

THE UNITED STATES AT WORK:  
A CROSS-TEMPORAL META-ANALYSIS OF CHANGES IN EMPLOYEE WORK  
PERCEPTIONS

by

LAUREN ASHLEY WOOD

(Under the Direction of Brian J. Hoffman)

ABSTRACT

This cross-temporal meta-analysis provides a large-scale analysis of changes in the psychological experience of working, as indicated by worker reports of constructs commonly measured in the management literature. Although many of the observed changes were weak, the results point to negative shifts in the psychological experience of working, with significant decreases in general job satisfaction, significant increases in role conflict and emotional exhaustion, and moderate but non-significant increases in work family conflict ( $k = 47$ ). In addition, on the basis of decreases in depersonalization and satisfaction with coworkers and supervision, the results also point to changes in the nature of personal relationships at work. On the other hand, perceived organizational support, organizational commitment, personal accomplishment, role clarity, and extrinsic job satisfaction facets (pay and promotion) evidence small and non-significant changes. These results are discussed using a person-centered approach to understand the psychological experience of work.

INDEX WORDS: Job Attitudes, Burnout, Job Satisfaction, Organizational Commitment, Organizational Justice, Perceived Organizational Support, Job Demands, Decision Latitude, Cross-Temporal, Changing Nature of Work

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## DEDICATION

To Jon, my husband, who encouraged me throughout this endeavor. Without his support this would not have been possible.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	v
LIST OF TABLES .....	viii
LIST OF FIGURES .....	ix
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION .....	1
Organizing Framework of Changes in Work and Workers.....	4
Omnibus Changes: National Trends and Social Indicators.....	7
2 LITURATURE REVIEW AND HYPOTHESES.....	39
Changes in Employee Reports of Demands, Resources, and Professional Well- Being .....	39
3 METHOD .....	60
Literature Search .....	60
Criteria for Inclusion .....	60
Coding of Studies .....	62
Standardization.....	67
Cross-Temporal Meta-Analysis .....	68
4 RESULTS .....	70
Descriptives .....	70
Primary Analyses .....	73

Supplemental Analyses .....	76
5 DISCUSSION .....	87
Overarching Themes .....	88
Main Findings.....	89
Research Implications .....	94
Practical Implications .....	96
Limitations.....	97
Conclusion.....	98
REFERENCES .....	102

## LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 4.1: National Average Percent Male in the Workforce and Percent Male Represented in the Samples .....	77
Table 4.2: Linear Changes in Job Characteristics over Time .....	80
Table 4.3: Magnitude of Changes in Job Characteristics .....	81
Table 4.4: Effect of Changes in Job Characteristics on Year and the Moderating Effect of Gender .....	82
Table 4.5: Effect of Job Characteristics on Year with Objective Job Characteristics Controlled .....	83

## LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1.1: in Employee Perceptions of Work Demands, Resources, and Well-Being.....	20
Figure 1.2: Household Computer and Internet Usage, 1984-2010 .....	21
Figure 1.3: Federal Outlays for Science, Space, and Technology, 1970-2010.....	22
Figure 1.4: U.S. Organizational Expenditures for Information and Communication Technology, Equipment, and Software, 2005-2009 .....	23
Figure 1.5: U.S. Workforce Distribution by Gender, 1980-2010 .....	24
Figure 1.6: Demographic Composition of U.S. Workforce by Gender, 1970-2000.....	25
Figure 1.7: U.S. Workforce Distribution by Age, 1980-2010.....	26
Figure 1.8: Number of EEOC Cases Charged, 1992-201 .....	27
Figure 1.9: Women’s Earnings as a Percentage of Men’s Earnings, by Educational Level, 1980-2010.....	28
Figure 1.10: Monetary Benefits from EEOC Cases, 1992-2012.....	29
Figure 1.11: Married Workforce Participation.....	30
Figure 1.12: Women in Management as a Percentage of Total (Men and Women) in Management Positions, 1970 - 2010.....	31
Figure 1.13: Provision of flexibility trends, 2005 and 2012.....	32
Figure 1.14: Percent of Workforce with Flexible Schedules, by Gender, 2004.....	33
Figure 1.15: Occupational Group Employment, 1910 and 2000.....	34
Figure 1.16: U.S. Organization Expansion and Contraction, Seasonally Adjusted.....	35

Figure 1.17: U.S. Workforce Distribution by Educational Attainment, 1975-2010.....	36
Figure 1.18: Extended Mass Organizational Layoff Events, 1996-2010.....	37
Figure 1.19: Organization Reported Reasons for Mass Layoff Events, 2010. ....	38
Figure 4.1: Changes in Work Demands across Time.....	84
Figure 4.2: Changes in Work Resources across Time.....	85
Figure 4.3: Changes in Professional Well-Being across Time.....	86

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Today's workplace is fundamentally different from years past (Howard, 1995; National Academy of Science, 1999; Wood, Hoffman, & Twenge, 2012). The manufacturing economy has been replaced by service-oriented jobs (Howard, 1995) and knowledge-based work (Felin, Zenger, & Tomsik, 2009) which require a greater emphasis on interpersonal relationships (National Academy of Science, 1999) and demand a highly competent, capable, and involved workforce (Kessels, 2001). Additionally, due to pressures to compete in the global marketplace, organizations have responded to competitive demands by stripping levels of management and pushing decision-making autonomy to a greater cross-section of organizational members (Howard, 1995; National Academy of Sciences, 1999). Although decentralization of authority provides organizations needed agility the flexibility (Cappelli, 1999), it requires a flexible, responsible, and resourceful workforce. Technological innovations allow for better coordination across functional and geographic boundaries but also have produced more information, data, and available knowledge creating a demand for an intelligent workforce to manage the influx of information (Potosky & Lomax, 2013).

Although many of these observations are anecdotal, there is some evidence that these changes have impacted worker behaviors. For instance, U.S. employees work longer hours than workers of previous decades (Families and Work Institute, 2005). On average, modern employees report working 8.39 hours per weekday and 5.88 hours during weekends and holidays (U.S. Department of Labor, 2011). With women increasingly entering the workforce, hours

worked per household has exponentially increased. Specifically, in 1965, only 46% of American households could be categorized as dual-earning. By 2009, 65% of households had two bread winners (Morrison, 2012). Furthermore, great numbers of employees report working from home rather than going into the office. It has been estimated that in 2010, 26.2 million employees telecommuted for some portion of their work week (WorldatWork, 2011). Additionally, employees are increasingly enrolling and completing academic degrees. Educational attainment among workers has increased with close to 40% of the working population holding at least a college degree in 2012 compared to less than 20% in 1975 (Statistical Abstracts, 2012; 1992). Executive masters of business programs have seen increasing popularity at universities across the globe (Kalnitz, 2008). Through these trends in worker behavior, it appears that workers are investing more heavily in their work roles--spending more time working, increasingly blurring work and non-work boundaries, and seeking out opportunities to gain valuable work skills.

In light of these behavioral changes evident in how work is done, commentators frequently propose time-rooted changes in the employer-employee relationship and the impact of work on workers (e.g., Cappelli, 1999; O'Toole & Lawler, 2006; Rousseau & Wade-Benzoni, 1995). However, the extent to which commonly cited macro-economic and social trends have actually impacted workers perceptions of, attitudes about, and reactions to their work remains unclear. In other words, despite documented changes in the occupations that comprise the U.S. economy, organizational policies and practices, workforce composition, and workforce behavioral patterns, the presumed impact of these temporally rooted changes on workers themselves is less common, and existing research suffers from a variety of limitations and conflicting results.

Past studies attempting to assess changes in employee perceptions have tended to focus on relatively narrow sets of worker attitudes and perceptions (e.g., job satisfaction and organizational commitment) while other relatively frequently proposed changes (e.g., burnout) in the relationship between workers and their work have not been examined (e.g., Cennamo & Gardner, 2008; Costanza, Badger, Fraser, Severt, & Gade, 2012; Kowske, Rasch, & Wiley, 2010; Lub, Bijvank, Bal, Blomme, & Schalk, 2012; Wilson, Squires, Widger, Cranley, & Tourangeau, 2008). Furthermore, most of the studies have been conducted using individual samples and there are few large-scale estimates of the magnitude of proposed changes, making it difficult to determine how pervasive a phenomenon changes in worker perceptions actually are. Finally, although some studies have examined changes in perceptions, past research has not sought to examine the mechanism that accounts for these changes. In short, despite much interest in the impact of work on workers, there is considerable ambiguity on what impact changes in work have had on workers themselves.

In response to these limitations of past research, the present study provides a large-scale and comprehensive analysis of changes in ten employee work perceptions over the past 50 years. To facilitate this analysis and in keeping with our focus on the effects of temporal changes on workers, we use the job-demands resources model (JD-R; Bakker & Demerouti, 2007; Demeroui, Bakker, Nachreiner, & Schaufeli, 2001) as an organizing framework to group commonly studied organizational variables into resources, demands, and professional well-being. Not only does our meta-analysis contain a greater number of work constructs but we also are investigating shifts in these perceptions over a longer time period with a more comprehensive database and a more robust method than have past studies.

Providing large-scale empirical documentation of changes in the relationship U.S. employees have with their organizations has implications for both management research and practice. Most centrally, given the key role that work occupies in peoples' lives, it is incumbent on management science to gauge the psychological impact of work (Weiss & Rupp, 2011). Documenting trends and changes in worker perceptions is necessary in order to identify areas in which intervention is more likely to be needed and direct attention to particular constructs that may be increasingly important in the future. Thus, understanding changes in worker perceptions over time will be useful for understanding progress in enhancing worker attitudes and monitoring emerging threats to worker productivity and well-being requiring the attention of researchers and policymakers. This study will advance the Industrial-Organizational Psychology literature in multiple ways: First, the results will provide a baseline of mean levels of worker perceptions over several decades. This can be practically useful for benchmarking mean levels of work attitudes for diagnostic purposes in local samples. Furthermore, cross-temporal meta-analysis, like psychometric meta-analysis, includes multiple studies to afford broader, more generalizable inferences (Twenge, 2011; Twenge & Campbell, 2010). Finally, the findings will be theoretically informative because they will represent one of the few investigations of macro-economic context characteristics (Johns, 2006) on worker attitudes (Dierdorff, Rubin, & Morgeson, 2009). In other words, this study will provide the first empirical indication of the extent to which frequently referenced changes in the nature of work have influenced worker perceptions of demands, resources, and professional well-being.

### **Organizing Framework of Changes in Work and Workers**

We adopt the JD-R model as the overarching framework to organize our analysis of employee perceptions. The JD-R is based on two previous models, the demand-control model

(Karasek, 1979; 1998) and the effort-reward imbalance model (Siegrist, 1996). But, unlike its precursors, the JD-R is more flexible in terms of predictor and outcome variables (Bakker & Demerouti, 2007), allowing for broad categorization of variables as those pertaining to demands, resources, or professional well-being.

**Job Demands.** According to Demerouti, Bakker, Nachreiner, and Schaufeli (2001), “*Job demands* refer to those physical, social, or organizational aspects of the job that require sustained physical or mental effort and are therefore associated with certain physiological and psychological costs” (p. 501). Importantly, work demands may not necessarily be negative in nature, but in cases when the employee has difficulty meeting the demand (e.g., continued exposure to the demand; not enough time between demands for the employee to fully recover) work demands will have a negative effect on employee well-being (Bakker & Demerouti, 2007; Meijman & Mulder, 1998). Early researchers tended to only consider quantitative factors (e.g., workload, time pressure) as work demands, but recently, many different constructs have been investigated within the demands framework (Peeter, Montgomery, Bakker, & Schaufeli, 2005). In the current study, we include psychological stressors, role conflict, role ambiguity, and work-family conflict as work demands<sup>1</sup>.

**Job Resources.** “*Job resources* refer to those physical, psychological, social, or organizational aspects of the job that may do any of the following: (a) be functional in achieving work goals; (b) reduce job demands at the associated physiological and psychological costs; (c) stimulate personal growth and development” (Demerouti et al. 2001; p. 501). From this definition, work resources are not only important as a main effect, but they are also critical in assuaging the potential negative effects of work demands. In other words, “resources are valued on their own right or because they are means to the achievement or protection of other valued

resources” (Bakker & Demeroui, 2006; p. 312). In the current study, we examine perceived organizational support, organizational justice perceptions, and decision latitude as work resources<sup>2</sup>.

**Professional Well-Being.** The JD-R model originally was designed to predict the development of burnout, and burnout by far is still the most commonly assessed well-being outcome. Burnout refers to diminishing work resources resulting from chronic stress and highly demanding or intense work (Schaufeli & Enzmann, 1998) and is consequently considered an important indicator of psychological health (Schaufeli & Enzmann, 1998). We also examine job satisfaction and organizational commitment as indicators of professional well-being<sup>3</sup>. Both job satisfaction and organizational commitment have previously been conceptualized as attitudinal outcomes impacted by work demands and resources (e.g., Amick & Celetano, 1991; Bakker, Demerouti, & Schaufeli, 2003). Importantly, demands, resources, and well-being perceptions are embedded in the context within which work is executed. Below we discuss how shifts in the surrounding work context may be responsible for changes in demands, resources, and well-being.

**Work Context.** Employee perceptions of work demands, available resources, and feelings of well-being are impacted by the context surrounding the work environment. To the extent that the context surrounding work has changed over time, we would also expect to see shifts in employee perceptions (Figure 1.1; Johns, 2006). Work context has been defined as “situational opportunities and constraints that affect the occurrence and meaning of organizational behavior as well as functional relationships between variables” (Johns, 2006, p.386). Johns (2006) developed a two-level categorical model of work context demonstrating the way in which broad, social-economic trends impacts more local characteristics and can lead to

changes in employee perceptions of work demands, resources, and well-being. In this model (Figure 1.1), *omnibus context* represents the broadest contextual level with aspects such as environmental and societal conditions as well as broad, occupational influences (e.g., technological innovation, workforce composition, occupational shifts, organizational restructuring). The lower-order *discrete context* refers to more specific and idiosyncratic aspects of the work environment which act as predictors and/or moderators of employee attitudes and perceptions. The discrete context includes factors such as task context (e.g., work autonomy, skill variety, cognitive requirements, etc.), social context (e.g., job interdependence, beneficiary contact, interpersonal requirements, etc.), and physical context (e.g., available technology, physical workplace, etc.). Nested within the omnibus context, the discrete context acts as the key mediator between the broader aspects of the omnibus context and employee work perceptions (Dierdorff & Ellington, 2008; Dierdorff & Morgeson, 2007; Dierdorff et al., 2009; Johns, 2006). In other words, the “discrete contextual variables provide the explanatory link between the more general omnibus context and specific organizational behaviors and attitudes” (Johns, 2006; p.391). The key to the model in Figure 1.1 is time. Temporal factors surrounding research are generally overlooked (Freid et al., 2007; Johns, 2006). This is unfortunate in that to the degree that the omnibus context surrounding the world of work has changed over time, we expect associated shifts in employee attitudes and work perceptions. The following section describes the omnibus changes commonly linked to changes in organizational policies, work practices, and employee perceptions of demands, resources, and well-being.

### **Omnibus Changes: National Trends and Social Indicators**

Past analyses of changes in work and workers largely relied on social indicators and multinational survey data to describe changes in work. Although social indicators and national

trends are commonly used to speculate changes in worker perceptions of demands, resources, and well-being, they do not speak to the potential impact on workers. Below we summarize changes in social indicators that have been anecdotally linked to demands, resources, well-being, and in some cases all three.

**Technology Innovation.** Rapid advancements in technology and consumer adoption of these new, and ever-increasingly, sophisticated technologies have fundamentally altered work practices (Coovert & Foster Thompson, 2013), making technology one of most cited reasons for changes in work. Technology and its implications are so profound that historians are currently considering the possibility of a third industrial revolution (National Academy of Sciences, 1999). An obvious example of growth in technology usage can be seen in Figure 1.2 which displays the increase in computer and internet home usage each year since the 1980's (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). Federal government spending allocated to technology research and development has also increased (Figure 1.3), suggesting that great value is placed on continued technology innovation. Additionally, organizations' reliance on technology has steadily grown in recent years (Figure 1.4). From these trends in rapid user adoption and increased R&D spending, the value placed on technological advancement and organizational reliance on sophisticated technologies seems to be increasing.

*Using technologies at work.* Changes in technology may have broad effects on the workplace and the individuals within it. For instance, according to the upgrading hypothesis (Blauner, 1964; Gallie, 1978), when technology innovations are introduced into work settings, they can result in greater skills demands (e.g., learning, integrating, monitoring). "Technologies...can force the complete reengineering of an office job, and a shift in the knowledge, skills, and abilities of office workers" (Coovert, 1995; p. 176). Due to the pressure to

master new technology, some suggest more stress is placed on employees (Van der Spiegel, 1995). ‘Technostress’ (e.g., burnout resulting specifically from digital experiences) has been identified as one negative reaction to technology. This often occurs when employees experience feelings that they are incapable of adapting to new technology (Van der Spiegel, 1995). Given the increased speed with which new technologies are introduced to the workplace, negative reactions such as technostress may be on the rise. To the extent that technostress is consistently increasing, it is possible that more recent employees will hold greater negative work perceptions. On the other hand, technology has also been heralded as a way to increase work resources, possibility leading to an increase in positive work perceptions in more recent years. For instance, technology enables workers to complete more work in less time compared to previous decades. Specifically, automation technologies have begun to replace menial and routine job tasks, freeing up employees’ time for more complex assignments (Cappelli, Bassi, Katz, Knoke, Osterman, & Useem, 1997).

*Technology enabling new ways to work.* Perhaps the most radical contribution afforded from recent advances in technology is in the freedom organizations (and individuals) have in deciding when and where work should take place. For example, organizations have the ability to utilize e-learning technology for training and on-boarding of new workers and conference calls can unite stakeholders located in various parts of the world. Employees are increasingly allowed to work from home offices and even vary the time of the day (and night) they work. Taken together, this paints a very different picture of the modern workplace compared to the workplace of past decades. Without recent technological gains, none of these freedoms would have been possible. However, the enabling technology is a double-edged sword (Coovert & Foster Thompson, 2013; Lewis & Roper, 2008). Some researchers promote a positive view of

technology on employee demands and resources. Evidence has been found for increased work-life balance as a result of flexible policies and procedures (Bryant, 2000; Felstead, Jewson, Phizacklea, & Walters, 2002) and, furthermore, flextime has been linked to increased work motivation (Barney & Elias, 2010). Conversely, others propose flexible technologies have aided in the feeling of “never being off the clock” (Deal, Altman, & Rogelberg, 2010; p.195). Often citing evidence of increased hours worked while flexing (Noonan & Glass, 2012), inability to detach during vacation (Galinsky, Bond, Kim, Backon, Brownfield, & Sakai, 2004), and the greater value placed on leisure time (Twenge, Campbell, Hoffman, & Lance, 2010), technology may be facilitating negative physical and psychological health effects. Recent evidence suggests that technology’s impact on worker well-being depends on the degree of control afforded from the technology. In their recent review of the literature, Nixon and Spector (2013) concluded that when technology enabled employee flexibility in scheduling (e.g., telecommuting), employees experienced greater perceptions of control and were better able to handle demanding work. On the other hand, technology-enabled ‘supplemental work,’ or work outside normal working hours facilitated by communication devices, contributes to decreased control perceptions and can have negative effects on employee well-being.

**Workforce Composition.** Another commonly cited omnibus trend is the changing composition of the workforce. Stemming in part from changing labor laws and immigration patterns (Borjas, 2008; Mishel, Bernstein & Allertto, 2007), the last few decades have witnessed seismic shifts in the demographic composition of the American workforce (Howard, 1995; National Academy of Science, 1999). As Figures 1.5 and 1.6 depict, as greater numbers of women and minorities have entered the workforce the percentage of working men has decreased.

Additionally, depicted in Figure 1.7, older cohorts of workers comprise greater percentages of the workforce compared to decades past.

*Working with diverse groups.* Demographic diversity in the workplace influences day-to-day social exchanges (Thomas & Chrobot-Mason, 2005). And, workplace diversity has been found to have an effect on worker attitudes across varying organizational relationships (e.g., supervisor and subordinate dyads, Wesolowski & Mossholder, 1997; work group relations, Riordan & Shore, 1997). Increased work team diversity is thought to increase the salience of social categories (e.g., gender, Race, ethnicity) leading to the development of in-group/out-group distinctions (Brief, 2008). Conflict in terms of negative attitudinal reactions, decreased productivity, and counterproductive behavior can often result (Crocker and Major, 1989; Triandis et al., 1993). An examination of historic charges brought to court under Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) regulation suggests with the greater diversity in the workplace, there seems to be greater discrimination charges. EEO rules and regulations protect minority individuals from various types of workplace discrimination. The major legislation under EEO laws include: Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 1991, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967, and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990. Using charges brought forth under EEO regulations (1991), Figure 1.8, clearly shows an increase in discrimination charges over time. Despite the fact that different protected groups may be discriminated against in different ways (i.e., Figure 1.9 depicts average salary differences between men and women), the increase in charges is evidence for various protected groups (i.e., sex-based, Race-based, and age-based discrimination; U.S., EEO Commission; Figure 1.8). Furthermore, as Figure 1.10 depicts, discrimination cases cost organizations millions of dollars each year (U.S., EEO Commission). Taken together, with the increase of women and minorities

in the workforce, discrimination claims have increased. This may be a sign that workers in more recent years are experiencing greater negative attitudes and reactions to work, especially with regards to variables involving perceptions of fair treatment.

*Women's roles and dual-earning families.* Another implication resulting from changes in workforce demographic composition has been shifts in perceptions of women's roles. According to social identity theory (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Capozza & Brown, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1985), as individuals take on multiple roles, they are able to express different aspects of their identity and therefore feel greater fulfillment. A Gallup poll from 1936 asked a nationally representative sample (of both men and women) whether a married woman, with a husband capable of supporting her, should have a job herself. Eighty-two percent of the sample in 1936 responded that she should not work. This question was asked again in 1996, however, this time with 83% responding that she should indeed work (Caplow, Hicks, & Wattenberg, 2001). Given the trend that women and men are more supportive of women working in more recent years (Caplow et al., 2001), working women may perceive more work resources and feel greater work satisfaction than in years past.

With greater numbers of women in the workplace, there has been an associated increase in dual-income families (i.e., Figure 1.11). Although having dual incomes may increase perceptions of security and family income, it also could contribute to difficulties balancing work and family demands (Hammer, Allen, & Grigsby; 1997). For example, with both parents working full-time jobs, it may be difficult to also perform family duties (e.g., drop-off/pick-up children from school/daycare, stay home when a child is sick). Research has indicated that employed married men are increasingly stepping in to help out with household chores and childcare activities (Hill, Hawkins, Ferris, & Weitzman, 2001). However, household tasks

remain largely gender-segregated, with men more likely to perform more timing-flexible tasks (e.g., repairing household objects, yard care) and women engaging in more time-sensitive tasks (e.g., food preparation, child care; Milkie & Peltola, 1999). Perceptions of greater demands, fewer resources, and burnout may result from the struggle to balance work and family roles. Furthermore, as an employee moves up the organizational hierarchy, work responsibility and work demands tend to increase. As women increasingly gain access to management positions, (Figure 1.12), their work responsibilities will likely become more challenging and time-intensive.

*Flexible work forms.* Some organizations are recognizing employees' need for flexible policies and have instituted practices designed to support work-life balance (Baltes, Briggs, Huff, Wright, & Neuman, 1999; Twenge et al., 2010). Currently, over a third of U.S. employees report having flexible schedules (i.e., 35.3%; Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2013; Figures 1.13 and 1.14) compared to 12.3% in 1985 (Statistical Abstracts, 1990). Although not every form of flexible work has increased, the types that have significantly increased since the 1980's are those that allow employees the flexibility to adjust work schedules in order to better accommodate non-work responsibilities (Matos & Galinsky, 2012). Despite this documented flexibility and accommodation, the introduction of flexible work forms may hold unanticipated consequences for the worker (Nixon & Spector, 2013). For instance, allowing workers flexibility in deciding when and where to work may contribute to increased hours worked. Recent research found that telecommuters on average work five to seven more hours per week compared to their non-telecommuting counterparts (Noonan & Glass, 2012). Given findings that recent generations report an increased desire for leisure compared to years past and are increasingly attracted to organizations offering work-life balance policies (Ehrhart, Mmayer, & Ziegert, 2012; Twenge et

al., 2010), it is possible that increasing work demands are having an adverse impact on employees as well as their families.

**Occupational Shifts.** Figure 1.15 displays changes in select occupational groups between 1910 and 2000. As evident from the figure, the occupational make-up of the U.S. has drastically shifted over the course of the last century. Specifically, there has been a large growth in service occupations, a smaller decrease in manufacturing occupations, and a large growth in professional/technical fields along with managerial.

*Shift from manufacturing to service.* According to the National Academy of Sciences (1999), service jobs, compared to those in manufacturing, differ in three key ways. First, services are both ‘produced’ and ‘consumed’ at the same time, leaving no time for quality check processes common in manufacturing. Second, in most service roles, the customer along with the employee take part in ‘production’ of the service. The last point concerns characteristics of services compared to goods: “services are intangible, heterogeneous (no two alike), and perishable (they cannot be inventoried),” (p. 123). The growth in service occupations coupled with the decrease in manufacturing, suggest KSAs critical to performance in service jobs (e.g., interpersonal skills, emotion regulation, agreeableness) will be increasingly important relative to KSAs important in manufacturing (e.g., psychomotor skills, physical skills). In support of this, interdependence, or the degree to which employees must work with others in order to accomplish job tasks, has been found to be increasingly important in more recent years (Wood et al., 2012). Some believe the interpersonal aspects associated with service roles may serve to bolster employee perceptions of job resources (e.g., social support from coworkers and supervisors) leading to positive work attitudes and decreased stress (Lloyd, King & Chenoweth, 2002). Supporting this, interdependence is positively associated with satisfaction (Humphrey,

Nahrgang, & Morgeson, 2007). On the other hand, the demands may be seen as overly taxing resulting in negative work attitudes and burnout. For instance, due to the demands to coordinate with others (Kiggundu, 1983), task interdependence has been linked to work role stress (Wong, DeSanctis, & Staudenmayer, 2007). In addition, increased exposure to customers and dependence on coworkers is potentially demanding on emotional labor resources and, accordingly, has been linked to burnout and job dissatisfaction (Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983; Morris & Feldman, 1996, 1997; Wharton, 1993). Thus, it is possible that increased interdependence has also yielded adverse consequences that are detrimental to employee satisfaction and well-being.

*The rise of knowledge work.* As presented in Figure 1.15, the group of occupations that have seen the most growth are knowledge-based jobs. Knowledge work consists of cognitively demanding jobs involving the creation, packaging, sharing, and manipulation of knowledge (Arthur, Defillippi, & Lindsay, 2008). According to the National Academy of Science (1999), employee success in the knowledge economy is contingent on two job characteristics, autonomy and task scope, coupled with employee cognitive and interactive skills. Similar to how the manufacturing-service shift has presumably resulted in an increased demand for soft skills over physical and psychomotor skills, these skills are possibly in higher demand in more recent years. However, with the organizational need for speed and continued technological innovation, these characteristics may not be enough. For example, commentators have predicted that even highly intelligent employees may face becoming obsolete if they do not keep up with the cutting edge practices and new technologies (Spector & Nixion, 2013).

**Reorganizing Work Structures.** With an increase in external demands such as globalization, deregulation, and competition (Andreu & Sieber, 2001), the marketplace may have

become increasingly unstable. Evidence for market instability can be seen by examining trends in organization expansion and contraction. As Figure 1.16 shows, based on the number of opening and closing organizations in the U.S., in recent years, a greater number of corporations are on the decline. One way that organizations have responded to threatening external demands is by introducing more flexible, flattened hierarchies in which decisions are pushed down to lower level employees (Howard, 1995). The organization of work into teams has also allowed greater flexibility in recent years (Appelbaum & Batt, 1994).

*Skill demands and span of control.* With increased market instability and competition, organizational success allegedly depends on employee ability (National Academy of Science, 1999). Furthermore, with the trend in flatter hierarchies and broadening job scope, fewer workers are responsible for larger segments of work (Howard, 1995). Supporting this, a recent meta-analysis found modern employees to report greater on-the-job skill variety and a broader scope of responsibility compared to years past (Wood et al., 2012). Similarly, when asked to retrospectively compare modern work conditions to work 20-30 years ago, the “greater need to regularly improve work skills” was the most commonly listed difference (Taylor, Funk, & Craighill, 2006). Based on this it seems possible that organizational demands pressure employees to constantly update their skills. Evidence for this can be seen by examining national trends in educational degree obtainment. The percentage of the U.S. workforce holding college degrees has increased since the 1970’s while the percentage of workers with less than a high school diploma has decreased (Statistical Abstracts, 2012; 1992; Figure 1.17). To the extent that workers value skill attainment and autonomy, the increased skill requirements and responsibility in modern organizations could possibly be viewed as resource, contributing to greater work engagement (e.g., self-determination theory, Ryan & Deci, 2000). On the other

hand, if pressures to gain skills become strong enough, instead of being viewed as a challenge associated with growth and development, they could be perceived as a hindrance, and resulted in increased burnout.

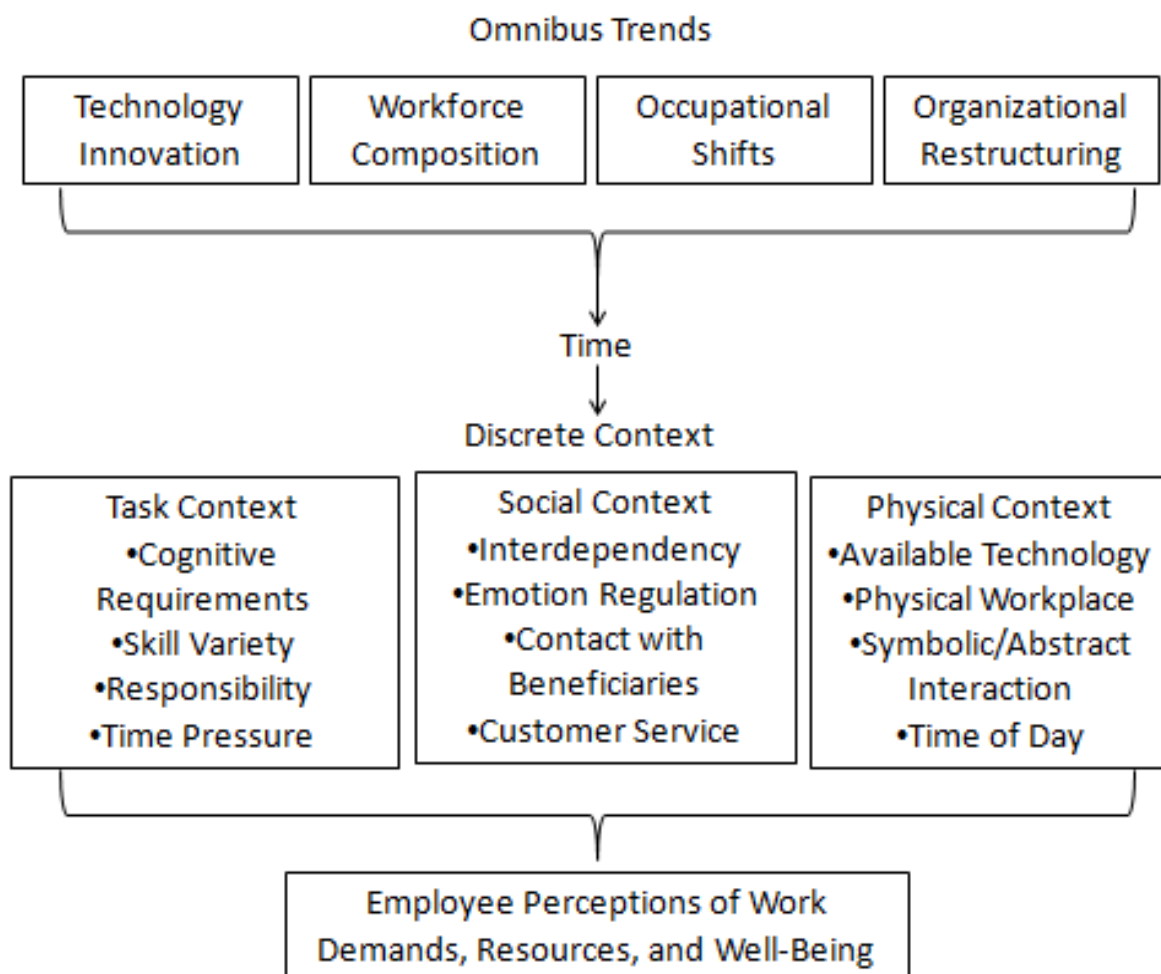
*Teams.* According to the National Academy of Science (1999), the increased organizational use of teams is “[a]mong the most visible changes in the structure of work,” (p. 270). Organizing work into teams reflects corporate need for increased communication, coordination, and troubleshooting among all functional organizational levels (National Academy of Science, 1999). In this way, organizing work into team assignments aids in organizational adaptability. Because team-based structures are drastically different from independent positions, different skill-sets are needed for successful team performance. In their review of the team literature, Stevens and Campion (1994) identified interpersonal skills (i.e., conflict resolution, collaboration, and communication) and self-management skills (i.e., goal setting, planning, and coordination) as the most important KSAs for team success. Due to the organizational need for teams, there is possibly an increased demand for employees who have these team KSAs. However, employees fitting this bill seem to be in short supply. A report by Society for Human Resource Management listed interpersonal skills among the top rated deficiencies of employees entering the workforce (SHRM, 2008 a, b). Given the organizational demand for teams coupled with the fact that many employees lack the KSAs necessary for successful team performance, it is possible that employees may be struggling to perform in team-based settings.

*Layoffs.* Mass layoffs occurred so frequently during the 1980’s and 1990’s that researchers have called this time period “the era of organizational restructuring” (Allen, Freeman, Russell, Reizenstein & Rentz, 2001). During this time, many of the downsized positions were thought previously ‘untouchable’ (e.g., white-collar, managerial, professional,

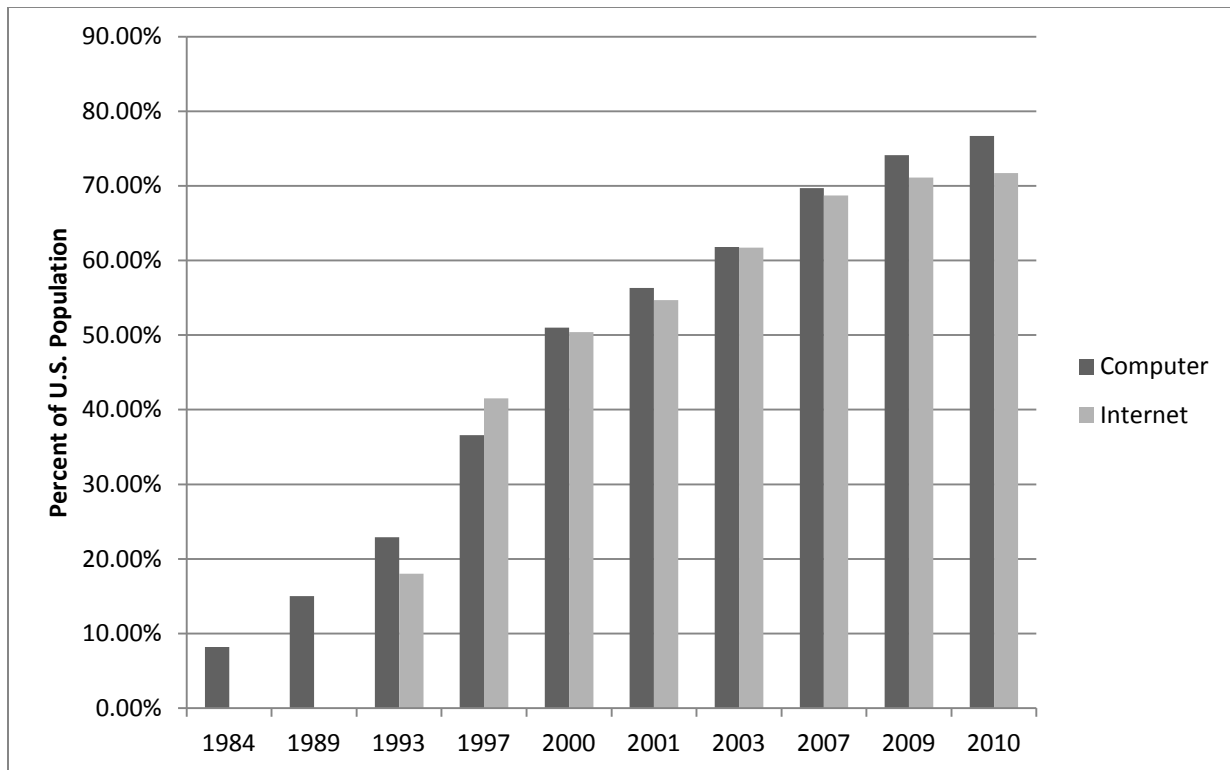
salaried, college graduate; American Management Association, 1996; Cappelli, 1999). Although no longer the era of organizational restructuring, downsizing is still threat to the modern workplace. For example, in 2010, U.S. organizations underwent 7,247 mass layoff events, displacing over 1,250,000 employees (Figure 1.18; Statistical Abstracts, 2012). This suggests that the pressure to flatten organizational hierarchies and keep head-counts down is still important to organizations. When asked the reason for mass layoffs in 2010, 72% of organizational leaders indicated ‘Business Demands’ followed by ‘Financial Demands’ (15%) and ‘Organizational Change’ (11%), with only 1% citing ‘Production Issues’ (Figure 1.19; Statistical Abstracts, 2012). Past studies consistently support a negative relationship between job security and various employee attitudes (Staufenbiel & König, 2010; Sverke, Hellgren, & Naswall, 2002). For example, ‘survivors’ of organizational downsizings often exhibit a phenomenon coined “lay-off survivor sickness” (Noer, 1990; 1993; 1997) consisting of negative work attitudes, psychological health, and physical health-related effects (Kozlowski, Chao, Smith & Hedlund, 1993). Furthermore, with job stability in question, some have proposed that the once strong psychological contract binding individual employees to the organization is now broken (Rousseau & Wade-Benzoni, 1995).

**Summary.** Together, these omnibus changes describe a different workplace relative to years gone by – one that is demographically diverse, technologically driven, and highly competitive. These external demands have resulting in great changes to the bureaucratic hierarchies of the past, replacing layers of management with work groups. Growth in service and knowledge-based work has led to a decrease in once sought after psychomotor skills in exchange for ‘soft skills’ and cognitive ability. Overall, much has changed. However, what these trends and social indicators do not tell us is how employee perceptions of demands, resources, and

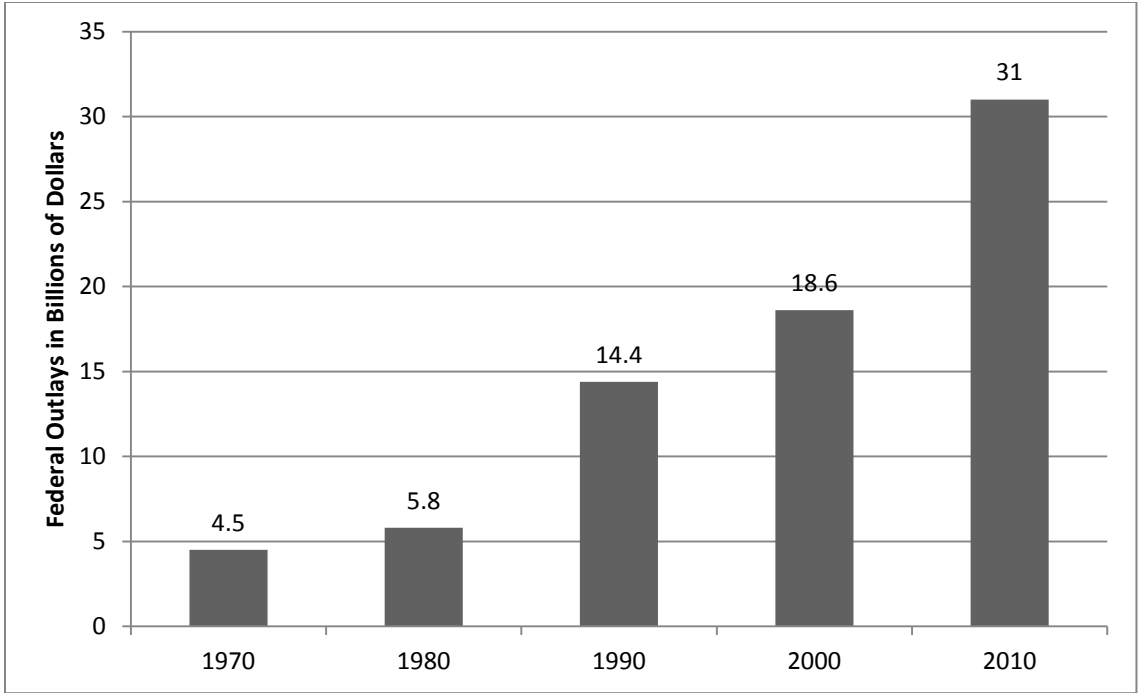
outcomes have changed. Using the national trends described above, in the following section, we link these national trends and social indicators to possible changes in specific work demands, resources or employee well-being variables.



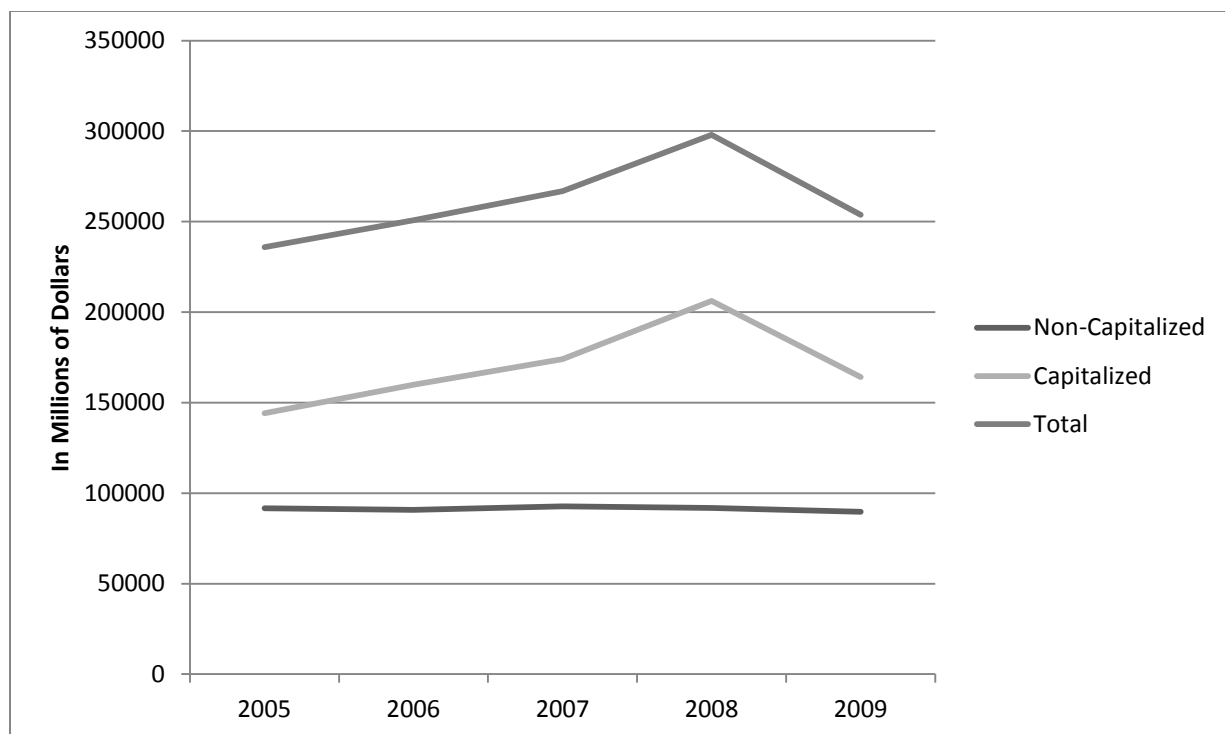
**Figure 1.1** Changes in Employee Perceptions of Work Demands, Resources, and Well-Being. Adapted from “Some Important Dimensions of Context,” by G. Johns, 2006, *Academy of Management Review*, 31, p. 392 and adapted from “Framework for Conceptualizing the Changing Nature of Work and Occupational Analysis” by National Academy of Science, 1999, p. 15.



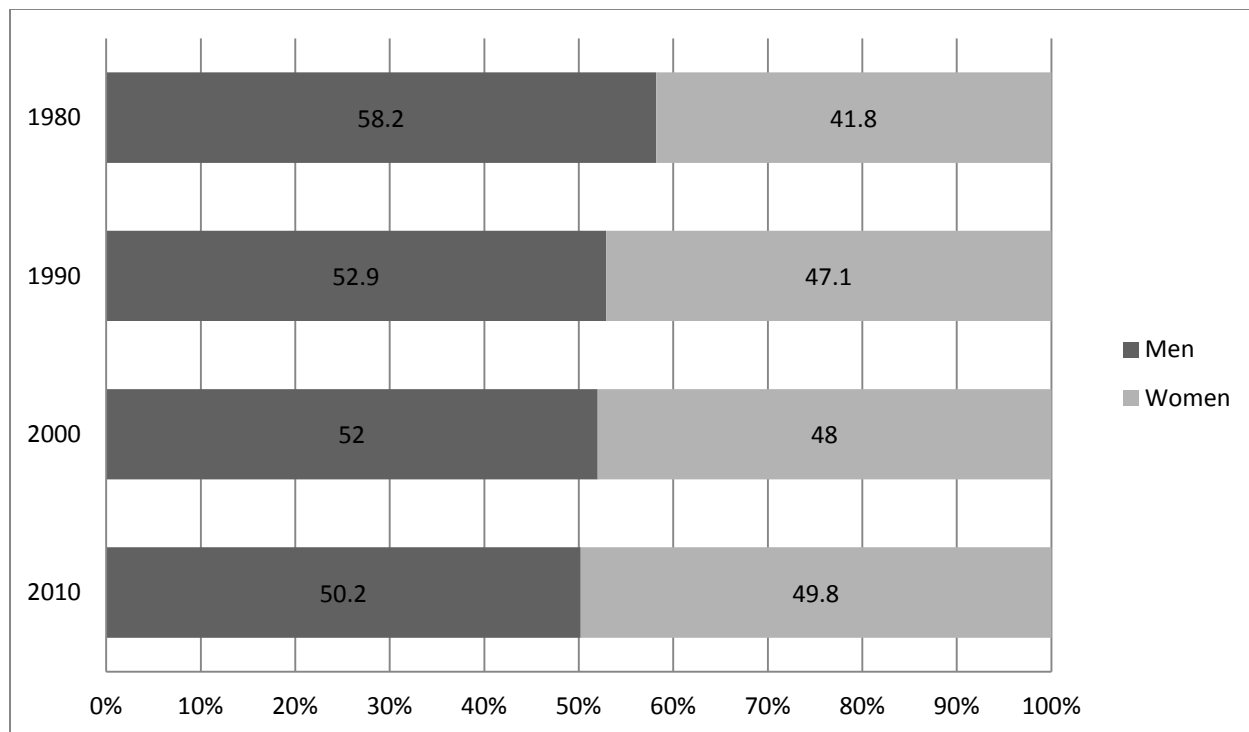
**Figure 1.2** U.S. Household Computer and Internet Usage, 1984-2010. Computer = percent of the population who have a household computer. Internet = percent of the population who have Internet access at home. Adapted from “Household Computer and Internet Use: 1984–2011,” by U.S. Census Bureau, 2013. Retrieved from <http://www.census.gov/prod/2013pubs/p20-569.pdf>



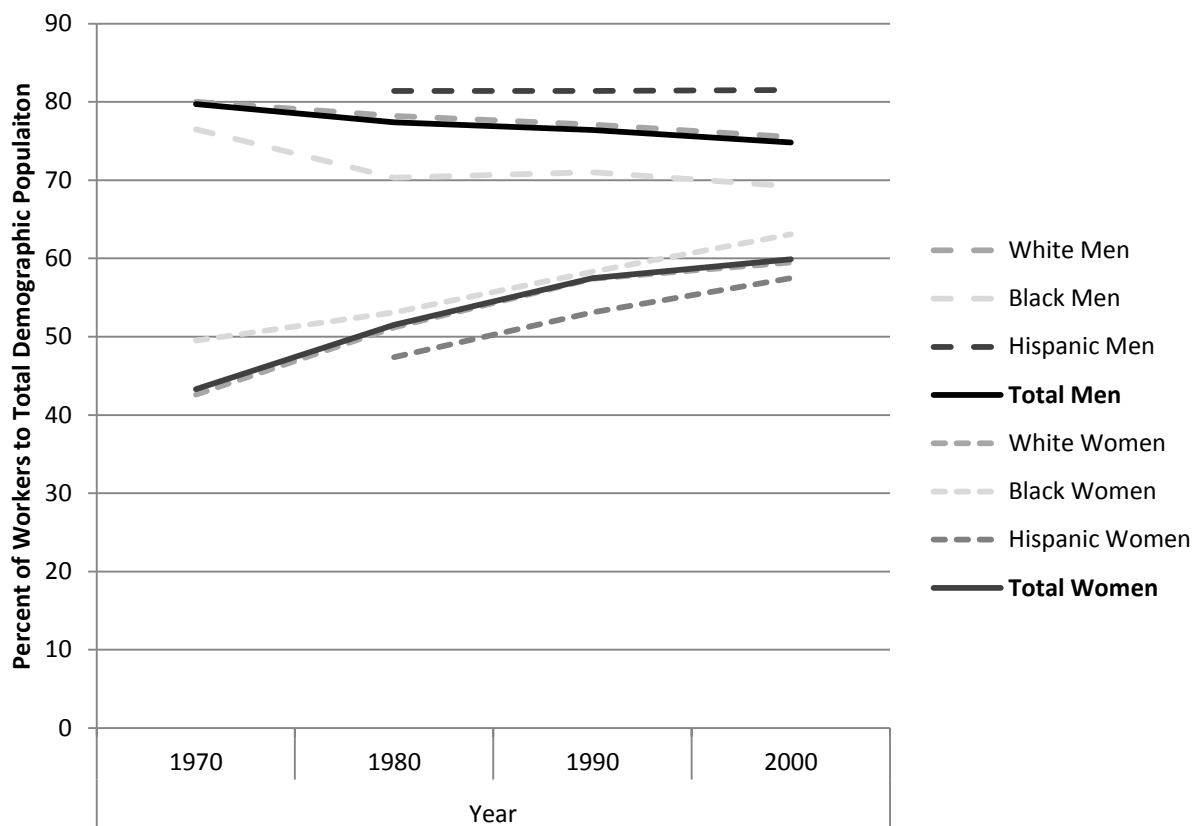
**Figure 1.3** Federal Outlays for Science, Space, and Technology, 1970-2010. Adapted from “Table 821. Federal Outlays for General Science, Space, and Other Technology, 1970 to 2010, and Projections, 2011 and 2012,” by U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstracts of the United States (2012).



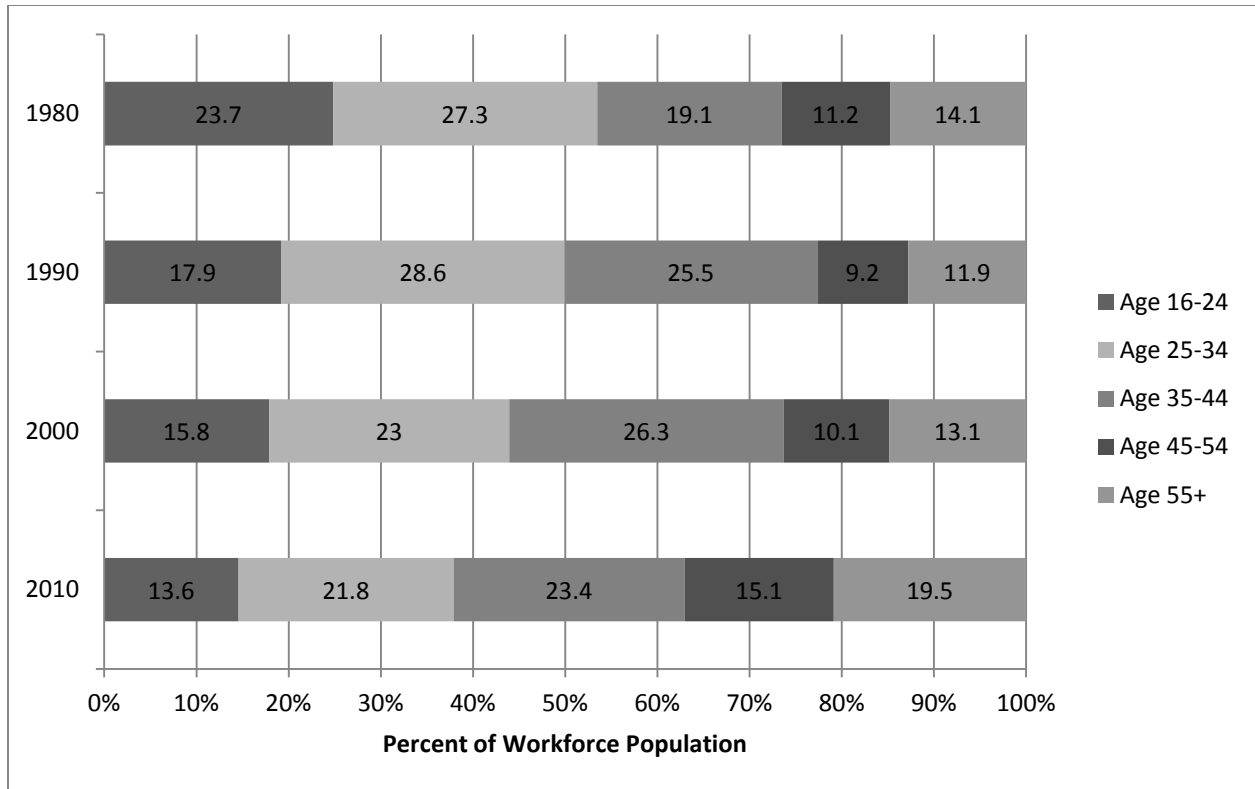
**Figure 1.4** U.S. Organizational Expenditures for Information and Communication Technology, Equipment, and Software, 2005-2009. Adapted from “Table 783. Information and Communications Technology (ICT) Equipment and Computer Software Expenditures: 2008 and 2009,” “Table 777. Information and Communications Technology (ICT) Equipment and Computer Software Expenditures: 2007 and 2008,” and “Table 753. Information and Communications Technology (ICT) Equipment and Computer Software Expenditures: 2005 and 2006,” by U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstracts of the United States (2012; 2011; 2009).



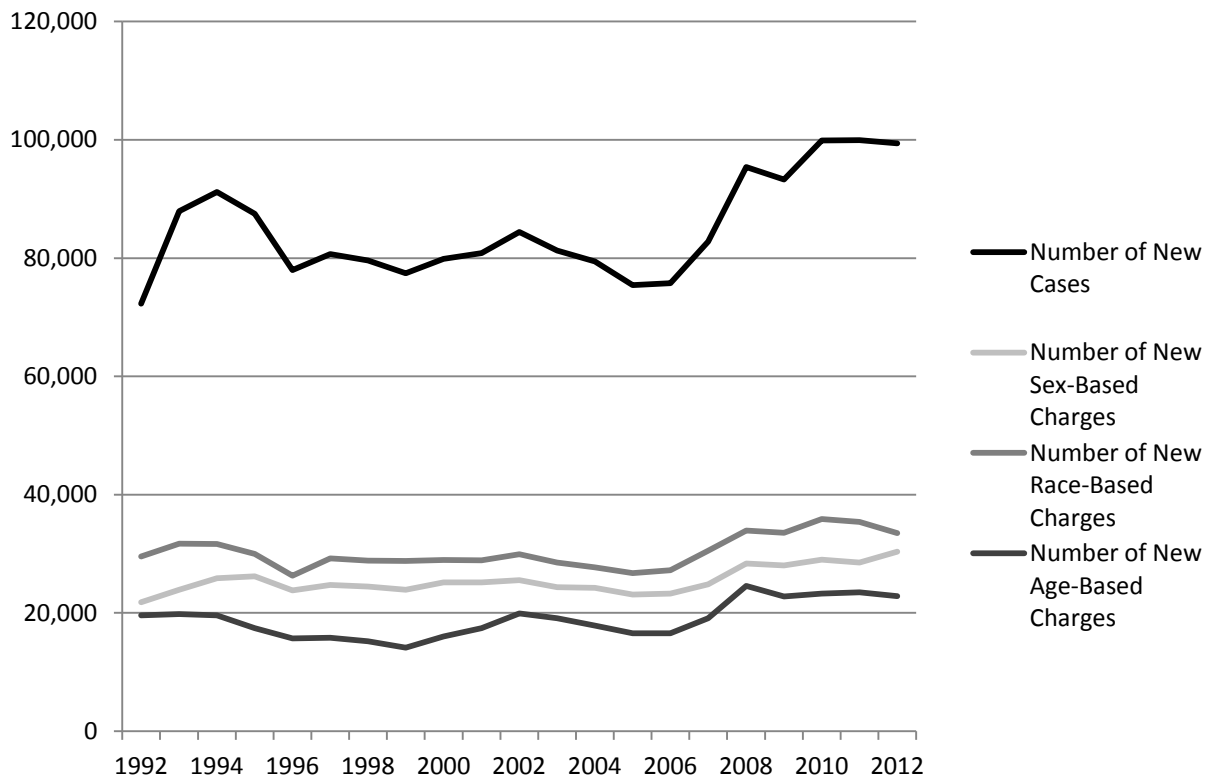
**Figure 1.5** U.S. Workforce Distribution by Gender, 1980-2010. Adapted from “Table 633. Women Employees on Nonfarm Payrolls by Major Industry: 1980 to 2010,” by U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstracts of the United States (2012).



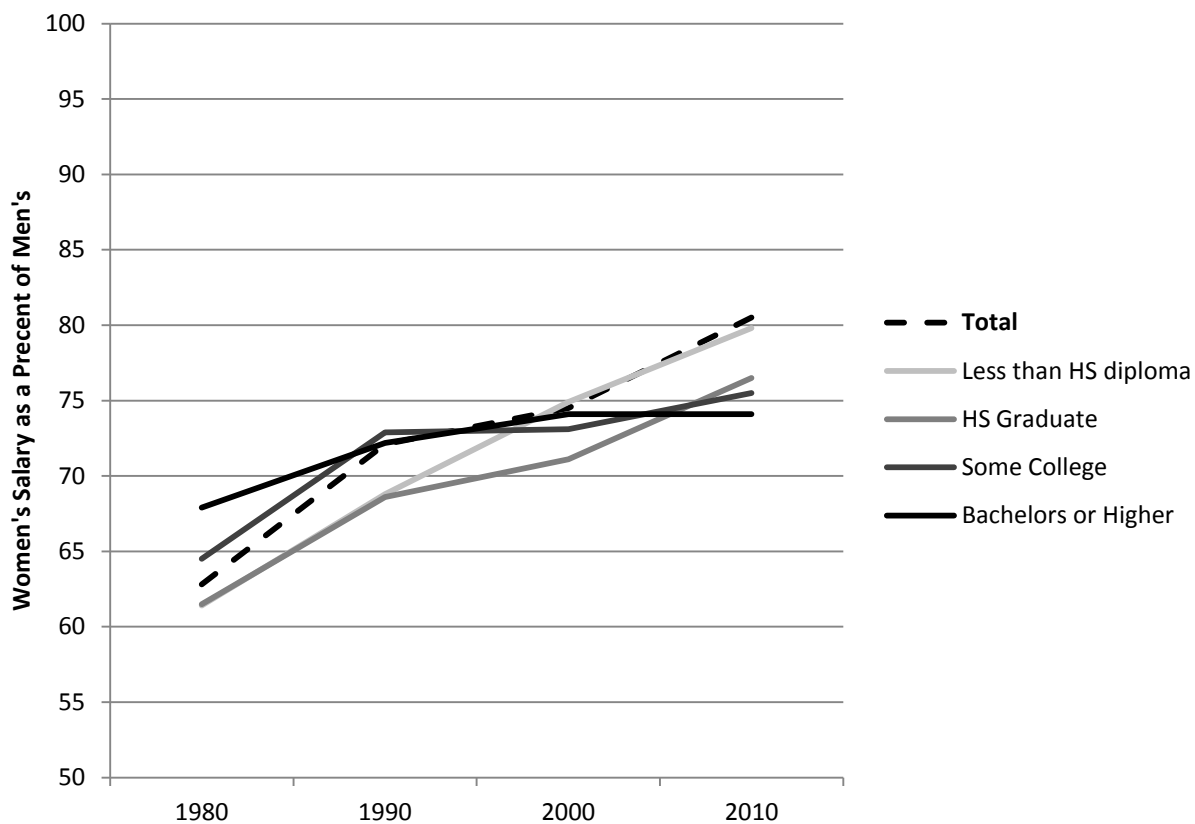
**Figure 1.6** Demographic Composition of U.S. Workforce by Gender, 1970-2000. Note - no values were collected for Hispanic men or women in 1970. Adapted from “Table 587. Civilian Labor Force and Participation Rates with Projections: 1980 to 2018” and “No. 627. Civilian Labor Force and Participation Rates, With Projections: 1970 to 2005” by U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstracts of the United States (2012; 1995).



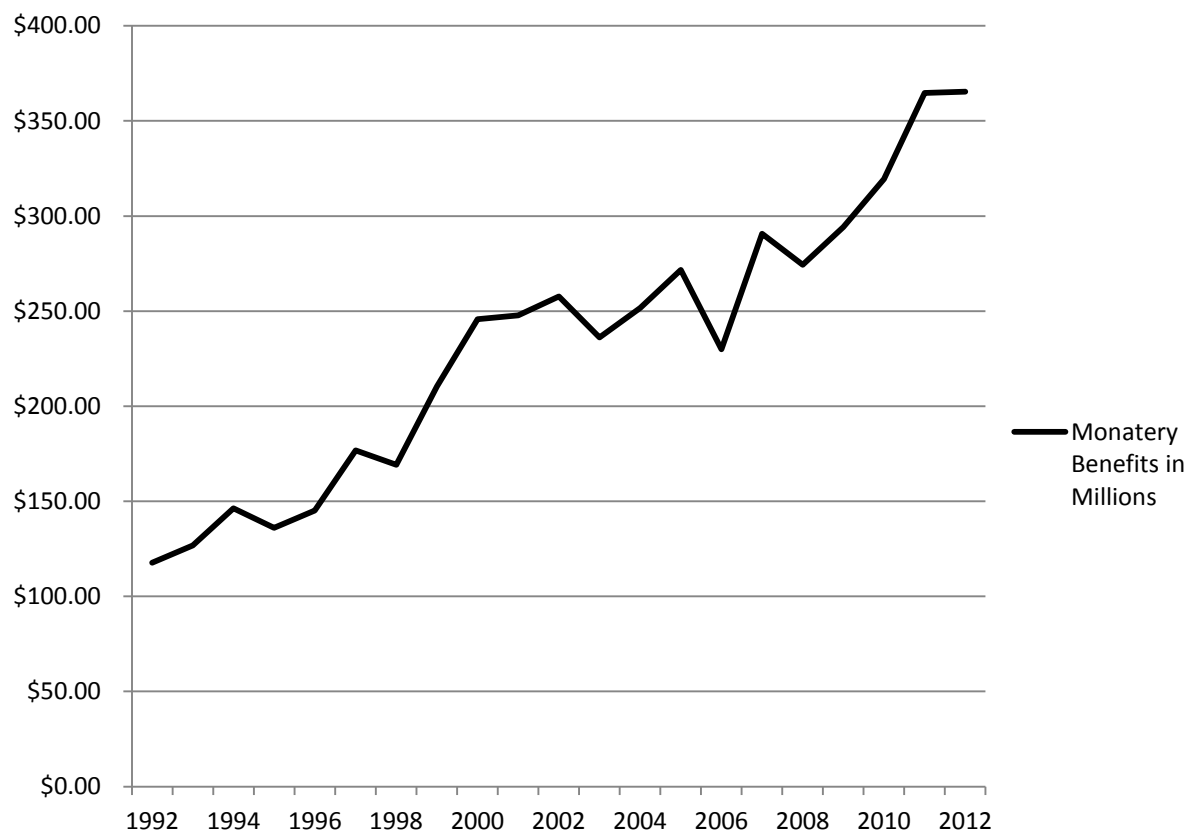
**Figure 1.7** U.S. Workforce Distribution by Age, 1980-2010. Adapted from “Table 592. Civilian Labor Force—Percent Distribution by Sex and Age: 1980 to 2010” by U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstracts of the United States (2012).



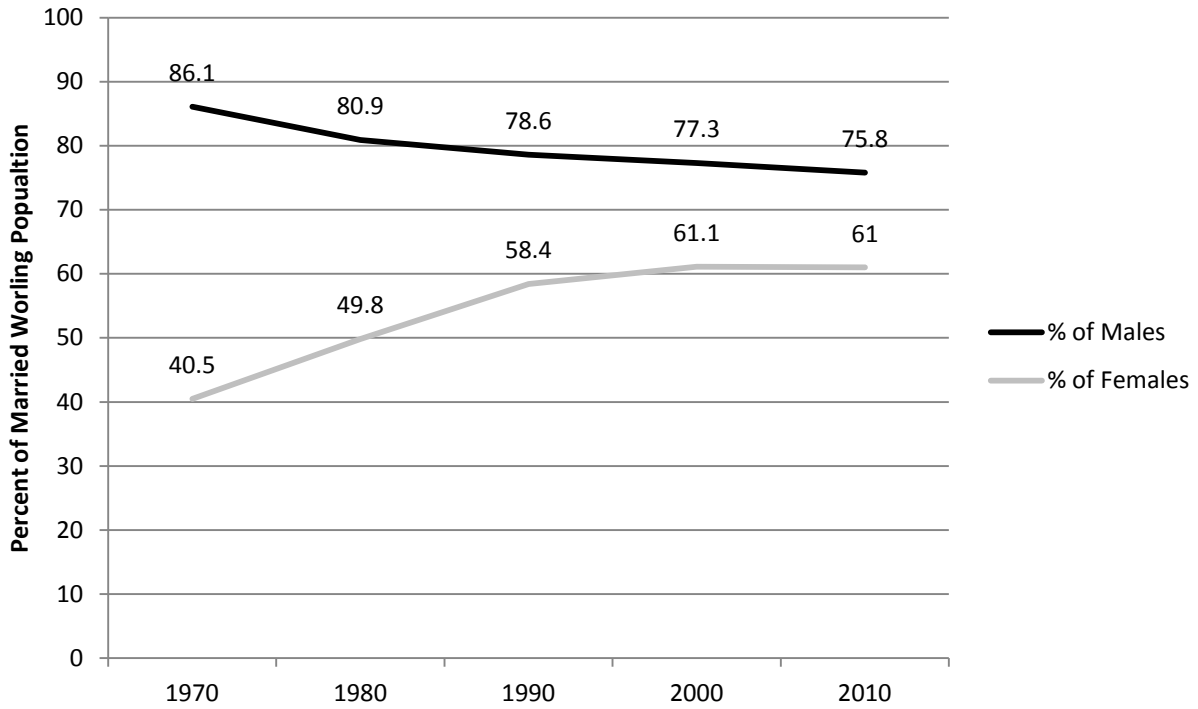
**Figure 1.8** Number of EEOC Cases Charged, 1992-2012. Reflects total number of cases under all statutes enforced by EEOC (Title VII, ADA, ADEA, EPA, and GINA). Adapted from “Charge Statistics FY 1997 Through FY 2012” and “Charge Statistics FY 1992 Through FY 2006,” by U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Employer. Retrieved from <http://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/statistics/enforcement/charges.cfm> and <http://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/statistics/enforcement/charges-a.cfm>



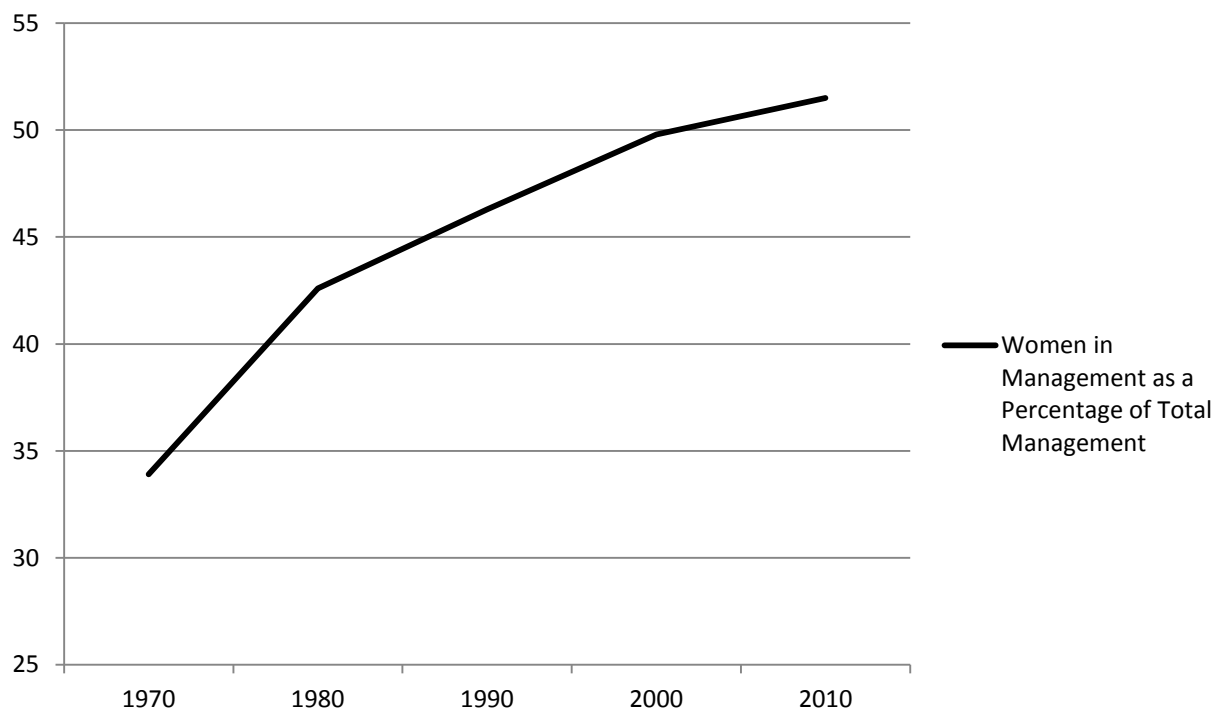
**Figure 1.9** Women's Earnings as a Percentage of Men's Earnings, by Educational Level, 1980-2010. Adapted from "Table 649. Median Usual Weekly Earnings of Full-Time Wage and Salary Workers: 1980 to 2010," by U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstracts of the United States (2012).



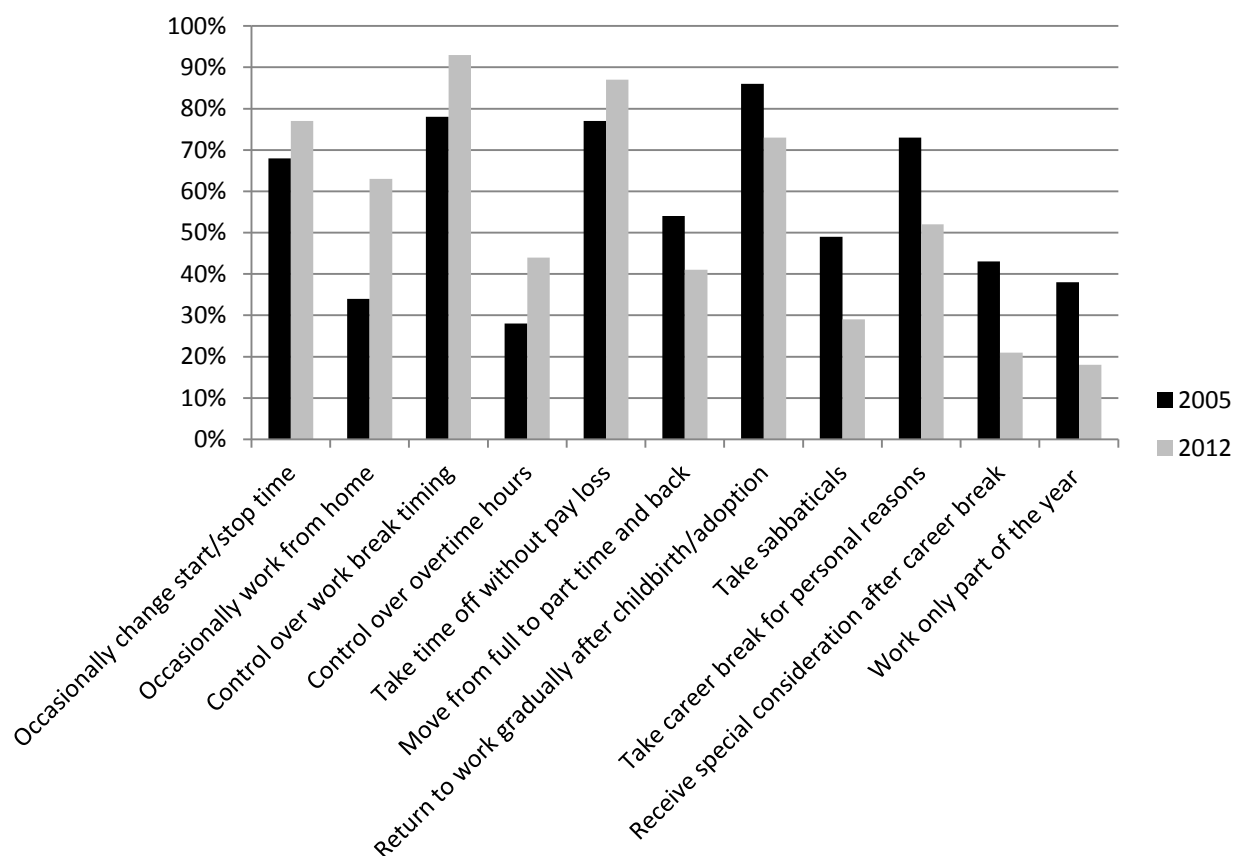
**Figure 1.10** Monetary Benefits from EEOC Cases, 1992-2012. Reflects total number of cases under all statutes enforced by EEOC (Title VII, ADA, ADEA, EPA, and GINA). Does not include monetary benefits awarded through litigation. Adapted from “All Statutes FY 1997 Through FY 2012” and “All Statutes FY 1992 Through FY 2006,” by U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Employer. Retrieved from <http://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/statistics/enforcement/all.cfm> and <http://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/statistics/enforcement/all-a.cfm>



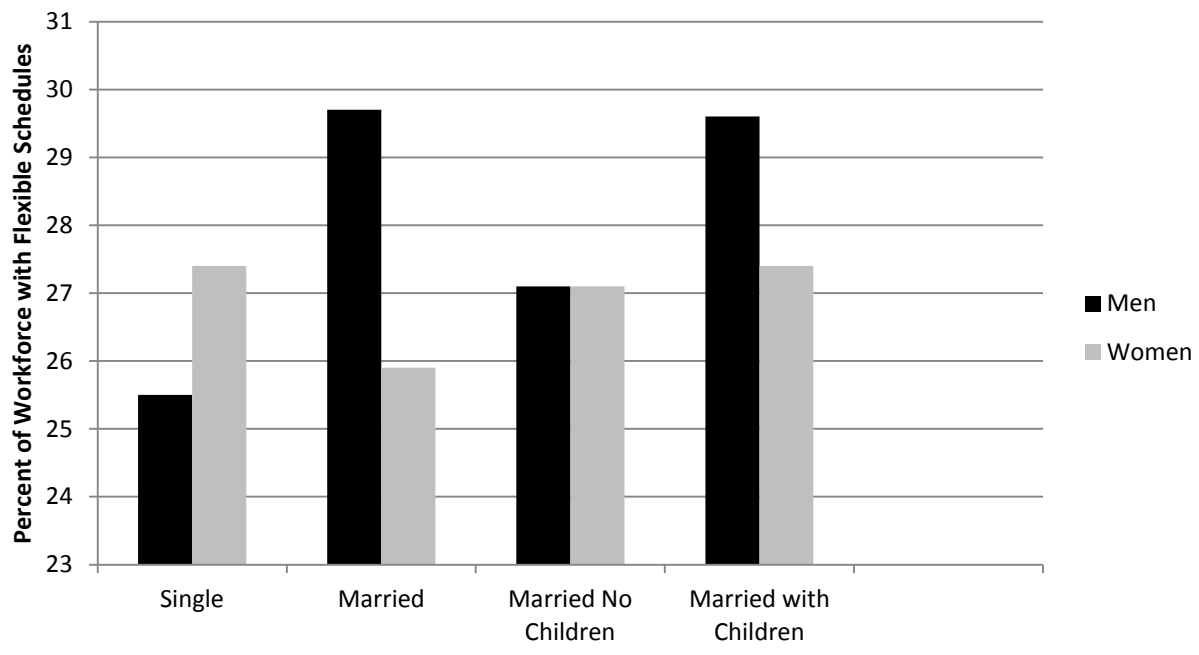
**Figure 1.11** Married Workforce Participation. Adapted from “Table 597. Labor Force Participation Rates by Marital Status, Sex, and Age: 1970 to 2010,” by U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstracts of the United States (2012).



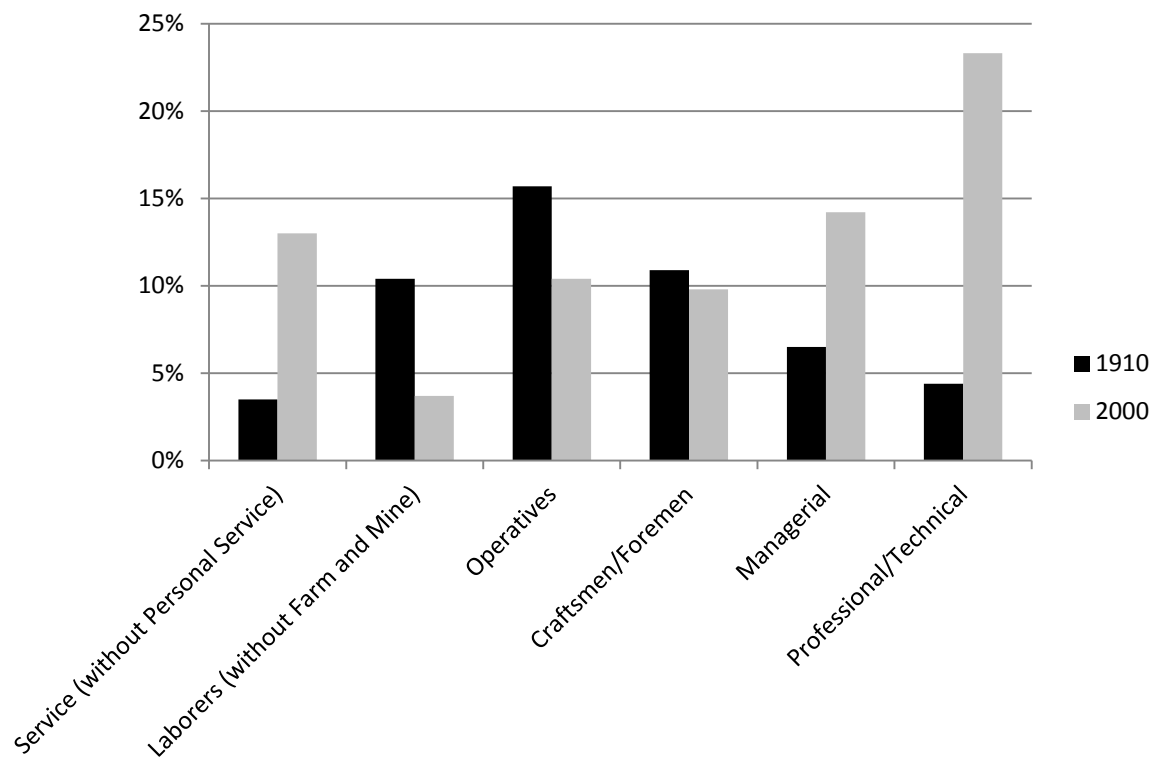
**Figure 1.12** Women in Management as a Percentage of Total (Men and Women) in Management Positions, 1970 - 2010. Adapted from “Table 616. Employed Civilians by Occupation, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 2010,” by Census Bureau, Statistical Abstracts of the United States (2012) “No. 629. Employed Civilians, by Occupation, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 1983 and 1991,” by U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstracts of the United States (1992) and “No. 673 Occupations of the Work-Experienced Civilian Labor Force, by Sex 1970 and 1980,” by U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstracts of the United States (1985).



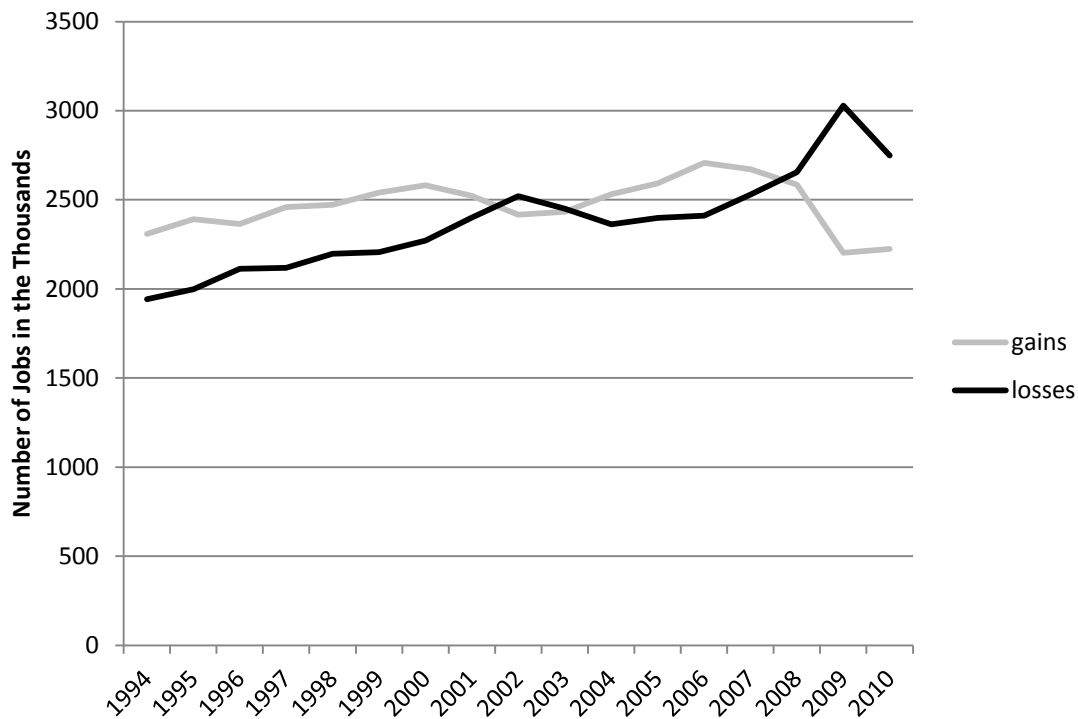
**Figure 1.13** Provision of flexibility trends, 2005 and 2012. Percentages represent number of employers allowing at least some employees flexibility provisions. Only significant differences in levels of flexibility (2005 compared to 2012) are shown. Adapted from “Table 4: Provision of Flexibility from 2005 to 2012,” by K. Matos & E. Galinsky, 2012, p. 16. Copyright 2012 by the Families and Work Institute.



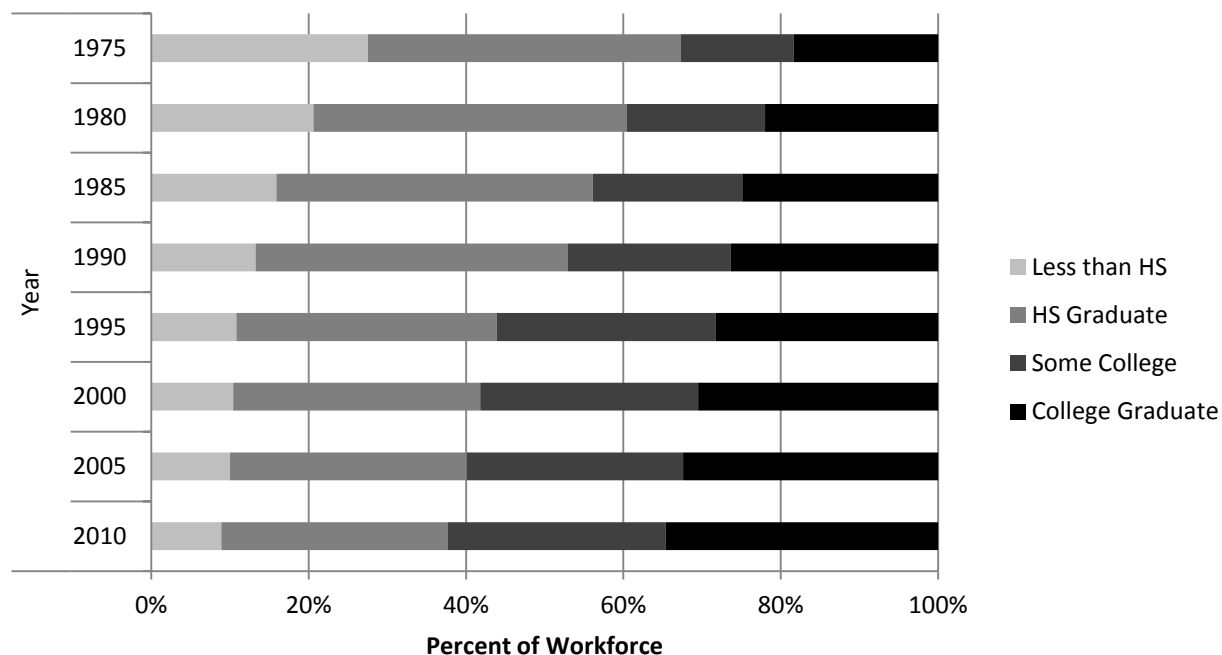
**Figure 1.14** Percent of Workforce with Flexible Schedules, by Gender, 2004. Flexible schedules are defined as employee autonomy to vary when work begins or ends. Adapted from “Table 608. Persons on Flexible Schedules: 2004,” by U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstracts of the United States (2012). See also: <http://www.bls.gov/bls/newsrels.htm#OEUS>



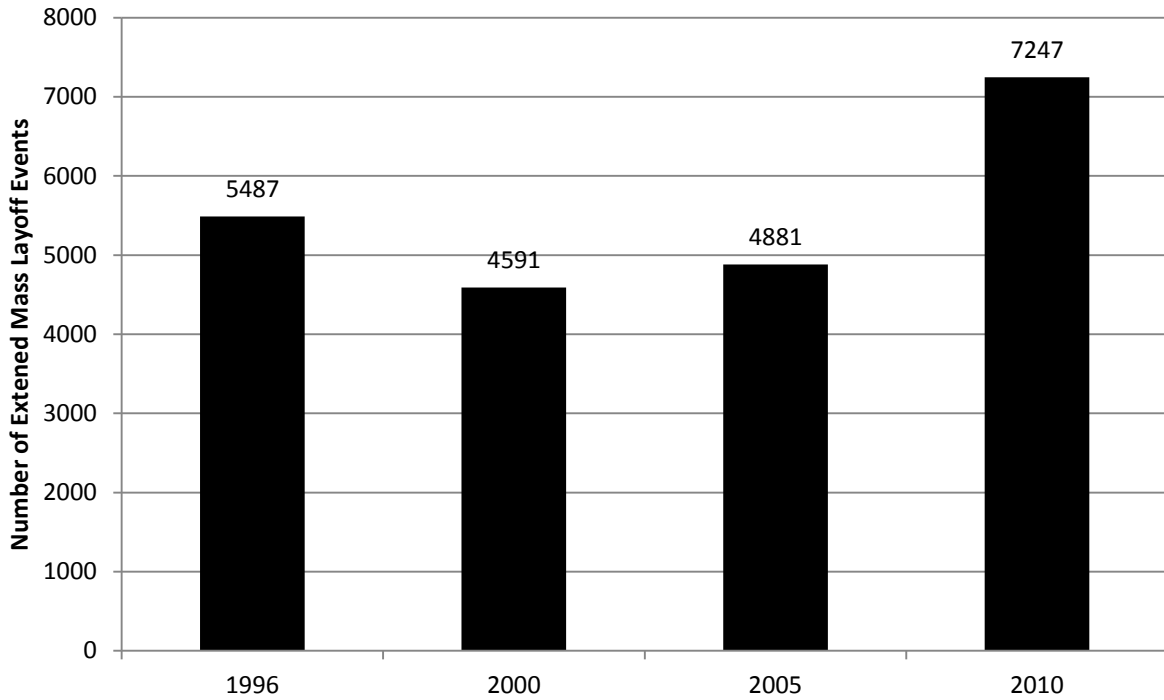
**Figure 1.15** Occupational Group Employment, 1910 and 2000. Service occupations include sales, clerical, and service. Knowledge work occupations include professional/technical. Adapted from “Occupational Changes: Then and Now,” by TED: The Editor’s Desk, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (2006). Retrieved from: <http://www.bls.gov/opub/ted/2006/apr/wk1/art04.htm>



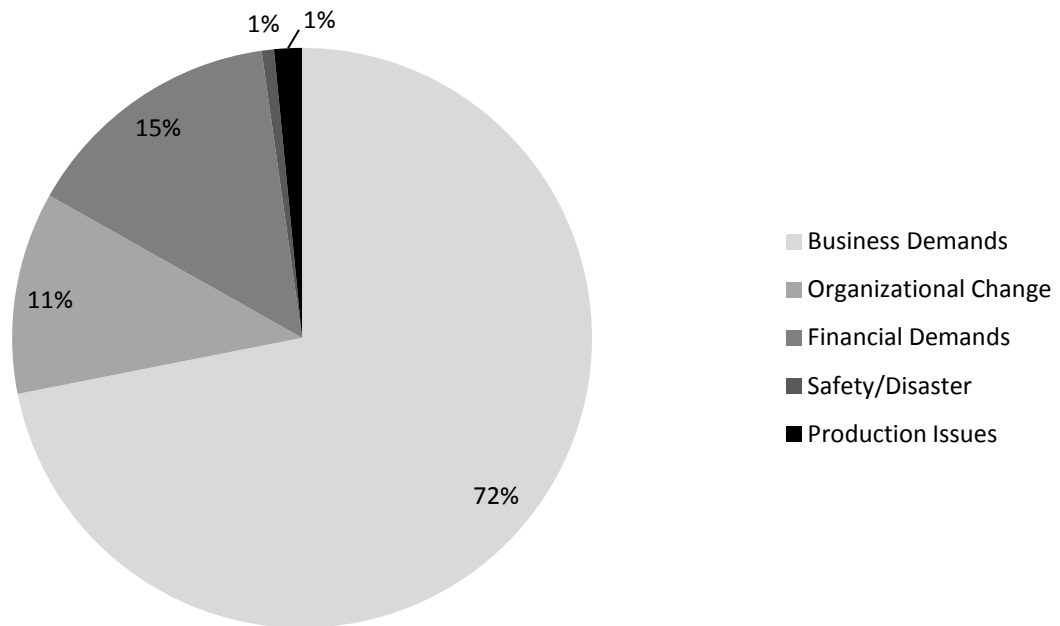
**Figure 1.16** U.S. Organization Expansion and Contraction, Seasonally Adjusted, 1994-2010. Adapted from “Table 3. Number of private sector establishments by direction of employment change, annual March to March,” by Bureau of Labor Statistics (2013). Retrieved from [http://www.bls.gov/web/cewbd/anntab3\\_1.txt](http://www.bls.gov/web/cewbd/anntab3_1.txt)



**Figure 1.17** U.S. Workforce Distribution by Educational Attainment, 1975-2010. Adapted from “Table 593. Civilian Labor Force and Participation Rates by Educational Attainment, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 2000 to 2010” and “No. 611. Civilian Labor Force and Participation Rates, by Educational Attainment, Sex and Race: 1970 to 1991,” by U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstracts of the United States (2012; 1992).



**Figure 1.18** Extended Mass Organizational Layoff Events, 1996-2010. To be considered a mass layoff event, 50 or employees must be terminated within 31 days. Adapted from “Table 634. Private Nonfarm Extended Mass Layoff Activity by Industry and Reason for Layoff: 2000 to 2010” by U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstracts of the United States (2012).



**Figure 1.19** Organization Reported Reasons for Mass Layoff Events, 2010. Excludes ‘seasonal’ and ‘other’ responses. Adapted from “Table 634. Private Nonfarm Extended Mass Layoff Activity by Industry and Reason for Layoff: 2000 to 2010” by U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstracts of the United States (2012).

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW AND HYPOTHESES

#### **Changes in Employee Reports of Demands, Resources, and Professional Well-Being**

To the extent that employees have benefited (or suffered) from the omnibus changes, we would expect to see shifts in how employees feel about their work over time. In the following paragraphs, we describe ways in which employee perceptions of work demands, resources, and well-being variables may have changed<sup>4</sup>.

**Perceptions of Work Demands.** As stated above, job demands are aspects of work that require sustained effort on the part of the employee (Demerouti et al., 2001). Employees can interpret work demands in one of two ways: as a hindrance (i.e., perceived as a threat or impediment to their work goals) or as a challenge (i.e., perceived as a potential growth or learning opportunity; Gilboa, Shirom, Fried, & Cooper, 2008; Eatough, Chang, Miloslavich, & Johnson, 2011). Although demands are not always perceived negatively, when meeting the demand becomes increasingly difficult (e.g., cognitively or emotionally taxing, quick turnaround) or when forced to sustain effort for a long period of time, even ‘challenge’ demands can lead to increased negative effects (e.g., exhaustion, decreased performance) and preclude the utilization of work resources (Bakker, Demerouti, & Verbeke, 2004). Supporting this, both hindrance and challenge stressors have been found to lead to increased strain (e.g., Podsakoff, LePine, & LePine, 2007). We examine four work demands in the current study: psychological stressors, role conflict, role ambiguity, and work family conflict.

***Psychological Stressors.*** Karasek (1979) describes psychological stressors as “an independent variable that measures stress sources, such as work load demands, present in the work environment” (p. 287). In other words, psychological stressors reflect the degree to which an employee perceives his/her work environment as having stressful situations. In the current study, we will use the job demands subscale of Karasek’s (1979) Job Demands and Decision Latitude scale to assess psychological stressors. This measure assesses global perceptions of psychological stressors.

Multiple omnibus changes may have led to an increase in perceptions of psychological stressors in more recent years. First, technological advances, especially in communication and information technology, have possibly altered employees’ perceptions of psychological stressors. With documented national trends of both organizational and consumer technology adoption and usage increasing in more recent years (Figures 1.2 and 1.4), employees are more exposed to new technologies at work, and they are more likely to purchase technologies for use at home. Although ease and flexibility are often cited as organizational benefits of a constantly connected workforce (Baltes et al., 1999; Hill et al., 2001; Valcour & Hunter, 2005), they seem to come at a trade-off to employee stress levels (Madden & Jones, 2008). As stated above, Van der Spiegel (1995) proposed increased technological demands to result in ‘technostress,’ and recent survey-based research lends support to this proposition. For instance, of employees who have access to communication and information technologies at home, 46% reported an increase in work demands and hours worked, 49% reported elevated stress, and 49% reported the communication technologies made it difficult to ‘disconnect’ from work (Madden & Jones, 2008). Furthermore, when asked to what degree have communication and information technologies led to increased work demands, 46% reported that demands have ‘intensified’ and an additional 15% reported

that demands have increased ‘a lot’. Madden and Jones (2008) concluded: “those who are most tethered to work are more likely to say that their gadgets and connectivity have increased demands that they work more hours” (p. *iv*).

Occupational shifts may also have contributed to greater psychological stressors. Knowledge and service occupations have experienced the largest growth in terms of number of employees (Figure 1.15), and both of these industries place significant pressures on their workers. Knowledge work consists of complex and often ambiguous tasks. Employees must often utilize higher-order skills such as analyzing, evaluating, and creating which can lead to a depletion of resources and feeling of cognitive fatigue (Cohen & Spacapan, 1978; Cohen, 1980). Cognitive complexities have been proposed to increase stress perceptions (Karasek, 1979). Service-based jobs holders may experience their own set of unique stressors. As stated above, in service occupations, employees are often in contact with customers. Increased exposure to customers, the need to manage client relationships, and pressure from management to provide excellent customer service may prove taxing on employees’ emotional labor resources (Fried, Levi, & Laurence, 2008; National Academy of Sciences, 1999). Similar to the emotional strain experienced by service workers, the trend in team work, and the associated increase in interdependent work (Wood et al., 2012), may be leading to an increase in stress perceptions in more recent years. Team effectiveness has been proposed to rely on individual members’ interpersonal skills (Perkins & Abramis, 1990). Given the increased popularity of work teams, there may be increased interpersonal demands stemming from the need to work together. For example, a recent study found team member relationship conflict to be positively related to stress perceptions which were found to be associated with decreased job satisfaction and performance (Hon & Chan, 2013). In support, in their review of the team literature, Stevens and Campion

(1994) list ‘conflict resolution’ as one of the most important KSAs for work team performance. Due to stress resulting from availability of communication technology, the cognitive complexities of knowledge-based work, and the increased need to work together with others (e.g., customers, team members), we propose:

*Hypothesis 1: Mean levels of psychological stressors have increased over time.*

**Role Conflict and Ambiguity.** Role theory (Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, & Rosenthal, 1964) states that every job in a well-functioning organization has clear guidelines dictating each employee’s scope of responsibility. Research has primarily investigated two work role problems: role conflict and role ambiguity. Role conflict is the “incompatibility between the expectations of parties or between aspects of a single role” (Fields, 2002; p. 145), and can result from dissensus within the individual (e.g., conflicting work values) or between two or more individuals (e.g., two team members expressing different courses of action; Biddle, 1979). Conversely, role ambiguity or “uncertainty about what actions to take to fulfill a role” (Fields, 2002; p. 145) results from a lack of role certainty, clarity, and predictability (Rizzo, House, & Lirtzman, 1970). Instead of conflict resulting from dissensus, ambiguity results from little or no direction. Rizzo et al.’s (1970) Role Conflict and Ambiguity measure will be used. Both role conflict and ambiguity are assessed as global perceptions with this scale.

Omnibus changes in competition have resulted in an organizational need for greater flexibility, and these pressures may have led to an increase in both conflict and ambiguity in more recent years. Increasing global competition and the associated changes in work structure are often pointed to as evidence that organizations must do “more with less,” meaning organizations seek to do more, while there are few employees to carry out the increased workload (Brockner, 1988, 1992; Brockner, Grover, Reed & DeWitt, 1992). When demands are

high, such as an increased workload, role conflict and ambiguity can result due to contradictory or ill-defined demands placed on the employee. Managing these increased demands (e.g., coping, planning, organizing) taxes employees' cognitive resources; thus, fewer cognitive resources are available to the employee in actually performing the given task (Fried, Ben-David, Tiegs, Avital, & Yeverechyahu, 1998).

The emergence of team-based structures and the shift from functional to more a more project-based orientation have also been speculatively linked to increased role conflict and ambiguity. Specifically, organizational restructurings have been criticized as disruptive to current work systems, sometimes causing incompatibility between work practices and current organizational goals (Cappelli et al., 1997). Additionally, in team settings, more individuals are responsible for a given outcome, and clear delineations of work are less likely to be specified across members, leading to many assumptions and questions around who does what (Kirkman, Jones, & Shapiro, 2000). Furthermore, the strategies described above (i.e., organize into teams, project-based goals) have contributed to a blurring of previously well-defined boundaries between work roles (National Academy of Science, 1999). Thus, possibly causing more conflict (e.g., multiple employees having a role in a given project) and greater ambiguity (e.g., confusion over who is responsible for a certain part). To the extent that employee roles and responsibilities are not clearly defined and that working with others leads to conflict, we expect role conflict and ambiguity to be increasing. Thus, we propose:

*Hypothesis 2: Mean levels of role conflict have increased over time.*

*Hypothesis 3: Mean levels of role ambiguity have increased over time.*

**Work-Family Conflict.** Work-family conflict (WFC) has been defined as “a form of inter-role conflict in which the role pressures from work and family domains are mutually

incompatible in some respect” (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985, p.77). Conflict between work and family responsibilities can occur in two ways: work interfering with family (WIF) and family interfering with work (FIW; Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1992; Williams & Alliger, 1994). In the current study, WFC was assessed with three measures: Gutek, Searle, and Klepa’s (1991) Work Interference with Family scale, Kopelman, Greenhaus, and Connolly’s (1983) Work-Family Conflict scale, and Bohlen and Viveros-Long’s (1981) Job-Family Role Strain scale. Although WIF and FIW are moderately associated (i.e.,  $\rho = .39$ ; Michel, Mitchelson, Kotrba, LeBreton, & Baltes, 2009), some authors suggest keeping them separate (Gutek et al. 1991; Kopelman et al. 1983). Thus, in this meta-analysis, if enough primary studies provide facet-level information, we will look at both WIF and FIW.

WFC is thought to result when significant demands in one role (e.g., work) exhaust the resources required to meet the demands of the other role (e.g., family; Grandey & Cropanzano, 1999). Often, because family and work demands are vying for the same resources, increased functioning in one area can lead to decreased functioning in the other (e.g., working late nights may lead to a raise, but at the sacrifice of spending quality time with family in the evenings; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Given the documented rise in dual-earning families (Figure 1.11) and the increased demands on workers’ time (e.g., hours worked; Ng & Feldman, 2008; Nielson, Carlson, & Lankau, 2001), greater numbers of employees may be struggling to balance both work and family responsibilities. Research on dual-earning families found that dual-earning couples report greater WFC than single-earner families due to the increased number of conflict sources (Hammer, Allen, & Grigsby, 1997). As compared to single-earner families, dual-earner households can experience conflict from the husband’s perceptions of WFC, the wife’s perceptions of WFC, as well as the cross-over between spouses (i.e., cross-over effects, where

one spouse's work or family attitudes may impact the other's work or family attitudes; Hammer, et al., 1997).

Flexible work arrangements have emerged as a popular organizational response to help employees manage both their work and family roles (Bryant, 2000; Felstead, Jewson, Phizacklea, & Walters, 2002; Hill et al., 2001; Hill, Grzywacz, Allen, Blanchard, Matz-Costa, Shulkin, & Pitt-Catsouphes, 2008). And, flexible forms allowing greater accommodation for non-work responsibilities has experienced documented increases (Figure 1.13). Since 2005, five meta-analyses (e.g., Allen, Johnson, Kiburz, & Shockely, 2013; Byron, 2005; Gajendran & Harrison, 2007; Mesmer-Magnus & Viswesvaran, 2006; Michel, Kotrba, Mitchelson, Clark, & Baltes, 2011) have been conducted attempting to ascertain the impact of flexible arrangements on WFC. Findings were mixed, with the strongest support for a decrease in WIF resulting from 'scheduling flexibility' ( $r = -.30$ ; Byron, 2005) and the weakest support resulting from 'flexibility of work location and schedule' ( $r = -.01$ , Mesmer-Magnus & Viswesvaran, 2006). Examining the effects of flexible arrangements on FWI likewise yielded mixed results (i.e., correlations ranged from  $r = -.17$  to  $r = .05$ ; Byron, 2005; Michel et al., 2011). Based on this, although flexible polices can assist, it is possible that they do not fully prevent WFC. Furthermore, although they may offer the allure of flexibility by enabling employees to check-in to work at any time and in any place, utilization of flex-forms can result in employees inability to psychologically distance their work-selves from their non-work selves (Deal, Altman, & Rogelberg, 2010; Nixon & Spector, 2013; Olson-Buchanan & Boswell, 2006; Park, 2009). In support of this, examining the effect of working via communication technology after work hours, Boswell and Olson-Buchanan (2007) found that as hours of technology use increased so too did both spouses' perceptions of WFC. Accordingly, they concluded "[t]he connectivity and

flexibility afforded by [communication technologies] appears to come at the price of heightened work-life conflict” (Boswell and Olson-Buchanan, 2007; p. 605). Taken together, with the increase in dual-earning households, flexible organizational policies, and ease of connecting to work via communication technology, we propose:

*Hypothesis 4: Mean levels of work-family conflict have increased over time.*

**Perceptions of Work Resources.** As mentioned above, work resources are aspects of the work that help in work goal achievement, decrease perceptions of work demands, or promote employee growth and development (Demerouti et al., 2001). Work resources are important in two respects: First, work resources are correlated with positive work attitudes and well-being. And second, work resources can buffer some of the negative effects of high work demands on employee well-being. Many commentators have pointed to possible changes in work resources available to the modern workforce (e.g., Cappelli, 1999; Howard, 1995; O’Toole & Lawler, 2006). We examine three work resources in the current study: perceived organizational support, organizational justice, and decision latitude.

***Perceived Organizational Support.*** Perceived organizational support (POS) has been defined as “global beliefs concerning the extent to which the organization values [employees’] contributions and cares about their well-being” (Eisenberger, Huntington, Huchison, & Sowa, 1986; p. 501). POS is the employee’s perception of the organization’s commitment to them (Rhoads & Eisenberger, 2002). Additionally, POS serves as insurance that the organization will provide support and aid when the employee must perform on-the-job during stressful situations (Rhoads & Eisenberger, 2002). According to social exchange theory (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002; Meyer & Allen, 1997; Mottaz, 1988), employees who believe that their company cares about them are more likely to reciprocate by being loyal to the organization (Eisenberger et al.,

1986; Meyer & Allen, 1997). In the current study, POS will be operationalized with Eisenberger's and colleagues' global Perceived Organizational Support scale.

Restructuring efforts, downsizing and the associated lack of job security have been identified as sources of strain on the employee-employer relationship (Rousseau & Wade-Benzoni, 1995). This seems to be true for both those employees who have been downsized as well as those who 'survived' a downsizing event. Individuals who have previously been downsized often find themselves 'underemployed' in their next organization in terms of pay, title, and skills (Feldman, 1996; Kaufman, 1982; Kuttner, 1994), and they are thought to develop negative attitudes about work in general (Feldman, Leana, & Bolino, 2002). Even survivors of downsized departments report significantly lower POS compared to their counterparts in non-downsized departments (Knudsen, Johnson, Martin, & Roman, 2003). After experiencing an organizational downsizing, 25% of surviving employees feared that they could easily be targeted in a future downsizing initiative compared to only 7% of employees who have not directly experienced a downsizing event (Taylor et al., 2006).

Consistent with the negative organizational perceptions possibly held by both surviving and previously downsized employees, it seems that as a whole, employees hold less positive feelings about their work and workplace. A series of recent national surveys provide evidence that Americans seem to think of their employers in a negative light. For example, public opinion of business corporations was the lowest on record in 2011 with over half (i.e., 62%) of employees sampled holding an unfavorable view of organizations in general (Dimock, Doherty, & Tyson; 2013). One reason for the negative attitudes toward corporations may be a perceived lack of organizational support. Lending support to this, it was estimated that only 25% of U.S. employees think their organization is worthy of their loyalty (Keiningham & Aksoy, 2009) and

over half (i.e., 56%) of employees retrospectively reported that their current employer is less loyal compared to their employer 20-30 years ago (Taylor et al., 2006). With increased organizational restructuring initiatives and the increasingly negative view of business, we propose:

*Hypothesis 5: Mean levels of perceived organizational support have decreased over time.*

**Organizational Justice Perceptions.** Organizational justice is a ‘socially derived’ construct (Cropanzano & Greenberg, 1997) meaning that “an act is defined as just if most individuals perceive it to be so” (Colquitt, Conlon, Wesson, Porter, & Ng, 2001; p. 425). In other words, justice perceptions stem from employee judgments regarding fairness in organizational systems. Two types of justice have received the most research attention: distributive (i.e., employees’ interpretation of the degree of fairness surrounding employer decisions and outcomes; Deutsch, 1975) and procedural (i.e., employees’ interpretation of the degree of fairness surrounding employer processes and systems; Leventhal, 1980). A smaller amount of research has examined justice in communication (i.e., interactive, Bies & Moag, 1986; explanations and sensitivity, Greenberg, 1990). Although Cohen-Charash and Spector (2001) reported procedural and distributive justice types to be strongly correlated (e.g.,  $\rho = .51$ ), previous factor analyses have shown that they are empirically distinct (Gilliland, 1994; Sweeny & McFarlin, 1997). Three measures of justice will be used in the current study: Price and Mueller’s (1986) Distributive Justice Index, Niehoff and Moorman’s (1993) Distributive, Procedural, and Interactive Justice scale, and Moorman’s (1991) Procedural and Interactive Justice measure.

Like POS, significant changes to organizational structures possibly have led to changes in employee perceptions of fairness. However, in the case of organizational justice, it is not so

much that the changes have occurred, but how the initiatives were handled. It has been well documented that the choices made by business leaders during organizational redesigns make or break the initiative (Cappelli et al., 1997). Successful organizational adaptation is increasingly reliant on the leader's ability to generate employee support and enthusiasm for proposed changes, rather than merely trying to overcome employee resistance (Kotter, 2002). Research has identified perceptions of justice in the change process to wield a strong influence on remaining employees. For example, in downsizings, the perceived fairness in treatment of those who were let go seems to greatly color surviving employees' work perspectives and behaviors (Brockner, 1988). Given the negative perception many Americans seem to hold toward organizations in general (Dimock, Doherty, & Tyson; 2013), and to their employer specifically (Keiningham & Aksoy, 2009; Taylor et al., 2006), it is possible that past organizational redesigns may not have been handled justly. Adding to this, after a downsizing, many companies try to forge a new psychological contract with the remaining employees, one that greatly reduces the organization's obligations but adds greater responsibility and requirements to employees (e.g., greater workload, more direct reports; Cappelli et al., 1997). To the extent that employees do not feel adequately compensated for their increased work efforts, organizational justice perceptions will potentially suffer.

Shifts in workplace composition may also have had an impact on perceptions of organizational justice. A brief examination of Figure 1.5, 1.6, 1.7 and 1.17 shows a modern workforce that is quite different than in years past. Due to conflict and discrimination that can arise when differences become salient (Pfeffer, 1983), employee perceptions of fairness may have decreased over time. Minority group members may experience workforce discrimination in functions including: unfair processes and decisions in selection, termination, rewards, and

compensation. Given the surge in court cases charged under EEO regulations (Figure 1.8), protected groups are possibly experiencing greater injustice. Aside from decreased fairness perceptions of minority group members, majority members also may hold greater injustice perceptions in more recent years. For example, many government initiated diversity empowerment programs (e.g., Affirmative Action) and organizational programs designed to help manage diversity (e.g., mentoring, workshops) have been criticized by majority members as promoting ‘reverse discrimination’ (Jackson et al., 1993), and backlash in various forms has been documented (Kidder, Lankau, Chrobo-Mason, Mollica, & Friedman, 2004; Stockdale & Crosby, 2004). Based on the surge of large-scale organizational change initiatives, the negative psychological effects of downsizing, and the changing composition of the American workforce, we propose:

*Hypothesis 6: Mean levels of organizational justice have decreased over time.*

**Decision Latitude.** Decision latitude is “control on the job, specifically, the authority one has to make task-relevant decisions” (Westman, 1992) and has been operationalized as job autonomy, decision authority, or work control (Ganster & Fusilier, 1989; Spector, 1986; Westman, 1992). Karasek (1979) identified two facets of decision latitude: skill discretion (i.e., discretion over skills utilization) and decision authority (i.e.; discretion over job-related decisions); however, these facets are typically combined into overall decision latitude (Ganster & Fusilier, 1989). Karasek’s (1979) Job Demands and Decision Latitude measure will be used to assess decision latitude.

Due to organizational necessity to survive in an increasingly turbulent marketplace, organizations may be seeking greater flexibility through granting greater employee decision latitude. Historically, organizations have not been extremely successful at adapting to changes in

the marketplace. For example, O'Toole and Lawler (2006) examined the top 20 industrial firms listed on the Fortune 500 list in 1975, and found that half were no longer in business today while the other half were "mere shadows of their former selves" (p 26). Given market instability in recent years (Figure 1.16), modern organizations must adapt and evolve increasingly quickly to remain profitable. The key is in gaining flexibility (Rousseau & Wade-Benzoni, 1995) and one way this is thought to be operationalized is through reducing bureaucratic layers of management (Cappelli, et al., 1997; National Academy of Science, 1999; Rousseau & Wade-Benzoni, 1995). This downsizing of middle management has resulted in lower-level employees with a broader scope of responsibility and greater decision authority compared to similar leveled employees of years past (National Academy of Science, 1999), making these relatively low level employees integral to the success of the organization (Rousseau & Wade-Benzoni, 1995). With the decrease in middle management, direct supervision has also decreased (O'Toole & Lawler, 2006). Once the supervisor-subordinate relationship was pivotal with employees reporting to supervisors who dictated what the employee should do (O'Toole & Lawler, 2006). Now, the employee has the authority to make many work-related decisions without seeking approval from above (National Academy of Science, 1999), possibly adding to increased decision latitude in more recent years.

Furthermore, due to increased work demands in terms of long hours and challenging work (Ng & Feldman, 2008; Nielson, et al., 2001), providing employees greater decision latitude should be seen as a critical resource necessary for an effective workplace (Galinsky, Bond, Kim, Backon, Brownfield, & Sakai, 2004; Karasek, 1979). By affording employees a sense of control over their work, decision latitude may help alleviate some of the negative reactions to high work demands (Karasek, 1985). For instance, Coovert (1995) proposed worker on-the-job autonomy could buffer some of the negative effects of highly demanding jobs. In this way, decision latitude

may be a greatly valued resource in the modern workplace. Supporting this, a recent meta-analysis found two closely related job characteristics to the decision latitude facets of skill discretion and decision authority, skill variety (i.e., extent that a job requires the use of a variety of different skills for effective performance) and autonomy (i.e., discretion employees are afforded in determining how and when their job is completed) to be increasing since 1975 (Wood et al., 2012). Based on this, it seems probable that in order to meet increasing organizational and work demands, employees are granted greater decision-making ability and span of control. Together, the downsizing of middle management, decreased supervision, and employees' possible desire for control over their work we propose:

*Hypothesis 7: Mean levels of employee decision latitude have increased over time.*

**Professional Well-Being Perceptions.** As stated above, professional well-being is impacted by the available work resources and the demands placed on the employee. Commentators have pointed to possible changes in worker well-being in recent years (e.g., Cappelli, 1999; Howard, 1995; O'Toole & Lawler, 2006). Below, we examine how three types of professional well-being, job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and burnout perceptions, may have shifted over time.

**Job Satisfaction.** Job satisfaction is "an employee's affective reactions to a job based on comparing actual outcomes with desired outcomes" (Field, 2002; p. 1). Assessed both at the global level (e.g., Brayfield & Rothe, 1951) and with various facets (e.g., Hackman & Oldham, 1975; Smith, Kendall, & Hulin, 1969), job satisfaction is the most researched attitude in the management literature. The current study utilizes four job satisfaction measures: Brayfield and Rothe's (1951) Overall Jobs Satisfaction scale, Hackman and Oldham's (1975) Job Diagnostic Survey (JDS), Smith, Kendall, and Hulin's (1969) Job Descriptive Index (JDI), and the

Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire (MSQ; Weiss, Davis, England, & Lofquist, 1967). All of these measures except for Brayfield and Rothe (1951) and the short form of the MSQ contain various facets in conjunction with an assessment of overall job satisfaction. Although our primary interest is to see if overall job satisfaction has changed, if enough primary studies report facet-levels means, we will also examine possible changes in specific job satisfaction facets.

Through organizational restructuring efforts to flatten hierarchies and subsequently expand each individual employee's contribution to organizational outcomes, employees' jobs are demanding more of their time, energy, and resources. These highly demanding jobs may be contributing to decreased feelings of satisfaction. Specifically, a large national study of U.S. employees estimated that 1 out of every 3 employees is 'chronically overworked' (e.g., feelings of being overwhelmed by how much must be done, feelings of not have enough time to complete work; Galinsky, et al., 2004). Feelings of being overworked were significantly correlated with negative work attitudes such as anger toward the employer and resentment toward coworkers (Galinsky, et al., 2004). Potential effects of an overworked workforce are becoming evident with studies reporting employees seem less motivated to seek and accept advancement opportunities (Families and Work Institute & American Business Collaboration, 2004) and are placing a higher premium on leisure activities (Kennedy, Smith, Wells, & Wellman; 2008; Taylor, Funk, & Craighill, 2006; Twenge et al., 2010).

Furthermore, some retrospective evidence suggests that employees believe their jobs and work lives to be less satisfying compared to years past. Specifically, a survey of employee work perceptions found 59% of respondents agreed that today, as compared to 20 or 30 year back, employees must continually work harder to earn a decent living, and 39% reported that life in the workplace (e.g., overall perceptions of work-related experiences) is getting worse as years

continue (Taylor et al., 2006). Some commentators believe organizational leaders know employee morale is at an all time low (Cappelli, 1999). From the perspective of the employee, the organization offers no reparation for perceived damages (e.g., psychological breach, increased workload); however, the employee cannot simply lessen work performance without the possibility of termination. In other words, “[t]hey are tied to the company because they feel that have to be, and their performance does not decrease because they are afraid of being fired” (Cappelli, 1999; p. 131). Because organizational performance has not been greatly impacted, low work morale levels have received little attention from leadership (Cappelli, 1999).

Some recent research has sought to examine the possibility of changes in job satisfaction across generations (e.g., Benson & Brown, 2011; Costanza et al., 2012; Kowske, Rasch, & Wiley, 2010; Wilson et al., 2008), but the evidence is mixed with some studies finding decreases in job satisfaction (Benson & Brown, 2011; Wilson et al., 2008) and others increases (Kowske et al., 2010). In attempt to clarify generational trends, Costanza et al. (2012) conducted a meta-analysis of primary cross-sectional studies examining shifts in common job attitudes across generations. Their meta-analysis provides some support, albeit weak, for a decrease in job satisfaction with more recent generations. However, due to methodological constraints typical of many generational difference studies (Gentile, Wood, Twenge, Hoffman, & Campbell, in press), there is reason to believe decreases in job satisfaction may be more robust. Together, the increased likelihood for chronically overworked employees, the fear of termination, and the limitations of the generational change literature, we propose:

*Hypothesis 8: Mean levels of job satisfaction have decreased over time.*

***Organizational Commitment.*** Mowday, Steers, and Porter (1979) define organizational commitment (OC) as “the relative strength of an individual’s identification with and involvement

in a particular organization” (p. 226). In other words, OC reflects the psychological linkage of the employee to the organization (Mathieu & Zajic, 1990). More recently, researchers have taken a multifaceted approach to OC with three facets examining different motivations behind an employee’s link to the company: affective commitment (i.e., feelings of organizational loyalty), continuance commitment (i.e., feelings that the costs of leaving the organization out-weigh the perceived benefits), and normative commitment (i.e., feelings that it is right to not leave the company; Meyer & Allen, 1991). OC will be assessed with Mowday et al. (1979; Mowday, Porter, & Steers, 1982) global Organizational Commitment Questionnaire (OCQ) and Allen and Meyers’ (1990; 1997) Affective, Normative, and Continuance Commitment scale. Meyer and Allen’s scale assesses three facets of OC (e.g., Affective [AC], Continuance [CC], and Normative [NC]).

Given the mass layoffs since the 1990’s (Figure 1.18), many organizations seem to be embracing flatter, more flexible hierarchies. On-going structural changes to organizational hierarchies are purported to have altered the employee-employer psychological contract presumably impacting OC (Bal, Lange, Jansen, & Van Der Velde, 2008; Zhao, Wayne, Glibkowski, & Bravo, 2007). Psychological contract breach occurs when the employee believes that the organization has failed to keep its obligations to the employee (Morrison & Robinson, 1997), and downsizings are a commonly listed culprit of breach (Allen, Freeman, Russell, Reizenstein & Rentz, 2001; Gakovic & Tetrick, 2003; Robinson, 1996). Two recent meta-analyses found employee perceptions of psychological contract breach to be moderately related to decreased commitment ( $\rho = -.39$  to  $-.38$ ; Bal, De Lange, Jansen & Van Der Velde, 2008; Zhao et al., 2007). Coupled with this, as Figure 1.19 shows, the dominant reasons for recent mass layoffs have little to do with employee performance, and a retrospective survey found that 62%

of employed respondents agreed that 'job security' has decreased relative to 20-30 years ago (Taylor et al., 2006), possibly meaning that employees have little trust in their organizations. According to social exchange theory (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002; Meyer & Allen, 1997; Mottaz, 1988), low levels of perceived employee support on the part of the organization often results in low employee commitment to the organization.

Perhaps the strongest support for a decrease in OC is evidenced with the trend in job hopping in which employees seem to jump from job-to-job relatively quickly. A longitudinal study conducted by the U.S. Department of Labor (2006) indicated that in a 22 year period, men made an average of 10.4 job changes and women changed jobs 9.9 times on average. This equates to a getting a new job almost every two years and is a stark contrast to the traditional 'job for life' model common only a few decades back (Cappelli, 1999; Howard, 1995). Possibly, a lack of commitment to the organization is behind these relatively frequent job changes. Supporting this, in their retrospective survey, Taylor et al. (2006) found 51% of respondents agreed that employees are less committed to their current employers relative to 20-30 years back.

Some recent generational changes studies have examined possible shifts in OC across time (e.g., Costanza et al., 2012; Lub et al., 2011). The literature, however, is contradictory when drawing conclusions regarding generational differences in OC. Some authors report generational differences (e.g., Lub, et al., 2011), while others found no differences in OC (e.g., Benson & Brown, 2011; Cennamo & Gardner, 2008; Nelson, 2012). Pulling from Costanza et al.'s (2012) meta-analysis, the evidence for decreases in OC across generations is mixed, with no strong trends in more or less commitment across generations. However, like job satisfaction, the generational literature examining OC is limited regarding what can be detected and what inferences can be drawn (Gentile et al., in press). Costanza et al.'s (2012) meta-analysis is further

limited by the relatively small number of studies available to look at each relationship and confidence intervals that generally contain zero. Due to the limitations of the generational change literature, coupled with increased breaches to the psychological contract and the job hopping trend, we propose:

*Hypothesis 9: Mean levels of organizational commitment have decreased over time.*

**Burnout.** Burnout is “a syndrome of emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and reduced personal accomplishment that can occur among individuals who work with people in some capacity” (Maslach, Jackson, & Leiter, 1996; p.4). Burnout will be assessed the Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI; Maslach & Jackson, 1981; Maslach & Jackson, 1986; Maslach, Jackson, & Leiter, 1996). The MBI has three forms (i.e., MBI Human Services Survey [HSS], General Survey [GS], and the Educators Survey [ES]) based on the population of interest. Each of the forms assesses three facets of burnout (i.e., emotional exhaustion, depersonalization or cynicism, and lack of personal accomplishment or professional efficacy).

As is evident from the national trends reported above, organizations increasingly need to evolve in the marketplace in order to beat out competitors and remain profitable. Demands resulting from recent downsizing initiatives (i.e., heavy workload, greater role responsibility, stress; Maslach & Leiter, 2008), highly complex work (National Academy of Science, 1999), pressures to learn new technology (e.g., ‘technostress’, Van der Spiegel, 1995), and increased performance monitoring techniques (Varca, 2006), have each been proposed to increase perceptions of work overload (i.e., too much work, too little time) and result in greater levels of burnout (Brantely, 1993; Shirom, Westman, Shamai, & Carel, 1997). To meet pressing organizational demands, employees are working longer hours (Ng & Feldman, 2008). Although in the short term, longer hours may lead to increased employee output, in the long run, increased

hours worked has negative effects on both employee well-being (e.g., physical and mental health, burnout) and organizational productivity (Ng & Feldman, 2008; Robinson, Flowers, & Carroll, 2001; Spence & Robbins, 1992). For example, the results of a study conducted by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention links overworked symptoms (e.g., feeling too tired, high work commitments, long work hours) to poor nutrition and inactivity at work (Blackford, Jancey, Howat, Ledger, & Lee, 2012). Furthermore, overworked employees report greater stress, depression, and poor overall health (Galinsky, et al., 2004). With burnout a key mediator between job demands and health outcomes (Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004), it seems that overworked employees also are experiencing greater burnout.

Based on our previous arguments for possible changes in work demands and resources, arguments can also be made for changes in burnout. Specifically, we propose the modern workforce to perceive greater work demands compared to employees of previous decades. Based on the evidence cited above, it seems that workers can be described as overly stressed and possibly inclined to experience conflict in terms of their role within the organization as well as balancing work and family demands. According to the JD-R, demands alone may not necessarily lead to a burned out workforce. It depends on the employees' perceived work resources. Of the three resources we reviewed above, we proposed decreases in all but one. Specifically, we speculate that the modern workforce possibly feels uncommitted and unjustly treated. Decision latitude is the sole resource in which we proposed increases. However, as previous authors have purported (e.g., Frankenhaeuser & Lundberg, 1982; Nixon & Spector, 2013; Wood et al., 2012), too much work autonomy can function as a source of stress. For example, increased decision latitude may be perceived as too much responsibility, difficulties in time management, or ambiguity over what needs to get done; and therefore, although traditionally categorized as a

resource, decision latitude, may indeed function as a demand. Taken together, the modern workforce may be experiencing greater burnout compared to previous generations of workers.

From this, we hypothesize:

*Hypothesis 10: Mean levels of burnout have increased over time.*

## CHAPTER 3

### METHOD

#### **Literature Search**

Studies were located using an electronic search of Web of Science. In order to ensure that all relevant articles were identified, a combination of citation searches and topic searches of key constructs (i.e., ‘job satisfaction’, ‘organizational commitment’, ‘job demands’, ‘decision latitude’, ‘burnout’, ‘organizational justice’, ‘perceived organizational support’, ‘work family conflict’, ‘role conflict’, ‘role ambiguity’) were used. The citations included as part of the citation search were scale development studies for the measures of interest or seminal articles, generally cited for the measure used. The number of studies identified for each construct varied from 8,885 (job satisfaction) to 901 (role conflict and ambiguity). Together, we identified 16,120 non-redundant articles across all constructs of interest.

#### **Criteria for Inclusion**

Studies were included if they: (a) measured one or more of the variables of interest with an associated measure of interest, (b) reported the mean score on the measure and associated sample size, and (c) were conducted using U.S. based workplace samples. The focus on U.S. based samples is important in order to avoid confounding time-based changes with cultural differences (Rousseau & Fried, 2001). All searches were limited to articles with U.S. samples written in English using Web of Science’s limiter selection feature.

Studies were included only if 100% of the sample was employed at the time of data collection (studies sampling volunteers, homemakers, retirees, non-working students were

excluded). Validation and norming studies and studies using data presented in these studies (e.g., Maslach et al. MBI manuals, Maslach & Jackson, 1981, 1985; House & Rizzo, 1972; Tausig, Fenwick, Sauter, Murphy & Graif, 2004; Choi, Kawakami, Chang, Koh, Bjorner, Punnett & Karasek, 2008) were not included because the sample size of these studies are generally much larger than any other included study, possibly biasing the results, and because not all measures included in this study have extensive norming information (e.g., Moorman, 1991; Neifoff & Moorman, 1993). For quasi-experimental studies, that manipulated some aspect of the job, we included a baseline mean only, and not the mean of the experimental condition. For longitudinal studies, we averaged the multiple time points for the time span < 3 years. For longitudinal studies that stretched beyond three years, we took the mean provided from the first year of data collection. Similarly, if a longitudinal study reported a manipulation in between time one and time two (e.g., participants are enrolled in a training session designed to decrease their perceptions of burnout), only baseline, time one data will be included.

Due to the cross-temporal nature of the current study, we must exclude primary studies that altered a measure of interest. Measures are typically altered in terms of number of items (either adding items or removing items), combining different measures of the same construct, or changing item wording. Although rare, a handful of studies made minor changes to item wording in order to make the items more applicable to the population of interest. For example, an item asking “I often feel burned out when talking with my teammates” may be changed to “I often feel burned out when talking with my coworkers/students/customers/clients/etc.” In these few cases, we included the study. Based on these criteria for inclusion, we retained 1,054 total studies across all constructs, resulting in 1,177 independent data points. However, there was

substantial variability across constructs, with the largest  $k$  for affective commitment ( $k=349$ ) and the smallest for distributive justice ( $k=24$ ).

### **Coding of Studies**

**Primary studies.** The mean, standard deviation, coefficient alpha, number of items, and scaling associated with each measure were collected. Sample information was also collected including: year the study was published, sample size, percent male, mean sample age and standard deviation, percent married, average organizational tenure and standard deviation, average occupational tenure and standard deviation, average hours worked per week and standard deviation, average hours with family per week and standard deviation, and job type by recording the description of the sample's job. All studies were coded by at least two trained coders. To calculate coder agreement, variables central to analyses collected from each study (i.e., mean, standard deviation, number of items, scaling, and year of data collection) were compared across coders for each data point of a given variable. Total agreement on a given variable was the percent agreed out of the total number of coded studies for a given variable. Average agreement across all variables was found to be relatively high (90%) and range from a high of 92% for perceived organizational support to a low of 83% work-family conflict. Disagreements were resolved by consensus.

**Measures.** The measures of the 14 focal variables were chosen based on: (a) when the measure was developed (i.e., age) and (b) how many times the measure has been cited (i.e., popularity). Below are descriptions of the measures included in this meta-analysis. Many of the measures of interest included facets and thus, we coded both facet and construct information for the focal construct of interest. For some of the measures, it is common practice to report and interpret both overall scores as well as facets. Specifically, job satisfaction can include both a

global as well as individual facets (e.g., overall job satisfaction, satisfaction with pay, satisfaction with supervisor). In these cases, we collected both sets of information and report findings at the global as well as facet level. On the other hand, some of the other measures of interest should not be combined across different facets. Specifically, burnout, one measure of organizational commitment (e.g., Meyer & Allen, 1990), work family conflict (e.g., Gutek, et al., 1991; Kopelman et al., 1983), and justice (e.g., Niehoff & Moorman, 1993; Moorman, 1991) consist of multiple facets that should not be combined into a global construct (Gililand, 1994; Gutek et al. 1991; Kopelman et al. 1983; Maslach, Jackson, & Leiter, 1996; Meyer & Allen, 1990; Sweeney & McFarlin, 1997). In these cases, means for each facet were collected separately, and no total or global construct mean was collected or calculated.

***Psychological Stressors.*** The job demands subscale of Karasek's (1979; 1985) Job Demands Questionnaire (JCQ) was used to assess psychological stressors. This subscale describes psychological stressors related to aspects of the workplace such as time pressure and workload. The measure assesses global perceptions of psychological stressors. Both the newer nine item version ('Full Recommended Job Demands Questionnaire') as well as the older five item version ('Framingham Core') were included (Karasek, 1985). Items from both versions are scored on a 1-4 point scale and then weighted according to the JCQ scoring guide (Karasek, 1985).

***Role Conflict and Ambiguity.*** Rizzo, House, and Lirtzman's (1970) Role Conflict and Ambiguity measure was selected. Both role conflict and ambiguity are assessed globally. Role conflict items assess conflict in terms of interrole (conflict resulting from holding multiple, conflicting roles), intrarole (conflict resulting from conflicting responsibilities of a single role), and intersender conflict (conflict resulting from conflicting information provided by others) and

are measured with eight items. Six items are used to measure role ambiguity, which assess ambiguity resulting from lack of role certainty, clarity, and predictability. In studies where researchers reversed scored role ambiguity to assess role clarity, role clarity was re-reversed scored to denote role ambiguity. Both facets were originally constructed on a 7-point scale; however, because many researchers reported using a 5-point scale, studies using either were included.

***Work-family conflict.*** WFC was assessed with four measures: Gutek, Searle, and Klepa's (1991) Work Interference with Family scale, Kopelman et al.'s (1983) Work-Family Conflict scale, Netemeyer, Boles, and McMurrian's (1996) Work-Family Conflict and Family-Work Conflict scale, and Bohlen and Viveros-Long's (1981) Job-Family Role Strain scale. Gutek et al.'s, Kopelman et al.'s, and Netemeyer et al.'s measures assess both facets of WFC (i.e., WIF and FIW) while Bohlen and Viveros-Long's scale only assesses global conflict perceptions. Both 5-point and 7-point response formats were collected.

***Perceived organizational support.*** POS was assessed with Eisenberger and colleagues' Perceived Organizational Support scale (SPOS). Many versions of this scale exist, the most popular being: Eisenberger et al.'s (1986) 17 item, 16 item, and nine item versions (Eisenberger, Fasolo, & Davis-Lamastor, 1990 are also credited with the nine item version), an eight item version (Eisenberger, Cummings, Armeli, & Lynch, 1997; Eisenberger, Rhoades, & Cameron, 1999; Lynch, Eisenberger, & Armeli, 1999; Rhoades, Eisenberger, & Armeli, 2001), and a six item version (Eisenberger, Armeli, Rexwinkle, Lynch, & Rhoades, 2001; Rhoades Shamock & Eisenberger, 2006). Both 5-point and 7-point response formats were collected.

***Organizational justice.*** Justice perceptions were measured with three scales: Price and Mueller's (1986) six item Distributive Justice Index (as well as the five item modified version by

Mansour-Cole and Scott, 1998; Moorman, 1991), Nieffoff and Moorman's (1993) Distributive (five items), Procedural (six items), and Interactive (nine items) Justice scale, and Moorman's (1991) Procedural (seven items) and Interactive (six items) Justice measure. Both 5-point and 7-point response formats were collected.

**Decision latitude.** Karasek's (1979; 1985) JCQ was used to assess decision latitude. Karasek's scale assesses decision latitude in terms of employee skill discretion and decision making authority on the job. Nine items comprise the JCQ's decision latitude sub-scale. Items are scored on a 1-4 point scale and then weighted according to the JCQ scoring guide (Karasek, 1985).

**Job Satisfaction.** The current study utilized four job satisfaction measures: Brayfield and Rothe's (1951) Overall Jobs Satisfaction scale, Hackman and Oldham's (1975, 1976, 1980) Job Diagnostic Survey (JDS), Smith, Kendall, and Hulin's (1969) Job Descriptive Index (JDI), and the Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire (MSQ; Weiss, Davis, England, & Lofquist, 1967). All of these measures except for Brayfield and Rothe (1951) contain facets as well as an assessment of overall job satisfaction (either a general job satisfaction subscale [e.g., JDI] or global job satisfaction is obtained by averaging satisfaction facets together [e.g., MSQ short form]). For example, the JDI assesses satisfaction with the work itself with an 18 item subscale while the short form of the MSQ assesses global job satisfaction by averaging two facets of intrinsic and extrinsic satisfaction. All global and facet-level information from primary studies was collected.

**Organizational commitment.** Organizational commitment was assessed with Mowday et al.'s (1979; 1982) Organizational Commitment Questionnaire (OCQ). The OCQ has two forms, a 15 item version and a shortened nine item version. Both assess global commitment (i.e., affective commitment) to the organization. Additionally, Meyer and Allen's (1984; 1990)

Affective, Normative, and Continuance Commitment scale was used. Unlike Mowday et al.'s commitment measure, Meyer and Allen's scale assesses three facets of organizational commitment (e.g., Affective, Continuance, and Normative), and, because it is recommended to keep these facets separate (Meyer & Allen, 1997), this measure was not averaged into an overall or global commitment score. Both versions of Meyer and Allen's scale, eight items and the six items per facet, are included.

***Burnout.*** Burnout was assessed the Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI; Maslach & Jackson, 1981; Maslach & Jackson, 1986; Maslach et al., 1996). The MBI has three forms (i.e., MBI Human Services Survey, General Survey, and the Educators Survey) based on the population of interest. Each of the forms assesses three facets of burnout (i.e., emotional exhaustion, depersonalization or cynicism, and lack of personal accomplishment or professional efficacy) on a 0-6 frequency scale<sup>5</sup>.

Most measures included in this meta-analysis were developed and validated using either a 5-point or 7-point response scale. Based on the articles examined in this study, researchers seemed more consistent in using the validated scale for some measures and for others, there was more variability in terms of scaling (e.g., changing a 7-point scale to a 5-point scale to match other variables' scaling in the study). Due to this, for all measures validated on either a 5-point or 7-point scale, all studies using either scale were collected. Karasek's JCQ, Sim et al.'s JDI, and Malach and colleagues' MBI are the only measures included in this meta-analysis that have unique scaling or weighting systems. The JCQ is assessed on a 4-point scale and is weighted according to the equation provided in the scoring guide (Karasek, 1985). The JDI uses a response scale of 3, 1, or 0, and the MBI is a 7-point scale with response anchors of 0 to 6. All of these have extensive norming information (with cut-off scores for high and low levels of their

constructs based on their scaling/weighting mechanisms). Due to this, many authors choose to use these as originally intended. When using these measures, authors often cite the norming scores and compare their sample to the normed scores. We excluded any measure that deviated from the validated version.

### **Standardization**

Means were standardized to account for differences in scaling and versions of a measure. Specifically, for a given variable, each measure assessing that variable was divided into groups based on a combination of measure version (i.e., number of items) and scaling. For example, we identified three versions of Brayfield and Rothe's job satisfaction measure (OJS; i.e., an 18 item, a six item, and a five item). Each of these versions could be assessed via a 5-point or a 7-point scale. Together, this resulted in six groups for this measure. Each group's means were then standardized within the given group (e.g., all means from the 18 item version with a 5-point scale were standardized alone; all means from the 18 item version on a 7-point scale were standardized alone). This allows for the inclusion of all studies that used any identified version of the Brayfield and Rothe' OJS measure on any commonly used scale (5-point or 7-point).

A similar process was used to assess trends in a given construct assessed with multiple measures (and multiple measure versions and scaling). Specifically, study means were divided into groups based on a combination of the measure used, the version of the measure, and the scaling, and standardized within these groups. For example, for job satisfaction, we included four measures of general job satisfaction (i.e., OJS, JDS, JDI, and MSQ), and total of 12 groups were constructed. Along with the six groups formed from the OJS, two were created for the MSQ (20 items, 5-point; 20 items, 7-point), four for the JDS (three items, 5-point; three items, 7-point; five items 5-point; five items 7-point), and one for the JDI (18 items, 0, 1, and 3 point scale). Means

were standardized within their respected group and then standardized means from all 12 groups were used as the criterion variable in the regression analysis.

As is apparent, the number of groups varied by measure. The measure with the most groups was SPOS (Eisenberger and colleagues) which resulted in 10 groups. However, some measures only had one group (i.e., JDI, JCQ's Decision Latitude). Importantly, due to the need to standardize means within groups, groups with a  $k$  under five were excluded from analysis. This occurred for a total of three variables, resulting in the exclusion of 22 studies<sup>6</sup>.

### **Cross-Temporal Meta-Analysis**

Cross-temporal meta-analysis differs from typical psychometric meta-analysis in that psychometric meta-analysis summarizes effect sizes whereas cross-temporal meta-analysis focuses on mean levels of a consistent scale (Twenge, 2001; Twenge & Campbell, 2001; Twenge, Konrath, Foster, Campbell, & Bushman, 2008). Specifically, the relationship between year of data collection and scale mean is calculated to determine changes to the mean level of a construct assessed by a given scale over time. To account for the lag between data collection and time of publication and common practice in prior cross temporal meta-analyses (e.g., Twenge, 2001; Twenge & Campbell, 2001), the year of data collection was coded as two years before the study's publication unless a collection year could be determined. Also, consistent with prior cross-temporal meta-analyses, data points were weighted using the inverse variance ( $w$ ), which weights means by the variance and sample size (Shadish & Haddock, 1994). In this method, the standard deviation ( $SD$ ) for each study is squared and multiplied by  $1/n$  of each study. This product is inverted to obtain the weighting term ( $1/v$ ). When the  $SD$  was not reported, the average  $SD$  per variable assessed with a given version of a measure of interest was used to obtain the weighting term.

A significant relationship between year and the standardized means from a given measure was interpreted as evidence that the construct assessed by a particular measure has changed over time. In order to test our hypotheses which proposed changes in constructs over time, a significant relationship between year and the standardized scores resulting from each measure assessing the given variable was interpreted as evidence that the construct of interest has changed over time. Importantly, due to the cross-temporal nature of the current study, variables that did not have a  $k$  of at least 40 were excluded from primary analyses. For exploratory purposes, trends for variables with small  $k$ s are presented in a supplemental analysis section.

## CHAPTER 4

### RESULTS

#### **Descriptives**

In total, of the 16,120 non-redundant studies identified, 1,054 met the inclusion criteria for one or more variables of interest, resulting in 1,177 independent samples and 1,947 independent data points. The earliest study was published in 1969 and the most recent in 2014 (mean = 1995;  $SD = 10.11$ ). Of the non-redundant studies reporting sample descriptive information, 796 studies reported sample gender and 656 reported mean sample age. The mean percentage of men in each sample was 46.98% ( $SD = 27.16\%$ ). Mean sample age was 37.90 years ( $SD = 6.99$ ).

Each measure included in this meta-analysis along with scaling information, version variations, and possible facets are listed in Table 4.1. Each included measure varied in popularity and consistency of usage (i.e., scaling, number of items/variations) in the literature (Table 4.2). Across a 32 year period, beginning with 1982, 1,555 articles were identified through citation searches of Karasek (1979, 1985) and topic searches of 'job demands', 'demands', and 'decision latitude'. Despite this, only 30 were found that meet our inclusion criteria for psychological stressors and only 29 for decision latitude. The small  $k$  resulted for a few main reasons: First, this measure is primarily used in health/medical research, many of which are grant funded and longitudinal. Because of this, many studies are reported on the same sample of employees. Second, many of the studies were excluded due to their use of a non-U.S. sample. Finally, the JCQ is the associated measure for the job demands control model, and so many studies

cited Karasek for the model, but do not use the measure. Due to the  $k < 40$ , there are not enough studies to facilitate meaningful analyses and draw conclusions on stress levels and decision latitude changes over time. For exploratory purposes, however, we do provide results for psychological stressors in the supplemental analysis section below.

Through a citation search of Rizzo et al. (1970) and topic searches of ‘role conflict’ and ‘role ambiguity’, 901 studies were identified across the last 40 years (1974 to 2014). Of these, 133 met the inclusion criteria for role conflict and 142 for role ambiguity. Of these, 31 studies were excluded because they did not provide scaling information. Thus, our analyses were conducted on a  $k$  of 104 studies for role conflict and 113 for role ambiguity.

Within the 33 year period (1981 to 2014), 1,798 studies were identified for work-family conflict. Of the four measures, only three proved to be popular and consistently used in the literature (i.e., Gutek et al., 1991; Kopelman et al., 1983; Netemeyer et al., 1996). Based on the variations of the remaining measures, five groups were created (Gutek et al. four items Netemeyer et al. five items; Kopelman et al. eight items, six items, and four item versions). In total, 46 studies met the inclusion criteria for the work interference with family facet of work-family conflict and only 24 for family interference with work. Due to the small  $k$ , family interference with work was excluded from analyses.

Out of all the measures assessed, Eisenberger and colleagues’ perceived organizational support measure (i.e., SPOS) evidenced the greatest variability in the existent literature. Through 16 citations searches, 955 articles were identified across 26 years (1988 to 2014). Five versions of the measure were identified as being commonly used enough to warrant analyses (i.e., Eisenberger et al.’s 1986; 1990 original 17 and 16 item measures; Eisenberger et al. 1997, 1999,

Lynch et al., Rhoades et al. and Shoss et al. 8 item version; Eisenberger et al. 2001 and Rhoades et al. 2006 six item version). Together, these five versions resulted in a total of  $k$  of 127.

Across a 26 year span (1988 to 2014), 1,971 were identified through a combination of citation searches (i.e., Price & Mueller, 1986; Niehoff & Moorman, 1993; Moorman, 1991) and a topic search of ‘organizational justice’. Of these, 34 measured distributive justice and 24 were usable for the analyses. With the small  $k$  for distributive justice, we only present trends as a supplemental analysis. Procedural ( $k = 22$ ) and interactive justice ( $k = 9$ ) were omitted from further analyses because of insufficient studies.

Brayfield and Roth’s OJS measure was used in 82 studies that also met the criteria for inclusion. Three versions of this measure were identified: 18 items, six items, and a five item version. The general job satisfaction subscale of the JDS (Hackman & Oldham, 1975) was used in 73 studies that also met the inclusion criteria. Two versions of this measure were identified, a three item and a five item version. The short, 20 item version of the MSQ (Weiss et al., 1967) was found to be far more widely used in the existent literature compared to the long 100 item version (only 3 studies using the long form of the MSQ met all other inclusion criteria<sup>8</sup>). Due to this, we only included studies using the short form ( $k=79$ ). The JDI’s satisfaction with work itself (Smith et al., 1969) subscale was used in 109 studies. Together, 343 data points were included in analysis for general job satisfaction.

Three out of the four job satisfaction measures also contain subscales assessing a varying number of facets. However, only the JDI had enough studies per facet to facilitate facet-level analysis (i.e.,  $k < 40$ ). Specifically, aside from the JDI satisfaction with work scale, we also provide analysis of the following satisfaction facets: satisfaction with present pay (nine items,  $k=73$ ), satisfaction with opportunities for promotion (nine items,  $k=75$ ), satisfaction with

supervision on the present job (18 items,  $k=104$ ), and satisfaction with people on your present job (18 items,  $k=82$ ). For comparison, the MSQ facets ranged from a  $k$  of 18 (i.e., extrinsic satisfaction) to 17 (intrinsic satisfaction) and the JDS facets ranged from a  $k$  of 17 (growth satisfaction) to 6 (satisfaction with coworkers).

We included two measures of affective commitment. For Mowday and colleagues' Organizational Commitment Questionnaire (OCQ), two versions were identified, the original 15 item measure and the shortened nine item version, resulting in a  $k$  of 247. Of the three facets assessed in Meyer and Allen's measure (i.e., affective, normative, continuance), only affective had a  $k$  larger than 40. We included an eight and six item version of the scale. Across the measures, for affective commitment, our analyses are based on a  $k$  of 349.

Malash and colleagues' MBI was the measure of interest for burnout, and there were three different commonly used versions included in this review, the Human Service Survey, Educators' Survey, and the General Survey. Across these scales, analyses for emotional exhaustion are based on a  $k$  of 168, depersonalization is based on a  $k$  of 144, and personal accomplishment is based on a  $k$  of 136.

### **Primary Analyses**

Table 4.3 displays the results of the cross-temporal meta-analyses for all variables. To more clearly illustrate observed effects, we also used the regression equation for the association between year and the standardized mean of each variable to derive predicted standardized scores on each variable for the first year of scale use for a given variable (which depends on the variable) and for the last year of data collection (2014; Table 4.4). To compute the predicted standardized scores for the specific years, we used the regression equation from each set of analyses. The difference between the early and late predicted values was calculated to determine

the magnitude of the difference (see Figures 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3; e.g., Twenge, 2001; Twenge et al., 2008; Wood & Hoffman, 2014).

**Work Demands.** Hypotheses 1-4 predicted that work demands have increased over time. Due to the small  $k$  for psychological stressors, we could not test Hypothesis 1. Consistent with Hypothesis 2, mean levels of role conflict have significantly increased since the 1970's ( $r_w = .22$ ,  $p < .05$ ,  $k = 104$ ). The difference in the predicted values for 1975 and 2014 showed a large increase in the predicted level of role conflict ( $d = .86$ ). Although a weak effect size was observed when comparing the predicted mean from 1975 to 2014 ( $d = .20$ ), role ambiguity did not evidence a significant correlation with year ( $r_w = .07$ ,  $ns$ ,  $k = 113$ ). Thus, Hypothesis 3 was rejected. The final demand, work interference with family, although in the predicted direction, was not found to be significantly increasing over time. However, Cohen's  $d$  was found to be strong (i.e.,  $d = .97$ ) for the period between 1980 and 2014. Still, based on the non-significant linear trend, this hypothesis was rejected.

**Work Resources.** Hypotheses 5-7 predicted that work resources in the form of perceived organizational support, organizational justice, and decision latitude have changed over time. In contrast to Hypothesis 5, mean levels of perceived organizational support did not show significant decreases ( $r_w = .11$ ,  $ns$ ,  $k = 127$ ;  $d = .62$ ). Hypothesis 6 which proposed a decrease in organizational justice perceptions and Hypothesis 7 which proposed an increase in decision latitude are not interpreted because of insufficient  $k$ .

**Professional Well-Being.** Hypotheses 8-10 proposed decreases in mean levels of employee professional well-being in the form of job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and burnout. Hypothesis 8 predicted lowered levels of job satisfaction in later years compared to earlier years. Three out of the four measures used to assess job satisfaction displayed significant

decreases in mean levels of job satisfaction across time (JDS  $r_w = -.23$ ,  $p < .05$ ; OJS  $r_w = -.22$ ,  $p < .05$ ; JDI  $r_w = -.21$ ,  $p < .05$ ). In contrast, the fourth measure of general job satisfaction, on-significant increase showed a (MSQ  $r_w = .13$ , *ns*). Despite the null findings for the MSQ, when all four measures were analyzed together, a weak, yet significant decrease in mean levels of general job satisfaction was evidenced ( $r_w = -.11$ ,  $p < .05$ ) providing support for Hypothesis 8. These results indicate a small decrease in the predicted level of job satisfaction for 1970 and 2014 ( $d = -.45$ ). Given that the pattern for the MSQ did not match the other three measures, we also provide analyses without the MSQ. When the MSQ was omitted from analyses, the negative relationship between year and general job satisfaction increased slightly ( $r_w = -.16$ ,  $p < .01$ ;  $k = 264$ ;  $d = -.67$ ).

Although no formal hypotheses were developed, we obtained  $k$ 's over 40 for four job satisfaction facets all from the JDI (i.e., satisfaction with supervisor, satisfaction with others at work, satisfaction with pay, and satisfaction with promotion), and thus, we examined possible mean-level shifts in these facets. No significant changes were evidenced for satisfaction with pay or promotion facets (pay  $r_w = -.15$ , *ns*; promotion  $r_w = -.15$ , *ns*); however, both satisfaction with supervisor and satisfaction with coworkers were found to be significantly decreasing since the 1970's (supervision  $r_w = -.26$ ,  $p < .01$ ; coworkers  $r_w = -.28$ ,  $p < .05$ ), with both evidencing moderate decreases when comparing the predicted means. ( $d = -1.29$  and  $-1.13$ , respectively).

Hypothesis 9 predicted a significant decrease in mean organizational commitment across time. Mowday et al.'s OCQ, although in the correct direction, failed to reach significance (OCQ  $r_w = -.10$ , *ns*). In contrast, Meyer and Allen's affective commitment measure showed a non-significant increase ( $r_w = .19$ , *ns*). When the two affective measures were combined to examining potential changes in the construct of affective commitment, significant changes were not

observed ( $r_w = -.03$ , *ns*;  $d = -.12$ ). Thus, no support was provided for Hypothesis 9. Little change was evidenced over the 30 years for affective commitment.

Lastly, Hypothesis 10 proposed a significant increase in burnout perceptions. Consistent with convention, we examined the three facets separately and did not combine them into an overall burnout measure (Maslach & Jackson, 1981; Maslach & Jackson, 1986; Maslach, Jackson, & Leiter, 1996). The results showed mean levels of emotional exhaustion to have increased since 1980 ( $r_w = .16$ ,  $p < .05$ ) and a moderate effect size for the comparison between predicted level of exhaustion for 1980 and 2014 ( $d = .63$ ). Alternatively, we found depersonalization to have significantly decreased ( $r_w = -.18$ ,  $p < .05$ ) within the same period ( $d = -.75$ ) across time. Personal accomplishment, did not show significant changes ( $r_w = -.09$ , *ns*;  $d = -.50$ ) Together, these findings indicate partial support for Hypothesis 10.

### **Supplemental Analyses**

Since fewer than 40 studies were identified for psychological stressors, distributive justice, and decision latitude these variables were not included in the main analyses. Despite the limited number of studies, below, we provide the results for these variables for exploratory purposes only. Psychological stressors, based on a  $k$  of 30, were not found to be significantly increasing over time (Table 4.5;  $r_w = .02$ , *ns*;  $d = .10$ ). Similarly, distributive justice, with on a  $k$  of 24, evidenced non-significant gains ( $r_w = .20$ , *ns*), yet displayed a moderate effect size when comparing the predicted values ( $d = .65$ ). Finally, decision latitude ( $k = 29$ ) was found to evidence significant increases ( $r_w = .38$ ,  $p < .05$ ) and a large effect size ( $d = 1.80$ ).

**Table 4.1**  
*Measures and Facet Descriptors*

Constructs	Included Measures	$r_{xx}$	Number of Items	Possible Facets
<b>Work Demands</b>				
<i>Psychological Stressors</i>	JCQ; Karasek (1979)	.79-.88	5/9	--
<i>Role Conflict</i>	Rizzo, House, & Lirtzman (1970)	.71-.87	8	--
<i>Role Ambiguity</i>	Rizzo, House, & Lirtzman (1970)	.71-.95	6	--
<i>WFC</i>	Gutek, Searle, & Klepa (1991)	.71-.87	8	WIF, FIW
	Kopelman, Greenhaus, & Connolly (1983)	.78-.90	8	WIF, FIW
	Netemeyer, Boles, & McMurrain (1996)	.88-.89	5	WIF, FIW
	Bohen & Viveros-Long (1981)	.88-.91	18	--
<b>Work Resources</b>				
<i>Perceived Organizational Support</i>	Eisenberger, Huntington, Hutchison, & Sowa, (1986)	.74-.95	6/8/9/16/17	--
<i>Organizational Justice</i>	Price & Mueller (1986)			
	Nieffoff & Moorman (1993)	.75-.94	5/6	Distributive
	Moorman (1991)	.72-.92	20	Distributive, Procedural, Interactive
		.93-.94	13	Procedural, Interactive

*Note.* (--) indicates that a measure does not provide facets and is assessed globally. Estimated reliability ranges were taken from Fields (2002). Ranges include all facets.<sup>1</sup>Overall job satisfaction obtained by averaging all of the individual facets together. <sup>2</sup>Overall job satisfaction included as a subscale (i.e., global satisfaction, independent of facet-level satisfaction). <sup>3</sup>Reliabilities taken from Maslach, Jackson, & Leiter (1996) and only include U.S. samples.

**Table 4.1 (Continued)***Measures and Facet Descriptors*

Constructs	Included Measures	$r_{xx}$	Number of Items	Possible Facets
<b>(Continued)</b>				
<i>Decision Latitude</i>	JCQ; Karasek (1979; 1985)	.77-.85	8	--
<b>Professional Well-Being</b>				
<i>Job Satisfaction</i>	OJS; Brayfield & Rothe (1951)	.88-.91	18/6/5	--
	JDS; Hackman & Oldham (1975)	.55-.92	15/25	General, Internal, Growth, Security, Pay, Social, Supervisory/ Intrinsic, Extrinsic <sup>1,2</sup>
	JDI; Smith, Kendall, & Hulin (1969)	.75-.94	72/30	General, Pay, Promotion, Supervision, Coworkers <sup>1,2</sup>
	MSQ; Weiss, Davis, England, & Lofqist, (1967)	.85-.91	20/100	<i>Long Form:</i> Ability Utilization, Achievement, Activity, Advancement, Authority, Policies/Practices, Pay, Coworkers, Creativity, Independence, Values, Recognition, Responsibility, Security, Service, Status, Supervisory, Variety, Conditions <i>Short Form:</i> Intrinsic, Extrinsic <sup>1</sup>

*Note.* (--) indicates that a measure does not provide facets and is assessed globally. Estimated reliability ranges were taken from Fields (2002). Ranges include all facets.<sup>1</sup>Overall job satisfaction obtained by averaging all of the individual facets together. <sup>2</sup>Overall job satisfaction included as a subscale (i.e., global satisfaction, independent of facet-level satisfaction). <sup>3</sup>Reliabilities taken from Maslach, Jackson, & Leiter (1996) and only include U.S. samples.

**Table 4.1 (Continued)**  
*Measures and Facet Descriptors*

Constructs	Included Measures	$r_{xx}$	Number of Items	Possible Facets
<b>(Continued)</b>				
<i>Organizational Commitment</i>	OCQ; Porter, Steers, & Mowday (1974); Mowday, Steers, & Porter (1979)	.74-.93	9/15	--
	Meyer & Allen (1984; 1990; 1997)	.65-.88	18/24	AC, CC, NC
<i>Burnout</i>	MBI; Maslach & Jackson, (1981); Maslach & Jackson, (1986); Maslach, Jackson, & Leiter, (1996)	.76-.89 <sup>3</sup>	22/22/16	HHS and ES Forms: Emotional Exhaustion, Depersonalization, Lack of Personal Accomplishment GS Form: Exhaustion, Cynicism, Lack of Professional Efficacy

*Note.* (--) indicates that a measure does not provide facets and is assessed globally. Estimated reliability ranges were taken from Fields (2002). Ranges include all facets.<sup>1</sup>Overall job satisfaction obtained by averaging all of the individual facets together. <sup>2</sup>Overall job satisfaction included as a subscale (i.e., global satisfaction, independent of facet-level satisfaction). <sup>3</sup>Reliabilities taken from Maslach, Jackson, & Leiter (1996) and only include U.S. samples.

**Table 4.2**  
*Studies Identified per Construct and k*

Variable	Total Number of Studies Identified	<i>k</i>
Psychological Stressors and Decision Latitude	1,575	30/29
Role Conflict and Ambiguity	901	104/113
Work Family Conflict	1,798	46
Perceived Organizational Support	955	127
Affective Organizational Commitment	2,130	349
Distributive Justice	1,971	24
General Job Satisfaction	8,885	343
• Satisfaction with Pay		104
• Satisfaction with Promotion		82
• Satisfaction with Supervisor		73
• Satisfaction with Coworkers		75
Burnout	2,772	
• Emotional Exhaustion		168
• Depersonalization		144
• Lack of Personal Accomplishment		136

**Table 4.3**  
*Meta-Analysis of Changes in Demands, Resources, and Professional Well-Being*

Variable	<i>N</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>r<sub>w</sub></i>
<b>Demands</b>			
- Role Conflict	33,667	104	.22*
- Role Ambiguity	36,567	113	.07
- Work Interference with Family	16,346	46	.20
<b>Resources</b>			
- Perceived Organizational Support	56,722	127	.11
<b>Professional Well-Being</b>			
- Job Satisfaction (all four measures)	96,649	343	-.11*
- Job Satisfaction (only three significant measures)	76,170	264	-.16**
- OJS Job Satisfaction	20,153	82	-.22*
- JDS Job Satisfaction	22,810	73	-.23*
- JDI Job Satisfaction	33,207	109	-.21*
- MSQ Job Satisfaction	20,479	79	.13
<b>Job Satisfaction Facets</b>			
- Supervisor Satisfaction	31,486	104	-.26**
- Coworker Satisfaction	21,724	82	-.28*
- Satisfaction with Pay	21,592	73	-.15
- Satisfaction with Promotion	18,919	75	-.15
- Affective Commitment (both measures)	109,937	349	-.03
- OCQ Affective Commitment	78,140	247	-.10
- Meyer & Allen Commitment	31,797	102	.19
<b>Burnout Facets</b>			
- Emotional Exhaustion	34,422	168	.16*
- Depersonalization	29,617	144	-.18*
- Personal Accomplishment	28,242	136	-.09

*Note.* *N* = total sample size; *k* = number of independent samples; *r<sub>w</sub>* = inverse variance weighted correlation with year; \* *p* < .05, \*\**p* < .01.

**Table 4.4**  
*Predicted Means and Effect Size associated with Changes in Demands, Resources, and Well-Being*

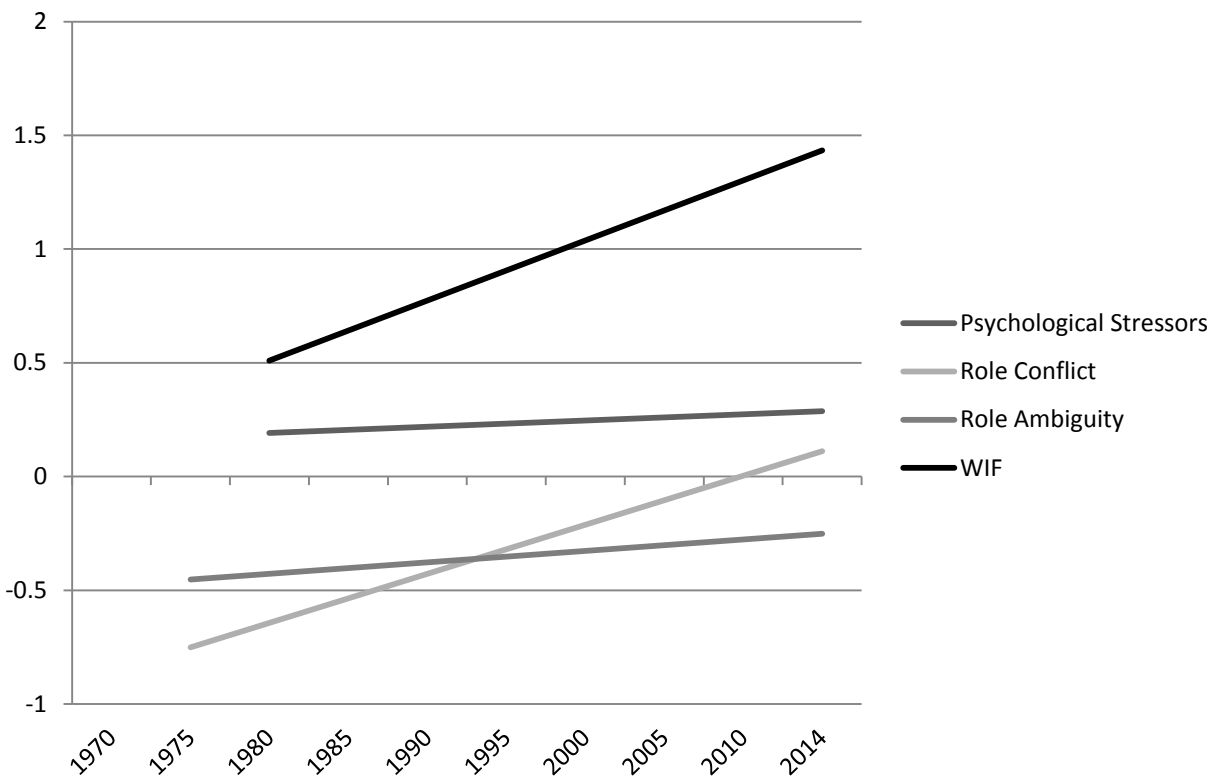
Variable	Time 1 Year	Time 1 Predicted Mean	2014 Predicted Mean	SD of the Mean	Cohan's <i>d</i>
<b>Demands</b>					
- Psychological Stressors	1982	.191	.287	.98	.10
- Role Conflict	1974	-.751	.111	1.00	.86
- Role Ambiguity	1974	-.452	-.252	1.00	.20
- Work Interference with Family	1981	.510	1.434	.95	.97
<b>Resources</b>					
- Perceived Organizational Support	1988	-.651	-.054	.97	.62
- Distributive Justice	1988	-.932	-.308	.96	.65
- Decision Latitude	1982	-.780	.98	.98	1.80
<b>Professional Well-Being</b>					
- Job Satisfaction (all four measure)	1970	.665	.226	.98	.45
- Job Satisfaction (only three significant measures)	1970	.435	-.225	.98	.67
- Supervisor Satisfaction	1975	.876	-.411	1.00	1.29
- Coworker Satisfaction	1975	1.173	.042	1.00	1.13
- Satisfaction with Pay	1975	.817	.076	1.00	.74
- Satisfaction with Promotion	1975	.974	.116	1.00	.86
- Affective Commitment	1975	.543	.426	.99	.12
- Burnout					
- Emotional Exhaustion	1981	.442	1.069	1.00	.63
- Depersonalization	1981	.649	-.110	1.01	.75
- Personal Accomplishment	1981	.217	-.278	1.00	.50

*Note.* Predicted means are standardized and estimated using the results of regression equations. Time 1 Predicted Mean = predicted standardized means for the earliest year of data collection for each variable; 2014 Predicted Mean = predicted standardized means for 2014.

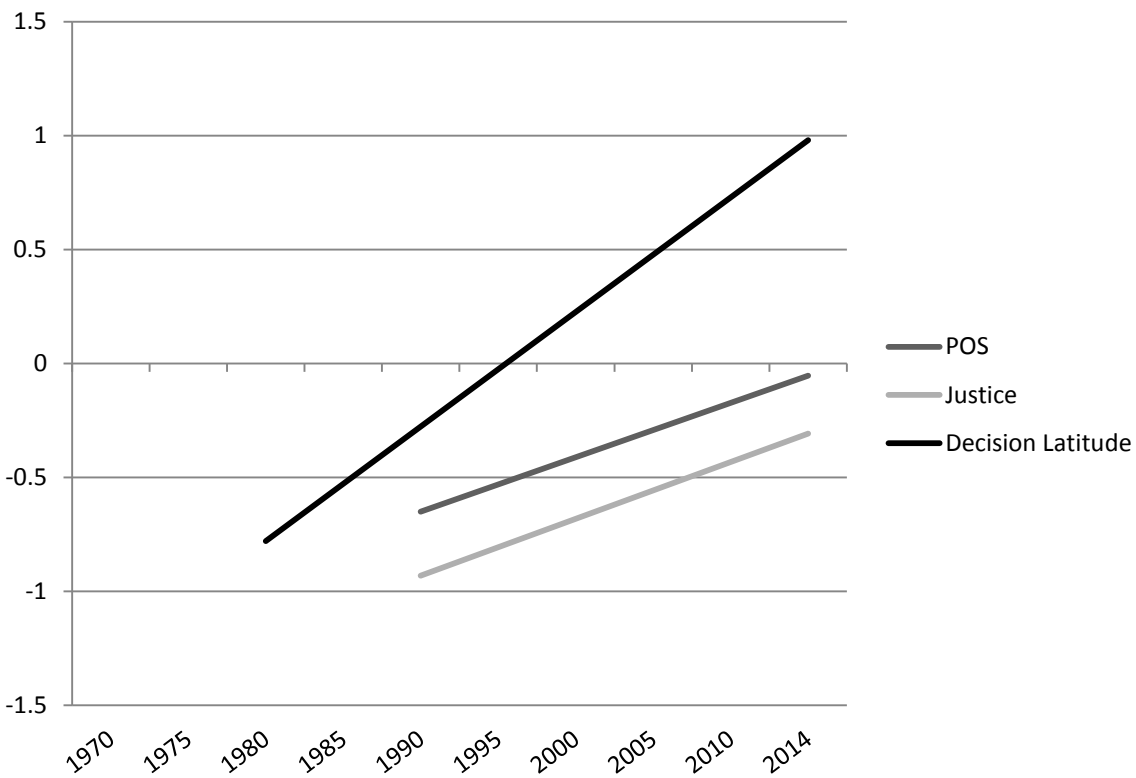
**Table 4.5***Supplemental Analysis of Changes in Variables with Small k's < 40*

Variable	<i>N</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>r<sub>w</sub></i>
Demands			
- Psychological Stressors	46,890	30	.02
Resources			
- Distributive Justice	9,166	24	.20
- Decision Latitude	43,040	29	.38*

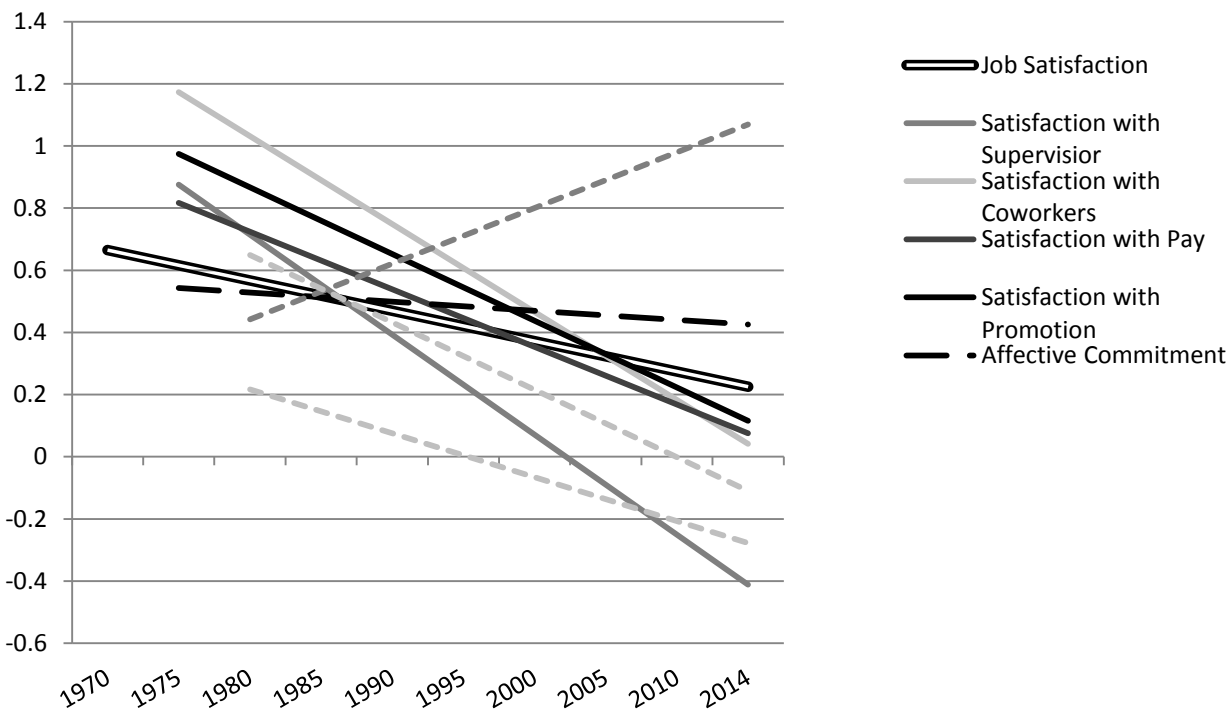
*Note.* *N* = total sample size; *k* = number of independent samples; *r<sub>w</sub>* = inverse variance weighted correlation with year; \*  $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ .



**Figure 4.1.** Changes in Work Demands across Time. Note. Predicted means are standardized. WIF = work interfering with family.



**Figure 4.2.** Changes in Work Resources across Time. Note. Predicted means are standardized. POS = Perceived organizational support. Justice = Distributive justice.



**Figure 4.3** Changes in Professional Well-Being across Time. Note. Predicted means are standardized.

## CHAPTER 5

### DISCUSSION

On the basis of evidence for changes in the nature of work being done, management experts have frequently speculated about changes in the reactions that modern employees have to their work (e.g., Cappelli, 1999; O'Toole & Lawler, 2006; Rousseau & Wade-Benzoni, 1995), yet there is scarce empirical evidence of proposed changes. This study provides a cross-temporal meta-analysis of fourteen common psychological experience variables spanning five decades and composed of 1,947 data points across 1,177 independent samples. The results show a modern workforce that experiences work differently from yesterday's workforce. Specifically, significant increases in employee perceptions of emotional exhaustion and role conflict as well as significant decreases in job satisfaction and in particular satisfaction with coworkers and supervision and depersonalization. Although we used the JD-R as a framework to organize the study, the observed general trends do not correspond to the variables we categorized as demands, resources, and outcomes. Instead, observed changes appeared to reflect patterns indicative of more specific trends in the workplace, including work that is more demanding on worker time and psychological resources and with greater interpersonal demands. Expected changes in the perception of organizations in the form of perceived organizational support and affective commitment were not observed nor were changes in role clarity, personal accomplishment, or work family conflict. Workers' perceptions of, attitudes toward, and reactions to their work are associated with key individual and organizational outcomes and thus, documenting systematic and large-scale changes in these variables has numerous implications for the management of

modern workers. Below, we describe overarching trends in the data in terms of direction and magnitude of changes, discuss the main findings organized around overarching patterns of results, and conclude by articulating of the implications of observed changes for management research and practice.

### **Overarching Trends**

Although the present analysis revealed modest support for proposed changes in worker reports of the psychological experience of working, other expected changes were not supported (e.g., decreased affective commitment, decreased perceived organizational support).

Additionally, the changes that were observed were relatively small. These generally modest effects suggests that on average, worker well-being appears relatively robust to changes in work context.

This interpretation is consistent with evidence that levels of affect are stable over time (Diener & Diener, 1996). Indeed, there is evidence that levels of job satisfaction remain consistent, even when individuals change jobs and organizations (Staw, Bell, & Clausen, 1986; Staw & Ross, 1985). Stemming from opponent process theory (Solomon & Corbit, 1973, 1974), one explanation for the relatively weak evidence for of change is that employee disposition regulates attitudes and perceptions by maintaining relatively consistent baseline levels over time (Bowling, Beehr, Wagner, & Libkuman, 2005). In this way, affect resilience may serve as an important mechanism (Fredrickson & Losada, 2005; Diener & Diener, 1996) to help individuals get through tough times.

However, despite the possible attenuating effect of dispositional influences, significant changes were observed, and these changes were typically in the predicted direction. That is, significant changes generally trended toward more negative perceptions and attitudes toward

work, such as increased emotional exhaustion and role conflict and decreased job satisfaction and satisfaction with satisfaction with supervision and coworkers. Although the observed trends are relatively weak, weak trends can have a large impact when multiplied across the broader population. And, the trends uncovered here provide a potentially troubling trend in the experience of modern workers That is, the data indicate a less satisfied, more emotionally exhausted, and more role overloaded workforce.

### **Main Findings**

Below, we outline our main findings in the context of four overarching trends observed in the data, including changes in three variables closely linked to employee health, decreases in job satisfaction despite previous evidence for increases in autonomy and skill variety, changes in interpersonal demands of work, and a lack of evidence for changes in perceptions of and attitudes toward one's organization..

The increase in role conflict, emotional exhaustion and non-significant but moderate increase in work-family conflict seem to point to a similar phenomenon: workers are spread too thin to effectively manage their workload and personal demands. The increases in these variables are particularly noteworthy in light of evidence that role conflict, emotional exhaustion, and work-family conflict are particularly strongly linked (Alarcon, 2011; Michel, Kotraba, Mitchelson, Clark, & Baltes, 2011; Faragher, Cass, & Cooper, 2005; Lee & Ashford, 1996; Ford, Heinen, & Langkamer, 2007). Thus, the increase in all three of these closely linked variables provides convergent evidence of an increase in the psychological toll of modern work. Given the lack of change in role ambiguity, a lack of direction is not the root of increasing demands; increases in role overload stem from too much work or too many roles. As organizations have

sought ways to do more with less to compete, employees have also had to accomplish more with less, as evidenced by observed increases in hours worked (Families and Work Institute, 2006).

As this dark triad of work experiences have especially strong ties to employee health (Faragher, Cass, & Cooper, 2005; Amstad, Meier, Fasel, Elfering & Semmer, 2011; Ford et al., 2007), this pattern of results potentially portends a troubling trend. As mentioned above, emotional exhaustion is commonly considered the core facet of burnout (Gray-Stanley & Muramatsu, 2011), in that it tends to show the strongest correlations with various health, stress, and well-being outcomes of the three facets (Alarcon, 2011; Faragher, Cass, & Cooper, 2005). In light of the deleterious consequences of emotional exhaustion, (Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004) a logical extension of observed increases in these variables is that modern work takes a greater toll on employee health than in previous years (Galinsky, et al., 2004). Troublingly, occupational suicides have been on the rise since 1995 and currently are listed as a leading cause of death in the U.S. (Germain, 2013). Although health is a complex construct determined by numerous factors, increases in this dark triad of psychological work experience variables of role conflict, emotional exhaustion, and work family conflict potentially portend troubling consequences for the health and well-being of the modern workforce in the U.S.

A second overall trend was that general job satisfaction evidenced weak but consistent decreases. In some ways, these trends are consistent with the trends for the dark triad of well-being listed above, as job satisfaction has been closely linked with emotional exhaustion, work-family conflict and role conflict relative to other similar variables (Faragher et al., 2005; Amstad et al., 2011; Fisher & Gitelson, 1983). On the other hand, these findings are somewhat surprising, in light of recent evidence for changes in skill variety and autonomy (Wood & Hoffman, 2014), job characteristics traditionally thought to promote job satisfaction (Hackman

and Oldham, 1975). Consistent with these changes in work characteristics, we found an increase in decision latitude in the supplemental analyses, which is considered a key work resource. Together, despite increases in variables associated with job enrichment, levels of job satisfaction seem to have dropped. One possible explanation is that although skill variety and autonomy are typically conceptualized as enriching, these characteristics might also place significant demands on workers. For example, with greater decision latitude over their work, employees may feel more confident and may perceive themselves to be more in control of their work surroundings (Karasek, 1985; Karasek & Theorell, 1990), but this sense of control can have a dark side. Indeed responsibility in decision making has been found to be associated with increased stress (Ng & Feldman, 2008; Xie & Johns, 1995). Both conceptual (e.g., Nixon & Spector, 2013; Wood & Hoffman, 2014) and empirical research (e.g., Champoux, 1980; 1981; 1992; Fletcher & Jones, 1993; Warr 1990; Xie & Johns, 1995) suggests, a curvilinear relationship between work control and well-being. It is also possible that there are countervailing effects. For instance, it is possible that changes in emotional exhaustion and role conflict counteract and / or increasing interpersonal demands counteract the positives of completing more enriched work.

A third overarching pattern involves an apparent increase in the importance of personal relationships at work. Specifically, satisfaction with coworkers and supervisors and depersonalization all decreased. Depersonalization focuses on whether respondents care about what happens to the people they serve and have become more calloused of people due to their job. In light of increasing levels of interdependence and the prevalence of socially-oriented work that depersonalization significantly decreased. On the other hand, increasing interdependence also has costs. For instance, it is possible that the costs of increasing interdependence are

reflected in the decreased satisfaction with supervision and coworkers revealed here. As work becomes more interdependent, relational conflicts are more likely, potentially resulting in declining satisfaction with social aspects of work (De Dreu & Weingart, 2003). Together, although employees perceive less depersonalization, decreases in satisfaction and coworkers and supervisors suggest more strained personal relationships. Our findings suggest that organizations should focus attention to hiring and retaining employees and supervisors who get along well with others.

A fourth overarching observation is that satisfaction with work-related awards, such as personal accomplishment, satisfaction with pay, and satisfaction with promotions did not significantly change. In light of growing levels of income inequality and relatively stagnant wages (Levy & Kochan, 2012; Greenstone & Looney, 2012; Shierholz & Mishe, 2013), these findings were surprising. The level of income inequality between the top one percent of Americans and the rest of the population has steadily increased (Shierholz & Mishe, 2013), and the United States has among the highest income inequality rates of industrialized nations (Fisher, 2013). In addition, the last three decades have seen corporate profits steadily increase, whereas employee wages have been stagnant (Greenstone & Looney, 2012; Shierholz & Mishe, 2013). Surprisingly, these broader trends have not registered in changes in satisfaction with pay or opportunities for advancement. In fact, although the results are tenuous because they were based on very few studies, perceptions of distributive justice increased.

One possible explanation is that worker perceptions of financial outcomes are based on local, specific referents. Thus, it could be that failure of macro-economic trends to register in employee perceptions reflects that employees are considering more local referents, rather than a broader, social referent. Consistent with this explanation, recent research has shown weak

overlap between satisfaction with pay and objective pay level (Judge, Piccolo, Podsakoff, Shaw & Rich, 2010). Also, personal accomplishment was not found to be increasing, and in fact displayed a slightly negative relationship across time. Based on this, it seems greater work enrichment does not lead to stronger feelings of intrinsic (personal accomplishment) or extrinsic (satisfaction with pay and promotion) satisfaction in the modern workplace. It should be noted that, although non-significant, satisfaction with pay and promotions and personal accomplishment all showed weak negative trends. Thus, it is possible that these analyses lacked the power to detect weak but potentially meaningful effects.

In the fifth overarching trend, the present study did not document significant changes in perceptions of commitment. These findings were also surprising in light of the common hypothesis that employees' relationship with organizations has dropped based on downsizing, deregulation, and trends in employees changing jobs, organizations, and careers (Bal, Lange, Jansen, & Van Der Velde, 2008; Zhao, Wayne, Glibkowski, & Bravo, 2007; U.S. Department of Labor, 2006). Thus, one interpretation of the findings may be that organizations as a whole are doing a fairly good job at providing support to their employees, especially in light of the aforementioned changes. Possibly, with uncertainty, instability, and increased competition commonly facing all organizations (Cappilli, 1999), employees may recognize that business problems are not necessarily unique to their company and therefore not hold the organization accountable for unfavorable business situations and decisions. It is also possible that although job tasks have changed over time, organizations have not changed substantially. Finally, with prior research demonstrating a positive relationship between age and positive work attitudes (Ng & Feldman, 2009) and given the national shift toward an older workplace composition (Figure

7), the lack of an observed decrease in perceived organizational support and affective commitment may be due to predicted decreased being offset by the older workforce.

### **Research Implications**

Summarizing literature on changing psychological experience has potential to inform numerous lines of inquiry. First, by examining changes over time, our results point to particularly important variables that warrant greater integration into research and theory. For instance, much research focuses on general job satisfaction, but our findings of decreasing satisfaction with coworkers and supervision suggest there might be value in a closer inspection of these variables. Likewise, research focusing on approaches to reduce burnout and role overload will prove especially useful to organizations in coming years.

If the trends in overload and burnout carry over to worker health (Galinsky, et al., 2004; Karasek & Theorell, 1990), an increase in problems stemming from employee health and well-being might occur. Greater attention to specific approaches to curb burnout, possibly through identifying ways to decrease role conflict and work-family conflict, would prove useful. Similarly, to the extent that job satisfaction has dropped, an effect on productivity is also possible. Research addressing approaches to reduce the slide in job satisfaction and the increase in overload would be valuable. Recognizing the cost, organizations have attempted to initiate policies and procedures geared toward reducing work-family conflict perceptions of their employees (Grover & Crooker, 1995; Frye & Breugh, 2004). However, our findings of high work interference with family levels coupled with mixed meta-analytic findings examining the effectiveness of organizational programs designed to reduce work-family conflict (e.g., Allen, et al., 2013; Byron, 2005; Gajendran & Harrison, 2007; Mesmer-Magnus & Viswesvaran, 2006;

Michel et al., 2011) suggest that current methods may not be enough. Clearly further research attention is needed.

Additionally, our findings potentially point toward the potential need for modifications of classic theories and common measures. Similarly, other theories, such as leadership contingency theories and motivational theories, might be revisited in light of changes in modern work and worker perceptions. For instance, leadership theory targeting employee work-life balance and leading in interdependent contexts will be useful. Examining changes in substantive relationships between variables is an important next step. For instance, supportive relationships with coworkers and considerate leader behavior may have increased in importance in recent years relative to task independence and leader initiating structure behavior.

Changing constructs point to the potential need to reconsider measures. For instance, Dekas, Bauer, Welle, Kurkoski, and Sullivan (2013), showed that some traditional organizational citizenship behavior items were not pertinent in modern knowledge work and urged future researchers to retire such items as they are “less appropriate in a modern work context” (p. 232). Measures of affective commitment may present a further example. Specifically, in the current study, affective commitment was found to be one of the most stable variables assessed. Given behavior shifts such as working longer hours and checking into work on the nights and weekends (Ng & Feldman, 2008; Nielson, Carlson, & Lankau, 2001; Noonan & Glass, 2012), when asked to rate the extent to which “[you] are willing to put in a great deal of effort beyond that normally expected in order to help this organization be successful” (Mowday, 1979), it seems plausible that many modern workers would provide their strong endorsement. Although only an example, there might be value in following suit of Dekas, et al. and re-evaluating current scales for relevance to modern organizations.

## **Practical implications**

There is evidence on the basis in changes in population work patterns (Figures 5-7, 11, 17), the tasks people complete at work (Wood & Hoffman, 2014), and now for changes in the psychological experience of work. Modern jobs seem to be characterized by heightened levels of enriched work requiring greater skills, responsibility, and dependence on others along with increases in perceptions of overload and exhaustion and reduced satisfaction. Highlighting these trends has practical implications by directing practitioner attention to these changes and evidence-based approaches to ameliorate the increasing trends in negative psychological work experience.

First, the increased demands of modern work, the large (but non-significant) growth in work-family conflict, and increased burnout perceptions, point to the importance of working to reduce the toll that modern work can take on employees. Indeed, the White House Summit on Working Family proposed greater flexibility and empowerment for modern workers as well as a proposal offering paid child-care leave. Our results speak to the need for this sort of legislation in order to help ameliorate potential negative consequences of work overload. In addition, practicing and prospective managers should be educated these on trends and their implications, trained to help identify workers experiencing work overload, and on approaches to reduce overload. . Organizational support of and encouragement for job crafting (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001; Rousseau, Ho, & Greenberg, 2006) may help to quickly identify what aspects of a given job are the most challenging and enlist potential solutions for improvement from the employees themselves. Consultancies should work to develop and market interventions targeted to reducing the adverse consequences of highly demanding work while helping employees maintain productivity. For example, leadership development and training programs and selection

systems targeted to promoting pro-social and relationship-oriented leadership might be a viable approach. Similarly, closer attention to the personal style of workers assigned to work on interdependent tasks would provide useful.

### **Limitations**

This study provides the most comprehensive and largest scale analysis to date of time-based changes in the psychological experience of working. Although there has been a recent surge in generational-difference literature attempting to assess changes over time, much of the research labeled as generational has actually focused on the effects of age (e.g., Costanza et al., 2012; see Gentile, Wood, Twenge, Hoffman, & Campbell, in press, for a review). By averaging across ages, cross-temporal meta-analysis isolates period effects, making this method uniquely suited for examining changes in worker perceptions, attitudes, and reactions to their work experience across time (Gentile et al., in press).

These insights and implications should be considered in light of a few limitations. As with any cross-temporal meta-analysis, it is important to acknowledge what the results do not tell us. First, our findings center on mean-level changes in the psychological experience of working and thus are not expected to be generalized to every job. Future research examining changes in different occupational groups would be valuable.

Next, as with other meta-analyses, the results were dependent on available literature. We had to omit important constructs (e.g., decision latitude, distributive justice, and psychological stressors; Karasek, 1979, 1985; Price & Mueller, 1986; Neifoff & Moorman, 1993; Moorman, 1991) because of low  $k$ , and for this same reason, we could not include many potentially informative facets (e.g. family-interference with work, normative and continuance commitment, procedural and interactive justice). For instance, it seems likely that due to society's acceptance

of job change, normative commitment may have decreased while continuance commitment, with the increased threat of being downsized, may have increased.

In addition, some of the analyses, particularly for work family conflict and facet level job satisfaction, may have been underpowered. On the other hand, our results were based on a larger amount of data than has typically been used to study time-based changes (cf. Highhouse, Zickar, & Yankelevich, 2010; Twenge et al., 2010), providing the most comprehensive analysis of these questions today. Additionally, the cross-temporal method is limiting in that one can only analyze as far back as studies report. For instance, the perceived organizational support analyses were limited to only 26 years, and had we been able to compare support prior to the deregulation of unions and the downsizing trend of the 1980's, we might have observed very different results.

A further limitation of the current study is our omission of non-U.S. samples. Due to the impact of omnibus context on worker attitudes and behaviors (Johns, 2006), we choose to only examine change in U.S. workers' perceptions. That said, the trends presented here are trends found in American workers' perceptions, and may differ from those of workers in other countries. Greater research attention should be dedicated to understanding trends in changing work perceptions of employees in other countries as well as identifying the potentially unique demands and weak resources at play.

## **Conclusion**

Despite much speculation and frequent reference to changes in the psychological experience of working, little research has sought to substantiate these claims. This study applies cross-temporal meta-analysis to provide the first empirical foundation for changes in worker attitudes and perceptions of their work and depicts weak but potentially troubling trends toward decreasing satisfaction and increasing overload. Given the central role work holds in employees'

lives, organizations and management researchers are obligated to consider the psychological consequences of work.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>In the current study, we conceptualize work demands as psychological stressors, role conflict and ambiguity, and work-family conflict. All of these constructs have been previously denoted as work demands (e.g., Demerouti et al., 2001; Bakker, Van Emmerik, & Van Riet, 2008; Balducci, Schaufeli, & Fraccaroli, 2011; Karasek, 1979).

<sup>2</sup>In the current study, we include perceived organizational support, organizational justice perceptions, and decision latitude as work resources. All of these constructs have been previously denoted as work resources (e.g., Law, Dollara, Tuckey, & Dormann, 2011; Liu, Hu, Wang, Sui & Ma, 2013; Karasek, 1979).

<sup>3</sup>In the current study, we include burnout, job satisfaction, and organizational commitment as professional well-being outcomes. Previous studies have included these constructs as outcomes of the JD-R model (and its predecessor, the job demands-control model; e.g., Amick & Celentano, 1991; Bakker, Demerouti, & Schaufeli, 2003). To reflect the potential work-related effects, we used the ‘professional well-being’ terminology (e.g., Fowler, 2006; Munn, Berber, & Fritz, 1996). Some research has used ‘personal well-being’ (e.g., Coombs, 1991; Deckop, Jurkiewicz, & Giacalone, 2010) to reflect these and similar constructs. However, due to the semi-permeable boundaries between conceptualizations of professional and personal well-being in the available literature and our emphasis on work-related effects, we choose to use the term professional well-being.

<sup>4</sup>Although the primary interest of this meta-analysis is to examine possible changes in global constructs over time, if enough primary studies ( $k > 40$ ) provide facet-level information, we also

conducted separate analyses examining possible changes in particular facets although we present no formal hypotheses are stated. Table 1 lists all constructs and possible facets.

<sup>5</sup>The MBI was originally constructed with both a frequency and intensity rating scale (Maslach & Jackson, 1981), but the intensity scale was deleted in 1986, and most research has focused only on the frequency scaling. Because of this we only included studies using the more popular frequency scaling.

<sup>6</sup>MSQ long (Johnston, et al. 1981; Phillips & Hays, 1978; Solly, & Hohenshil, 1986).

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Studies included in the meta-analysis are denoted with an asterisk.

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