines.

If you ask me to summarise the essence of Taylorism, the Hawthorne studies or the Job enrichment movement, I have no problems putting these into words. I can give you the background of the trend to de-bureaucratisation in the eighties without hesitation, and I can introduce the subject of job design in a couple of minutes. All these can be described in a few essential statements that even an engineer with a bit of effort can understand. Moreover, I could tell you the lessons gained from almost all research which I had dealings with, and explain the essential results of most of our consultancy cases.

However, if you ask me about our studies in Central and Eastern Europe, I become rather silent. For sure, we learned a lot, and I can give you many interesting details, but the essential insights, the 'simple picture', has not yet arrived. Therefore, I want to clear up my mind by going over these studies once again and see what comes out.

4.2. The 1992 study in Bulgaria

We started in 1992 on the initiative of dr. Zinovieva of Sofia University. Our sample consisted of 1062 workers in 17 Bulgarian factories who completed a translation of the Delf Measurement Kit (Ten Horn & Roe, 1984; Ten Horn, 1989). The research was prompted by our awareness that the political, economic and societal changes in Eastern Europe after the collapse of the communist regimes provided an excellent opportunity to study organisations in incisive transition processes. These organisations had to cope not only with a change-over from state to private ownership and from a centralised plan economy to a market economy. They were also faced with economic crisis, societal and political upheaval and massive instability in markets, financing, etceteras. It would be extremely interesting to see what happened to these organisations in terms of organisational structure and culture, the way employees related to their work, and to study personal work attitudes. Besides, it would be important to contribute to the change-efforts by sound research and well-based advise.

The questions prominent in our minds were something like the following:
What have been the effects of generations of Socialism on organisations, work attitudes and motivation? Have years of communist upbringing and indoctrination produced specific attitudes and motivational patterns? It could well be argued that the Socialist system had created different social values and norms and that child-rearing practices had fostered a different type of work attitudes, more conformist and less oriented towards personal initiative than in the West. Low work involvement, lack of initiative, rejection of taking control, and obedience might have resulted. In short: attitudes might be found that would not be helpful in a society based on private and personal initiative and would not be conducive to the change process.

At that time, several authors pointed to these possibilities (e.g. Bures, 1992; Frese, 1992; Topalova, 1994; Tzenova & Dalbokova, 1994; Zinovieva, Strahilov & Antonov, 1994). The result might have been a 'collapse of the motivational structure', a reduction of the breadth of the motivational spectrum (Zinovieva, Strahilov & Antonov, 1994).

The counter hypothesis would be that people's motivation had not been fundamentally affected, that people had only adapted to the existing circumstances at the behavioural level, that they had developed coping mechanisms to deal with the situation they were in. This counter hypothesis would mean that people could shake off their habits easily and adapt quickly to the new realities.

In line with this discussion, one could ask whether Western models of work motivation would be applicable to Eastern Europe and whether Western management practices would be helpful to improve the situation.

Apart from the fact that these questions are imprecise and that we would need a clear description of what is meant by 'socialism' or 'upbringing', I can safely say we did not get near an answer on any of these questions.

To us, the most central questions seemed to be:

- whether Socialism had created a generation of non-motivated workers;
- whether Western models and theories could safely be applied and relied upon in the change process ('Follow the teachings of western consultants and you end up in heaven').

Apart from the causal inferences in these statements, we could certainly try to answer the factual parts.
Besides these shared concerns, we all had our own expectations.
I myself would not have been surprised to find work situations to be closer to Taylorism or more bureaucratized (the principles of scientific management appeared to have been prominent; see Smith & Thompson, 1992), or to find a rather strong emphasis on physiological and security needs, because of the dire state of the economy and the unpredictability of change.

So, confronted with the first figures appearing on my computer, I was absolutely baffled by what we found. Instead of more Taylorized work, we saw pretty high levels of autonomy and variety. Moreover, employees showed high work involvement and seemed to be very committed to their work. Only the scores for job security, career opportunity and pay satisfaction were definitely very low.

We also discovered motivation patterns reflecting strong needs for growth and esteem, which was at least contrary to what one would expect on basis of the popular theory of Maslow (1954; 1970). 'Our data suggest that higher order needs are dominant in the motivational hierarchy and are significant in determining work outcomes, such as satisfaction, tendency to leave, and stress. We found no evidence for a motivational stereotype characterised by low levels of involvement, lack of initiative, obedience etceteras' (Zinovieva, Ten Horn & Roe, 1993). Bulgarian workers seemed to be motivated primarily by the higher order aspects of their jobs (opportunity for growth, esteem and the social satisfactions), in spite of the lack of lower level need gratification's. In comparison with The Netherlands (Ten Horn, 1989), the need patterns looked very similar.

It is interesting to understand the reasons for the high levels of autonomy present in the work. In the West, work autonomy usually refers to the opportunity to influence work methods and planning. In Bulgaria we came across new distinctions. Next to 'autonomy in the execution of the work itself', we found 'autonomy from the context' and so-called 'forced autonomy' to be important factors.

'Autonomy from the context' refers to freedom from interference by the supervisor, the management or others. 'Forced autonomy' is the necessity to take initiatives because of breakdown of equipment, materials of inferior quality, late arrival of supplies, etceteras. We also had to make a distinction in the factor 'social climate'. Two distinct factors were revealed: the amount of consultation of workers by supervisors and something like 'closeness of supervision'.

The 1992 study can be summarised: we did not find signs of demotivation or alienation in employees, but we did find interesting differences in work situation characteristics. Employees seemed to react to these characteristics in a specific way that we coined
'egocentrism in work' (Zinovieva, Ten Horn & Roe, 1993; Ten Horn, Zinovieva, Roe & Dienes, 1996a). This is a behavioural reaction pattern which combines high involvement in the work itself with alienation from the organisation and organisational practices. Workers seem to be highly committed to do a good job in spite of the bad technical and organisational conditions and in spite of the negative influence of their bosses and managers. This reflects the characteristic work organisation under the old regime, where bosses and managers not always landed in their positions on basis of sheer competence. These bosses could therefore easily be considered by their subordinates to be more of a hindrance than a help in getting the work done. A related problem might well be a general lack of confidence employees have in institutional arrangements and the predominance of personal relationships in matters of trust (Branyiczki, 1994). Employees therefore tried to shield their work from outside influence.

4.3. The 1994 and 1995 studies

In 1994 and 1995 the initial study in Bulgaria was followed by a more elaborate investigation, involving representative samples of employees in Bulgaria, Hungary and The Netherlands (Roe, Ten Horn, Zinovieva & Dienes, 1997a). The samples in Bulgaria and Hungary comprised more than 1000 respondents. They were questioned twice with an interval of 18 months. In The Netherlands 354 respondents filled in the questionnaire only once in the fall of 1994. The questionnaire (the Extended Delft Measurement Kit - EDMK; see Roe, Ten Horn, Dienes & Zinovieva, 1997) was specially constructed for this study. The translations were carefully tuned and checked to make cross-cultural comparisons possible.

A direct comparison of the Bulgarian data from 1994 with those of the 1992 study, revealed substantially the same pattern of results (Ten Horn, Zinovieva, Roe & Dienes, 1996a). This notwithstanding the fact that the economy had deteriorated sharply between these years (Mengov, 1995; Bulgarian National Bank, 1992, 1993, 1994). Employees showed high commitment. Satisfaction continued to be determined by higher order need gratification's.

The Hungarian data show similar results: no signs of demotivation or deterioration of need patterns. Pay satisfaction is low. 'Autonomy from the context' is lower than in The Netherlands and 'forced autonomy' is higher. Job security is considerably lower. But no major effects appear to be present in motivation and commitment.

Comparisons between the three countries (Ten Horn, Zinovieva, Roe & Dienes, 1996b) revealed quite a lot of differences. However, these did hardly ever confirm predictions made
beforehand. It definitely appears to be dangerous to rely on common beliefs about work motivation and organisation in the post-Socialist countries. Bulgaria and Hungary often did not form a common category compared to The Netherlands. Often the differences between them were found to be greater than those with The Netherlands.

Job involvement and organisational commitment were generally on the same level in all three countries, as was the feeling of responsibility the employees had for their work. As expected, job satisfaction was significantly higher in The Netherlands, but the differences were not very big. Job security and physiological conditions were lower in Bulgaria and Hungary, but the opportunity for growth, esteem and belongingness were on the same level as in the Dutch sample. Only pay satisfaction showed a really big difference.

The work itself was experienced as having high levels of variety, task identity and significance everywhere. Even autonomy showed only slight differences with somewhat higher levels of 'forced autonomy' and lower levels of 'autonomy from the context' in Bulgaria and Hungary. As regards fundamental needs, we found a tendency to put more value on security and physiological satisfactions in Bulgaria and Hungary, but this definitely did not diminish the strength of the higher order needs.

The data from the second administration in 1995 confirm this picture throughout (Zinovieva, Dienes, Ten Horn & Roe, 1997).

Therefore, we can reiterate the conclusion that, on the average, there does not seem to be a lack of motivation in Bulgarian and Hungarian employees. They are committed to their work and not alienated from it. At the same time we find some differences in the characteristics of the work situation.

4.4. Factors contributing to motivation

An important question is which aspects of the work situation contribute most to the way employees relate to their work and the organisation they work for. Knowledge of the correlates of job involvement and organisational commitment is valuable for advise to organisations seeking improvement of these aspects.

We made Lisrel models for each of the three countries relating attitudes towards the work with characteristics of the work itself, the social relationships and the conditions of employment. The analyses were made on basis of the data of each year separately. Models were made for the samples as a whole and for separate categories of workers and managers.
The data coming out of these studies are rather confusing. The models show little communality and Bulgaria and Hungary do not stand out together compared to The Netherlands. Generally speaking, one can say that in all three countries the opportunities for growth and esteem in the work situation are important for job involvement and that the opportunity for feeling a member of a closely knit group influences organisational commitment. For the rest, various characteristics jump in and out of the equations like fleas (Dienes, Roe, Ten Horn & Zinovieva, 1995).

Even a specific investigation based on the well-known model by Hackman and Oldham (1975) could not squeeze out more insight. Hackman and Oldham link job content factors with personal outcomes like job satisfaction and involvement. We were able to construct a model with a good fit for The Netherlands, although the number of factors that went into it is rather small. The same model could be applied successfully to the Hungarian data, but Bulgaria needed a completely different model (Ten Horn, Zinovieva, Roe & Dienes, 1997).

We also tried to identify the key factors for motivation using discriminant analysis. This revealed such interesting insights like 'in The Netherlands you better employ women, because they are more motivated than men'. But again, no striking results were revealed. Opportunity for growth and esteem are important in all three countries. For the rest the factors are different per country. Besides, the discriminating power of most factors is rather low (Ten Horn, Zinovieva, Roe & Dienes, 1996b; Zinovieva, Dienes, Ten Horn & Roe, 1997).

This is all very confusing. We may conclude that many factors play a part in different ways in different countries. No Central/Eastern European pattern emerges either. That is not very helpful when trying to understand what happens.

4.5. Discussion

Did our investigation help to clear our minds?

I am afraid the upshot is not much. We can cast aside some commonly held beliefs - and that is certainly important. Socialism has not stifled work motivation. Employees, at least in Hungary and Bulgaria, are not alienated; on the contrary they are committed to their work. They are experiencing hard times, but work motivation still appears to be related mostly to interesting work. Motivation does not appear to be brought about by the promise of a decent
salary alone. People may feel forced by the circumstances to go where the money is, but work motivation cannot be produced by shifting dollars.

So far so good. But we have not come closer to understanding how things work. Apart from some very general notions, we do not know which aspects of the work situation enhance or kill motivation. We have no idea about the dynamics. Western models like the job characteristics model by Hackman & Oldham do not seem to work, at least not in Bulgaria. We even found little evidence that it works fully in The Netherlands. The relationships between variables look bleak. The shifting and shaking models that come out are unconvincing.

What is the matter? Are our data unclear because of faulty questionnaires or bad statistical homework? I hardly think so. The instruments were carefully constructed, have proper reliability's in all three countries and much effort was devoted to make them as equivalent as possible (see: Roe, Ten Horn, Dienes & Zinovieva, 1997; Ten Horn, Zinovieva, Roe, Dienes & Strahilov, 1996). Besides, would strong effects not have shown themselves even with instruments of less quality? The statistical procedures seem safe and sound, as well.

In my opinion, the lack of main effects has a different reason. In a study published in 1992 Ten Horn and Roe have pointed out the usefulness of making a distinction between generic and specific models, when trying to understand issues of work and organisation. The idea behind this is simple. In different organisations different aspects of the work situation may be prominent in contributing to the level of motivation, job satisfaction, commitment, stress, and so on.

Organisations differ widely in almost every aspect of organisational structure, culture, HRM-practices, task distribution, job design, etceteras. Employees differ considerably in what they prefer, in their attitudes, experiences, competencies and behaviour. As a consequence, the success of an organisation as well as its motivating potential depend on the proper tuning of the characteristics of the work situation and the characteristics of the people employed. This means that we can expect as many models as there are organisations. In one firm high work autonomy may be all important for the motivation of the employees, while the quality of the social relationships is largely irrelevant. In another organisation the opposite may be true. In a third organisation both aspects may be relevant, but only in interaction with joblevel or some other factor. And so on.

In analysing national samples, we lump all these differences together, thereby damping down correlation's. This leaves us with bleak and only very general models in which the level of a
correlation depends on the composition of the sample, rather than on something worthwhile in reality.

In my opinion, we must leave these attempts at generalising behind and start *investigating separate organisations* instead.

As a matter of fact this is exactly what has been done in developing the consultancy procedure that complements the 1994/1995 study (Roe, Ten Horn, Zinovieva & Dienes, 1997b).

In Bulgaria and Hungary a total of four organisations of very different kinds were analysed:

- a prosperous banking organisation with highly ambitious young professionals serving under competent but traditional managers;
- a textile factory in very bad economic and technical conditions, riddled by organised crime and loads of massive distrust between employees and managers and employees among themselves;
- a protective clothing factory with a management problem in one of their sewing departments;
- and a telecommunications firm, recently taken over by a western firm and in the process of being made ready for the introduction of new technologies.

The EDMK was used in all cases. Reading the case descriptions, the problems of these organisations were rather specific. The textile case provides a picture that fits in well with the expectations one could have of a factory coming out of the old system (for a vivid description see Zinovieva, 1997). The other organisations looked rather different in many respects. Putting the data from these organisations together in one analysis would certainly have been futile. But analysed separately, they show very interesting results. Moreover, the knowledge coming out of these cases gives us considerably more insight into the realities of organisational life at this crucial moment of time, than any sophisticated analysis of a pooled dataset.

It is amazing, we did not think of this earlier. We could have been warned if only we had taken seriously the earlier work by Ten Horn and Roe (1992).

It is rather strange that many of us implicitly expect universality to exist in the field of motivation and work, while in other fields we do not believe in it, or strongly doubt its existence (see e.g. Drenth's discussion of causal links between culture and organisational characteristics (Drenth, 1996) or the research by Warner (1996) and Guest (1996) questioning the universality of HRM practices).
4.6. Consequences for theory and practice

The argument outlined so far suggests that we should do away with attempts at building broad generalisations.

That is not exactly what I mean. I am saying: if we have the ambition to catch the essence of work and organisation and to uncover fundamental causes or universal guidelines, constructing general models may not be the best way of finding them.

In my reasoning, general (or rather generic) models have a different function. Their role is twofold: they provide us with an idea of the factors that might be relevant in a specific case and they make us aware of the relationships that could exist between these factors.

The method of constructing these generic and specific models, their conceptualisation and use in practice have not yet been worked out. Much clarification and study is still needed. I want to take the opportunity here to point out some of the consequences for research and practice.

Let us suppose we are investigating an organisation in which the 'true' problem is the following. The organisation is faced with widespread dissatisfaction, low job involvement, low motivation and a high incidence of stress among higher level personnel. At the bottom of this are appalling supervisor-subordinate relationships and the deplorable state of social contacts in general.

We decide to run a survey and lots of data come out. In building a specific model of the situation we have two problems:

- we must find a way to determine whether the figures we find must be considered high or low;
- we must find out which factors cause the problem.

In answering the first question it would be helpful if comparable data were available from other organisations. This means we best use instruments that allow such comparisons, that have been used extensively (without modifications) and the data of which are freely available.

The second nut is harder to crack. We cannot rely on Lisrel or other correlation-based analysis techniques, because of restriction of variance on the key variables. Indeed, we may even be misled into believing that the social relationships, although bad, are not at the root of the problem, because only small correlation's between the variables are found.
A more fruitful approach would be to make a qualitative and more detailed study into the dynamics of the underlying phenomena, using interviews with key-informants, group- and personal interviews with employees, observations in the workplace and the study of documents. This could well unveil the realities hidden behind the figures. The insights gained can subsequently be used to guide interventions. The success or failure of these interventions may in turn be taken as indications of the quality of the initial analysis.

May be, our investigations also lead to new discoveries or point to certain aspects that have been overlooked thusfar. These new aspects, variables or relationships can subsequently be added to the generic model or contribute to its refinement.

This brings us full circle. We use the knowledge stored in the generic model to guide our investigation in a particular organisation. We use the results for building a specific model that can guide interventions directed at the problems of the organisation. And we use the insights gained in the particular case to improve our understanding on a more general level. In this way theory and practice are brought into a mutual beneficial interaction.

4.7. Conclusion

The lessons are clear:

- preconceived opinions on motivation and organisation in Central and Eastern Europe are not well founded;
- it is not enough to analyse relationships on a broad, national level; we have to come down to separate organisations or sets of organisations to find anything of real value, not only for theory but also for practice;
- it is dangerous to apply theories or models imported from elsewhere without further investigation.

Indeed:

- a lot is crumbling in the East, but it does not seem to be commitment;
- a lot of reconstruction is necessary, but there are no easy recipes that can be applied across the board;
- general models are only of limited value;
- understanding work and motivation in Central and Eastern Europe requires careful study of the problems of specific organisations in their own settings and with their own employees. That is to say if our limited experience in Bulgaria and Hungary is
anything to go by. Going this way means a lot of work, but we have got the tools and, to me, it appears to be the only way forward.

4.8 Summary

The studies of the so-called WMQ-project into work motivation in Central and Eastern Europe in the period of economic and social transition between 1992 and 1995 are reviewed to extract the general insights, that can be gained from these investigations. The main questions are whether socialism has created a generation of non-motivated workers and whether western models and theories can safely be applied in guiding the change process.

In a 1992 survey of 1062 Bulgarian workers no signs of demotivation or low work involvement were found. High involvement in the work itself and alienation from the organisational context and practices seem to be the typical attitudes, a phenomenon coined 'egocentrism in work'. A longitudinal study in 1994 and 1995 of representative samples of the same size in Bulgaria and Hungary and a comparison to data from The Netherlands in 1995, generally confirm these findings. Although many differences between the countries were found, these do not fall in line with common expectations.

The relationships between motivation, work situation and personal characteristics were studied by Lisrel and discriminant analyses. The results are confusing and do not support the idea that western models can simply be applied.

On basis of these studies, the demotivation hypothesis can be discarded for the Bulgarian and Hungarian workforce. The absence of clear-cut relationships between work situation characteristics, motivation and attitudes is explained by introducing the notion of generic and specific models. If different models are required to explain motivation in different organisations, data from different organisations grouped together cannot reveal distinct common patterns.

It is concluded that priority must be given to the analysis of specific organisations and differences between organisations. This can provide a better understanding of relevant factors for consultancy and policy-making. It would also improve the link between theory and practice.
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Work Motivation and Quality of Working Life
Social Prerequisites for Successful Socio-Economic Change

Aim:

- study of work motivation and quality of working life in Central and Eastern Europe
- improve understanding of the psychological side of the transformation process
- facilitate changes in organizations
Background

- Social and economic transition in Central and Eastern Europe
- Work motivation is a prerequisite for economic restructuring
Questions:
1. What is the motivation like at present?
2. How does the motivation change with time?
3. What determines the motivation?
4. How can the motivation be influenced?
5. Development of an approach for organizations.

Investigation
- Questionnaire for employees
  1000 Bulgarians (1994)
  1000 Hungarians (1994)
- Repetition of questionnaires in 1995
- For comparison:
  Questionnaire
  400 Dutchmen (1995)
Consultancy approach

• Development in actual projects

• Training of consultants

  Bulgaria: Financial Institution
           Textile factory

  Hungary: Telecom firm
           Specialized clothing factory

Finance:

European Commission
Copernicus Programme
CIPACT 93 - 0256

Planning

February 1994  February 1997
Results:
- Country profiles
  - Social overview
  - Police
  - Judicial system

- Questionnaires
  - English
  - Russian
  - Bulgarian
  - Hungarian
  - Dutch
  - Technical guideline and reference manual

Results:
- Country reports
  - Bulgaria: 1995
  - Hungary: 1984

- Comparisons between countries
  - Based on data 1994
  - Based on data 1995

- Consultancy approach and training outline

- Articles
Follow-up projects

- Bulgaria:
  third and fourth administration

- Translation of questionnaires into:
  - Croat
  - Czech
  - Slovak
  - Greek

- Studies in these countries

Publications

- Country Profiles
- Country Reports
- Comparisons between countries
- Consultancy
- Progress Reports
- Other publications
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Publications

- General Reports
- Country Profiles
- Country Reports
- Comparisons between countries
- Consultancy Approach
- Progress Reports
- Internal Documents
- Other Publications
- Related Work by team-members
General Reports
Final Report
International Research Team
Extended Delft Measurement Kit. Technical guideline - English version

Country Profiles
L. Héthy
Country Profile Hungary - Spring 1994

G. Mengov
Country Profile Bulgaria - Spring 1994

L. Héthy
Country Profile Hungary II - Developments in 1994/95

G. Mengov
Country Profile Bulgaria II - Autumn 1995

L. Héthy
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Country Reports
E. Dienes
Work motivation and quality of work in Hungary 1994 - Research Report

I.L. Zinovieva

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I.L. Zinovieva
Comparisons between countries

L.A. Ten Horn, I.L. Zinovieva, R.A. Roe and E. Dienes


L.A. Ten Horn, I.L. Zinovieva, R.A. Roe & E. Dienes

*A comparison of work motivation and quality of work in Bulgaria, Hungary and The Netherlands (1994/95) - Research Report*


Consultancy Approach

International Research Team

*Extended Delft Measurement Kit. Consultancy manual - English version*

International Research Team

*Extended Delft Measurement Kit. Consultancy manual - Bulgarian version*

International Research Team

*Extended Delft Measurement Kit. Consultancy manual - Hungarian version*

International Research Team

*Extended Delft Measurement Kit. Training outline - English version*
International Research Team

*Extended Delft Measurement Kit. Training outline - Bulgarian version*

International Research Team

*Extended Delft Measurement Kit. Training outline - Hungarian version*

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**Progress Reports**


*Progress Report no. 1*


*Progress Report no. 2*


*Progress Report no. 3*


*Progress Report no. 4*


*Progress Report no. 5*

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**Internal Reports (not available externally)**

International Research Team

*Extended Delft Measurement Kit. Survey booklet - English version*
Extended Delft Measurement Kit. Survey booklet - Bulgarian version

International Research Team
Extended Delft Measurement Kit. Survey booklet - Hungarian version

International Research Team
Extended Delft Measurement Kit. Survey booklet - Dutch version


E. Dienes
*Work motivation and quality of work in firm I, Budapest*
Consultancy Report.

I.L. Zinovieva
*Work motivation and quality of work in firm I, Sofia*
Consultancy Report.

E. Dienes
*Work motivation and quality of work in firm II, Budapest*
Consultancy Report.

I.L. Zinovieva
*Work motivation and quality of work in firm II, Sofia*
Consultancy Report.

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Other Publications

L.A. Ten Horn, I.L. Zinovieva, R.A. Roe and E. Dienes


*Work motivation and working conditions as determinants of performance, job attitudes and stress among Hungarian workers.*


*Work motivation and working conditions as determinants of performance, work attitudes and stress among Hungarian workers.*


*Work motivation and quality of working life - Social prerequisites for successful socio-economic change.*


Comparative Study of Work Motivation in The Netherlands, Hungary and Bulgaria.

Paper presented to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences' Scientific Committee on Labour, Budapest, 26 May 1997 [in Hungarian].
*Work motivation and working conditions as determinants of performance, job attitudes and stress among Hungarian employees.*
Ergonomiá [in Hungarian].

*Work in transition - A comparative study on work motivation and quality of work.*
Ergonomiá [in Hungarian].

*Work motivation and quality of work. Design of an international study.*

*De EDMK voor doorlichting van werkbeleving en welzijn.*


*Explaining work attitudes in different societies. Relevance of the Job Characteristics Model.*

*Look at a transient society. Work motivation and its antecedents and consequences in Bulgaria.*

Quality of work life among Bulgarian workers and managers. Bulgarsko Spisanie po Psicologie (Bulgarian Journal of Psychology) (accepted for publication).

**Related work by team members**

*Does it make a difference? A study of work motivation during the transformation in Eastern Europe.*

*Economic transformation and organizational change in Eastern Europe: The role of the worker.*

*Work motivation during socio-economic transformation. Some findings concerning job involvement and organizational commitment in two Eastern European countries.*
Paper presented at the IRM Division Workshop Series. Faculty of Commerce and Business Administration, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., February 11, 1997.


*Work motivation in post-Socialist industrial organizations.*
European Work and Organizational Psychologist, 3, 3: 251-262.
appendix II

Overview of the Extended Delft Measurement Kit (EDMK)
version 1997

• Background
• Variables measured
• Main characteristics and process of construction
• Expected further developments

Background

The Extended Delft Measurement Kit for Quality of Working Life (EDMK) is a set of well tested questionnaire modules that can be used to assess a wide variety of task characteristics, social relationships and other aspects of the work situation, as well as personal characteristics of employees, work related attitudes and personal and performance outcomes of the work. It is intended for use in scientific research and in consultancy projects.

The EDMK was developed in the course of the international research project 'Work Motivation and Quality of Working Life - Social Prerequisites for Successful Socio-economic Change' financed in part by the European Communities' Action for Cooperation in Science and Technology with Central and Eastern European Countries (Copernicus Programma; contract no CIPA-CT93-0256).

The research team consisted of R.A. Roe (Tilburg University, The Netherlands), L.A. ten Horn (Delft University of Technology, The Netherlands), I.L. Zinovieva (University of Sofia, Bulgaria) and E. Dienes (Research Institute of Labour, Budapest, Hungary).

The questionnaire has been constructed on the basis of existing instruments published in the literature, as well as items and scales developed during the project.

Extensive information on the instruments is available in the following reports:
Variables measured

Characteristics of the work situation

- **Task characteristics**: autonomy (general autonomy, autonomy from the context, autonomy forced by the situation, autonomy in the work itself), variety, task identity, task significance, feedback (feedback from work, feedback from others), standardization

- **Relationships in the workplace**: organizational climate, informal contacts, work related contacts

- **Working conditions and terms of employment**: physical working conditions, pay, career opportunities

- **Opportunities to satisfy basic needs**: opportunity for physiological satisfactions, job security, predictability in the work situation, opportunity for belongingness, opportunity for esteem from others, opportunity for growth

Personal characteristics

- **Occupational characteristics**: employment status, full/part time employment, job level, shift work, number of working hours, number of years in the organization

- **Qualifications**: computer skills, education, number of languages spoken

- **Attributes**: age, gender, union membership, unemployment experience, socio-economic status, socio-economic wellbeing

- **Basic needs**: physiological needs, security needs, belongingness needs, needs for esteem, needs for growth, need for sense

- **Attitudes**: authoritarianism, optimism about not becoming unemployed, optimism about the economy
• Values of life domains: values attached to work, family, friends, leisure, politics, religion
• Various characteristics: sense making style, self-efficacy

Characteristics of work behaviour
• Expenditure of effort

Outcomes
• Performance outcomes: general performance, task performance, role performance.
• Personal outcomes: general health, work related stress, general job satisfaction, tendency to leave, job involvement, organisational commitment, meaningfulness of the work, responsibility, rejection of taking control, satisfactions with the fulfilment of various needs (physiological, security, belongingness, esteem, growth).

Main characteristics and process of construction

All measures are self-report. Most items have Likert type response formats with two to seven categories. Some have attribute scales. Items were selected for their quality in earlier research.

Items have a readability at 'end of primary school' level and are intelligible for employees of all job levels. The wording is chosen to be applicable to a broad range of work situations and jobs. The questionnaires cannot be used for self-employed persons.

The questionnaire modules are available in English (master version), Bulgarian, Dutch and Hungarian.

In constructing the questionnaire, special care was taken to secure that concepts and items would be applicable and understood in each of the countries. All variables are measured by the same set of items in each country. Translations were made from the English master version. An independent translation back to English was performed to check comparability of meaning between the different language versions.

Pilot studies were made as an initial check on the instruments. Reliability data and validities were calculated using questionnaires completed by broad samples of employees in Bulgaria,
Hungary in 1994 (N=1106, 1200) and The Netherlands in 1995 (N=354). Questionnaires were completed again by the same respondents in 1995 in Bulgaria (N=1102) and Hungary (N=864). Item analyses were done on subsamples and factor structures were checked in case of doubt. The scales were cross-validated in the rest of the samples.

Uniform scales for the three countries were constructed in which only items showing consistency across countries are used. The scales comprise the core items as well as most other items.

Coefficients alpha are above .50, many above .70, with few exceptions. Comparative data are available for various subsamples and categories in standard form.

The EDMK and its predecessor DMK, have been used in scientific research as well as in consultancy settings in Bulgaria, Hungary and The Netherlands.

**Expected further developments**

The EDMK as used in the international research project will be reworked to make it more easily useable as an instrument for research and consultancy in various settings. It will become available in 4 versions:

- **EDMK-total**: the full set as used in the international study;
- **EDMK-reduced**: the questionnaire without the items not used in scale construction and items of little relevance for organisations; EDMK-reduced can be used for consultancy and research if good reliability and a detailed picture is required;
- **EDMK-quick-scan**: a set of some 50 items using 2 items each for the most relevant scales; EDMK-quick-scan has a very limited reliability, provides a rough idea only and can be used to identify larger parts of the organisation having problems and suggest areas that should be studied in more detail; EDMK-quick-scan can be used if an organisation wants a preliminary trial only; the EDMK-reduced is available for more thorough studies of what is really at hand;
- **EDMK-modular**: this is a set of all scales that are relevant for organisations (in the EDMK-reduced format), but now in modular form; each scale can be used separately.

There will also be a set of interview schemes for interviewing key-informants in organisations that are to be advised. This set will contain questions on several topics. It will be referred to as **EDMK-int**.
NOTES

1 Between February 1993 and February 1996 a team of social scientists from Bulgaria, Hungary and The Netherlands were involved in a large study of the transition process in Central and Eastern European Societies after the collapse of the former regimes. I was one of them. We studied work motivation and attitudes towards work and organization because we considered these attitudes to be prerequisites for successful socio-economic change.

I wrote this text to capture some of the insights gained in the project and to express some of the feelings we had during the time we labored over our data.

The location is the office of the project in Sofia, looking out on Dondukov Boulevard, a busy main street in the town center. People hurry past, patched-up cars bump along on the uneven surface and aging trams go by rattling and screeching.

2 Transcription of the address as delivered at the symposium

3 It is interesting to note that the phenomenon of egocentrism, once observed in the Bulgarian study, was later-on also found in the context of a Dutch university (Houwing & Ten Horn, 1996).

4 This research was executed under contract ERB-CIPACT-930256 with the European Commission, Copernicus Programme.

5 In a later phase of the study scales were developed for leadership styles (correctional, socio-emotional, stimulating, sense-giving), and participation in decision making (in daily matters, in policy matters). These scales will be added to the collection later.

6 A preliminary translation is available in Greek, Czech and Slovak. A translation into Croatian is expected.
This first publication in the WTM-series contains a collection of papers, which has been presented at the symposium 'Work motivation and Change in Eastern Europe'. This symposium was organised by the Work and Organisation Psychology Unit of Delft University of Technology on the 12th of June 1998 in Delft. Three speakers, prof.dr. Irina L. Zinovieva (University of Sofia, Bulgaria), prof.dr. Robert A. Roe (Tilburg University, The Netherlands), and dr. Laurens A. ten Horn (Delft University of Technology, The Netherlands) present results and experiences gained in the project 'Work Motivation and Quality: Social Prerequisites for Socio-Economic Change (WMQ)'. Apart from valuable research results in the area of consultancy, the project outcomes promise to provide new theoretical insights in the area of work motivation. The old motivation theories are not fully applicable in the East European companies, which are still in a state of transition.