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Integration or Estrangement ?

The Influence of Globalization on the Work Values of Students at Elite Japanese, Chinese, and Korean Universities

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Abstract

East Asia has been rapidly moving toward modernization, driven by the force of globalization. The result of that process is that country values are converging from traditional ones to modern ones. Countries have been congregating towards various ideologies, "meritocracy" in particular, as they continue to modernize.

This study aims to shed light on how globalization influences the work values of undergraduate students in Japan, China, and Korea. These three countries share a Confucian background which produces many interesting findings. Samples collected from Waseda, Fudan, and Korea Universities are examined using statistical analysis methods, and conclusions are drawn.

While work values are converging, they are not completely integrated. Each country still possesses its own unique set of characteristics that separate it from the other nations. However, Japanese and Korean students were found to possess similar work values when compared to Chinese students.

Interestingly, Chinese students have two conflicting ideologies: one of "egalitarian socialism" that places emphasis on the equality between people, and another of "modern meritocracy" that puts weight on individual development and reward.

How Chinese students will continue to reconcile this delicate balance as time goes by is a fascinating topic for future research.

Keywords: East Asia, globalization, modernization, work values, meritocracy, egalitarianism

1. Introduction

There are two arguments on globalization. One contends that globalization has brought down country borders and increased simple cross-border movements (Harvey, 1989; Tomlinson, 1999). Contrarily, this has redrawn borders which have previously been based on ethnicity (Huntington, 2002). In the modern East Asian context, many academics argue about the ability to build cross-border relationships in such a situation.[1] However in March of 2005, there was a large dispute over the island called *Takeshima* (or *Dokdo* in Korean), and in April of 2005 there were anti-Japanese demonstrations in China that caused increased Sino-Japanese diplomatic tensions.

Presently it seems that as globalization increases the flow of cross-border movement of people, goods, and capital, it is undeniable that while some believe that this context will lead to increased international relations, there are nonetheless large sectors in all societies that experience tension due to incidences like the aforementioned *Takeshima* problem. In this context, it is meaningful to see how values of the young generation in East Asia will be shaped. In East Asian (China, Japan and Korea) region, how do inter-country values differ?

Rushing into the era of globalization, today's East Asia has strived in areas such as politics, economics, culture, education and other fields, to achieve an ever-increasing mutual understanding of cultural diversity. It is widely hoped that this understanding will foster an East Asian neighborhood. According to Stiglitz (2002), the rules of globalization must be equal for everyone. There has to be a proper distribution of the benefits of globalization between the powerful and the powerless, based on common sense and social justice. Therefore, it is a key that East Asian countries strive to improve comprehension of their own traditional values in an objective sense and through this, discover which areas are similar and different from other countries.

This study will seek to analyze data gathered from the three-country International Joint Research Project survey in 2007. The survey studied lifestyle changes through values in East Asia by questioning undergraduates from three elite universities in Japan, China and Korea—Waseda University, Fudan University, and Korea University, respectively. Therefore this paper will examine how globalization affects the work values of Japanese, Chinese and Korea University students, while also examining the possibility for improvement in inter-relationships within the East Asia region.

Finally the thesis will answer whether this mature process of globalization will result in integration or estrangement in East Asia.

2. Analytical Framework

Sonoda (1992, 369) defines "modernization as an intentional collective process in which individuals aim to reform themselves while still retaining the historical and political background of that society". Consequently in non-western societies, modernization starts from traditional values, and it is self-changing process. The destruction of patriarchy and the fermentation of rationalism is

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[1] For example, Watanabe (2005) discusses the East Asian cooperative system by using European Union as an analogy; however those arguments are not enough to completely cover the differences and similarities of East Asian values.

an example of the transition from traditional values to modern values.

The role of culture has gradually come to be emphasized in recent years within the field of research studying people's outlook on work.

Chiba (2000) analyzes the differences in work values in the pre-unified Germany and finds that East Germans focus on external rewards while West Germans focus on internal rewards. Chiba interprets the differences in West and East Germany through revision of Inglehart's theory (1997).

In addition, the modern individual has been increasingly influenced by commercialist materialism, and this has led to a focus on rational endeavors towards improvement in the quality of life through the realization of one's individual values existing in material goods. Indeed, social and cultural heritage has formed values that are of permanent influence, while also influencing economic development through the value shifts in a large portion of the population (Inglehart, 1997).

However while society shifts from an impoverished to a wealthier state, the idea of decisive economic decisions that include things worldly and rational and put focus on the individual, is the same as the concepts of "post-materialism" and "post-modernism." This shows, however, only one side of arguments existing in other areas. Because the population of a given country inherits their way of thinking, viewpoints, and other subjective values from history, it is questionable whether values can easily change. It is worth conjecturing about whether traditional values can exist within modernization or whether these values will be forever lost. It is important and worth considering the values of people within the context of modernization.

Parsons (1954) modeled cultural and value systems along two axes of "achievement" vs. "ascription" and "universality" vs. "particularism." Achievement focuses not on the value attributed to the individual as much as the improvement and performance of achievements. In contrast to this, ascription judges people based on the individual value of a person. "Achievement" has various meanings, thus in this paper "achievement" will be referred to as a more specific term, "meritocracy."

Bellah (1957), who used Parson's cultural and values structure, regarded Japan as a value system of achievement (political domination), and because of this Japan is the first Asian country in which modernization took root. According to Bellah, the United States of America is a universal achievement (economic values) country, while China is a particular ascription (total values) country. He suggests that if a country is orientated towards the value of "achievement," it is possible to obtain modernization regardless of whether a country is universalist or particularist.

Table 1 Structure for Bellah's Classification of Social Values

Japan	[Particularism]	[Meritocracy]	(Political domination)
America	[Universality]	[Meritocracy]	(Economic values)
China	[Particularism]	[Ascription]	(Total values)

In his "modernization theory", Weber (1992) indicates that the convergent power of modernization is rationalization and it also highlights "achievement" aspect of values.

This paper utilizes two arguments in the formation of its hypothesis. First, based on the arguments of Bellah and Weber, we assume that modernization and globalization is a cause of transition of university student's values from particular collectivism to universal individualism. The second argument is that the convergent power of modernization based on "achievement" of values, has shifted values from ascription to meritocracy.

This research is a comparative analysis of work value differences among university students in three countries (Japan, China, and Korea) as a result of globalization. It is important to define axes to perform a comparative analysis and in this study, the main axes are common variables. To put it simply, we assume that those are "Confucianism" as "traditional" values and "westernized/Americanized" as "modernized" values. Expediently, the former can be thought of as "traditional Confucianism" and the latter can be thought of as "westernized modernization." This research tries to test whether convergent values are formed when traditional Confucian values shift to modernized values.

Confucianism has performed an important role in the formation of lifestyle choices and one's sense of value in Asian countries such as China, the Korean peninsula, and Japan. Ethical and political precepts, like the idea of indebtedness for favors, respect for justice, and filial piety, play an important role in the epistemological formation of Confucianism. It has been more than 2,500 years since the moral thought of Confucianism was established by Confucius around the fifth century BC.

The philosophy spread from China to the Korean peninsula, Vietnam, and by the beginning of the 5th century, it also spread into Japan. After this initial flourishing, it gradually spread to other Asian countries while influencing their histories, cultures, politics, and morals. Conversely, as Confucianism spread throughout each nation, its value system changed to fit the context of the country. Especially after modernization, each country developed at different rates, and this caused social unrest. As a result, values particular to each country formed in East Asia while still maintaining the basic precepts of Confucianism throughout such unrest. For example, after the Meiji Restoration, Japan started moving on a divergent path from its route under the influence of western modernization.

However, Hofstede (1984), who conducted research on world business culture through international comparative research, insists that there are several common points within the roots of Confucianism in East Asian countries. His time series comparative research found that the top 5 scores from the 23 country survey were China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan and Korea. Questions concerning perseverance, status, hierarchical orders, savings, and shame were asked.

In addition, according to Gordon Redding (1992), there is a "5-dimension recipe of important factors to manage business and the economy in the world and 3 of them are from Asia."[2] These are the management systems in Japan, Korea and China. He explains that these three management systems are influenced by Confucianism, which creates a dynamic group for the unique maintenance of tradition. These traditional values have come out of use in tandem with spread of globalization, and require the reformation of existing management systems in each country.

The aim of this paper is to examine and place the three countries along the "traditional-modern" axis to show how value unification might have occurred or might still be occurring. First of all, it

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[2] The other two are "multinational business" and "business under national influence."

will study university students in the three countries to analyze their work values and look at the differences from the viewpoint of economic and cultural backgrounds.

This International Joint Research Project began in 2007 and is the third round of data collection, which will make a comparison of the different structures in work values in the three countries of China, Korea and Japan. By examining the work survey questions, it will be possible to extract the modern way of collective thinking about work values in the three countries. Ultimately this international comparative research will promote future inquiries on political, cultural and economic growth and development in East Asia.

3. Survey Outline

Questions in this year's joint project are designed by Japanese-Chinese-Korean joint project members and involve several big themes in order to discover the values of undergraduate students in East Asia where globalization has occurred. These themes are business, media, and historical problems, and these factors are essential in understanding globalization in East Asia. In order to analyze the student work values in the three countries, a number of sources were utilized for the survey[3].

The survey questions focusing on work values are based off of Hofstede's 1984 international comparative survey and are modified to suit the target students. A number of survey questions are also from past International Joint Research Projects. Additionally, questions concerning Confucianism relating to traditional values are based on Zheng's (2005) East Asian International Comparative Survey in 2003. These question items are statistically screened out from last year's analysis results and this year's pre-test analysis results, and distilled. Screening methods included finding similarities using cluster analysis and performing factor analysis to extract underlying factors.

Each school collected 400 valid samples of data spanning a one month period during December 2007. The target sample consisted of Japanese undergraduate students who attended Waseda University. In order to obtain a proper representation of each school's student population, quota sampling was utilized. Factors such as grade, sex, and department were proportionately calculated and collected accordingly. Samples were obtained through distribution in a various number of ways: campus organizations, classrooms, and cafeteria/lounge areas. In all cases, students voluntarily agreed to fill out the questionnaires.

For this project it was only feasible to obtain samples from university students that the researchers had access to. In addition, each of the three universities can be considered elite institutions within their respective countries. Thus the validity of generalizing findings to all youths in East Asia can be called into question. However in terms of feasibility, issues such as time and finances were major limitations for the scope of the project. Regardless, the data and findings can be used to examine a part of the East Asian youth demographic, and that in itself is a valuable endeavor.
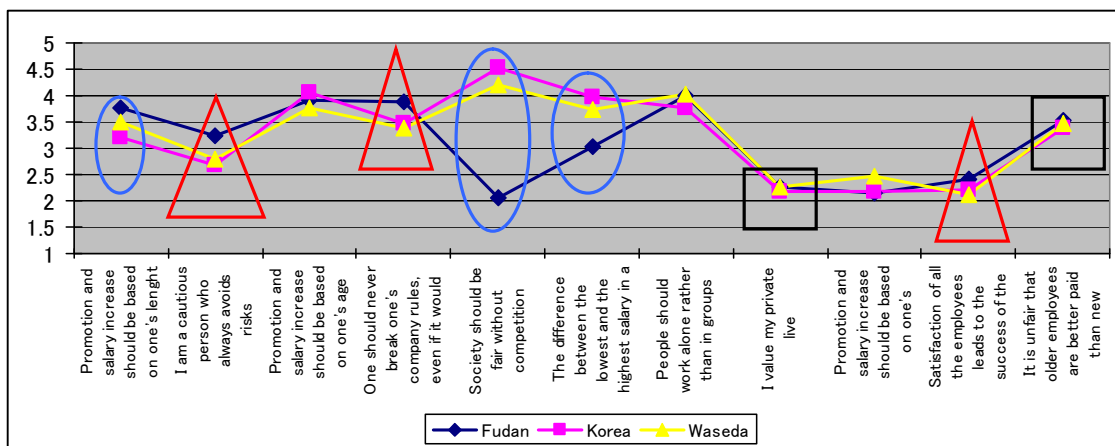
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4. Differences between Japanese-Chinese-Korean Students' Work Values

In order to examine the differences between the work values of students in the three countries, various questions were asked. Questions regarding work values from Hofstede, and related questions from previous International Joint Research Projects were used. Some of the questions were modified in order to make them suitable for the Japanese-Chinese-Korean student respondent group. 11 questions were asked regarding work values, and are listed in their entirety below. The chart following them displays the responses to 11 questions.

- Promotion should be based on one's length of employment
- I am a cautious person who generally avoids risks
- Age should be a big factor in promotion
- Company rules should not be broken even when the employee thinks it is in the company's best interest
- Society should be fair without competition
- Salary gap between the highest and lowest paid should be as small as possible
- People should work alone rather than in large groups
- I want a job which leaves me sufficient time for my personal or family life
- Promotion should be based on personal achievement
- Individual satisfaction of employees leads to the overall prosperity of a company
- It is unfair for newly recruited employees to receive less pay than older employees

The two black squares in the chart highlight two questions: "I want a job which leaves me sufficient time for my personal or family life" and "It is unfair for newly recruited employees to receive less pay than older employees". These questions were found to have no statistically significant difference between the three countries (see Figure 1). However, other than the two square marked questions, the results of all other inquiries were found to have some kind of statistically significant difference within them (significant at the 0.01 level), and demonstrated the dissimilarity in values between the respondents in the three countries.

Figure 1 Japanese-Chinese-Korean Students' Work Values

Questions in the chart marked by a triangle –"I am a cautious person who generally avoids risks," "Company rules should not be broken even when the employee thinks it is in the company's best interest" and "Individual satisfaction of employees leads to the overall prosperity of a company" showed a unique set of results. While no significant difference between Japanese and Korean students could be seen, their differences from Chinese students were statistically significant.

On the other hand, questions in the chart highlighted by a circle ,"Promotion should be based on one's length of employment," "Society should be fair without competition" and "Salary gap between the highest and lowest paid should be as small as possible", demonstrated various significant differences between the three countries.

The remaining three questions each resulted in different outcomes.

"Age should be a big factor in promotion," showed significant differences in thinking between Japanese and Korean students, but between Japanese and Chinese, and also Chinese and Korean students, there were no significant differences observable. For question item "People should work alone rather than in large groups," there were no significant differences between Japanese and Chinese students, but significant differences in the responses of students in those two countries and Korean students was apparent. Finally for "Promotion should be based on personal achievement," significantly different statistics were not found between Chinese and Korean students, though significant differences were seen between the students in those two countries and Japanese students.

4–1. Ambivalent Work Values of Chinese Undergraduate Students

When outlining the differences between work values of undergraduate students in Japan, China, and Korea, it is clear that Chinese students possess a unique ambivalence not found in either of the other two countries. This distinct thought pattern is revealed when examining the data.

Firstly, responses to the statement "Society should be fair without competition" were very similar between Korean students and Japanese students, with both respondent groups disagreeing that a more fair society with less competition was ideal. However, Chinese students' answers showed a completely opposite pattern. They believed that fairness and less competition was important and necessary in society.

Secondly, "Salary gap between the highest and lowest paid should be as small as possible" produced similar findings. Japanese and Korean students responded on average that they did not believe there should be as small salary gap as possible. Chinese students did not agree with this point of view, electing to respond on average the opposite stance. However at the same time when looking at responses to, "Promotion should be based on personal achievement," students from all three countries agreed with this statement on average.

Japanese and Korean students who had been of opposite opinions with Chinese students in the previous two questions all came to agree on the importance of recognizing achievement when it came to salary and promotions. Chinese undergraduate students possessed values of an "equal and low competition," as well as a "fair results" view towards society, but at the same time had work values based off of the idea of "meritocracy." This demonstrates the ambivalent nature of Chinese students work values. It becomes clear that despite modern day China's "socialist market economy"

system, the reflected work values do not match perfectly.

4–2. Similarities between Japanese and Korean Students' Work Values

In contrast to Chinese students who possess an ambivalent set of work values, on the surface level Japanese and Korean students appear to have startlingly similar views towards work. After performing an analysis of the variance, results showed that of the 11 questions asked in the survey, 5 questions were found to have no significant difference in responses between Japanese and Korean students. Thus when examining the data of the three countries, Japanese and Korean students work value responses appear to be very similar in contrast to the response patterns of Chinese students.

5. Results

5–1. Three Extracted Factors: "Traditional Ascription," "Egalitarian Socialism," and "Modern Meritocracy"

Next a factor analysis (method: promax rotation) on the 11 questions regarding work values was conducted to extract underlying factors behind the variables. However two of the variables, "People should work alone rather than in large groups" and "It is unfair for newly recruited employees to receive less pay than older employees," did not have sufficient factor loads and thus were excluded from the analysis, bringing the final tally of variables to 9. The factor analysis yielded three separate factors: "traditional ascription," "egalitarian socialism" and "modern meritocracy," (pattern matrices are referenced in the Appendix). The three factors are explained below (see Table 2).

Table 2 Work Value Factors and Factors Important in Job Correlation Table

	Traditional Ascription	Egalitarian Socialism	Modern Meritocracy
Salary	-.110**		.186**
Job security	.260**		.145**
Promotion opportunities		.099**	.230**
Training opportunities		.066*	.172**
Atmosphere of workplace	-.087**		.276**
Individual performance appraisal		-.235**	.316**
Reputation of the company	-.112**		.092**
Job content	.126**		.218**
Suitable for my development	-.126**	.098**	.214**

* p<.05   ** p<.01

"Traditional ascription" refers to the notion that promotions, salaries, and raises should follow a hierarchical pattern, based on continuous years of service in the company, and leans towards

prioritizing "organization" group principles. This type of belief is reflected as a kind of "if you try your best you will be rewarded" type of mentality. Time is a very important factor in this notion, as it is the main determinant of the hierarchy. Personal achievement is not considered as important as the group identity. This type of Confucian ideology about sustaining long term patience and enduring hardships are an important basis for this kind of thinking. These values are also considered as what Western society refers to as "typical Asian values."

"Egalitarian socialism" refers to the idea that it would be ideal for society to contain less competition, and be fairer to all in general. In this case, factors such as personal differences and personal achievements should not cause large discrepancies between people.

On the other hand, "modern meritocracy" refers to a very different idea. Promotions and salaries should be based off of personal achievement; it does not matter how long one has worked in the company to an extent. Just having the greatest amount of service years does not guarantee the highest position and salary in the company and results matter much more in this case. The importance of one's personal life is also emphasized in this view. Thus within the "Modern Meritocracy" system, it can be said that the "individual," rather than the "organization" takes priority. In other words, modern day expressed work values demonstrate the desire of people for "individual" consciousness and personal development, as opposed to an "organization" group identity.
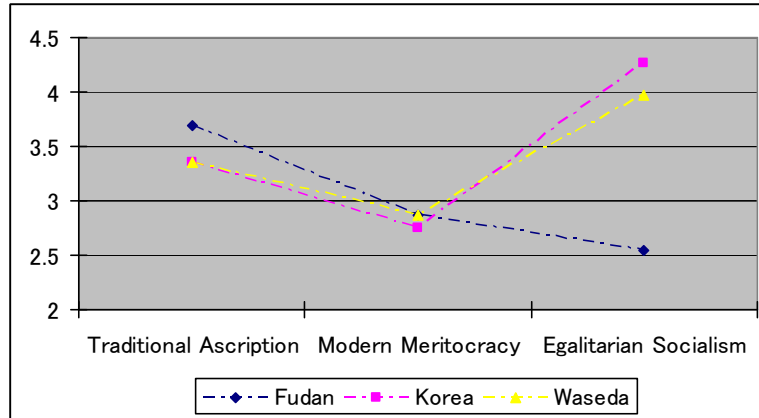
In order to explain the three factors more deeply, the following table displays the results of running a correlation analysis on how they affect the data items concerning "factors that are important in a job."

The chart denotes which questionnaire items were found to have significant correlation coefficients. Even at this point it is possible to explain similar tendencies. "Traditional ascription" places a large positive emphasis on "security," while not giving much weight towards "personal development" and "salary," instead leaning towards long term employment. Interestingly, "egalitarian socialism" was found to have a negative correlation with "individual performance appraisal," which raises the idea of a contradictory thought pattern. "Modern meritocracy" for the most part stresses the importance of all the variables, showing the ambitious motivation of people.

While the correlation coefficients are still low, meaning it is not possible to say that all factors are applicable, items "individual performance appraisal," "job content," and "promotion opportunities," reflect interest in personal achievement and have a large influence on values. "Atmosphere of workplace" was also found to be of great importance. "Atmosphere" in this case refers to notions of working from a young age, and properly rewarding personal achievement; in other words, not the old-fashioned corporate image.

Figure 2 organizes the three factors found in the three countries, and creates an average value based off of the total calculated scores. Statistical significance was found to exist between all three countries with regards to the factors. As can be observed in the graph, at the "traditional ascription" factor, significant differences between Fudan University and the other two schools can be seen. No significant differences exist between Waseda and Korea Universities under this factor. At the "Modern Meritocracy" factor, no significant differences can be seen between Fudan and Waseda Universities, but between them and Korea University there existed significant statistical differences. Finally at the "egalitarian socialism" factor, statistical significance was seen between all three countries.

Figure 2 Compiled Factor Score Average Values

By examining each country's factor score averages it becomes apparent that compared to undergraduates at Waseda and Korea University, Fudan University's undergraduates possess a negative association tendency towards Traditional Ascription. On the other hand, concerning "modern meritocracy," all three countries have a relatively high positive association with the factor. However among the three schools, Korea students have the strongest tendency towards this factor. Fudan students in comparison to Waseda and Korea students do possess a negative tendency towards "traditional ascription," but at the same time possess a very strong positive association with "egalitarian socialism." It is at this finding that an interesting phenomenon regarding Fudan undergraduate students can be seen.

5–2. Confucian Values

If modern day values are changing and defining themselves from traditional ones, then by looking at the "traditional-modern (post-traditional)" axis, notions such as "traditional ascription," "modern meritocracy," and "egalitarian socialism," can explain the relationships and structure of the situation. Six questions from the "Confucian values" scale (Zheng, 2005) based on Confucian ideology were utilized in order to examine the origins of traditional values. A factor analysis (method: promax rotation) was run on the six questions and they are listed below. From this analysis, at least two underlying factors were discovered: the "loyalty-filial piety scale," and the "patriarchal authority scale." Unifying the two factors was the overarching factor of "Confucian traditional values" (pattern matrices are referenced in the Appendix).

First Factor – Loyalty-Filial Piety Scale
- One should pay respects to one's ancestors
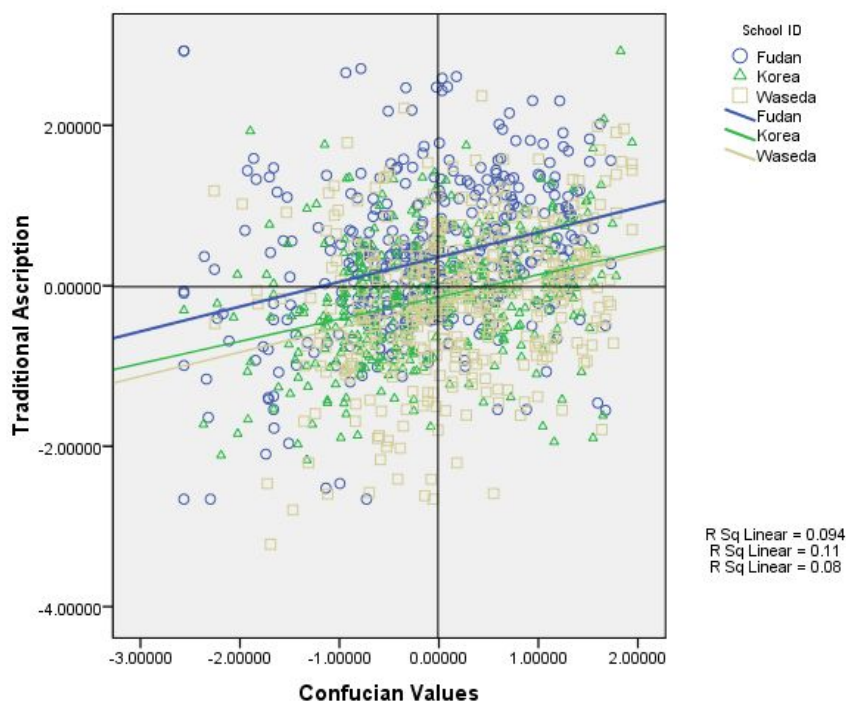- One should listen to one's parents when choosing a spouse

- You should obey your elders

Second Factor – Patriarchal Authority Scale
- Sons are crucial to sustain one's family tree
- The wife should obey her husband
- It is rational for men to work, and for women to stay home, do housework, and take care of children

Figure 3 displays the synthesis of "Confucian values" and "traditional ascription" between the three countries in a scatter diagram (as different characteristics cannot be seen regarding "modern meritocracy"). Higher points on the "Traditional Ascription" axis mean less inclination towards ascription, and lower points result in more inclination towards it. Points further to the left on the "Confucian values" axis mean that there is a greater inclination towards traditional values, while going further to the right means there is less inclination. Therefore points on the X-axis have tendencies towards "traditional values" on the left, and "modern values (post-traditional)" on the right.

Figure 3 "Traditional Ascription" and "Confucian Values" Scatter Diagram

The figure clearly shows that as "Confucian values" become negative, so too do "ascription" principles. Thus a positive correlation between the two factors can be observed. Therefore, as the defined post-Confucian "modern values" become more widespread, employment views agreeing with "traditional ascription" begin to disappear. As well, this correlation between the three countries in "traditional ascription," however much may be left of it, is an observable phenomenon. Thus if notions of the opposing forces of ascription, and meritocracy are recognized, it is possible to

understand how post-traditional modernity, like Webber's theme, has affected the values of meritocracy.

5–3. Main Causes of "Traditional Ascription," "Egalitarian Socialism," and "Modern Meritocracy"

In order to further the analysis, a regression analysis was performed on the three extracted factors. They were treated as dependent variables in order to see if they were being influenced by other factors. After conducing the analysis, it was found that there were 16 items influencing the three factors of "traditional ascription," "egalitarian socialism," and "modern meritocracy." These 16 items were treated as independent variables and are listed as follows: 1) globalization index[4], 2) Confucianism index[5], 3) English ability, 4) gender, 5) social class, 6) foreign residence experience, 7) important factors in job selection (9 items), and 8) desire to work for American companies.

Using the listed 16 items as independent variables, the 3 extracted factors were used as dependent variables, and a multi regression analysis was performed. The results are displayed in tables 3 and 4 below.

Table 3: Three Factors Multiple Regression Analysis

	Traditional Ascription	Egalitarian Socialism	Modern Meritocracy
Globalization index	-.020	-.049	-.011
Confucianism index	.273**	.070*	-.012
Gender	.040	.108**	-.013
Foreign residence experience	-.050	.318**	-.034
English ability	.089**	-.099**	-.071*
Social Class	.080**	-.126**	.029
Salary	.030	-.064	.059
Job security	.232**	-.023	.016
Promotion opportunities	-.162**	.165**	.090*
Training opportunities	.029	.020	-.031
Atmosphere of workplace	.087**	.039	.149**
Individual performance appraisal	.025	-.271**	.167**
Reputation of the company	.010	.004	-.061
Job content	.018	-.015	.090**
Suitable for my development	-.143**	.095**	.048
I would like to work for an American company	.000	.104**	.068*
R²	.182**	.250**	.171**

* p<.05   ** p<.01

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[4] The index was created based on adaptations of questions regarding globalization in "AsiaBarometer 2003" (alpha = 0.525).
[5] The index was created based on adaptations of questions regarding Confucianism (alpha = 0.736).

Table 4: Three Factors Multiple Regression Analysis (Country)

	Traditional Ascription			Egalitarian Socialism			Modern Meritocracy		
	Waseda	Korea	Fudan	Waseda	Korea	Fudan	Waseda	Korea	Fudan
Globalization index	-.060	-.033	-.037	-.050	.064	-.008	.011	.023	-.029
Confucianism index	.272**	.357**	.314**	.091	.115*	-.103*	-.068	.060	-.017*
Gender	.034	.089	-.037	.054	.080	-.011	-.003	.045	-.043
Foreign residence experience	-.044	.035	.052	.028	.067	.069	-.059	.013	.026
English ability	.081	.039	-.018	-.047	.111*	-.077	-.062	.008	-.111
Social Class	-.022	.003	.043	.016	-.021	-.000	.084	.023	.006
Salary	.062	-.050	.062	-.034	-.214**	-.025	.115	-.007	.026
Job security	.296**	.192**	.068	.022	.111	.111	.016	.055	-.014
Promotion opportunities	-.139*	-.056	-.077	-.050	-.089	.193*	-.015	.086	.109**
Training opportunities	.136*	-.116	.035	.002	.040	.007	-.009	-.071	.016*
Atmosphere of workplace	.018	.123*	.081	.106	-.040	.116*	.011**	.160**	.138
Individual performance appraisal	-.075	-.112	.036	-.024	-.064	-.090	.326**	.211**	.052
Reputation of the company	.050	.020	.004	-.103	-.032	-.105	-.063	-.088	-.051
Job content	-.001	-.057	.030	.019	.054	.104	.056	.100	.095
Suitable for my development	-.074	-.060	-.125*	-.106	-.059	.199**	-.054	-.027	.195**
I would like to work for an American company	-.012	.088	.085	-.018	.054	.108*	.018	.076	.061*
R²	.260**	.228**	.158**	.048	.101**	.251**	.228**	.135**	.222**

* p<.05   ** p<.01

Table 3 shows the analysis results of all the respondents from Waseda, Fudan, and Korea Universities. "Traditional ascription" is being influenced by the "Confucianism index" and puts emphasis on the importance of "job security," rather than "promotion opportunities" and "personal development."

The greatest influence on "egalitarian socialism" was found to be "foreign residence experience." Those individuals who did not have any experience living abroad in another country were discovered to possess a very strong inclination towards "egalitarian socialism." As well, while

"individual performance appraisal" was found to be unimportant, "promotion opportunities" were found to be significant. Females were more likely to be inclined to leans towards "egalitarian socialism," as where those people who had desires to work in American companies.

Finally "modern meritocracy" was found to be strongly influenced by "individual performance appraisal" and "atmosphere of the company."

Table 4 displays even further detailed analysis of the three factors.

Examining "traditional ascription," it becomes apparent that all three countries are strongly influenced by Confucianism. This means that despite differences between the three nations, they all share a common trait in being influenced by Confucianism. Japan places a high weight on "training opportunities," while Korea instead finds that the "atmosphere of workplace" is more vital. Both countries place a strong importance on "job security." "Promotion opportunities" in Japan and "personal development" in China do not seem to have much importance in each country respectively.

For "egalitarian socialism," Japan did not seem to be influenced by any of the variables. "Salary" was found to be unimportant in Korea, while "promotion opportunities" and "personal development" were found to be a key for China.

Finally, "modern meritocracy" also had interesting results. In Japan and Korea, "Individual performance appraisal" was found to be important. In China's case, "personal development" was found to be an influencing factor.

6. Conclusion

This paper focused on the analysis of work values of students from elite universities in Japan, China and Korea.

While the narrow respondent group is a limitation of the study, many interesting and important conclusions can still be observed from the analysis of the data. From the viewpoint of the analysis among three countries there are generally many commonalities between Japanese and Korean students. On the other hand, there are several differences between them and Chinese students. An especially big difference between Japanese/Korean and Chinese students is that the Chinese students surveyed have a strong "equality consciousness". Although it is incorrect to draw general conclusions from specific data, the result of this research leads to some inferences.
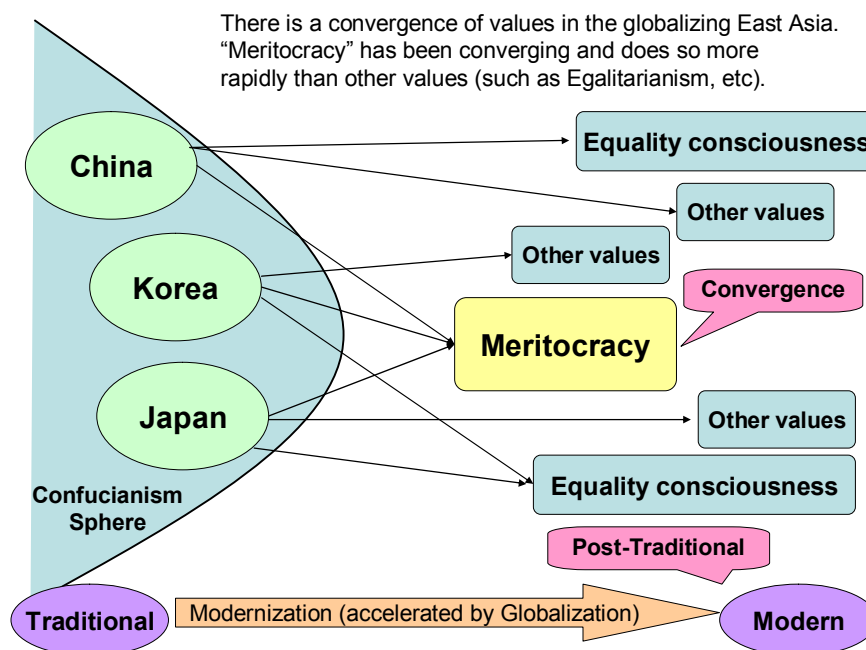
China has greatly shifted from a planned economy dominated by the autocracy of the Communist Party to a free market economy. As a result, "achievement" and meritocracy have appeared in the moral modernization of social policy. In this context, there have arisen problems of inequality between the cities and the rural areas. This study's survey population consisted of students from Fudan University that have high social capital through their education and are considered the social elite in the competitive Chinese society. They have somehow been influenced by the social gap arising from economic inequalities that have created social problems. Therefore the Chinese students are clearly different from their Japanese and Korean counterparts in the data results. In other words, Chinese undergraduates possess a modern meritocratic view towards work values, but at the same time also have a social ideology that creates a double thought structure. It is possible that this

could be a special characteristic of the inquired Fudan students in this research.

Also, there are no remarkable differences between the three countries with regards to meritocracy values. For students in these countries the important job factors were discovered to be individual performance appraisals, promotion opportunities, and various company policies. At the same time, the idea that people do not just wish to live for work appeared in the three countries, demonstrating that a strong inclination towards individual orientation exists.

As Webber refers, Figure 4 demonstrates that the function of meritocracy in the process of modernization and the idea of universalism commonly exist in the three East Asian countries which are influenced by Confucianism.

Fig. 4 – Meritocracy Model in Japan, China, and Korea

As this research mentions, the convergence of modern values has occurred with globalization in Japan and Korea. This is the meritocracy that Webber touched upon, and this is the result from the convergence towards it. Therefore the value regarding meritocracy converges more rapidly than other value factors, based on results found after examining Chinese society ideology. Observing how Chinese student's work values will change is a very interesting endeavor. It depends on the Chinese elite students whether they move away from traditional values like Japanese and Korean students, or continue to maintain their current mix of social ideologies and meritocracy.

At very least, from the viewpoint that globalization enables the change process of post-traditionalism to modernization, the number of younger generations who possess a modern morality as meritocracy will increase. This explains the convergent process of globalization in East Asia, and from that viewpoint meritocracy has lead direction of the integration.

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【Appendix】

[Factor Analysis of 9 Variables Regarding Work Values]

Pattern Matrix^a

	Factor		
	1	2	3
Promotion and salary increase should be based on one's age	.782	.147	-.077
Promotion and salary increase should be based on one's length of employment	.768	-.029	-.019
I am a cautious person who always avoids risks	.522	-.063	.158
One should never break one's company rules, even if it would result in a large profit for the company	.386	-.029	.053
Society should be fair without competition	-.092	1.004	-.018
The difference between the lowest and the highest salary in a company should be the smallest possible	.105	.517	.076
Promotion and salary increase should be based on one's accomplishments	-.137	.058	.631
Satisfaction of all the employees leads to the success of the whole company	.111	-.017	.589
I value my private live	.138	.042	.461

Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood.

 Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 4 iterations.

[Extracted Confucian Value Factors]

Pattern Matrix^a

	Component	
	1	2
It is rational for a husband to work and a wife to take care of the house	.942	-.181
A wife should obey her husband	.800	.152
A son is indispensable for continuing one's lineage	.785	.087
One should listen to one's parents when choosing a spouse	-.058	.864
One should obey one's elders	.037	.805
One should respect one's ancestors	.022	.597

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

【**Main Data Items**】

Q7 What are your personal views on the common cultural values below? Please express <u>your opinion</u> by checking <u>one</u> answer for each question.

		Strongly agree	Agree	Partly agree	Partly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
A	One should pay respects to one's ancestors	1	2	3	4	5	6
B	One should listen to one's parents when choosing a spouse	1	2	3	4	5	6
C	You should obey your elders	1	2	3	4	5	6
D	Sons are crucial to sustain one's family tree	1	2	3	4	5	6
E	The wife should obey her husband	1	2	3	4	5	6
F	It is rational for men to work, and for women to stay home, do housework, and take care of children	1	2	3	4	5	6

Q13 Let's change the topic to your views on employment. Do you agree with the following statements? Please express your opinion by checking one answer for each question.

		Strongly agree	Agree	Partly agree	Partly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
A	Promotion should be based on one's length of employment	1	2	3	4	5	6
B	Age should be a big factor in promotion	1	2	3	4	5	6
C	Society should be fair without competition	1	2	3	4	5	6
D	Salary gap between the highest and lowest paid should be as small as possible	1	2	3	4	5	6
E	I am a cautious person who generally avoids risks	1	2	3	4	5	6
F	Company rules should not be broken even when the employee thinks it is in the company's best interest	1	2	3	4	5	6
G	Individual satisfaction of employees leads to the overall prosperity of a company	1	2	3	4	5	6
H	People should work alone rather than in large groups	1	2	3	4	5	6
I	I want a job which leaves me sufficient time for my personal or family life	1	2	3	4	5	6
J	It is unfair for newly recruited employees to receive less pay than older employees	1	2	3	4	5	6
K	Promotion should be based on personal achievement	1	2	3	4	5	6

Q14 Suppose you were looking for a job. How important would you consider the following factors? Please check one answer for each question.

		Strongly agree	Agree	Partly agree	Partly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
A	Salary	1	2	3	4	5	6
B	Job security	1	2	3	4	5	6
C	Promotion opportunities	1	2	3	4	5	6
D	Training opportunities	1	2	3	4	5	6
E	Atmosphere of workplace	1	2	3	4	5	6
F	Individual performance appraisal	1	2	3	4	5	6
G	Reputation of the company	1	2	3	4	5	6
H	Job content	1	2	3	4	5	6
J	Suitable for my development	1	2	3	4	5	6

Q15 Do you agree with the following statements regarding employment? Please express your opinion by checking one answer for each question.

		Strongly agree	Agree	Partly agree	Partly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
A	I would like to work for an American company	1	2	3	4	5	6
C	I would like to work for a Japanese company	1	2	3	4	5	6
E	I would like to work for a Chinese company	1	2	3	4	5	6
G	I would like to work for a Korean company	1	2	3	4	5	6