WORK ALIENATION AND CONTINUOUS IMPROVEMENT—
THE EFFECTS OF LEADERSHIP STYLE

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This article presents a study of the relation between work alienation, continuous improvement, and leadership. Drawing on a general psychological model, I develop a concept of leadership that effectively reduces employees' tendency toward work alienation by encouraging them and fostering their sense of independence. Empirical data on the effects that this kind of leadership has on the innovativeness of the organization are examined. I also ask what adverse secondary effects such a style of leadership is likely to have on coordination of processes in the organization.

The phenomenon of work alienation has been discussed in the literature on leadership for some time [1]. Analysis thus far has focused in part on various negative effects stemming from work alienation experienced by employees, effects such as diminishing initiative and rising costs. Possible measures to prevent work alienation have also been considered. In this article I address a special impact of work alienation: As work alienation increases, employees' day-to-day innovativeness—which is essential for continuous improvement in an organization—is likely to decline. For that reason this article deals less with the technical conditions necessary for continuous improvement than with its social and managerial prerequisites. The main question to be considered is which style of leadership is appropriate for countering the phenomenon of work alienation and thereby enhancing the ability of an organization to improve continuously.

I begin with Gebert's [2] model of leadership that fosters innovation. His conceptualization is based on a sociopsychological model [3] according to which the innovativeness of employees is particularly great if they believe that the reality of the organization in which they work *needs* to be changed and that it *can* be changed. Employees who are resigned and alienated in their work see neither the need nor the chance to change the reality in the organization and no longer initiate efforts for continuous improvement. With this line of reasoning in mind, I conducted an empirical study to answer two questions:

1. Which style of leadership is appropriate for reducing employees' propensity for work alienation and hence for stimulating the process of continuous improvement in organizations?

2. What are the likely undesired side-effects of a leadership style that cultivates innovation?

The sample comprised 176 interviewees from 40 German companies of different sizes. Employees of companies in industry, trade, and services were interviewed in 1995 (first group) and 1996 (second group). The results reported in the following pages therefore span all three sectors. To increase the relevance of the study further, all the interviewees were requested to base each of their assessments not on the company as a whole but on the division, department, branch or other unit in which they worked.

Because data on the extent of work alienation in German companies is not consistent and solid [4], the first priority was to determine the prevalence of the phenomenon in the companies of the sample. Experience has shown that work alienation is difficult to measure by means of special indicators [5]. The interviewees were therefore questioned directly about how widespread they estimated work alienation to be in their company. I suspected a connection between work alienation and resignation (see below), and because work alienation might not have been a concept familiar to all the interviewees, an item clarifying their understanding of it was included: "Resignation, alienation, and disengagement are commonplace in this company."

The response alternatives constituted the degree of agreement with this statement and were rated on a five-point scale (*agree, slightly agree, neither agree nor disagree, slightly disagree,* and *disagree*). The responses broke down as follows: *agree,* 5.7%; *slightly agree,* 15.3%; *neither agree nor disagree,* 22.7%; *slightly disagree,* 36.4%; and *disagree,* 18.8%. It is true that only 21% of all the interviewees agreed or slightly agreed with the statement that resignation and work alienation were commonplace, but only 19% clearly rejected it (*disagree*). For the moment, one can conclude from this result that *very* prevalent resignation and work alienation was not perceived as a problem by the majority of the subjects but that approximately 80% of the responses did not preclude at least a small extent of work alienation. If one allows for the fact that such responses are usually subject to a tendency toward palliation, then work alienation and resignation may well constitute a problem in the day-to-day reality of business organizations. Moreover, a salient fact bearing on any recommendation for managers is that employees agreed with the statement significantly more often than did managers.[1] It seems, at least for the sample in this study, that the issue of work alienation is problematic for employees in particular and that leaders tend to underestimate their employees' proclivity for work alienation.

A look at a general psychological model [6] will explain my assumptions that work alienation limits innovation (see Figure 1). Drawing on Lazarus and Launier [7], this model is based on the assumption that innovativeness is part of an individual's problem-solving process [8] and that the latitude employees perceive for action within the organization largely determines the extent of their innovativeness. In other words, this model emphasizes cognitive rather than motivational aspects of innovativeness. By definition, innovations have to do with change, so a key determinant is the employees' assessment of their chances to change their reality in the organization. This assessment is made in two steps. First, the subjects ask how much *need* there is to change the reality in the organization. Then they ask how much *opportunity* there is to change it.

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[1] A *t*-test conducted on the employee group ($n = 56$) and the manager group ($n = 37$) revealed a significant difference between the two. For the employees, $M = 2.73$; for the managers, $M = 2.14$; $t = 2.41$; $p = .018$. In the subsample of employees ($n = 56$), the interviewees responded as follows: *agree,* 8.9%; *slightly agree,* 12.5%,; *neither agree nor disagree,* 26.8%; *slightly disagree,* 37.5%; and *disagree,* 14.3%.
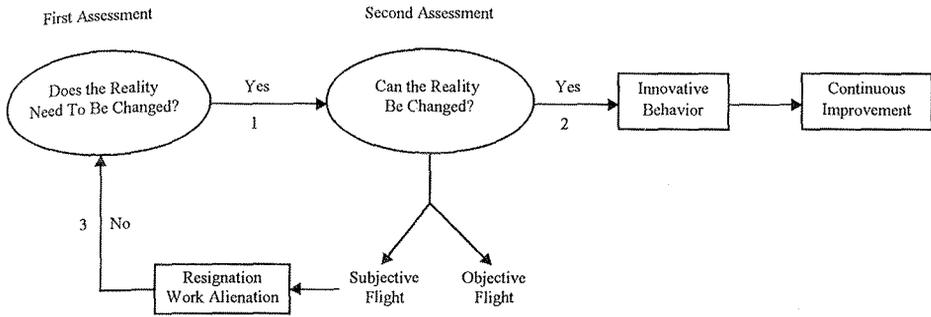
Figure 1: Resignation, work alienation, and continuos improvement

In an initial assessment of whether the reality in the company needs to be changed, the employees are oriented to what they individually think reality in the company should be and measure how closely their actual work environment corresponds to that imagined state. A perceived divergence between the employees' experienced reality (the actual state in the company) and the reality to which the employees aspire (the desired state) indicates initial cause to contemplate changes that could be made in the status quo (arrow 1).

To elicit behavior that promotes innovation, a second assessment is decisive. The employee who is of the opinion that change is needed then ponders how realistic the idea is of actually making relevant changes in his or her work environment. This second assessment is thus aimed at gauging not just how much company reality needs changing but also how much the employee thinks such change is *possible*. If the employee affirms that this possibility exists, then innovative behavior is probable. In that case the employee experiences a certain freedom to act and sees a chance that his or her ideas will be put into practice. In the context of this change initiative (or *attack*, as Lazarus formulated it), the unsatisfactory divergence that the employee believes to exist between the desired state and actual reality is closed, or at least partly bridged, in that he or she brings the actual state closer to the desired state. The greater this shift is, the more the employee's experience of it will tend to motivate the development for new ideas for bridging future gaps between the desired and the actual states. The prospect of being able to follow through, along with the associated success (e.g., pride as a self-reward, recognition by the company), increases the employee's expectation that this personal effort can achieve worthwhile results in the future as well [9]. As a consequence, the probability increases that initiatives for continuous improvement will come from employees themselves and that improvements are continuously being considered.

If the employee does not experience a certain freedom to act and sees no chance that his or her ideas will be put into practice, the answer to the question about the possibility of changing the perceived reality must be *no*, for the employee does not have the means to do so. In that case, resignation and work alienation can result (arrow 2). The employee experiences the need for a change, that is, feels the desire to improve things in his or her work environment, but sees no opportunity to try out this improvement. On the contrary, the employee is compelled to continue the old procedure that is felt to be unsatisfactory. As a consequence, the cleft between aspiration (the desired state) and reality (the actual situation) becomes clearer and problematic. According to the model by Lazarus [10], the following reactions can be expected: (a) If the employee has no freedom of action by

which to escape this unsatisfactory situation by means of "objective flight" (e.g., by requesting a transfer or quitting the company), *subjective flight* arises as an alternative. That is, the employee can only forego action, a response that leads to resignation and work alienation.

The crucial point in this train of thought is that such an outcome not only obstructs the action of the employees but increasingly blocks their thinking as well. To make the everyday environment subjectively tolerable to some extent, the employee mentally tries to reconcile the gap between desired and actual reality by lowering his or her level of expectation, by painting existing reality in more positive colors, or by doing both. If it is more efficient procedures that one desires, lowering the level of expectation would mean, for example, persuading oneself that more efficient procedures are not that valuable ("Efficiency is not the most important criterion."). Painting existing reality in more positive colors would mean focusing on the advantages of the current situation (the convenience of not having to adjust to change, not having to learn anything new, not having to take risks, and so forth) or emphasizing the hazards that might be entailed by the proposed change initiative (e.g., rationalization that would jeopardize one's own job). This response would put the existing state of affairs into a more positive light subjectively. Because the difference between the desired and the actual situation thereby dissolves, the employee will no longer see a need to act.

Operating via the employee's resignation and work alienation, this kind of subject flight, which Lazarus [11] refers to as intrapsychic adaptation, retroacts on the initial assessment of whether actual reality needs to be changed (arrow 3). Seen in this way, work alienation [12] can be regarded as both a consequence and escalation of resignation. If resignation is characterized primarily by the circumstance that the person no longer subjectively sees a need for change after intrapsychic adaptation and therefore does not affirm the question of whether the reality in the company needs to be changed, then work alienation does not prompt this question in the first place; the employee has already mentally withdrawn from that reality. The problem of the divergence between what is desired and what actually exists is no longer relevant to the person [13]. Work alienation, which is often also marked by the employee's lack of identification with the company, can thus be interpreted as a precursor of "objective flight", that is, the employees's quitting the company (see Figure 1). Operating through resignation and work alienation (arrow 2), a denial that reality in the company *can* be changed (the second assessment) leads to a denial of the *need* for change (arrow 3), as shown in Figure 1.

The link between the work alienation of employees and the innovativeness of the company (see Figure 1) is manifested in the innovativeness of the employees. This behavior is related to the stages known as seeking and testing ideas [14], which merge with the development of new products and processes and depend greatly on input from employees. My hypothesis about the connection between work alienation and innovativeness is that the resignation and work alienation of employees are negatively linked to the competitiveness of the company. That is, the greater the resignation and work alienation, the worse the company's innovativeness is judged to be.

Innovativeness was measured by an item that compares the estimated innovativeness of each company or part of that company (division, department, branch) to the estimated innovativeness of its competitors. This item therefore does not measure continuous improvement but rather the result of successful continuous-improvement management and is interpreted in that sense in this article. This item was worded as follows: "In your opinion, does your company or the area that you have rated tend to be better than, as good as, or not as good as your competitors in terms of innovativeness (e.g., creativity, new services, new processes) as a criteria of success?"

This item was formulated to relate to both product and process innovations. In addition, it elicits a subjective appraisal from the subjects. One could therefore object that the results may be distorted by the fact that no objective criteria (e.g., rate of patents or number of new products) were used to measure the innovativeness of the companies. However, the procedure is unexceptional because of the difficulty of collecting objective measurement criteria [15] for the particular aggregates investigated in this study (subsystems of companies). The resulting limitations are taken into account in the interpretation of the data.

I found a significant negative correlation ($r = -.33$; $p = .000$; $n = 163$; see Appendix 1) between the innovation item and the item measuring work alienation. In other words, the greater the perception of resignation and work alienation, the worse the rating of the innovativeness of the respondent's company in comparison to the innovativeness of the company's competitors. This finding bears out the hypothesis that work alienation discourages innovation.

LEADERSHIP BY ENCOURAGEMENT AS A
WAY TO COUNTER WORK ALIENATION

According to the model used in this study, the adverse effect that work alienation has on innovation lies in the fact that the employees ultimately no longer perceive their reality as needing change. What can the company management do to change this assessment of that reality? The question touches on two issues.

1. On principle it is unlikely that the negative assessment of company reality is easy to change. If the dissolution of the difference between the desired state and the actual state is explained as a consequence of resignation, as is the case in the model used in this study, then work alienation can indeed also be attractive from the employees' point of view. If one has come to terms with existing reality by palliating it, the original dissatisfaction with the status quo diminishes. Work satisfaction based on resignation sets in [16] and initially reduces stress and strain on the individual [17]. It is therefore at least temporarily rewarding. From the company's perspective, however, and for the reasons cited earlier, this kind of solution to the problem is not desirable. To foster innovativeness in the sense of continuous improvement, managers must try to keep employees from mentally resolving the difference between their desired state and existing reality. They must help employees persevere instead. But that goal creates another Achilles' heel.

2. Leadership that encourages the employees to cope with the difference between desired and existing reality could fall into a trap that actually ensures continued resignation and work alienation. For the reasons discussed above, it is true that the perception of a difference between a desired and an actual state (the first assessment) prompts innovations. At the same time, though, there is the danger that an increasing disparity between the two states will be accompanied by increasing dissatisfaction among the employees if they perceive no chances to do anything about the situation [18]. For example, discussions of suggestions for improvement have provided many indications that failure to implement suggestions is one of the main obstacles to innovativeness. The art of management that fosters innovation within a program of continuous improvement thus consists in not only building up initial dissatisfaction (as a discrepancy between a desired and an existing state) in order to tap the potential for innovation. It simultaneously means ensuring that this dissatisfaction can be used constructively and acted upon appropriately (the second assessment) so that resignation and work alienation are not allowed to build again. Leadership that vigorously fights work alienation must therefore be directed

simultaneously at both the thinking and the action of the employees. Critical thinking and dissatisfaction must be cultivated, and this dissatisfaction must be channeled into innovative employee action so that it does not turn into resignation and work alienation. Leadership that encourages employees and strengthens their sense of self-reliance and independence seems to serve both purposes. It is this approach to management that I refer to hereafter as *leadership by encouragement* (see Figure 2).
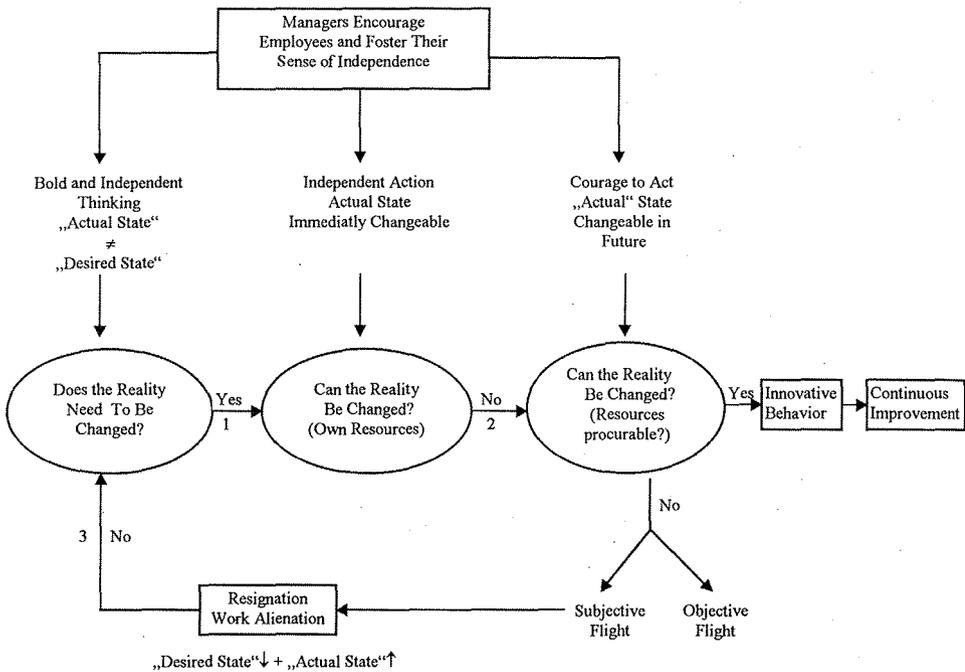

Figure 2: Leadership by encouragement as a way to prevent resignation and work alienation

Employee courage and self-reliance promote independent thinking and increase the probability that the difference between reality and what is desired will not be amalgamated but endured. Among bold and self-reliant employees the differences between the desired and the given tends to be greater than among anxious employees who lack independence. The more employees there are who think independently, the less they will tend to gloss over the actual state. They will instead appraise it critically and communicate this assessment. By the same token, employees who think independently will tend to develop their own sense of the conditions they wish to strive for and will state them as suggestions [19]. It thus seems plausible that such employees will find the difference between a desired state and reality greater and thus more difficult to palliate and that they will have more courage to endure the disparity. The chance that reality can be changed ought therefore to be seen affirmatively more often by self-reliant employees in the first assessment than by anxious employees who lack self-reliance.

As for the second assessment, it can be assumed that employees whose independence has been encouraged have greater freedom of action to begin with because independence is expressed in action and decisions that the employees take on their own. The likelihood that they will affirm their own capacity to change reality in the company will be greater

than among employees who are not self-reliant. In addition, encouraged employees will presumably be more likely than their demotivated counterparts to take the initiative and press superiors for more independence. It is therefore to be assumed that encouraged employees will react differently than anxious employees even when little latitude for action is perceived in the second assessment. Instead of responding with resignation and work alienation, the self-reliant employees will reexamine whether reality cannot perhaps be changed after all, whether the means to change it cannot be procured from their superiors. To illustrate this assumption, the second assessment (Figure 2) was expanded to include an addition cell labeled "means procurable?" This behavior is tantamount to constructive work *dis*satisfaction rather than resigned work satisfaction [20]. Constructive work dissatisfaction permits the employees to see possibilities for objectively narrowing the gap between the actual and the desired state. The risk that the situation will ultimately be seen as unchangeable is thereby reduced.

In summary, encouraging the employees and reinforcing their sense of self-reliance can promote their critical thinking and help them perceive and endure a discrepancy between a desired and an actual state, thereby building the potential for dissatisfaction that is essential for triggering innovations. It is also likely that sufficient independence of action will constructively channel this dissatisfaction into innovative behaviors and prevent it from devolving into resigned work satisfaction or work alienation resulting from an elimination of the difference between a desired condition and reality.

Lastly, I examine the two hypotheses underlying these considerations.

Hypothesis 2a: Leadership that encourages employees and fosters their independence coincides with a decline in resignation and work alienation.

Hypothesis 2b: Leadership that encourages employees and fosters their independence coincides with an increase in perceived innovativeness.

To test these hypotheses empirically, an item was formulated in the negative to ask respondents if the leadership behavior spelled out above was absent ("This company lacks managers who encourage employees and foster their feeling of independence.")

In terms of hypothesis 2a, the significant negative correlation ($r = -.47$; $p = .000$; $n = 173$) of this item with the item describing resignation and work alienation (see above) can be interpreted to mean that the more employees have the impression that the company lacks managers who encourage them and foster their feeling of independence, the more prevalent the employees find resignation and work alienation to be. Conversely, employees with the impression that managers are encouraging them and fostering their sense of independence perceive a decrease in resignation and work alienation in the company.

To examine the effect that leadership by encouragement has on innovativeness (hypothesis 2b), the relation between the leadership item (see above) and the innovativeness item (see above) was ascertained. The positive correlation between the innovativeness item and the leadership item ($r = .27$; $p = .001$; $n = 164$) shows that the assumption about the positive effect of leadership ba encouragement was accurate. The fewer managers there were who practiced leadership by encouragement, the lower the employee perceived the company's level of innovativeness to be in comparison to that of competitors. Conversely, the level of innovativeness did not decline but rose with increasing employee perception of leadership by encouragement, thus confirming the hypothesis 2b.

UNDESIRABLE SIDE-EFFECTS THAT LEADERSHIP BY ENCOURAGEMENT MAY HAVE ON COORDINATION WITHIN THE COMPANY

In the context of the model discussed thus far, the positive effect that leadership by encouragement has just been shown to have seems plausible and agrees with current recommendations for promoting employee independence, as found in the literature on decentralized self-organization and autonomy [21]. But what negative secondary effects might be associated with leadership by encouragement? Only after exploring this question can one recommend that leadership by encouragement be practiced in order to avoid resignation and work alienation and to stimulate continuous improvement in the company.

In the context of decentralization, leadership by encouragement could have negative impacts known as autonomy costs [22] and transaction costs [23]. The basic concern is that the coordination of activities in the company could become more and more difficult and costly as the independence of the employees increases. With authoritarian, disempowering, top-down leadership, directing all activities to a common objective is comparatively unproblematic because the lines of authority are sufficiently clear and compliance with directives is ensured through sanctioning mechanisms. But the more delegative or participatory kinds of leadership are practiced, the more necessary it is for other mechanisms of coordination to supplant hierarchical directives [24]. With vertical coordination (the relation between the leader and the led), an increased sense of self-reliance among the employees could eventually begin to erode the legitimation and authority of managers. If the independence of employees grows and they increasingly develop their own ideas and the courage to present them and ask questions, coming to an agreement with them could become more problematic or at least require more effort.

Horizontal employee structures will likewise tend to increase the need for coordination because fewer areas of action are governed by a prescribed hierarchy. The self-organization demanded by such an arrangement can indeed lead to problems because no one can tell for sure whether the employees have the necessary willingness or ability to cooperate. It is conceivable, for example, that the emboldened and more independent employees will be more apt to disagree among themselves because a kind of "informal pecking order" emerges as independence increases [25]. Strife, such as conflicts over resources with which newly acquired independence can be exercised [26], can complicate coordination between employees and between departments. On the whole, then, management with a stake in increased independence of the employees requires all people involved to demonstrate an increased ability to cooperate. If that ability cannot be presumed to exist from the outset, it is conceivable that cooperation in the company will be experienced as more contentious, costly, and complicated.

To examine these conjectures, we asked the subjects to assess their organization also in terms of such coordination costs. The potential coordination costs were ascertained by means of two items that were summed to give a single value (see Appendix 2). The correlation between this value and that of the leadership item was significantly negative ($r = -.44$, $p = .000$, $n = 76$). This finding does *not* support the assumption that leadership by encouragement has negative secondary effects. Instead, it shows that the more managers encourage employees and strengthen their sense of independence, the *less* report there is of difficulties with coordination.

Given the conjecture outlined above, this result was surprising at first. But it seems explicable if considered together with the results of a semantic differential [27] with which additional, spontaneous assessments of the organizational climate were registered. Factor analysis made it possible to reduce the original semantic differential to two factors (see

Appendix 3), one pertaining more to humans than to things; the other, more to things than to humans [28]. The former category is especially interesting for the reasoning in this article. This factor can be interpreted for the time being as an expression of trust. In an atmosphere described as merry, warm, liberated, and accessible, the willingness to assume that others will comply with the rules of the game [29] and thereby show others good faith [30] is likely to be great. Leadership by encouragement in the sense defined above correlated positively with this trust factor ($r = .40, p = .000, n = 172$). The leadership item used in this survey was evidently formulated in such a way that the employee's perceived trust to be expressed as well. The more the employees' sense of independence is encouraged and supported by superiors, the more the respondents perceive trust.

If this hypothetical interpretation of the extracted factor is pursued, one begins to see why leadership by encouragement did not elicit the expected negative effects. If leadership by encouragement simultaneously strengthens mutual trust, coordination costs are apparently unlikely to increase. The significantly negative correlation between the leadership item and the sum of the coordination costs suggests instead that one can clearly expect these costs to decline as encouragement by managers increases.

If there is mutual trust, then the willingness of all participants to cooperate is obviously greater than if no such trust exists. It might be that the propensity for insinuations or hostile attitudes declines in a climate of mutual trust. Employees have less occasion to use their additional independence to mount unfair attacks on managers. Moreover, the self-organization necessitated by additional independence is not deliberately blocked as much by micropolitical intrigues [31]. The result is that it becomes easier to establish mutually agreed upon rules, and the probability that they will be observed increases. It is also conceivable that a climate of trust based on increasing encouragement and independence of the employees will make it more likely that conflicts will be dealt with and defused than is the case among anxious employees who lack independence. Employees who trust their colleagues and superiors and have their support apparently also have more courage to talk about problems and exchange differing opinions and positions. They thereby practice more competent and effective conflict management [32].

The data from this study thus provide initial indications that innovativeness is not promoted solely by encouraging employees and fostering their sense of independence but that trust is a supporting factor. However, this explanation for the absence of coordination costs is rather speculative at this time and needs further empirical study. On the whole, the empirical results of this investigation suggest that leadership by encouragement that simultaneously creates a climate of mutual trust stimulates the innovativeness of the company and hence the capacity for continuous improvement in two ways. First, leadership by encouragement reduces the proclivity for work alienation (see the section on leadership by encouragement, above). Second, specific coordination costs decline. Because losses due to friction within the company thereby decline, innovativeness is further enhanced. This link is demonstrated by the data from the study. The correlation between innovativeness and the sum of the coordination costs ($r = -.24, p = .038, n = 74$) is significantly negative. According to the data, the chances that leadership by encouragement will foster innovativeness are not offset by any risks jeopardizing innovativeness. Figure 3 summarizes the key results of this investigation.
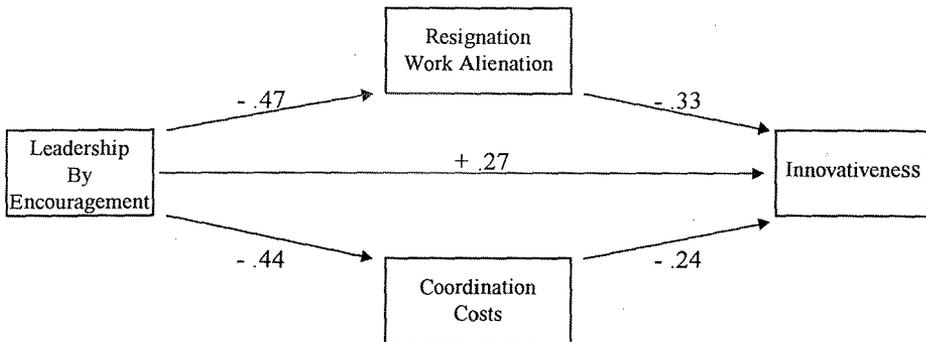
Figure 3: Correlations between various factors of innovativeness

Figure 3 also shows the values of the variables studied and thereby quantifies the effect that leadership by encouragement has on innovativeness. The direct link between leadership by encouragement and innovativeness is less than the indirect effect of leadership by encouragement on innovativeness. (The indirect effect is expressed by the work-alienation variable and the coordination-costs variable.) This fact becomes clearer when the innovation-enhancing effect of leadership by encouragement is ascertained without these effects. If the work-alienation variable and the coordination-cost variable are excluded from the calculations, the partial correlation between leadership by encouragement and innovativeness is no longer significant ($r = .01, p = .938, n = 62$). This does not mean that leadership by encouragement plays no role in fostering innovativeness but rather that the finding spells out *how* leadership by encouragement translates into an increase in innovativeness.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS FOR MANAGERS

Work alienation of employees reduces the innovativeness of the company and hence the capacity for continuous improvement. Employees' tendency toward work alienation can be explained by their subjective assessments of reality within the company. Work alienation develops when employees want to change reality in the company, cannot do so because of perceived restrictions on their latitude of action, and then give up. Work alienation, which develops from resigned adaptation, can definitely be an attractive alternative for employees because it temporarily relieves dissatisfaction.

The phenomenon of work alienation seems to be more prevalent among employees than managers generally realize. To sustain the battle against work alienation, managers must simultaneously influence both employee thinking about reality in the company and the alternatives the employees have for taking action. Leadership that encourages employees and strengthens their sense of independence proves to be appropriate for reducing the tendency toward work alienation and hence for increasing the company's capacity for continuous improvement. Leadership by encouragement is safe in that no additional coordination costs are incurred. For encouraging leadership to have a positive effect, however, it seems necessary to communicate trust along with encouragement and independence. Managers should therefore consider how they can promote the independence of their employees in a way that instills trust rather than mistrust in the employees.

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Correlation Coefficients of All Items

Variables	Work alienation	Innovativeness	Encouragement	Coordination	Trust
			Variables		
Work alienation	1.0000				
	($n = 174$)				
	-				
Innovativeness	.3282	1.0000			
	($n = 163$)	($n = 165$)			
	$p = .000$	-			
Encouragement	.4731	.2675	1.0000		
	($n = 173$)	($n = 164$)	($n = 175$)		
	$p = .000$	$p = .001$	-		
Coordination	.3982	.2416	.4396	1.0000	
	($n = 75$)	($n = 75$)	($n = 76$)	($n = 76$)	
	$p = .000$	$p = .038$	$p = .000$	-	
Trust	.3326	.1471	.4048	.3687	1.0000
	($n = 170$)	($n = 162$)	($n = 172$)	($n = 76$)	($n = 172$)
	$p = .000$	$p = .062$	$p = .000$	$p = .001$	-

Note. The signs (+ or -) of the correlations will vary according to the formulation of the items.

Appendix 2
Items ascertaining coordination costs

Suspected Coordination Costs of Encouraging Leadership

Basic issues are precisely what people often can't agree on here.
In this company everyone pulls together. We don't have fights that seriously jeopardize our cohesion. (Polarity reversed; *Note. n = 79.*)

Appendix 3
Factor analysis of the semantic differential (two factors were extracted according to the Kaiser criterion after varimax rotation)

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2	Items of the factor *trust*
1	.14772	.80600	
2	.44887	.44204	
3	.81725	.03473	*cold–warm*
4	.39076	.64117	
5	.72512	.31412	*unliberated–liberated*
6	.81820	.19440	*sad–merry*
7	.49701	.63874	
8	.66055	.25035	*tight–loose*
9	.70661	.26761	*inaccessible–accessible*
10	.29728	.67521	
11	.02177	.79655	
12	.52378	.55622	
13	.56385	.45509	