The University of Liverpool

The Liverpool Institute of Public Administration and Management

The Development and Inter-relations of Organisational and Professional Commitment:

An Empirical Study of Solicitors in Large Law Firms

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of
The University of Liverpool for the degree of
Doctor in Philosophy

by

Eva Teresa Valente Dias de Oliveira

September 1996

Contents

List of figures

List of tables

Abstract

Tittle: The Development and Inter-relations of Organisational and Professional Commitment: An Empirical Study of Solicitors in Large Law Firms
(Ph. D. thesis submitted to The University of Liverpool, 1996)

Author: Eva Teresa Valente Dias de Oliveira

This study concerns the relationship between organisational and professional commitment over time. The study was conducted among solicitors in large commercial practices. Reviewing the literature on organisational and professional commitment three issues appeared salient. The first concerns the extent to which commitment is time related. The second concerns the extent to which professional and organisational commitment are compatible. The third relates to the nature of commitment. Levinson's (1978) theory of adult development provided the framework of analysis for the present study. The core of Levinson's theory is that people experience periods of stability and transition during their lifetime. Moreover, these changes are to some extent pre-determined.

The present study tests the idea that commitment generally increases with age. The underlying assumption is that older people are generally more satisfied with life in general than younger people. Another set of hypotheses relates to the relationship between organisational and professional commitment. It is expected that both forms of commitment are complementary. Levinson suggests that at each life structure individuals experience different intensities of commitment. This is shaped by personality development as well as the processes of adaptation and socialisation. Finally, the motives behind an individual's decision to stay in the organisation or the profession determines the nature of their commitments. It is expected that professionals express their commitments in terms of a positive attitude rather than instrumental behaviour.

Organisational and professional commitment were measured using Meyer and Allen's (1991) scale. The measures of organisational and professional commitment differentiated between attitudinal and behavioural dimensions. Attitudinal commitment was defined as the psychological identification and attachment to the firm and to the profession (affective commitment), as well as a perceived moral duty to remain in the firm and profession (normative commitment). Behavioural commitment was described as personal sacrifices and the costs of quitting either the profession or the firm (continuance commitment). The survey also measured job involvement (Lodahl and Kejner 1965), professionalism (Hall 1968), and work values orientation (Shepard 1972; Popper and Lipshizt 1992). A sample was drawn randomly from large solicitors' firms in London, Birmingham, Leeds and Manchester. 403 usable replies were received. Data were analyzed mainly by t-test and Oneway Analysis of Variance (A.N.O.V.A) and Duncan's multiple-range test for multiple comparisons.

The results confirm the initial hypotheses. Age was found to be a stronger predictor of commitment than individuals' experiences. Further, solicitors are more professionally than organisationally committed. This finding is, however, subjected to some qualifications. The sense of 'wanting to stay' and 'needing to stay' is higher for the profession than the firms. Yet the 'obligation to stay' is higher for the organisation than the profession. When results are analysed by age, professional commitment predominates only among solicitors in the early career stage. Thereafter, no form of commitment predominates until 'Mid-life Transition'. At this stage, organisational commitment predominates. In the late career stage, there is no significant difference between both forms of commitment. Generally, affective commitment predominates over calculative commitment. The theoretical and practical implications of the findings of the present study are discussed. The thesis includes suggestions for future research.

Acknowledgments

Introduction

These days, the resource most difficult to keep and hold is not technology, not the products, but rather the human resources. And loyal human resources are needed for long-term success.

PATRICK C FLOOD
MARTIN J GANNON
JAAP PAAUWE

Managing Without Traditional Methods, 1996

Human capital is increasingly seen as the most valuable resource of many organisations. This is because for many of them, delivering services became their key product. The operators are the experts, and the raw material for such activity is, therefore, knowledge (intelligence, expertise and information).

Consequently, human capital, with its potential to apply such knowledge, becomes the critical resource of the organisation (Flood, Gannon and Paauwe 1996). Whereas a firm can copy techniques, negotiate contracts, imitate products, it cannot replicate human capital. Organisations are becoming aware that such an asset represents, therefore, their competitive advantage.

The individual's expertise is far from being the only issue here. In effect, organisations often invest in the training and development of their staff. For example, the firm Titmuss Sainer Dechert in their Trainee Solicitors' (1996, 6) brochure declares:

> The substantial commitment we [the firm] make in time and money to training is justified only if we produce the skilled lawyers and, ultimately, partners needed to ensure our continuing growth and success. When recruiting we are consciously looking for people who will remain with us on qualifying and who would wish to make their careers with us.

Clearly, organisations are demanding loyalty. Yet, organisational settings often operate instrumentally regarding their employees. That is, manpower is one of many other assets that the organisation controls to achieve an end, that is, to generate profits. For example, after paying a £860 million for Warburg's investment banking business, SBC set aside £60 million worth of golden handcuffs to retain staff (Financial Times, 22 May 1996). Therefore, how can such organisations inspire feelings of loyalty among their employees when organisations are themselves calculating in their purposes? Apparently, some fail to do so. Indeed, regardless of how high bonuses were, SBC still lost some key executives. Nevertheless, even those employees who decide to stay are

not necessarily loyal to the organisation. Indeed, the decision to stay might be the result of one's own self-interest rather than an altruistic concern for the organisation. Yet, positive involvement seems particularly relevant in organisations where the quality of performance is less palpable and more difficult to quantify, for example, service industries (Mowday, Porter and Steers 1982). It is, therefore, in the interest of the organisation to foster loyalty and positive involvement in order to retain its investment and obtain the best from people.

The need to retain people in the organisation is potentially applicable to all staff. Professionals, however, pose a particular challenge to the organisation. The challenge arises from the professional's dual commitments; this refers to the professionals' role as members of a profession and their role as employees (Etzioni 1975). For example, doctors may feel bound to refuse treatment if, for instance, the cost is wastefully disproportionate to the chances of success. Likewise, a lawyer may be prevented from researching a case as thoroughly as he might wish because of the firm's policy on handling 'Legal Aid' cases. As such, dual membership poses the potential for conflict of loyalties. The question is, therefore, to what extent does this conflict, if it exists, damage the employees' loyalty to the organisation? Much seems to depend upon the goals and values of the organisation.

Organisational life is characterised by a sequence of compromising situations. Individuals are always trying to find a balance among conflicting loyalties, for

example, the client, the firm and oneself (Reichers 1986). If an equilibrium is achieved, it probably reflects the individual's integration and adaptation to the organisation and vice-versa. It also indicates how personal and organisational principles are congruent. Equilibrium represents, therefore, a source of loyalty. There are some organisations which manage to reconcile the potential for conflict. Partnerships of lawyers, architects and accountants are examples of professional oriented organisations. These are the ones which offer people, most probably, a fulfilling work experience and pride in their loyalties.

Time does not stand still. The choice and entry to the profession or the organisation typically takes place in the early adulthood. Individuals, however, change throughout their lives. Indeed, Levinson's (1978) theory of adult development suggests that individuals experience alternate periods of stability and transition. As such, feelings of attachment to the profession or the organisation might eventually change over time. For example, if individuals are more involved in their profession than in the organisation in early career stages (Becker and Carper 1970), how does this attitude change over time? That is, as individuals change, how do the individuals' feelings of attachment towards their profession and organisation evolve? For example, do individuals become less involved with their profession as they are socialized into the organisation's culture? Do they derive their satisfaction in work from organisational rewards solely? The aims of productivity and profit making of an organisation alienate individual development and diminish the social meaning of work (Reichheld 1996). If production and power concerns are important, does commitment

become more instrumental as time goes on? By comparison, if enhancing the meaning of work and fostering development as well as productive efficiency are important, does the individual become more identified with the organisation as time goes by?

The present study

This thesis seeks to address some of these issues by conducting a questionnaire survey measuring commitment to the both the organisation and the profession at different career stages. More specifically, the research question regards *how the relationship between organisational and professional commitment evolve over time.* Solicitors working in large law firms are the population of the present study. Solicitors were chosen because they clearly met the criteria of a 'true profession'. Large law firms were selected because they resemble business corporations.

The sample was stratified by age groups (six strata) and randomly drawn from individuals employed in firms based in London, Birmingham, Leeds and Manchester. Organisational and professional commitment were measured by Allen and Meyer's (1991) three component scale. Solicitors were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with a series of items, to name a few examples:

- I enjoy discussing my firm with people outside it.

- I really feel as if this firm's problems are my own.

- I am enthusiastic about the profession.

■ I have put too much into this profession to considerer changing now.

The survey also measured solicitors' levels of job involvement, the importance of the profession to individuals and work values orientation.

The present study reaches two main conclusions. First, both organisational and professional commitment generally increase over time. The increase, however, appears to be more a function of age than the individual's experience in the organisation. Specifically, the attainment of partnership appeared to have little impact upon organisational and professional commitment. Second, the evidence suggests that organisational and professional commitment, far from being in conflict, are potentially complementary. Whilst professional commitment is significantly higher than organisational commitment at the early stages of a solicitors career, that difference disappears by the mid thirties.

The structure of the thesis

In Chapter One, the literature on the nature of organisational commitment is reviewed. Different definitions of the concept are discussed. Antecedents, correlates and consequences of organisational commitment are explained. Particular emphasis is placed upon the relationship between organisational commitment and age. Chapter Two focuses upon the literature pertaining to the theory of professions and in particular the issue of dual membership and its consequences. The relationship between professional and organisational commitment is discussed in the light of different schools of thought. Chapter

Three discusses the research framework, provides definitions of the research variables and identifies the research hypotheses. Chapter Four concerns the research methodology. The sampling strategy is explained, measurement instruments are described and the results of preliminary statistics are discussed. Chapter Five contains the research results. Chapter Six discusses the findings and the implications for theory. Chapter Seven consists of a summary and conclusions.

Chapter One

Employer-employee relationship:
the nature of organisational commitment

There is a revolution under way in the management of work.

RICHARD E. WALTON,

Harvard Business Review, 1985

In John Grisham's popular novel *The Firm* the fledgling assistant lawyer is

bombarded by an avalanche of luxurious materialism. The beautiful house, the

new BMW motor car and so forth, are intended to serve one purpose, that is,

to bind the employee to the firm. Even though this particular firm was rather an

unusual one, most organisations seem to need members' loyalty and

commitment.

Yet, the individual's attachment to their organisation is, for the great majority of

cases, more complex than the previous example seems to suggest. It seems that the concept of organisational commitment may have different meanings depending on whose needs are being served. One perspective describes the relationship between the individual and the organisation as being altruistic. That is, individuals experiencing this form of organisational commitment stay for the benefit of the organisation. The other perspective suggests that the relationship between the individual and the organisation is self-oriented. That is, individuals experiencing this form of commitment stay for their own benefit. The following discusses in detail both meanings of organisational commitment. Further, the discussion also focuses on how personal characteristics and organisational-related aspects affect organisational commitment.

The definition of organisational commitment

Organisational commitment has been defined as a psychological state that characterizes the employee's relationship with the organisation and has implications for the employee's decision to stay or leave (Meyer and Allen 1991). Commitment is said to reflect, mainly, two dimensions: (1) the attitudinal, and (2) the behavioural aspect of commitment (Mowday, Porter and Steers 1982).

Attitudinal commitment

Attitudinal commitment is conceptualized from the viewpoint of the organisation. It concerns an individual's psychological attachment to, and identification with, the organisation by the willingness of participants to divert energy and loyalty

to it which links the identity of the person to the organisation (Mowday, Porter and Steers 1982; O'Reilly and Chatman 1986). More specifically, Meyer and Allen (1991) suggest that attitudinal commitment reflects two distinct psychological states, (1) affective commitment, that is, a feeling of *wanting to stay* and (2) normative commitment, that is, a feeling that one *ought to stay*. As such, affective commitment refers to the employee's emotional attachment to, identification with, and involvement in the organisation. Normative commitment reflects a feeling of obligation to continue employment, a sense of loyalty towards the organisation (Meyer and Allen 1991; Meyer, Allen and Smith 1993). The difference between affective and normative commitment rests, therefore, on the nature of the link between the employee and the employer.

Behavioural, continuance or calculative commitment

Behavioural, continuance or calculative commitment is conceptualized from the standpoint of an individual's past actions which serve to bind him to the organisation, that is, investments, costs and rewards which will determine whether the individual continues in the organisation (Becker 1960). In this perspective, commitment means accounting for 'the fact that people engage in a consistent line of activity' (Becker 1960, 33). It is important to point out that employees who become bonded, or locked into an organisation are not necessarily willing to exert effort, maintain loyalty and the like but they perceive that it is in their own interest to remain as a member of the organisation. As Meyer and Allen (1991, 67) suggest:

Continuance commitment refers to an awareness of the costs

associated with leaving the organisation. Employees whose primary link to the organisation is based on continuance commitment remain because they *need* to do so.

As time goes on, 'side bets' become an increasingly important determinant of a person's continued membership of the organisation (Ritzer and Trice 1969). 'Side bets' refers to 'golden handcuffs' and the 'impersonal bureaucratic' arrangement of organisations. For example, the longer employees stay in the organisation they gain seniority and connections within the organisation (social involvement increases, earlier sacrifices accumulate, and job mobility decreases). Moreover, pension schemes may eventually penalise early leavers (Becker 1960; Mowday, Porter and Steers 1982). These past actions or 'side bets' may at a certain stage make leaving more expensive than staying.

The relationship between attitudinal and behavioural commitment

Attitudinal and behavioural commitment are associated with different factors and experiences. As such, knowing the nature of experiences that contribute to both forms of commitment, employers may choose, more accurately, the type of employees that best suit them. That is, organisations may identify the form of commitment that they are encouraging among their employees, by their actions (Meyer, Bobocel and Allen 1991). For example, Allen and Meyer (1990) observed that pre-organisational experiences, such as early organisational socialisation, may relate to the feeling of obligation towards the organisation.

Moreover, it has been suggested that over time there are reciprocal influences between attitudinal and behavioural commitment (Mowday and McDade 1979). That is, attitudes lead to committing behaviours, which reinforce attitudes, and committing behaviours lead to commitment attitudes and subsequent committing behaviours. It is immaterial whether the process begins with either an attitude or behaviour, each influences the other over time (Mowday, Porter and Steers 1982; Reichers 1985). There are a few implications for research that come out of the relationship between both types of commitment. First, the study of organisational commitment has to include the notion of time. Second, the definition and measurement of organisational commitment should reflect the two different but related concepts.

Antecedents, correlates and consequences of organisational commitment

There is a wide variety of research into the topic of organisational commitment. The research tends to focus on separate aspects of commitment: the antecedents, the correlates and the consequences (Figure 1.1). For example, Mathieu and Zajac's (1990) meta-analysis yields over two hundred empirical studies. Yet, the emphasis on the development of organisational commitment has been neglected. One of the few, and earliest contributions, is that of Mowday, Porter and Steers (1982); they suggest that organisational commitment changes over time. Mowday, Porter and Steers' primary concern is, however, the employee's experiences in the first year of employment. Buchanan (1974), for example, has also emphasised other career stages; these

are the mid and the late career stages.

Figure 1.1

Classification of antecedents, correlates and consequences of organisational commitment
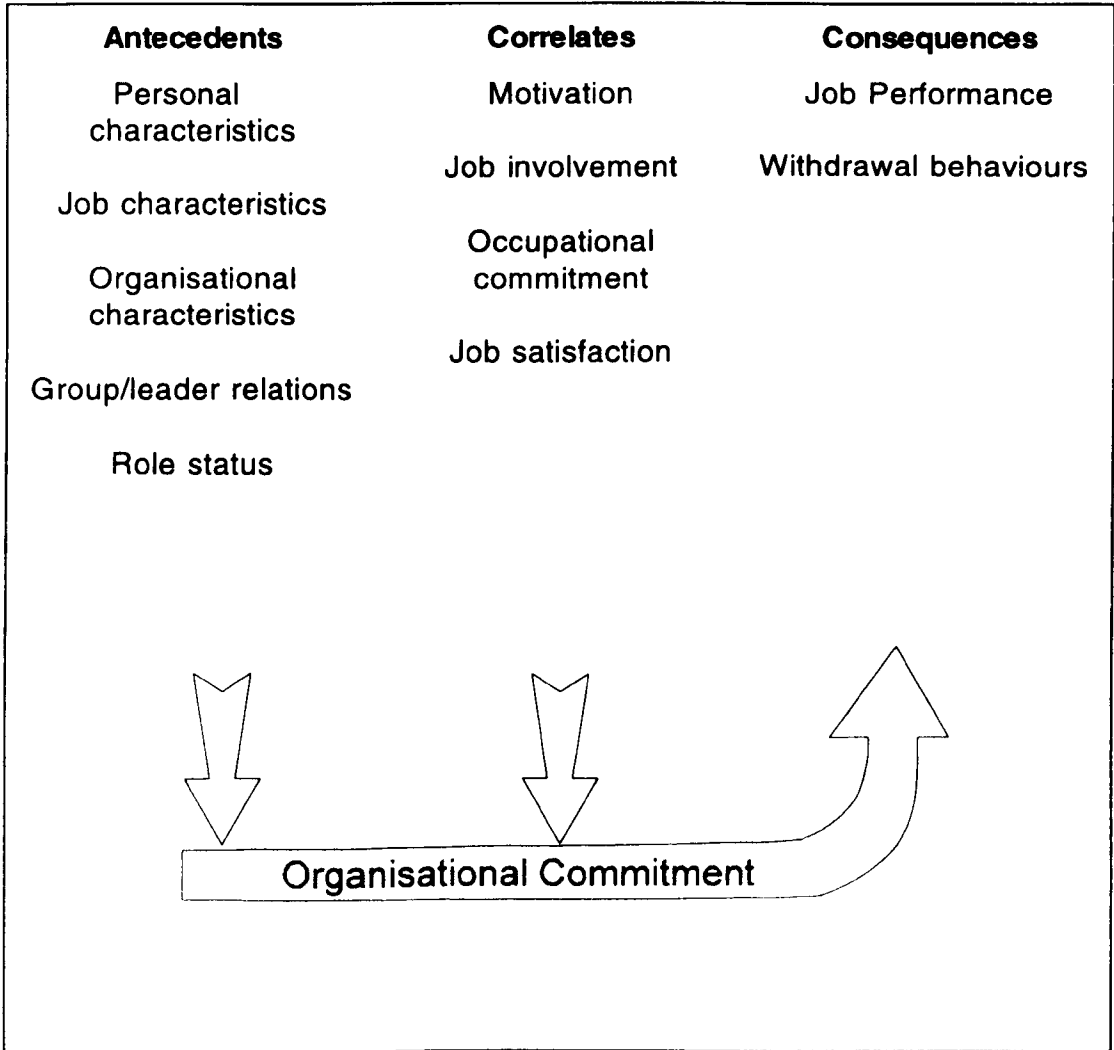
Antecedents	Correlates	Consequences
Personal characteristics	Motivation	Job Performance
Job characteristics	Job involvement	Withdrawal behaviours
Organisational characteristics	Occupational commitment	
Group/leader relations	Job satisfaction	
Role status		

Organisational Commitment

The following section discusses early studies of organisational commitment. The emphasis is upon the influence of personal factors and organisational characteristics on organisational commitment. The distinct influence of such factors upon attitudinal and behavioural commitment is also stressed.

Personal characteristics

■ Age and tenure

One particularly interesting association is that between organisational commitment and age. Although organisational commitment is consistently and positively related to age, the relationship is weak. The product moment correlation coefficients rarely exceed 0.3 (Angle and Perry 1981; Cohen and Lowenberg 1990; Hrebiniak 1974; Mathieu and Zajac 1990; Meyer, Allen and Smith 1993; Morris and Sherman 1981). Empirical evidence suggests, therefore, that the proportion of changes of organisational commitment that can be explained by age is small but it also shows that there is an obvious link between the two variables. One question thus arises, to what extent in behavioural science, should the practical value of results be based only on the magnitude of the associated effect between variables? (Rosenthal 1990).

Tenure is also positively associated with organisational commitment and the strength of association is similar to that of age. Furthermore, it seems that age and tenure may affect the way commitment is expressed. Whereas age was found to be more significantly related to attitudinal commitment (Meyer and Allen 1984; Mathieu and Zajac 1990; Cohen 1993; Reilly and Orsak 1991), tenure in the organisation was found to be more strongly related to calculative commitment (Mathieu and Zajac 1990; Cohen 1993). One possible explanation is that in early career stages organisational commitment may reflect a desire to stay, rather than a need to stay. In effect, investments or accumulated sacrifices; for example, pension schemes or perks benefits, have yet had the

chance to develop (Reichers 1986). The desire to stay might reflect a post hoc rationalisation of events in which individuals decide that they had the choice of staying rather than a lack of alternatives (Drummond 1997; Staw 1981). Another explanation might be related to job level. Individuals, in senior positions, have more rewarding jobs and privileges, such as greater autonomy and participation in the decision-making process. These are positively associated with attitudinal organisational commitment (Blackburn and Fox 1983; Mathieu and Zajac 1990; Morrow and McElroy 1987; Ornstein and Isabella 1990).

Although findings are not conclusive, they suggest that commitment increases with age. In fact, regardless of the way in which career stage is determined, based upon age or tenure, the empirical evidence shows that the more committed workers are those in late career stages (Allen and Meyer 1993; Morrow and McElroy 1987). In the early career stage, individuals may experience great job mobility. If they find their jobs inappropriate, individuals will seek other opportunities that suit them better (Mowday, Porter and Steers 1982; Rusbult and Farrel 1983). Also at this stage, they express a greater intention to leave the organisation (Ornstein, Cron and Slocum 1989; Ornstein and Isabella 1990). They are also less involved and less satisfied with their work (Williams and Hazer 1986). As such, organisations have to decide if they want to bind their employees emotionally or financially.

The early employment stages may be also critical in influencing ensuing levels

of commitment. Individuals are vulnerable to organisation promises, however. When individual's expectations are not met, attitudinal organisational commitment is undermined (Allen and Meyer 1990; Buchanan 1974). The evidence is in conflict, however. On the one hand, Dunnette, Avery and Banas (1973) suggest that disillusionment with the organisation is thought to negatively affect the highly committed. Yet, Morris, Lydka and O'Creevy's (1993) longitudinal study suggests that it is low expectations towards the organisation that influence, negatively, levels of organisational commitment leading to withdrawal behaviours.

In the mid career stage, the desire for achievement (feelings of acceptance and a belief that their work) is strongly and highly related to affective commitment ($r = 0.68$, $p < 0.05$) than continuance commitment ($r = -0.18$, $p < 0.05$) or normative commitment ($r = 0.34$, $p < 0.05$) (Allen and Meyer 1990). The mid career stage is characterized by a shift from a need for security to a need for achievement (Hall and Nougaim 1968). Therefore, experiences that reinforce this feeling are most likely to influence commitment. For example, feelings of acceptance may take a form of casual remarks by colleagues, whereas the belief that their work is important to the organisation may take a form of promotion (Buchanan 1974).

■ Gender Differences

Commitment is thought to be gender related and appears to be associated with attitudinal commitment rather than behavioural commitment. Reviewing the influence of sex on organisational commitment, Mathieu and Zajac (1990)

concluded that women are likely to be more committed than men. The most widespread and accepted explanation is that women have to overcome more barriers to achieve better positions than men (Bielby 1992; Grusky 1965; Marsden, Kalleberg and Cook 1993). Organisations are quite often male dominated environments. Working conditions and opportunities to grow inside the organisation are, therefore, more challenging for women than men. For example, taking career breaks for maternity leave still counts as a career set-back for women (O'Keely 1995). By the same token, there are certain types of occupation that are traditionally male dominated, such as law and medicine (MacCorquodale and Jensen 1993; Phelan et al. 1993). Consequently, working conditions frequently discriminate against women; they still need to prove that they are as capable of doing the job as their male counterparts. For instance, Susan Ward, Chair of the Association of Women Barristers, claims (Dyer 1995, 10):

> [...] Women feel they're not given the opportunities. By and large, they're channelled into stereotyped women's work. The clerks negotiate lower fees for women than for men. And when it comes to judicial opportunities, the rules of the game are still made by men to play.

■ Education

Formal education is inversely correlated to organisational commitment. That is, levels of organisational commitment decrease as the level of formal qualifications increases. Moreover, formal education seems to be more strongly associated (that is, more negative) with attitudinal rather than calculative commitment (Mathieu and Zajac 1990). There are some possible explanations. Some argue that more qualified employees are less committed because they

have higher expectations towards the organisation, which might not be fulfilled by the organisation (Mowday, Steers and Porter 1982). Thus, disappointment with organisational policies may have devastating effects on commitment. Another possibility is that highly qualified employees feel that they have a greater number of job options or less barriers to upward mobility (Grusky 1965).

Finally, more qualified employees may have other foci of commitments, for example, a profession or craft (Mathieu and Zajac 1990). Multiple commitments may somehow be incompatible with commitment to the organisation (Gouldner 1957). For example, the feeling of wanting to stay in the organisation may be enhanced among highly qualified people, even before the employee enters the organisation, due to recruitment techniques (O'Reilly and Caldwell 1980). Recruitment is an important process to induce positive feelings towards the organisation. Yet, the experience of dual commitments may raise an ethical question. If the goals and values of the organisation differ from the values and goals of the profession, to what extent are feelings of attachment towards the organisation beneficial to potential clientele? The issue of the potential for conflict between multiple commitments, such as commitment to the organisation and the profession, will be analysed in more detail in the next chapter.

■ Job level

The organisational position positively correlates with organisational commitment and the relationship is stronger with attitudinal rather than calculative commitment. For example, Aranya, Pollock and Amernic (1981) observe that

accountants-partners were found to be more committed than accountants-assistants. One possible explanation is that employees in high ranks may participate in the process of decision-making (Rhodes and Steers 1981). Therefore, they become more involved with, and attached to, the goals and values of the organisation.

Job characteristics

■ Pre-employment experiences and organisational policies

Job or role-related characteristics and work experience seem to have a greater impact on levels of organisational commitment than the personal characteristics (Mowday, Porter and Steers 1982). For example, this argument is supported by results from research using samples of scientist-engineers and hospital employees. For example, the correlation coefficients between organisational commitment and personal characteristics range from r = 0.42 (p < 0.01) to r = 0.55 (p < 0.001). The correlation coefficients between organisational commitment and job characteristics range from r = 0.38 (p < 0.01) to r = 0.64 (p < 0.001). Finally, the correlation coefficients between organisational commitment and work experience range from r = 0.64 (p < 0.001) to r = 0.71 (p < 0.001). More recently, some researchers have explored the impact of pre-entry expectations and organisational policies upon organisational commitment (Brockner, Tyler and Cooper-Schneider 1992; Morris, Lydka and O'Creevy 1993). The evidence suggests that individuals who had high expectations towards their future employer exhibit higher levels of attitudinal organisational commitment than those with low pre-entry expectations. Employee expectations might be fulfilled

during the process of socialisation in the employing organisation (Buchanan 1974; Mowday, Porter and Steers 1982).

Moreover, Morris, Lydka and O'Creevy (1993) observed that human resources policies, such as (1) good career prospects, (2) the extent to which the job fitted the individual's abilities and (3) fair company policies, are also potentially influential upon levels of attitudinal organisational commitment. For example, correlation coefficients between attitudinal organisational commitment and each of the organisational policies previously identified are as follows: (1) 0.4511 ($p < 0.001$, good career prospects), (2) 0.4460 ($p < 0.001$, job fit abilities) and (3) 0.4414 ($p < 0.001$, fair policies). The intellectual challenge of work also seems to be positively related to organisational commitment, $r = 0.349$ ($p < 0.01$) (Mathieu and Zajac 1990).

The communication system implemented in the organisation is another factor that influences levels of attitudinal organisational commitment. The strength of the relationship is higher when the organisation allows the employee to contribute and participate than when the organisation treats the employee as a passive subject. That is, when employees feel that they have a chance for self-expression and the organisation seems to care for their opinions, levels of attitudinal commitment increase (Morris, Lydka and O'Creevy 1993). The way individuals perceive their jobs and the organisation relates to attitudinal commitment. Organisational commitment and job satisfaction are influenced by feelings of being responsible or holding a responsible job (Salancik 1977).

Mowday, Porter and Steers (1982) suggest that increasing job scope increases the challenge and responsibility experienced by an employee, which in turn leads to more positive job attitudes. These attitudes then become translated into an increased desire to participate in what is perceived to be a more desirable work activity. Perceived equity, that is, the perception that organisations are fair in treating their members, is related to behavioural commitment. In effect, perceived equity has a strong influence in employees' decision to discontinue organisational membership (Morris, Lydka and O'Creevy 1993).

Peer and supervisor-subordinate relations may have an important influence upon commitment. Meyer et al. (1989) observed that employees that are satisfied with their supervision and their co-workers are more likely to stay in the organisation because they want to do so. Other socialisation tactics also have an impact upon organisational commitment. For example, among professional groups, supervision may take the form of mentorship. Baker (1995) observed that informal mentorship strongly influences organisational commitment. One possible explanation is that the mentor is usually a senior member of the organisation, a high-level performer and highly committed. Another socialisation tactic is the training programmes carried out by the organisation. Harel and Baruch (1993) suggest that when continuing advancement courses focus upon both the technical and the social components of work, affective organisational commitment is likely to be enhanced.

■ Job Rewards

Money appears to have little impact upon attitudinal commitment but a strong impact upon continuance commitment. In the early stages of employment, an employee's continuance commitment is strongly influenced by material rewards. Thereafter, it seems to decrease in importance (Allen and Meyer 1990). For instance, whereas younger workers attach more importance to money, older workers seem to value the satisfaction that they obtain from work (Hall and Mansfield 1975). Moreover, the prospects of promotion, the lack of employment alternatives and financial pressures are positively related with levels of continuance organisational commitment (Morris, Lydka and O'Creevy 1993). The relationship between the prospects of promotion and continuance commitment is even stronger in later career stages. That is, people are less willing to relocate or leave the organisation for the purposes of promotion, in the late career stage (Mowday, Porter and Steers 1982).

One possible explanation derives from Becker's (1960) 'side bet' theory. As people progress in their career they tend to make stronger investments in the form of time and energy. Individuals may develop specialised roles in the organisations with job skills that would be difficult to transfer (Salancik 1977). One can speculate, however, that this tendency may differ across occupational groups. For example, a young physician may start off his career in a particular hospital and later in his career all his earlier experiences will most certainly be applied in another hospital.

■ Type of occupation

Different types of occupations seem to demand different strategies to increase organisational commitment. Cohen's (1992) meta-analysis study compares organisational commitment across occupational groups. Two main categories were identified; white-collar and blue-collar workers. White-collar workers refers to professionals and semi-professionals (scientists, engineers, nurses and accountants), and non-professionals (clerical and administrative staff). Blue-collar workers refers to unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled employees in industrial organisations. Among white-collar employees, autonomy and organisational communication were associated with organisational commitment ($r = 0.39$, $p < 0.05$ and $r = 0.42$, $p < 0.05$, respectively). Among blue-collar workers, although clarity of expectations (What am I going to do?, What do they expect from me?) are more strongly related to organisational commitment ($r = - 0.27$) than autonomy ($r = 0.02$) or organisational communication ($r = 0.15$) the correlation coefficients are not significant.

Cohen also studies the impact of rewards upon organisational commitment among white-collar and blue-collar workers. The extrinsic and intrinsic rewards were investigated. An extrinsic reward is given to a person by someone else, for example, salaries and promotions. An intrinsic reward occurs naturally as a person performs a task or job, for example, feelings of competency, personal development and self-control (Schermerhorn 1996). Income was found to be more strongly related to organisational commitment for the blue-collar workers than the white-collar workers. Intrinsic rewards were a stronger determinant of

organisational commitment among white-collar than among blue-collar workers (Cohen 1992).

Organisational characteristics

Perrow (1972) observed that organisations may display different characteristics. For example, they may vary in terms of span of control and authority (centralised or decentralised). It is unclear, however, the precise impact of such organisational characteristics upon organisational commitment (Mowday, Porter and Steers 1982). For example, none of the variables such as organisation size, the span of control and the centralisation of authority variables was found to be significantly related to organisational commitment. Yet, Morris and Steers (1980) suggest that formalisation, functional dependence and decentralisation of authority are related to organisational commitment. That is, attitudinal organisational commitment is positively associated with (1) employees' perception of organisation's authority decentralisation, (2) employees' perception of dependence on the work of others and (3) employees' perception of high formality of written rules and procedures.

Organisational commitment and culture

The Japanese experience is frequently used as a model of employer-employee relationship based on loyalty and duty (Lincoln and Kalleberg 1985). This relationship includes a strong reciprocal set of obligations between the organisation and the employee. The company will not discharge the employee, and the employee will not leave the company for employment elsewhere. It

seems, however, that a comparison between Japanese and United States' (U.S.) workers suggests that Japanese workers are less committed to the organisation than their U.S. counterparts. Indeed, Japanese workers express lower levels of affective commitment towards the organisation than their U.S. counterparts. This might imply that the link between Japanese workers and the organisation is mainly calculative (Near 1989). One possible explanation is the existence of generalized cultural expectations, that might provide penalties for those who violate them, and therefore serves as a type of 'side bet' (Becker 1960). Another possible explanation might be related to the quality of working life. Indeed, Japanese workers seem to experience greater workplace tension and lower levels of satisfaction than their Western counterparts (Drummond 1992). The results may also suggest that the stereotype concerning the Japanese work-force loyalty to the employing organisation may in fact be a myth.

Performance and withdrawal behaviours

Organisational commitment has been linked to performance and withdrawal behaviours. Empirical evidence has, however, produced contradictory results. Some suggest that organisational commitment has little influence on performance (Angle and Perry 1981; Farrell and Rusbult 1981; Mathieu and Zajac 1990; Steers 1977). Others researchers, such as Ornstein, Cron and Slocum (1989), suggest that the findings are qualified by moderating effects, for example, career stage.

Ornstein, Cron and Slocum observed that the positive effect of organisational commitment upon performance is stronger in the late career stage than in the early career stage. This finding was replicated in subsequent research using a meta-analysis technique (Cohen 1991). Cohen suggests that in early career stages people have less work experience and probably are poorer performers than in late career stages. Thus, the relationship between performance and organisational commitment in early career stages is weak.

Having said that, it seems that organisational commitment, in varied degrees of influence, has an impact upon performance. Drummond (1993) suggests that a great deal of inconsistency produced in research is due to the way performance has been measured. Drummond stresses that performance is a multidimensional concept which might involve more than effort. Performance may as well consist of care and attention. For example, in an assembly line a worker has high levels of 'productivity' which means a high number of pieces produced per minute. But, how does this account for the quality of his work?

It seems also that the relationship between organisational commitment and performance might be related to the type of commitment measured. For example, Meyer et al. (1989) concluded that whereas affective commitment was positively related to job performance, continuance commitment was negatively related. This evidence seems to be consistent with Mowday Porter and Steers' (1982, 36) explanation:

> We would expect commitment to influence the amount of effort an
> employee puts forth on the job and this effort should have some

influence on actual performance.

Thus, those who want to stay might become better performers than those who need to stay. It is expected that the latter will do the minimum required to retain their jobs (Meyer et al. 1989).

Low levels of organisational commitment might be costly to the organisation. In effect, Mowday, Porter and Steers (1982) report that organisational commitment is negatively related to such behaviours as absenteeism ($r = -0.28$, $p < 0.01$) and tardiness ($r = -0.48$, $p < 0.001$). Mowday, Porter and Steers' study reports that such behaviours are the cause of an enormous amount of loss, in terms of money and effectiveness, to the employing organisation. By contrast, organisational commitment is positively related to attendance (Mathieu and Zajac 1990). The magnitude of the product moment correlations coefficients is, however, small and not significant ($r = 0.02$) (Mathieu and Zajac 1990). It seems, however, that the strongest and most predictable behavioural consequence of high levels of organisational commitment, is lower turnover rates ($r = -0.58$, $p < 0.001$) (Mowday, Porter and Steers 1983).

Discussion of the literature: the development of organisational commitment

The preceding review of the literature suggests that organisational commitment develops over time. Indeed, the process may even begin before an employee enters the organisation, for instance, during the pre-employment stage, such as the recruitment experience; and it continues to develop over the years. The

literature review also identifies other factors that may influence levels of organisational commitment, for example, job security, achievement and autonomy. The influence of such factors upon organisational commitment may, however, depend on the individual's career stage. For example, there are indications that older workers are better performers, hold better jobs and experience more autonomy in their work; consequently they are more committed to the organisation than their younger counterparts.

Existing knowledge, however, says little about why the organisational commitment changes over time. The literature review suggests, therefore, that research on organisational commitment lacks theoretical support. Becker's (1960) 'side bet' and 'sunk cost' theory has been used to explain changes in levels of commitment over time. Recall that Becker suggests that individuals make investments in the organisation, these investments or past actions serve to bind the individual into the organisation. Thus, leaving the organisation would be too costly for the individual, in terms of time invested and eventually the loss of any financial scheme, for example. This behavioural approach to the development of organisational commitment implies that age, for example, is interpreted and researched as a predictor of a behavioural type of commitment.

Yet, Allen and Meyer (1990) suggest that age strongly associates with attitudinal rather than a behavioural type of commitment. Allen and Meyer explain that although some costs associated with leaving may increase over time, other costs may decrease. For example, more experienced individuals

may find alternative employment more easily than those who are less experienced. One may consider, therefore, that the way age has been linked to the calculative type of commitment, explains why the results regarding the association between age and organisational commitment are equivocal. It seems that research on the development of organisational commitment over time requires a distinct theoretical support from that suggested by Becker. Another limitation of previous research is the use of rather broad age ranges to define early (less than thirty-three years), mid (from thirty-three to forty-five years), and late career stages (greater than forty five years). Also, with few exceptions (for example, Buchanan 1974), previous research tends to emphasise early career stages (the average sample age is around thirty, for example, Allen and Meyer 1993) neglecting the importance of other age groups in the results. The framework of analysis for the present study has to overcome such limitations.

In the present study, Levinson's (1978) theory of adult development provides a potential framework to study the development of organisational commitment. The tenet of this theory is the concept of life structure; this relates to sequential periods of time in an individual's life which is shaped by processes of socialisation and adaptation as well as personality development. As Levinson (1984, 55) suggests:

> Life structure forms a boundary between personality structure and
> social structure and governs the transition between them.

Understanding the development of organisational commitment requires the

acknowledgement that both the extrinsic and the intrinsic events to the individual might contribute to change the perception of commitment. Moreover, life structure represents periods of stability and transition. The way different life structures influence the development of organisational commitment is discussed and hypothesised in detail in Chapter Three.

The nature of organisational commitment

Another emerging issue in the literature review concerns the nature of organisational commitment. Sampson (1995) suggests that the frustrations produced by the current economic recession may influence the nature of individuals' organisational commitment and strategies to generate it. In effect, this is a time of great instability concerning the prospects of maintaining a job. The relationship between the employer and the employee is probably characterized by a tendency on the side of the employee to be more defensive and self-protective. In this context, employees may expect short-term contracts but at the same time the possibility for personal and professional growth from their employers (Flood, Gannon and Paawe 1996).

The above situation raises a question about the type of rewards implemented in the organisation (Guest 1976). The traditional rewards provided by the organisation, in terms of good pay and career advancement, are being replaced by a greater degree of autonomy and freedom, more challenging and meaningful work. It seems, therefore, that increasing the meaning of work is becoming a basic component of motivation (Reilly and Orsack 1991). By

shifting the meaning of work merely from material gratification to include the individual's self-actualization may alter the meaning of loyalty. Working for the gain of material rewards seems to suggest that individuals are in the organisation out of a sense of self-interest. Working as a means of personal growth and development seems to suggest that loyalty is a shared investment. That is, there is the organisation's loyalty towards the individual, expressed by the fulfilment of individual's needs; conversely, there is the individual's loyalty towards the organisation, expressed by the accomplishment of the organisation's needs.

The literature review highlights these two distinct perspectives. On one hand, there is the attitudinal type of commitment and, on the other hand, the behavioural type of commitment. Researchers, however, take partial views, quite often, when investigating the nature of organisational commitment. Employees, however, may feel different forms of commitment towards their organisation simultaneously. For example, employees who change jobs may be less behaviourally committed but more attitudinally committed to their employer than stayers; that is, high behavioural commitment is not necessarily associated with high levels of attitudinal commitment (for example, Morris, Lydka and O'Creevy 1993). This study adopted Allen and Meyer's (1990) definition of organisational commitment. Recall that attitudinal organisational commitment means that individuals 'want to stay' and 'ought to stay' in the organisation; behavioural commitment suggests that individuals 'need to stay' in the organisation (Allen and Meyer 1990). The main difference between the two

forms of commitment is, therefore, whose needs are being served. The attitudinal organisational commitment will ultimately benefit the organisation, that is, the organisational needs are fulfilled by satisfied and top performing individuals at a lower cost, for example. Behavioural organisational commitment is ultimately for the benefit of the individual. The bond between the organisation and the individual is further strengthened when external pressures intensify, for example, the arrival of children, buying a new house or a new car.

The problem of multiple foci of commitments

Reviewing the literature on organisational commitment, Reichers (1985) suggests that the way the organisational commitment has been measured does not allow for an understanding of the multiple identifications and attachments that an individual might experience as member of an organisation. Reichers claims that an organisation is an abstract and insensitive entity. That is, organisational membership may have many meanings. Individuals may be simultaneously committed to co-workers, clients, management and so on.

Reichers's analysis neglected, however, the significance of membership of a profession. The literature review also suggests that the study of organisational commitment focuses particularly upon white collar, clerical staff and blue-collar workers (for example, Mathieu and Zajac 1990; Mowday, Steers and Porter 1982; Wallace 1993). This might be the reason why the consequences of commitment reflect such high utilitarian concerns. In effect, the literature emphasises the importance of absenteeism and tardiness. Low levels of

commitment may, however, reflect the unsuitability of a particular work condition for the individual. For example, an individual who requires autonomous work conditions may become a passive worker when submitted to a very structured and controlled work environment (Agyris 1957). Absenteeism and tardiness may be meaningless for some occupational groups, for example, doctors and lawyers. Conversely, psychological failure, such as frustration and alienation, might be a negative consequence of lack of organisational commitment regarding professional groups.

Research on organisational commitment among professional occupations, such as lawyers and doctors, is needed. Professionals working in organisations are, therefore, the focus of the present study. This issue is important in that individuals who hold a professional occupation have obligations, not only to the organisation, but ultimately to the profession. In other words, some suggest that the organisation may provide a professionally rich and satisfactory working environment as an attempt to capture and retain professional staff. Others claim that such an ambition is futile because professionals' loyalty rests with the profession rather than their employing organisation. This dual membership, and its consequences to the development of organisational and professional commitment, is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter Two

Professionals working in organisations

Professionals entering an organization are often seen as having to choose between commitment to their profession and commitment to their organization.

HAROLD WILENSKY,

Intellectuals in Labor Unions, 1956

Professionals pose an intriguing challenge to organisations. This challenge arises from the dual regulations of professionals and organisations and the potential for conflict of loyalties which such regulations create. This chapter aims to discuss the implications of this potential for conflict on organisational and professional commitment.

The nature of professional work

There are numerous typologies and lists of attributes used to identify and classify occupations as professions (Becker 1970; Freidson 1989; Goode 1969; Larson 1977; Wilensky 1964). For example, the practice of both law and medicine are, always, considered to be professions. But, what makes professionals and their work so different from other occupations? Much of the literature on the sociology of professions reveals that the importance placed upon professionals' work is based mainly upon two features. First, their mastery of an exclusive body of knowledge. Second, their sense of professional community.

Sense of professional autonomy

Professionals are autonomous in performing their work. This involves applying standard procedures, learned through extensive training and experience, to a series of complex situations. For example, there will be times when a particular procedure does not exactly fit a specific situation, the professional has the ability to modify the procedure through reference to abstract principles. Professional work involves, therefore, an expert judgement (Freidson 1994).

Sense of professional community

The sense of autonomy cannot be granted without trust (Goode 1969). The public must be assured that the profession is able to control the work of its members. Membership of a profession is governed by an external body, for example, the Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors, the Law Society, the

General Medical Council. Such bodies are responsible for persuading those who possess power (the State) to protect and support the profession. This is achieved by defining and maintaining standards of entry to the profession, as well as defining and maintaining professional standards and norms of conduct. Through training, examinations, and licensing, the professionals seek to exclude all others from their esoteric knowledge, eliminating possible sources of threat to their monopoly (Freidson 1994; Larson 1977; Parkin 1979). Thus, these controls assure the public that members of a particular profession meet a minimum standard of expertise.

The motives of professional work: altruistic or calculative?

The literature suggests two perspectives regarding the motives behind professional work. The first perspective is altruistic and claims that professionals exist to do 'good' to the society at large, and their clientele in particular. It is thought that, somehow, they can improve the impoverished self-oriented and calculating society (Barber and Merton 1957; Carr-Saunder and Wilson 1934; Greenwood 1957; Moore 1970). The second perspective argues that professionals, as do members of any other occupation, work to earn a living (Freidson 1994; Johnson 1980). Money is also an incentive to work.

The professional's alleged calculative orientation towards work is seen by some as a betrayal of society (for example, Abel 1989; Deber 1982; Larson 1977). The argument is that professional work is vital to fulfil central needs and values of the general public. Society grants power and prestige to professions; in

return, it expects professionals to be committed to the service of the public, above and beyond material incentives (Vollmer and Mills 1966). Professionals, however, are accused of caring more about their monopoly than their clients, and the protection of professional interests is understood as being incompatible with professional commitment to the service of the public (Larson 1977; Zander 1978).

By contrast, other researchers such as Freidson (1994) and Parsons (1954a, 1954b), suggest that professionals do have a higher standard of service and ethics than other occupations, for example, the business entrepreneur. Nevertheless, money is also important for what it can buy as well as a direct symbol of recognition (Parsons 1954a). Therefore, to what extent are professionals driven by money and success rather than goodwill? Pine and Innis (1987, 285-286) argue that:

> Work serves three fundamental functions in life: economic, social and intrapsychic. Whichever function receives the greater importance in the research may simply be a matter of who asks the questions rather than who answers them.

The social meaning of work combines two different aspects. On the one hand, there are concerns for psychological satisfaction sought through self-fulfilment, self-esteem, a firm sense of identity, feelings of autonomy, freedom, achievement, effectiveness and general well-being. On the other hand, there are concerns for authority, power and economic gain sought through material rewards (Herzberg 1968). Reviewing the literature on work values orientation, Pine and Innis concluded that there is a reciprocal relationship between societal

factors and an individual's work value orientation. For example, social and economic prosperity will determine higher order values where social concerns, such as beauty, service to others and self-actualization, will dominate. Conversely, social and economic instability will determine lower order values where basic concerns, such as the need for survival, will dominate. The popular and generalised assumption that professionals are more than ever concerned with money should be taken with caution. As Pine and Innis suggest, the calculating orientation towards work might be the result of societal and economic instability.

Professionals and their employing organisations: dual membership

The creation of an organisation is not an end in itself. An organisation is a collection of people working together to achieve a common purpose, that is, the production of goods and services (for example, Child 1988; Etzioni 1975; Morgan 1986). For example, hospitals treat the sick, law firms provide legal advice and architects firms design buildings and supervise their construction. Society becomes, therefore, a composite of organisations. Abel (1989) suggests that the reason for this trend in employment is the economy of scale: the size and complexity of clients' problems create the need for specialization. Other circumstances, for example exacerbated competition, have compelled professionals to work together within an organisation. In fact, professional services provided by an organisation are a development of the present century. In the past, professional services were provided by self-employed professionals

(Drucker 1982). The shift of working conditions from being self-employed to a salaried employee may require some adjustment on the part of the professional and the organisation. In effect, normative principles, cultural values and authority structure of the profession and the organisation may be different and in conflict (Etzioni 1969).

Can professional authority resist bureaucratic control?

There are two schools of thought concerning the relationship between professionals and their employing organisation. The first suggests that the professional's role as a salaried employee conflicts, in certain specific areas, with the professional's role as a professional (Blau and Scott 1963; Gouldner 1957; Wilensky 1956). For example, autonomy, self-regulation and individual decision making required by the professional, may conflict with the hierarchical control and official rules of bureaucratic administration (Etzioni 1969). Therefore, to what extent, if at all, does this dual membership alienate professionals from their own values and goals?

By contrast, others suggest that the relationship between the organisation and the professional is harmonious. That is, conflict does not necessarily exist (Aranya and Ferris 1983, 1984; Aranya and Jacobson 1975; Hall 1968; Thornton 1970; Wallace 1993, 1995). For example, the literature suggests that there is an adjustment between norms and goals of the organisation and professionals. The nature of this adjustment depends, however, on the type of organisation (Hall 1967; Nelson 1981; Scott 1966).

Heteronomous versus autonomous

The literature reveals two contrasting types of bureaucracy which employ professionals (Scott 1966); namely, the heteronomous organisation (for example, libraries, high schools and industry in general) and the autonomous organisation (for example, hospitals, universities and law firms). Heteronomous and autonomous organisations differ in two main characteristics: division of labour and authority structure.

More recently, however, ownership status has been used to distinguish between different types of autonomous organisations. True-autonomous organisations are identified as those where professionals control both capital and technical work, such as law firms, private medical clinics, accounting and architectural partnerships. On the other hand, semi-autonomous organisations are those where professionals cannot control the capital but only the nature of their technical work, such as, hospitals and universities (Derber, Schwartz and Magrass 1990). Hence, whereas in true-autonomous organisations only professionals can gain access to, and buy ownership, in semi-autonomous organisations ownership is placed out of the professional group (Nelson 1981). The following discusses the influence of these three different types of organisation on the relationship between the professional and the organisation.

■ Heteronomous organisations: Proletarianisation of professionals?

It has been proposed that in heteronomous bureaucratic settings, the professional has been subjected to a process of proletarianisation, that is, the

loss of their professional autonomy. It is argued (Oppenheimer 1973, 214) that

professionals' job conditions deteriorate when they become dependent upon

salaries and availability of places to work:

> Bureaucracies tend to replicate in the professionals' own
> work-place, factory-like conditions - there are fixed jurisdictions,
> ordered by rules established by others; there is an hierarchical
> command system; jobs are entered and mobility exists on the
> basis of performance in uniform tasks, examinations, or the
> achievement of certification or 'degrees'; work tends to become
> specialized, hence extensive division of labour develops.

These factory-like conditions are thought to be responsible for professionals'

alienation from the work they do, consequently leading to decreases in levels

of job satisfaction and overall work discontentment (Derber 1982). For instance,

engineers working in private industry exhibit a considerably weaker professional

orientation, including a desire for autonomy, than other professionals in

autonomous organisations, such as scientists and law practitioners (Wilensky

1964).

This finding has been attributed to engineers' proletarianisation and consequent

loss of professional identity. Often they are described as working in large rooms

that might resemble an assembly line and subjected to factory-like discipline

(Strauss 1963). That is, 'in many firms, strict working hours and use of time

clocks were required for engineers' (Dvorak 1963, 47). Professionals may,

therefore, experience an over simplification of their work that will end up with

routine tasks to perform. In addition, engineers seem to be subjected to

bureaucratic control and consequently in danger of losing their professional

autonomy. That is, whereas many other professionals, such as scientists and

academics, are relatively free to choose research subjects and to publish in professional journals, engineers' research usually has to be tailored to their firm's objectives, and often the results must be kept secret (Dvorak 1963).

Furthermore, the lack of external references, such as formal associations and peer recognition, is said to reflect the importance that engineers place upon the judgement of their superiors rather than a peer's evaluation of their performance (Kerr, Von Glinow and Schriesheim 1977). Professionals are subordinate to management. Thus, they have to submit to a hierarchical structure of control, where orders flow from the top to the bottom. Power is within organisational structure itself. Therefore, the prime goal of an engineer's career is to be a member of the management rather than simply to practise their original speciality (Goldner and Ritti 1967; Hansen 1963; Perruci, Lebold and Howland 1966). Yet even when they reach top management positions they have no control over the organisations' capital (Derber and Schwartz 1991).

■ Semi-autonomous organisations: In limbo?

By contrast, it has been suggested that in autonomous organisations, the profession becomes the principal frame of reference for individuals (Lachman and Aranya 1986). There are differences between true-autonomous and semi-autonomous organisations, however. It has been said that semi-autonomous organisations reflect a synthesis of professional and bureaucratic models (Hall 1967; Montagna 1968). As Hall (1967, 475) suggests:

> The argument here is basically that an equilibrium is achieved between the level of norm internalization, professionalization in

this case, and the level of organizationally generated norms or bureaucratization.

It is unclear what this means, however. Does it imply that professionals can maintain the professional-like aspect of their jobs without surrendering to organisational control? Scott's (1966) argument is that maintaining professional autonomy might depend on the influence of the occupational group in the organisation. As such, the higher the general prestige of the professional group, and the more central to the functioning of the organisation is the content of professional work, the more likely it is that the goals of the organisation will be consistent with those of the professionals it employs (Scott 1966). This implies that professionals are more able to control the conditions of their work. For example, in a hospital work setting, Goss (1961) observed that the physician in charge exercises authority with respect to the scheduling of students, assistants, room, and patients. Although, 'senior' doctors routinely review patients' charts, they are expected to offer only suggestions on patient care to their fellow 'junior' physicians.

Yet professionals in semi-autonomous organisations have lost some of their freedom (Derber and Schwartz 1991). That is, a shift of control, from professionals to the administrators, is happening; Perrow (1965) identifies this change as the 'administrative dominance'. Power and control derives from the administrator's internal and external activities in the organisation. These activities include co-ordination of the personnel and co-ordination of activities with other institutions. Professionals' activities are, therefore, 'regulated to fit

in with the overall organizational purpose as well as co-ordinate with the activities of others' (Scott 1966, 270).

The image of the autonomy of professional work has been questioned by the professionals themselves. For example, a study of lawyers, doctors, scientists and engineers shows that ninety per cent agree that they control how the work is done, but only sixty per cent said that they have the autonomy to control the choice of projects and clients. Moreover, scientists have expressed their discontent with organisational procedures (Derber, Schwartz and Magrass 1990, 137):

> We have to wear our safety glasses all the time, we have to wear our lab coats, we have to give them urine specimens once a week ... . The restrictions are absolutely ridiculous.

Furthermore, American doctors working in hospitals are apparently subjected to bureaucratic control. The evidence is that they see themselves as factory-like workers on piece rate work. For instance, their salaries are based upon the number of patients that they see and their own schedule of patient attendance is fixed by administrators. For instance, there is a predetermined time of fifteen minutes for each patient. Consequently, they feel the pressure to achieve organisational goals and budgets that were determined by others not themselves and which may not be in the patient's best interest (Freidson 1970, 1994).

The literature suggests that semi-autonomous organisations also dilute professionals' autonomy regarding their intention to decide the purpose of their

work. This situation, however, might vary depending on the ability of professionals to control capital. For example, scientists working in independent research institutes were found to be more autonomous than doctors working in hospitals (Derber and Schwartz 1991). This greater work autonomy experienced by scientists than doctors relies upon a variety and distinct form of sponsorship available in research organisations. By contrast, doctors are exclusively dependent upon the hospital administrators.

■ True-autonomous organisations: Professionalisation of the organisation?

The true-autonomous organisations are said to be 'the contemporary form of professional self-employment' (Derber and Schwartz 1991, 77). These organisations are also considered to be the ideal workplace for professionals (Grenwood, Hinings and Brown 1990; Lincoln and Kalleberg 1985). This is because true-autonomous organisations are more profitable and a more challenging work place than solo practices (Abel 1989; Derber and Schwartz 1991). Further, they allow professionals to control the technical aspects of the work, as well as the purposes of their work.

In the light of the capitalism thesis, true-autonomous organisations seem to be a paradox. It is suggested that they resemble capitalist or utilitarian corporations in some respects, for example, wages exchanged for labour and profit generation for the benefit of the owners. The true-autonomous organisations have, however, altered capitalist ownership legal arrangements.

That is, true-autonomous organisations are owned and controlled by the employees. This creates special conditions for the division of labour and authority structure in the organisation (Derber, Schwartz, Magrass 1990, 125):

> Like craft workers a century ago, professionals have exploited their expertise to carve out a unique niche: part wage-earner, part manager, and part entrepreneur.

When true-autonomous organisations become larger, with fifty or more professionals, they face the need for the division of labour. For example, the executive partner is virtually a full-time manager (New Law Journal 1986, 384-390). They dictate the rules, and their status as senior partners in the firm give them almost an oligarchical control over capital. Furthermore, partnerships often hire outside managers who are not professionals themselves (Nelson 1981; Slinn 1984). These managers are employed to direct the administration of the firm. This might include accounting and bookkeeping, billing and scheduling and co-ordinating personnel and tasks, primarily among non-professional staff, such as clerks and secretaries. Although the division of labour and management is inevitable, this is often the prerogative and responsibility of professionals. Managers' administrators, however powerful, are ultimately subordinated to the senior partners. Hence, it is the professionals who dominate the organisation rather than the bureaucratic administrators (Nelson 1981).

Moreover, the professional in true-autonomous organisations have an incentive to become skilled. For example, the law professionals have to pass through a process in which they are supervised by a senior professional, the mentor. During this stage of mentorship there is little attempt to simplify the work of the

junior professional, on the contrary, their work becomes more complex (Splanger and Lehman 1982). In the beginning of their careers, junior-professionals may be assigned to minor tasks. They basically shadow their mentor, attending meetings and do much of the mentor's work. Eventually, professionals will acquire complete skills. In time, they start to work on their own, with their own clients. As such, this period of training under a senior's supervision is intended to prepare the junior professional for the future when he will eventually assume higher responsibilities within the organisation (Abel 1989; Nelson 1981). Thus, mentorships, if successful, will produce autonomous craftsmen (Splanger and Lehman 1982).

Such domination by professionals in true-autonomous organisations coupled with total monopoly power, capital and knowledge, provides professionals with the ability to maintain their professional autonomy (Derber and Schwartz 1991). The privilege of leadership is not bound by rules but it is dependent upon consensus among partners. There are norms of consultation rather than command. That is, the firm's leaders for the most part 'ask for' rather than 'order' compliance (Greenwood, Hinings and Brown 1990). Professionals rely on a network structure of control where the superior-subordinate relationship of the heteronomous organisations is replaced by the professional norms and standards imposed by the professional association (Harries-Jenkins 1970). This network structure of control seems to work at least with senior members, before directives can be handed down to the firm (Nelson 1981). It seems, therefore, that professionals in true-autonomous organisations discovered the way of

'turning dependent employment into authority and privilege' (Derber and Schwartz 1991, 72).

Organisational loyalty versus professional loyalty?

The preceding review on heteronomous and autonomous organisations suggests that the relationship between professionals and their employing organisation is a complex one. Part of the literature suggests that there is an inherent conflict between professional and bureaucratic authority (for example, Blau and Scott 1963; Etzioni 1975; Gouldner 1957; Wilensky 1956). Others suggest that professional and bureaucratic authority can co-exist (Freidson 1994; Hall 1968). The relationship between the profession and the organisation is thought to influence the relationship between organisational and professional commitment (Thornton 1970). The following discusses early studies which illustrate the mechanism of such relationship.

'Local versus cosmopolitan role' Model

One of the earliest contributions to the debate is Gouldner's (1957) study of college teachers that distinguishes between two types of professionals: 'cosmopolitans' and 'locals'. 'Cosmopolitans' are defined as those who retain a frame of reference towards the professional group, and who are committed more to their skill than the employing organisation. 'Locals' are those who identify themselves with groups inside the organisation, and who are more committed to their organisational role than to their professional role. For example, the degree of influence in the organisation is important to 'locals' but

not to 'cosmopolitans'. More specifically, 'locals' make decisions concerning the selection of prospective students, the student's tenure, for example, dismissal or suspension and so forth. Further, 'locals' tend to participate more in the activities of the college than 'cosmopolitans'. Gouldner also concludes that professionally oriented faculty members ('cosmopolitans') were less willing than their organisationally oriented counterparts ('locals') to employ formal rules as the means of controlling students' behaviour.

Based on Reissmann (1949) and Bentz (1950) studies, Gouldner also suggests that 'cosmopolitans' are likely to be the staff experts with specialized skills, having only peripheral interest in the local power situation. They tend to identify and associate with their professional colleagues rather than with their bureaucratic partners. Work is evaluated in terms of meeting professional standards rather than following organisational rules. Further, 'cosmopolitans' will be those in the college staff who probably publish more, spend less time on college committees, devote less time to teaching and students, attend more professional meetings, and be more willing to leave college than the 'local'.

But, can professionals be both 'cosmopolitan' and 'local'? Gouldner and his followers (Blau and Scott 1963; Corwin 1961; Sorensen and Sorensen 1974) argued that these roles seem to be mutually exclusive since they 'may reflect the tension between the organisation's simultaneous need for both loyalty and expertise' (Goulder 1958, 444). A study of professionals carried out in a public welfare agency suggests that professionally oriented workers are more resistant

to agency rules and procedures than organisationally oriented workers (Blau and Scott 1963). The argument is that such rules and procedures interfere with professional performance. In a study of nurses and student nurses within hospitals, Corwin (1961) suggests that bureaucratic and professional perceived standards did conflict. Consequently, Corwin concludes that those nurses who subscribed simultaneously to local and cosmopolitan roles were less able to carry out their ideal roles in practice than those who subscribed to one predominant role. Corwin (1961, 611) implies that the two role conceptions 'prescribe opposing programs of action'.

'Local-cosmopolitan role' Model

One of the pioneer contributions to the compatibility thesis is Glaser's (1963) study of scientists in a large government medical research organisation. Glaser concludes that both 'local' and 'cosmopolitan' identities are found in the same professional. It was observed that when the goals of the organisation are similar to those of the professionals employed, professionals tend to develop a dual orientation. That is, professionals may be committed to both the profession, as well as to the organisation (Glaser 1963, 249):

> This dual orientation is derived from institutional motivation, which is determinant of both high quality basic research and accomplishment of non-research organizational activities. The dual orientation arises in a context of similarity of the institutional goal of science with the goal of the organisation.

Glaser (1963) suggests that compatibility depends upon the reality under study. For example, Thornton (1970) observed that performance, authority and supervision may influence the relationship between professional and

organisational commitment. First, compatibility will increase when professionals are more experienced and able to carry out their jobs. Second, the more the authority relies on professional's knowledge and skill, the more compatible is the relationship. Third, the more supervised professionals are by someone having a greater or comparable level of expertise, the greater the compatibility between professional and organisational commitment.

Goldberg, Baker and Rubenstein's (1964) study of scientists focuses upon the importance of reward system for 'locals' and 'cosmopolitans'. Goldberg and his associates were expecting that 'locals' and 'cosmopolitans' would seek different types of rewards. For example, 'locals' would be more dependent upon the organisation than 'cosmopolitans'. Golberg and his associates asked individuals to rate thirty-six items which included professional and organisational criteria to 'evaluate the worth of a technical idea'. The results came out with a two-factor solution 'the professional self-gratification' and the 'organisational responsibility'. Interestingly, however, the items 'advancement in the organisation' and 'pleasing organisational superiors' loaded significantly on the factor that includes a great majority of professional items. Goldberg, Baker and Rubenstein suggest that the results are open to the interpretation that the distinction between professional and organisational rewards are not worth making. Professionals seek personal gratification. It is not relevant for them, therefore, whether rewards come from the organisation or the profession.

Other aspects of organisational life also influence both professional and

organisational commitment. For example, participatory leadership seems to produce high levels of professional and organisational commitment (Darde, Hampton and Howell 1989). Moreover, organisational commitment is thought to be a powerful predictor of professional commitment (Aranya, Pollock and Amernic 1981). That is, 'professional commitment can be increased by increasing organisational commitment' (Aranya, Pollock and Amernic 1981, 278). Employees can be satisfied with their jobs and loyal to their employer (Lachman and Aranya 1986).

Discussion of the literature: the relationship between organisational and professional commitment

The preceding review of the literature suggests that organisational and professional commitment are related. The nature of this relationship is a complex one, however. Some studies suggest that the relationship between organisational and professional commitment is incompatible. Others suggest that the relationship is compatible. What explains such a difference? To some extent it reflects the various research methodologies. For example, one possible explanation for such contradictory conclusions might be the variety of different measures of professional and organisational commitment. Another explanation is that such results might reflect the diversity of organisational settings and occupational groups involved in the research. Such methodologies might, however, be the result of the theoretical approach to the study of the relationship between organisational and professional commitment.

Definition of professional commitment

Early empirical research on professional commitment often formulates and measures the concept as a unidimensional construct, that is, as an affective attachment to the profession or occupation (for example, Aranya, Pollock and Amernic 1981; Blau 1985). One of the few exceptions is Hall's (1968) definition of professionalism, that is, the extent to which one is committed to one's profession. Hall identifies five attitudes representative of professionalism: (1) the use of the profession as a major reference; (2) a belief in public service; (3) a belief in regulation of the profession by its members; (4) a sense of calling to the field; and (5) a belief that individuals should have the right to make decisions in their work without approval of others. More recently, Meyer, Allen and Smith (1993) provide a definition of professional commitment as a combination of three distinct factors:

> (1) *affective professional commitment*, defined as the individual's desire to remain in the profession which reflects attachment to, identification with, and involvement in the profession;

> (2) *continuance professional commitment*, defined as the individual's need to stay in the profession due to perceived costs of withdrawal and lack of alternatives; and

> (3) *normative professional commitment*, defined as an obligation to remain in the profession because the individual believes it is the right and moral thing to do; this reflects a sense of loyalty and sacrifice.

This multidimensional approach to professional commitment provides a more

complete understanding of the individual's bonds to their profession or occupation. The outcome of being committed to the profession represents an increase in the chances of a person remaining in the profession. However, the nature of the involvement and the reasons why people choose to remain are different. For example, professionals who have a strong desire to stay in the profession (affective commitment) and/or feel that they ought to remain (normative commitment) might be more willing to attend conferences, to join or participate in professional associations than a professional who is not affectively and/or normatively committed. For example, the relationship between professionals and their clients may generate an obligation-based commitment towards the profession (Perrow 1972, 18):

> If a patient has been going to a particular doctor for any period of time at all, he has a 'sunk cost' in this relationship - the doctor knows him and has X rays and other records.

Conversely, those who have a strong sense of a need to stay to avoid the high costs associated with leaving (continuance commitment) might be less involved in such profession-related activities (Meyer, Allen and Smith 1993; Meyer et al. 1989).

Another limitation in previous research is that the measures of professional commitment have been tested on occupational groups that might not be ideal for validation purposes (Morrow and Goetz 1988). Empirical research tends to focus upon accountants, engineers and nurses (Wallace 1993). Scholars of the sociology of profession (Etzioni 1975; Goode 1969) often emphasise, however, that these occupational groups are less professional than others, such as law

and medicine.

The development of professional and organisational commitment

The evidence regarding the incompatibility thesis mainly comes from heteronomous types of organisation. On the other hand, the compatibility thesis rests upon autonomous types of organisation. Recall that heteronomous and autonomous organisations are structured in different ways in such matters as incentives systems, division of labour, type of authority and supervision, importance placed upon professional work and so forth.

Heteronomous organisations seem to be capable of absorbing the professional's identification as an individual. It is suggested that professionals become more involved and identified with organisational goals and values rather than professional goals and values (Kerr, Von Glinow and Schriesheim 1977). Autonomous organisations are organised in a way that they more closely resemble the professional structure. These structural adaptations allow professionals to remain identified with their profession, avoiding the necessity of choosing, and resulting in probably the best solution, that is, high commitment to both the profession and the organisation. Time does not stand still, however. Therefore, how does the relationship between professional and organisational commitment evolve over time?

The literature shows conflicting views regarding the development of

professional commitment. Some suggest that professional commitment increases with age. That is, the more advanced professionals are in their career stage, the stronger professional commitment is (Adler and Aranya 1984; Sheldon 1971). The positive association between professional commitment and age may suggest that the accumulation of investments will make it more difficult and costly for individuals to leave the profession. Conversely, others advocate that the level of professional commitment decreases over time (Kerr, Von Glinow and Schriesheim 1977). It is suggested that professionals become more involved and identified with organisational, rather than professional, goals and values. Both schools of thought suggest, however, that organisational commitment increases over time. The distinct relationship between professional and organisational commitment suggest two distinct models: the 'organisation man' model and the 'profession-organisation man' model.

The 'organisation man' model shows that whereas organisational commitment increases, professional commitment decreases with time (Figure 2.1). This model grows out from the idea of 'security from the womb to the tomb' that was the hallmark of large corporations. Lifetime employment, wages and eventual progression in the hierarchical chain of command were exchanged for employees' loyalty and sacrifice of autonomy. The ultimate goal was to become part of the management. Consequently, the organisation and its bureaucratic structure would present a source of considerable power and the potential for satisfaction accompanying that power (for example, Abrahamson 1964; Connor and Scott 1974; Hinrichs 1964; Kerr, Von Glinow, Schriesheim 1977; Sorensen

and Sorensen 1974). This model seems to be associated with the heteronomous type of organisation.

By contrast, 'profession-organisation man' model shows that both organisational and professional commitment increase with age (Figure 2.2). It seems that pure technical efficiency is not enough. The smooth functioning of an organisation may depend upon social-technical integration. Social efficiency is loyalty attachment and involvement. This strategy seems to be the core of the 'corporatist' model of control (Lincoln and Kalleberg 1985). Lincoln and Kalleberg suggest that 'corporatist' organisations use normative, social and symbolic inducements that encourage the appearance of an interdependent relationship between employers and employees, a somewhat distinct picture from that produced by coercive and utilitarian methods. Also, the 'profession-organisation man' model is supported by the idea that as much as organisations rely upon knowledge, the professional will held a special role in the organisation. Empirical evidence concerning this type of professional and organisational commitment mainly comes from autonomous types of organisations, more specifically, partnerships of accountants (Adler and Aranya 1984; Aranya, Pollock and Amernic 1981).

The weakness with this approach, however, is that compatibility has been determined through correlation coefficients. At best, these indicators show how variables are related, but they do not indicate whether professional commitment is greater than organisational commitment, or otherwise, and why.

Figure 2.1

'Organisation man' model
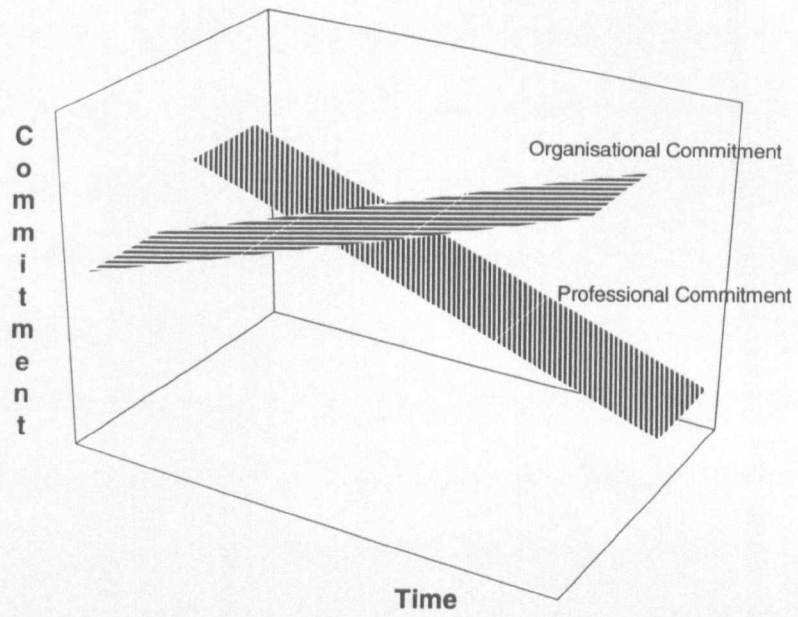
Figure 2.2

'Profession-organisation man' model
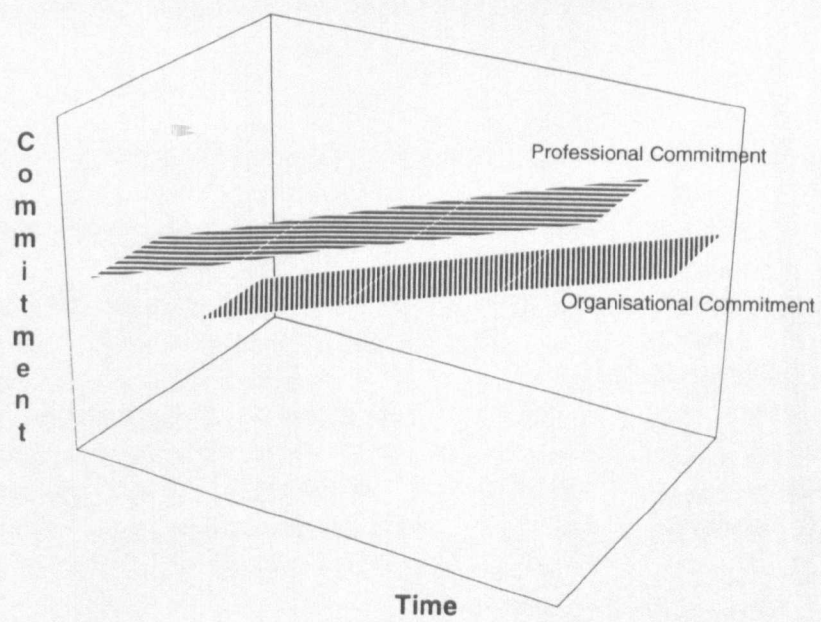
Becker and Carper (1970) propose a possible explanation for the development of professional commitment. They suggest that the first stages in the development of professional commitment occur during the period of training and socialisation into the profession. According to Becker and Carper (1970) this attachment is thought to be the result of three types of experience:

(1) the investment of time and financial resources (for example, loans and fees) spent in a particular graduate programme make costs associated with leaving too high;

(2) the development of a 'professional ideology', that is, the identification with professions' goals and values. When the individual questions the worth of being involved in such a profession, peers and teachers are there to reinforce the professional ideology;

(3) the development of technical interest and skill throughout this formal training will produce a commitment to the task. Over time, as the individual internalizes the values and goals of the profession, the professional acquires the motivation essential for pursuing it further.

This process of socialisation and peer support seems particularly relevant to certain types of occupation. Becker and Carper (1970, 210) report:

> The physiologist, (...), has embarked on a career whose inner workings and peculiar successes and failures are incomprehensible to his parents; if he is to meet successfully the problems his career creates in his relations with them he must find support, as he does, in an actual functioning group of colleagues. The philosopher, like the engineer, does not require such well-organized colleague support because, (...) the ideology is self-confirming to a very great degree.

Work experiences and organisational strategies

Positive work experiences, such as job satisfaction or training experiences, may lead professionals to develop an affective attachment and/or a sense of obligation to the profession. In a study of Ph.D. qualified scientists, it was shown that the time professionals spent working on professional problems, developing competence and achieving some professional prestige was associated with normative professional commitment (Sheldon 1971). This willingness to exert effort towards the profession may lead to a stronger professional identity that may increase commitment towards professional values. The results of this study are consistent with Becker's (1960) assumption that 'cultural expectations' serve as a type of 'side bet'. For example, the individual's perception that others are expecting a certain level of performance may put pressure on the individual to keep up with those expectations. Consequently, feeling a need to live up to others' expectations can contribute to an obligation-based commitment (Meyer, Allen and Smith 1993; Wiener 1982).

The nature of the reward system is also relevant to the development of professional commitment. Calculative rewards, that is, money and promotion prospects, may enhance calculative or continuance commitment (Darden, Hampton and Howell 1989). On the other hand, a normative reward system, that is, job satisfaction and a reciprocal sense of loyalty and duty between employer and employee, may contribute to affective or normative commitment (Schein et al. 1965).

The preceding explanations concerning the development of professional commitment are partial in their approach to the concept. For example, Becker and Carper's (1970) analysis focuses upon the socialisation process into the field of expertise chosen by the individual. Other researchers emphasise the work experience itself and neglect the influence of earlier stages. What is lacking in empirical research regarding the relationship between professional and organisational commitment is an integrated framework to explain the development of professional and organisational commitment. Such an approach may be provided by Levinson's (1978) theory of adult development. The discussion and description of the research framework are the subjects in the next chapter.

Chapter Three

The study framework
and
hypotheses

The focus of the present study is the relationship between organisational and

professional commitment. The discussion of the literature in the two foregoing

chapters raised the question for the present study, that is, how does the

relationship between organisational and professional commitment evolve over

time? The purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, it explains the research

framework. Second, it identifies the research hypotheses by focusing upon the

salient theoretical and empirical aspects derived from the preceding literature

review.

Research framework: Levinson's (1978) theory of adult development

The research framework of the present study is derived, basically, from Levinson's (1978) theory of adult development. More specifically, life structure concept derived from Levinson's theory is the key element. First, it is age-linked. Second, it includes both the internal and external events to the individual. Third, it suggests change. The focus of analysis is three-fold:

(1) the development of organisational and professional commitment;

(2) the relationship between organisational and professional commitment;

(3) the nature of organisational and professional commitment.

The development of organisational and professional commitment

Overall, the preceding review of the literature has established that the relationship between organisational and professional commitment has been subjected to limited empirical examination. The literature establishes that organisational and professional commitment are affected by many factors, personal and organisational. The type of organisation, for instance, is potentially an influential factor for the development of organisational and professional commitment. The literature identifies two different types of organisation which employ professionals. These are the heteronomous and autonomous

organisations. Recall that they differ mainly in terms of authority structure and work specialisation. Whereas the former evolve within a hierarchical chain of command the latter rely on a network structure. Moreover, autonomy to perform the work is higher in the latter than the former (see Chapter Two).

The literature suggests that these two different types of organisations may be related with to different patterns of organisational and professional development. The literature identifies two models. The first one, the 'organisation man' model, suggests that whereas organisational commitment increases with age, professional commitment decreases (Kerr, Von Glinow and Schriesheim 1977). The second model, the 'profession-organisation man', indicates that both organisational and professional commitment become stronger with time (Aranya and Ferris 1984). Until now, however, research based in autonomous organisation involving professional occupations, such as, lawyers or doctors, has been limited (Wallace 1993). The core of 'profession-organisation man' model is the extent to which professional's work is crucial to the organisation's activities, the more likely it is the goals and values of the organisation be consistent with the goals and values of the profession (Hall 1967; Perrow 1972; Scott 1966). As such, professional commitment will increase.

The literature also suggests that positive development of both forms of commitment is related with an individual's position in the organisation. That is, individuals in the higher ranks of the organisation are more committed to the

organisation than individuals at the lower levels (Aranya and Ferris 1984). If the achievement of a senior position is important to the individual, what happens to the commitment of those who fail to attain promotion? The literature implies that the state of being committed is related to the privilege that individuals in higher positions have for attaining rewards, for example, better salaries, more interesting jobs and greater participation in the decision-making process (Hrebiniak 1974). But what does a promotion represent for the employee? If the achievement of a senior position is the fulfilment of a dream, it is possible to expect that affective commitment might be enhanced towards the organisation. But does it mean that those employees who are not promoted are less committed than those who are? Besides, those who acquire better jobs are also older employees. To what extent is the development of organisational and professional commitment explained by job level?

Another potentially important factor is the relationship between age and the development of organisational and professional commitment. Until now, however, age-based models were inconsistent and lack sound theoretical bases. Recall that Becker's (1960) 'side bet' and 'sunk costs' theory suggests that age represents an investment of time in a particular course of action, as such, age is linked to the behavioural type of commitment. Although environmental circumstances influence or accelerate certain life-experiences, age is also 'the' predictor of life-cycle activation (Levinson 1978). Hall and Mansfield's (1975) study of work needs provides evidence to validate this theoretical assumption. Hall and Mansfield suggest that when analysis of

variance is carried out by career stage, it produces stronger differences than the analysis of variance based by decade. Levinson's (1978) theory of adult development is an integrative framework of analysis in that it proposes the concept of life structure; this is shaped by personality developments as well as the process of socialisation and adaptation. The unit of analysis is age. In effect, a certain individual's age is equivalent to a certain life structure.

The relationship between organisational and professional commitment

One of the basic tenets of Levinson's theory is that an individual's development proceeds through successive pre-determined phases of change (transition), consolidation (structure-building), re-appraisal followed by reconstruction. The primary task in a structure-building period is to make certain key choices, form a structure around them, and pursue one's own values and goals within this structure. Then the life structure that has formed the basis for stability comes into question and must be modified. Consequently, the primary task of every transitional period is to reappraise the existing structure, to explore possibilities for change in the self and the world, and to move toward commitment to the crucial choices that form the basis for a new life structure in the ensuing period.

In the early career stage, Levinson's (1978) theory proposes a paradox concerning the individual's state of being committed. Levinson suggests that individuals may exhibit strong commitments as they build up a solid life structure. In effect, the process of forming and modifying an occupation absorbs

this entire period of the early career stage. Indeed, individuals are making attempts to establish the foundations for their lives as novice adults. As such, they might be willing to direct their energies and commitment towards a particular project. By contrast, individuals may exhibit weak commitments as they are still exploring and experimenting with their roles in the adult world. In effect, a different array of opportunities is given to the individual in the early career stage. Thus, they feel the need to experiment and decide what is better for themselves. This scenario evolves from a structure-building period 'Entering the Adult World' to a structure-transition period 'Thirties Transition'.

In the mid career stage, Levinson's (1978) theory suggests that an individual goes through two distinct periods. First, a period of stabilisation which corresponds to the 'Settling Down' period. Second, a time of re-evaluation at the 'Mid-life Transition'. At the 'Settling Down' period an individual tries to build up his second life structure which, if successful, will carry him to the culmination of the striving of his youth. For example, the development of a career. It is, therefore, a period of intensification of an individual's commitments. Further, the 'Mid-life Transition' is the period for previous life structure evaluation, where expectations and dreams are compared to the actual reality. At this stage, Levinson's theory describes two different scenarios that might influence the state of being committed in the next career stage. First, the evaluation of the previous life structure is positive, that is, the accomplishment of life-expectations and dreams satisfy the individual. Second, the evaluation of the previous life structure is negative, that is, the reality is far from the

individual's initial expectations.

In the late career stage, Levinson's (1978) theory suggests that individuals will accommodate decisions taken in the early stages of their careers. This process of accommodation may reflect two different scenarios described earlier. The importance of, and involvement in work, might decline as a consequence of a negative re-evaluation of an individual's life. The other possible scenario suggests that the importance of, and involvement in, work might increase as a consequence of a positive evaluation of an individual's life. This positive outcome reflects the individual's self-actualization in the work place. It means an individual's sense of autonomy to perform their jobs is high. This discrepancy observed by Levinson might be the result of the different types of occupations included in his study. Although the sample size in Levinson's research was small (forty individuals), the diversity of occupations ranged from blue-collar workers to professionals. The sense of decline after the 'Mid-life Transition' might be more acute for individuals who are dependent upon their physical aptitude to execute their jobs. Physical limitation is a natural process due to aging. Yet, those who have to adjust and overcome the loss of their physical power may feel more dissatisfied and discontent than those whose jobs are dependent upon intellectual activities.

Regarding the profession-organisation conflict thesis, the relationship between organisational and professional commitment may be distilled into two schools of thought. One view is that the relationship between organisational and

professional commitment is incompatible. That is, when individuals enter the organisation they have to choose between commitment to the profession or commitment to the organisation (for example, Gouldner 1958). The opposing view is that both forms of commitment are compatible and even sequential, that is, professional commitment influences organisational commitment and strong levels of organisational commitment induce high levels of professional commitment (for example, Hall 1967).

The literature is, however, relatively fragmented and the various theorists and researchers have approached the topic in different ways, using various definitions of the concepts and different questions. For example, what does it mean when it is said that professional and organisational commitment are incompatible? Marxist scholars suggest that the working conditions of professionals deteriorate when they become salaried employees (for example, Oppenheimer 1973). Consequently, there is a decrease in work involvement which causes alienation and job dissatisfaction. Does it imply that bureaucracies deprive individuals of their deepest and most important beliefs about their craft, consequently removing their pride in their work and instilling feelings of alienation and dissatisfaction? Conversely, does it mean that the professional is primarily identified with the organisation rather than the profession? If the professional's status and power are erode by changes in their work setting, should they be more attached to their profession than to their employing organisation? Or, does it mean that professionals are above organisational authority, that they do not accept organisational norms and

values and, that they seek recognition and rewards outside the organisation? The incompatibility thesis is based on the notion of a dilemma, that is, the assumption is that simultaneous membership of a profession and organisation pose a tension.

By contrast, the compatibility thesis suggests that both forms may co-exist simultaneously. But, what does compatibility mean? Reichers (1985) has argued that organisational commitment is a multifaceted phenomenon. Multiple commitments result from intense identification with goals and values of the organisation. Reichers (1985, 469) notes that the emphasis of research has been on the psychological influences on organisational commitment, that is, 'individual-organisational relationship exemplified in side bets and sunk costs approaches'. Reichers argues, however, that an understanding of the nature of the organisation itself is equally important as the organisation is the focus of the individual's commitment. While Reichers did not address professional commitment, per se, it could be argued that an individual's psychological state and the profession itself are similarly important for understanding professional commitment.

The evidence is that incompatibility between organisational and professional commitment applies in heteronomous organisations (Kerr, Von Glinow and Schriesheim 1977). The compatibility thesis seems prominent in autonomous organisations (Adler and Aranya 1984; Aranya and Ferris 1984; Aranya, Pollock and Amernic 1981). It seems that compatibility requires a congruence of goals

and values between the organisation and the profession (Glaser 1963). Perrow (1965) suggests the authority structure shapes the type of operative goals that are likely to prevail in the organisation. The literature review also suggests that the authority structure of the organisation varies according to the type of professionals employed (Scott 1966). For example, when organisations are dominated by professionals with a strong sense of professional identity and a need for autonomy - as is the case for autonomous organisations - the organisation's and profession's goals and values are probably identical, if not, the same. In this case compatibility is expected.

If the status quo changed - for example, if a professional is confronted with a situation to compromise the interest of the client for the sake of the firm - the outcome of such a crisis shows where the professional's loyalty lies. Professionals staying in the organisation might represent, on the one hand, those who are loyal to the organisation's goals and values or, on the other hand, those who cannot afford to leave the organisation. It seems, therefore, that co-existence of both forms of commitment does not resolve the question of loyalties.

The evidence analysed in the literature review suggests that the relationship between organisational and professional commitment has been inferred from correlation coefficients (Wallace 1993). This technique of data analysis suggests a certain amount of correspondence between organisational and professional commitment. It is unclear from this association, however, which

type of commitment, if any, predominates.

There are indications in the literature which suggest that the focus of the employee's commitment is related to the type of organisation. For example, Lachman and Aranya (1986) carried out a study of organisational commitment among accountants in 'public accounting firms' and 'industry and government' organisations. They observed that organisational commitment was highly related to the intention to leave among the 'industry and government'. Interestingly, professional commitment, rather than organisational commitment, was more strongly associated with intentions to leave the organisation among 'public accounting firms'. It is inferred from Lachman and Aranya's study that in autonomous organisations, professional commitment might predominate over organisational commitment.

It is unclear, however, whether, and to what extent, this relationship develops over time. For example, it has been suggested that professional commitment begins to develop before an individual enters the organisation (Becker and Carper 1970). Conceivably, in the early career stages, professional commitment might be higher than organisational commitment. As time goes by, however, professionals are socialised into the norms, values and goals of the organisation (Becker and Carper 1970). Such socialisation may result in the individual becoming more committed to the organisation than to their profession. This process of socialisation might be compared to a sort of specialisation which binds employees to the organisation (Raelin 1985). This

may act as a 'sunk cost' making leaving more costly than staying (Becker 1960). If organisational and professional commitment based on accumulated organisational and professional investment increases, feelings of obligation should also increase to maintain cognitive consistency (for example, Reilly and Orsak 1991). Furthermore, professionals cannot be committed to something they have not acquired: obligations need to be learned and loyalties need to develop, just as investments need to accumulate.

The nature of organisational and professional commitment

It seems that the reasons why people choose to stay in the organisation or profession are potentially different. Indeed, the literature review identifies a multidimensional perspective in which three different ways of being committed are defined: the sense of wanting to stay, needing to stay and ought to stay (Allen and Meyer 1990). Therefore, the question 'how does the relationship between organisational and professional commitment evolve over time?' has to be reformulated to include the differences in the nature of being committed.

Multiple forms of commitment seem particularly relevant for further investigation, as it is unclear what the motives of a professional's commitment are to both their organisation and their profession. There are two opposing perspectives which relate to the influence of work values orientation upon organisational and professional commitment (Hall and Mansfield 1975). Some researchers advocate that professionals are more concerned with the well-being of their clients and their acts are ruled by the norms and procedures of the

profession (Etzioni 1975). Others suggest that professionals succumb to the utilitarian concerns of their employing organisations (Oppenheimer 1974). Once again, the evidence seems to suggest that the type of organisation seems to influence the form of organisational and professional commitment experienced by the individual (Aranya and Ferris 1984; Wallace 1995). That is, the individual's attachment towards the organisation or profession depends upon the influence that a professional can exert towards their employing organisation.

For example, Wallace (1995) focuses upon 'corporatist' organisations. 'Corporatists' are defined as organisations which control labour through normative, social and symbolic inducements (for example, satisfaction) rather than calculative or utilitarian rewards (for example, money). The research concludes that the more employees participate in the process of decision-making, the greater the levels of attitudinal organisational commitment. It is also observed that the more the organisation has norms and rules similar to those used by the professional group employed, the more satisfied and committed the employee is. Opportunities for upward mobility within the organisation are also positively related to organisational commitment. The greater the perceived legitimacy of promotions, the higher the attitudinal organisational commitment.

This 'corporatist' type of organisation is also thought to rely upon a decentralised type of authority, to depend on a system of rules and procedures similar to that used by the dominant professional group employed, and to provide upwards career mobility (Lincoln and Kalleberg 1985). It is inferred,

therefore, that the change within the organisation for professional advancement might influence attitudinal professional commitment. As such, there are indications to suggest that professionals' work values orientation is obtained directly from the work experience itself (for example, interest, challenge, responsibility and autonomy) (Cohen 1992). It can be proposed, therefore, that in autonomous organisations the attitudinal form of commitment might predominate over calculative forms of commitment.

The research variables

The definitions of the research variables are as follows:

Organisational commitment: the psychological state which influences the likelihood of an individual continuing or discontinuing membership with the organisation: a sense of wanting, needing and obligation to stay;

Professional commitment: the psychological state which influences the likelihood of an individual continuing or discontinuing membership with the profession: a sense of wanting, needing, and obligation to stay;

Job involvement: the strength of an individual's psychological absorption in work;

Professionalism: the importance of the profession to individuals including the professional organisation as a major referent, belief in public service, belief in self-regulation, sense of calling to the field and autonomy;

Work values orientation: a person's work values that might be altruistic and/or calculative;

Age: the difference between 1994 and the year the individual was born;

Organisational position: a person's position within the formal organisation's hierarchy.

The definition of the research variables closely follows the issues raised concerning the multidimensional nature of commitment. Recall that particular attention has been given to affective forms of commitment (for example, Mowday, Porter and Steers 1982) and how this may mislead research results. Both forms of commitment are therefore measured as a multidimensional construct. Morrow and McElroy (1986) defined work commitment as a multi-construct which includes organisational and professional commitment, job involvement, the assessment of professionalism and work values orientation.

This seems to provide a more global assessment of commitment yet it does not neglect the multiple dimensions of commitment. Job involvement, professionalism, organisational and professional commitment have been shown to be empirically different (Morrow and McElroy 1987). Work values orientation will allow the researcher to determine the professional's actual orientation towards work. This may shed some light on the debate of altruistic versus calculative work value orientation among professionals.

The theoretical value of age is grounded in the Levinson's (1978) theory of adult development.

Research hypotheses

The rationale regarding the research question - how does organisational and professional commitment evolve over time - suggest a number of research hypotheses for the present study. Recall that Levinson suggests that individuals are expected to go through different stages of stability and transition. These different periods in an individual's life are characterised by different states of being committed. For example, the early career stage is a period of strong yet conditional commitments. The mid career stage is a period of intensification of commitments and the re-evaluation of one's own life. The late career stage is a period of accommodation. Levinson's theory describes two possible scenarios in the late career stage. One scenario suggests lower involvement and a decrease in the importance of work. The other suggests that in late career stages individuals exhibit stronger commitments (organisational and professional) than younger people. Earlier in this chapter, the researcher suggested that such duality might be a consequence of the different types of professions that Levinson included in his study. The assumption in the present study is that individuals holding professional occupations are most likely to exhibit the pattern described for the second scenario. Positive and stronger commitments occur when an individual's work provides the means for self-actualization, that is, the career process accompanies the process of the individual's maturation.

In addition, there are indications in the literature which suggest that when professionals are employed in autonomous organisations, both forms of

commitment are positively correlated. As such, organisational and professional commitment are expected to increase over time - the so-called 'profession-organisation man' model. The literature also suggests that during the training period, professionals are socialised into the norms and values of the profession. It would be expected that during early career stages individuals have not yet had the time to be socialised into the norms and values of the organisation. This consideration leads the researcher to believe that professionals working in autonomous organisations exhibit higher levels of professional commitment than organisational commitment, at least in early career stages. This assumption is also based on the knowledge that autonomous organisations provide a self-reliant work environment where the rules, norms and ethics of the organisation are similar to those of the dominant group of professionals employed. Moreover, the process of individuals' socialisation into the organisation, might result in a predominance of organisational commitment. Such discrepancy is most likely to occur in the 'Mid-life Transition' when individuals re-assess and re-evaluate earlier decisions. For example, the choice of their career's path.

The importance of job level is also pointed out as positively related to organisational and professional commitment. Yet, it is also known that older individuals usually hold better jobs in the organisations. The present study is, therefore, concerned with the relative influence of age and job level upon the development of organisational and professional commitment. This question also concerns the nature of organisational and professional commitment. The

literature leads to the assumption that professionals working in autonomous organisations are motivated by normative and symbolic inducements rather than by calculative rewards. Such positive work values orientation certainly influences the nature of organisational and professional commitment.

The research hypotheses are divided in three groups, these are:

Group 1 The development of organisational and professional commitment;

Group 2 The relationship between organisational and professional commitment;

Group 3 The nature of organisational and professional commitment.

The development of organisational and professional commitment

1. Organisational commitment increases systematically by age.

2. Professional commitment increases systematically by age.

3. Organisational commitment is expected to correlate positively with job

level.

4. Professional commitment is expected to correlate positively with job level.

The relationship between organisational and professional commitment

5. At the 'Entering the Adult World' period, professional commitment is expected to be significantly higher than organisational commitment.

6. At the 'Thirties Transition' period, professional commitment is expected to be significantly higher than organisational commitment.

7. At the 'Settling Down' period, no significant difference between organisational and professional commitment is expected.

8. At the 'Mid-life Transition' period, organisational commitment is expected to be significantly higher than professional commitment.

9. At the 'Middle Adulthood' period, no significant difference between organisational and professional commitment is expected.

10. At the 'Late Adulthood' period, no significant difference between

organisational and professional commitment is expected.

The nature of organisational and professional commitment

11. Affective organisational commitment is expected to increase over time.

12. Continuance organisational commitment is expected to increase over time.

13. Normative organisational commitment is expected to increase over time.

14. Affective professional commitment is expected to increase over time.

15. Continuance professional commitment is expected to increase over time.

16. Normative professional commitment is expected to increase over time.

17. Affective organisational commitment is expected to predominate over continuance organisational commitment.

18. Affective professional commitment is expected to predominate over continuance professional commitment.

Summary

This chapter suggested a research framework for the relationship between organisational and professional commitment over time. This study uses the Levinson's theory of adult development as the framework of analysis to study the development and the relationship between organisational and professional commitment. The research variables were also defined. Finally, the research hypotheses were identified. The next chapter describes the research methodology.

Chapter Four

Research Methodology

The research focuses upon the relationship between professional and organisational commitment. The research question is how such commitments develop over an individual's lifetime. The purpose of this chapter is threefold:

(1)   it describes the research measures;

(2)   it identifies the research population and describes the sampling strategy;

(3)   it assesses the sample robustness.

The choice of design and methodology was dictated by the need to make systematic comparisons between different age-groups and different forms of commitment within them.

Measurement

Chapter Three identifies the research variables. These are: (1) organisational commitment, (2) professional commitment, (3) the importance of the profession to the individual, (4) job involvement, (5) work values orientation, (6) job level and (7) age. This section describes the process of choice regarding the research scales. The choice of measures was guided, mainly, by the need for instruments with acceptable psychometric properties, that is, instruments which are valid and reliable. One of the major concerns in the organisational behaviour literature is construct validation. When concepts are measured it is always an issue whether respondents can in practice distinguish between concepts which are seen by researchers as rationally separate conceptualizations (Carmines and Zeller 1981). Another issue is scale reliability. Reliability concerns the extent to which the measurement procedure yields the same results in repeated analysis (Carmines and Zeller 1981). The present research strategy was to use tried and tested scales.

Measurement of organisational and professional commitment

The literature on organisational and professional commitment identifies a wide range of measures regarding these two constructs. Until recently, the most frequently used measures were Ritzer-Trice (1969), Hrebiniak-Alluto Scales (1972) and Mowday, Porter and Steers (1982) - Organisational Commitment Questionnaire. The former two scales were designed with the intention to measure commitment as defined by Becker's (1960) side-bet theory. The latter, Organisational Commitment Questionnaire (OCQ), measures affective

commitment only. More recently, however, the Ritzer-Trice and Hrebiniak-Alluto Scales have been subjected to criticism. Meyer and Allen (1984) suggest that both of these scales seem to measure affective commitment. In fact, Ritzer-Trice and Hrebiniak-Alluto Scales, like Organisational Commitment Questionnaire, correlate significantly with the 'sense of wanting to stay' ($r = 0.5$; 0.54; 0.78, respectively) but not with the 'sense of needing to stay'. Further, neither the 'sense of wanting to stay' nor Organisational Commitment Questionnaire correlated significantly with the 'sense of needing to stay'. Although the Organisational Commitment Questionnaire has demonstrated good psychometric properties in the literature, the preference is towards a scale that represents commitment as a multidimensional concept.

In this study, the Allen and Meyer's (1990) scale was chosen. The scale incorporates both the measurement of affective and calculative forms of commitment. The scale has good face value to be used across different domains. Thus, the scale is suitable for different foci of commitment, for example, the profession or the organisation (Meyer and Allen 1984). Organisational and professional commitment were measured using Allen and Meyer's (1990) twenty-four item scale and eighteen item scale, respectively. Whereas the measurement of organisational commitment uses eight-item subscale, the measurement of professional commitment uses a six-item subscale. The scales are analogous in style and have been used by the authors in several studies, as well as other researchers (for example, Cohen and Kirchmeyer 1995; McGee and Ford 1987; Reilly and Orsak 1991; Somers

1995). The scales measure three dimensions of commitment, such as:

(1)   affective commitment or 'the sense of wanting to stay';

(2)   continuance commitment or 'the sense of needing to stay'; and

(3)   normative commitment or 'the sense of one ought to stay'.

■ Affective commitment

This measure assesses commitment by positive feelings of identification with, attachment to, and involvement in, the working organisation or profession. This dimension was measured using items, such as:

'I would be very happy to spend the rest of my career with this firm';

'I am enthusiastic about the profession'.

■ Continuance commitment

This measure focuses upon the extent to which employees feel committed to the employing organisation or profession by virtue of the costs that they feel are associated with leaving. The following items are examples of how this dimension was measured:

'I feel that I have too few options to consider leaving the firm';

'It would be too costly for me to change my profession now'.

■ Normative Commitment

This scale emphasises the extent to which employees feel morally obliged to remain with the organisation or profession. This dimension was measured by expressions such as:

'One of the major reasons I continue to work for this firm is that

I believe that loyalty is important and therefore feel a sense of

moral obligation to remain';

'I feel a responsibility to the solicitors' profession to continue in it'.

The scales employed a seven-point Likert-type response format (from one

'strongly disagree' to seven 'strongly agree'). Only minor amendments to the

nomenclature were required to make the scales relevant.

Reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alpha) are reported for each subscale of

organisational commitment: affective, continuance and normative. The results

are 0.87, 0.79 and 0.73, respectively (Allen and Meyer 1990). Parameters

reflecting the stability of the constructs over time were all high ($r = 0.980$) (Meyer,

Allen and Gellartly 1990). Affective and normative commitment are moderately

related ($r = 0.5$), 'suggesting that feelings of obligation to maintain membership

in the organisation, although not identical to feelings of desire, may be

meaningfully linked' (Allen and Meyer 1990, 8).

The professional commitment eighteen-item scale has been developed quite

recently (Meyer, Allen and Smith 1993). It has not, therefore, been applied to

a wide range of occupations. Nevertheless, the psychometric properties

reported are acceptable. Reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alpha) are 0.87,

0.79, 0.73 - affective, continuance and normative - respectively (Meyer, Allen

and Smith 1993). Confirmatory factor analysis suggests that professional

commitment is a distinct measure from organisational commitment. In fact, when three occupational and three organisational commitment factors were analysed, the six-factor provides the better solution. The parsimonious normed-fit index is 0.893 for the six-factor solution and 0.880 for the three factor solution (Meyer, Allen and Smith 1993).

Measurement of the importance of the profession

The importance of the profession to the individual was measured by using Snizek's (1972) twenty-five-item shorter version of Hall's (1968) - 'Professional Inventory'. This scale includes attitudinal aspects of professional commitment. These are:

(1) **professional organisation as a major reference**, for example,

'I systematically read the professional journals';

(2) **a belief in public service**, for example,

'I think my profession, more than any other, is essential for society';

(3) **a belief in self-regulation**, for example,

'We really have no way of judging each other's competence';

(4) **a sense of calling to the field**, for example,

'The dedication of people in this field is most gratifying';

(5) **autonomy** to make decisions concerning their jobs, for example,

'I am my own boss in almost every work-related situation'.

The scale uses the five-point response format (from one - 'very well' to five - 'very poorly'). This scale has been used with a wide range of professions, for example, physicians, lawyers, nurses, teachers, chemists and engineers. Reliability coefficients consistently range from 0.69 to 0.86 (Bartol 1979; Hall 1968; Snizeck 1972). Morrow and Goetz (1988) reported satisfactory discriminant and convergent validity of the measure. That is, canonical analysis suggests that the professionalism scale measures different aspects of commitment when compared to other forms of work commitment (for example, job involvement, organisational commitment and work ethic).

Measurement of job involvement

Job involvement was measured by using Lodahl and Kejner's (1965) five-item scale. This determines the degree to which a person is identified with and absorbed by their job, for example, 'I live, eat and breathe my job'. These five items clearly express high involvement and a feeling of being duty-bound towards work. The split half coefficient (r) ranges from 0.72 to 0.89 (Lohahl and Kejner 1965). More recently, Drummond (1993) reported acceptable coefficients alpha which ranged from 0.63 to 0.88. Construct validity was suggested by the association of job involvement and such variables as supervision quality ($r = 0.31$, $p < 0.05$) (Lodahl and Kejner 1965). As the authors suggest, job-involved individuals are most probably the same sort of employees who provide good supervision. Further evidence of validity is suggested by the degree to which the measure discriminates among groups at different career stages. People at the early career stage were found to be less involved in the job than others who

were already embarked on their life careers. The scale employs a seven-point Likert-type response format, from one - 'strongly disagree' to seven - 'strongly agree' (Morris and Snyder 1979).

Measurement of work values orientation

Normative work values orientation was measured by using Popper and Lipshitz's (1992) six-item scale. Calculative work values orientation was measured by using Shepard's (1972) four-item scale. This dichotomy reflects two basic personal values, normative versus calculative, which is consistent with the measurement of commitment (Wiener 1982).

■ Normative work values

Popper and Lipshitz's (1992) scale of normative work values expresses a moral obligation by which people direct their lives, no matter what the material reward. For example,

> 'It is important for me to work in a place where people perceived themselves as idealistic and concerned' .

There is also evidence of scale reliability and validity. The authors reported a reliability coefficient alpha of 0.88. Construct validity is suggested by the weak association ($r = 0.2$) between work values orientation and social desirability Marlowe-Crown scale (Popper and Lipshitz 1992). The scale uses a five-point Linkert-type response format (from one - 'very important' to five - 'not important at all').

■ Calculative work values

Shepard's (1972) measure of calculative work values expresses the extent to which work activities are carried out solely for anticipated future rewards and not for any intrinsic value. For example,

'Money is the most rewarding reason for working'.

The scale uses five-point Linkert-type response format (from one - 'strongly disagree to five' - 'strongly agree'). The authors report corrected-item reliability coefficients ranging from 0.38 to 0.48.

■ Personal characteristics

Age, job level and gender were determined through specific questions.

Sampling strategy

The study was based upon solicitors as they clearly met the criteria of a well established profession (Carlin 1966; Freidson 1970, 1994). This profession basically consists of two halves, that is, the large city commercial firms and 'the rest'. 'The rest' consists predominantly of high street legal aid firms and small practices dealing mainly in conveyancing and probate. The present study focuses upon the large commercial firms. Large firms were studied because they more closely resembled complex organisations than small firms. For example, most large firms have marketing, financial and personnel departments. Many are international with offices worldwide (Titmuss Sainer

Dechert - Trainee Solicitors' Brochure 1996). The definition of what constitutes a large firm is subjective. Nelson (1981) defined large law firms as those which employ more than sixty lawyers. In this study, large firms are defined as those city firms (in London) which employ more than one hundred solicitors or provincial firms (in Birmingham, Leeds and Manchester) which employ more than seventy solicitors.

The solicitors' profession

The system of entry to the profession is uniform for all prospective solicitors. The normal period of time required for formal training is six years. The main route to qualification is to take a degree in Law followed by the Law Society's Final Course. Another option is to take a degree in any subject followed by a one year conversion course for non-law graduates (Common Professional Exam). Either way, prospective solicitors are still required to undertake a two year period of practical training, formally known as serving articles, before qualifying (Law Society 1993).

Limitations on entry, inevitably influence the profession's composition as well as its numbers. Applicants' social background, gender and race strongly influence the sociography of the profession. The number of ethnic minorities qualifying as solicitors is increasing from approximately eight per cent in 1988-89 to thirteen per cent in 1992-93. Moreover, the number of women in the profession is beginning to exceed the number of men. Whereas in 1950 the percentage of entry for women was almost nil, in 1992-93 women accounted

for fifty-one per cent of the admissions to the Roll (Law Society 1993).

Solicitors are governed by an external body, known as the Law Society. This professional association has the power to control the content of work, the quality of professional membership and to admit its members. The Law Society has the power to intervene in a wide variety of situations, for example, from carrying out disciplinary actions for professional misconduct, to determining the length of training and so forth. For example, the Law Society has ruled that assistants are legally obliged to stay a minimum of three years as an assistant before they can be offered a partnership. Moreover, solicitors are required to inform the Law Society of the type of work they are undertaking as well as the location of their employing firm (Abel 1989).

The emergence of large law firms

Chapter Two identifies distinct types of organisations. Scott (1966) suggests that there are two different types of organisations which employ professionals, namely, the heteronomous and the autonomous organisations. More recently, Derber, Schwartz and Magrass (1990) suggest that autonomous organisations differ according to the employee's ownership status. In true-autonomous organisations employees have the chance to become the owners of the organisation. As such, professionals control both capital and knowledge. Large law firms fall in the category of true-autonomous organisations.

Large firms began to emerge after 1967. Prior to this date, the maximum

number of partners allowed by law was twenty. The removal of restrictions on the number of partners facilitated development and competition between firms (Brazier et al. 1993). Consequently, some firms grew dramatically in size. The large law firms now differ qualitatively from the rest of the profession, mainly in terms of the work they do and their complexity. Solicitors in large partnerships work for major companies, banks and the nobility (Abel 1989). Also, as firms are growing in size they are obliged to adopt a more bureaucratic form of management. Nevertheless, they are identified as true-autonomous organisations.

Equally important are the prospects for promotion in different types of firms. Small firms often offer partnership to assistants after three years. In large law firms, however, at least six to seven years as an assistant may elapse before a solicitor can expect to be considered for partnership (New Law Journal 1986, 384-390). There is still an additional barrier to partnership prospects in large law firms. That is, the proportion of solicitors who attain partnership is normally less than half the total number of assistants. For example, one of the biggest firms in the City employs 141 assistants and only sixty partners. Conversely, smaller firms are more likely to operate at a ratio of one to one or less. The firm Bartlets and DeReya, for instance, have twenty-one partners and six assistants (Abel 1989).

Solicitors working in corporate law can hope to earn salaries that few other professions can achieve. Assistant solicitors normally earn starting salaries

ranging from twenty thousand pounds to twenty-five thousand pounds with steady progression to fifty thousand or sixty thousand pounds, in London. The financial rewards upon the attainment of partnership are substantially higher. Commercial firms may charge clients anything from one hundred and fifty to two hundred pounds per hour (three hundred to three hundred and fifty pounds is the normal rate in London). These figures are reflected in partners' annual salaries which are unlikely to be less than one hundred thousand pounds. Earnings ranging from two hundred thousand pounds to half a million pounds are by no means uncommon (Chambers and Partners Directory 1995).

Money is no guarantee of satisfaction, however. One can speculated that the current economic recession and, at the same time, intensified competition from accountants and American Law Firms operating in the United Kingdom, might be responsible for some dissatisfaction and frustration reported by solicitors. There are currently reports accusing large law firms of treating assistants instrumentally, almost as commodities to be discarded when deemed too expensive (Abel 1989). Indeed, opportunities for employment appear to be declining. The total number of offices occupied by private practices fell from 17050 in 1989 to 13996 in 1993. This represent a reduction of eighteen per cent. Also, the number of places declined from 168195 persons in 1990 to 167967 persons in 1992. Moreover, the availability of traineeships has decreased. From fifty-four per cent of students who had applied for training place in 1993, only forty-six percent received an offer of a place (Law Society 1993).

Source of information

The Law Directory (Butterworth's Law and Directory 1993) was used to identify potential respondents. Within England and Wales there are forty four large firms employing 7561 solicitors. **Table 4.1** shows that most large firms are in London. The practitioners are registered in the law directory (Butterworth's Law and Directory 1993) by (1) the solicitor's name, (2) the name of the firm where the solicitor practises, and (3) the date when the solicitor qualified. A database was created to hold these three pieces of information (using the computer programme ACCESS).

Table 4.1

Study population by firm location

	Firms	Solicitors	Proportion of firms
London	32	6493	85.86%
Leeds	5	390	5.15%
Manchester	3	248	3.27%
Birmingham	4	430	5.60%
Total	44	7561	

Source: Butterworth's Law and Directory 1993.

Table 4.2 shows the proportion of solicitors in the population according to qualification date. It is noteworthy that a high proportion of solicitors qualified between 1986 and 1991. This reflects a growth period in the profession which has since lapsed into recession along with the United Kingdom economy (Law Society 1993).

Table 4.2

**Frequency distribution of the research population
by
qualification yea**r

Qualification Year	Solicitors N	Population Relative w_i	
[1992-1994]	220	3.9%	
[1986-1991]	3581	47.4%	
[1979-1985]	2036	26.9%	
[1974-1978]	725	9.6%	
[1964-1973]	736	9.7%	
[≤ - 1963]	263	3.5%	

Total	7561	100%

Source: Butterworth's Law and Directory 1993.

The pilot test

One hundred solicitors, practising in commercial law firms, were selected to participate in the pre-test of the questionnaire. Although selection was random, only firms from Liverpool were included in the sampling frame. This procedure was carried out allowing the researcher to set out the sampling strategy by estimating the following:

(1) the response rate achieved in the pilot test was twenty six per cent;

(2) the standard deviation and the standard error for the age variable, were 13.117 and 0.8, respectively;

(3) the scale reliability using the Cronbach's alpha varied from 0.67 to 0.87 (Appendix 4.1). The α coefficient provides a more conservative estimate of scale reliability than other methods (Carmines and Zeller 1981). The minimum value for α coefficient acceptable for internal consistency of an instrument is 0.70 (Nunnaly 1978, 245).

Stratification based upon age

The focus of this research regards the development of organisational and professional commitment over time. The framework of analysis is based upon Levinson's (1978) theory of adult development. Thus, a representative sample is selected, based on the age groups that are the focal points of the Levinson's theory.

Six age groups are identified as follows:

(1) [22 to 28 [;

(2) [28 to 33 [;

(3) [33 to 40 [;

(4) [40 to 45 [;

(5) [45 to 55 [;

(6) ≥55 years old.

The sampling strategy aimed to increase accuracy by using a random stratified sample, and to decrease variation by using a sample as large as possible. The use of a stratified sample permitted the researcher to increase the accuracy of the overall population estimates. It also enabled the researcher to derive adequate data for analysing different subgroups of the population (Yates 1981). Age was estimated with reference to the solicitor's date of qualification. The normal qualification age is twenty six years (Law Society 1993). For example, if the qualification year was 1990, it was estimated that the solicitor was thirty years old in 1994.

Sample size

The procedure for determining the sample size involved three steps:

(1) overall sample size;

(2) stratification; and

(3) response rate correction.

First, the overall requisite sample was determined using the Moser and Kalton

(1981, 66) equation:

$$s_{\bar{x}} = \frac{s}{\sqrt{n-1}} \sqrt{\frac{N-n}{N-1}}$$

where:

> N is the number of units in the population;
> n is the number of units in the sample;
> s is the standard deviation of the mean;
> σ_x is the standard error of the mean.

The computation, which includes the standard deviation and standard error from the pilot sample, indicated a total requisite sample size of 256 (Appendix 4.2).

Second, the method used to stratify the sample selected is based on the efficiency of distributing the sample by different strata (Emory 1976). Thus, the disproportionate method was preferred to the proportionated method (Appendix 4.3). **Table 4.3** shows the sample size for each stratum.

The sample size was designed to ensure at least thirty individuals in each stratum. This entailed increasing the sample size in strata one and four by twenty eight and fourteen individuals respectively, to accord with the Central Limit Theorem. According to this theorem, the larger the sample size, the closer the sample to the normal distribution. That is, a 'sample size of 30 is usually considered ample for this purpose' (Stuart 1962, 32).

The third step involved taking the response rate from the pilot test to estimate the final sample size. The following formula incorporates the number of individuals previously estimated for each stratum, as well as the response rate correction:

$$n' = \frac{n}{0.26}$$ (4.2)

where:

n' is the final sample size;
n is the sample size that comes from the stratified method;
0.26 is the response rate of the pilot test.

The final sample size is illustrated in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3

Study's stratified sample size

Age Group	n*	Central Limit Theorem n	Response Rate Correction n'
22-28	2	30	117
28-33	94	94	362
33-40	62	62	240
40-45	16	30	117
45-55	38	38	148
≥55	42	42	163
Total			1146

n* - Disproportionate method (Appendix 4.3)

Generation of random numbers

Random sampling was used to ensure a sample free of selection bias. This

allowed for each person to have an equal chance of being selected. The database was manipulated to create subgroups by age. Then the final samples for each stratum were created using a computer programme in ACCESS to generate random numbers (Appendix 4.4).

Data collection

Mailing procedures

The mailing day was a Tuesday, 'this avoids the Monday pile-up in the post office and should ensure that the questionnaire reaches the respondent by Thursday, giving them the chance to complete it by the end of the weekend' (Vaus 1993, 116). Each envelope contained three items:

(1)   a covering letter;

(2)   the questionnaire; and

(3)   a stamped-addressed envelope.

■ The letter

The letter was designed to maximize the number of responses in accordance with Vaus' (1993) recommendations. The covering letter was personally addressed to the respondent. It aimed to be simple and businesslike. The Institute (LIPAM) letterhead was employed (Appendix 4.5).

■ The questionnaire

The questionnaire is shown in Appendix 4.6. The instrument is divided into six

sections. The first section was designed to gather information about the individual; its age, marital status, job level and tenure. The second, third, fourth and fifth sections incorporate the scales. Section six consists of an open question where respondents were invited to express their own feelings towards the profession. A blank page of A4 was provided for this purposes.

Presentation and design of the questionnaire were major concerns when typing the questionnaire. The questionnaire must be appealing since it also helps to increase the response rate (Vaus 1993). The format used was designed to minimize the effort and time required to complete the questionnaire.

■ The envelopes

Special care was observed in preparing the envelopes. The first concern was to encourage the respondent to open the envelope. It is important to personalise it and avoid making it look like advertising (Vaus 1993). Respondents were, therefore, personally identified in the address sticker. First class stamps were also used (D-Day commemorative edition). A stamped self-addressed envelope was provided to minimise the effort involved in returning the questionnaire.

Follow up

The reminder was mailed ten days after the survey and took the form of a card (Appendix 4.7). It briefly reminded non-respondents that responses were confidential and emphasized the importance of their contribution to the

research. This procedure yielded an additional twenty-three per cent (ninety three) to the total responses (n = 403).

Data coding and preliminary statistics

An overall response rate of forty-seven per cent was achieved and the response rate by age group is shown in Table 4.4 (see Appendix 4.8 for further detail). The lowest response rate is in the age group ranging from twenty-eight years to thirty-three years (eighteen per cent). This is probably due to their high level of mobility between firms. The highest response rate is in the age group ranging from forty years to forty-five years (sixty-nine per cent).

Coding

Responses to individual items were coded on the right side of the page in boxes identified with the variable number. Data was input in ACCESS and then translated into SPSS (Statistical Programme for Social Sciences). To facilitate analysis, negative items were reverse-scored to positive forms and then input into the database. For consistency, the items on the 'normative work value orientation' scale were inverted so that for all scales one represents the less strong or less important and 'five' or 'seven' represents the most important or more strong.

Non-respondents' representativeness

Low response rates are a source of bias in the sample. Kerlinger (1973) suggests that the problem is overcome when response rates are higher than

ninety per cent. Less conservative staticians, such as Wagenaar and Babbie (1989), suggest that a response rate of fifty per cent is generally considered adequate for analysis and reporting of survey based on mailed questionnaires. In the present study, the problem is diminished when a sample larger (n = 403) than that required (n = 256) is used. Even so, the representativeness of the non-respondents is assessed. In order to check for possible bias, Viswesvaran, Barrick and Ones' (1993) test was carried out (Appendix 4.9). The test showed that if additional data was incorporated into the analysis, the study conclusions are likely to remain the same. In fact, whereas the critical response rate was found to be approximately thirty-seven per cent, the response rate obtained in the survey was forty-seven per cent.

Table 4.4

Sample size and response rate by age group

Age Group	Posted n'	Eligible n"	Ineligible	Response Rate %
22-28	117	56	19	57%
28-33	362	63	19	18%
33-40	240	84	20	38%
40-45	117	65	23	69%
45-55	148	73	28	52%
≥55	163	62	70	47%
Total	1146	403	189	47%

Response rate=[Response eligible / (N in sample- Ineligible)]*100 (Vaus 1993, 107)

Scale reliability

Scale reliability was determined by using the Cronbach's alpha coefficient. All alpha coefficients are higher than 0.70 with one exception (Appendix 4.10). The only exception is the scale of 'the importance of the profession to the individual'. As a result of low levels of reliability, coefficients in the first three subsales (from 0.3924 to 0.6474), only the 'sense of calling to the field' and 'autonomy' were retained for further analysis. Similarly, the removal of the item in the job involvement scale 'I would probably keep working even if I didn't need the money' increased scale reliability from 0.6707 to 0.7299. Accordingly, this item was deleted from the analysis.

Scale validity

■ Factor analysis

In this study, each scale was factor analysed in order to determine the independence of the professional and organisational measures. Each of the three components (affective, continuance and normative) of organisational and professional commitment loaded independently (Appendix 4.11). The results obtained are consistent with previous research (Meyer, Allen and Smith 1993).

■ Pearson's correlation

Pearson's correlations between professional and organisational commitment and other theoretically similar measures were computed to assess the validity of those two constructs (Appendix 4.12). A single-item from each subscale and job involvement were included in the correlation matrix. The findings suggest

that all measures possess convergent validity. The single-item scale correlates significantly and highly with the respective multi-item measure. For example, as expected, one item from affective organisational commitment is strongly associated with its multi-item subscale ($r = 0.7544$, $p < 0.000$). The same relationship is found for continuance ($r = 0.7857$, $p < 0.000$) and normative ($r = 0.5895$, $p < 0.000$) organisational commitment subsales. Similar results were obtained for the professional commitment scale (Appendix 4.12 [a, b, c]).

The findings also suggest that the measures of professional and organisational commitment possess discriminant validity. This requires the scales to show higher correlation coefficients with measures designed to capture the same construct than with measures designed to capture other constructs (Carmines and Zeller 1981). As expected, correlations between a single-item and its respective multi-item measure are higher than with the other sub-scales. For example, the single-item that represents affective organisational commitment is strongly associated with the multi-item measure of affective organisational commitment ($r = 0.7544$, $p < 0.000$) than with continuance ($r = 0.0495$, $p > 0.1$) or normative ($r = 0.4422$, $p < 0.000$) organisational commitment (Appendix 4.12[a]). The results also suggest that professional and organisational commitment present nomological validity (moderate association with a related construct). For instance, organisational and professional commitment are moderately related to other constructs, such as job involvement ($r = 0.3947$, $p < 0.000$ and $r = 0.2682$, $p < 0.000$, respectively) (Appendix 4.12[g]).

Statistical tests: t-tests and Duncan's *a posteriori* test

The research question aims to examine differences between different age groups. This requires Oneway Analysis of Variance (A.N.O.V.A). Analysis of variance is a general test that only indicates by F statistics that means are probably unequal. A more specific test is required for determining which group means are different from each other. Thus, Duncan's *a posteriori* test will be used. The decision to choose Duncan's test was determined by its method (the so called layer approach) to determine significant differences between paired means. Whereas, the layer approach gradually adjusts the size of error per comparison (incurring in greater *type I* error), the experiment-wise approach which includes either Tukey's or Scheffé's methods holds the *type I* error rate at a fixed level for a set of comparisons. This means that when *type I* error is increased, the chances of finding some small but interesting real effects increases as well (Keppel 1973). The method chosen was then a balance between the possibility of finding new facts incurring in greater *type I* error but at the same time decreasing the chances of failing to recognize a real difference in the data (greater *type II* error). The present study also aims to explore differences between the levels of organisational and professional commitment. The more appropriate way to compare differences was by using the t-test for paired samples Norušis (1992).

Normality tests

Statistical tests require a normal distribution for the variables under research. A Lilliefors Test (K-S) shows that organisational and professional commitment

approximates this requirement (level of significance > 0.2). Further details and probability plots are shown in Appendix 4.13.

Summary

Solicitors working in large law firms were the population selected for the purposes of the research. Scales exhibiting valid and reliable evidence were selected. The main part of the survey was based upon Allen and Meyer's (1990) scale of organisational and professional commitment. Other scales measured the importance of the profession to the individual (Hall 1968), job involvement (Lodahl and Kejner 1975), and work values orientation (Popper and Lipshitz 1992; Sheppard 1972). A stratified sample by age was computed. The method was explained and formulae presented. Scale reliability was determined using Cronbach's alpha coefficients. Scale validity was checked by using factor analysis and Pearson's correlations coefficients. Tests for normal distribution were carried out. The generalization of the results to the population was assessed by checking non-respondents' representativeness. The next chapter shows the findings of the present study.

Chapter Five

Results

This chapter contains the results of the present research. The purpose of this study is to explore the development and the relationship between organisational and professional commitment. The nature of both forms of commitment is also investigated. The analytical framework is linked to potentially critical life stages, as defined by Levinson's (1978) theory of adult development. The analysis also focuses upon the importance of profession to individuals, job involvement, work values orientation and gender differences. Data were analyzed mainly by t-test, Oneway Analysis of Variance (A.N.O.V.A.) and Duncan's test for multiple comparison. Descriptive statistics and other supplementary tests are contained in Appendices 5.1 to 5.17.

The development of organisational and professional commitment

Hypotheses:

■ **Organisational commitment is expected to increase by age.**

■ **Professional commitment is expected to increase by age.**

The first procedure was to assess the relationship between both forms of commitment and age by using Pearson's r product moment correlation. The second step in the analysis was to determine commitment differences at three different career stages. Oneway A.N.O.V.A. and Duncan's Test for multiple comparisons were employed. This was intended to investigate any relevant variation in levels of commitment between different age groups.

Table 5.1 shows the correlation coefficients between age and various forms of commitment. Moderate and significant positive correlations are revealed between each form of commitment, professional and organisational, and age ($r = 0.341$, $p = 0.001$ and $r = 0.4750$, $p < 0.001$, respectively).

Table 5.1

Pearson's correlation coefficients

between commitment and age

	Variables	1	2	3
1	**Professional Commitment**	1.000		
2	**Organisational Commitment**	.5007**	1.000	
3	**Age**	.3431**	.4750**	1.000

* $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.001$

Table 5.2 shows a Oneway A.N.O.V.A. of professional and organisational commitment by age groups. As expected, organisational and professional commitment increase with age. More specifically, levels of organisational commitment increase systematically and significantly at different age groups $(F = 47.27$, df = 2 and 362 $p < 0.000)$. Levels of professional commitment also increase with age $(F = 23.53$, df = 2 and 370, $p < 0.000)$. With one exception, significant differences are observed for all comparisons regarding levels of professional commitment across different career stages. The exception concerns the difference in levels of professional commitment between early and mid career stage. Although levels of professional commitment are higher in the

mid career stage (3.96) than the early career stage (3.77), there is no significant

difference between the two stages.

Table 5.2

Oneway A.N.O.V.A.
of organisational and professional commitment
by career stage

	Career Stage	Organisational Commitment	Professional Commitment
1	Early (<34)	3.52 (n=119)	3.77 (n=124)
2	Mid (34-47)	4.10 (n=147)	3.96 (n=149)
3	Late (≥47)	4.57 (n=99)	4.46 (n=100)
	F Ratio	47.27	23.53
	F Prob	.000	.000
	Duncan's Test	1<2* 1<3* 2<3*	1<2 1<3* 2<3*

* Denotes pairs of groups significantly different at the 0.05 level

Hypotheses:

■ Organisational commitment is expected to correlate positively with job
level.

■ **Professional commitment is expected to correlate positively with job level.**

Sub-hypotheses:

■ **Partners are expected to exhibit higher level of organisational commitment than assistants.**

■ **Partners are expected to exhibit higher levels of professional commitment than assistants.**

The first procedure was to assess the relationship between both forms of commitment and job level by using Pearson's r product moment correlation. The second step in the analysis was to estimate significant differences in levels of commitment between partners and assistants. A set of t-test were employed. Finally, the relative impact of age and job level upon organisational and professional commitment is determined. The regression analysis technique was employed for this purposes.

Table 5.3 shows the correlation coefficients between job level and various forms of commitment. Moderate and significant positive correlation is revealed

between organisational commitment and job level (r = 0.4158, p < 0.001). The relationship between professional commitment and job level is weak but significant (r = 0.1605, p < 0.01).

Table 5.3

Pearson's correlation coefficients between commitment and job level

	Variables	1	2	3
1	Professional Commitment	1.000		
2	Organisational Commitment	.5007**	1.000	
3	Job Level	.1605*	.4158**	1.000

* p < 0 .01; ** p < 0.001

Table 5.4 shows a t-test which compares commitment levels of partners with those of assistants. As expected, partners exhibit significantly higher levels of organisational commitment than assistants [level of organisational commitment = 4.38 (partner) and 3.46 (assistants), t = 10.43, df = 325, p < 0.000]. The same pattern of results applies to professional commitment. Partners exhibit significantly higher levels of professional commitment than assistants [level of professional commitment = 4.18 and 3.76, t = 5.02, df = 330, p < 0.000].

Table 5.4

T-test of commitment by partners and assistants

	Organisational Commitment	Professional Commitment
Partners	4.38 (n=196)	4.18 (n=196)
Assistants	3.46 (n=131)	3.76 (n=136)
t-value	10.43	5.02
df	325	330
p	.000	.000

p - observed significance level.

Table 5.5 shows a t-test comparing levels of commitment between partners and 'senior' assistants. Partners exhibit higher levels of organisational and professional commitment than senior assistants [level of organisational commitment = 4.38 (partners) and 3.69 ('senior' assistants), t = 3.92, df = 227, p < 0.000 and level of professional commitment = 4.18 (partners) and 3.89 ('senior' assistants), t = 2.17, df = 277, p < 0.025].

Table 5.5

T-test of commitment by partners and 'senior' assistants

	Organisational Commitment	Professional Commitment
Partners	4.38 (n=196)	4.18 (n=196)
'Senior' Assistants ($\geq$ 35)	3.69 (n=33)	3.89 (n=33)
t-value	**3.92**	**2.17**
df	**227**	**227**
p	**.000**	**.025**

p - observed significance level.

Tables 5.6 and 5.7 show a t-test which compares levels of commitment among 'senior' and 'junior' assistants; and 'senior' and 'junior' partners, respectively. 'Senior' assistants exhibit higher levels of organisational commitment than 'junior' assistants [level of organisational commitment = 3.69 ('senior') and 3.31('junior'), t = 2.10, df = 119, p < 0.05]. No other differences are significant [level professional commitment = 3.89 (senior) and 3.75 (junior), t = 0.96, df = 119, p > 0.1]. A similar pattern of results concerning organisational commitment is exhibited by partners. 'Senior' partners exhibit higher levels of organisational and professional commitment than their junior counterparts [level of organisational commitment = 4.42 ('senior') and 4.16 ('junior'), t = 1.95, df = 194, p < 0.05 and level of professional commitment = 4.21 ('senior') and 3.96 ('junior'), df = 194, t = 2.00, p < 0.05].

Table 5.6

T-test of commitment by assistants

	Organisational Commitment	Professional Commitment
'Junior' Assistants	3.31 (n=88)	3.75 (n=88)
'Senior' Assistants	3.69 (n=33)	3.89 (n=33)
t-value	2.10	.96
df	119	.119
p	.05	ns

p - observed significance level; n.s. - observed significant level greater than 0.1.

Table 5.7

T-test of commitment by partners

	Organisational Commitment	Professional Commitment
'Junior' Partners (< 36)	4.16 (n=26)	3.96 (n=26)
'Senior' Partners	4.42 (n=170)	4.21 (n=170)
t-value	1.95	2.00
df	194	194
p	.05	.05

p - observed significance level.

The impact of job level and age upon organisational and professional commitment

Table 5.8 shows a multiple regression analysis of age and job level on organisational commitment. The F ratio observed suggests that the regression model proposed (age and job level) explains a significant proportion of the variance on organisational commitment ($F = 66.226$, $p = 0.000$). The t value obtained also suggest that the increment of the proportion of variance explained (R^2) is significant for both age and job level. This technique has allowed the researcher to determine the ranking of age and job levels in terms of how they affect organisational commitment. It is observed that age ($\beta = 0.3853$) has a more powerful effect on organisational commitment than does job level ($\beta = 0.2358$). The relative importance of age and job level can be determined by taking the ratio of the squares of their standardized beta (β). The squares (rounded to two places) of these two standardized beta are age equal to 0.15 and job level equal to 0.06. Thus, age accounts for 2.66 ($0.15 / 0.06 = 2.66$) times more of the variance than job level.

Table 5.9 shows a multiple regression analysis of age and job level on professional commitment. The F ratio observed suggests that the regression model proposed (age and job level) explains a significant proportion of the variance on professional commitment ($F = 21.80$, $p = 0.000$). The t value obtained also suggests that the increment of the proportion of variance explained (R^2)

is significant for both age and job level. This technique has allowed the researcher to determine the ranking of age and job levels in terms of how they affect professional commitment. It is observed that age (β = 0.258440) has a more powerful effect on professional commitment than does job level (β = 0.125064). The relative importance of age and job level upon professional commitment is also determined by taking the ratio of the squares of age and job level standardized beta (β). The squares (rounded to two places) of these two standardized beta are age equal to 0.07 and job level equal to 0.02. Thus, age accounts for 4.27 (0.07 / 0.02 = 4.27) times more of the variance than job level.

Table 5.8

Multiple regression of age and job level on organisational commitment

Variables	b	s.e.	β	t	Significance level	R^2	R^2 change
Age	0.0299	0.00347	0.3853	8.619	0.000	0.44328	0.44328
Job Level	0.1752	0.03320	0.2358	5.275	0.000	0.24876	0.19452
(Constant)	3.15	0.17397		18.078	0.000		

Adjusted R squared = 0.245; F = 66.226, p = 0.000, N = 403

Table 5.9

Multiple regression of age and job level on professional commitment

Variables	b	s.e.	β	t	Significance level	R^2	R^2 change
Age	0.019668	0.003727	0.258440	5.276	0.000	0.08362	0.08362
Job Level	0.091065	0.035665	0.125064	2.553	0.010	0.09832	0.01470
(Constant)	3.67	0.17397		19.655	0.000		

Adjusted R squared = 0.09381; F = 21.80, p = 0.000, N = 403

The development of different forms of organisational and professional commitment

Hypotheses:

- ■ Affective organisational commitment is expected to increase over time.

- ■ Continuance organisational commitment is expected to increase over time.

- ■ Normative organisational commitment is expected to increase over time.

- ■ Affective professional commitment is expected to increase over time.

- ■ Continuance professional commitment is expected to increase over time.

- ■ Normative professional commitment is expected to increase over time.

The development of different types of commitment were investigated by career stage. The first step in the analysis was to estimate Pearson's correlation coefficients. The hypotheses were tested by means of Oneway A.N.O.V.A. and Duncan's test for multiple comparison.

Table 5.10 shows Pearson's correlation coefficients of different forms of commitment and age. Affective and normative professional commitment are more strongly related to age ($r = 0.2006$, $p < 0.01$ and $r = 0.3446$, $p < 0.001$) than continuance professional commitment ($r = 0.1742$, $p < 0.01$). Both correlation coefficients are significant. Moreover, normative organisational commitment is more strongly related to age ($r = 0.4817$, $p < 0.001$) than affective organisational commitment ($r = 0.4189$, $p < 0.001$). Both correlation coefficients are significant. The relationship between continuance organisational commitment and age is not significant and weak ($r = -0.1072$, $p > 0.1$).

Table 5.10

Pearson's correlation coefficients between commitment subscales and age

	Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Professional Commitment							
1	Affective	1.000						
2	Continuance	.0760	1.000					
3	Normative	.3236··	.1999*	1.000				
	Organisational Commitment							
4	Affective	.4421··	.0515	.2331··	1.000			
5	Continuance	-.1072	.5277*	.0435	-.1358	1.000		
6	Normative	.2539··	.0891	.4678··	.5204··	.0196	1.000	
7	**Age**	.2006*	.1742*	.3446··	.4189··	.0301	.4817··	1.000

* p < 0 .01; ** p < 0.001

Table 5.11 shows a Oneway A.N.O.V.A. of organisational commitment sub-scales by three age groups. Levels of affective and normative organisational commitment increase systematically and significantly with age ($F = 28.42$, df $= 2$ and 329, $p < 0.000$ and $F = 47.25$, df $= 2$ and 323, $p < 0.000$). Levels of continuance organisational commitment, however, increase significantly between early and mid career stage ($F = 3.81$, df $= 2$ and 328, $p < 0.05$). Thereafter, no other comparison of levels of continuance organisational commitment between different career stages is significantly different.

Table 5.12 shows a Oneway A.N.O.V.A. of professional commitment sub-scales by three age groups. Levels of affective and normative professional commitment also show the same pattern of results as the aggregate scale ($F = 9.10$, df $= 2$ and 332, $p < 0.0001$ and $F = 20.83$, df $= 2$ and 331, $p < 0.0000$, respectively). That is, levels of these forms of professional commitment are significantly higher at late than mid career stages; and at a late than early career stages. The difference between the early and the mid career stage is, however, not statistically significant. The pattern of results concerning continuance professional commitment is different from affective and normative professional commitment. Levels of continuance commitment are significantly lower at early than mid career stage; and at early than late career stage ($F = 7.63$, df $= 2$ and 336, $p < 0.0006$). The difference between the mid and the late career stage is, however, not statistically significant.

Table 5.11

Oneway A.N.O.V.A.
of organisational commitment subscales
by career stage

	Career Stage	*Affective*	*Continuance*	*Normative*
1	Early (<34)	4.06 (n=117)	3.55 (n=118)	2.91 (n=115)
2	Mid (34-47)	4.90 (n=111)	4.05 (n=111)	3.50 (n=111)
3	Late (≥ 47)	5.45 (n=104)	3.77 (n=104)	4.39 (n=100)
	F Ratio	28.42	3.81	47.25
	F Prob	.000	.023	.000
	Duncan's Test	1<2* 1<3* 2<3*	1<2* 1<3 2>3	1<2* 1<3* 2<3*

* Denotes pairs of groups significantly different at the 0.05 level.

Table 5.12

Oneway A.N.O.V.A.
of professional commitment subscales
by career stage

	Career Stage	*Affective*	*Continuance*	*Normative*
1	**Early** (<34)	5.08 (n=117)	4.28 (n=118)	1.98 (n=116)
2	**Mid** (34-47)	5.29 (n=115)	4.79 (n=116)	1.94 (n=112)
3	**Late** (≥ 47)	5.69 (n=103)	4.97 (n=105)	2.76 (n=106)
	F Ratio	9.10	7.63	20.83
	F Prob	.000	.001	.000
Duncan's Test		1<2 1<3* 2<3*	1<2* 1<3* 2<3	1>2 1<3* 2<3*

* Denotes pairs of groups significantly different at the 0.05 level.

The relationship between organisational and professional commitment

Hypotheses:

- At the 'Entering the Adult World' period, professional commitment is expected to be significantly higher than organisational commitment.

- At the 'Thirties Transition' period, professional commitment is expected to be significantly higher than organisational commitment.

- At the 'Settling Down' period, no significant difference between organisational and professional commitment is expected.

- At the 'Mid-life Transition' period, organisational commitment is expected to be significantly higher than professional commitment.

- At the 'Middle Adulthood' period, no significant difference between organisational and professional commitment is expected.

- At the 'Late Adulthood' period, no significant difference between organisational and professional commitment is expected.

The first step in the analysis was to compare the solicitors' organisational and professional commitment for the full sample. Affective, continuance and

normative organisational and professional commitment were also compared. The relationship between organisational and professional commitment over time was investigated in two parts. The first approach used a threefold analysis: early, mid and late career stage. The was meant to be a exploratory test. The hypotheses were tested for the six age groups defined by Levinson; the statistical tool employed was the t-test.

Table 5.13 shows a t-test of organisational and professional commitment for the overall sample. It is observed that there is no significant difference between the two forms of commitment. In effect, the t-value is very small indicating that if any difference occurs is due to change (t = 0.48, df = 338 and p < 0.631).

Table 5.13

T - test of organisational and professional commitment (full sample)

	Mean	St dev	t value	df	p
Organisational Commitment	4.02	.909			
			0.48*	338	.631
Professional Commitment	4.04	.802			

* number of pairs = 339; St dev - standard deviation; df - degrees of freedom; p - observed significance level

When the subscales are examined a different picture emerges, however. **Table 5.14** shows a t-test of organisational and professional commitment subscales for the full sample. Solicitors exhibit higher levels of affective and continuance commitment towards the profession than towards the organisation ($t = 7.82$, df $= 373$, $p < 0.000$; $t = 12.84$, df $= 383$, $p < 0.000$, respectively). Conversely, normative organisational commitment is significantly higher than normative professional commitment ($t = 19.82$, df $= 367$, $p < 0.000$).

Table 5.14

T-test of organisational and professional commitment subscales (full sample)

	Mean	st dev	t value	df	p
Affective Organisational Commitment	4.77	1.480			
			7.82*	373	.000
Affective Professional Commitment	5.31	1.086			
Continuance Organisational Commitment	3.84	1.393			
			12.84**	383	.000
Continuance Professional Commitment	4.70	1.391			
Normative Organisational Commitment	3.51	1.259			
			19.82***	367	.000
Normative Professional Commitment	2.16	1.093			

* number of pairs = 374; ** number of pairs = 384; *** number of pairs = 368
St dev - standard deviation; df - degrees of freedom; p - observed significance level

Table 5.15 shows a t-test of organisational and professional commitment by career stage. Significant differences are found at the early career stage ($t = 3.96$, $df = 102$, $p < 0.000$). Thereafter no form of commitment predominates. **Table 5.16** shows a t-test of organisational and professional commitment by six age groups. The pattern of results is consistent with the prediction. That is, levels of professional commitment are significantly higher, at 'Entering the Adult World' and 'Thirties Transition' than organisational commitment. 'Settling Down' period exhibit no significant difference between both forms of commitment. A significant difference is, however, evident at 'Mid-life Transition' where organisational commitment is higher than professional commitment ($t = 1.79$, $df = 54$, $p < 0.05$). No other comparisons are significant.

Table 5.15

T-test of organisational and professional commitment by career stage

	1 Early Career Stage (<34) (n=104)	2 Mid Career Stage (34-47) (n=103)	3 Late Career Stage (≥47) (n=83)
Organisational Commitment	3.50	4.12	4.54
Professional Commitment	3.80	4.00	4.48
t-value	3.96	-1.45	-0.72
df	102	101	81
p	.000	n.s.	n.s.

df - degrees of freedom; p - observed significance level; n.s. - observed significance level greater than 0.1

Table 5.16

T-Test of organisational and professional commitment by age

	1 Entering the Adult World (22-28) (n=48)	2 Thirties Transition (28-33) (n=54)	3 Settling Down (33-40) (n=76)	4 Midlife Transition (40-45) (n=56)	5 Middle Adulthood (45-55) (n=60)	6 Late Adulthood (≥55) (n=45)
Organisational Commitment	3.27	3.62	3.97	4.21	4.37	4.66
Professional Commitment	3.68	3.89	3.94	4.01	4.24	4.52
t-value	4.03	2.55	.32	1.79	1.30	0.98
df	46	52	74	54	58	43
p	.000	.01	n.s.	.05	n.s.	n.s.

df - degrees of freedom; p - observed significance level; n.s. - observed significance level greater than 0.1

The relationship between affective and continuance forms of commitment

Hypotheses:

■ Affective organisational commitment is expected to predominate over continuance organisational commitment.

■ Affective professional commitment is expected to predominate over continuance professional commitment.

Table 5.17 shows a t-test of affective organisational commitment and continuance organisational commitment. The results are as expected regarding all career stages. That is, affective organisational commitment is significantly higher than continuance organisational commitment in all career stages, that is, early, mid and late ($t = 3.2$, df = 121 $p < 0.002$; $t = 4.97$, df = 146, $p < 0.000$; $t = 6.09$, df = 101, $p < 0.000$, respectively).

Table 5.18 shows a t-test of affective professional commitment and continuance professional commitment. The results are as expected regarding all career stages. That is, affective professional commitment is significantly higher than continuance professional commitment in all career stages. ($t = 11.44$, df = 121 $p < 0.000$; $t = 8.10$, df = 148, $p < 0.000$; $t = 9.03$, df = 98, $p < 0.000$, respectively).

Table 5.17

**T-test of affective and continuance organisational commitment
by career stage**

	1 Early Career Stage (<34) (n=123)	2 Mid Career Stage (34-47) (n=148)	3 Late Career Stage (≥47) (n=103)
Affective Organisational Commitment	4.70	4.89	5.37
Continuance Organisational Commitment	3.55	4.01	3.93
t-value	3.20	4.97	6.09
df	121	146	101
p	.002	.000	.000

df - degrees of freedom; p - observed significance level; n.s. - observed significance level
greater than 0.1

Table 5.18

**T-test of affective and continuance professional commitment
by career stage**

	1 Early Career Stage (<34) (n=123)	2 Mid Career Stage (34-47) (n=150)	3 Late Career Stage (≥47) (n=100)
Affective Professional Commitment	5.11	5.22	5.67
Continuance Professional Commitment	3.58	4.00	3.84
t-value	11.44	8.10	9.03
df	121	148	98
p	.000	.000	.000

df - degrees of freedom; p - observed significance level; n.s. - observed significance level
greater than 0.1

The development of autonomy, sense of calling to the field and job involvement by age

Table 5.19 shows the results of Pearson's correlation between various forms of work commitment, such as, sense of calling to the field, autonomy and job involvement) and age. Moderate and positive correlations between sense of calling to the field, autonomy, job involvement and age are observed. These ranged from 0.3798 to 0.2610, p < 0.001. Autonomy is not significantly related to any form of professional commitment. Correlations coefficients (r) range from 0.0053 to 0.1244. Autonomy is, however, positively related to organisational commitment. The strongest association is between autonomy and affective organisational commitment (r = 0.3548, p < 0.001).

Table 5.20 shows a Oneway A.N.O.V.A. of work commitment variables by three career stages. As expected, sense of calling to the field, autonomy and job involvement increase with age. The increments in levels do not vary systematically, however. Sense of calling to the field exhibits significant differences between early and late career stage and mid and late career stage (F = 23.19, df = 2 and 354, p < 0.000). The patterns of the results concerning autonomy and job involvement is similar (F = 44.78, df = 2 and 344, p < 0.000; F = 13.31, df = 2 and 397, p < 0.000). Comparisons are significant except between mid and late career stage .

Table 5.19

Pearson's correlation coefficients of work commitment related variables and age

	Sense of calling to the field	Autonomy	Job Involvement
Professional Commitment	.3687**	.0870	.2680**
Affective	.4600**	.1244	.3418**
Continuance	.0106	.0493	.0954
Normative	.3488**	.0053	.1323
Organizational Commitment	.3752**	.2546**	.3947**
Affective	.4105**	.3548**	.4820**
Continuance	-.1100	-.0560	-.0397
Normative	.4304**	.1741*	.3032**
Age	.3798**	.3777**	.2610**

* $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.001$

Table 5.20

Oneway A.N.O.V.A.
of sense of calling to the field, autonomy and job involvement
by career stage

	Career Stage	Sense of calling to the field	Autonomy	Job Involvement
1	Early (<34)	2.50 (n=119)	3.18 (n=121)	3.60 (n=129)
2	Mid (34-47)	2.60 (n=139)	4.01 (n=135)	4.20 (n=158)
3	Late (>=47)	3.10 (n=99)	4.00 (n=91)	4.28 (n=113)
	F Ratio	23.19	44.76	13.31
	F Prob	.0000	.0000	.000
	Duncan's Test	1<2 1<3* 2<3*	1<2* 1<3* 2>3	1<2* 1<3* 2<3

* Denotes pairs of groups significantly different at the .050 level.

Calculative and normative work values compared

Table 5.21 shows a t-test of calculative and normative work values orientation for the full sample. It indicates that levels of normative work value orientation are significantly higher than levels of calculative orientation towards work (level of normative work values = 2.76 and level of calculative work values = 2.46, t = 4.56, df = 338, p < 0.000).

Table 5.21

T - test of work values orientation
(full sample)*

	Mean	St dev	t value	df	p
Calculative Work Values	2.46	.890			
			4.56	338	.000
Normative Work Values	2.76	.833			

* - number of pairs 389; St dev - standard deviation; df - Degree of freedom; p - observed significance level.

Table 5.22 shows the results of a t-test of calculative and normative work values orientation by age. Normative work values are higher than calculative work values, at mid and late career stages (level of normative work values = 2.62 and level of calculative work values = 2.38, t = 2.51, df = 150, p < 0.13; level of normative work values = 3.03 and level of calculative work values = 2.30, t = 5.10, df = 101, p < 0.000). The

differences between calculative and normative work values at early career

stages are not significant (level of calculative work values = 2.68 and level of normative

work values = 2.69, t = 0.04, df = 126, p > 0.1).

Table 5.22

T-test of work values by career stage

	1 Early Career Stage (<34) (n=128)	2 Mid Career Stage (34-47) (n=152)	3 Late Career Stage (≥47) (n=103)
Calculative Work Value	2.68	2.38	2.30
Normative Work Value	2.69	2.62	3.03
t-value	-.04	-2.65	-5.10
df	126	150	101
p	n.s.	.013	.000

df - degrees of freedom; p - observed significance level; n.s. - p > 0.1.

The development of work values orientation by age

Table 5.23 shows the results of Pearson's correlations of work values,

commitment and age. It indicates that whereas calculative work values

orientation is negatively related with age and normative work values orientation

is positively associated. Both correlation coefficients are significant. The

strength of association is stronger between calculative work values and age

(r = -0.2083, p < 0.001) than between normative work values and age (r = 0.1914, p < 0.01).

Calculative values are positively associated to continuance organisational commitment (for example, r = 0.2094, p < 0.001) and negatively related with affective organisational (r = -0.3715, p < 0.001) and normative organisational commitment (r = -0.2164, p < 0.001). Conversely, normative values are positively related to affective organisational commitment (r = 0.1938, p < 0.01) and normative organisational commitment (r = 0.3209, p < 0.001) and negatively associated with continuance professional commitment (for example, r = -0.3690, p < 0.001).

Table 5.23

Pearson's correlation coefficients of commitment, work values and age

	Calculative Values	Normative Values
Professional Commitment	-.0954	.1369
Affective	-.3198**	.0868
Continuance	.1561	-.3690**
Normative	.0904	.2685**
Organisational Commitment	-.2048**	.2178**
Affective	-.3715**	.1938*
Continuance	.2094**	-.0767
Normative	-.2164**	.3209**
Age	-.2083**	.1914*

* p < 0.01; ** p < 0.001

Table **5.24** illustrates the results of Oneway A.N.O.V.A. of work values orientation by different age groups. This table shows that levels of calculative work values are higher at early career stages than late career stages (F = 7.52, df = 2 and 394, p < 0.006). Conversely, levels of normative work values are higher at late than early career stages (F = 8.98, df = 2 and 388, p < 0.0002).

Table 5.24

Oneway A.N.O.V.A.
of work values orientation by career stage

	Career Stage	Work Values Orientation	
		Calculative	Normative
1	Early (<34)	2.69 (n=130)	2.69 (n=128)
2	Mid (34-47)	2.38 (n=155)	2.62 (n=152)
3	Late (≥47)	2.28 (n=112)	3.03 (n=111)
	F Ratio	7.52	8.98
	F Prob	.0006	.0002
	Duncan (.050*)	1>2* 1>3* 2>3	1>2 1<3* 2<3*

* Denotes pairs of groups significantly different at the .050 level

The relationship between various forms of work commitment and gender

Table 5.25 shows a set of t-tests for gender and various forms of work commitment. That is, organisational and professional commitment, job involvement, work values orientation, sense of calling to the field and autonomy. Men exhibit higher levels of organisational and professional commitment than women (level of organisational commitment = 4.16 and 3.66, t = 4.82, df = 363, p < 0.000 and level of professional commitment = 4.09 and 3.82, t = 2.72, df = 371, p < 0.007). Men also exhibit higher levels of sense of calling to the field than women (level of sense of calling to the field = 2.79 and 2.46, t = 3.79, df = 355, p < 0.000). The pattern of results is different when gender differences are assessed by career stages (**Table 5.26**). Most of the comparisons show that differences in levels of commitment between men and women are not significant. The only significant difference was found at the mid career stage. Men exhibited higher levels of organisational commitment than women (level of organisational commitment = 4.22 and 3.83, t = 2.62, df = 145, p < 0.01). Another significant difference, at mid career stage, concerned calculative work values orientation. Men exhibit higher levels of calculative work values orientation than women (level of calculative work values orientation = 2.49 and 2.16, t = 2.41, df = 153, p < 0.05).

Table 5.25

T-test of various forms of work commitment by gender

	Organisational Commitment	Professional Commitment	Job Involvement	Sense of calling field	Autonomy	Calculative Work Values	Normative Work Values
Male	4.16 (n=271)	4.09 (n=284)	4.05 (n=302)	2.79 (n=271)	3.74 (n=262)	2.49 (n=300)	2.77 (n=294)
Female	3.66 (n=94)	3.82 (n=89)	3.94 (n=98)	2.46 (n=86)	3.66 (n=85)	2.33 (n=97)	2.74 (n=97)
t-value	4.82	2.72	.78	3.70	.71	1.57	.27
df	363	371	398	355	345	395	389
prob	.000	.007	n.s	.000	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

df - degrees of freedom; p - level of significance observed.

Table 5.26
T-test of various forms of work commitment by gender across different career stages

		Organisational Commitment	Professional Commitment	Job Involvement	Calling & Autonomy	Calculative Work Values	Normative Work Values
Early Career Stage	MALE	3.61 (n=81)	3.82 (n=89)	3.62 (n=90)	2.86 (n=82)	2.77 (n=91)	2.64 (n=89)
	FEMALE	3.33 (n=38)	3.66 (n=35)	3.53 (n=39)	2.79 (n=36)	2.50 (n=39)	2.78 (n=39)
	t-value	1.89	.97	.41	.64	1.96	-1.20
	prob	.063	.336	.684	.523	.052	.242
Mid Career Stage	MALE	4.22 (n=99)	4.01 (n=104)	4.15 (n=108)	3.33 (n=91)	2.49 (n=106)	2.62 (n=103)
	FEMALE	3.83 (n=48)	3.84 (n=45)	4.31 (n=50)	3.25 (n=42)	2.16 (n=49)	2.62 (n=49)
	t-value	2.62	1.14	-.83	.87	2.41	.06
	p	.011	.220	.407	.388	.018	.949
Late Career Stage	MALE	4.60 (n=91)	4.47 (n=91)	4.33 (n=104)	3.57 (n=83)	2.25 (n=103)	3.02 (n=102)
	FEMALE	4.23 (n=8)	4.43 (n=9)	3.71 (n=9)	3.35 (n=6)	2.53 (n=9)	3.17 (n=9)
	t-value	1.03	.13	.98	2.65	-.81	-.44
	p	.345	.902	.356	.076	.432	.668

Summary

In this chapter the research hypotheses were tested. Oneway A.N.O.V.A., combined with Duncan's tests were used to identify systematic and significant differences in professional and organisational commitment between different age groups. T-tests were used to determine which form of commitment predominates. Pearson's correlation coefficients were determined were determined to examine the relationship between age and various forms of commitment. The impact of age and job level upon both forms of commitment was assessed by using multiple regression analysis. The implications of these findings will be addressed in the next two chapters.

Chapter Six

Discussion

Read more novels and fewer business books.

Relationships are really all there is.

TOM PETERS

Liberation Management, 1992

This chapter discusses the research results. This discussion consists of two parts. First, it emphasises the development of organisational and professional commitment. Second, the discussion focuses upon the relationship between organisational and professional commitment. The evidence pertaining to these two issues will be discussed in the light of Levinson's (1978) theory of adult development. Further, the literature on profession-organisation conflict is also examined.

The development of organisational and professional commitment

The results concerning the relationship between age and both forms of commitment are as expected. **Figure 6.1** represents the findings of the present study, graphically. The figure infers no statistical significance (see Chapter Five). It is provided only to facilitate the discussion of the results.

Figure 6.1

Changes on organisational and professional commitment across different age groups
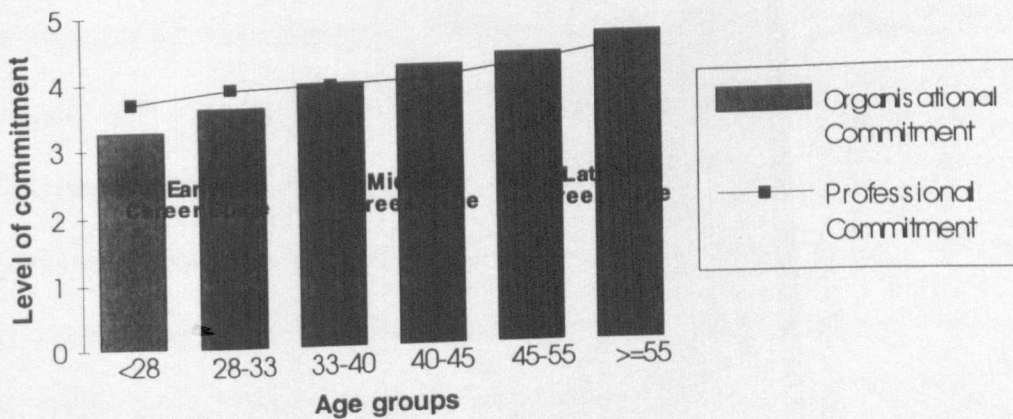
The figure shows a steady increase in levels of organisational and professional commitment for each of the age groups considered in the analysis. Recall that there is a conflict in the literature regarding the development of organisational and professional commitment. Some researchers suggest that, whereas

organisational commitment increases over time, professional commitment

decreases, the so-called 'organisation man' model (Abrahamson 1964; Connor

and Scott 1974; Kerr, Von Glinow and Schriesheim 1977; Schein et al. 1965).

By contrast, others suggest that both forms of commitment increase over time,

the so-called 'profession-organisation man' model (Aranya and Ferris 1984,

Goldberg, Baker and Rubeinstein 1964; Gunz and Gunz 1994; Reilly and Orsak

1991). The results are more consistent with the latter view.

'Profession-organisation man' Model

The data suggest that both forms of commitment increase over time. This

implies that both choices, the profession and the firm, become more important

as solicitors become older (see Chapter Five table 5.2). The results also show

that job involvement, autonomy and the sense of calling to the profession also

increase over time. One possible explanation is related to the type of

employing organisation. The literature suggests that in autonomous types of

organisation, such as law firms, the degree of congruence between the goals

and values of the organisation and the goals and values of the profession is

high (Hall 1967). This compatibility stems from the control that professionals

can exert over their work. There is a weakness in this explanation, however.

Although it might explain why organisational and professional commitment

correlate positively, it excludes the notion of development. Another possible

explanation might be related to job level differences (Aranya and Ferris 1984).

The literature suggests that higher levels of organisational and professional

commitment among older employees are explained due to better job rewards,

for example, high salaries and promotions. Another potentially influential factor is age (Kalleberg and Loscocco 1983). In effect, Levinson (1978) suggests that age is 'the' activator of life-cycle. Levinson also describes how each stage in an individual's life might influence positive feelings of attachment. The following section discusses in detail the influence of job level and age upon organisational and professional commitment.

The prospects of partnership

Organisational and professional commitment were expected to be positively correlated with job level (see Chapter Five table 5.3). More specifically, partners were expected to exhibit higher levels of organisational and professional commitment than assistants. The results of the present study conform to this expectation (see Chapter Five table 5.4). The results are consistent with the literature in suggesting that the intensity and focus of commitment depend upon the promotions and rewards provided by the employing organisation (Aranya, Pollock and Amernic 1981; Buchanan 1974; Hrebiniak 1974; Kerr, Von Glinow and Schriesheim 1977; Mathieu and Zajac 1990). Job reward theory suggests that individuals in higher positions in the organisation are more committed to the organisation than those in lower levels (Agyris 1954). It also suggests that higher positions in the organisation represent better jobs which enhance job satisfaction and consequently organisational commitment (Mowday, Porter and Steers 1982). More recently, Lincoln and Kalleberg (1985) suggest that professional organisations, such as law firms, offer prospects for organisational as well as professional

advancement. The results of the present study seem to imply, therefore, that life-long commitment to the firm and the profession comes from opportunities for career advancement within the firm, for example the attainment of partnership.

Although the results are as expected, the attainment of partnership may not be quite as important as hypothesised in the literature. Indeed, a multiple regression analysis clearly suggests that age is a more powerful predictor (organisational commitment , β_{age} = 0.3853; t = 8.619; p < 0.000; professional commitment , β_{age} = 0.2584; t = 5.276; p < 0.000) in explaining the variance of organisational and professional commitment than does job level (organisational commitment , $\beta_{job\ level}$ = 0.2358; t = 5.275; p < 0.000; professional commitment , $\beta_{job\ level}$ = 0.1251; t = 2.533; p < 0.01). It is observed, therefore, that age accounts for approximately three times more of the variance of organisational commitment and four times more of the variance of professional commitment than job level. Indeed, the results of the present study indicate some weaknesses in job reward theory in explaining the difference in levels of organisational commitment among assistants and partners (see Chapter Five tables 5.8 and 5.9).

Moreover, the data show that levels of organisational commitment are significantly lower for 'junior assistants' than for 'senior assistants' (see Chapter Five table 5.6). This is in contrast to the job reward theory which suggests that organisational commitment should be lower among those who remain assistants (seniors) than those more recently appointed (juniors). The

theory explains such a low level of organisational commitment among 'senior assistants' by possible disenchantment with the firm.

Further, the results also show that levels of organisational and professional commitment are significantly lower among 'junior partners' than 'senior partners' (see Chapter Five table 5.7). One might expect, according to job reward theory, that levels of organisational and professional commitment are the same among both groups. One possible explanation is that equity might not be perceived immediately by the new partners (Adam 1965; Goodman and Friedman 1971). The proponents of equity theory argue that employees examine their inputs, costs and rewards on the job and compare these with those of other individuals in similar positions. This means that a 'junior partner' may alter his own efforts (input) according to the efforts of his co-partners, as the junior attempts to establish and maintain an equitable relationship with his counterparts. However, this process of recognition and investment may take time to develop. The data seem to suggest that material and symbolic rewards which accompany professional success may not be enough to induce an immediate increase in levels of organisational and professional commitment.

The results of the present study, therefore, seem to suggest that there is not 'one best way' to reward individuals. Job reward schemes usually assume that what is good for one person is good for another. Wright and Hamilton (1978) suggest, however, that 'better' means what people themselves say is important in their work. For example, remaining an assistant might indeed be

a personal choice rather than the last resort an individual is left with. As anecdotal evidence from an assistant solicitor in this study suggests:

> My position in the firm does not match my actual achievement. In fact, I am unique in making an arrangement whereby I work mostly from home (...) I could have remained in London and would have been a partner by 1992.

The results of the present study seem to suggest that caution should be taken when professional achievement is equated with organisational position; and when this equivalence is used to determine levels of professional and organisational commitment. More importantly, it suggests that commitment is age-related.

A possible explanation for the results regarding the difference between partners and assistants is Levinson's theory of adult development. In essence, Levinson suggests that stronger levels of commitment, experienced by older employees, depends upon the evaluation of an individual's life and the extent to which his expectations concerning his life in general, became reality. Moreover, older workers tend to be free from the achievement-related constrains; this is said to lead to more satisfaction and stronger levels of both forms of commitment than younger individuals. This is consistent with the earlier discussion of the notion of what is 'better'. For example, 'better' jobs might represent more free time to be with their families for older workers. This theory will be discussed in detail in the section regarding the relationship between organisational and professional commitment.

How does the nature of organisational and professional commitment evolve over time?

All of the different components of organisational and professional commitment (affective, continuance and normative) were expected to increase systematically across different career stages. The results of this study are as expected regarding affective and normative organisational commitment. The pattern of results for levels of continuance organisational commitment and for all different components of professional commitment are less definitive, however (see Chapter Five tables 5.11 and 5.12). Both levels of organisational and professional continuance commitment were found to be significantly higher in mid, rather than early career stages. Conversely, there was no significant difference in the levels of both forms of commitment between mid and late career stages. The results concerning affective and normative professional commitment show a significant difference between mid and late career stages but no significant difference between early and mid career stages. Several possible interpretations of these results are discussed hereafter, according to the type of commitment: affective, continuance and normative.

■ Affective commitment

Post hoc rationalisation

It could be argued that 'the feeling of wanting to stay' is ego-defensive. In other words, the results basically represent a post hoc rationalisation of commitment to justify a course of action (Drummond 1997; Staw 1981; Staw and Fox 1977). The data are also consistent with the corpus of the literature

concerning job choice. It is said that after a choice has been made, individuals systematically re-evaluate plausible alternatives and justify their choice by increasing the positive evaluation of their choice (Vroom and Deci 1971). The feeling of wanting to stay absolves individuals from their choice and enables them to live with themselves. As Salancick (1977, 20) suggests:

> You act. You believe your action was valuable, worthwhile, desirable. You act again, renewing the belief. In time, without realizing it, you have made a myth; your sense of veracity and value has been merged into the pattern of action. The myths sustain the action; and the action sustains the myth.

Solicitors may evaluate and justify their choice of profession and organisation, for example, by stressing the high standard of living that they can obtain by being a corporate solicitor, or appreciating the fact they may practice in a challenging environment. Having spent a lifetime in a profession and possibly in the same firm, individuals might come to convince themselves that they have made the right decisions. For example, Granfield and Koening (1992) observe that left-wing law students use the same ego-defensive strategy to justify their commitment towards 'corporate law' instead of 'public interest work'. After experiencing a summer job in a corporate firm, a student said (Granfield and Koening 1992, 322):

> I found a lot of people there who were like me. They had many of the same political views I do. I remember working with one attorney and I was telling him how I really didn't know if I wanted to work for a large firm, that I was active in public interest things in school. He told me I reminded him of himself when he was in law school.

Whilst the possibility of retrospective explanation cannot be discarded, the

argument is tenuous. First, the measurement of commitment using items such as 'I would be very happy to spend the rest of my career with this firm' seems to reflect future decisions rather than retrospective rationalisation. Second, if solicitors with a high degree of social desirability bias tend to over-report levels of commitment and to under-report levels of intention to search for a new position (for example, Arnold, Feldman and Purbhoo 1985), why then over-report attachment to the profession?

'Political correctness'?

Another possibility is that high affective organisational and professional commitment may be seen as a 'smoke-screen' for what is basically a calculative relationship. This seems unlikely, however, as the respondents in the survey were reassured of the confidential nature of the inquiry. Respondents have little need to display 'political correctness' (Reay 1995).

Levinson's (1978) theory of adult development

The results concerning affective organisational and professional commitment may be better explained by Levinson's (1978) theory of adult development. Support for such a preposition comes from the similarity between the results for affective organisational and professional commitment across all career stages and the results regarding the aggregated subscales of organisational and professional commitment. Having explained the latter by Levinson's (1978) theory, it follows that the former can also be explained in the same manner. This suggestion stems from the relative importance of affective commitment in

explaining the variance of both the organisational and professional commitment. Indeed, the total variance explained by affective organisational and professional commitment for the overall scales are approximately seventy one per cent and sixty nine per cent, respectively (Appendix 4.11).

■ **Continuance commitment**

The impact of 'side bets'

The amount of time required to become a solicitor may well account for commitment to remain in the profession. Six years of training to qualify represent a substantial investment and may give rise to the so-called 'sunk-costs' effect (Becker 1960), whereby attachment to previous investments discourages withdrawal (Arkes and Blumer 1985; Garland 1990; Northcraft and Wolf 1984). Moreover, practising in corporate law provides the solicitor with a good salary that allows a high standard of living which few other professions can offer. High salaries may thus operate as a 'side-bet' (Becker 1960) or reward, making it more difficult for solicitors to leave and hence enhancing their feelings of continuance commitment to the profession.

Yet, the results of the present study show that the correlation coefficients between age and continuance organisational commitment, and between age and continuance professional commitment, are not significant. These results seem to imply that whereas some 'side bets' might increase over time, other costs associated with withdrawal might decrease with time (for example, Allen and Meyer 1990). For example, as a solicitor acquires more experience, other

opportunities for employment may arise. Training in law might be so broad that solicitors who wish to move out of the profession may find other job opportunities as business consultants, for instance. Moreover, commercial lawyers gain considerable exposure to business issues. Such exposure may open up opportunities in consultancy and quasi-legal activities. Commercial lawyers are increasingly adding Master Business Administration degrees to their portfolio of qualifications (Zander 1980). These might decrease the costs associated with leaving.

■ **Normative commitment**

The impact of 'side bets'

The results of the present study also indicate a perceived obligation - on the part of solicitors - to remain in the organisation. One possible explanation comes from Becker's (1960) conceptualization of organisational commitment. He suggests that 'cultural expectations' may serve as a type of 'side bet'. For example, 'If I got an offer of a better partnership elsewhere I would *not feel it was right* to leave my firm'. Solicitors may be unwilling to quit the firm for fear they will be perceived as 'job hoppers' (Meyer, Allen and Smith 1993). The fact that solicitors' normative organisational commitment is higher than normative professional commitment suggests that solicitors enter into 'side bets' by staking their reputation for reliability on their decision to stay with their firms. Thus, feeling a need to live up to the expectations of others can contribute to an obligation-based commitment. If so, it suggests that this form of commitment is partly self-serving. In turn, this would imply that the concept

of commitment is capable of multiple meanings simultaneously (for example, Morgan 1986).

Another possible explanation is that ownership status may operate as a type of 'sunk cost'. As solicitors are the employees, and eventually the owners of the organisation, they feel that they have to stay in it. For example, 'If I got another offer for a better partnership elsewhere I would not feel it was right to leave my firm'. Disengagement with the firm might be considered by some solicitors as unethical. If so, that might imply that commitment is ultimately to the profession rather than the organisation.

The relationship between organisational and professional commitment

The results regarding the relationship between organisational and professional commitment are as expected. **Figure 6.1** shows that there is a significant difference between organisational and professional commitment in the early career stage; that is, professional commitment predominates. The gap between the two forms of commitment closes after the 'Thirties Transition' period; that is, there is no significant difference between organisational and professional commitment at the 'Settling Down' period. Then, the gap between organisational and professional commitment becomes significantly different again during the 'Mid-life Transition' period. Thereafter, it closes and remains unchanged; that is, no other significant differences between organisational and professional commitment are observed in the late career stage (see Chapter

Five table 5.16).

The discussion regarding the relationship between organisational and professional commitment initiates with a comparison between the two forms of commitment for the full sample. At the very broadest level of analysis, there is no significant difference between the two forms of commitment. This suggests that the notion of conflicting loyalties is more hypothetical than real. In other words, there is nothing in the data to suggest that membership of an organisation automatically alienates individuals from their profession. Much depends, however, on how commitment is defined.

Recall that three different dimensions of commitment were measured. These were, affective ('sense of wanting to stay'), continuance ('sense of needing to stay'), and normative ('sense of moral obligation to stay'). The data show that the sense of 'wanting to stay' and the 'needing to stay' are stronger towards the profession than the organisation. Conversely, solicitors' perceived 'obligation to stay' is with the organisation rather than the profession. Moreover, it was expected that solicitors' affective commitment would be higher than solicitors' continuance commitment to the organisation and the profession. The results are as expected suggesting that solicitors derive their emotional satisfaction mainly from the membership of their profession rather than the membership of their firm.

Organisational and professional commitment: compatible or incompatible?

Recall that the literature basically consists of two conflicting schools of thought. The incompatibility thesis advocates that professional commitment and organisational commitment are mutually exclusive (Gouldner 1957; 1858). The compatibility thesis argues that professional commitment and organisational commitment can co-exist (Hall 1968). The latter was inferred from the moderate association found between professional and organisational commitment in previous research (Aranya and Ferris 1983, 1984; Aranya, Pollock and Amernic 1981; Gunz and Gunz 1994; Wallace 1993). The strength of this association was, however, found to be significant; that is, Pearson's correlation coefficients range from 0.39 ($p < 0.001$) to 0.52 ($p < 0.001$). But what does compatibility mean? The literature suggests that compatibility represents a congruence between organisational goals and values and professional goals and values (Glaser 1963). The results of the present study thus seem to suggest that the relationship between organisational and professional commitment is complementary rather than in conflict. Indeed, Pearson's correlation coefficient is 0.50 ($p < 0.001$). For example, if a firm's ethos is the pursuit of excellence and solicitors - by virtue of the claims of professional work - are concerned with delivering a high quality service, surely they must be equally committed to both their profession and their organisation?

More importantly, the results of this study seem to challenge Goode's (1969) assumption that compatibility may be a function of the nature of the profession.

Goode suggests that engineering and science (or 'technical-scientific' profession) may be more compatible with the organisation than law and medicine ('person' profession). Goode argues that the conflicting relationship between the control exercised by the profession, on the one hand, and the organisation, on the other hand, amounts to an insupportable form of tension. Aranya and Ferris (1984) infer from their results that the perception of professional-organisational conflict was almost non-existent when a combination of high organisational and professional commitment was experienced by the individual. The evidence in the present study is similar to Aranya and Ferris's study of accountants. Professional-organisational conflict was not assessed directly in the present study. If such a conflict existed there would surely be a greater gap between professional and organisational commitment and lower levels of both forms of commitment - in line with Aranya and Ferris's (1984) suggestion.

The results of the present study are consistent with Reicher's (1985) thesis in that she suggests that commitment to one entity (for example, organisation) does not preclude commitment to another different entity (for example, profession). Aranya and Jacobson (1975) suggest, however, that the congruence between professional and organisational commitment depends on how individuals perceive themselves as professional employees. Solicitors working in large law firms may be seen as holding a bureaucratic type of occupation. That is, solicitors' rights and obligations are becoming subject to more elaborate rules and norms, for instance, fee targets.

That said, the results of this study do suggest that solicitors are not totally absorbed by the claims of their profession. The results of the present study are consistent with Aranya and Jacobson's (1975, 21) study in that it suggests that 'when an occupation is partly bureaucratic and partly professional, there is a dual commitment to both occupation and organization'. One possible explanation is that solicitors see the organisation as the place that can provide and fulfil some of their needs and desires, as well as where they can exercise their expertise. When the organisation provides such a vehicle, the likelihood of increasing commitment is enhanced (Hrebiniak and Alluto 1972).

■ Affective commitment: solicitors' profession or 'new proletariat?

The results of this study seem to suggest that solicitors are still far from being proletarianised in the way that Oppenheimer (1973) describes. Recall that Marxist scholars argue that the division of labour and dependency upon salaries create employee alienation and job dissatisfaction. Surely if solicitors' working conditions have deteriorated, as firms have grown larger and more bureaucratised, this would be reflected in low levels of affective commitment. The data, however, contradict the professional proletarianisation thesis in that levels of affective commitment, to both the profession and the organisation, are higher than levels of continuance commitment.

■ The impact of professional membership upon professional commitment

Kanter (1968) suggests that individuals' decisions to stay reflect their appreciation of what is in their best interest. In the present study, it seems that

solicitors believe that there is a greater benefit associated with continued membership of the profession rather than the organisation, and a higher cost associated with leaving the profession than the organisation. This implies that solicitors regard their skills and experience as transferable from one firm to another whereas transference to a new profession would be problematic. Such confidence may derive from the notion of 'labour market shelter' (Larson 1977) or 'exclusionary social closure' (Parkin 1979). Shelter or closure refers to a situation where professionals, by virtue of their unique knowledge, are protected from the effects of competition in the labour market. It means that solicitors can be assured of a career (if not a job) for life. In other words, the data point to a fulfilment prophesy where commitment is reciprocated. As Freidson suggests (1994, 90):

> At the very least, it [labour market shelter] creates vested economic interest in the occupation's shelter and its defense, an interest shared with other members of the occupation (...).

Alternatively, it illustrates the potential for tension between long term and short term considerations. Firms need to retain staff in whom they have invested, yet simultaneously, they have to respond to market forces over which they have little or no control. Large law firms to survive, for example, were compelled to carry out redundancy policies recently (Law Society 1993). 'Downsizing' or restructuring policies may have resulted in a more cynical attitude towards partnerships and firms in general.

■ Manipulation of organisational culture

The predominance of normative organisational commitment over normative

professional commitment may be explained by the organisational and managerial arrangements of firms. Such arrangements are designed to produce and reproduce sentiments of loyalty. Submission and surrender by the individual to the organisation, for instance, seem to be responsible for creating a collective identity which gives both meaning and direction to the individual's life (Kanter 1968). The belief that the organisation's and the profession's goals and values are the same may help individuals to think that they can maintain their autonomy; it might also help to neutralize potential conflicts in choosing the path of their professional career. In addition, Ray (1986, 234) suggests that the manipulation of corporate culture (goals and values) by senior members is intended to bind individuals to the organisation in order 'to activate emotions, loyalty and commitment to the company'. Indeed, Baker (1995) observes that informal mentorship has a stronger impact on organisational commitment than formal training. Baker suggests that a mentor is usually a senior member of the organisation who is a high-level performer and highly committed.

The results concerning normative organisational commitment are, however, potentially counter-intuitive in that this form of commitment is the least pronounced (see Chapter Five tables 5.14). In fact, higher levels of normative organisational commitment were expected, as Etzioni (1975) suggests, professionals are more responsive to symbolic and normative than a calculative type of control. Therefore, the type of organisational commitment exhibited by solicitors should strongly reflect the influence of a normative type of control. Indeed, Wallace's (1995) study of large law firms concluded that the normative

type of control has a strong impact on organisational commitment. The results of the present study apparently contradict Etzioni's and Wallace's findings. Yet, Etzioni (1975) defines normative involvement as an employee's positive attitude towards the organisation. That is, employees have internalised, and are committed to, the organisation's goals. Similarly, Wallace (1995) measured organisational commitment using items such as 'I am proud to tell others that I am part of this organisation'. In effect, Etzioni's and Wallace's approaches to the concept resemble the way affective commitment was measured in the present research. Affective commitment was defined, here, as an individual's psychological attachment to, and identification with, the organisation or profession. The data seem to suggest that Etzioni's definition of commitment is not 'fine-tuned' enough to consider affective and normative forms of commitment as defined by Allen and Meyer (1990). The results of this study also suggest that solicitors are committed to firms for the benefit of the organisation itself rather than from a sense of self-interest.

The importance of the socialisation period

As expected, levels of professional commitment are significantly higher than levels of organisational commitment in the early career stage (see Chapter Five tables 5.15 and 5.16). The evidence is consistent with the literature in suggesting that the relationship between professional and organisational commitment is sequential (Aranya and Ferris 1984). Becker and Carper (1970) argue that professional commitment develops as the result of an intense process of socialisation into the chosen field of expertise. That is, during their

training period individuals are influenced by peers and teachers. This social interaction is relevant for the development of a 'professional ideology', that is, the identification with the profession's goals and values. Organisational commitment develops after a job entry in the employing organisation. Becker and Carper's argument provides only a partial framework of analysis. In effect, Becker and Carper's argument does not provide an explanation for the variation between professional and organisational commitment in other different career stages. The following section pertains to the relationship between organisational and professional commitment in the light of Levinson's (1978) theory of adult development.

Adult development

One possible explanation for the variations between the levels of the two forms of commitment observed in the present study derives from Levinson's (1978) theory of adult development. Levinson argues that the effect of age on the state of being committed reflects individuals' psychological adjustment to their role as employees during the course of their lives. Indeed, the impact of age on work-related attitudes, such as job satisfaction and work needs, has received support in the literature, for example Brenner (1988), Brooks and Seers (1991), Hall and Mansfield (1975) and Ornstein, Cron and Slocum (1989). These adjustments are derived from periods of stability and periods of transition. Recall that periods of stability are those where individuals make strong choices that will, if successful, enrich their lives. Periods of transition are those where individuals question, evaluate and modify the existing life

structure.

■ Early career stage

As expected, professional commitment predominates. The results of the present study show that levels of professional commitment are significantly higher than levels of organisational commitment in early career stages ('Entering the Adult World' and 'Thirties Transition'). These results are consistent with Levinson's theory. This theory suggests two ideas that may explain the predominance of professional commitment over organisational commitment in this period. First, 'Entering the Adult World' is a period of stability where individuals have to make decisions in their lives that allow them to establish a secure and solid life structure. Such choices as the profession and the consequent development of a professional's skills and identity are, therefore, key steps in this period (Isabella 1988). At this stage, solicitors have also invested more in the profession than the organisation. The results of the present study may reflect, therefore, a form of 'sunk cost' effect whereby previous investments are salient.

Paradoxically, the second idea suggests that 'Entering the Adult World' also represents an experimental period and consequently conditional commitments are made. Although this is the time of building up a secure life structure, it is also the time for individuals to experiment and to explore their new professional role. The low level of organisational commitment experienced by solicitors in early career stages is consistent with previous research (Ornstein, Cron and

Slocum 1989). This suggests that individuals at the early career stage are more likely to withdraw from the organisation for employment elsewhere. The present study implies that solicitors make provisional commitments as a consequence of having the choice of employment among alternative firms.

Levinson suggests that the 'Thirties Transition' is the time for individuals to question the choices taken in the earlier stages of their lives. The data suggest that solicitors at this stage decide to make substantial increases in their commitments to both their profession and their firm (see Chapter Five tables 5.13 and 5.14). Moreover, professional commitment is significantly higher than organisational commitment. The data are also consistent with Brooks and Seers' (1991) study in suggesting that the primary concern of individuals at the 'Thirties Transition' is the opportunities inherent in their task rather than the organisation itself. The results of the present study at least imply that solicitors' commitment towards their firms, although stronger at the 'Thirties Transition' than in early periods, is still provisional.

■ Mid career stage

As expected, levels of organisational commitment are significantly higher at the mid career stage than at the early career stage. Levels of professional commitment also increase between early and mid career stages but the increment is not significant. Moreover, the gap between solicitors' professional commitment and solicitors' organisational commitment closes during the 'Settling Down' period. That is, there is no significant difference between both

forms of commitment at this stage. The data are consistent with Levinson's (1978) theory that the 'Settling Down' is a period where an individual aims to build up a second life structure. 'Settling Down' has been characterized in previous research by issues such as an individual's concern with recognition, 'building a niche', and moving ahead and up in the organisation (Isabella 1988). In addition, Buchanan (1974) reports that 'personal importance' (the need to be valued and knowing that one's own work is important to the organisation) has a strong impact on organisational commitment.

Further, levels of both professional and organisational commitment become significantly different at the 'Midlife Transition'. At this stage, however, it is solicitors' organisational commitment that is significantly higher than solicitors' professional commitment. The data are consistent with the literature in suggesting that striving to achieve 'one's own place' induces commitment due to the extra effort that individuals have to put in (Grusky 1965). Levinson suggests that at the mid career stage individuals are at the 'bottom rung of the ladder' (1978, 332). This means that individuals have to try harder than those at the top of the ladder, to become more authoritative, more competent and to be valued in the career that they have chosen. There is, however, another possible explanation for higher levels of organisational commitment at this stage. Goldberg, Baker and Rubeinstein's (1964) study of scientists in research-oriented organisations indicates that professional gratification might also arise from the organisation. This reward might take the form of 'organisational advancement'.

■ **Late career stage**

The results of the present study regarding organisational and professional commitment in the late career stage are also as expected. The data suggest that older solicitors are significantly more committed to both the profession and the organisation than younger solicitors (see Chapter Five table 5.12). The present study also suggests that the importance of work increases with age. In the late career stage, solicitors become more involved, more autonomous and more identified with the field of expertise they have chosen. The results of the present study are once again consistent with Levinson's (1978) theory of adult development. As solicitors age, they accumulate more experience, they tend to hold more responsible positions and they continue to advance in their careers. This implies that the evaluation of their lives, that takes place during the transitional periods ('Mid-life Transition' and 'Sixties Transition'), may lead to continuing growth and consequently to the maintaining of the status quo. Blackburn and Fox (1983) suggest that a professional's continuing interest in work is related to their late retirement. Indeed, solicitors are found to be working as consultants after 'retirement'. Thus, the 'trauma' of having to retire may not be so acute for solicitors as for individuals in other occupations, for example managers (Evans 1977; Raelin 1985). The results of the present study may reflect, therefore, that the solicitors' profession and large partnerships provide a vehicle for the individual's self-fulfilling and self-actualization. In effect, the working conditions experienced by solicitors in large law firms seem to match the individual's process of maturation.

Some might argue, however, that only satisfied solicitors have replied to the questionnaire. This seems improbable in the present study. Viswesvaran, Barrick and Ones' (1993) test for sample robustness and non-respondents' representativeness was carried out. The results of this test suggest that the response rate of the present study is within acceptable limits to allow the generalisation of the research's findings to the whole population.

As expected, the results of this study also show that there is no significant difference between organisational and professional commitment in the late career stage. These results suggest that during this period organisational commitment is as important to solicitors as professional commitment. During the late career stage individuals go through two transitional periods. The first occurs around the fifties and the second occurs in the early to mid sixties. The data are therefore consistent with Levinson's theory in that it is suggested that after a transitional period individuals may experience feelings of discontentment and frustration that may lead to the expression of disattachment. The idea of slight disattachment towards the organisation seems plausible since the significant difference between levels of organisational and professional commitment of the mid career stage disappears at this stage. As Buchanan (1974, 544) implies:

> It is conceivable that some of the blame for any dissatisfaction
> with the contrast [the expectations versus the reality] would be
> transferred to the organisation in the form of diminished
> commitment or general disenchantment.

Another possible explanation is that at the late career stage, individuals are

probably more concerned with their role as a mentor than with their personal achievement (Levinson 1990).

Solicitors' values towards work

The solicitors' profession has a poor reputation for altruism (Zander 1978). Nonetheless, the data indicate that solicitors exhibit higher levels of normative work values than calculative work values (see Chapter Five tables 5.21 to 5.24). The results also show that whereas normative work values orientation increases over time, calculative work values orientation decreases. The present study seems to suggest that the need to obtain satisfaction in work increases over time. Also, money becomes less important with time.

There are several possible explanations for the results concerning solicitors' work values orientation. Solicitors are expected to perform their jobs in regard to the society's needs in general, and their clients' needs in particular. The results are therefore consistent with human needs theory (Maslow 1970). That is, beyond a certain point money fails to satisfy. Maslow theorises that human needs are hierarchical. That is, material desires have to be satisfied before individuals feel social needs, and those have to be fulfilled before they desire the achievement of their full potential in the existing environment.

Another possible explanation might be the shift in work values from one generation to the other. Whereas the major values of society in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s were said to be self-denial and compliance with others, the

values of the society in the 1970s were said to be self-reliance and distrust of others (for example, Pinn and Innes 1987). If a relationship between an individual's work values and socio-cultural patterns exists, this would explain why older solicitors hold higher levels of normative work values than younger solicitors.

Gender differences

Women were expected to be more committed towards the organisation than men (Mathieu and Zajac 1990). The present study, however, does not identify notable differences between men and women (see Chapter Five tables 5.23 to 5.24). With one exception, levels of organisational commitment are the same for men and women. The exception is at the mid career stage where men show higher levels of organisational commitment than women. Further, women and men seem to be equally committed to the profession at all stages of their careers.

Similar levels of organisational and professional commitment between women and men may suggest that law firms and the solicitors' profession offer equal opportunities and conditions for both. This explanation contradicts Grusky (1965). In his study of managers' career mobility, Grusky suggests that higher levels of organisational commitment among women are the result of discrimination in the work place. That is, women are seen as having to overcome more organisational barriers to reach the top than men. For example, maternity leave may still count as a set back in women's careers. The results

of the present study seems to suggest that career opportunities for women in the work place have improved since Grusky's research in 1965.

Summary

This chapter discussed the research results. First, it was found that both forms of commitment increase over time. The importance and the psychological absorption in work also increases across career stages. The results are, therefore, consistent with the 'profession-organisation' man model. Second, the results concerning the relationship between organisational and professional commitment were found to be complementary. The evidence is consistent with Levinson's (1978) theory of adult development. That is, the life structure seems to explain the development and the relationship between organisational and professional commitment among solicitors. Commitment generally was also found to hold different meanings. In effect, affective commitment to both the profession and the organisation predominates. Solicitors' work values orientation is more of the normative type rather than calculative. The next chapter states the conclusions that can be drawn from this discussion.

Chapter Seven

Summary and conclusions

The topic of this research was professionals in organisations. The focus of inquiry was the development and the relationship between organisational and professional commitment. This was investigated by means of a survey among solicitors, partners and assistants. Solicitors were the professionals chosen as they resemble the characteristics of a 'true' profession. The survey was conducted in large law firms; that is, true-autonomous organisations. These are defined as organisations where professionals control both capital and knowledge. Yet, as firms grow large the number of professionals who remain assistants also become higher. The literature suggests that, at this stage, the way work is organised most closely resembles business corporations.

The research question was:

How does the relationship between solicitors' organisational and professional commitment evolve at different career stages?

This question was explored via a set of systematic comparisons. The analysis of the results was two-fold. First, it focused upon the development of organisational and professional commitment. Second, it emphasised the relationship between both forms of commitment.

The measures of professional and organisational commitment differentiated between attitudinal and behavioural dimensions. Attitudinal commitment was defined as the psychological identification and attachment to the firm and to the profession (the sense of wanting to stay), as well as a perceived moral duty to remain in the firm and profession (obligation to remain). Behavioural commitment was defined as the costs associated with either quitting the profession or the firm (solicitors' perceived need to stay). The principal survey instrument was Allen and Meyer's (1990) organisational and professional commitment scale. Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with a series of questions, such as:

- 'I would be very happy to spend the rest of my career with this firm ';
- 'I am proud to be in the profession'.

The survey also measured (1) the solicitor's level of job involvement (Lodahl

and Kejner 1965), (2) the solicitor's sense of calling to the field and professional autonomy (Hall 1967), (3) the solicitor's work values orientation (Sheppard 1972; Popper and Lipshitz 1992).

Levinson's (1978) theory of adult development

The research framework of the present study derived from Levinson's (1978) theory of adult development. Life structure is the key element of Levinson's theory. Life structure refers to a certain period of an individual's life which is influenced by both environmental circumstances and individual characteristics. Specifically, Levinson's theory suggests that adult development encompasses the diverse biological, psychological and social changes occurring in adult life. These changes are pre-determined and reflect the evolution of an individual within a certain life structure. Moreover, Levinson suggests that this evolution - a process of periods of stability followed by periods of transition - is an age-linked sequence.

The hypotheses of the present study tested three main aspects of the commitment phenomenon. First, the development of commitment over time. In essence, it was expected that organisational and professional commitment would increase with age. Second, the relationship between organisational and professional commitment was explored. Basically, it was expected that both forms of commitment were complementary. Finally, the nature of professional and organisational commitment was assessed. Commitment generally has different meanings. Commitment might be expressed as a positive attitude or

might be a manifestation of the individual's self-interest. The former was expected to predominate. The results are as predicted. Overall, the evidence indicates that Levinson's theory provides a comprehensive framework of analysis to study the development and the relationship between organisational and professional commitment. More specifically, the study basically reaches two conclusions which constitute the next two sections.

The development of organisational and professional commitment

Testing the hypotheses that both the profession and the organisation increased over time concerned the assumption that as people age, they tend to be more satisfied with their life in general than younger people. This situation is thought to promote feelings of commitment among older employees. The autonomous type of organisation is also potentially influential for the positive development of both forms of commitment ('profession-organisation man' model). Given the particular nature of law firms, it was expected that job reward theory would provide a suitable explanation for the development of organisational and professional commitment among solicitors over time. The attainment of a partnership would therefore represent both an advancement in the organisation and a professional recognition (Wallace 1995). The results showed that partners are, indeed, significantly more committed to both the organisation and the profession than assistants. Moreover, older employees are more organisationally and professionally committed than younger employees.

The increase in organisational and professional commitment appears to be more a function of age than job rewards, however. The evidence for this statement is inferred from statistics pertaining to job level. In effect, the influence of job level on organisational and professional commitment was questioned by a multiple regression analysis. It is inferred from these results that age is by far a stronger predictor of organisational and professional commitment than job level.

It is also concluded that the development of organisational and professional commitment hold different dimensions. Whereas affective and normative commitment increased significantly from early career stage to late career stage, continuance commitment remained at the same level. In addition, the data showed that organisational normative commitment is the least pronounced component of organisational commitment. This result could mislead the researcher to the conclusion that the normative type of commitment is not as relevant to the professionals as the literature suggests (Etzioni 1975). Therefore, solicitors might be subjected to calculative forms of control. However, signs of the individual's alienation and frustration are dismissed, or at least concealed, by the predominance of 'a sense of wanting to stay' regarding both the organisation and the profession. It is concluded, therefore, that there are positive indications within the data to reject the idea that professionals have become more responsive to a calculative type of control than a normative type of control. That is, the nature of solicitors' commitment to both the organisation and the profession is far form being instrumental or

calculative. It is inferred from these results that the solicitors' willingness to exert effort on behalf of the organisation is out of an altruistic motivation rather than self-oriented concerns.

The relationship between organisational and professional commitment

In essence, the evidence suggests that organisational and professional commitment, far from being in conflict, are potentially complementary. The results of this study are generally consistent with the corpus of literature which suggests that professional-organisational conflict 'may simply be a figment of the [researchers'] imagination' (Gunz and Gunz 1994, 825). If a real conflict existed, a much wider gap between professional and organisational commitment would surely be evident. Yet the overall comparison showed no significant difference between professional and organisational commitment. The complementary thesis is also supported when the results were analysed by age. Levinson describes the state of being committed rather than the focus of commitment. Yet, each career stage potentially suggests a different relationship between organisational and professional commitment.

Although professional commitment predominates in the early career stage, this difference disappears by mid-thirties, the so-called 'Settling Down' period. In early career stages, Levinson suggests that the state of being committed is paradoxical. That is, individuals' may experience strong and weak commitments at the same time. The evidence also shows a significant difference between

organisational and professional commitment in the 'Mid-life Transition' period. At this stage, however, it is organisational commitment which predominates. 'Mid-life Transition' is described by Levinson as one of the most dramatic periods, in terms of changes, in an individual's life. Individuals reaching this stage undergo a process of re-assessment and re-evaluation. It is inferred from the results of the present study that differences between organisational and professional commitment are not related only to the potential for conflict between organisational and professional membership, but are also related to circumstances surrounding a specific life structure. It is concluded, therefore, that evidence concurs with the school of thought which advocates that organisational commitment is complementary to professional commitment or vice-versa.

Partnerships as true-autonomous organisations are considered to be the work place where professionals may maintain their professional identity and autonomy. Partnerships may be seen also as a sheltered working environment which enhances an occupational monopoly. Indeed, the results of this study showed that the solicitors' commitment was to the profession insofar as it reflected a sense of worth value in work and claims of economic needs. Although feelings of moral obligation and duty were more towards the firm than the profession, the organisational and the professional normative commitment were the least pronounced. It is concluded, therefore, that the data provided support for the thesis of professional dominance; that is, the solicitors' profession is far from being proletarianised.

Implications for 'sunk costs' theory

'Sunk costs' have been linked to the notion of escalation (for example, Staw 1981). This refers to the non-rational persistence with a certain course of action (for example, Drummond 1997; Garland 1990). It would be interesting to know the extent to which the 'sunk costs' theory applies to career decisions. For example, Garland and Newport (1991) suggest that the impact of 'sunk cost' on any decision to continue in the same course of action is dependent upon a ratio between what has been invested and what there is to be invested. If individuals invest an amount of time and money in a degree, what does it take for them to withdraw, when unhappy, from that particular course of action? The decision to withdraw from a particular course of action might require more than failure. Indeed, Kernan and Lord (1989) suggest that the combination of an explicit goal (for example, starting up a career) and highly negative feedback resulted in escalation. Parental choices and expectations may act, for instance, as a 'sunk cost'. In the practice of medicine and law, for example, it is common to find generations of people practising the same craft. If 'sunk cost' is an irrational attribute of decision-making (Garland and Newport 1991), what does the professionals' choice say about the individual itself?

Implications for gender issues

A parallel issue of this research is gender difference. One implication of the present study relates to the low proportion of women in all career stages. Someone can argue that the sampling strategy of the present study did not attempt to stratify by sex. Although one cannot discard this possibility, the

sample was randomly selected from a pool of solicitors working in large partnerships. This procedure, in theory, gives an equal chance for each element of the population to be included in the sample. If so, what do the results suggest in terms of women's career choices?. Apparently, the results of the present study suggest that commercial law firms are not women's first option. This fact is probably related to the macho image that solicitors practising in large law firms have built around themselves. For example, one mechanism used to maintain such an image might be the culture of long hours (Drummond and Oliveira 1996). This may persist because it works against those with domestic responsibilities. Yet are long hours really inevitable?. This leads even to a more interesting question. If commercial law firms are male-oriented, how do they cope with women? What strategies do they implement to stimulate commitment? Do firms really want to do that? This seems particularly relevant since the number of women - entering into the profession and obviously potential candidates to join large law firms - is now greater than men (Law Society 1993).

Theoretical and empirical significance and suggestions for further research

The findings of the present study have some implications for Levinson's (1978) theory of adult development. Recall that Levinson's theory aims to identify life patterns which evolve within periods of stability and periods of transition. This life structure development follows an underlying order which provided the focal points of analysis of the present study. Indeed, this theory of adult development

was never designed to predict the relationship between organisational and professional commitment. Yet this study suggests that such a theory might be salient to study work-related attitudes, for example, job satisfaction.

Job satisfaction is particularly relevant for professionals in that they intend to stay in the same profession for the rest of their lives. In effect, the professional person has great expectations regarding the work itself. First, individuals' capacity and curiosity are waiting to be explored. Second, individuals' sense of challenge, growth and achievement are hopefully sustained. Third, the material rewards obtained are very tempting (Sarason 1977). Eventually, however, dissatisfaction can lead to a change of the professional's career path. Levinson's theory suggests that individuals are more likely to a career shift at 'Mid-life Transition' when they realise that they failed to obtain their lifelong dream. Therefore, the impact of the 'Mid-life Transition' period on late career stages offers an interesting topic for further research.

Levinson's (1978) theory describes two possible scenarios concerning the importance and involvement in work after the 'Mid-life Transition' period. One of the possibilities suggests that there is a positive re-evaluation of individuals' lives which induces high levels of commitment. Conversely, feelings of dissatisfaction and frustration, as a result of a comparison between the aspirations of youth and the reality, leads to a decrease in the importance of work to individuals after 'Mid-life Transition'. The findings of the present study are clearly consistent with the former scenario. Yet it is unclear what may

influence the individual into a positive or negative transition in the late career stage. The type of occupation is potentially influential. In effect, among occupations, such as solicitors, where the use of the abstract knowledge is required, experience may act as an important asset. In this case, aging could represent more and better opportunities which lead to greater satisfaction. On the other hand, age might operate as a 'sunk cost' among blue-collar occupations, such as construction workers, where physical strength is valuable. That is, the lack of opportunities for a job elsewhere decreases, which increases the need to stay in the organisation. Levinson's study used a wide range of occupations from blue-collar to true professional. Do the two scenarios described by Levinson reflect this wide range of different occupations?

The impact of 'Mid-life Transition' in the late career stage could be further researched based upon different occupations. Data collection could start with exploratory studies which compare individuals' job satisfaction, work commitment and job involvement, for instance. From this procedure, a general pattern of work-related attitudes could be identified. This general pattern could be the foundation to study exceptions, for example, if there is a change in individuals' career path, how it happens and why. As such, the factors that affect commitment growth or decline could be identified.

Longitudinal studies

The research methodology adopted in the present study holds the potential to conduct a longitudinal study, in that it would be possible to repeat the survey

throughout an individual's career. For example, individuals that are now in their early career stages will be in their mid career stages in 5-7 years time. This methodology would allow for the cause-effect relationship between the structural periods defined by Levinson and both forms of commitment.

The definition of profession

The data suggest that the relationship between organisational and professional commitment among solicitors is complementary. These results have challenged Goode's (1969) assertion that professionals, such as doctors and lawyers, are more likely to create tension with their employing organisation than the 'technical profession', such as engineers. If it is not the type of profession that explains such conflict between both forms of commitment, can it be the type of organisation? If this is true then a sampling of solicitors working in governmental departments should produce different results from those obtained in the present study. By comparison, a sample of doctors practising in private clinics should produce results similar to those obtained in this research. A possible outcome of such comparative studies is that no conflict exists between organisational and professional commitment. If discrepancies between levels of organisational and professional commitment are conditional upon a particular life structure, the relationship between both forms of commitment are interpreted as complementary. Such results may lead researchers to a more fundamental question which is: to what extent is the distinction between 'person or true profession' and 'technical profession' worth making?

The nature of commitment

The results of this study provide further support to the school of thought that advocates commitment as a multidimensional concept. One disadvantage of utilising survey techniques is that the methodology tells the research little about what organisational and professional commitment mean to solicitors, or how it is experienced. It would be interesting to conduct a similar exploration utilising in-depth interviews capable of capturing life histories, critical incidents and so forth. The small quantity of qualitative material gathered for the purposes of the present study suggests that such a study might not only confirm or qualify the present findings, but more importantly yields more specific insights into issues such as the interplay between commercial and professional priorities than was possible here.

Client commitment

Meyer, Allen and Smith (1993) stressed that understanding the relationship between organisational and professional commitment might help to predict other work-related behaviours. Although the relationship between organisational and professional commitment is important, some solicitors informally pointed to the importance of developing a relationship with the client. In an era where total quality management and customer care occupy such prominence (Demming 1982), the issue of client commitment is a potentially important and fruitful one for study. For instance, what factors are associated with high levels of client commitment? Is client commitment a determinant of professional or organisational commitment? Does the solicitor's attitude to the client change

over time? Solicitors in this study, in a form of anedoctal evidence, suggested that the major task facing any dedicated professional is meeting their clients' needs. For these solicitors, clients are really what the job is about, and the goal is client satisfaction.

Practical implications

On the practical level, the pattern of development of organisational and professional commitment might help organisations establishing programmes of employee development. One important contribution of this study is that of showing the impact of age upon organisational commitment is stronger than job level. Rewards, apparently, do not buy commitment (for example, Paul and Robertson 1970). Therefore, what does motivate solicitors? Herzberg (1968) suggests that an individual is motivated when he wants to work. Motivation does not require extrinsic stimulation. It should come from inside as a response to needs that relate to the ability to achieve; these needs are fulfilled through the individual's achievement and the experience of psychological growth. Apparently, solicitors are already motivated to work. Indeed, solicitors want to stay in the organisation and want to stay in the profession. This feeling reflects their need and desire for achievement. Thus, the issue here relates more strongly to what the firm should avoid doing in order to preserve such a motivated work force. Job content potentially induces the individual to self-actualization (Herzberg 1968).

It is possible to imagine that law firms might be seduced by the efficiency levels

of a bureaucratic organisation. This might be the result of the intense competition that law firms are facing today (see Chapter Four). Therefore, the temptation to implement some of the strategies to speed up the work are too high, for example, specialisation. Beforehand, however, firms should balance the pros and cons of such a strategy. Indeed, specialisation as a way to speed up the work should be avoided in that it may inhibit self-actualization in the workplace. Specialisation may create the need for supervision; this hierarchy of authority with senior partners supervising partners, and partners supervising assistants may create passive and dependent workers who feel they have little control over their work. Moreover, assistants who are at the bottom rung of the ladder in the formal organisation do not have the chance to define their own goals. All these together, as Agyrus (1957) suggests, are the ideal conditions for the individual psychological failure.

Solicitors' self-esteem and pride in craftsmanship are feelings that firms would surely wish to preserve among their work force. Firms have, however, to believe that this is the only way to deliver the best service to their clientele. Such preoccupation should start in the early stages of an individual's career. One possibility that organisations might want to encourage is the role of a mentor or patron. This role would performed by a senior member of the organisation, who are highly committed to both the profession and the organisation. When this process of mentorship is successful, it produces autonomous professionals. Being able to control one's own work is probably the best incentive to stay. In this way, organisations are assured of their future

success by retaining people who are productive and proud to their membership with the firm.

Final Remark

The popularity of a quantitative approach to research is its apparently 'easy way' to reduce data to figures. It is people, however, who lie beneath the numbers and the statistical comparisons that are ultimately significant. It is fitting, therefore, that the last word of the thesis should belong to those whose livelihoods and personal aspirations are bound up with this thesis. When asked to talk about his feelings regarding his career, one solicitor said that he intended to stay with his firm because 'I do not feel obliged to 'trim ' any personal and ethical standards in order to make a living. The firm's ethos is the pursuit of excellence '. Such a working environment, however, rarely occurs by accident. It reflects the values of, and the example set, by most of the senior members. Professional integrity, that is, pride in service and workmanship, is their hallmark (Drummond and Oliveira 1996).

In his book *The Search for Meaning*, Charles Handy suggests that 'our businesses will only be ultimately successful if people are in them for the love of the game' (1996, 65). Partnerships of solicitors hold the raw material for such wishful thinking to become a reality. For example, solicitors are likely to be motivated by an exciting project rather than money alone. This is probably best reflected by the solicitor's desire to give their best to the success of the organisation. It seems, therefore, that putting people before business may in

the long term be highly beneficial to the organisation. Recall that such priorities as enhancing the meaning of work, creating a workplace that fosters individual development and proper effectiveness, will allow people to regain or maintain self-esteem and pride in workmanship. This situation results ultimately in employees' greater satisfaction and commitment. Few of us have any alternative but to work for a living. It is encouraging to discover that work can, and sometimes does, contribute to the quality of life.

Appendix A
Article

What makes a happy lawyer? NLJ

Helga Drummond and Eva Dias de Oliveira have the answer

In John Grisham's novel *The Firm*, the fledgling assistant lawyer can hardly believe his luck when he discovers that his "employment package" includes a beautiful house, the services of an interior designer, and a new BMW motor car. He soon realises, however, that the firm's apparent generosity is calculated—intended to bind him to the organisation by making it too expensive to leave. In the end, the firm's strategy rebounds, producing suspicion and resentment.

All organisations need to procure loyalty and commitment. Quite apart from the potential loss of continuity, investment in training, and client following caused by a partner or assistant leaving, firms also need to stimulate high performance day in day out. If money is not the answer, then what is?

Managing a law firm poses a particularly challenging task because solicitors are simultaneously members of an organisation and members of a profession. They are accountable both to their firm and to the Law Society. Dual loyalty can pose a tension between the solicitor's need for autonomy and the organisation's need to exert control. For example, a firm may insist upon limiting the amount of research conducted in connection with a client's case on grounds of cost effectiveness. The issue of dual loyalty is becoming increasingly relevant as law firms have become larger, more commercially oriented and more bureaucratic. Indeed, some of the very large firms already resemble industrial monoliths with their specialist marketing, personnel and administrative functions. The question thus arises—do solicitors regard themselves first and foremost as members of a profession, or have they surrendered their individuality and independence to become the new organisation's men and women?

The research reported in this article began with this very question. We were also interested in whether and how the solicitor's commitment changed over time. For example, do solicitors become more committed to their profession or to their firm as they become older? Do they become cynical, disenchanted, and more inclined to take shortcuts as they become older? What about those who never become partners—do they eventually lose interest in their work?
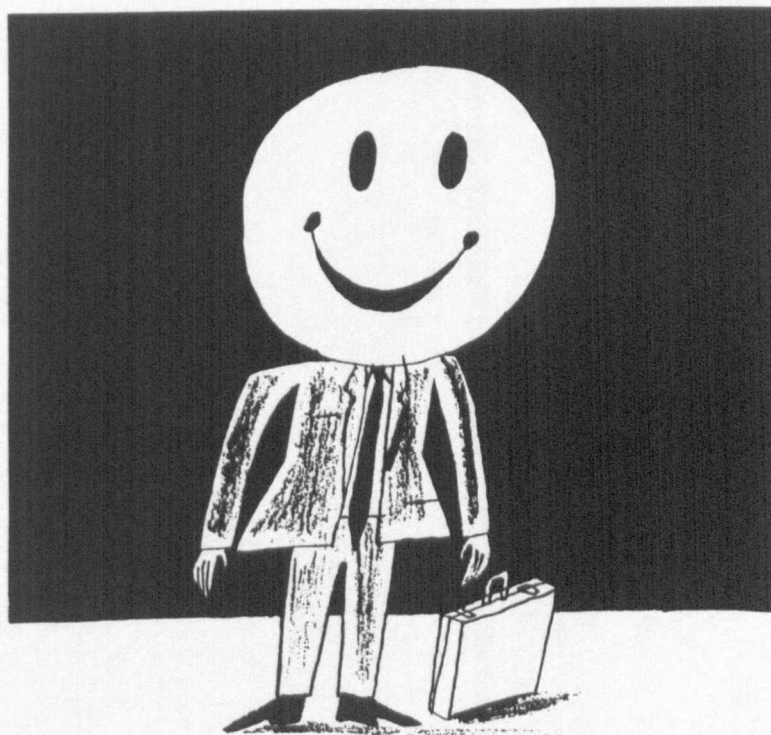
The research was conducted by means of a questionnaire survey amongst the large commercial practices. The sample was drawn principally from firms based in the City of London, but also included firms located in Birmingham, Leeds and Manchester. Organisational and professional commitment was measured by asking respondents to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with a series of questions such as:

"I would be very happy to spend the rest of my career with this firm."
"I feel that I have too few options to consider leaving the firm."
"I am proud to be in the profession."
"It would be costly for me to change my profession now."

The survey also measured solicitors' level of work involvement with a questions such as—"I live eat and breathe my job."

We received 403 replies to our questionnaire. The sample ranged from recently qualified assistants to senior partners approaching retirement.

Dual loyalty?

Our results suggest that solicitors are indeed more committed to their profession than to their firms. That finding is subject to some important qualifications, however. We measured three basic types of commitment, that is, the feeling of *wanting* to remain, the feeling of *needing* to remain, and the feeling that one *ought* to remain with either the profession or the firm.

The sense of "wanting to remain" and "needing to remain" is higher for the profession than the firm. Yet "the feeling that one ought to remain" is higher for the organisation than the profession. In other words, solicitors derive their emotional satisfaction principally from membership of the profession rather than membership of their firm. Although money seems to be im-

practice

portant, solicitors appear to regard their skills and experience as transferable from one firm to another. Solicitors are held to their firm mainly by a sense of moral obligation, for example, "If I got an offer of a better partnership elsewhere I would not feel it was right to leave my firm."

It is unclear why this should be so. What is does imply, however, is that the bond between the solicitor and the firm is negative. Solicitors stay with a firm not because they necessarily want to, or even because they feel they have to, but more out of a sense of guilt.

That said, both forms of commitment intensify with age. Far from becoming cynical, complacent or disenchanted, solicitors' identity becomes increasingly linked to their profession. Moreover, psychological absorption in work also increases as time goes on.

Clearly, we cannot exclude the possibility that our results reflect a *post hoc* rationalisation of events, that is, having spent a lifetime in a profession and possibly in the same firm, individuals might come to convince themselves that they have made the right decisions! For instance, one way of becoming reconciled to failed transfer applications might be to convince oneself of a duty to the firm.

Apart from that possibility, the attainment of partnership seems significant though it may not be quite as important as intuition suggests. Partners do show a greater level of commitment than senior assistants (defined as aged 35 and over), both to the profession and to the firm.

Interestingly though, there is no evidence that senior assistants are any less committed to their profession or firm or any less involved in their work than their junior counterparts. Likewise senior partners (defined as aged 42 and over) exhibited higher levels of commitment to their firm than their younger counterparts and higher levels of work involvement. Taken together, these findings imply that admitting someone to partnership may not wave a magic wand in heightening their commitment. To put it another way, those who do not, for whatever reason, attain partnership are not necessarily bad solicitors by any means.

We did not identify any notable differences between men and women. Our sample sizes of females were too small to permit detailed statistical comparisons. It does, however, show that the proportion of women reaching partnership in large commercial firms remains minuscule.

What makes a happy lawyer?

Overall our research indicates that solicitors' ultimate commitment is to the profession rather than the firm.

This suggests that the most attractive firms are likely to be those offering a pro-fessionally rich and satisfying working environment. What factors might contribute to the creation of such a climate is itself a topic for research. Our own study contains some clues. Besides asking solicitors to respond to specified questions, we also invited written commentary. Although such

> **"One important factor is the work itself. Many respondents said that the sheer intellectual challenge of their work was a major source of satisfaction. For example, one solicitor said, 'I could not work the hours I put in unless I gained intellectual pleasure from the work.' "**

commentary was not gathered systematically, the replies are insightful nevertheless.

One important factor is the work itself. Many respondents said that the sheer intellectual challenge of their work was a major source of satisfaction. For example, one solicitor said, "I could not work the hours I put in unless I gained intellectual pleasure from the work."

It is not just the nature of the work that counts, however. It is the atmosphere in which it is carried out that is critical. Although money is one of the major attractions of a career in commercial law, solicitors are happiest earning it by dint of their professional ingenuity rather than by exploiting the client. Firms which have succumbed to the temptation to "milk" cases and to take shortcuts may find that their policies are ultimately counterproductive as they destroy solicitors' pride in their work. Office politics were mentioned as a destructive element undermining morale and pleasure in the job. The situation is frequently exacerbated by partners' maladroit approach to management. Clearly if law firms are becoming more like industrial corporations then those in positions of power need to acquire the requisite executive competencies.

Many firms hold out the prospect of partnership in order to motivate assistants. The result may be to breed a reciprocally instrumental attitude towards the firm. For instance, one young assistant said, "It is hard to maintain loyalty to a large firm with a competitive career brochure."

While we are not suggesting that partnership prospects are inconsequential, the assumed link between partnership and motivation is suspect. Our data suggest that the majority of assistants are probably already highly charged by the work itself. So why equate success with the attainment of partnership? Why should someone not enjoy a satisfying and worthwhile career as an assistant? Some respondents suggested that their aspirations to pass through the "bottleneck" to partnership were conditioned by the all or nothing hierarchies which are traditional within the profession. We suggest that firms consider creating intermediate levels of reward and recognition and reconsider how they define success. For example, there might be special recognition for those meriting partnership but who elect not to be burdened by the concomitant risks and responsibilities.

Long hours are the norm in many commercial practices. Most solicitors seem to regard them as unavoidable, a price to be paid for the benefits of their choice of occupation. "Love the work. Hate the hours" said one solicitor.

Yet are long hours really inevitable? It is difficult to imagine that firms who have shown themselves to be flexible and responsive in other ways cannot organise themselves to reduce demands upon staff. We suspect that a culture of long hours persists because it works against those with domestic responsibilities, women especially. Certainly the profession seems to have created a macho image around itself. As one junior assistant observed, "Careers are made on the basis of hard work, long hours, money-spinning jobs and big bills."

Although working for a highly prestigious firm confers a certain *éclat*, it is what distinguishes those firms that is interesting. Professional integrity is their hallmark. Few solicitors expect idealism either in the ambience of their firm or in the outlook and behaviour of colleagues. The most desirable atmosphere is one where competence and enthusiasm prevail, where there is a clear sense of commitment to the client and dedication to high standards of professional practice. Such working environments rarely occur by accident but reflect the values of and example set by most of the senior partners. For instance, one assistant solicitor said that he intended to stay with his firm because, "I do not feel obliged to 'trim' any personal or ethical standards in order to make a living ... The firm's ethos is the pursuit of excellence."

Those controlling some of the shabbier firms might reflect that this exemplary organisation is also one of the leading practices in the UK. The message is clear. Firms seeking to rank as leaders of the profession must make professional standards their operational imperative. The message for solicitors and aspiring trainees is also clear. To be happy, put good work and a congenial environment before money.　　　　o

Appendices B
Method - Supplementary information

Appendix 4.1

Mean, standard deviation and scale's reliability

This section shows the results of the pilot test. Mean, standard deviation and scale's reliability are displayed.

Scale	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of items	α
Organisational Commitment	96.88	21.82	24	.8409
Professional Commitment	73.03	15.04	18	.8123
Job involvement	20.11	5.99	5	.6703
Importance of profession to individual	76.76	9.45	25	.6827
Calculative work values orientation	9.81	3.56	4	.7397
Normative work values orientation	16.59	5.01	6	.8674

Appendix 4.2

Determination of the sample size

This section aims to explain how the sample size (n=256) was determined by using the formula from Moser and Kalton (1981):

$$s_{\bar{x}} = \frac{s}{\sqrt{n-1}} \sqrt{\frac{N-n}{N-1}}$$

where:

N is the number of units in the population;
n is the number of units in the sample;
s is the standard deviation;
σ_x is the standard error of the mean.

The key variable for the sampling strategy is age. A standard deviation of 13.117 and a standard error of 0.8 were used; N is known (7561). The only unknown variable is n. When the equation is computed, the sample size was found to be 256.

Appendix 4.3

Reasoning for sample stratification method

Two different methods of stratification were explored: the disproportionate and the proportionate method. The proportionate method incorporates the population relative (w_i) and the total sample size, while the disproportionate also includes the standard deviation (δ_i). The disproportionate strategy revealed to be more efficient than the proportionate strategy since it shows a more balance distribution across different groups (Emory 1976). The formulae are as follow:

- Disproportionate method

$$n^* = w_i \times s_i / \Sigma(w_i \times \delta_i)^*256$$

Where:

n* is the sample size of each stratum;
w_i is the population relative of each stratum;
δ_i is the standard deviation;
256 is the overall sample size.

- Proportionate method

$$n^{**} = w_i \times 256$$

Where:

n** is the sample size of each stratum;
w_i is the population relative of each stratum;
256 is the overall sample size.

Age Group	Population N	Population Relative W_i	s_i	$w_i s_i$	n*	n**
22-28	220	0.03	0.662	0.02	2	7
28-33	3581	0.47	1.55	0.73	94	121
33-40	2036	0.27	1.805	0.49	62	69
40-45	725	0.10	1.326	0.13	16	25
45-55	736	0.10	3.079	0.30	38	25
>55	263	0.03	9.481	0.33	42	9

Appendix 4.4

ACCESS programme for random numbers

This section shows the ACCESS programme used to generate the random numbers.

```
Option Compare Database 'Use database order for string comparisons
        Global A (1 To 9000)
        Global D (1 To 9000)
        Global E (1 To 9000)

Function ILD()
Dim db As Database, T As Dynased, B As Dynaset, C As Dynaset, criteria,
contador As Variant, NA As Variant, Maxvalor As Variant, Minvalor As variant,
al As Integer, x, i, vazio

                Set db = CurrentDB()
                Set T = db.CreateDynaset("ADMISSION DATE")
                Set B = db.CreateDynaset("ADMISSION TEMP")
                Set C = db.CreateDynaset("RANDOM ADMISSION")
                Do Until B.EOF
                        B.Delete
                        B.MoveNext
                Loop
                Do Until C.EOF
                        C.Delete
                        C.MoveNext
                Loop

                contador = 1
                Randomize Time
                Minvalor = InputBox("Lower Date?")
                If Minvalor = "" Then Exit Function
                Maxvalor = InputBox ("High Date?")
                If Maxvalor = "" Then Exit Function
                NA = InputBox ("Random Elements?")
                If NA = "" Then Exit Function
                Do Until T.EOF
                        If (T![ADMISSION DATE] >= Val(Minvalor) And T![ADMISSION
DATE] <= Val(Maxvalor)) Then
                                B.AddNew
                                B![NAME] = T![NAME]
                                B![FIRM] = T![FIRM]
                                B![ADDRESS] = T![ADDRESS]
```

```
                    A(contador) = T![NAME]
                    D(contador) = T![FIRM]
                    E(contador) = T![ADDRESS]
                    B.Update
                    contador = contador + 1
                End If
                T.MoveNext
            Loop
            T.Close
            B.Close
            contador = contador - 1
            If Val(NA) > Val(contador) Then
            MsgBox "O numero de elementos do intervalo é inferior ao
numero de elementos pretendidos.", 64
            Exit Function
            End If
            Fo i = 1 To NA
                al = Int((NA - i + 1) * Rnd + 1)
                Debug.Print al
                C.AddNew
                C![NAME] = A(al)
                C![FIRM] = D(al)
                C![ADDRESS] = E(al)
                C.Update
                x = contador - i
                vazio = reordena(al, x)
            Next i
            novoNAME = InputBox$("NAME do ficheiro para guardar (excepto
fim)?")
            DoCmd SelectObject A_TABLE, "RANDOM ADMISSION", True
            DoCmd CopyObject , novoNAME
            C.Close

End Function
Function reordena (al, x)
                        For K = al To x
                            A(K) = A(K + 1)
                            D(K) = D(K + 1)
                            E(K) = E(K + 1)
                        Next K
End Function
```

Appendix 4.5

Covering letter

Mr 'Solicitor Name'
Firm's Address

Date

Dear Mr 'Solicitor Name',

I am a Ph.D. student carrying out a research into solicitors, their careers and choice of profession. I would be very grateful if you could kindly complete the enclosed questionnaire.

My study is based upon careful sampling techniques. As I am contacting only solicitors at a specific career stages, your response is very important.

The information you provide will be treated as confidential. Only I will see your answers and I will not disclose these to anyone.

Yours sincerely

Eva Dias de Oliveira

Appendix 4.6

Questionnaire

Questionnaire
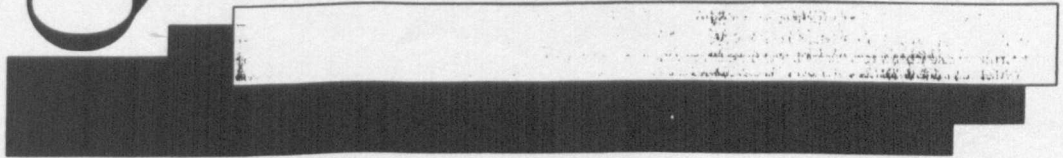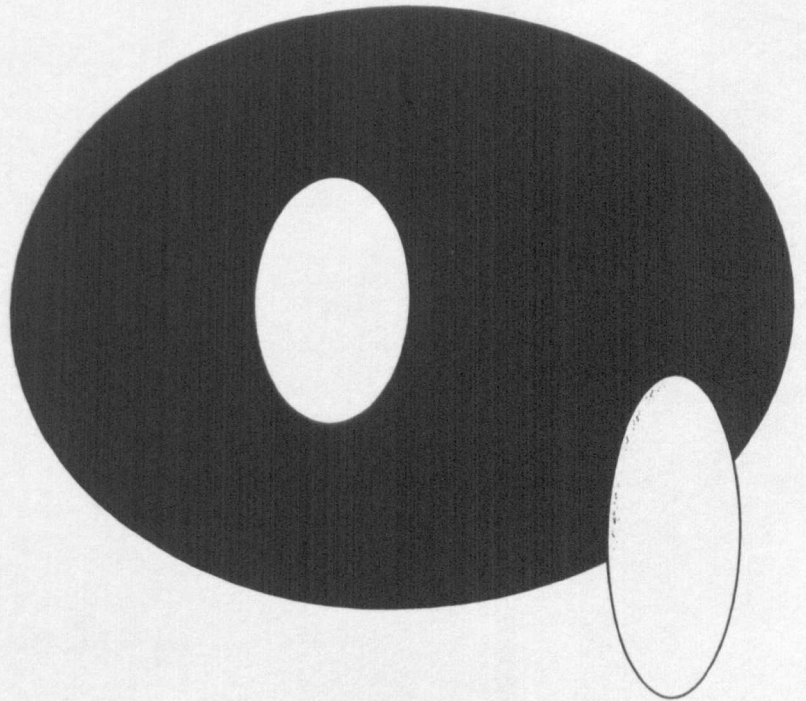
Solicitors' Profession Survey

1994

THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

Age. Please, use the box provided.

Please tick the appropriate box.

Male

Female

Marital Status. Please, tick the appropriate box.

Single
Co-habiting
Married   Year of (1st) marriage: 19 _____
Divorced
Widowed

Have you any children?

Yes   Year of first child born: 19 _____
No

Is your partner in professional employment?
(If applicable)

Yes
No

Which level did your father accomplished?

O Level or equivalent
A Level
Degree
None

In what year did you qualify as a solicitor?

Do you hold any postgraduate degrees in law or a legally related
subject? If **yes** please specify.

Rank the following aspects of your life according to their importance to
you. Each item should have a different rank number. **e.g. from 1 least
important to 4 most important.**

Being at work
Being with the family
Doing Nothing
Spending time in leisure activities

How many years have you worked in this firm?

What is your present job level?

Partner
Salaried partner
Assistant
Trainee Solicitor
Consultant

For how many years have you held the present position?

THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

The following items are concerned with your feelings and choices towards your profession. There are seven possible responses from **1** for **Strongly Disagree** to **7** for **Strongly Agree**. Please, tick the one that best suited to your attitude and/or behaviour.

	1 Strongly Disagree	2 Moderately Disagree	3 Sightly Disagree	4 Neither Agree or Disagree	5 Sightly Agree	6 Moderately Agree	7 Strongly Agree	Office Use

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
The solicitors' profession is important to my self-image.								12
I regret having entered the profession.								13
I am proud to be in the profession.								14
I dislike being a solicitor.								15
I do not identify with the profession.								16
I am enthusiastic about the profession.								17
I have put too much into this profession to consider changing now.								18
Changing professions now would be difficult for me to do.								19
Too much of my life would be disrupted if I were to change my profession.								20
It would be costly for me to change my profession now.								21
There are no pressures to keep me from changing professions.								22
Changing professions now would require considerable personal sacrifice.								23
I believe people who have been trained in a profession have a responsibility to stay in that profession for a reasonable period of time.								24
I do not feel any obligation to remain in the solicitors' profession.								25
I feel a responsibility to the solicitors' profession to continue in it.								26
Even if it were to my advantage, I do not feel that it would be right to leave this profession now.								27
I would feel guilty if I left this profession.								28
I am in this profession because of a sense of loyalty to it.								29
I am very much personally involved in my work.								30
I live, eat, and breathe my job.								31
The most important things which happen to me involve my job.								32
To me, my work is only a small part of who I am.								33
I would probably keep working even if I didn't need the money.								34

THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

The following items are concerned with your feelings and choices towards your profession. There are five possible responses from 5 for **Very Well** to 1 for **Very Poorly**. Please, tick the one that best suited to your attitude and/or behaviour.

	5 Very Well	4 Well	3 Not Sure	2 Poorly	1 Very Poorly

	5	4	3	2	1	
I systematically read the professional journals.						35
Other professions are actually more vital to society than mine.						36
I make my own decisions in regard to what is to be done in my work.						37
I regularly attend professionals meetings at the local level.						38
I think that my profession, more than any other, is essential for society.						39
My fellow professionals have a pretty good idea about each other's competence.						40
People in this profession have a real "calling" for their work.						41
The importance of my profession is sometimes over stressed.						42
The dedication of people in this field is most gratifying.						43
I don't have much opportunity to exercise my own judgement.						44
I believe that the professional organization(s) should be supported.						45
Some other occupations are actually more important to society than is mine.						46
A problem in this profession is that no one really knows what his colleagues are doing.						47
It is encouraging to see the high level of idealism which is maintained by people in this field.						48
The professional organization doesn't really do too much for the average member.						49
We really have no way of judging each other's competence.						50
Although I would like to, I really don't read the journals often.						51
Most people would stay in the profession even if their incomes were reduced.						52
My own decisions are subject to review.						53
There is not much opportunity to judge how another person does his work.						54
I am my own boss in almost every work-related situation.						55
If ever an occupation is indispensable, it is this one.						56
My colleagues pretty well know how well we all do in our work.						57
There are very few people who don't really believe in their work.						58
Most of my decisions are reviewed by other people.						59

THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

Below are some statments which relate to you and your feelings towards your firm. There are seven possible responses from 1 for **Strongly Disagree** to 7 for **Strongly Agree**. Please, tick the answer that best suited your attitude and/or behaviour.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Sightly Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Sightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

Statement	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Office Use
I would be very happy to spend the rest of my career with this firm.								60
I enjoy discussing my firm with people outside it.								61
I really feel as if this firm's problems are my own.								62
I think that I could easily become as attached to another firm as I am to this one.								63
I did not feel like 'part of the family' at my firm.								64
I do not feel 'emotionally attached' to this firm.								65
This firm has a great deal of personal meaning for me.								66
I do not feel a strong sense of belonging to my firm.								67
I am not afraid of what might happen if I quit my job without having another one lined up.								68
It would be very hard for me to leave my firm right now, even if I wanted to.								69
Too much in my life would be disrupted if I decided I wanted to leave my firm now.								70
It wouldn't be too costly for me to leave my firm now.								71
Right now, staying with my firm is a matter of necessity as much as desire.								72
I feel that I have too few options to consider leaving this firm.								73
One of the few serious consequences of leaving this firm would be the scarcity of available alternatives.								74
One of the major reasons I continue to work for this firm is that leaving would require considerable personal sacrifice - another firm may not match the overall benefits I have here.								75
I think that people these days move from firm to firm too often.								76
I do not believe that a person must always be loyal to his or her firm.								77
Jumping from firm to firm does not seem at all unethical to me.								78
One of the major reasons I continue to work for this firm is that I believe that loyalty is important and therefore feel a sense of moral obligation to remain.								79

THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

cont.[...]

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		Office use
If I got another offer for a better partnership elsewhere I would not feel it was right to leave my firm.									80
I was taught to believe in the value of remaining loyal to one firm.									81
Things were better in the days when people stayed with one firm for most of their careers.									82
I do not think that wanting to be a 'company man' or 'company woman' is sensible anymore.									83

Below are 10 statments in two sections which relate to your feelings towards work. Please, tick the option that represent your own attitude and/or behaviour.

Section 1

1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Undecided	4 Agree	5 Strongly Agree

	1	2	3	4	5		Office Use
Your job is something you have to do to earn a living - most of your real interests are centred outside your job.							84
Money is the most rewarding reason for working.							85
Working is a necessary evil to provide things your family and you want.							86
You are living for the day when you can collect your retirement and do the things that are important to you.							87

Section 2

1 Very Important	2 Important	3 Somewhat Important	4 Not so Important	5 Not Important at All

	1	2	3	4	5		Office Use
It is important for me to work in a place where people perceive themselves as idealistic and concerned.							88
It is important for me to work in a place where people believe that they make an important contribution to society.							89
It is important for me to work in a place where I feel that I am doing something important for a communal goal.							90
It is important for me to work in a place where people believe that communal goals are important than their personal interests.							91
It is important for me to work in a place where people "give their hearts" to the system.							92
It is important for me to work in a place which makes important contribution to communal goals.							93

THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

If you have any other comments you wish to add on the questionnaire please do so. Any information you care to relate about your career, your level of satisfaction with your progress and aspirations will be studied with interest.

Please return the completed questionnaire in the stamped addressed envelope provided.

Thank you for your assistance.

Appendix 4.7

Follow-up card

Date

Dear Sir/Madam,

I recently sent a questionnaire concerning my Ph.D. research to you and I have not yet received a reply.

I appreciate that the questionnaire is somewhat lengthy. Please☺ try to find a few minutes to complete it. If you have any question please do not hesitate to contact me through ☎ 051.794.2917.

Again I assure you that all replies will be treated in the strictest of confidence.

Yours faithfully

Eva Dias de Oliveira

Appendix 4.8

Non-respondents characterisation

Age Groups	Out	In					No responses
		Ineligible				Eligible	
		Retired	Dead	Not able to assist	Left Firm		
22-28	117	0	0	2	17	56	42
28-33	362	0	0	4	15	63	280
33-40	240	1	0	12	7	84	136
40-45	117	2	1	18	2	65	29
45-55	148	5	0	13	10	73	47
>55	163	51	3	14	2	62	31
Total	1146	59	4	63	63	403	565

189

Response rate= [number of eligible questionnaires / (N in sample - Ineligible)] *100

Appendix 4.9

Determination of non-respondents representativeness

This section explains the Viswesvaran, Barrick and Ones' (1993) approach to the non-response representativeness. This method required the calculation of two sequential steps. The first step regarded the calculation of the average response level from the non-respondents, that is, the mean which might invalidate the inferred conclusion. The second step concerned the estimation of the critical response rate. A critical response rate higher than the obtained response rate suggests that the conclusion might be reversed by additional responses.

Non-respondents average level

The first task is to identify an item that differs significantly between group ages. Oneway A.N.O.V.A. using a posteriori Duncan's test shows that item 'I dislike being a solicitor' (reversed) is significantly different between three different age groups. This feeling of dissatisfaction towards their choice of a profession is greater in early career stages (< 33 years) than in late career stages (> 45). When the scale was reversed, the average level in the first group was 5.72, in the second group the average level was 6.18, and in the third group the average level was 6.39.

The risk of non-response bias is critical for this item as it is quite possible that solicitors who like to be in the profession did respond more than those who

dislike. As an example, the procedure was tested using the information which concerns early career stage (G1) and mid career stage (G2). The average response level from the non-respondents was determined by using the following formula:

$$AN = \frac{Ts_\times Ac - Rn_\times Ar}{Nn}$$

where:

AN is the average response level of non-respondents,
Ts is the total of units sampled [G1 + G2 = 836],
Ac is the pre-determined average score which is used to infer conclusions, that is, [4] if the scale scores range from 1 to 7. A response greater than Ac would result in the conclusion that the respondents favour that specific issue.
Rn is the number of respondents [268],
Ar is the average response score for the respondents [(5.72 + 6.18) / 2 = 5.95],
Nn is the number of non-respondents [G1 + G2 = 568].

When the formulae is revolved the result for the average response level of non-respondents is 3.079.

Critical response rate

The second step requires the calculation of the following formula:

$$CRR = \frac{1}{1 + \frac{(Ar - Ac)}{Ac - AN}}$$

where
CRR is the critical response rate,
Ar is the average response of respondents [5.95],
Ac is the pre-determined average score for infer conclusions [4],
AN is the average response level of non-respondents [3.079].

These results indicate that the critical response rate is 36.80%. The average response rate obtained in group 1 and group 2 is 45,5%. Therefore, additional information most probably would not jeopardize the conclusion regarding this item. The same procedure was carried out for group 1 and group 3 and the critical response rate was 28.21%, while the average response rate obtained in those two groups was 43.5%. It is therefore concluded that the conclusions pertaining to these item are not at risk from missing responses.

Appendix 4.10

Scale reliability

The following table shows the mean (M), standard deviation (SD) and Crobach's α reliability coefficients of the research scales and subscales.

Scale	M	SD	Number of items	α
Professional Commitment	**72.56**	**14.65**	**18**	**.8071**
Affective Prof. Commitment	31.87	6.54	6	.8115
Calculative Prof. Commitment	28.10	8.38	6	.8171
Normative Prof. Commitment	12.86	6.58	6	.7872
Organizational Commitment	**96.84**	**21.55**	**24**	**.8337**
Affective Org. Commitment	38.19	11.83	8	.8910
Calculative Org. Commitment	30.65	11.22	8	.8121
Normative Org. Commitment	28.10	9.98	8	.8141
Job involvement	20.14	5.98	5	.6707
If last item deleted				.7299
Importance of profession to individual	**76.67**	**9.27**	**25**	**.6732**
Professional referents	14.38	3.24	5	.3924
Believe in public service	12.50	2.68	5	.3458
Believe in self-regulation	12.71	3.36	5	.6474
Sense of calling to the field	13.53	3.60	5	.7407
Autonomy	18.58	4.35	5	.7439
Calculative work values orientation	**9.81**	**3.57**	**4**	**.7500**
Normative work values orientation	**16.56**	**5.00**	**6**	**.8687**

Appendix 4.11

Factor Analysis of the organisational and professional commitment scale

Initial Statistics
Plot
Rotated Factor Varimax

■ Initial Statistics of organisational commitment scale

Allen & Meyer's (1990) Scale	Eigen	Pct of Var	Cum Pct
I would be very happy to spend the rest of my career with this firm.	6.41	26.7	26.7
I enjoy discussing my firm with people outside it.	3.88	16.2	42.9
I really feel as if this firm's problems are my own.	2.02	8.4	51.3
I think that I could easily become as attached to another firm as I am to this one.	1.11	4.6	55.9
I did not feel like 'part of the family' at my firm.	.94	3.9	59.9
I do not feel 'emotionally attached' to this firm.	.93	3.9	63.8
This firm has a great deal of personal meaning for me.	.89	3.7	67.4
I do not feel a strong sense of belonging to my firm.	.76	3.2	70.6
I am not afraid of what might happen if I quit my job without having another one lined up.	.72	3.0	73.6
It would be very hard for me to leave my firm right now, even if I wanted to.	.68	2.8	76.4
Too much in my life would be disrupted if I decided I wanted to leave my firm now.	.62	2.6	79.0
It wouldn't be too costly for me to leave my firm now.	.58	2.4	81.4
Right now, staying with my firm is a matter of necessity as much as desire.	.54	2.2	83.7
I feel that I have too few options to consider leaving this firm.	.52	2.2	85.8
One of the few serious consequences of leaving this firm would be the scarcity of available alternatives.	.48	2.0	87.8
One of the major reasons I continue to work for this firm is that leaving would require considerable personal sacrifice-another firm may not match the overall benefits I have here.	.46	1.9	89.7
I think that people these days move from firm to firm too often.	.40	1.7	91.4
I do not believe that a person must always be loyal to his or her organization.	.40	1.7	93.1
Jumping from firm to firm does not seem at all unethical to me.	.35	1.5	94.5
One of the major reasons I continue to work for this firm is that I believe that loyalty is important and therefore feel a sense of moral obligation to remain.	.34	1.4	96.0
If I got another offer for a better job elsewhere I would not feel it was right to leave my firm.	.29	1.2	97.2
I was taught to believe in the value of remaining loyal to one firm.	.28	1.2	98.3
Things were better in the days when people stayed with one firm for most of their careers.	.26	1.1	99.4
I do not think that wanting to be a 'company man' or 'company woman' is sensible anymore.	.14	.6	100

■ Plot - Rotated Factor Analysis (Varimax) of the organisational commitment scale

Factor Plot in Rotated Factor Space
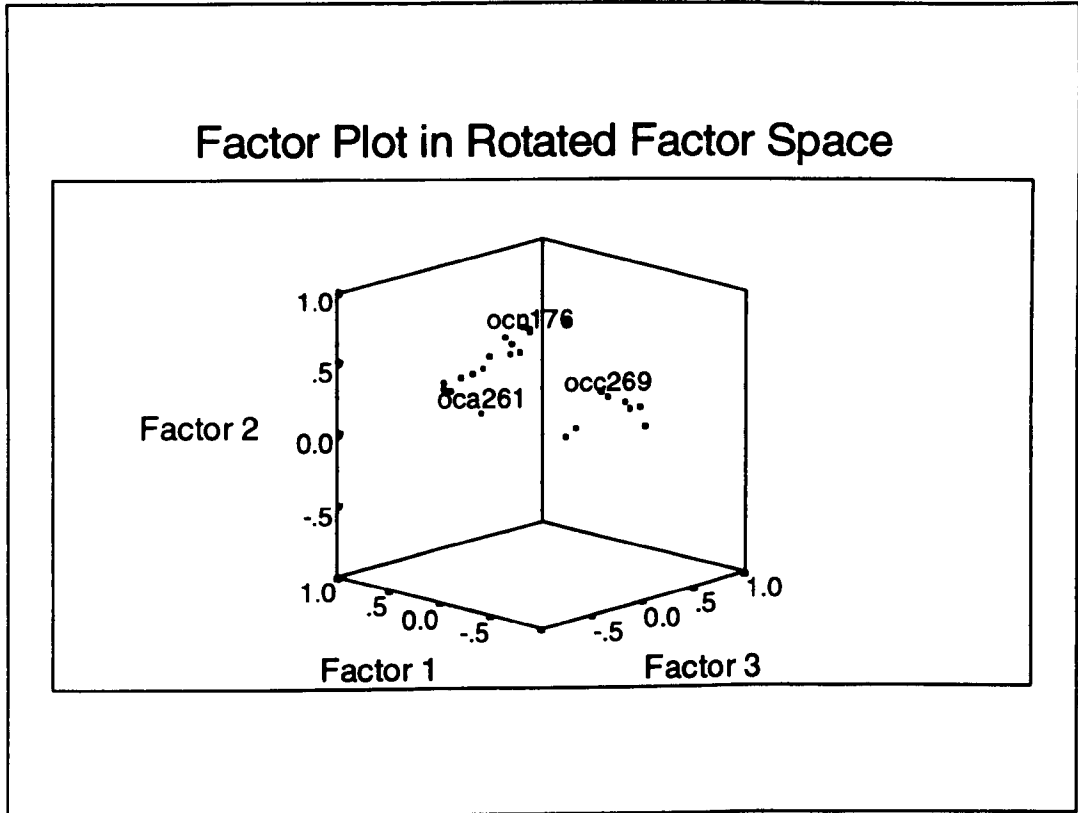
Notes:

Item 'oca261' -   I enjoy discussing my firm with people outside it.

Item 'occ269' -   It would be very hard for me to leave my firm right now, even if I wanted to.

Item 'ocn176' -   I think people these days move from firm to firm too often.

■ Rotated factor matrix (Varimax) of the organisational commitment scale

Allen & Meyer's (1990) Scale	F 1	F 2	F 3
I would be very happy to spend the rest of my career with this firm.	.692		
I enjoy discussing my firm with people outside it.	.605		
I really feel as if this firm's problems are my own.	.744		
I think that I could easily become as attached to another firm as I am to this one.	.414		
I did not feel like 'part of the family' at my firm.	.794		
I do not feel 'emotionally attached' to this firm.	.852		
This firm has a great deal of personal meaning for me.	.765		
I do not feel a strong sense of belonging to my firm.	.773		
I am not afraid of what might happen if I quit my job without having another one lined up.			.313
It would be very hard for me to leave my firm right now, even if I wanted to.			.741
Too much in my life would be disrupted if I decided I wanted to leave my firm now.			.753
It wouldn't be too costly for me to leave my firm now.			.420
Right now, staying with my firm is a matter of necessity as much as desire.			.743
I feel that I have too few options to consider leaving this firm.			.823
One of the few serious consequences of leaving this firm would be the scarcity of available alternatives.			.683
One of the major reasons I continue to work for this firm is that leaving would require considerable personal sacrifice-another firm may not match the overall benefits I have here.			.676
I think that people these days move from firm to firm too often.		.682	
I do not believe that a person must always be loyal to his or her organization.		.541	
Jumping from firm to firm does not seem at all unethical to me.		.679	
One of the major reasons I continue to work for this firm is that I believe that loyalty is important and therefore feel a sense of moral obligation to remain.		.593	
If I got another offer for a better job elsewhere I would not feel it was right to leave my firm.		.530	
I was taught to believe in the value of remaining loyal to one firm.		.719	
Things were better in the days when people stayed with one firm for most of their careers.		.760	
I do not think that wanting to be a 'company man' or 'company woman' is sensible anymore.		.526	

■ Initial statistics of professional commitment scale

Meyer, Allen and Smith' s (1993) Scale	Eigen	Pct of Var	Cum Pct
The solicitor's profession is important to my self-image.	4.3	23.9	23.9
I regret having entered the profession.	3.08	17.1	41.0
I am proud to be in the profession.	2.11	11.7	52.8
I dislike being a solicitor.	1.09	6.1	58.8
I do not identify with the profession.	.98	5.5	64.3
I am enthusiastic about the profession.	.84	4.6	68.9
I have put too much into this profession to considerer changing now.	.75	4.2	73.1
Changing professions now would be difficult for me to do.	.68	3.8	76.8
Too much of my life would be disrupted if I were to change my profession.	.64	3.6	80.4
It would be costly for me to change my profession now.	.55	3.1	83.5
There are no pressures to keep me from changing professions.	.48	2.6	86.1
Changing professions now would require considerable personal sacrifice.	.46	2.5	88.7
I believe people who have been trained in a profession have a responsibility to stay in that profession for a reasonable period of time.	.42	2.3	91.0
I do not feel any obligation to remain in the solicitor's profession.	.40	2.2	93.2
I feel a responsibility to the solicitor's profession to continue in it.	.37	2.1	95.3
Even if it were to my advantage, I do not feel that it would be right to leave this profession now.	.32	1.8	97.1
I would feel guilty if I left this profession.	.31	1.7	98.8
I am in this profession because of a sense of loyalty to it.	.21	1.2	100

■ Plot - Factor Analysis (Varimax) of professional commitment

Factor Plot in Rotated Factor Space

Factor 2

pca213

pcn326

pcc118

1.0

.5

0.0

-.5

1.0 .5 0.0 -.5   -.5 0.0 .5 1.0

Factor 1   Factor 3
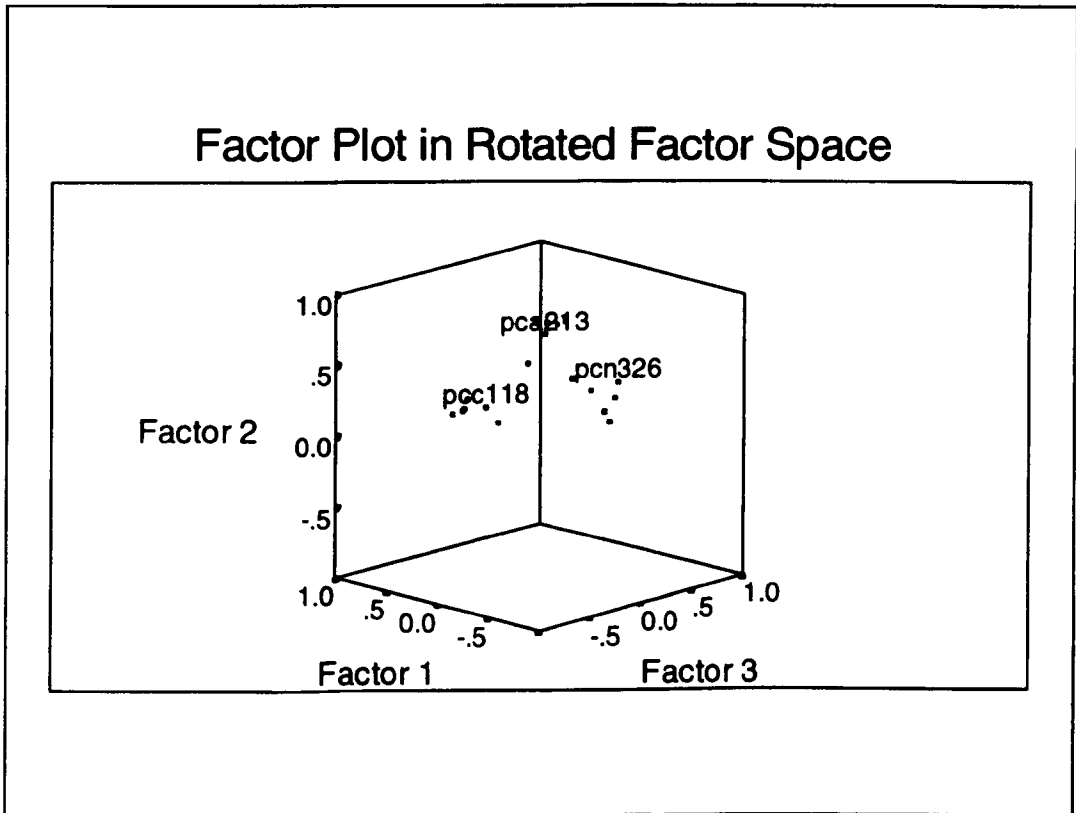
Notes:

Item 'pca213' -   I regret having entered the profession.

Item 'pcc118' -   I have put too much into this profession to considerer changing now.

Item 'pcn326' -   I feel a responsibility to the solicitor's profession to continue in it.

■ Rotated factor matrix (Varimax) of the professional commitment scale

Meyer, Allen and Smith's (1993) Scale	F 1	F 2	F 3
The solicitor's profession is important to my self-image.		.419	
I regret having entered the profession.		.709	
I am proud to be in the profession.		.759	
I dislike being a solicitor.		.780	
I do not identify with the profession.		.748	
I am enthusiastic about the profession.		.779	
I have put too much into this profession to considerer changing now.	.685		
Changing professions now would be difficult for me to do.	.833		
Too much of my life would be disrupted if I were to change my profession.	.852		
It would be costly for me to change my profession now.	.774		
There are no pressures to keep me from changing professions.	.452		
Changing professions now would require considerable personal sacrifice.	.718		
I believe people who have been trained in a profession have a responsibility to stay in that profession for a reasonable period of time.			.542
I do not feel any obligation to remain in the solicitor's profession.			.524
I feel a responsibility to the solicitor's profession to continue in it.			.754
Even if it were to my advantage, I do not feel that it would be right to leave this profession now.			.746
I would feel guilty if I left this profession.			.745
I am in this profession because of a sense of loyalty to it.			.729

Appendix 4.12

Pearson's correlation coefficients

Appendix 4.12[a]
Product moment correlation of organisational commitment subscales and affective commitment single-item

	Affective Organisational Commitment	Item 1 - I would be very happy to spend the rest of my career with this firm.
Affective Organisational Commitment	1.000	
Item 1	0.7544*	1.000
Continuance Organisational Commitment	0.1130	.0495
Normative Organisational Commitment	0.5253*	0.4422*

* p < 0.001

Appendix 4.12[b]
Product moment correlation of organisational commitment subscales and continuance commitment single-item

	Continuance Organisational Commitment	Item 6 - I feel that I have too few options to consider leaving this firm.
Continuance Organisational Commitment	1.000	
Item 6	0.7857*	1.000
Normative Organisational Commitment	0.0423	.0249
Affective Organisational Commitment	-0.1130	-0.1517

* p < 0.001

Appendix 4.12^c
Product moment correlations of organisational commitment subscales and normative commitment single-item

	Normative Organisational Commitment	Item 8 - I do not think that wanting to be a 'company man' or a company woman' is sensible anymore.
Normative Organisational Commitment	1.000	
Item 8	0.5895*	1.000
Affective Organisational Commitment	0.5253*	0.3624*
Continuance Organisational Commitment	0.0423	-0.0576

* p < 0.001

Appendix 4.12^d
Product moment correlation of professional commitment subscales and affective commitment single-item

	Affective Professional Commitment	Item 3 - I am proud to be in the profession.
Affective Professional Commitment	1.000	
Item 3	0.7355*	1.000
Continuance Professional Commitment	0.0927	.0487
Normative Professional Commitment	0.3307*	0.1984

* p < 0.001

Appendix 4.12ᵉ
Product moment correlation of professional commitment subscales and continuance commitment single-item

	Continuance Professional Commitment	Item 3 - Too much of my life would be disrupted if I were to change my profession.
Continuance Professional Commitment	1.000	
Item 3	0.8456*	1.000
Normative Professional Commitment	0.1803*	0.2243*
Affective Professional Commitment	0.0927	0.1207

* p < 0.001

Appendix 4.12ᶠ
Product moment correlations of professional commitment subscales and normative commitment single-item

	Normative Professional Commitment	Item 2 - I do not feel any obligation to remain in the solicitors' profession.
Normative Professional Commitment	1.000	
Item 2	0.6498*	1.000
Affective Professional Commitment	0.3307*	0.2459*
Continuance Professional Commitment	0.1803*	0.0763

* p < 0.001

Appendix 4.12⁹
Product moment correlations of commitment and job involvement

	Job Involvement
Professional Commitment	0.2680*
Affective	0.3418*
Continuance	0.0954
Normative	0.1323
Organisational Commitment	0.3947*
Affective	0.4820*
Continuance	-0.0397
Normative	0.3032*

* p < 0.001

Appendix 4.13

Normal Probability Plots

■ Organisational Commitment

Normal Q-Q Plot
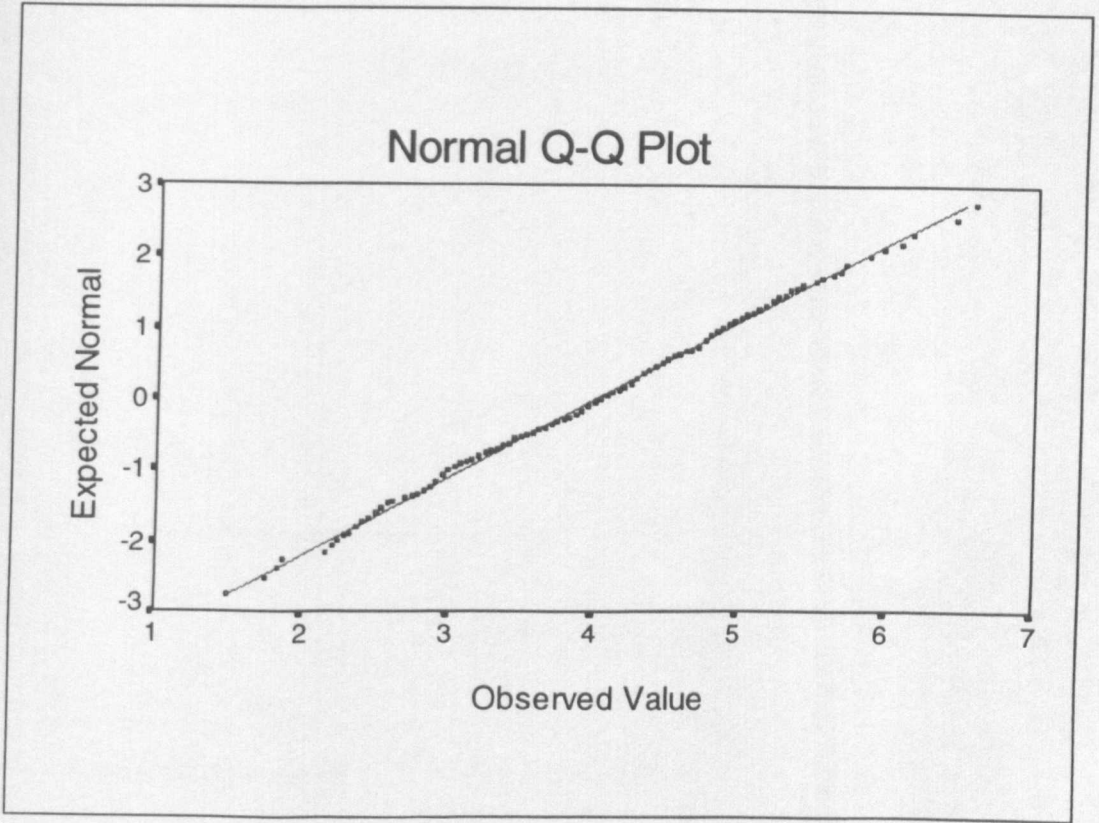
K - S (Lilliefors) = 0 .0379, df = 338, p > 0.2000

■ Professional Commitment

Normal Q-Q Plot
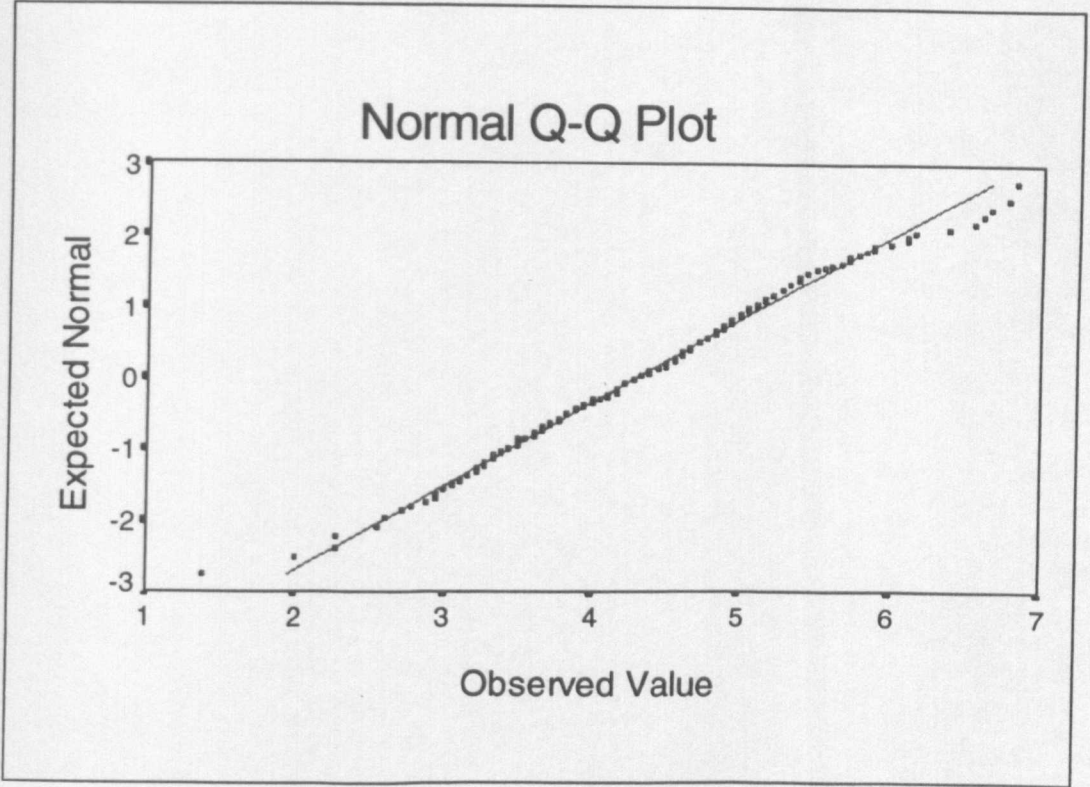
K - S (Lilliefors) = 0.0343, df = 338, p > 0.200

Appendices C
Supplementary results

Appendix 5.1
Means and standard deviation of measurement variables

	Early Career Stage	Mid Career Stage	Late Career Stage
Organisational Commitment			
mean	3.52	4.10	4.57
st deviation	.75	.81	.85
n	119	147	99
Professional Commitment			
mean			
st deviation	3.77	3.96	4.46
n	.75	.74	.83
	124	149	100
Job Involvement			
mean			
st deviation	3.60	4.20	4.28
n	1.17	1.10	1.23
	129	158	113
Sense of calling to the field and autonomy			
mean	2.89	3.07	3.30
st deviation	.33	.31	.38
n	107	123	79
Normative work values			
mean	2.68	2.62	3.03
st deviation	.71	.83	.91
n	128	152	111
Calculative work values			
mean	2.69	2.38	2.28
st deviation	.83	.85	.97
n	130	155	112

Appendix 5.2
Means and standard deviation of measurement variables
(subscales)

	Early Career Stage	Mid Career Stage	Late Career Stage
Affective Organisational Commitment			
mean	4.08	4.90	5.40
st deviation	1.41	1.38	1.37
n	127	151	109
Continuance Organisational Commitment			
mean	3.56	4.01	3.90
st deviation	1.10	1.41	1.65
n	127	153	109
Normative Organisational Commitment			
mean	2.92	3.41	4.38
st deviation	.94	1.19	1.19
n	125	152	105
Affective Professional Commitment			
mean	5.09	5.23	5.69
st deviation	1.11	1.01	1.09
n	127	156	107
Continuance Professional Commitment			
mean	4.27	4.81	4.98
st deviation	1.37	1.39	1.32
n	128	158	110
Normative Professional Commitment			
mean	1.97	1.87	2.72
st deviation	.87	.93	1.32
n	126	151	110

Appendix 5.3
Means and standard deviation of measurement variables
(by gender)

	Male			Female		
	Early	Mid	Late	Early	Mid	Late
Organisational Commitment						
mean	3.60	4.22	4.60	3.33	3.83	4.23
st deviation	.73	.73	.83	.76	.90	1.01
n	81	99	91	38	48	8
Professional Commitment						
mean	3.82	4.01	4.47	3.66	3.84	4.43
st deviation	.71	.72	.83	.84	.77	.95
n	89	104	91	35	45	9
Job Involvement						
mean	3.62	4.15	4.33	3.53	4.31	3.71
st deviation	1.13	1.06	1.16	1.27	1.19	1.86
n	90	108	104	39	50	9
Call profession & autonomy						
mean						
st deviation						
n	2.89	3.08	3.31	2.89	3.04	3.04
	.31	.32	.39	.37	.31	.16
	76	84	76	31	39	3
Normative work values						
mean	2.64	2.62	3.02	2.80	2.62	3.17
st deviation	.70	.85	.91	.72	.79	.94
n	89	103	102	39	49	9
Calculative work values						
mean	2.77	2.49	2.25	2.50	2.16	2.53
st deviation	.89	.86	.97	.64	.74	.96
n	91	106	103	39	49	9

Appendix 5.4
Oneway A.N.O.V.A. of organisational and professional commitment by age

	Individual 's Life Structure Building/Transition Periods	Organisational Commitment	Professional Commitment
1	Early Adulthood (22-28)	3.27 (n=51)	3.69 (n=53)
2	Thirties Transition (28-33)	3.64 (n=57)	3.83 (n=64)
3	Setling Down (33-40)	3.98 (n=78)	3.90 (n=81)
4	Midlife transition (40-45)	4.21 (n=61)	4.04 (n=60)
5	Middle Adulthood (45-55)	4.38 (n=68)	4.26 (n=65)
6	Late Adulthood (≥55)	4.67 (n=50)	4.49 (n=54)
	F Ratio	22.08	8.30
	F Prob	.0000	.0000
	Duncan's Test	1<2* 1<3* 1<4* 1<5* 1<6* 2<3* 2<4* 2<5* 2<6* 3<4 3<5* 3<6* 4<5 4<6* 5<6	1<2 1<3 1<4* 1<5* 1<6* 2<3 2<4 2<5* 2<6* 3<4 3<5* 3<6* 4<5 4<6* 5<6

* Denotes pairs of groups significantly different at the 0.05 level.

Appendix 5.5
Oneway A.N.O.V.A. of organisational commitment subscales by age

	Individual's Life Structure Building/ Transition Periods	*Affective*	*Continuance*	*Normative*
1	Early Adulthood (22-28)	3.71 (n=54)	3.36 (n=55)	2.79 (n=54)
2	Thirties Transition (28-33)	4.32 (n=62)	3.69 (n=61)	2.90 (n=60)
3	Setling Down (33-40)	4.72 (n=80)	4.00 (n=82)	3.27 (n= 81)
4	Midlife Transition (40-45)	5.01 (n=63)	4.15 (n=63)	3.50 (n= 63)
5	Middle Adulthood (45-55)	5.22 (n=70)	3.95 (n=71)	4.05 (n=70)
6	Late Adulthood (≥55)	5.55 (n=58)	3.70 (n=57)	4.59 (n=54)
	F Ratio **F Prob**	**13.48** **.0000**	**2.49** **.0307**	**23.00** **.0000**
	Duncan's Test	1<2* 1<3* 1<4* 1<5* 1<6* 2<3 2<4* 2<5* 2<6* 3<4 3<5* 3<6* 4<5 4<6* 5<6	1<2 1<3* 1<4* 1<5* 1<6 2<3 2<4 2<5 2<6 3<4 3>5 3>6 4>5 4>6 5>6	1<2 1<3* 1<4* 1<5* 1<6* 2<3* 2<4* 2<5* 2<6* 3<4 3<5* 3<6* 4<5* 4<6* 5<6*

* Denotes pairs of groups significantly different at the 0.05 level.

Appendix 5.6
Oneway A.N.O.V.A. professional commitment subscales by age

	Individual's Life Structure Building/ Transition Periods (years)	*Affective*	*Continuance*	*Normative*
1	**Early Adulthood** (22-28)	4.98 (n=54)	4.09 (n=55)	1.99 (n=54)
2	**Thirties Transition** (28-33)	5.17 (n=62)	4.38 (n=62)	1.98 (n=60)
3	**Setling Down** (33-40)	5.17 (n=83)	4.73 (n=84)	1.86 (n=82)
4	**Midlife Transition** (40-45)	5.23 (n=64)	5.04 (n=65)	1.88 (n=61)
5	**Middle Adulthood** (45-55)	5.64 (n=69)	4.79 (n=72)	2.34 (n=69)
6	**Late Adulthood** (≥55)	5.66 (n=58)	4.97 (n=58)	2.89 (n=60)
	F Ratio	**4.20**	**4.13**	**9.02**
	F Prob	**.00150**	**.0011**	**.0000**
	Duncan's Test	1<2 1<3 1<4 1<5* 1<6* 2<3 2<4 2<5* 2<6* 3<4 3<5* 3<6* 4<5* 4<6* 5<6	1<2 1<3* 1<4* 1<5* 1<6* 2<3 2<4* 2<5 2<6* 3<4 3<5 3<6 4>5 4>6 5<6	1>2 1>3 1<4 1<5 1<6* 2>3 2<4 2<5 2<6* 3<4 3<5* 3<6* 4<5* 4<6* 5<6*

* Denotes pairs of groups significantly different at the 0.05 level.

Appendix 5.7
T-test of organisational commitment subscales by partners with 'senior' assistants

	Affective Commitment	Continuance Commitment	Normative Commitment
Partners	5.4 (n=209)	3.29 (n=216)	3.88 (n=213)
Senior Assistants	3.7 (n=37)	4.41 (n=41)	2.93 (n=34)
t-value	6.46	1.6	4.589
df	244	255	245
p	.000	n.s.	.000

p - observed significance level; n.s. - observed significance level greater than 0.1.

Appendix 5.8
T-test of professional commitment subscales by partners with senior assistants

	Affective Commitment	Continuance Commitment	Normative Commitment
Partners	5.46 (n=209)	4.90 (n=216)	2.23 (n=213)
Senior Assistants	5.08 (n=37)	4.48 (n=41)	1.92 (n=34)
t-value	1.919	.08	2.011
df	244	255	245
p	.05	n.s.	.025

p - observed significance level; n.s. - observed significant level greater than 0.1.

Appendix 5.9
T-test of affective commitment by career stage

	1 Early Career Stage (<34) (n=114)	2 Mid Career Stage (34-47) (n=110)	3 Late Career Stage ($\geq$47) (n=97)
Affective Organisational Commitment	4.02	4.90	5.49
Affective Professional Commitment	5.09	5.30	5.66
t-value	8.63	3.03	1.41
df	112	108	95
p	.000	.000	n.s.

df - degrees of freedom; p - observed significance level; n.s. - observed significance level greater than 0.1.

Appendix 5.10
T-test of continuance commitment by career stage

	1 Early Career Stage (<34) (n=116)	2 Mid Career Stage (34-47) (n=111)	3 Late Career Stage ($\geq$47) (n=101)
Continuance Organisational Commitment	3.58	4.05	3.77
Continuance Professional Commitment	4.27	4.82	4.99
t-value	6.14	6.18	9.48
df	114	109	99
p	.000	.000	.000

df - degrees of freedom; p - observed significance level.

Appendix 5.11
T-test of normative commitment by career stage

	1 Early Career Stage (<34) (n=111)	2 Mid Career Stage (34-47) (n=107)	3 Late Career Stage (≥47) (n=98)
Normative Organisational Commitment	2.90	3.46	4.39
Normative Professional Commitment	2.01	1.95	2.80
t-value	-9.09	-11.81	-10.56
df	109	105	96
p	.000	.000	.000

df - degrees of freedom; p - observed significance level.

Appendix 5.12
T-Test of affective commitment subscales by age

	1 Early Adulthood (22-28) (n=52)	2 Thirties Transition (28-33) (n=61)	3 Setling Down (33-40) (n=79)	4 Midlife Transition (40-45) (n=62)	5 Middle Adulthood (45-55) (n=66)	6 Late Adulthood (≥55) (n=54)
Affective Organisational Commitment	3.63	4.30	4.71	5.00	5.27	5.58
Affective Professional Commitment	4.98	5.19	5.21	5.20	5.61	5.65
t - value	7.99	5.27	3.04	1.31	2.24	0.41
df	50	59	77	60	64	52
p	.000	.000	.000	n.s.	.01	n.s.

df - degrees of freedom; p - observed significance level; n.s. - observed significance level greater than 0.1

Appendix 5.13
T-Test of continuance commitment subscale by age

	1 Early Adulthood (22-28) (n=54)	2 Thirties Transition (28-33) (n=60)	3 Setling Down (33-40) (n=82)	4 Midlife Transition (40-45) (n=63)	5 Middle Adulthood (45-55) (n=70)	6 Late Adulthood (≥55) (n=55)
Continuance Organisational Commitment	3.40	3.71	4.00	4.15	3.91	3.75
Continuance Professional Commitment	4.09	4.41	4.78	5.01	4.78	5.02
t-value	3.96	4.51	5.60	6.27	4.87	6.59
df	52	58	80	61	68	53
p	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000

df - degrees of freedom; p - observed significance level

Appendix 5.14
T-Test of normative commitment subscale by age

	1 Early Adulthood (22-28) (n=53)	2 Thirties Transition (28-33) (n=57)	3 Setling Down (33-40) (n=79)	4 Midlife Transition (40-45) (n=59)	5 Middle Adulthood (45-55) (n=66)	6 Late Adulthood (≥55) (n=54)
Normative Organisational Commitment	2.79	2.89	3.27	3.48	4.03	4.59
Normative Professional Commitment	2.01	2.01	1.85	1.90	2.34	2.98
t-value	-6.55	-6.51	-9.55	-9.31	-11.06	-7.16
df	51	55	77	57	64	52
p	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000

df - degrees of freedom; p - observed significance level

Appendix 5.15
Oneway A.N.O.V.A. of sense of calling to the field, autonomy and job involvement by age

Individual's Life Structure Building/ Transition Periods		Sense of Calling to the Field	Autonomy	Job Involvement
1	Early Adulthood (22-28)	2.45 (n=52	2.93 (n=53	3.30 (n=56)
2	Thirties Transition (28-33)	2.56 (n=56	3.21 (n=57)	3.83 (n=62)
3	Setling Down (33-40)	2.48 (n=80)	4.03 (n=75)	4.16 (n=84)
4	Midlife Transition (40-45)	2.59 (n=53)	3.94 (n=54)	4.12 (n=65)
5	Middle Adulthood (45-55)	3.06 (n=64)	4.15 (n=62)	4.21 (n=71)
6	Late Adulthood (≥55)	3.14 (n=52)	3.89 (n=46)	4.40 (n=62)
	F Ratio	11.61	25.00	6.70
	R Prob	.0000	.0000	.0000
	Duncan's Test	1<2 1<3 1<4 1<5* 1<6* 2>3 2<4 2<5* 2<6* 3<4 3<5* 3<6* 4<5* 4<6* 5<6	1<2* 1<3* 1<4* 1<5* 1<6* 2<3* 2<4* 2<5* 2<6* 3>4 3<5 3>6 4<5 4<6 5>6	1<2* 1<3* 1<4* 1<5* 1<6* 2<3 2<4 2<5 2<6* 3<4 3<5 3<6 4<5 4<6 5<6

* Denotes pairs of groups significantly different at the 0.05 level.

Appendix 5.16
Oneway A.N.O.V.A. of work values orientation by age

	Individual 's Life Structure Building/Transition Periods	Work Values Orientation	
		Calculative	*Normative*
1	Early Adulthood (22-28)	2.76 (n=56)	2.69 (n=55)
2	Thirties Transition (28-33)	2.65 (n=63)	2.66 (n=62)
3	Setling Down (33-40)	2.37 (n=82)	2.73 (n=81)
4	Midlife transition (40-45)	2.50 (n=65)	2.51 (n=63)
5	Middle Adulthood (45-55)	2.36 (n=72)	3.00 (n=70)
6	Late Adulthood (≥55)	2.124 (n=59)	2.95 (n=60)
	F Ratio *F Prob*	3.86 .0020	3.339 .0052
	Duncan's Test	1>2 1>3* 1>4 1>5* 1>6* 2>3 2>4 2>5 2>6* 3<4 3>5 3>6 4>5 4>6 5>6	1>2 1<3 1>4 1<5* 1<6 2<3 2>4 2<5* 2<6 3>4 3<5 3<6 4<5* 4<6* 5>6

* Denotes pairs of groups significantly different at the 0.05 level.

Appendix 5.17
T-Test of work values orientation by different age groups

	1 Early Adulthood (22-28) (n=54)	2 Thirties Transition (28-33) (n=56)	3 Setling Down (33-40) (n=55)	4 Midlife Transition (40-45) (n=47)	5 Middle Adulthood (45-55) (n=63)	6 Late Adulthood (≥55) (n=57)
Calculative Work Values	2.75	2.60	2.40	2.47	2.40	2.14
Normative Work Values	2.68	2.61	2.71	2.52	3.04	2.93
t-value	.40	-.08	-2.29	-.30	-3.83	-3.63
df	52	54	53	45	61	55
p	n.s.	n.s.	.026	n.s.	.000	.001

df - degrees of freedom, n.s. - observed significant level greater than 0.1.

Bibliography

Abel, R. L. (1989), *The Legal Profession in England and Wales*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

Abrahamson, M. (1964), 'The integration of industrial scientists', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 9, 208-218.

Adam, J. S. (1965), 'Inequity in Social Exchange', in: Berkowitz, L. (ed), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, vol. 2, New York, Academic Press, 267-299.

Adler, P. A. and Adler, P. (1988), 'Intense loyalty in organizations: A case study of College Athletics', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 33, 401-417.

Adler, S. and Aranya, N. (1984), 'A comparison of the work needs, attitudes, and preferences of professional accountants at different career stage', *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 25, 45-57.

Agyris, C. (1957), *Personality and Organization*, New York, Happer and Row.

Allen, N. J. and Meyer, J. P. (1993), 'Organizational commitment: Evidence of career stage effects?', *Journal of Business Research*, 26, 49-61.

Allen, N. J. and Meyer, J. P. (1990), 'The measurement and antecedents of affective, continuance and normative commitment to the organization', *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, 63, 1-18.

Angle, H. L. and Perry, J. L. (1981), 'An empirical assessment of organizational commitment and organizational effectiveness', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 26, 1-13.

Aranya, N. and Ferris, K. R. (1984), 'A reexamination of accountants' organizational-professional conflict', *The Accounting Review*, 59(1), 1-15.

Aranya, N. and Ferris, K. R. (1983), 'Organizational-professional conflict among U.S. and Israeli professional accountants', *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 119, 153-161.

Aranya, N. and Jacobson, D. (1975), 'An empirical study of theories of organizational and occupational commitment', *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 97, 15-22.

Aranya, N.; Kushnir, T. and Valency, A. (1986), 'Organizational commitment in a male dominated profession', *Human Relations*, 39(5), 433-448.

Aranya, N.; Pollock, J. and Amernic, J. (1981), 'An examination of professional commitment in public accounting', *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, 6(4), 271-280.

Arkes, H. R. and Blumer, C. (1985), 'The psychology of sunk costs', *Organisational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 35, 124-140.

Arnold, H. J.; Feldman, D. C. and Purbhoo, M. (1985), 'The role of social-desirability response bias in turnover research', *Academy of Management Journal*, 28(4), 955-966.

Baker, W. K. (1995), 'Allen and Meyer's 1990 longitudinal study: A reanalysis and reinterpretation using structural equation modeling', *Human Relations*, 48(2), 169-186.

Barber, B. and Merton, R. K. (1957), *Social Stratification: a comparative analysis of structure and process*, New York, Harcout Brace.

Bartol, K. M. (1979), 'Professionalism as a predictor of organizational commitment, role stress and turnover: A multidimensional approach', *Academy of Management Journal*, 22(4), 815-821.

Bateman, T. S. and Strasser, S. (1984), 'A longitudinal analysis of the antecedents of organizational commitment', *Academy of Management Journal*, 27(1), 95-112.

Bartlett, C. A. and Ghoshal, S. (1995), 'Changing the role of top management: Beyond systems to people', *Harvard Business Review*, 73 (May/June), 132-142.

Becker, H. S. (1970), *Sociological Work. Method and Substance*, New Jersey, Transaction Books.

Becker, H. S. (1960), 'Notes on the concept of commitment', *American Journal of Sociology*, 66, 32-40.

Becker, H. S. and Carper, J. (1970), 'The Development of Identification With an Occupation', in: Becker, H. S. (ed), *Sociological Work*, New Jersey, Transaction Books, 189-201.

Becker, T. E. (1992), 'Foci and bases of commitment: are they distinctions worth making?', *Academy of Management Journal*, 35(1), 232-244.

Becker, T. E. and Billings, R. S. (1993), 'Profiles of commitment: An empirical test', *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 14(2), 177-190.

Benson, S. (1991), 'Why I quit practising law', *Newsweek*, 4 November, 10.

Bielby, D. D. V. (1992), 'Commitment to family and work', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 18, 281-302.

Blackburn, R. T. and Fox, T. G. (1983), 'Physicians' values and their career stage', *Journal of Vocational Behavior,* 22, 159-173.

Blau, G. J. (1985), 'A multiple study investigation of the dimensionality of job involvement', *Journal of Vocational Behavior,* 27, 19-36.

Blau, P. M. and Scott, W. R. (1963), *Formal Organizations,* London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Brazier, M.; Lovecy, J.; Moran, M. and Potton, M. (1993), 'Falling from a tightrope: Doctors and lawyers between the Market and the State', *Political Studies,* 41(2), 197-213.

Brenner, O. C. (1988), 'Relations of age and education to managers' work values', *Psychological Reports,* 63 (2), 639-642.

Brockner, J.; Tyler, T. R. and Cooper-Schneider, R. (1992), 'The influence of prior commitment to an institution on reactions to perceived unfairness: The higher they are, the harder they fall', *Administrative Science Quarterly,* 37, 241-261.

Brooks, J. L. and Seers, A. (1991), 'Predictors of organizational commitment: Variations across career stages', *Journal of Vocational Behavior,* 38, 53-64.

Brown, D.; Deyermond, A.; Price, G. and Walker, R. (1991), *MHRA Style Book,* London, Modern Humanities Research Association.

Buchanan II, B. (1974), 'Building organizational commitment: The socialization of managers in work organizations', *Administrative Science Quarterly,* 19, 533-546.

Burns, T. and Stalker, G. M. (1961), *The Management of Innovation,* London,

Tavistock Publications.

Butterworths Law Directory (1993), Exeter, Martindale-Hubbell Publishers.

Carlin, J. E. (1966), *Lawyer's Ethics*, New York, Russel Sage.

Carmines, E. G. and Zeller, R. A. (1981), *Reliability and Validity Assessment. Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences*, Paper 17, London, Sage University.

Carr-Saunders, A. M. and Wilson, P. A. (1934), 'Professions', in: Seligman, E. and Johnson, A. (ed), *Encyclopeadia of the Social Sciences*, 12, 476-480.

Chambers and Partners Directory of Legal Profession (1995), Pauline Lyle-Smith, London, Chambers and Partners Publishing.

Chell, E. (1993), *The Psychology of Behaviour in Organizations*, 2nd ed., London, MacMillan Press.

Cherrington, D. J.; Condie, S. J. and England, J. L. (1979), 'Age and work values', *Academy of Management Journal*, 22(3), 617-623.

Child, J. (1988), *Organization: A Guide to Problems and Practice*, London, Chapman.

Cohen, A. (1993), 'Age and tenure in relation to organizational commitment: A meta-analysis', *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 14(2), 143-159.

Cohen, A. (1992), 'Antecedents of organizational commitment across occupational groups: A meta-analysis', *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 13(6), 539-558.

Cohen, A. (1991), 'Career stage as a moderator of the relationships between organizational commitment and its outcomes: A meta-analysis', *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, 64 (3), 253-258.

Cohen, A. and Kirchmeyer, C. (1995), 'A multidimensional approach to the relation between organizational commitment and nonwork participation', *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 46, 189-202.

Cohen, A. and Lowenberg, G. (1990), 'A re-examination of the side-bet theory as applied to organizational commitment: A meta-analysis', *Human Relations*, 43(10), 1015-1050.

Connor, P. E. and Scott, W. G. (1974), 'Reward protocols in technical organizations: Interpersonal versus technical competence', *Human Organization*, 33(4), 367-374.

Cook, J. and Wall, T. (1980), 'New work attitude measures of trust, organizational commitment and personal need non-fulfilment', *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, 53, 39-52.

Cook, J. D.; Hepworth, S. J.; Wall, T. D. and Warr, P. (1981), *The Experience of Work. A Compendium and Review of 249 Measures and Their Use*, London, Academic Press.

Coopey, J. (1991), 'Reconsidering the case of organisational commitment', *Human Resource Management*, 3, 18-32.

Corwin, R. G. (1961), 'The professional employee: A study of conflict in nursing roles', *American Journal of Sociology*, 66, 604-615.

Dannefer, D. (1989), 'Human action and its place in theories of aging', *Journal of Aging Studies*, 3(1), 1-20.

Dannefer, D. (1984), 'Adult development and social theory: A paradigmatic reappraisal', *American Sociological Review*, 49, 100-116.

Darden, W. R.; Hampton, R. and Howell, R. D. (1989), 'Career versus organizational commitment: Antecedents and consequences of retail salespeoples' commitment', *Journal of Retailing*, 65(1), 80-106.

Derber, C. (1982), *Professional as Workers: Mental Labour in Advanced Capitalism*, Boston, GK Hall and Co.

Derber, C. and Schwartz, W. A. (1991), 'New mandarins or new proletariat?: Professional power at work', *Research in the Sociology of Organizations*, 8, 71-96.

Derber, C.; Schwartz, W. A. and Magrass, Y. (1990), *Power in the Highest Degree: Professional and the Rise of a New Mandarin Order*, Oxford, University Press.

Demming, E. W. (1982), *Out of the Crisis: Quality, Productivity and Competitive Position*, Cambridge, MIT Press.

Drucker, P. F. (1982), *The Changing World of the Executive*, New York, TT Times Books.

Drummond, H. (1997), 'Giving it a week and then another week: A case of escalation in decision making', *Personal Review* (forthcoming).

Drummond, H. (1993), *Power and Involvement in Organizations*, Avebury, Aldershot.

Drummond, H. (1992), *The Quality Movement*, London, Kogan Page .

Drummond, H. and Oliveira, E. Dias de (1996), 'What makes a happy lawyer?', *New Law Journal*, 146(6726), 23-24.

Dunham, R. B.; Grube, J. A. and Castañeda, M. B. (1994), 'Organizational commitment: The utility of an integrative definition', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 79(3), 370-380.

Dunnette, M.; Avery, R. and Banas, P. (1973), 'Why do they leave?', *Personnel*, 50(3), 25-39.

Dvorack, E. (1963), 'Will engineers unionize?', *Industrial Relations*, 2(3), 45-65.

Dyer, C. (1995), 'No room at the bar', *The Guardian*, 25 April, 10.

Emory, C. W. (1976), *Business Research Methods*, Illinois, Richard D. Irwin.

Etzioni, A. (1975), *A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations*, London, Collier MacMillan.

Etzioni, A. (1969), *A Sociological Reader on Complex Organizations*, New York, Macmillan.

Etzioni, A. (1964), *Modern Organizations*, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall .

Etzioni, A. (1959), 'Authority structure and organizational effectiveness', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 4(1), 43-67.

Evans, D. F. (1977), 'Changing from a "What" to a "Who"', *Business Horizons*, 20, 14-17.

Farrell, D. and Rusbult, C. E. (1981), 'Exchange variables as predictors of job satisfaction, job commitment and turnover. The impact of rewards, costs,

alternatives and investments', *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, 28, 78-95.

Financial Times (22 May 1996), 'Spotlight falls on people', 2.

Flood, P., Gannon, M. J. and Paauwe, J. (1996), *Managing Without Traditional Methods*, London, Addison Wesley.

Fowler, F. G. (1993), *The King's English*, Ware, Wordsworth.

Freidson, E. (1994), *Professionalism Reborn. Theory, Prophecy and Policy*, Cambridge, Polity Press.

Freidson, E. (1989), 'Theory of the professions', *Indiana Law Journal*, 64(3), 423-432.

Freidson, E. (1970), *Professional Dominance*, New York, American Press.

Garland, H. (1990), 'Throwing good money after bad: The effect of sunk costs on the decision to escalate commitment to an ongoing project', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 75 (6), 728-731.

Garland, H. and Newport, S. (1991), 'Effects of absolute and relative sunk costs on the decision to persist with a course of action', *Organisational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 48, 55-69.

Glaser, B. G. (1963), 'The local-cosmopolitan scientist', *American Journal of Sociology*, 69, 249-259.

Goldberg, L. C.; Baker, F. and Rubenstein, A. H. (1964), 'Local-cosmopolitan: Unidimensional or multidimensional?', *American Journal of Sociology*, 70(2), 704-710.

Goldner, F. H. and Ritti, R. R. (1967), 'Professionalization as career immobility', *American Journal of Sociology*, 72, 489-502.

Goode, W. J. (1969), 'The Theoretical Limits of Professionalization', in: Etzioni, A. (ed), *The Semi-professions and Their Organization*, New York, MacMillan, 266-313.

Goodman, P. S. and Friedman, A. (1971), 'An examination of Adams' theory of inequity', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 16, 271-288.

Goss, M. E. W. (1961), 'Influence and authority among physicians in an outpatient clinic', *American Sociological Review*, 26, 39-50.

Gould, R. L. (1980), 'Transformations During Early and Middle Adult Years ', in: Smelser, N. J. and Erikson, E. H. (ed), *Themes of Work and Love in Adulthood*, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 213-290.

Gouldner, A. W. (1958), 'Cosmopolitans and locals: Toward an analysis of latent social roles - II', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 2, 444-480.

Gouldner, A. W. (1957), 'Cosmopolitans and locals: Toward an analysis of latent social roles - I', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 2, 281-306.

Granfield, R. and Koening, T. (1992), 'The fate of elite idealism: Accommodation and ideological work at Harvard Law School', *Social Problems*, 39(4), 315-331.

Greenwood, E. (1957), 'Attributes of a profession', *Social Work*, 2, 45-55.

Greenwood, R.; Hinings, C. R. and Brown, J. (1990), '"P2-Form" strategic management: Corporate practices in professional partnerships', *Academy of Management Journal*, 33(4), 725-755.

Grisham, J. (1991), *The Firm*, London, Arrow.

Grusky, O. (1965), 'Career mobility and organizational commitment', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 10, 488-503.

Guest, D. E. (1987), 'Human resource management and industrial relations', *Journal of Management Studies*, 24(5), 503-521.

Guest, D. E. (1976), 'Motivation after Maslow', *Personnel Management*, 8(3), 29-32.

Gunz, H. (1989), 'The dual meaning of managerial careers: Organizational and individual levels of analysis', *Journal of Management Studies*, 26(3), 225-250.

Gunz, H. P. and Gunz, S. P. (1994), 'Professional/organizational commitment and job satisfaction for employed lawyers', *Human Relations*, 47(7), 801-828.

Hackett, R. D.; Bycio, P. and Hausdorf, P. A. (1994), 'Further assessments of Meyer and Allen's (1991) three-component model of organizational commitment', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 79(1), 15-23.

Halaby, C. N. (1986), 'Worker attachment and workplace authority', *American Sociological Review*, 51(5), 634-649.

Hall, D. T. and Mansfield, R. (1975), 'Relationships of age and seniority with career variables of engineers and scientists', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 60(2), 201-210.

Hall, D. T. and Nougaim, K. E. (1968). 'An examination of Maslow's need hierarchy in an organizational setting', *Organizational Behaviour and Human*

Performance 3, 12-35.

Hall, D. T. and Schneider, B. (1972), 'Correlates of organizational identification as a function of career pattern and organizational type', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 17, 340-350.

Hall, D. T.; Schneider, B. and Nygren, H. T. (1970), 'Personal factors in organizational identification', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 15, 176-190.

Hall, R. H. (1968), 'Professionalization and bureaucratization', *American Sociological Review*, 33, 92-104.

Hall, R. H. (1967), 'Some organizational considerations in the professional-organizational relationship', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 12, 461-478.

Hall, R. H. (1963), 'Intra-organizational structural variation: Application of the bureaucratic model', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 7, 295-308.

Handy, C. (1996), *The Search for Meaning*, London, Lemos and Crane.

Handy, C. (1989), *The Age of Unreason*, London, Business Books.

Hansen, W. L. (1963), 'Professional engineers: Salary structure problems', *Industrial Relations*, 2(3), 33-44.

Haralambos, M. and Holborn, M. (1991), *Sociology*, London, Harper Collins Publishers.

Harel, G. and Baruch, Y. (1993), 'The effect of educational background on performance and organizational commitment', *Human Resource Management Journal*, 3(3), 78-87.

Harries-Jenkins, G. (1970), 'Professionals in Organizations', in: Jackson, J. A. (ed), *Professions and Professionalization*, London, Cambridge University, 51-107.

Haug, M. R. (1973), 'Deprofessionalization: An alternate hypothesis for the future', in: Halmos, P. (ed), *Professionalization and Social Change*, 20, University of Keele, 195-211.

Healy, M. C.; Lehman, M. and McDaniel, M. A. (1995), 'Age and voluntary turnover: A quantitative review', *Personnel Psychology*, 48, 335-343.

Herzberg, F. (1968), 'One more time: How do you motivate employees?' *Harvard Business Review*, Jan-Fev, 53-62.

Hinrichs, J. K. (1964), 'The attitudes of research chemists', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 48(5), 287-293.

Hopfl, H. (1992), 'The making of the corporate acolyte: Some thoughts on charismatic leadership and the reality of organizational commitment', *Journal of Management Studies*, 29(1), 23-33.

Hopfl, H.; Smith, S. and Spencer, S. (1992), 'Values and valuations: The conflicts between culture change and job cuts', *Personnel Review*, 21(1), 24-38.

Hornstein, G. A. (1986), 'The structuring of identity among midlife women as a function of their degree of involvement in employment', *Journal of Personality*, 54(3), 551-575.

Hrebiniak, L. G. (1974), 'Effects of job level and participation on employee attitudes and perceptions of influence', *Academy of Management Journal*, 17, 649-662.

Hrebiniak, L. G. and Alutto, J. A. (1972), 'Personal and role-related factors in the development of organizational commitment', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 17, 555-573.

Isabella, L. A. (1988), 'The effect of career stage on the meaning of key organizational events', *Journal of Organisational Behavior*, 9(4), 345-358.

Jauch, L. R.; Glueck, W. F. and Osborn, R. N. (1978), 'Organizational loyalty, professional commitment, and academic research productivity', *Academy of Management Journal*, 21(1), 84-92.

Johnson, T. (1980), 'Work and Power', in: Esland, G. and Salaman, G. (ed), *The Politics of Work and Occupations*, The Open University Press, Milton Keynes, 335-371.

Kalleberg, A. L. and Loscocco, K. A. (1983), 'Aging, values, and rewards: Explaining age differences in job satisfaction', *American Sociological Review*, 48, 78-90.

Kanter, R. M. (1968),' Commitment and social organization: A study of commitment mechanisms in utopian communities', *American Sociological Review*, 33 (4), 499-517.

Keppel, G (1973), *Design and Analysis: A Researcher's Handbook*, Englewood Cliffs, prentice-Hall.

Kernan, M. C. and Lord, R. G. (1989), 'The effects of explicit goals and specific feedback on escalation processes', *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 19, 1125-1143.

Kerr, S.; Von Glinow, M. A. and Schriesheim, J. (1977), 'Issues in the study of "professionals" in organizations: The case of scientists and engineers',

Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 18, 329-345.

Kerlinger, F. N. (1973), *Foundations of Behavioral Research*, New York, Rinehart and Wiston.

Kundi, B. A. and Saleh, S. D. (1993), 'A model of organizational commitment: Instrumental and intrinsic motivation and beyond', *Canadian Journal of Administrative Science*, 10(2), 154-166.

Lachman, R. and Aranya, N. (1986), 'Job attitudes and turnover intentions among professionals in different work settings', *Organization Studies*, 7(3), 279-293.

Larson, M. S. (1977), *The Rise of Professionalism*, California, Berkeley, University of California Press.

Law Society (1993), *Annual Statistical Report*, Research and Policy Research Unit.

Levinson, D. J. (1990), 'Introduction: Major Issues in the Exploration of Adult Growth', in: Alexander, C. N. and Langer, E. J. (ed), *Higher Stages of Human Development. Perspectives on Adult Growth*, New York, Oxford University Press, 35-53.

Levinson, D. J. (1984), 'The career in the life structure, the life structure is in the career: An adult development perspective', in: Arthur, M. B. (ed), *Working With Careers*, Columbia University, 49-74.

Levinson, D. J. (1978), *The Seasons of a Man's Life*, New York, Knopf.

Lincoln, J. R. and Kalleberg, A. L. (1985), 'Work organization and workforce commitment: A study of plants and employees in the U.S. and Japan',

American Sociological Review, 50(6), 738-760.

Lodahl, T. M. and Kejner, M. (1965), 'The definition and measurement of job involvement', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 49(1), 24-33.

Lorence, J. (1987), 'Age differences in work involvement', *Work and Occupations*, 14(4), 533-557.

Lorence, J. and Mortimer, J. T. (1985), 'Job involvement through the life course: A panel study of three age groups', *American Sociological Review*, 50, 618-638.

Loscocco, K. A. and Kalleberg, A. L. (1988), 'Age and the meaning of work in the United States and Japan', *Social Forces*, 67, 337-356.

MacCorquodale, P. and Jensen, G. (1993), 'Women in the law: Partners or tokens?', *Gender and Society*, 7(4), 582-593.

Marsden, P. V.; Kalleberg, A. L. and Cook, C. R. (1993), 'Gender differences in organizational commitment', *Work and Occupations*, 20(3), 368-390.

Maslow, A. H. (1970), *Motivation and Personality*, New York, Harper Row.

Mathieu, J. E. (1991), 'A cross-level nonrecursive model of the antecedents of organizational commitment and satisfaction', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 76(5), 607-618.

Mathieu, J. E. and Farr, J. L. (1991), 'Further evidence for the discriminant validity of measures of organizational commitment, job involvement and job satisfaction', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 76(1), 127-133.

Mathieu, J. E. and Zajac, D. M. (1990), 'A review and meta-analysis of the

antecedents, correlates and consequences of organizational commitment', *Psychological Bulletin*, 108(2), 171-194.

March, J. G.; Simon, H. A. and Guetzkow, H. (1958), *Organizations*, New York, Wiley.

McGee, G. W. and Ford, R. (1987), 'Two (or More?) dimensions of organizational commitment: Reexamination of the affective and continuance commitment scales', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 72(4), 638-642.

Meyer, J. P. and Allen, N. J. (1991), 'A three-component conceptualization of organizational commitment', *Human Resource Management Review*, 1(1), 61-89.

Meyer, J. P. and Allen, N. J. (1988), 'Links between work experiences and organizational commitment during the first year of employment: A longitudinal analysis', *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, 61, 195-209.

Meyer, J. P. and Allen, N. J. (1987), 'A longitudinal analysis of the early development and consequences of organizational commitment', *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, 19(2), 199-215.

Meyer, J. P. and Allen, N. J. (1984), 'Testing the "Side Bet Theory" of organizational commitment', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 69(3), 372-378.

Meyer, J. P.; Allen, N. J. and Gellatly, I. R. (1990), 'Affective and continuance commitment to the organization: Evaluation of measures and analysis of concurrent and time-lagged relations', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 75(6), 710-720.

Meyer, J. P.; Allen, N. J. and Smith, C. A. (1993), 'Commitment to organizations and occupations: Extension and test of a three-component

conceptualization', *Journal of Applied Psychology,* 78(4), 538-551.

Meyer, J. P.; Bobocel, D. R. and Allen, N. J. (1991), 'Development of organizational commitment during the first year of employment: A longitudinal study of pre- and post-entry influences', *Journal of Management,* 7(4), 717-733 .

Meyer, J. P.; Paunonen, S. V.; Gellatly, I. R.; Goffin, R. D. and Jackson, D. N. (1989), 'Organizational commitment and job performance: It's the nature of the commitment that counts', *Journal of Applied Psychology,* 74(1), 152-156.

Montagna, P. D. (1968), 'Professionalization and bureaucratization in large professional organizations', *American Journal of Sociology,* 74, 138-145.

Moore, W. E. (1970), *The Professions: Roles and Rules,* New York, Russel Sage Foundation.

Morgan, G. (1986), *Images of Organisation,* London, Sage.

Morris, J., and Sherman, J. D. (1981), 'Generability of an organizational commitment model', *Academy of Management Journal,* 24(3), 512-526.

Morris, J. H. and Snyder, R. A. (1979), 'A second look at need for achievement and need for autonomy as moderators of role reception-outcome relationships', *Journal of Applied Psychology,* 64(2), 173-178.

Morris, T. and Steers, R. M. (1980), 'Structural influences on organizational commitment', *Journal of Vocational Behavior,* 17, 50-57.

Morris, T., Lydka, H. and O'Creevy, M. F. (1993), 'Can commitment be managed? A longitudinal analysis of employee commitment and human

resource policies', *Human Resource Management Journal,* 3(3), 21-42.

Morrow, P. C. (1983), 'Concept redundancy in organizational research: The case of work commitment', *Academy of Management Review,* 8(3), 486-500.

Morrow, P. C. and Goetz, J. F. (1988), 'Professionalism as a form of work commitment', *Journal of Vocational Behavior,* 32, 92-111.

Morrow, P. C. and McElroy, J. C. (1986), 'On assessing measures of work commitment', *Journal of Occupational Behaviour,* 7, 139-145.

Morrow, P. C. and McElroy, J. C. (1987), 'Work commitment and job satisfaction over three career stages', *Journal of Vocational Behavior,* 30, 330-346.

Morrow, P. C. and Wirth, R. E. (1989), 'Work commitment among salaried professionals', *Journal of Vocational Behavior,* 34, 40-56.

Mortimer, J. T. and Lorence, J. (1979). 'Work experience and occupational value socialization: A longitudinal study', *American Journal of Sociology,* 84(6), 1361-1385.

Moser, C. A. and Kalton, G. (1981), *Survey Methods in Social Investigation,* Vermont, Gower .

Mowday, R. T. and Mc Dade, T. W. (1979), 'Linking behavioral and attitudinal commitment: A longitudinal analysis of job choice and job attitudes', *Proceedings of the 39th Anual Meeting of the Academy of Management,* Atlanta, 84-88.

Mowday, R. T.; Porter, L. W. and Steers, R. M. (1982), *Employee-Organization*

Linkages: The Psychology of Commitment, Absenteeism and Turnover, New York, Academic Press.

Mueller, C. W.; Boyer, E. M.; Price, J. L. and Iverson, R. D. (1994), 'Employee attachment and noncoercive conditions of work', *Work and Occupations*, 21(2), 179-212.

Mueller, C. W., Wallace, J. E. and Price, J. L. (1992), 'Employee commitment: Resolving some issues', *Work and Occupations*, 19(3), 211-236.

Near, J. P. (1989), 'Organizational commitment among Japanese and U.S. workers', *Organization Studies*, 10(3), 281-300.

Nelson, D. L. and Quick, J. C. (1991), 'Social support and newcomer adjustment in organizations: Attachment theory at work?', *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 12(6), 543-554.

Nelson, R. L. (1981), 'Practice and privilege', *American Bar Foundation Research Journal*, 95(1), 95-140.

New Law Journal (1986), *Richards Butler: Coming of Age*, 136, 384-390

Norris, J. E. and Rubin, K. H. (1984), 'Peer interaction and communication: A life-span perspective', *Life Span Development and Behavior*, 6, 356-391.

Northcraft, G. B. and Wolf, G. (1984), 'Dollars, sense and sunk costs: a life-cycle model of resource-allocation decisions', *Academy of Management Review*, 9, 225-234.

Norušis, M. J. (1992), *SPSS for Windows*, Chicago.

Novacek, J. and Lazarus, R. S. (1990), 'The structure of personal

commitments', *Journal of Personality*, 58(4), 693-715.

Nunnaly, J. (1978), *Psychometric Theory*, New York, McGraw-Hill.

O'Brien, D. H. (1968), 'The Proof of the Pudding', in: Bates, J. A. and Hacon, R. J. (ed), *Organisational Necessities and Individual Needs*, vol. 5, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 82-84.

O'Connor, D. J. and Wolfe, D. M. (1987), 'On managing midlife transitions in career and family', *Human Relations*, 40(12), 799-816.

O'Driscoll, M. P.; Ilgen, D. R. and Hildreth, K. (1992), 'Time devoted to job and off-job activities, interrole, conflict, and affective experiences', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 77(3), 272-279.

Oldham, G. R. and Hackman, J. R. (1981), 'Relationships between organizational structure and employee reactions: Comparing alternative frameworks', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 26, 66-83.

Oliver, N. (1990), 'Rewards, investments, alternatives and organizational commitment: Empirical evidence and theoretical development', *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, 63, 19-31.

O'Kelly, L. (1995), 'I want to be a judge', *The Observer*, 16 April, 3.

Oppenheimer, M. (1973), 'The proletarianization of the professional', *Sociological Review Monograph*, 20, 213-227.

O'Reilly, C. and Caldwell, D. (1980), 'Job choice: The impact of intrinsic and extrinsic factors on subsequent satisfaction and commitment', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 65(5), 559-569.

O'Reilly, C. and Chatman, J. (1986), 'Organizational commitment and psychological attachment: The effects of compliance, identification and internalization on prosocial behavior', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 71(3), 492-499.

Ornstein, S.; Cron, W. L. and Slocum, J. W. (1989), 'Life stage versus career stage: A comparative test of the theories of Levinson and Super', *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 10(2), 117-133.

Ornstein, S. and Isabella, L. (1990), 'Age vs stage models of career attitudes of women: A partial replication and extension', *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 36(1), 1-19.

Parkin, F. (1979), *Marxism and Class Theory: a Bourgeois Critique*, London, Tavistock.

Parsons, T. (1954a), 'The Professions and Social Structure', in: Parsons, T. (ed), *Essays in Sociological Theory*, Glencoe, Free Press, 34-49.

Parsons, T. (1954b), 'A Sociologist Looks at the Legal Profession', in: Parsons, T. (ed), *Essays in Sociological Theory*, New York, The Free Press, 370-385.

Paul, W. J. and Robertson, K. B. (1970), *Job Enrichment and Employee Motivation*, London, Gower press.

Peters, T. (1992), *Liberation Management*, New York, Knopf.

Perrow, C. (1972). *Complex Organizations: A Critical Essay*, Glenview, Scott Foresman.

Perrow, C. (1965), 'Hospitals: Technology, Structure and Goals', in: March, J.

G. (ed), *Handbook of Organisations*, Chicago, Rand McNally & Company.

Perruci, R.; Lebold, W. K. and Howland, W. E. (1966), 'The engineer in industry and government', *Journal of Engineering Education*, 56, 237-273.

Phelan, J.; Bromet, E. J.; Schwartz, J. E.; Dew, M. A. and Curtis, E. C. (1993), 'The work environments of male and female professionals', *Work and Occupations*, 20(1), 68-89.

Pine, G. J. and Innis, G. (1987), 'Cultural and individual work values', *The Career Development Quarterly*, 35, 279-287.

Podsakoff, P. M.; Williams, L. J. and Todor, W. D. (1986), 'Effects of organizational formalization on alienation among professionals and nonprofessionals', *Academy of Management Journal*, 29(4), 820-831.

Popper, M. and Lipshitz, R. (1992), '"Ask not what your country can do for you": The normative basis of organizational commitment', *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 41, 1-12.

Raelin, J. A. (1985), 'Work patterns in the professional life-cycle', *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, 58, 177-187.

Randall, D. M. (1990), 'The consequences of organizational commitment: Methodological investigation', *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 11(5), 361-378.

Randall, D. M. (1988), 'Multiple roles and organizational commitment', *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 9(4), 309-317.

Randall, D. M. (1987), 'Commitment and the organization: The organization man revisited', *Academy of Management Review*, 12(3), 460-471.

Randall, D. M.; Fedor, D. B. and Longenecker, C. O. (1990), 'The behavioral expression of organizational commitment', *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 36, 210-224.

Ray, C. A. (1986), 'Corporate culture: The last frontier of control?', *Journal of Management Studies*, 23(3), 287-297.

Reay, M. (1995), 'In what way could political correctness be beneficial?', *Rationality and Society*, 7(4), 493-497.

Reichers, A. E. (1986), 'Conflict and organizational commitments', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 71(3), 508-514.

Reichers, A. E. (1985), 'A review and reconceptualization of organizational commitment', *Academy of Management Review*, 10(3), 464-476.

Reichheld, F. F. (1996), *The Loyalty Effect*, Boston, HBS Press.

Reilly, N. P. and Orsak, C. L. (1991), 'A career stage analysis of career and organizational commitment in nursing', *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 39, 311-330.

Reissman, L. (1949), 'A study of role conceptions in bureaucracy', *Social Forces*, 27, 305-310.

Rhodes, S. R. (1983), 'Age-related differences in work attitudes and behavior: A review and conceptual analysis', *Psychological Bulletin*, 93(2), 328-367.

Rhodes, S. R. and Steers, R. M. (1981), 'Conventional vs. worker-owned organizations', *Human Relations*, 34(12), 1013-1035.

Ritzer, G. and Trice, H. M. (1969), 'An empirical study of Howard Beker's side-

bet theory', *Social Forces*, 47, 475-479.

Rosenthal, R. (1990), 'How are we doing in soft psychology?', *American Psychologist*, 45, 775-776.

Rusbult, C. E. and Farrell, D. (1983), 'A longitudinal test of the investment model: The impact on job satisfaction, job commitment, and turnover of variations in rewards, costs, alternatives, and investments', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 68(3), 429-438.

Rush, J. C.; Peacock, A. C. and Milkovich, G. T. (1980), 'Career stages: A partial test of Levinson's model of life/career stages', *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 16, 347-359.

Salancik, G. (1977), 'Commitment and the Control of Organization Behaviour and Belief', in: Staw, B. and Salancik, G.(ed), *New Direction in Organizational Behaviour*, Chicago, St. Clair Press.

Sampson, A. (1995), *Company Man. The Rise and Fall of Corporate Life*, London, Harper Collins Publishers.

Sarason, S. B. (1977), *Work, Aging and Social Change: Professionals and the One Life-one Career Imperative*, New York, Free Press.

Schein, E. H.; McKelvey, W. W.; Peters, D. R. and Thomas, J. M. (1965), 'Career orientations and perceptions of rewarded activity in research organization', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 9, 333-349.

Schermerhorn, J. R. (1996), *Management*, New York, Wiley.

Scott, W. R. (1966), 'Professionals in Bureaucracies - Areas of Conflict', in: Vollmer, M. and Mills, D. L. (ed), *Professionalization*, New Jersey,

Englewood Cliffs, 265-275.

Scott, W. R. (1965), 'Reactions to supervision in a heteronomous professional organization', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 10, 65-81.

Sheeny, G. (1976), *Passages: Predictable Crises of Adult Life*, New York, Dutton & Company.

Sheldon, M. E. (1971), 'Investments and involvements as mechanisms producing commitment to the organization', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 16, 143-150.

Sheppard, J. M. (1972), 'Alienation as a process: Work as a case in point', *The Sociological Quarterly*, 13, 161-173.

Shoemaker, D. J.; Snizek, W. E. and Bryant, C. D. (1977), 'Toward a further clarification of Becker's side-bet hypothesis as applied to organizational and occupational commitment', *Social Forces*, 56, 598-603.

Slinn, J. (1984), *A History of Freshfields*, London, Freshfields.

Snizek, W. E. (1972), 'Hall's professionalism scale: An empirical reassessment', *American Sociological Review*, 37, 109-114.

Sommers, M. J. (1995), 'Organizational commitment, turnover and absenteeism: An examination of direct and interaction effects', *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 16(1), 49-58.

Sorensen, J. E. and Sorensen, T. L. (1974), 'The conflict of professionals in bureaucratic organizations', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 19, 98-106.

Spangler, E. and Lehaman, P. M. (1982), 'Lawyering as Work', in: Derber, C.

(ed), *Professional as Workers: Mental Labor in Advanced Capitalism*, GK Hall and Co., Boston.

Staw, B. M. (1981), 'The escalation of commitment to a course of action', *Academy of Management Review*, 6, 577-587.

Staw, B. M. (1980), 'The consequences of turnover', *Journal of Occupational Behaviour*, 1, 253-273.

Staw, B. M. and Fox, F. V. (1977), 'Escalation: The determinants of commitment to a chosen course of action', *Human Relations*, 30(5), 431-450.

Steers, R. M. (1977), 'Antecedents and outcomes of organizational commitment', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 22, 46-56.

Strauss, G. (1963), 'Professionalism and occupational association', *Industrial Relation*, 2(3), 7-31.

Stuart, A (1962), *Basic Ideas of Scientific Sampling Statistics*, London.

Super, D. E. (1990), 'A Life-span, Life-space Approach to Career Development', in: Brown, D. and Brooks, L. (ed), *Career Choice and Development*, San Francisco, Jossey-Bass, 107-261.

Super, D. E. (1957), *The Psychology of Careers*, New York, Harper & Row.

Titmuss Sainer Dechert (1996), *Trainee Solicitors Brochure*, London.

Thortnton, R. (1970), 'Organizational involvement and commitment to organization and profession', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 15, 417-426.

Vaus, D. A. (1993), *Surveys in Social Research*, London, UCL Press.

Viswesvaran, C.; Barrick, M. R. and Ones, D. S. (1993), 'How definitive are conclusions based on survey data: Estimating robustness to nonresponse', *Personnel Psychology*, 46, 551-567.

Vollmer, H. M. and Mills, D. L. (1966), *Professionalization*, New Jersey, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs.

Vroom, V. H. and Deci, E. L. (1971), 'The stability of post-decision dissonance: A follow-up study of the job attitudes of Business School Graduates', *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, 6, 36-49.

Wagenaar, T. C. and Babbie, E. R. (1989), *Practicing Social Research*, 5th edition, Belmont, Wadsworth.

Wallace, J. E. (1995), 'Corporatist control and organizational commitment among professionals: The case of lawyers working in law firms', *Social Forces*, 73 (3), 811-839.

Wallace, J. E. (1993), 'Professional and organizational commitment: Compatible or incompatible?', *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 42, 333-349.

Walsh, A. (1990), *Statistics for the Social Sciences*, New York, Harper Row.

Walton, R. E. (1985), 'From control to commitment in the workplace', *Harvard Business Review*, 63, 77-84.

White, G. (1987), *Employee commitment*, WRU Occasional Paper 38, London, Work Research Unit.

Wiener, Y. (1982), 'Commitment in organizations: A normative view', *Academy*

of Management Review , 7(3), 418-428.

Wilensky, H. L. (1964), 'The professionalization of everyone?', *American Journal of Sociology*, 70(2), 137-158.

Wilensky, H. L. (1956), *Intellectuals in Labor Unions*, Glencoe, Free Press.

Williams, L. J. and Hazer, J. T. (1986), 'Antecedents and consequences of satisfaction and commitment in turnover models: A reanalysis using latent variable structural equation methods', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 71(2), 219-231.

Witt, L. A. (1993), 'Reactions to work assignment as predictors of organizational commitment: The moderating effect of occupational identification', *Journal of Business Research*, 26, 17-30.

Wright, J. D. and Hamilton, R. F. (1978), 'Work satisfaction and age: Some evidence for the 'job change' hypothesis', *Social Forces*, 56(4), 1140-1158.

Yates, F. (1981), *Sampling Methods for Censuses and Surveys*, Dorchester, Charles Griffin and Company Limited.

Zander, M. (1980), *The State of Knowledge About the English Legal Profession*, London, Barry Rose Publishers.

Zander, M. (1978), *Legal Services for the Community*, London, Temple Smith.