

## Values at Work: The Impact of Personal Values in Organisations

Sharon Arieli\* and Lilach Sagiv

*The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel*

Sonia Roccas

*The Open University of Israel, Israel*

This paper reviews and integrates past research on personal values in work organisations, seeking to portray the role personal values play in shaping the choices and behaviour of individuals in work settings. We start by addressing the role of values in the occupational choice people make. We then review research on the relationships of personal values to a variety of behaviours at work. We continue with discussing the multiple paths through which managers' values affect organisations and their members. In the last section, we address the interplay between organisational levels, and discuss the congruency between personal and organisational values and its implications for organisations and their employees. Together, the research reviewed indicates how the broadness and stability of values make them an important predictor of behaviour at various levels of the organisation. We end by discussing directions for future research on values in organisations.

Values play a central role in guiding organisations (Rokeach, 2008; Suddaby, Elsbach, Greenwood, Meyer, & Zilber, 2010; Bourne & Jenkins, 2013). Values exist at multiple levels, defining what is considered right, worthy and desirable for employees, teams, organisations and nations (Sagiv et al., 2011a; Bourne & Jenkins, 2013). Extensive research has investigated the impact of nation-level values on individuals and organisations (reviews

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\* Address for correspondence: Sharon Arieli, School of Business Administration, The Hebrew University of Israel, Mount Scopus, Jerusalem, 91905 Israel. Email: sharon.arieli@mail.huji.ac.il

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in Hofstede, 2001; Kirkman, Lowe, & Gibson, 2006; Taras, Kirkman, & Steel, 2010; Sagiv et al., 2011a). Research has also focused, albeit to a lesser extent, on the impact of organisation-level values (for a conceptual review see Bourne & Jenkins, 2013). Appendix A lists major models of organisational and national level values. In the current paper, we focus on *individual-level* values, values that individuals (e.g., a manager, an employee) emphasise and express. Appendix B details our review approach.

In what follows we integrate theories and empirical studies aiming to portray the role of personal values in shaping the choices and behaviour in work settings. Figure 1 presents the theoretical constructs addressed in this review and outlines their associations. In reviewing past research we draw on Schwartz's theory of personal values (1992). This model is currently the dominant theory in values' research (Rohan, 2000; Knafo, Roccas, & Sagiv, 2011; see also Maio, 2010) and many of the studies on the implications of values in organisational settings in the last two decades are based on it.

Schwartz's model aims at a comprehensive coverage of the major basic motivations that underlie personal values (Schwartz, 1992). To integrate studies drawn from other theoretical perspectives (e.g., studies on work-values models) we analysed the content of the values in these studies and mapped them according to the dimensions proposed in Schwartz's values model. Thus, drawing on a single comprehensive theoretical model allowed us to integrate and compare findings from a wide range of programmes of research (De Clercq, Fontaine, & Anseel, 2008).

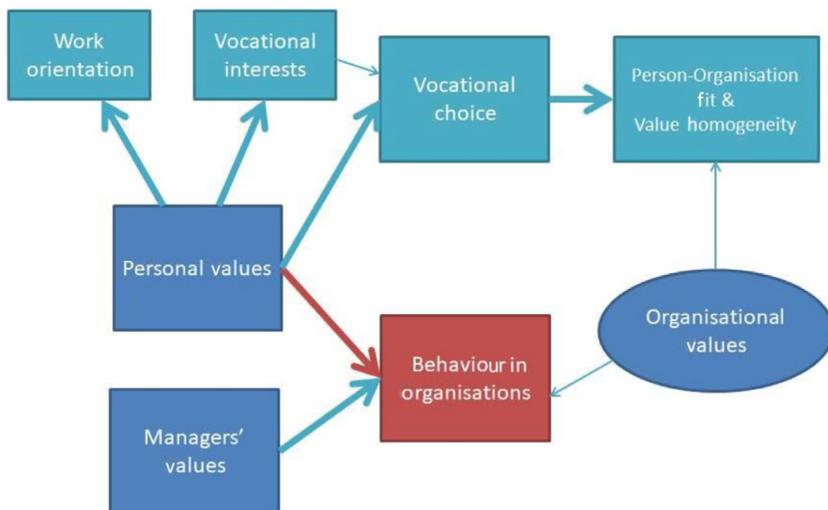


FIGURE 1. Personal values in work settings. [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](http://wileyonlinelibrary.com)]

This paper has six sections. We first discuss the nature of values portraying how they are similar to and distinct from related constructs. We then describe Schwartz's values model and the evidence that supports it. In the third section, we address the role of values in the occupational choices people make during different stages in their career. We next review research on the impact of personal values on behaviour at work. The fifth section portrays how value priorities of managers, the upper echelon in organisations, impact the behaviour of their organisations and subordinates. Finally, we address the interplay between organisational levels, discussing the congruency between personal and organisational values and its implications for organisations and their employees.

### THE NATURE OF PERSONAL VALUES

Personal values are defined as broad, trans-situational, desirable goals that serve as guiding principles in people's lives (Schwartz, 1992; see also Kluckhohn, 1951; Rokeach, 1973). These features of values have consequences for individuals' choices and behaviour (Roccas & Sagiv, 2010; Sagiv & Roccas, 2017). First, values represent the goals that people consider to be desirable; they reflect preferences about what is viewed as worthy and important (Rokeach, 1973). As such, values serve as a powerful drive for action. Individuals wish to act in ways that allow them to promote their important values and attain the goals underlying them. Second, personal values are cognitive representations of basic motivational goals (Schwartz, 1992). Thus, they apply across situations and over time. A person who emphasises achievement values, for example, is likely to be guided by these values in choosing an occupation (e.g., choose a prestigious profession), in preparing for this choice (e.g., invest time and effort in training), and then in her behaviour at work (e.g., working overtime and applying for promotion when possible).

Third, personal values are ordered in hierarchies according to their subjective importance. The more important a value, the more motivated the person is to rely on this value as a guiding principle (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1996). Thus, although for most people all values are important to some extent, individuals differ in the values that motivate them for action. Finally, people rely on their values to form standards and criteria to evaluate and justify choices and actions of themselves and others (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992). Emphasising achievement values, for example, is likely to translate into viewing favourably hard work and personal ambition. Thus, a person emphasising these values is likely to judge others according to how persistent they are in their efforts to be successful and how ambitious their choices are.

Personal values develop as a combination of inherited factors (e.g., temperament, needs) and social factors (e.g., family, social and cultural environment,

Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004; Schwartz, 2004; Knafo & Plomin, 2006; Knafo & Spinath, 2011; Cieciuch, Davidov, & Algesheimer, 2016; see a review in Sagiv, Roccas, Cieciuch, & Schwartz, 2017). They are stable across time and contexts (e.g., Schwartz, 2005; Milfont, Milojev, & Sibley, 2016; Vecchione et al., 2016; for a review of earlier work see Bardi & Goodwin, 2011). The importance of values changes during childhood, stabilises during adolescence and remains stable later on (Berzonsky, Cieciuch, Duriez, & Soenens, 2011). Value change is still possible, however. Bardi and Goodwin (2011) proposed five mechanisms that could foster value change, through an effortful and/or an automatic path: priming, persuasion, adaptation, identification, and consistency maintenance. Few studies documented change in value priorities following a significant life-event that could trigger one or more of these mechanisms (e.g., immigration, see Lönnqvist, Jasinskaja-Lahti, & Verkasalo, 2011; Bardi, Buchanan, Goodwin, Slabu, & Robinson, 2014). Cross-sectional research comparing between age groups has also shown mean-level value change across the life span. The observed change was consistent with age-related life circumstances and development (Gouveia, Vione, Milfont, & Fischer, 2015). Even when value-change occurs, however, values stability is still high. For example, longitudinal studies showed stability in values after 2–8 years (Schwartz, 2005; Milfont et al., 2016; Vecchione et al., 2016) and the correlations between the importance of values before and after immigration ranged from 0.50 to 0.69 (Bardi et al., 2014) and 0.37–0.63 (Lönnqvist et al., 2011).

### COMMONALITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN VALUES AND RELATED CONSTRUCTS

Personal values are a central content-aspect of the self (Miles, 2015). They are related, yet distinct, from other aspects of the self, such as traits, motives, interests, goals and attitudes. Traits and values are both broad and trans-situational. Like values, people often perceive their own traits as desirable, because people tend to have a positive self-concept and to cherish most of their personal attributes. Values are more desirable than traits, however: People are more satisfied with their values, view their values as closer to their ideal self than their traits, and wish less to change their values than their traits (Roccas, Sagiv, Oppenheim, Elster, & Gal, 2014). Empirical research studying the associations between values and traits has revealed the commonalities and differences between them (e.g., Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, & Knafo, 2002; for meta-analyses see Fischer & Boer, 2015; Parks-Leduc, Feldman, & Bardi, 2015).

Motives are also stable and trans-situational. Unlike values, some motives are personally undesirable (e.g., hate, envy). Furthermore, key theories of motives postulate that people are often unaware of their motives (e.g., McClelland, 1985). In contrast, theories of values emphasise that they are

represented in ways that allow people to reflect and communicate about them (Schwartz, 1992). Like values, vocational interests motivate people's choices and actions (Dobson, Gardner, Metz, & Gore, 2014). Vocational interests apply, however, to work contexts only. They may explain behaviour, but they do not serve as criteria for judging its morality. We discuss the relationships between values and vocational interests below.

Specific goals and attitudes differ from values in that they are narrowly defined by and related to specific situations, whereas values represent abstract, broad goals that guide action (Schwartz, 1992). Values can be expressed in specific attitudes (Katz, 1960; see Maio & Olson, 1995) and goals. For example, the value of "being successful" can be implemented in the specific goal of succeeding in a job interview. These differences have implications for the behaviours that can be predicted by values and by specific goals and attitudes. Whereas specific attitudes predict specific behaviours better than they predict general behaviours (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1973; see a meta-analysis in Kraus, 1995), values predict both specific and general behaviours (see Roccas, Sagiv, & Navon, 2017). In addition, specific goals and attitudes may be more strongly related than values to specific actions that match them, but they may be less useful in explaining the underlying reason for the behaviour. Finally, unlike values, specific goals are not organised in hierarchal order and do not form an integrated system (Verplanken & Holland, 2002). Thus, values, but not attitudes, serve to generate integrated predictions of behaviours that take into account the full spectrum of values (Sagiv & Schwartz, 1995).

## SCHWARTZ'S THEORY OF PERSONAL VALUES

Building on the pioneering research of Rokeach (1973), Schwartz (1992) proposed a theory of the content and the structure of personal values. He suggested that values differ in the type of motivational goal they express. Taking a cross-cultural perspective Schwartz focused on identifying values that have the same meaning across cultures. He identified ten values that express distinct motivations: power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity, and security.

People are motivated to behave in ways that help them express their important values. Some values are compatible with each other – they reflect motivational goals that can be attained at the same time, sometimes by the same behaviour. Other values conflict with each other – actions that promote one of them are likely to impede the attainment of the other. The pattern of conflict and compatibility among the values determines their structure. Values are organised according to the motivations underlying them, forming a continuous circular structure in which adjacent values reflect compatible motivations, and opposing values reflect conflicting motivations (Figure 2).

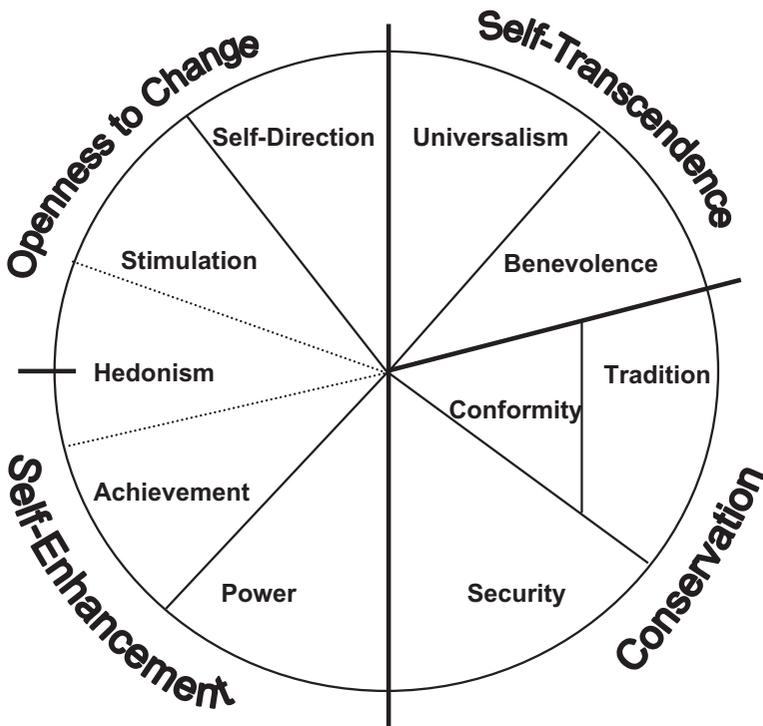


FIGURE 2. The content and structure of human values (Davidov et al., 2008, p. 425).

The circular continuum of values can be summarised into four higher-order values that form two basic conflicts. The first conflict contrasts *openness to change with conservation*. Openness to change values emphasise openness to new experiences: autonomy of thought and action (self-direction), or novelty and excitement (stimulation). These values conflict with conservation values that emphasise preserving the status quo: commitment to past beliefs and customs (tradition), adhering to social norms and expectations (conformity), and preference for stability and security for the self and close others (security). The second conflict contrasts *self-enhancement with self-transcendence*. Self-enhancement values emphasise the pursuit of self-interest by focusing on gaining control over people and resources (power), or by demonstrating ambition and competence according to social standards and attaining success (achievement). These values conflict with self-transcendence values that emphasise concern for others: Expressing concern and care for those with whom one has frequent contact (benevolence) or displaying acceptance, tolerance, and concern for nature, and for all people regardless of group

membership (universalism). Hedonism values share elements of both openness and self-enhancement, and are in conflict with self-transcendence and conservation values.

The circular structure of values entails predictions regarding the trade-offs between values. Consider the case of planning a team-building activity. Emphasising security values would lead the HRM to choose an activity that has been used in the organisation many times before, which has a systematic manual and predictable outcomes. Such a choice also conforms to organisational norms and expectations, and is thus compatible with conformity values. This choice is incompatible, however, with self-direction values, because it does not allow for much curiosity and creativity. Emphasising self-direction values would lead to plan team-building activities “off the beaten path”, that would allow expressing independence and creativity. Such an adventurous choice would challenge the status quo and express novelty. It is thus also compatible with stimulation values.

Schwartz’s theory has been studied in cross-cultural research in more than 200 samples from over 70 countries. Overall, the findings provide strong support for the theory, regarding both the content and the structure of values (Schwartz, 2005, 2015; Schwartz & Rubel, 2005; Davidov, Schmidt, & Schwartz, 2008). The findings indicate that the *meaning* of the 10 value types is similar across cultures. This makes values an invaluable tool for cross-cultural research in general, and for investigating the meaning of behaviours across cultures in particular (Roccas & Sagiv, 2010; Sagiv & Roccas, 2017). Comparing the values of people from more than 50 nations reveals that people generally agree about which values are most important (e.g., benevolence values) and which are at the bottom of the hierarchy (e.g., power, tradition, and stimulation values, Schwartz & Bardi, 2001). Despite this shared hierarchy, individuals differ substantially in how important each value is for them and societies vary in the importance their members attribute to each value (Schwartz, 1999; see a review in Sagiv et al., 2011a).

The research on personal values has led to the developments of a large number of instruments measuring values. These instruments vary in length, abstractness, broadness of items, response format, and more, all of which have methodological implications (for a detailed discussion see Roccas et al., 2017). Research indicates that the structure of values and their associations with other variables are independent of the specific instrument used (e.g., Oishi, Schimmack, Diener, & Suh, 1998; Schwartz et al., 2001; Bardi, Lee, Hofmann-Towfigh, & Soutar, 2009; Roccas & Elster, 2014; see a review in Roccas et al., 2017). This allows for integrating the findings of research that used different instruments to reach comprehensive conclusions.

Schwartz’s theory aims to comprehensively describe the basic human motivational goals (Schwartz, 1992). Consequently, other models of values can be interpreted in terms of this model. For example, Bilsky and Jehn (2002)

conceptually classified the work-value dimensions of the Organizational Culture Profile (OCP; O'Reilly, Chatman, & Caldwell, 1991) into Schwartz's four higher-order values. Thus, innovation and risk taking were conceptualised as manifestations of openness to change values, whereas stability and decisiveness were conceptualised as manifestations of conservation values. Multi-dimensional scaling (MDS) indicated that the structure of the OCP dimensions resembles Schwartz's value circle (Figure 2, Bilsky & Jehn, 2002). In another research, McDonald and Gandz's scale (1991) clustered their 24 items into three main groups that correspond with three of Schwartz's higher-order values (Abbott, White, & Charles, 2005; see also Finegan, 2000). The value cluster of humanity included values expressing self-transcendence (e.g., cooperation, forgiveness), the vision cluster included values expressing openness to change (e.g., creativity, initiatives), and the conservatism cluster included values expressing conservation values (e.g., obedience, cautiousness).

A large-scale project provides further support for our claim that models of work-values can be interpreted according to Schwartz's typology (De Clercq et al., 2008). Five experts classified 1,578 value items in 42 instruments and typologies of work-values into one of the 10 value types in Schwartz's model. The experts were able to classify 92.5 per cent of the work-values items as represented by one of the 10 values in Schwartz's model. Drawing on these findings, in the present review we integrated findings of studies drawing from Schwartz's values model and findings of other studies, by mapping all the studies according to Schwartz's model.

## VALUES AND CAREER CHOICE

Values are influential in the development of vocational interests and career choice (e.g., Rounds, 1990; Dawis & Lofquist, 1993). Choosing an occupation is a fruitful avenue to express values (Knafo & Sagiv, 2004). Values direct the career paths people take even before they join a work organisation. They are associated with aspects of the career choice, such as vocational interests and work orientations.

### Values and Vocational Interests

Vocational interests reflect individuals' preferences for the activities that are prevalent and the skills that are required in their work. Holland (1997) identified six vocational interests, each corresponding to a compatible vocational field: Conventional, Enterprising, Social, Artistic, Investigative and Realistic. Like values, vocational interests are structured according to their compatibilities and contradictions. Several studies in different cultures investigated the relationships of values and interests. The first was conducted among counselees in career counselling in Israel (Sagiv, 2002).

*Conventional* interests reflect a preference for systematic tasks and an avoidance of unsystematic, ambiguous or free activities (Holland, 1997). They conflict with *Artistic* interests, which reflect a preference for free, ambiguous, unsystematic activities, and an avoidance of activities that are systematic, organised or restricted (Holland, 1997).

The contradiction between these interests is reflected in their associations with values: Conventional interests were found associated with conservation values that express the motivation to preserve the status quo. These interests conflict with openness to change that express the motivation of openness to new ideas and experiences, and to universalism values that express the motivation for accepting all people. The opposite pattern of relationships was found for Artistic interests.

*Investigative* interests reflect a preference for systematic, symbolic and creative investigation of abstract phenomena. Artistic and Investigative interests differ in preferred activities and skills. However, their relationships with values are similar, reflecting their shared emphases on openness to new ideas and experiences (Sagiv, 2002).

*Social* and *Enterprising* interests are adjacent according to Holland's model, sharing a preference for working with other people (Holland, 1997). These interests, however, reflect different approaches towards people. Social interests entail a preference for guiding, consulting and helping others. In contrast, Enterprising interests entail a preference for convincing or leading others, aiming at gaining financial or organisational goals. Sagiv (2002) proposed and showed that whereas Social and Enterprising interests reflect similar abilities and skills, they differ and even conflict in the motivations underlying them. Social interests positively correlate with benevolence values, expressing the motivation of caring for others. Enterprising interests, in contrast, positively correlate with achievement and power that focus on self-interest, and negatively correlate with universalism.

Finally, Realistic interests that reflect a preference for systematic manipulation of objects, instruments or machines, are consistent with several different, even conflicting, motivations (e.g., achievement, stimulation, security, see Sagiv, 2002). Consequently, they were hypothesised and found to be unrelated to any specific value.

These relationships are relatively stable across cultures, contexts and measures of values and vocational interests. They emerged in studies conducted among university students in the USA (Sun, 2011) and Hong Kong (Bond, Leung, Au, Tong, & Chemonges-Nielson, 2004), and among high-school students in Brazil (Gouveia et al., 2008). Overall, the correlations between values and vocational interests are of weak to medium size (correlations range 0.15–0.50). We suggest that the social context may impact the strength of the relationships between values and vocational interests. Strong relationships

are only possible in social contexts in which people can choose, at least to some extent, the activities they engage in. In contrast, when choice is limited – due to economic hardship, tight social norms and expectations, or lack of role models – vocational interests may be unrelated to values (for a similar approach regarding values and attitudes, see a meta-analysis by Boer and Fischer, 2013).

## VALUES AND OCCUPATIONS

Individuals in different occupations have different value profiles. For example, conservation values, expressing a preference for stability, are more important to accountants, bank front-line workers, shopkeepers, secretaries, medical technicians, and bookkeepers than to people from other professions (e.g., Knafo & Sagiv, 2004; Tartakovsky & Cohen, 2014; Ariza-Montes, Arjona-Fuentes, Han, & Law, 2017). In contrast, self-direction values, expressing the motivation for autonomy are particularly important to artists and scientists (e.g., Sagiv & Werner, 2003; Knafo & Sagiv, 2004).

Self-transcendence values, expressing care for others, are particularly important to teachers, psychologists, social-workers, physiotherapists and counsellors, whereas the opposing self-enhancement values, expressing the motivation for success, dominance and control, are particularly important to economists, businesspeople, accountants, and managers (e.g., Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000; Knafo & Sagiv, 2004; Gandal, Roccas, Sagiv, & Wrzesniewski, 2005; Nosse & Sagiv, 2005; Bardi et al., 2014; Arieli, Sagiv, & Cohen-Shalem, 2016; Ariza-Montes et al., 2017).

## VALUE PROFILE OF MANAGERS

Do managers have a distinctive value profile? As an enterprising occupation, management is associated with emphasising self-enhancement values (vs. self-transcendence values). In a study comparing values of 32 professional groups, managers valued self-enhancement more and self-transcendence less compared to individuals in other professions (Knafo & Sagiv, 2004). Similar value patterns were found in research investigating business schools, where many managers-to-be gain their training. An emphasis on self-enhancement was documented in organisational artifacts (Arieli et al., 2016), among faculty members (Arieli, 2006), and among business students in the UK (Bardi et al., 2014), Finland (Myrsky & Helkama, 2001), and Israel (Arieli et al., 2016).

Nevertheless, “managers” is a general term that applies to a large variety of roles in organisations that may vary extensively in their mission. These differences have implications for values. For example, research has shown that school principals valued self-enhancement (versus self-transcendence) less than managers in other organisations did (Knafo & Sagiv, 2004). A similar

pattern was found in a research comparing managers in non-profit organisations and managers in for-profit organisations from the same industry (Egri & Herman, 2000). Ariza-Montes and colleagues (2017) compared managers holding different roles (e.g., marketing, HR, finance). Their findings revealed that although all managers shared an emphasis on self-enhancement (vs. self-transcendence) values, they differed in their emphasis on other values. For example, finance managers valued conservation more, and openness to change less, than marketing managers.

Although research has documented mean differences between the values of managers and those of people in other occupations, these findings do not imply that all managers hold the same values. Individual managers vary in the extent to which they emphasise self-enhancement versus self-transcendence values, and these differences have implications for attitudes and behaviour. A study of business students has shown, for example, that the importance they attribute to power values was negatively associated with their moral reasoning (Lan, Gowing, McMahon, Rieger, & King, 2008).

## Values and Work Orientations

Another way in which values relate to work is through their relationships with work orientations. Work orientations reflect the way in which people think about work (Rosso et al., 2010). Wrzesniewski and colleagues (Wrzesniewski et al., 1997) distinguished between Job, Career and Calling orientations towards work. The *Job* work-orientation reflects viewing work as a means to gaining financial security. People endorsing this orientation work to support themselves, and would relinquish work if they could afford to do so. The *Career* orientation reflects a view of work as an opportunity to advance oneself and as a means to climbing the career ladder. Finally, the *Calling* orientation reflects viewing work as an opportunity for self-fulfilment and as a means to making the world a better place (Wrzesniewski, McCauley, Rozin, & Schwartz, 1997).

Values are related to these orientations because the work orientations differ in their emphasis on self-interests versus the interests of others, and thus vary in how compatible they are with self-enhancement versus self-transcendence values (Gandal et al., 2005). The Job orientation negatively correlated with emphasising achievement values. The Career orientation, in contrast, positively correlated with achievement and power values, and negatively correlated with universalism values. Finally, the Calling orientation positively correlated with benevolence values (but, surprisingly, not with universalism).

This pattern of relationships was replicated both among Israeli undergraduate students who were asked about their future work, and among American working MBAs who were asked about their current job (Gandal et al., 2005). A similar pattern was found among accountants in six cities in China in a

research focusing on career and calling orientations (Lan et al., 2013). The consistency in findings across cultures and at different career stages points to the stable motivations underlying work orientations.

In sum, the research reviewed in this section indicates that value priorities of individuals are associated with the *content* of their professional choice (i.e., which profession they choose for themselves), and with the *meaning* they attribute to work. We next discuss the relationships between the values that organisational members endorse, and their behaviour at work.

## Values and Behaviour at Work

Individuals are motivated to act in ways that allow them to express their important values and attain their underlying goals (e.g., Sagiv & Schwartz, 1995). Values predict behaviour in situations that are relevant to their core motivational goals. Extensive research has documented relationships of values and behaviour in the workplace. We organise the review of this body of research according to the two main value conflicts in Schwartz's theory: openness to change versus conservation values, and self-enhancement versus self-transcendence values. For each value conflict, we analyse the behaviours that allow or hinder the expression of these values and review the relevant empirical research (see Table 1 for a summary).

### Openness to Change versus Conservation Values

In organisations, openness to change versus conservation values are relevant to behaviours that involve change in the status quo, encourage or threaten autonomy, or require deference or compliance to authorities (e.g., management, leaders). Our review of the literature revealed findings in three organisational domains that are related to change in the organisation: creativity and innovation, proactivity and reaction to organisational change. We also found research on compliance. We next discuss each.

*Creativity and Innovation.* Creativity is considered essential for organisational prosperity and success (Miron, Erez, & Naveh, 2004; Cheng, Sanchez-Burks, & Lee, 2008). Thus, ample research has been conducted, aiming at identifying personal and situational factors that could foster creativity. Generating novel, original ideas is a core aspect of creativity (Guilford, 1950; Amabile, 1983). It is thus most compatible with openness to change values and least compatible, even conflicting, with conservation.

The relationships of values to overt creative performance have been studied in several cultures. American students were presented with a series of tasks that required creativity, such as writing a story, or solving an ambiguous mathematic problem. Independent judges then rated the products for

TABLE 1  
Studies Investigating the Associations between Values and Behaviour at Work

<i>Value Conflict</i>	<i>Main Relevant Themes</i>	<i>Research Topic</i>	<i>Research Projects</i>	<i>Participants</i>	<i>Culture</i>
Openness to change vs. conservation	Change vs. stability	Creativity and innovation	Arsenijević et al., 2012; Dollinger et al., 2007; Kasof et al., 2007; Kurt and Yahyagil, 2015; Rice, 2006; Sousa and Coelho, 2011.	Students, employees in various industries (banks, social service, more)	USA, Portugal, Egypt, Turkey, Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina
		Proactive behaviour in organisations	Grant and Rothbard, 2013	Employees in a water treatment plant	USA
		Initiating organisational change	Lipponen et al., 2008; Seppälä et al., 2012	Employees in day care centres, social service organisations, restaurant chains	Finland
		Reaction to organisational change initiated by management	Sverdlik and Oreg, 2009	University employees and students	Israel
	Autonomy vs. compliance	Organisational identification	Elster and Sagiv, 2018; Sverdlik and Oreg, 2015.	University employees, university faculty	Israel
		Avoidance style in conflict resolution	Anjum et al., 2014; Bond et al., 2004; Morris et al., 1998.	Students, some working adults	Hong Kong, China, India, the Philippines, USA, Pakistan

(Continued)

TABLE 1  
(Continued)

<i>Value Conflict</i>	<i>Main Relevant Themes</i>	<i>Research Topic</i>	<i>Research Projects</i>	<i>Participants</i>	<i>Culture</i>
Self-Enhancement vs. Self-Transcendence	Others' well-being	Altruistic behaviour	Arieli et al., 2014; Bardi and Schwartz, 2003; Maio and Olsen, 1995; Maio et al., 2009; Verplanken and Holland, 2002.	Students and working adults	USA, Israel, UK, Canada, the Netherlands.
		Altruistic behaviour in organisations	Cohen and Liu, 2011; Grant, 2008; Lönnqvist et al., 2006; McNeely and Meglino, 1994; Sosik et al., 2009.	Teachers, cadets in a military college, students in Executive MBA programme, admin employees, employees in fundraising organisation	USA, Israel, Finland
	Self-promotion	Status and prestige	Fischer and Smith, 2004; Gandal et al., 2005; Roccas, 2003.		Germany, UK, Israel
		Competition vs. cooperation	Lönnqvist et al., 2013; Sagiv et al., 2011b.	Students and employees	Germany, Finland, China, West Bank, Israel, USA
		Competition conflict resolution	Anjum et al., 2014; Bond et al., 2004; Morris et al., 1998.	Students	Hong Kong, China, India, the Philippines, USA, Pakistan

their creativity. In both studies creative performance was positively correlated with openness to change values (self-direction and stimulation) and negatively correlated with conservation values (tradition, conformity and security; Dollinger, Burke, & Gump, 2007; Kasof, Chuansheng, Himsel, & Greenberger, 2007). Similarly, self-direction and stimulation values correlated positively, and tradition values correlated negatively with self-reported creativity among media students in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina (Arsenijević, Bulatović, & Bulatović, 2012).

Research conducted among employees who reported their own creativity yielded similar findings. Self-reported creativity of frontline-service employees in a large bank in Portugal correlated positively with openness to change versus conservation values (Sousa & Coelho, 2011). Similarly, self-reported creativity correlated positively with self-direction values and negatively with conformity values among employees from diverse industries in Egypt (Rice, 2006), and it correlated positively with self-direction values among members of service organisations in Turkey (Kurt & Yahyagil, 2015).

Taken together, a consistent pattern of relationships between creativity and openness to change versus conservation values was found in studies conducted in organisations – in which the behaviour was self-reported, and in controlled studies among students – in which overt behaviour was observed and the creative product was judged by experts. The correlations of creativity to other values were also investigated in several studies, yielding some correlations between creativity and the importance of self-enhancement versus self-transcendence values. However, the findings were inconsistent in strength and sometimes in their directions across studies. This may indicate that the relationships are context-dependent (Sousa & Coelho, 2011).

Creativity is but one path towards change in organisations. Organisational change can be initiated by employees, through bottom-up processes, or it can be encouraged, sometimes imposed, by the management, through top-down policies and procedures. We next review research on the relationship of values to organisational change. We start with studies investigating employees' proactivity and initiatives for possible change. We then discuss research on reactions to organisational change initiated by the management, comparing reactions to voluntary versus imposed change.

*Proactive Behaviour in Organisations.* Proactive behaviour involves striving for change to achieve a better future, and is considered self-driven, change-oriented, and focused on the future. These characteristics are most compatible with openness to change values and least compatible with conservation values (Parker, Bindl, & Straus, 2010). So far, only few studies investigated these relationships empirically. For example, the importance of openness to change work-values predicted inclination for

proactivity at work (e.g., Nascimento, Porto, & Kwantes, 2018). Grant and Rothbard (2013) studied proactive behaviour in a water treatment plant, by asking employees to report their security and prosocial values, and their supervisors to report the employees' proactive work behaviour. Consistent with the analysis of Parker and colleagues (2010) proactivity was negatively predicted by security values. Interestingly, it was also positively predicted by prosocial behaviour.

Initiating ideas for organisational change is a proactive behaviour that is often regarded as an important type of organisational citizenship behaviour (Initiative OCB). Studying day care centres in Finland, Lipponen, Bardi, and Haapamäki (2008) reasoned that coming up with initiatives for change in the organisation is compatible with novelty seeking and with the motivation to express independence of thought and action. Consistent with this reasoning, emphasising openness to change (vs. conservation) values was associated with suggestion-making at work. This was found when the extent of suggestion-making was self-reported by the employees as well as when it was rated by the employees' supervisors (albeit to a lesser extent).

Interestingly, the impact of openness to change values on suggestion-making was stronger among employees who identified highly with the organisation. Lipponen and colleagues (2008) reasoned that employees who value openness to change but do not identify with the organisation, are likely to find alternative venues for initiatives (i.e., for expressing their openness to change values). Identification with the organisation motivates individuals to contribute to the organisation. Thus, when combined with identification, openness to change values are more likely to yield initiative OCB.

In a follow-up study in two other sectors in Finland (a restaurant chain and a social service organisation), supervisors rated the extent to which their subordinates engaged in initiative OCB. Again, the behaviour was more prominent among employees who emphasised openness to change (vs. conservation) values and highly identified with the organisation. This pattern emerged mainly among participants with a strong sense of power (Seppälä, Lipponen, Bardi, & Pirttilä-Backman, 2012). Thus, the relationships between values and initiatives for organisational change may be moderated by personal factors (e.g., identification, sense of power). Future studies are needed, however, in order to investigate such factors in depth.

Contextual factors may also affect the relationship of values to the willingness to propose change in organisations. For example, in the research on proactivity at work reviewed above (Grant & Rothbard, 2013), ambiguity of the organisational context (conceptualised as absence of certainty and clarity) moderated the relationships between values and behaviour. When ambiguity was high, engagement in proactive behaviour at work correlated negatively with the importance attributed to security values, and positively with the importance

attributed to prosocial values. In contrast, under clarity (i.e., low ambiguity), values did not predict proactivity. These results are consistent with the idea that in “strong” situations (i.e., when behavioural expectations are clear and ambiguity is low) personal characteristics have less influence on behaviour (Cooper & Withey, 2009). Future research may consider additional contextual factors, such as the size of the organisation, or its prevailing norms, and investigate their effect on the relationships between values and initiatives for change.

*ReactionstoOrganisationalChangeInitiatedbytheManagement.* Change that is initiated by management may have different meaning and motivational implications than change initiated by employees. The distinction between imposed and voluntary change has almost never been examined in the context of values. We have located one programme of research that focused on this distinction. In a series of studies, Sverdlik and Oreg (2009) theorised that the relationship of values to organisational change depends on whether the change is voluntary (i.e., members can choose whether to adopt it), or imposed (i.e., members have no choice but to adapt to it). The relationships of values to voluntary change are straightforward: voluntary changes are compatible with the motivation at the core of openness to change values, and incompatible with the motivation at the core of conservation values.

Imposed organisational changes, however, produce conflicting motivational reactions. Change allows novelty and is thus compatible with openness to change values. When change is imposed, however, it hinders one’s autonomy and independence, and is thus incompatible with openness to change values. The same conflict emerges with regards to conservation values: change threatens the status quo, and is thus incompatible with conservation values. However, when the change is imposed by the organisation it allows employees to express the motivation for obedience and compliance, and is therefore likely to yield positive reactions the more important conservation values are.

To tease apart the conflicting effects of novelty versus stability, and autonomy versus compliance, Sverdlik and Oreg (2009) examined the relationships of values to organisational change, while controlling for the trait of resistance for change (Oreg, 2003). They postulated that resistance for change is compatible with the stability aspect of conservation values and is incompatible with the novelty aspect of openness to change values. Thus, when resistance to change was controlled for, support for imposed organisational change – relocation of a university campus to a different town – was positively correlated with conservation and negatively correlated with openness to change values. In other words, when the desire for novelty was controlled for, imposed change was embraced by those who value compliance (i.e., emphasise conservation values) and rejected by those who value autonomy (i.e., emphasise openness to change values).

To further show the moderating role of imposed (versus voluntary) change, Sverdlik and Oreg (2009) conducted an experiment in which they investigated reactions of students to alleged changes in the university's teaching methods (e.g., adding mandatory online courses). The students were randomly assigned to an imposed condition (the change in teaching methods would take place the following year and affect all students), or a voluntary condition (the change would take place in the distant future and students will be able to choose whether to take part of it or not). When the organisational change was voluntary, support was positively correlated with openness to change values and negatively correlated with conservation values. Under the imposed condition, the correlations were insignificant, in the opposite direction. Here again, when the trait of resistance to change was controlled for, conservation values positively predicted support in the imposed change.

Together, these findings indicate that emphasising openness to change values is associated with support for voluntary change. In contrast, those who emphasise conservation values are less likely to initiate or embrace change. When change is imposed, however, they may be more likely to support it than those who emphasise openness to change values. This support does not reflect a desire for change but rather the motivation to comply with the expectation of authority figures.

In sum, values shed light on the mechanisms underlying reactions to organisational change, initiated by employees or by their managers. Organisational members, however, are part of teams, units and departments, whose values are likely to affect initiation of change and reactions to it. Thus, for example, organisational members may be more likely to propose changes the more their team members emphasise openness to change values, because they may expect that in such an environment their proposal will be seriously considered. Similarly, managers may be more likely to impose change the more their board directors emphasise openness values, because board members may expect the organisation to implement new policies and practices. Research on reactions to organisational change is still at its early stages. Future studies could identify contexts and inter-dynamics in organisations, and consider their impact on the relationships of values to organisational change. In addition, research could delve into the content and direction of changes in organisations and investigate how they are affected by personal values of the leaders and employees. For example, would leaders that emphasise openness to change values promote organisational culture emphasising adhocracy?

*Compliance and Accommodation in the Work Context.* Several studies have exemplified the positive impact of conservation values on compliance to organisational authorities. Sverdlik and Oreg (2015) found that when organisational change was imposed, emphasising conservation (vs. openness

to change) values positively predicted identification with the organisation. In an ongoing research among university faculty members (Elster and Sagiv, 2018), emphasising conformity values predicted satisfaction with top management and deference identification (i.e., idealisation of the organisational symbols and leadership, see Roccas et al., 2008), two and four years after the participants reported their values.

Studies on conflict resolution styles among students from multiple cultures (China, India, the Philippines, the United States, and Hong Kong) indicated that emphasising conservation values was positively associated with conflict *avoidance*, an accommodating, yielding style of conflict resolution (Morris et al., 1998; Bond et al., 2004). This finding was replicated in a recent study conducted in Pakistan, among a combined sample of students and working adults (Anjum, Karim, & Bibi, 2014).

In sum, the value dimension contrasting openness to change to conservation is relevant to organisational contexts of change versus stability, and autonomy versus compliance. Individuals who value conservation are likely to thrive in contexts of stability and to play along with managements' requirements. Those who value openness to change are likely to thrive in contexts that require novelty and allow autonomy. The pattern of results is consistent across cultures and industries, indicating their robustness.

## Self-Enhancement versus Self-Transcendence Values

In organisations, self-transcendence versus self-enhancement values are relevant to behaviours directed at promoting the welfare and well-being of others, and to behaviours expressing competitiveness, pursuing position and status. Below we review the most studied behaviours that are related to this conflict: Altruistic behaviour, actions directed at achieving status and prestige, and competition versus cooperation.

*Altruistic Behaviour.* Altruistic behaviour is intended to protect or enhance the welfare and well-being of others. Self-transcendence values were found consistently related to altruistic behaviours, such as volunteering to help others (Maio, Pakizeh, Cheung, & Rees, 2009; Arieli et al., 2014), donating money to charity or to social organisations (Maio & Olson, 1995; Verplanken & Holland, 2002), and acts of everyday kindness (e.g., Bardi & Schwartz, 2003; see a review in Sanderson & McQuilkin, 2017).

The relationships of values to altruistic behaviours in organisations have been studied less extensively. So far, the findings are similar to those found in other social contexts. For example, the importance managers attributed to self-transcendence values was positively correlated with the extent to which their employees described them as acting altruistically (Sosik, Jung, & Dinger,

2009). In a study among secretaries in an American university, social concern values (measured by the CES, Ravlin & Meglino, 1987) predicted behaviour directed at benefiting other employees (McNeely & Meglino, 1994). Similarly, in a study among Israeli teachers, altruistic OCB (e.g., being helpful to colleagues) was associated mainly with benevolence values (Cohen & Liu, 2011). A research among male cadets in a military college in Finland has shown that the extent to which they engage in altruistic behaviour (as reported by their peers) was positively related with valuing universalism and negatively related with valuing power and achievement (Lönnqvist, Leikas, Paunonen, Nissinen, & Verkasalo, 2006). Interestingly, conformity values moderated these relationships: universalism values predicted the altruistic behaviour more, the less importance the cadets attributed to conformity values. That is, cadets who attribute low importance to conformity were more likely to act on their values than those who emphasised conformity.

The impact of self-transcendence values on altruistic behaviour was also studied in a field experiment conducted in a university fundraising organisation (Study 3, Grant, 2008). The participants were callers who solicited donations for students' scholarships. In the experimental condition, the participants read letters from students who received financial support from the foundation, and have shared their personal stories, detailing how the scholarships helped them. Participants in the control condition read materials about organisational policy and procedures. Fundraising (i.e., the number of pledges that callers obtained for donations) was significantly higher in the experimental (vs. control) condition – but only among those who attributed high importance to benevolence values. That is, only employees who strongly valued concern for others were influenced by an intervention emphasising the significance of their work for the welfare of others.

*Emphasising Status and Prestige.* Status and prestige are key aspects of organisations, defining the placement of employees in the organisation, and the placement of the organisation in the industry. Self-enhancement values are related to both aspects of status. A case in point is the relationships of values to the support of specific reward systems. Reward systems are one of the ways in which organisations formally assign status to their members, and they vary in how competitive and differentiating among organisational members they are (e.g., everybody receives the same salary vs. a pyramid system in which few receive a high salary and many receive a low salary). A study conducted in Germany and the UK focused on reward systems based on work performance and on seniority. Both types of systems are competitive in nature and intensify individual differences. Both are therefore compatible with the motivation underlying self-enhancement values, and conflict with the emphasis on equality and justice underlying self-transcendence values.

Accordingly, organisational members perceived these reward systems as just, the more they emphasised self-enhancement values and the less they emphasised self-transcendence values (Fischer & Smith, 2004).

Values also affect the importance members attribute to the status and prestige of their organisations. Ample research showed that individuals identify more strongly with groups that enjoy high status or prestige (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Mael & Ashforth, 1992). Roccas (2003) reasoned, however, that these relationships depend on values. Studying university students, she showed that the prestige-identification relationship was positive the more students valued self-enhancement and the less they valued self-transcendence. These findings were replicated in a study comparing two groups that differed in their value emphasis: economics students (who emphasise self-enhancement values) and employees of an environmental organisation (who emphasise self-transcendence values). As expected, the perceived status of the organisation was related to the level of identification with it among economics students, but not among employees of the environmental organisation (Gandal et al., 2005).

*Competition versus Cooperation.* Organisational members often have to choose whether to compete – aiming at personal gain, possibly at the expense of others – or to cooperate with others, possibly at some cost to themselves. To simulate competition versus cooperation situations, researchers often study behaviour in social-dilemma games (also termed economic or strategic games). In these games, the incentives and costs of each decision are made clear to the participants, and the researchers can observe overt behaviour that simulates real life behaviour. Various games have been developed to study different contextual factors that can influence competition and cooperation. In some games, the possible choices of the participants can lead to attaining a distinct motivational goal. In these situations, values are likely to guide the behaviour.

Consider, for example, the “Trust” game. In this social-dilemma game one partner (the Trustor) receives an amount of money from the experimenter, and has to decide whether to forward the sum to her partner or save it for herself. If money is forwarded, it is tripled. The partner (the Trustee) then has to decide whether and how much of the tripled amount to send back to the Trustor. Lönnqvist and colleagues (Lönnqvist, Verkasalo, Wichardt, & Walkowitz, 2013) reasoned that the behavioural choice of the Trustee allows for expressing mainly the motivation to care for others. Reciprocating in this game is therefore compatible with self-transcendence values. The Trustor’s role, in contrast, allows for both the motivation to care for others, and the motivation to gain money (because the sum will be tripled if the trustee reciprocates). Thus, this behaviour may be compatible with either self-transcendence or self-enhancement values.

Demonstrating this reasoning, Lönnqvist and colleagues (2013) conducted a meta-analysis on a large number of studies conducted in Finland, Germany and Israel. These studies included several types of games (e.g., the Trust game, Ultimatum, Prisoner's Dilemma). The researchers classified the roles in these games, distinguishing between roles that clearly allowed expressing the motivation of care for others (e.g., the Trustee role) and roles that could express multiple, even conflicting motivations (e.g., the Trustor role). As expected, in the first type of roles participants were more likely to cooperate, the more importance they attributed to self-transcendence values (universalism in particular), and the less importance they attributed to power values. In contrast, the behaviours in the second type of roles (e.g., the Trustors) were weakly and inconsistently related to values.

Sagiv et al. (2011b) developed and studied two dilemma games designed to simulate organisational situations of competition versus cooperation. The participants had to decide whether to cooperate by contributing an amount of money to their partner (Study 1, conducted in Israel) or to their group (Study 2, conducted in the USA), or to compete by keeping the money for themselves. Competing resulted in receiving more money, regardless of what the other participants in the game chose to do. Thus, competing would be compatible with emphasising power values, whereas cooperating (i.e., contributing money) would be compatible with self-transcendence (in particular benevolence) values. The findings in both studies supported the expected pattern. Moreover, values predicted the competition/cooperation behaviour above and beyond the prediction of personality traits (Study 1, Sagiv et al., 2011b).

Conflict resolution styles provide another example for the association between values and the tendency to compete. In studies conducted in multiple cultures, the importance attributed to self-enhancement values was positively related to a competing style of conflict resolution (i.e., focusing on self-gain) (MBA and psychology students from China, India, the Philippines, the USA, and Hong Kong, as well as students and working adults in Pakistan; Morris et al., 1998; Bond et al., 2004; Anjum et al., 2014).

In sum, past research consistently shows that self-transcendence versus self-enhancement values are relevant to organisational contexts of help and contribution to others, and to competition versus cooperation. Employees who value self-transcendence are more likely to engage in altruistic behaviour, and to opt for cooperation over competition. In contrast, employees who value self-enhancement pay close attention to status and prestige and opt for competitive actions. As both cooperation and competition are essential for organisational thriving, leaders could rely on these findings to build work teams and assign tasks, considering the values of their employees and the extent to which these tasks require collaboration.

## Values and Behaviour in Organisations: Summary

Our review outlines the behaviours that have been studied so far. Additional organisational behaviours, that have not been studied yet, are also likely to be associated with values. For example, emphasising openness to change versus conservation values is also likely to predict risk taking, coping with role ambiguity, and actions that may affect organisational agility. Emphasising self-transcendence versus self-enhancement values may predict engaging in impression management, implementing policies ensuring employment equality, and corporate responsible behaviour. Future research could investigate these and other behaviours, thus broadening the knowledge of the associations between values and behaviour.

The strength of the associations between values and behaviour vary across studies, ranging from small to medium effect sizes (0.15–0.60). Many factors may moderate, either amplifying or hindering, the strength of the associations. We discussed some moderators, including personal (e.g., identification, sense of power, conformism) and situational factors (e.g., ambiguity), but there are probably more that have not been studied yet. For example, ecological and economic constraints (e.g., living in an underdeveloped country, or experiencing disease stress) weaken the association between values and attitudes (Boer & Fischer, 2013). These constraints may also affect the extent to which values guide behaviour.

Most of the behaviours reviewed above allow attaining primarily one set of motivations (e.g., creativity expressing openness to change, altruistic behaviour expressing self-transcendence). Other behaviours, however, may allow attaining multiple motivations, even conflicting ones. Consider the case of Organisational Citizenship Behaviours (OCB). There are multiple types of OCBs and they differ in the motivations they allow to express (Koys, 2001; LePine, Erez, & Johnson, 2002). Initiatives OCB is associated with openness to change values (Lipponen, Bardi, & Haapamäki, 2008), whereas altruistic OCB is associated with benevolence values (Cohen & Liu, 2011). When the general tendency to engage in OCB is measured, however, multiple values, even conflicting ones, may predict it (for an empirical example see Arthaud-Day, Rode, & Turnley, 2012).

## Managers' Values and their Impact on Other Organisational Levels

The strategic leadership echelon of organisations (e.g., founders, top management executives) influence organisations through a top-down, hierarchical, process. They have a central role in shaping the organisational culture and climate (Schneider, Goldstein, & Smith, 1995; E. H. Schein,

2010). Like other organisational members, people in leadership roles seek to act on their values. Their position in the organisation, however, allows them to infuse their values into the organisation, influencing the organisation and their employees. Several studies have demonstrated how managers' values penetrate other organisational levels, influencing strategic decisions, organisational culture, and subordinate behaviour.

Value preferences of top managers are expected to shape their strategic decisions, and thereby affect the organisation (e.g., Hambrick & Mason, 1984). However, empirical evidence for the impact of managers' values on their decisions is still scarce. A study of directors of public corporations in Sweden investigated this relationship (Adams, Licht, & Sagiv, 2011). The participants were presented with managerial dilemmas contrasting the interests of shareholders with those of other stakeholders of the firm (e.g., employees, customers). They had to state whether they would side with the shareholders or with the stakeholders. One dilemma, for example, described a firm that is about to close down. After filling all legal obligations, there is still some money left. The managers were asked to decide whether to split the money among the shareholders, or to use some of it to pay the companies' employees more than the minimum to which they are legally entitled. The decisions of the managers reflected their values: valuing power, achievement, and to a lesser extent, self-direction, predicted siding with shareholders' interests, whereas valuing universalism predicted siding with the interests of other stakeholders. Managers' values predicted significantly their decisions even when controlling for personal factors (e.g., gender, age, organisational role) and firm-level factors (e.g., size, profitability, industry).

Due to their role in organisations, managers' values affect not only their own decisions and actions but also those of their subordinates. Oreg and Berson (2011) studied public schools in Israel during a governmental initiative for an organisational reform. They reasoned that under conditions of ambiguity and potential change, followers (in this case, the schools' teachers) are especially likely to look up to their leaders (here, schools' principals) as a source of certainty and guidance, and hence be especially attentive to their views and expectations. Accordingly, the more importance the principal attributed to openness to change (vs. conservation) values, the less likely were the teachers in his/her school to resist the proposed change.

Another path through which managers' values may impact their employees is through their impact on the organisational culture, which, in turn, affects the behaviour of organisational members. Studying Israeli companies in multiple industries (i.e., high-tech, appliances, paper, and food), Berson, Oreg, and Dvir (2008) exemplified this path: the values emphasised by the CEOs were related to the organisational culture, which in turn predicted organisational behaviour of the employees. Thus, the importance CEOs attributed

to self-direction values positively predicted an “innovative” culture, which, in turn, positively predicted the companies’ sales growth as well as employees’ satisfaction. The importance CEOs attributed to security values, in contrast, positively predicted a “bureaucratic” culture, which, in turn, positively predicted organisational efficiency and negatively predicted employees’ satisfaction. Finally, the importance CEOs attributed to benevolence values positively predicted a “supportive” culture, which, in turn, positively predicted employees’ satisfaction, but negatively predicted the sales growth.

In sum, the value profile of managers can impact organisations through multiple pathways. They affect the decisions and behaviours of managers, as well as those of their subordinates. The values that are important to managers also impact the organisational culture, and through it further affect what happens in the organisation. So far, only few studies have examined these pathways. Thus, little is yet known on the processes through which values at one organisational level are diffused into other organisational levels.

## Person-Organisation Value Fit

Our review above indicates that managers and other organisational members tend to act in ways that are consistent with their values and hence allow them to attain their important goals. This is not always possible, however. For example, in organisations that value stability and adherence to well-established traditions, employees are unlikely to make suggestions for change or act creatively, even if they emphasise openness to change values. To understand how values are related to behaviour in organisational settings we thus need to understand the personal values of organisational members, the values emphasised in their work environment, and the alignment between them. This alignment, or fit, between people and their work environment has been the focus of ample research.

Person-Environment fit has been conceptualised in terms of skills, vocational interests, values and more (see conceptual and empirical reviews in Spokane, 1985; Chatman, 1989; Edwards, 1996; Tsabari, Tziner, & Meir, 2005; Edwards & Cable, 2009). Organisational scholars advocated for focusing on value-based fit, because values are enduring characteristics of both individuals and organisations (e.g., Chatman, 1991; Schneider et al., 1995). The organisational environment incorporates multiple elements that can be characterised in terms of their prominent values. Researchers have studied the fit between personal values and the values of one’s organisation, job, supervisor and work group (see a review and meta-analysis in Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, & Johnson, 2005).

Person-Environment fit has been understood either as complementary or as supplementary. Both types of fit predict similar positive outcomes,

such as performance, job satisfaction, and well-being, but they offer different theoretical explanations for why fit should lead to such positive effects. Complementary fit focuses on need fulfillment, arguing that employees are influenced by the extent to which their skills qualify the organisation's requirements, or their wishes are met by the features of the environment. Supplementary fit, in contrast, focuses on values congruency, arguing that employees are influenced by the extent to which their values are similar to those of the organisation. Most research on value-based fit focused on supplementary fit (see Cable & Edwards, 2004). Below we focus mainly on studies stemming from the supplementary fit tradition.

## Implications and Consequences of Person-Environment Fit

The notion that person-organisation values congruency, or fit, has positive implications for people and organisations, has been central in decades of organisational and psychological research, relying on a variety of theories (e.g., Chatman, 1989; Edwards, 1996; Kristof-Brown et al., 2005; Edwards & Cable, 2009). We next review some of the main findings.

*Job Satisfaction and Work Engagement.* Extensive research supports the notion that value-based fit is related to job satisfaction, organisational commitment, and low turnover intentions (e.g., Chatman, 1989; Edwards, 1996; Kristof-Brown et al., 2005; Edwards & Cable, 2009). In their seminal research, O'Reilly, Chatman, and Caldwell (1991) assessed the fit between the values emphasised by their participants (accountants and MBA students) and by their organisations. Value fit predicted higher job satisfaction, and organisational commitment a year later, and lower turnover intentions two years later. A meta-analysis (Kristof-Brown et al., 2005) revealed the robustness of this pattern of results. Value-based fit positively predicted job satisfaction [ $k = 45$ ,  $N = 23,211$ ; average  $r = 0.41$ ] and organisational commitment [ $k = 28$ ,  $N = 18,589$ ; average  $r = 0.56$ ]. In contrast, value fit negatively predicted turnover intentions [ $k = 32$ ,  $N = 18,222$ , average  $r = -0.38$ ].

Edwards and Cable (2009) investigated some of the mechanisms that account for these effects of fit. They proposed that value fit improves communication in the organisation, increases employees' sense of predictability regarding organisational behaviour, their attraction to other organisational members, and their trust in the organisation. Each of these four factors was expected to yield job satisfaction, organisational commitment and intentions to stay in the organisation. Studying water treatment agencies, the researchers found that the correlations of subjective value fit with job satisfaction and

organisational identification were partly mediated by trust and, to a lesser extent, by interpersonal attraction. Thus, the findings provided some support for the processes through which fit exerts its effects. Additional research is needed, however, to further test this model.

*Subjective Well-being.* Alignment between the values of the individual and those prevailing in the environment is also beneficial to individuals' well-being (see review in Sagiv et al., 2015). For example, Edwards and Rothbard (1999) showed that the congruency between one's values and the values emphasised in her work and family environments predicted well-being. Similarly, studying business and psychology students, Sagiv and Schwartz (2000) found that well-being was predicted by the fit between students' values and the values prevailing in their academic department.

Sagiv and Schwartz (2000) proposed three mechanisms that could explain the link between value fit and well-being. The first, termed affordances, suggests that value-congruent environments provide individuals with opportunities to act on their values and fulfil their important goals. The second mechanism suggests that agreement between the person and those working with her regarding value priorities yields social support, which is crucial for subjective well-being. In contrast, individuals who express values that oppose those prevailing in the environment, are more likely to be ignored, even ostracised. The third mechanism suggests that when individuals are exposed to a new environment in which the prevailing values differ, or even contradict their own, they are likely to experience a clash between their original value patterns and the value patterns they are expected to internalise. This internal conflict may be detrimental to their subjective well-being. Indirect evidence provides support to these mechanisms (Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000). More research is needed, however, to directly test them.

*Performance.* So far, little is known about the effect of fit on performance. We were able to locate one study that exemplified the positive effect that value fit may have on performance (Andersson, Huysentruyt, Miettinen, & Stephan, 2016). Using an experimental paradigm, this study investigated the impact of person-organisation fit on performance in a team-game that required exerting effort to win a prize that would be equally distributed among the team members. The participants' values were assessed and the organisational values were primed. Performance reached the highest level when both the participant and the organisation emphasised prosocial (vs. pro-self) values. This effect did not emerge in a game in which individuals rather than teams competed.

In sum, ample research provides evidence for the positive impact of value-based fit on personal and organisational outcomes. Relatively little is

known about the processes, or mechanisms, through which value fit leads to these positive outcomes – or how value misfit blocks them. Studying the mechanisms that have been proposed (e.g., Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000; Edwards & Cable, 2009) requires complex, longitudinal research designs and diverse research methods. Such studies should take into account macro-level moderators such as culture, or economic growth (e.g., Sortheix & Lönnqvist, 2014).

## Two Paths towards Person-Environment Fit: Selection and Socialisation

The congruency in values between the person and the work environment could be a product of selection, socialisation, or both. Below we discuss each in turn.

*Selection.* Selection is a dual process: *Organisational selection* is the process through which organisations select their members. *Self-selection* is the process through which people actively choose to engage in a specific occupation or join a specific organisation. To date, organisational selection is typically based on skills, accomplishments or background, and rarely addresses values (e.g., Judge & Ferris, 1992; Elms, Nicholson, & Pugliese, 2015). In contrast, people often prefer work environments that express values similar to their own (Pervin, 1989; Schneider et al., 1995; Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000).

To find whether self-selection occurs, it is important to examine value profiles of people at the very beginning of their career, before they were socialised to internalise the values prevalent in their profession or organisation. Arieli and her colleagues (2016) studied the value priorities of freshmen, comparing business and social work students in an Israeli university. The researchers focused on these two academic departments because they express opposing value patterns, despite being similar in many structural respects (e.g., teaching-programme structure, selection processes, and acceptance thresholds). The findings indicated that as early as in the first week of studies, the students in the two departments differed in their values, and hold value patterns that matched the value profile of their department. The business students emphasised self-enhancement more and self-transcendence less than social work students. Similar findings were found in a study comparing business and psychology students in the UK (Bardi et al., 2014).

Self-selection processes are not limited to choosing a field of study. Past studies indicated that individuals self-select themselves into organisations and jobs that match their preferences and goals (e.g., Chatman, 1991; Turban & Keon, 1993; Cable & Judge, 1997). Studying accounting firms, Chatman (1991) showed that even organisations from the same industry differed in

their organisational values, each having a unique profile, thus attracting and selecting candidates whose values fit the values of the organisation.

*Socialisation.* *Organisational socialisation* is the process through which employees learn how to comply with and adopt to organisational practices and values (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979; Fisher, 1986; Louis, 1990). Research on value socialisation investigated both students at the beginning of their career and employees in work organisations.

To examine whether students' values change in light of the socialisation they experience during their studies, Arieli and colleagues (2016) compared the value patterns of first- and third-year business and social work students. The findings did not reveal any value difference between the two cohorts. A followed-up longitudinal study tracking the value patterns of business students at the beginning and at the end of their first year yielded similar findings. The only significant change was in benevolence values, which became somewhat less important throughout the year. Similar findings emerged in a one-year longitudinal study in the UK among business and psychology students (Bardi et al., 2014) and in a cross-sectional study among economics students (Gandal et al., 2005).

Together, these results indicate that the value patterns of students in different academic departments are quite stable throughout their studies, and that socialisation during the academic training cannot account for the differences in value patterns of individuals in various professions. University departments seem to have little effect on the values of their students. Importantly, however, these studies focused on basic values. Socialisation during professional training may yield change in other personal attributes, such as work-related attitudes, specific goals and behaviours.

It is also possible that socialisation effects on personal values of university students are moderated by the cultural context. Students in individualistic cultures (e.g., Israel and the UK) are encouraged to choose a profession that fits their personal characteristics (abilities, traits, values). They are therefore likely to self-select themselves to professions that are congruent with their values and will allow them to attain their underlying goals. Individuals in collectivistic cultures, in contrast, are expected to follow social norms and expectations. Moreover, they are likely to be especially attentive to cues in the environment regarding what is important and worthy (see Boer & Fischer, 2013). Thus, students in such cultures are likely to rely less on self-selection and be more affected by socialisation (Wheeler, Reis, & Bond, 1989; Chatard & Selimbegovic, 2007). Consistent with this rationale, a study among economics students in Latvia (a relatively collectivistic culture) found an increase in the importance of power and hedonism values over a two-year period,

especially for students in programmes that focused exclusively on economics and whose friends were fellow economics students (Racko, Strauss, & Burchell, 2017).

What about employees in work organisations? Researchers argued that socialisation can strengthen person-organisation fit, which in turn is expected to increase organisational commitment and decrease turnover (see a review in Cable & Parsons, 2001). Thus, for example, in a study of accounting firms, exposure to organisational socialisation during the first year of employment (e.g., attending the firm's social activities, spending time with a mentor) predicted person-organisation fit at the end of that year. That is, the personal values of these newcomers changed to match the values of the organisation. As expected, this value change resulted in increased satisfaction and decreased turnover intentions among the new employees (Chatman, 1991). In another study, the perceived value fit between employees and their organisation correlated with socialisation tactics that focused on social interactions and on the content of the information given through the socialisation process (Cable & Parsons, 2001).

Most studies on value-based socialisation reviewed so far have investigated perceived fit or work-related values. Perceived fit may not indicate an actual value change, but rather a change in the perception of organisational values. Work-related values are more contextual than basic values, and are hence more likely to be malleable. Indeed, some researchers have doubted the power of socialisation process in altering personal values of employees (Lusk & Oliver, 1974; Dose, 1997). Studying basic values, Bardi and colleagues (2014) investigated police trainees in the UK at the beginning of their training and nine months later. Training included classroom studies, field experience and mentoring by police organisational members. There was evidence of marginal value change, but it was not in the direction expected due to organisational socialisation. Thus, even extensive, planned organisational socialisation may yield only minimal change of basic values. Alternatively, a year may not be long enough to elicit value change. Professional training is a long-term process; it is possible that values socialisation requires more time and may occur at later stages of the career. More research is needed to investigate the effects of organisational socialisation along varying periods of time.

Finally, the processes that lead to person-organisation fit, also lead to similarity among organisational members, resulting in organisational homogeneity. Whereas the consequences of person-environment fit are usually considered positive, theory and research on organisational homogeneity has pointed to both positive outcomes (e.g., harmony) and negative outcomes (e.g., stagnation and inability to adapt to changing environments, Schneider et al., 1995). So far, research on the negative outcomes of organisational homogeneity did not focus directly on value homogeneity (see a review in

Schneider et al., 1995). The impact of value homogeneity may depend on content of values, the type of tasks, and organisational levels. For example, it is possible that homogeneity in emphasising self-direction values will lead to higher flexibility than heterogeneity in these values. Also, homogeneity may be more detrimental in a marketing department (e.g., leading to a single strategy for all of the consumers) than on R&D teams, whose task is to come up with new ideas, or HR teams, which aim to promote organisational cohesiveness. Future research could delve into such nuanced investigation.

## GENERAL DISCUSSION

Our review of research on the relationships between values and behaviour shows that values impact behaviour in contexts that are relevant to their underlying motivations. Openness to change and conservation values are relevant in contexts of novelty and independence versus stability and compliance. These values are associated with novelty-related behaviour, such as creativity and proactivity, and with reactions to autonomy threat and to demand of compliance. Self-transcendence and self-enhancement values are relevant in contexts of competition versus cooperation and when the welfare or well-being of others are in question. They are related to altruistic behaviour and decisions in social dilemma situations. To-date, most studies on values and behaviour are correlational and therefore do not provide a causality path. Whereas most researchers assume that the causal path goes from values to behaviour, recent endeavours attempt to show that values could also be affected by behaviour (Fischer, 2017). Our review reveals some gaps in the literature, raising questions regarding additional consequences of personal values on organisational behaviour. We next discuss venues for future research.

## FROM DIMENSIONS TO PROFILES

Most research on values and behaviour, reports findings regarding each value type separately. We propose that a novel fruitful direction in the study of values could examine value profiles, that is, the effects of possible combinations of values from the two basic dimensions. Emphasising openness to change, for example, is likely to have different meaning and consequences when it is coupled with an emphasis on self-enhancement than when it is coupled with self-transcendence values.

Profiles of values have not been studied systematically yet, but some studies point to the usefulness of this direction. For example, recent studies indicate that students' entrepreneurial intentions are best predicted by the value profile that combines an emphasis on openness to change and self enhancement values (Hirschi & Fischer, 2013; Gorgievski, Stephan, Laguna,

& Moriano, 2018). The combination of emphasising openness to change and self-transcendence values forms a different value profile, one that predicts tolerance towards others (see review in Sagiv et al., 2017). Thus, moving from examining each dimension separately to studying value profiles may uncover important ways in which value combinations affect behaviour, performance, or satisfaction.

## Extending the Scope of Values Addressed in Organisational Research

In reviewing past research we built on Schwartz's theory of personal values. Drawing on one theoretical model, which aims at comprehensiveness of basic motivations, allowed us to integrate and compare findings from a wide range of programmes of research, including research that stemmed from other theories and methods. This choice is in line with De Clercq and colleagues (2008) who reported that experts were able to reliably classify most work-values items as representing one of the 10 values in Schwartz's model. This project also revealed, however, that 7.5 per cent of the value-items could not be classified to any of the 10 values. The researchers identified two additional work-related value types. The first, labelled *goal-orientedness* was found in six instruments. It expresses the motivation to fulfil a purpose, show persistence and take initiatives, and was proposed to be related to self-enhancement values. The second, labelled *relations*, was found in 13 instruments. It expresses the motivation to form good relationships with others in the workplace and was viewed as related to self-transcendence values.

De Clercq and colleagues (2008) further suggested that power and universalism values should be divided into narrower categories. These are in line with Schwartz's refined theory of personal values (Schwartz et al., 2012; Schwartz, 2017), which breaks the 10 value types into 19 narrower value categories. Narrow values may be better predictors of specific behaviours, thus refining our understanding of the meaning of work behaviours.

## From Direct Relationships to Indirect Effects of Values in Organisations

Current research on values in organisations usually focuses on direct values-behaviour links. Future research could also address indirect, complex mechanisms through which values are related to behaviour in organisations. We have discussed how personal values of managers predict not only their own behaviour, but also behaviours of their subordinates. Other paths of influence are possible. For example, when organisational members

have a say in whom is positioned to be a manager (e.g., in public companies that have employees' representatives as directors), the values of the organisations' members may affect the behaviour of their managers both directly through their choice for manager, and indirectly through the wish of the manager to ensure the continuation of her tenure.

Finally, research could profit from considering the consequences of perception and attribution regarding values of others. For example, the values attributed to managers could affect the behaviour they evoke from employees (Is the manager perceived as valuing self enhancement and thus as being less concerned about the welfare of others? Is she perceived as valuing conservation, and thus as blocking suggestions for innovation?). Of special importance are perceptions regarding the values related to dedication to work (e.g., hard-working, punctual, and long-term planning, see Myyry & Helkama, 2001). People in organisations are likely to seek to be perceived as endorsing these values, and attributions regarding their endorsement may have implications for their success.

## Values in a Rapidly Changing World

The rapid technological changes are accompanied by rapid changes in the social environment influencing individuals, institutions, industries and markets. These changes are reflected in personal values. China, for example, has undergone major change following the social reform of the last decades. Research among professionals and managers and of three generational cohorts (Consolidation, Cultural Revolution, Social Reform) found that the younger cohort emphasises self-enhancement and openness to change more, and conservation and self-transcendent less than the other cohorts. Similar value differences were found between three cohorts in the USA (Egri & Ralston, 2004).

The most recent generational cohort, born between 1979 and 1994 and labelled millennials, Generation Y, Nexters, or the Nexus Generation, is expected to become the dominant group in the workforce. We are not aware of large-scale studies that examined how this cohort differs in values from previous cohorts. Studying Canadian students indicated that they place great importance on individualistic aspects of their job (Ng, Schweitzer, & Lyons, 2010). A study among job seekers in Canada found that those who emphasise openness to change placed relatively high emphasis on corporate social responsibility in organisations and on having a psychologically healthy workplace (Catano & Morrow Hines, 2016). However, it is not known if these patterns are new, or whether they existed in the past. A better understanding of the value priorities of the different cohorts would help managers and

organisations craft work environments and jobs that may increase employees' engagement, and consequently decrease attrition.

## CONCLUSIONS

Values play a role in many aspects of organisations: they are associated with occupational choices at the very beginning of the career and predict specific behaviours and decisions. Their broadness and stability make values a predictor of organisational behaviour over time and across contexts. In this paper, we focused on personal values. Values of social collectives, such as teams, departments and organisations, also influence organisations. Although researchers took a multilevel perspective when studying the impact of value in work setting (e.g., person-environment value-fit), values theories typically focus on either the personal level, the organisational level, or the cultural level (for a review of the latter two levels see Table 1). Researchers have called for developing an overarching framework that will incorporate values in multiple organisational levels (Meglino & Ravlin, 1998; Bourne & Jenkins, 2013). Considering values of the society in which the organisation is nested would also be beneficial. So far, most studies on values at work have been conducted in Western cultures. Linking values and behaviour assumes that the social environment allows people to act on their values. This might not be the case in cultures that strongly emphasise adherence to social norms. We extend the call for a framework that considers the society in which the organisation operates.

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## SUPPORTING INFORMATION

Additional supporting information may be found in the online version of this article at the publisher's web site:

- Appendix A Values at the Nation- and Organisation-Levels
- Appendix B Literature Review Procedure