Why is the motivation of non-regular employees not low? From the viewpoints of Equity Theory and Social Comparison Processes Theory

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Abstract
The aim of this study is to use perspectives from equity theory and social comparison to explain the reason why non-regular employees' motivation is not low, despite working at relatively low pay compared to regular employees. To achieve this, the study conducted a questionnaire survey of regular (full-time) and part-time employees of a grocery store chain retail business. The results indicated the following: (1) part-time workers have greater motivation, affective commitment, and job satisfaction than regular workers; (2) increased perception of distributive justice leads to greater motivation, affective commitment, and job satisfaction; (3) part-time managers can be divided according to their choice of comparative referent between a group that chooses fellow part-time managers, a group that chooses regular employees (upward comparison), and a group that chooses part-time workers (downward comparison); and (4) there is a greater tendency for male part-time managers to make upward comparison than females. Additionally, among female part-time managers, there is a tendency for single mothers to make upward comparison, and for the “with spouse, without children” group to make downward comparison. Drawing on these results, the study considered the relation between non-regular employees' motivation and their choice of comparative referent. The study also discusses the significance of maintaining systems for transferring from non-regular to regular employee status in order to improve motivation in non-regular employees who make upward comparisons.

Keywords: part-time workers; distributive justice; motivation; equity theory; social comparison

1. Introduction
The number of non-regular employees in Japan has increased from 8.81 million in 1990 to 19.62 million in 2014, and the proportion of the working population in non-regular employment has now reached 35% (Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 2015). Recently, the wage gap between regular and non-regular employment has become a terrible problem. Yet there has not been much progress in solving this issue. In fact, the gap is greater in Japan than in Western countries. Wage levels for part-time workers in Japan are only around 60% of those for full-time workers. However, this ratio is 90% in France; 80% in Sweden, Denmark, Germany, and the Netherlands; and 70% in Britain and Italy (Japan Institute for Labour Policy and Training 2015). Faced with Japan’s wage gap from these Western countries, the Abe Cabinet decided the “Plan for Dynamic Engagement of All Citizens of Japan,” which declared that it would, “without hesitation, further prepare for legal reform toward the realization of equal pay for equal work while paying due consideration to Japanese employment practices.”

However, there are many studies which have indicated that non-regular employees do not necessarily have low motivation or low job satisfaction (Chae 2010; Okunishi 2008; Japan Institute for Labour Policy and Training 2006). The aim of this study is to investigate why non-regular employees, who work for lower wage levels relative to regular employees, do not have low motivation in the domestic labor market. The concepts we will focus on here are organizational justice and social comparison. Moreover, the study sets up the following basic supposition: the size of wages does not directly determine the non-regular employees'
motivation; rather, recognition of justice (fairness) in wage distribution may have an effect, and it may be that non-regular employees compare not with regular employees but with fellow non-regular employees.

2. Literature Review
2.1 Non-Regular Employees’ Motivation

Through an online questionnaire survey, Hirano (2014) found that there was almost no difference between regular and non-regular employees in motivation and affective commitment to their organization, and in fact, non-regular employees had greater job satisfaction and feelings of justice regarding their treatment.

There are also many studies in the West whereby non-regular employees show organizational behavior comparable to that of regular employees. For instance, Thorsteinson (2003) undertakes meta-analysis of the organizational behavior of full- and part-time workers, finding that there is almost no difference between the two in work attitudes, such as job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and intention to quit. De Cuyper et al. (2008) also reach the same conclusion from reviewing existing studies on temporary employment.

This raises the question of why non-regular employees display work attitudes comparable to those of regular employees. Western studies offer various explanations. For instance, there are discussions of how there is a lack of understanding of the heterogeneity among non-regular employees (e.g., form of employment, job description, work hours, whether the choice to work on a non-regular basis is voluntary), and how the stress and hidden costs facing regular employees tied to “golden handcuffs” have been overlooked (Chae 2010). In other words, high heterogeneity means greater dispersion within groups, possibly obscuring the effect on organizational behavior. Additionally, some people may be working as regular employees involuntarily, with the costs of quitting being too high due to “golden handcuffs.”

2.2 Organizational Justice

Faced with this puzzle that “non-regular employees do not decisively have lower motivation and/or sense of justice than regular employees,” this study focuses on the concept of “organizational justice.” According to Greenberg (1987, 1990), organizational justice comprises “distributive justice” and “procedural justice.” Distributive justice refers to whether the results of distributing scarce resources among members of an organization are fair. In other words, it is an issue of perceived justice in reward distribution: how rewards, such as wages, bonuses, and promotions, are distributed among employees, and whether employees feel this to be fair. However, procedural justice refers to the perceived fairness of approaches to decision-making processes. Leventhal (1980) supposes that the perception of procedural justice results in greater feelings of distributive justice.

The previous study on distributive justice is Adams (1965)’s “equity theory.” He attempted to offer an explanation of the behavior of people participating in social exchange, based on the concept of relative deprivation. Relative deprivation is defined as dissatisfaction that arises according to relative standards based on comparison with others, rather than dissatisfaction based on absolute standards (Ishida 2015). The origin of relative deprivation theory was social psychology research concerning the US military personnel. Stouffer et al. (1949) found certain types of trends in the desire to be drafted at the time of joining the military, according to the various profiles of American soldiers. Specifically, they found greater desire to be drafted at the time of joining the military in soldiers who were younger and unmarried rather than those already married and who had graduated from high schools. They then used the concept of relative deprivation to provide the following consistent explanation for these trends, which, at a glance, appear to be varied. “Becoming a soldier is experienced as a great deprivation by many people. Yet according to differences in comparative standards, the feeling of sacrificing something is stronger in certain people compared with others.” This is explained more concretely by focusing on differences in marital status: “Comparing himself with his unmarried associates in the army, he could feel that induction demanded greater sacrifice from him than from them; and comparing himself with his married civilian friends, he could feel that he had been called on for sacrifices which they were escaping altogether. Hence, the
married man, on average, was more likely than others to come into the army with reluctance and, possibly, a sense of injustice.”

Relative deprivation was introduced as a concept referring to the “deprivation arising as a result of comparison within a given frame of participation”; it later came to be clearly tied with “reference groups” 1 as points of comparison by Merton (1957), and became a useful explanatory concept in social psychology.

On the other hand, equity theory, based on the concept of relative deprivation, supposes that an individual will feel their circumstances to be just (fair), having made comparison with those of others, if they judge the inputs they make to an organization to match the outcomes they receive. Conversely, the individual will be dissatisfied if they think their reward is not proportionate to their efforts or results (under-compensation) in comparison with others. Further, if they feel they are being over-compensated compared with others, they will carry a sense of guilt. Inputs here can refer to the investment of everything of value that the individual brings to the organization, including work-related efforts, knowledge, experience, but it may also refer to objective criteria, such as age, form of employment, and social position. Meanwhile, outcomes refer to what the individual receives, and this corresponds to everything of value received from the enterprise, such as wages, promotions, opportunities to develop skills, job security, rank, prestige.

What is important here is that these inputs and outcomes are not the sum of objective elements, but rather the perception of subjective elements by the actors in relationships of social exchange. Expressions (1) and (2) are expressions of inequity that show conditions of input-outcome imbalance. Expression (3) shows a relationship of equity.

\[
\frac{O_p}{I_p} < \frac{O_a}{I_a} \quad (Expression\ (1)) \rightarrow \text{Under-compensation; Dissatisfaction}
\]

\[
\frac{O_p}{I_p} > \frac{O_a}{I_a} \quad (Expression\ (2)) \rightarrow \text{Over-compensation; Sense of guilt}
\]

\[
\frac{O_p}{I_p} = \frac{O_a}{I_a} \quad (Expression\ (3)) \rightarrow \text{State of equity; Satisfaction}
\]

Note: O = Outcome; I = Input; p = Own; a = Other

\(I_p\) and \(O_p\) are the sum of the personal inputs and outcomes perceived by each individual, and \(I_a\) and \(O_a\) are the sum of the inputs and outcomes of another actor who functions as a comparative referent, as perceived by the individual. Expression (1) is the condition of under-compensation, in which the individual feels dissatisfaction. Expression (2) is the condition of over-compensation, in which the individual feels a sense of guilt. Both are expressions of inequity. An individual who perceives inequity as in (1) will be motivated to remove the accompanying cognitive dissonance. One method of doing this is to change their own behavior or that of the other actor. For example, individuals who perceive injustice (unfairness) may reduce their own inputs in an attempt to near a state of equity. It is likely that this case will involve a drop in organizational efficiency. Another method is to change the perception of self and/or others—one key approach here is to change the comparative referent.

In other words, the sense of distributive justice felt by workers is related to who they compare themselves with (the comparative referent) within the organization (Folger and Cropanzano, 1998).

2.3 Upward and downward comparisons

Festinger (1954)’s discussion of the theory of social comparison processes was the first study to substantially consider the act of comparing oneself to others. According to the theory of social comparison processes, people have the desire to accurately evaluate their own opinions and abilities, and when there are no concrete standards, they will evaluate themselves by comparing with others. In this case, people will tend to compare with others who have similar

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1 That is, a social group that provides the basis for judgment when individuals determine their beliefs, attitudes, and values, or seeks guidance for behavior.
opinions and abilities to themselves (Festinger, 1954; Ambrose, Harland and Kulik, 1991). This is because, if their own position matches that of others in similar positions, it is easier to sense the accuracy and appropriateness of their own opinions. Thus, it is natural to think that regular employees will have greater interest in comparing with other regular employees and non-regular employees with other non-regular employees.

However, when comparing abilities, people do not necessarily compare with others similar to themselves, while also making upward and downward comparisons. People make upward comparison under the influence of a unidirectional push upward, that is, the pressure to improve one's own abilities and surpass others. In such cases, there is a tendency for people to choose others better than themselves as a comparative referent to pursue and overtake them and to attempt to be in a superior position to these referents. This leads to comparison with those superior to oneself, that is, upward comparison. Because of upward comparison, if one's abilities improve, this leads to positive evaluation of oneself, and increased self-esteem or pride. However, if one was unable to surpass one's referent in the contest, one has no choice but to assess one's own abilities as lower than those of one's referent, leading to negative feelings and a decline in self-esteem.

Meanwhile, the motivation to increase self-esteem and prevent its decline may also lead to downward comparison. Downward comparison is to compare oneself with others who are inferior or less fortunate. By comparing themselves with others less fortunate, people are able to increase subjective feelings of happiness. Downward comparison can often be observed in people who are experiencing some threat to themselves. Upward comparison tends to motivate us to raise higher results and improve abilities, while downward comparison tends to instill feelings of comfort.

3. Research Questions and Analysis Framework

It is understood that the puzzle of “why non-regular employees do not have particularly low motivation” is related to perception of justice, and that the perception of justice is influenced by who is used as a comparative referent. It is not clear, however, whom non-regular employees use as comparative referents. This study posits the following four research questions (RQs).

RQ1: What are the levels of motivation, affective commitment, and job satisfaction among non-regular employees in comparison with regular employees?
RQ2: Does one's sense of distributive justice increase motivation, affective commitment, and/or job satisfaction?
RQ3: Does one's sense of distributive justice change according to the choice of comparative referent(s)?
RQ4: What kind of non-regular employees tend to make upward and/or downward comparisons?

RQ3 and RQ4 are the main issues of this paper: RQ1 and RQ2 have been established for the purposes of checking whether the findings detailed in previous studies are also supported in this study, as a step prior to consideration of the main issues.

4. Analysis Method

4.1 Study subjects

To solve the research questions, we conducted survey research of employees of Company A, a retail enterprise whose main form of business operation is supermarkets. Company A has about 1,700 regular employees and 15,000 part-time employees, and has expanded to around 170 stores mainly in the Chūgoku, Shikoku, and Kinki regions (in southwestern Japan). The personnel department of Company A worked with us in conducting the survey in June-August 2016 alongside leadership training for store managers, with the aim of learning about the awareness of employees working in stores.

Originally, part-time roles in Company A were strictly those supporting regular employees.
However, some part-time workers have motivation and abilities comparable to those of regular employees. Company A has therefore adopted a “part-time manager system” in order to broaden the scope of part-time worker activity. Part-time managers are defined as people who are able to handle all roles and duties as responsible figures for single sectors, from the management of their sector’s sales and profits, to planning their juniors’ duties and management of personnel. Accordingly, there is a mix of regular and part-time managers in stores. Wage levels are lower for part-time managers than regular managers, that is, there is a wage gap between regular managers and part-time managers. The sample size is 398 part-time managers and 990 regular managers.

4.2 Variables

Except for demographic factors, such as age and gender, questions were asked for responses about participants’ circumstances on a 5-point scale (1. Not at all applicable; 2. Not applicable; 3. Unsure; 4. Applicable; 5. Greatly applicable). There were 631 female and 772 male participants. The average age was 42 years. There were 731 participants with spouses and 639 without.

The variables used in analysis are distributive justice, motivation, affective commitment, job satisfaction, and choice of comparative referent. Because sense of distributive justice, motivation and affective commitment comprise multiple questions, the study created composite variables using simple arithmetic means.

Distributive justice is composed of the following four items: “My reward reflects my effort put into work,” “My current reward is of an appropriate standard to the work I have done,” “My reward reflects the degree of [my] contribution to the organization,” and “My reward matches the actual results of [my] work.”

Motivation is composed of the following three items: “I feel a great sense of purpose in my current work,” “I genuinely feel joy in working,” and “I am proud to be doing this work.”

Affective commitment is composed of the following three items: “I am proud to be a member of this company,” “I feel an attachment to this company,” and “I have a sense of allegiance to this company.”

Job satisfaction is composed of the following one item: “I am satisfied with my current work.”

The choice of comparative referent is in the question “I keep the following in mind for comparison when judging whether my own wages are high or low,” with the responses being 1. The treatment of regular employees with the same jobs or positions in the company; 2. The treatment of part-time managers with the same jobs or positions in the company; 3. The treatment of part-time workers with the same jobs or positions in the company; 4. The amount of wages required to maintain my own household budget; 5. I do not make particular comparison with anyone; 6. Other.

The following are used as control variables: “Assigned sector (vegetables and fruits_dummy; fish_dummy; meet_dummy; deli_dummy; in-store bakery_dummy; grocery_dummy; dairy_foods_dummy; non-foods_dummy; service_dummy; cashier_dummy; general affairs_dummy),” “age,” “gender,” “years of continuous work since joining the company,” “qualifications,” “regular employee_dummy,” “number of relocation transfers,” “number of changes,” “monthly overtime hours,” “with/without spouse (with spouse_dummy),” “with/without children (with children_dummy),” and “with/without preschool infants (with preschool infants_dummy).”

5. Results and Consideration

5.1 Research Question 1 (RQ1)

Figure (1) compares the average values of motivation, affective commitment, and job satisfaction between non-regular and regular workers.
The average values for regular employees were 3.13 for motivation, 3.27 for affective commitment, and 3.06 for job satisfaction; the average values for part-time managers were 3.33 for motivation, 3.34 for affective commitment, and 3.24 for job satisfaction. Part-time managers had higher values for each of the factors. The average differences were significant at the 1% level for motivation and affective commitment. Thus, as stated in previous research, the motivation of non-regular employees in Company A as well is not decisively lower than that of regular employees.

**5.2 Research Question 2 (RQ2)**

To investigate the influence of sense of distributive justice on motivation, affective commitment, and job satisfaction, a multiple regression analysis was performed with sense of distributive justice as an independent variable and motivation, affective commitment, and job satisfaction as dependent variables. As seen in Table 1, sense of distributive justice has a significant positive effect at the 0.1% level on the three dependent variables. As described in previous research, sense of distributive justice is an important determinant of the organizational behavior of employees. In particular, if an employee is able to feel that their own reward matches their efforts and results when compared with others, their motivation,
affective commitment, and job satisfaction will increase.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent variable</th>
<th>Motivation β</th>
<th>Affective commitment β</th>
<th>Job satisfaction β</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vegetable and fruits_dummy</td>
<td>0.021</td>
<td>0.023</td>
<td>-0.026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish_dummy</td>
<td>-0.029</td>
<td>-0.012</td>
<td>-0.044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meet_dummy</td>
<td>-0.028</td>
<td>-0.017</td>
<td>0.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deli_dummy</td>
<td>-0.005</td>
<td>0.052</td>
<td>-0.023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-store bakery_dummy</td>
<td>0.038</td>
<td>0.045</td>
<td>0.003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocery_dummy</td>
<td>0.055</td>
<td>0.063</td>
<td>† 0.055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dairy-foods_dummy</td>
<td>0.079 *</td>
<td>0.053</td>
<td>0.023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-foods_dummy</td>
<td>0.088 *</td>
<td>0.086</td>
<td>* 0.054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service dummy</td>
<td>-0.025</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>-0.041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cashier_dummy</td>
<td>0.044</td>
<td>0.081</td>
<td>* -0.019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General affairs dummy</td>
<td>0.054</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>* -0.013</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Age                                        | 0.15 **      | 0.178 **               | ** 0.1             | †
| Gender                                     | -0.071 †     | 0.078 †                | † -0.047           |
| Number of years of continuous work since joining the company | -0.065 | -0.119 * | 0.017 |
| Qualifications                             | -0.052       | 0.028                  | -0.061             |
| Regular employee_dummy                     | 0.024        | 0.015                  | 0.005              |
| Number of job relocations                  | 0.062 †      | 0.056                  | 0.069 *            |
| Number of job changes                      | -0.056       | -0.017                 | -0.081 †           |
| Average monthly overtime hours             | 0.063 *      | 0.051                  | † 0.013            |
| With spouse dummy                          | 0.118 **     | 0.053                  | 0.052              |
| With children dummy                        | 0.082 †      | 0.081 †                | † 0.023            |
| With preschool infants dummy               | 0.037        | -0.018                 | -0.019             |
| Distributive justice                       | 0.311 ***    | 0.35                   | *** 0.321          | ***
| Adj. R2                                    | 0.153        | 0.158                  | 0.118              |
| F                                           | 9.892 ***    | 10.281 ***             | 7.611 ***          | ***

Numbers are standardized beta (β) coefficients ***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05, †p<.1

Table 1: Influence of sense of distributive justice on motivation, affective commitment, and job satisfaction

5.3 Research Question (RQ3)

The analysis in RQ1 and RQ2 focused on both regular employees and part-time managers. However, RQ3 and RQ4 analyze comparative referent choice. Thus, the analysis below focuses...
solely on part-time managers.

Regular employees were chosen as a comparative referent by 19.3% of part-time managers, fellow part-time managers by 34.5%, and part-time workers by 10.7%. Part-time workers are staff who help managers, handle product displays, order placement, and so forth. Company A employs around 15,000 part-time workers, but the majority of them are part-time workers. Figure 2 shows the proportion of part-time managers who chose each comparative referent option. The ratio of part-time managers who made comparison with regular employees (i.e., made upward comparison) is 19.3%. Meanwhile, the ratio of part-time managers who made comparison with part-time employees (i.e., made downward comparison) is 10.7%.

![Figure 2: Comparative referents for part-time managers](image)

Next, Figure 3 shows the average values for sense of distributive justice when part-time managers are divided by comparative referent. The regular employee comparison group is 2.57, the part-time manager comparison group is 2.90, and the part-time worker comparison group is 3.24. The part-time manager comparison group has a greater sense of distributive justice than the regular employee (upward) comparison group. Further, the part-time worker (downward) comparison group has a greater sense of distributive justice than the fellow part-time manager comparison group. In other words, sense of distributive justice increases as the comparative referent shifts from upward to downward. The distributive justice questions ask whether reward matches efforts and results as regular employees have greater reward than part-time managers, while part-time workers have lower reward than part-time managers, it would be natural to think that those making upward comparison would have lower sense of distributive justice, and that those making downward comparison would have greater sense of distributive justice.

However, what is important here is that, as indicated by Chae (2010), non-regular employees are a highly heterogeneous group, and this study has found the difference in comparative referent to be one element of this heterogeneity. The degree of sense of distributive justice is not uniform for part-time managers; there are differences according to who is chosen as a comparative referent.
5.4 Research Question 4 (RQ4)

RQ4 concerns “what kind of non-regular employees tend to make upward and/or downward comparisons.” To this end, the study conducted an exploratory examination of personal attributes in the analysis framework. The focus was first placed on gender as a fundamental personal attribute. Figure 4 divides part-time managers into male and female, and shows the proportions of comparative referent choices for each. Focusing on regular employees, part-time managers, and part-time workers as comparative referents, the highest proportion of male part-time managers chose regular employees (26.7%), followed by part-time managers (16.7%), and then part-time workers (3.3%). Meanwhile, the highest proportion of female part-time managers chose part-time managers (36%), followed by regular employees (18.7%), and then part-time workers (11.3%). It was shown that while female part-time managers make comparison with employees in the same position as themselves, more male part-time managers make upward comparison.
Next, the study narrows its focus to female part-time managers and considers the relation between differences in their family circumstances and their choice of comparative referent. Specifically, the study investigated how comparative referents differed for those female part-time managers categorized as “with spouse, without children,” “with spouse, with children,” and “single mother.” Figure 5 is a graph of the proportions of comparative referents chosen, per family circumstances.

The proportion of those who made comparison with regular employees is 25% for “with spouse, without children” and “with spouse, with children,” but over 30% for “single mother.” In other words, a high proportion of single mothers make upward comparisons. The proportion of those who made comparison with part-time managers is highest for “with spouse; with children.” The proportion of those who made comparison with part-time workers is no more than around 15% for “with spouse, with children” and “single mother,” but 25% for “with spouse, without children.” In other words, a high proportion of “with spouse, without children” make downward comparisons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Regular employees</th>
<th>Part-time manager</th>
<th>Part-time workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>With spouse; no children</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With spouse; with children</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>59.5</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single mother</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 5: Comparative referent for female part-time managers**

It may be assumed that a common feature shared between male part-time managers and single-mother part-time managers (i.e., high proportions who make upward comparison) is the financial situation of the individuals concerned. They both must earn sufficient income as the main household earner. It is also expected that many would aspire to become regular employees if given the opportunity. Thus, they make comparison with regular employees, who have more stable income and relatively better treatment than they have. However, a high proportion of those who were “female, with spouse, without children” made downward comparison. These people probably do not need to support household finances to the same extent as single mothers do. Further, a high proportion of those who were “female, with spouse, with children” chose to compare with fellow part-time managers. Essentially, the greater the need to support household finances by oneself, the higher the proportion of upward comparison; as this need decreases, the proportion of downward comparison increases.

6. Conclusion

In order to explain the reason why non-regular employees’ motivation is relatively not low compared with regular employees, this study first demonstrated the levels of motivation in non-regular employees and then, focusing on “sense of distributive justice” and “choice of comparative referent,” conducted the following three investigations: (1) the relation between
sense of distributive justice and motivation; (2) the relation between sense of distributive justice and comparative referent; and (3) the personal attributes that influence the choice of comparative referent.

As in previous studies, this study showed that non-regular employees have higher motivation than regular employees, and it became clear that sense of distributive justice increases motivation. Next, the study focused on comparative referents and found that sense of distributive justice tended to decrease as the comparative referent shifted from downward to upward. Finally, focusing on the personal attributes of non-regular employees, the study undertook an exploratory investigation into different types of non-regular employees and comparative referents they choose. Accordingly, it emerged that financial conditions, such as whether the individual concerned was the main household earner, may influence comparison choice.

The practical implication of this study is that measures that increase sense of distributive justice will be effective for increasing non-regular employees’ motivation. Here, non-regular employees who made comparison with regular employees had lower sense of distributive justice and lower motivation than non-regular employees who chose other comparative referents. A decrease in motivation may be caused by the gap between an ideal state and reality, where individuals wish that they themselves were also the same as the referents for their upward comparison and that the present situation is different. In such a case, it is difficult to change the comparative referent, so it is desirable to be able to independently select an appropriate form of employment, for instance by improving the system for transferring from non-regular to regular employment. Additionally, it is important for enterprises to not promote uniform measures for all non-regular employees, but to comprehend with whom each non-regular employee is making comparison, and to incur a perception of justice by the employee.

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