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# **NATIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS**

A Comparative Study of English  
and Indian Work-Related Attitudes  
and Values in Matched Manufacturing Firms

by

Monir Hajimirza Tayeb

Doctor of Philosophy Thesis

University of Aston in Birmingham

1984



# **The University of Aston in Birmingham**

## **NATIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS**

### **A Comparative Study of English and Indian Work-Related Attitudes and Values in Matched Manufacturing Firms**

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This thesis reports a cross-national study carried out in England and India in an attempt to clarify the association of certain cultural and non-cultural characteristics with people's work-related attitudes and values, and with the structure of their work organizations.

Three perspectives are considered to be relevant to the objectives of the study. The contingency perspective suggests that a 'fit' between an organization's context and its structural arrangements will be fundamentally necessary for achieving success and survival. The political economy perspective argues for the determining role of the social and economic structures within which the organization operates. The culturalist perspective looks to cultural attitudes and values of organizational members for an explanation for their organization's structure.

The empirical investigation was carried out in three stages in each of the two countries involved by means of surveys of cultural attitudes, work-related attitudes and organizational structures and systems.

The cultural surveys suggested that Indian and English people were different from one another with regard to fear of, and respect and obedience to, their seniors, ability to cope with ambiguity, honesty, independence, expression of emotions, fatalism, reserve, and care for others; they were similar with regard to tolerance, friendliness, attitude to change, attitude to law, self-control and self-confidence, and attitude to social differentiation.

The second stage of the study, involving the employees of fourteen organizations, found that the English ones perceived themselves to have more power at work, expressed more tolerance for ambiguity, and had different expectations from their job than did the Indian equivalents. The two samples were similar with respect to commitment to their company and trust in their colleagues. The findings also suggested that employees' occupations, education and age had some influences on their work-related attitudes.

The final stage of the research was a study of structures, control systems, and reward and punishment policies of the same fourteen organizations which were matched almost completely on their contextual factors across the two countries. English and Indian organizations were found to be similar in terms of centralization, specialization, chief executive's span of control, height and management control strategies. English organizations, however, were far more formalized, spent more time on consultation and their managers delegated authority lower down the hierarchy than Indian organizations.

The major finding of the study was the multiple association that cultural, national and contingency factors had with the structural characteristics of the organizations and with the work-related attitudes of their members. On the basis of this finding, a multi-perspective model for understanding organizational structures and systems is proposed in which the contributions made by contingency, political economy and cultural perspectives are recognized and incorporated.

rk-related attitudes, organizational structure

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## CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Dedication	i
Title page	ii
Summary	iii
Acknowledgement	iv
List of Contents	v
List of Tables	xviii
List of Figures	xxiii
<b>Chapter 1 Introduction</b>	
I. The problem	1
II. The author's interest in the 'cross-national study of organizations'	6
III. Plan of the thesis	13
<b>Chapter 2 Organizations, Contingencies, Cultures</b>	
Introduction	16
I. Organizational structure	16
II. Predictors of organizational structure - the three perspectives	17
<u>i. Contingency perspective</u>	19
1. Technology	22
2. Size	27
3. Environment	29
4. Industry	35
5. Strategy	37
6. Findings of the Aston Programme	39
7. The culture-free thesis	40
8. Contingency perspective - an overall view	42
<u>ii. Political economy perspective</u>	46
1. The logic of industrialization	47
2. Socio-economic system	49



	<u>Page</u>
3. Labour market and management control strategies	53
4. Political economy perspective - an overall view	55
<u>iii. Cultural perspective</u>	58
1. Ideational strand	61
2. Institutional strand	67
3. Cultural perspective - an overall view	70
III. The present study and the three perspectives	73

### **Chapter 3 Hypothetical Process of Influence of Culture on Organizational Structure and Systems**

Introduction	77
I. Definitions and stances	77
1. Culture and its scope	78
2. Organizational structure	84
II. Organizations and cultures	87
1. Power and authority relationships	88
2. Tolerance for ambiguity	91
3. Commitment	93
3.a. Group-orientation	94
3.b. Motivation	96
4. Trust	97
5. Communication	98

### **Chapter 4 The Design of the Study**

Introduction	101
I. Cross-national research strategies	101
II. The design of the present study	104
1. Selection criteria	105
2. Dependent variables	106
3. Variables to be controlled for	107
4. Independent variables	107
III. The research methodology	109
<u>Part 1. Cultural surveys</u>	110
1.1. English survey	110
a. the observations	111
b. the questionnaire	111

	<u>Page</u>
c. the sample	113
1.2. Indian survey	115
a. the observations	115
a.1. residence in India	117
b. the questionnaire	120
c. the sample	121
c.1. the urban population	122
c.2. Hindus	123
c.3. people from Maharashtra and near-by states	124
c.4. caste	124
c.5. occupation	125
<u>Part 2. Work-related attitude surveys</u>	127
1. The attitude questionnaire	127
a. the Iranian survey	128
b. the pilot survey	129
2. The final format of the questionnaire	130
3. The position of the questions in the questionnaire	131
4. The language of the questionnaire	133
5. The distribution of the questionnaire	134
a. the English survey	134
b. the Indian survey	135
b.1. Indian manual workers and the questionnaire	135
<u>Part 3. Organizational structure surveys</u>	138
1. the organizations	138
2. The required information	142
3. The sources of information	142
4. The research tools	142
a. the pilot survey	143
5. Access	146
a. the English survey	146
b. the Indian survey	147

## **Chapter 5 The Methodology Employed to Measure Cultural and Organizational Dimensions**

I. Cultural surveys	150
II. Work-related attitude surveys	150

	<u>Page</u>
1. Power distance and uncertainty	
avoidance measures	151
1.1. Power distance items	152
a. factor analysis	152
b. internal reliability test	152
c. correlations	153
1.2. Uncertainty avoidance items	153
a. factor analysis	153
b. internal reliability test	153
c. correlations	154
1.3. Power distance core items	154
i. fear of the boss	154
ii. perceived and preferred boss	155
iii. power distance index formula	156
1.4. Uncertainty avoidance index core items	158
i. rule orientation	159
ii. employment stability	159
iii. stress	159
iv. uncertainty avoidance index formula	160
1.5. Power distance index and non-cultural factors	163
1.6. Uncertainty avoidance index and non-cultural factors	167
2. Perceived power items	170
a. factor analysis	170
b. internal reliability tests	171
c. correlations	171
3. Tolerance for ambiguity items	171
a. factor analysis	172
b. internal reliability tests	172
c. correlations	173
4. Commitment items	173
a. factor analysis	174
b. internal reliability tests	174
c. correlations	175

	<u>Page</u>
5. Trust items	175
a. factor analysis	175
b. internal reliability tests	176
c. correlations	176
6. Individualism items	176
a. factor analysis	177
b. internal reliability tests	177
c. correlations	177
7. Perceived autonomy items	178
a. factor analysis	178
b. internal reliability tests	178
c. correlations	179
8. The treatment of the 'scales' in the analysis of the data	179
III. Organizational structure surveys	180
1. The interview schedule and scales	180
1.1. Contextual factors and their measurements	180
1.2. Structural dimensions and their measurements	182
<u>1. Centralization</u>	183
1.1. Factor analysis of centralization items	184
1.2. Computation of centralization score	185
1.3. Delegation	187
1.4. Joint decisions	187
1.5. Perceived autonomy	188
<u>2. Formalization</u>	189
2.1. job description sub-scale	190
<u>3. Specialization</u>	190
<u>4. Span of control</u>	190
<u>5. Communication pattern</u>	191
<u>6. Control, reward and punishment policies</u>	191



	<u>Page</u>
<b>Chapter 6 The survey of English Culture</b>	
Introduction	221
I. Formation of English culture	223
i. Where is England?	223
ii. The origins of the English	223
iii. Some general demographic, economic and social features of England	224
iv. Primary and secondary social institutions	226
<u>1. Family</u>	226
1.1. Middle-class families	226
a. parent-child relationships and child-rearing practices	227
a.1. independence, individualism	227
a.2. achievement motivation	229
a.3. discipline	230
a.4. honesty, fair play and love of privacy	231
1.2. Working-class families	232
a. parent-child relationships and child-rearing practices	232
a.1. discipline	233
<u>2. Religion</u>	234
2.1. The 'Protestant ethic' and individualism	235
<u>3. Educational system</u>	237
3.1. Teaching practices	238
3.2. Value systems	239
3.3. Public schools and their role in educational value systems	241
<u>4. Political system</u>	243
4.1. Government	243
4.2. Pressure groups	245
4.3. Individuals and politics	246
a. liberty	246
b. equality	246
4.4. Leaders and followers	247
4.5. Political culture	248
<u>5. Socio-economic structure</u>	249



	<u>Page</u>
5.1. Economy	249
5.2. Class	250
5.3. Labour movement	251
II. The English today	254
i. Previous surveys on English character	254
<u>ii. The present survey on English culture</u>	255
a. The sample	256
b. The findings	256
c. Discussion - English character	257
1. A strong sense of responsibility	257
2. Honesty and trust	257
3. Resourcefulness	258
4. Discipline and self-control	259
5. English people and the law	260
6. Fair play and feelings for others	261
7. Tolerance	261
8. Deference	262
9. Independence, autonomy, individualism	263
10. Conservatism	264
d. Middle-class and working-class values	165
iii. English socialization process and cultural attitudes and values	267
iv. Is there an English culture?	268
 <b>Chapter 7 The Survey of Indian Culture</b>	
Introduction	277
I. Formation of Indian culture	278
i. Where is India?	278
ii. The origins of the Indians	278
iii. Some general demographic, economic and social features of India	279
iv. Primary and secondary social institutions	280
<u>1. Family</u>	280
1.1. Husband and wife relationships	282
1.2. Parent-child relationships and child-rearing practices	283

	<u>Page</u>
a. dependence	283
b. discipline	284
c. achievement motivation, ambition	285
<u>2. Religion</u>	285
2.1. Major Hindu precepts and values	287
a. Caste	287
b. Questions of free-will and fatalism	288
c. God-man relationship	289
<u>3. Educational system</u>	290
3.1. Teaching practices	291
<u>4. Political system</u>	293
4.1. Political culture	297
4.2. Mass media	297
<u>5. Socio-economic structure</u>	298
5.1. Economy	298
5.2. Class	299
5.3. Industrial relations	300
a. trade unions	301
b. trade unions and politics	301
c. trade unions and management	301
II. The Indians today	302
<u>i. The Indian character survey</u>	303
a. The sample	303
b. The findings	303
c. Discussion - Indian character	304
1. Obedience to seniors, respect of people in authority	304
2. Communitarianism, clan-orientation	305
3. Group morality, family-orientation, collectivism	306
4. Caste consciousness	307
5. Cope with set-backs and suffering	308
6. Self-restraint, discipline	308
7. Honesty, trustworthiness	309
8. Fatalism	310
9. Tolerance	310

	<u>Page</u>
10. Indian people and the law	311
11. Acceptance of responsibility, dependence on others	312
d. Values and attitudes of manual and non-manual workers	313
e. Values and attitudes of people from different states	313
ii. Indian socialization process and cultural attitudes and values	314
iii. Is there an Indian culture?	315
 <b>Chapter 8 English and Indian Cultures: Comparisons and Hypotheses</b>	
Introduction	325
I. English and Indian cultures - a comparison	325
i. Socio-economic institutions	325
ii. Cultural institutions	328
iii. Attitudes and values	329
II. English and Indian work-related attitudes: hypotheses	332
 <b>Chapter 9 Cultures, Work-Related Attitudes and Organizational Structure</b>	
Introduction	336
I. The surveys	337
II. The samples	337
<u>1. Employees</u>	337
a. English employees	337
b. Indian employees	337
c. Employees' background	338
i. culture	338
ii. occupation	339
iii. education	340
iv. age	340
<u>2. Organizations</u>	341
III. The data	342
1. Criteria for interpreting differences and similarities	343

	<u>Page</u>
1.1. Work-related survey	343
1.2. Organizational structure survey	343
2. Criteria for interpreting correlation coefficients	343
IV. The findings	344
<u>1. Attitude to power and organization</u>	344
1.1. Employees attitude to power and authority	344
a. Power distance	345
b. Perceived power	345
1.2. Consequences of employees' perception of power for organization structure	346
1. Centralization	347
1.1. aggregate score	347
1.2. centralization sub-scales	348
1.3. delegation	348
1.4. joint decisions	349
1.5. perceived autonomy	349
<u>2. Uncertainty and organization</u>	352
2.1. Employees tolerance for ambiguity and uncertainty	352
a. Uncertainty avoidance	352
b. Tolerance for ambiguity	353
2.2. Consequences of the degree of employees tolerance for ambiguity for organization structure	354
1. Formalization	355
2. Specialization	358
<u>3. Commitment and organization</u>	359
3.1. Employees commitment	359
a. Motivation	359
b. Individualism	360
c. employees' level of comitment	361
3.2. Consequences of employees commitment for organization structure	363
<u>4. Trust and organization</u>	363
4.1. Employees state of trust	363
4.2. Consequences of employees state of trust for organization structure	364
<u>5. Expectations from job and organization</u>	366



	<u>Page</u>
5.1. Employees expectations from job	366
1. within sample analysis	366
a. English sample	366
b. Indian sample	367
2. between sample comparison	367
5.2. Consequences of employees expectations from job for organization structure	369
<u>6. Management philosophy and organization</u>	371
6.1. Employees attitude towards management practices	371
6.2. Consequences of employees attitude towards management practices for organization structure	373
1. Managers and organization structure	375
2. Workers and organization structure	376
V. Discussion - culture, work-related attitudes, and organizational structure	377
1. Culture and work-related attitudes	377
2. Work-related attitudes and organizational structure	379
VI. Conclusion	381
<b>Chapter 10 Some Non-cultural Determinants of Employees Work-Related Attitudes and Organizational Structure</b>	
Introduction	414
I. Work-related attitudes and some non-cultural factors	415
<u>1. Occupation</u>	415
1.1. Power and authority	415
1.2. Tolerance for ambiguity	417
1.3. Commitment	417
1.4. Trust	418
1.5. Individualism	419
1.6. Expectations from the job	420
1.7. Management philosophy	421
<u>2. Education</u>	422
2.1. Power and authority	422
2.2. Tolerance for ambiguity	423
2.3. Commitment and trust	424
2.4. Individualism	425

	<u>Page</u>
2.5. Expectations from job	425
2.6. Management philosophy	426
<u>3. Age</u>	426
3.1. Power and authority	427
3.2. Tolerance for ambiguity, commitment, trust	427
3.3. Individualism	428
3.4. Expectations from job	428
3.5. Management philosophy	428
4. Discussion	429
II. Organizational structure and some non-cultural factors	432
<u>1. Contingency theory and organizational structure</u>	
- hypotheses	432
1.1. Centralization and context	432
1.2. Formalization and context	433
1.3. Specialization and context	433
1.4. Communication and context	434
1.5. Culture-free thesis	434
1.6. Technological implication thesis	434
<u>2. Context-structure relationship - whole sample</u>	434
2.1. Centralization	435
2.2. Aston score for centralization	435
2.3. Delegation	436
2.4. Joint decisions	437
2.5. Formalization	437
2.6. Specialization	439
2.7. Communication pattern	439
<u>3. Context-structure relationship of the organizations in each country</u>	440
<u>4. Technology and structure</u>	441
5. Discussion	442
 <b>Chapter 11 Conclusion</b>	
Introduction	475
<u>I. Summary of the findings</u>	475
1. The socio-cultural surveys	477
1.1. Summary of the findings of the socio-cultural surveys	477

	<u>Page</u>
2. The work-related attitude surveys	478
2.1. Summary of the findings of the work-related attitude surveys	479
3. The surveys of organizational structures and systems	481
3.1. Summary of the findings of the organizational structure surveys	481
<u>II. The methodology of the research</u>	482
1. Strengths	483
2. Weaknesses and limitations	485
3. The measures employed to study culture and work-related attitudes	492
<u>III. Implications of the study for theory and practice</u>	495
1. Implication for theory	495
1.1. Contingency theory, culture-free thesis	496
1.2. Political economy perspective	497
1.3. Cultural perspective	500
1.4. The present study and the multi-perspective thesis	502
2. Implications for practice	505
<u>IV. Recommendations for future research</u>	511
 <b>Appendices:</b>	
Appendix A Cultural Survey Questionnaire	513
Appendix B Attitude Survey Questionnaire	518
Appendix C Organizational Structure Interview Schedule	533
Appendix D Control, Reward and Punishment Policies in English and Indian Organizations	546
Appendix E Establishing Access and Maintaining Goodwill in the Research Process	584
<b>References</b>	609

## Tables

	<u>Page</u>
<b>Chapter 3</b>	
Table 3.1 Hypothetical process of influence of culture on organizational structure and systems	100
<b>Chapter 4</b>	
Table 4.1. Factors to be examined in the study	106a
Table 4.2. Time spent in major Indian cities	116
<b>Chapter 5</b>	
Table 5.1 Power distance - factor analysis (English sample)	193
Table 5.2 Power distance - factor analysis (Indian sample)	194
Table 5.3 Uncertainty avoidance - factor analysis (English sample)	195
Tbale 5.4 Uncertainty avoidance - factor analysis (Indian sample)	196
Table 5.5 Pearson correlation between core power distance items	197
Table 5.6 Pearson correlation between core uncertainty avoidance items	197
Table 5.7 Power distance and occupation	198
Table 5.8 Power distance and education	199
Table 5.9 Power distance and age	200
Table 5.10 Correlation between age and UAI items	170
Table 5.11 Perceived power - factor analysis (English sample)	201
Table 5.12 Perceived power - factor analysis (Indian sample)	202
Table 5.13 Tolerance for ambiguity - factor analysis (English sample)	203
Table 5.14 Tolerance for ambiguity - factor analysis (Indian sample)	204
Table 5.15 Personal flexibility - factor analysis	205



	<u>Page</u>
Table 5.16 Commitment - factor analysis (English sample)	206
Table 5.17 Commitment - factor analysis (Indian sample)	207
Table 5.18 Commitment - factor analysis (Indian sample) (Items forced to cluster in one factor)	208
Table 5.19 Trust - factor analysis (English sample)	209
Table 5.20 Trust - factor analysis (Indian sample)	210
Table 5.21 Trust - factor analysis (Indian sample) (Items forced to cluster in one factor)	211
Table 5.22 Individualism - factor analysis (English sample)	212
Table 5.23 Individualism - factor analysis (Indian sample)	213
Table 5.24 Perceived autonomy - factor analysis (English sample)	214
Table 5.25 Perceived autonomy - factor analysis (Indian sample)	215
Table 5.26 Centralization - factor analysis (N = 14) (Varimax rotation)	216-217
Table 5.27 Centralization - factor analysis (N = 14) (Oblique rotation)	218-220
 <b>Chapter 6</b>	
Table 6.1 English character	271-273
Table 6.2 English character (mean scores of responses)	274
Table 6.3 Major English characteristics according to the sample	275
Table 6.4 Comparison of non-manual and manual workers and the values they ascribe to others in their occupation	276
 <b>Chapter 7</b>	
Table 7.1 Composition of the sample	317
Table 7.2 Indian character	318-320
Table 7.3 Indian character (mean scores of responses)	321
Table 7.4 Major Indian characteristics according to the sample	322
Table 7.5 Comparison of non-manual and manual workers and the values they ascribe to others in their occupation	323

	<u>Page</u>
Table 7.6 Comparison of respondents from Maharashtra and other Indian states and the values they ascribe to others in their occupation	324
 <b>Chapter 8</b>	
Table 8.1 Comparison of English and Indian cultural characteristics as reported by respondents to the culture questionnaire	333
Table 8.2 Hypotheses about the influence of English and Indian cultures on work-related attitudes and their consequences for work organizations	334-335
 <b>Chapter 9</b>	
Table 9.1 Occupational profile of the samples	382
Table 9.2 Educational profile of the samples	383
Table 9.3 Age profile of the samples	384
Table 9.4 contextual characteristics of the fourteen organizations	385-388
Table 9.5 Power distance	389
Table 9.6 Perceived boss	390
Table 9.7 Preferred boss	391
Table 9.8 Perceived power	392
Table 9.9 Structural characteristics of the fourteen organizations	393-395
Table 9.10 Mann-Whitney test between the two samples - structural dimensions	396
Table 9.11 Mann-Whitney test between the two samples - centralization items	397
Table 9.12 Perceived autonomy	398
Table 9.13 Pearson correlation coefficients - structural dimensions with cultural variables (N = 14 organizations)	399-401
Table 9.14 Uncertainty avoidance	402
Table 9.15 Tolerance for ambiguity	403
Table 9.16 Individualism	404
Table 9.17 Commitment	405

	<u>Page</u>
Table 9.18 Trust	406
Table 9.19 Expectations from job	407
Table 9.20 Expectations from job - rank order	408
Table 9.21 Management philosophy	409
Table 9.22 A comparison between management philosophy scores for managers in the present study and Haire et al.'s	410
Table 9.23 Communication pattern	411
Table 9.24 Pearson correlation coefficients - structural dimensions with managers' philosophy and workers' predisposition	412-413
 <b>Chapter 10</b>	
Table 10.1 Perceived power and occupation - English sample	444
Table 10.2 Perceived power and occupation - Indian sample	445
Table 10.3 Tolerance for ambiguity and occupation	446
Table 10.4 Commitment and occupation	447
Table 10.5 Trust and occupation	448
Table 10.6 Individualism and occupation - English sample	449
Table 10.7 Individualism and occupation - Indian sample	450
Table 10.8 Expectations from job and occupation - English sample	451
Table 10.9 Expectations from job and occupation - Indian sample	452
Table 10.10 Management philosophy and occupation - English sample	453
Table 10.11 Management philosophy and occupation - Indian sample	454
Table 10.12 Perceived power and education - English sample	455
Table 10.13 Perceived power and education - Indian sample	456
Table 10.14 Tolerance for ambiguity and education	457
Table 10.15 Commitment and education	458
Table 10.16 Trust and education	459
Table 10.17 Individualism and education - English sample	460
Table 10.18 Individualism and education - Indian sample	461



	<u>Page</u>
Table 10.19 Expectations from job and education - English sample	462
Table 10.20 Expectations from job and education - Indian sample	463
Table 10.21 Management philosophy and education - English sample	464
Table 10.22 Management philosophy and education - Indian sample	465
Table 10.23 Perceived power and age - Pearson correlation coefficients	466
Table 10.24 Composite measures and age - Pearson correlation coefficients	467
Table 10.25 Individualism and age - Pearson correlation coefficients	468
Table 10.26 Expectations from job and age - Pearson correlation coefficients	469
Table 10.27 Management philosophy and age - Pearson correlation coefficients	470
Table 10.28 Discriminant analysis of work-related attitudes by respondents' background	471
Table 10.29 Pearson correlation coefficients - structural dimensions with contextual variables (14 organizations)	472
Table 10.30 Pearson correlation coefficients - structural dimensions with contextual variables (for each country separately, N = 7)	473
Table 10.31 Comparison between structural dimensions of unstable-technology and stable-technology organizations (Mann-Whitney test)	474

## Figures

	<u>Page</u>
<b>Chapter 1</b>	
Figure 1.1 The focus of the study	15
<b>Chapter 11</b>	
Figure 11.1 A multi-perspective model for understanding organizational structures and systems	503 <sup>a</sup>

## CHAPTER 1

### Introduction

This thesis presents a cross-national study of cultures and organizations conducted in England and India. The study seeks to enquire whether culture and other societal factors are manifest in work-related attitudes and indeed whether they appear to influence organizational structures and systems. At the same time, it is recognized that other non-cultural and contextual factors also may play a significant role in shaping organizational structures and systems (and their members' attitudes and behaviour).

#### I. The problem

Previous research has pointed to considerable diversity in organizational structures and management systems. For instance, there are 'tall' and 'slim' organizations, and there are 'flat' and 'fat' organizations (Child 1984<sup>a</sup>). There are some which have rigid hierarchies and clear-cut boundaries around jobs and departments, while some others resemble shapeless 'tents' pinned down loosely on seesaws (Hedberg et al., 1976). In some organizations departments and employees are coupled loosely, and in some the coupling is tight (Weick, 1976). In some countries there appear to be large variations in organizational forms, yet in others the range of such variations appears to be restricted (Tayeb, 1979). Many cross-cultural studies

have reported similarities between organizations operating in diverse cultural and societal settings (Lammers and Hickson, 1979; McMillan and Hickson, 1981). These similarities were found especially in the relationships between the structural characteristics of organizations on one hand and their contexts on the other (Hickson et al., 1974). For instance, Negandhi and Prasad (1971) and Negandhi (1981) found that although Indian organizations tended to be more centralized than their North American counterparts, in both countries smaller firms were likely to be more centralized than the bigger ones.

Other studies, however, have reported considerable differences between organizations operating in similar task environments but different societies. For instance, Maurice et al. (1980), in a comparison between samples of organizations in France, West Germany and Britain matched in terms of some contextual factors found there were differences between them with regard to configuration, work structuring and coordination, and qualification and career systems. A study conducted by Ouchi (1981) found there were some differences between Japanese and American organizations in areas such as employee-management relationships, communication, the extent of consultation in decision-making, and the quality of management of human resources. The question therefore arises as to how such differences and similarities are to be explained.

Many students of organization have sought to address this question but have not provided particularly convincing answers and explanations.



Roberts (1970) likened the endeavours of cross-cultural comparative researchers to that of someone who had been looking at different parts of an elephant. This comment can be extended to all those students of organizational structure advocating various perspectives, namely contingency theorists, political economists, and culturalists. Most of them, indeed, talk about different parts of one phenomenon. Each group concentrates on one particular 'part' and makes generalizations about the 'whole' or mistakes the 'part' for the 'whole'. In other words, there is clearly a range of possible explanations for organizations, but most researchers often choose to adhere to a perspective which constitutes only one aspect of this range. In contrast to the claim that the different paradigms in organizational analysis are irreconcilable 'world views' on the whole itself, (Burrell and Morgan, 1979), the view is taken here that each of these perspectives potentially add to our total understanding (Child and Tayeb, 1983).

Each perspective makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of organizations in its own way, but has been expressed in isolation from the others. The exclusiveness of the various perspectives has at times even resulted in the adoption of the research designs which are tailor-made to prove the arguments of only one perspective and are insensitive to others. Thus, as Maurice (1976) points out about the concepts and methodologies employed by the advocates of 'universalism' thesis:

"...The rationality of organizations considered a priori universal thus prevents testing



national/cultural effects on theoretical and empirical grounds because the concepts, models, indicators, and operational processes used exclude all references to the social structures to which organizations are definitely related." (Maurice, 1976, p. 6)

This has naturally resulted in a narrow and simplistic view of organizations and a caricature of a very complex picture. There is a need for a constructive proposition to integrate these differentiated viewpoints and build a comprehensive model to provide a richer and more realistic explanation for organizations as social phenomena. The present study is an attempt to move towards such a model through a cross-national comparative study of organizations. It does not, of course, claim to furnish any final answers to the questions and problems mentioned. The intention, rather, is to explore and clarify the organizationally-relevant role of cultural and other societal factors to a somewhat greater extent than has been achieved in most previous research.

This clarification can be both intellectually and practically fruitful because growing internationalism demands that a narrow domestic paradigm be replaced with one that can encompass the diversity of a global perspective (Adler, 1983). As Jelinek et al put it:

"To the extent that our ways of looking at things become solidified into commonly accepted paradigms limiting what we pay attention to, new ideas in and of themselves can be valuable. Culture as a root metaphor for organization studies is one such idea, redirecting our attention away from some of the commonly accepted "important things" (such as structure or technology) and toward the (until now) less-frequently examined elements raised to importance by the new metaphor (such as shared understandings, norms, or values). Especially in conjunction with other approaches, culture may

provide the critical tension that can lead to new insight." (Jelinek et al., 1983, pp. 331)

The present study also raises certain questions which may stimulate future investigations. For example, in what way and to what extent do cultural and non-cultural factors in and around organizations influence their structures and their members' behaviour? Is centralization, to give a more precise example, determined by the size of the organization under study or the attitudes of its members to people in positions of power and authority? Or is it a combined effect of the two, and/or some other factors, which determines the degree of centralization? What role do education, age, occupation and other 'non-cultural' factors play in employees' work-related values and attitudes? To what extent are the 'non-cultural' factors such as occupation really 'culture-free'?

While the practical utility of the present investigation is likely to be seen most immediately for multinational organizations, in so far as they particularly manifest the growth of global interdependence, its subject is one of wide interest (Smircich, 1983). In multi-cultural societies, such as Britain, United States, France and West Germany, where immigrants from totally different societies form substantial minorities, the findings of the present and similar research might enlighten the mutual understanding of managers and employees from different cultural backgrounds who work together. For instance, some cultural characteristics, such as attitudes to authority and group-orientation, have obvious implications for relations between managements and workers and for acceptable modes of work organization.

Moreover, the comparison in this study between organizations operating in an Eastern developing country and those in a Western developed country should address the concerns of people, such as managers and organizational designers, who wish to find a mode of organizing that is not 'advanced' by Western capitalist values but is authentic to their culture and/or political ideology.

## **II. The author's interest in the 'cross-national study of organizations'**

I first became familiar with and interested in business organizations when I studied for a degree in Business Studies at Tehran (my home city) in the late 1960s. I subsequently worked in a government corporation as a middle manager for four years. This experience gave me a deeper insight into the practical issues involved in managerial and organizational processes and structures, such as the parallelism of formal and informal authority structures, political constraints on the managers' apparently economic decisions, sycophancy, favouritism and corruption. In 1976 I went to Oxford University where, in the pursuit of a Masters research degree in Management Studies, I learned more about Western theories of organizations and management and met well-known scholars in the field.

I was particularly fascinated by the arguments advanced by the advocates of contingency theory who came mainly from U.K. and U.S.



Briefly, they argued that the success and/or survival of an organization depended on how well it 'matched' its structure to environmental demands. However, having come from a very different country (Iran), I felt myself echoing Crozier's objections to contingency assumptions. It seemed to me that these American and British writers had taken their cultural and societal characteristics too much for granted. Crozier's **The Bureaucratic Phenomenon** (1964) shook my naive fascination with contingency theory. I then met and held discussions with Professor Hofstede who gave me further encouragement and confidence in challenging contingency arguments on the grounds of their apparent neglect of cultural implications for organizational structure. According to a culturalist view, organizational success does not depend on a sympathy between structural and contingency factors. Rather, it depends on a match between an organization's structure and the culturally-derived expectations of its members.

Child's (1972<sup>b</sup>) article on the 'strategic choices' available to managers was another guide in my path to the understanding of organizations. This suggested that organizational performance can also be achieved by means other than structure-contingency fit, such as how well managers are able to choose between various market strategies and operational technologies, the quality of their recruitment policies, and the selection of the location for their operations. The choices made by managers are seen to be based on their evaluation of the situation which is, in turn, influenced by their values, ideologies, preferences and perceptions. The process of 'strategic choice' may therefore

limit the extent that environment can determine their organization's structure and behaviour. It certainly implies that the environment-organization relationship is not a simple deterministic one. Moreover, some organizations, especially those operating in the protected economies or in the public sector, could afford to survive and flourish at less than an optimum level of performance.

At this stage, I had developed mixed feelings about contingency and cultural perspectives. The arguments put forward by both sides made sense, but somehow they were treated by their respective proponents, with the exception of Child (1972<sup>b</sup>), as if they were mutually exclusive. I decided to test these supposedly 'irreconcilable' arguments by conducting a study of Iranian culture and organizations (see Tayeb, 1979 for details).

This study confirmed my thoughts about the importance of the contributions made by both the contingency and cultural perspectives to the understanding of organizations. On the one hand, the structures and management styles of the fourteen organizations which participated in the study were compatible with the work-related attitudes and behaviour of a sample of organizational members. The latter were in turn consistent with the cultural traits attributed to Iranian people in general. On the other hand, certain structural characteristics of the participating organizations were, to some degree, consistent with some of their contextual variables. Thus the larger organizations were more 'structured' (specialized and formalized) than the smaller ones; and the public organizations were

more bureaucratized than those in the private sector.

The study in Iran left me with the following conclusions:

1. Organizations have to respond to their environmental demands if they are to succeed and survive, but this response is also constrained by the cultural characteristics of their members.
2. Some cultures provide organizations with a **limited repertoire** of variations in the structural forms they can adopt in response to their contextual and contingency demands; in some other cultures this **repertoire is extensive**.
3. Some organizations are protected for economic, social and political reasons and therefore can afford to ignore contingency factors or even misjudge them and yet survive and be successful. In pre-revolutionary Iran, this was possible mainly because of the large revenue from oil.
4. In some countries the influence of cultural characteristics may override the influence of contingency factors in shaping their organizations. For instance, mistrust and close direct supervision and control are prominent among Iranian cultural characteristics. In the Iranian study I found that some of the managers who had been educated in American and European universities were aware of the 'merits' of decentralization of decision making in their organizations as an 'appropriate'



response to their changing environment, but they were reluctant to apply such an approach in their own companies. They did not trust subordinates' abilities and intentions to carry out their tasks 'properly'. Indeed these managers argued that they would stand to benefit if they tightened their control over their employees and made 'important' decisions themselves. Some had chosen to appoint their own close friends and relatives to 'crucial' posts to ensure thereby the 'proper' handling of the organization's tasks.

The study also made me aware of political-economic factors surrounding and influencing organizations. For example, in Iran, under the pre-revolution regime, trade unions were not permitted to function. The management could get away with, among other things, any type of control over the workforce without facing any collective resistance. Government purported to be the spokesman for employees, especially manual workers, but in effect it geared industrial relations legislation to the achievement of its own political ends.

During my stay in Britain and exposure to its system of industrial relations, I became aware of the influence trade unions have over organizational structures and policies (particularly regarding the division of labour). The difference that the absence of strong unions in a country like Iran made to the organization of work and management policies became very apparent.

When I undertook the Iranian study at Oxford I was inclined to give more weight to culture as a **'determinant'** of organizational structure and management systems as compared to contingency and other factors. But when I started the present comparative study at Aston in 1980, I had a more 'open' and balanced view about various factors which **'influence'** organizations. Because by then my research experience in Iran and my exposure to other studies conducted in various countries, which found other factors to account for organizational structure and behaviour, had made me aware that culture cannot be a total 'determinant' of organizations. At the most, it is a factor which, along with others, 'influences' organizations. In the process, the term **'culture'** also gave way to **'nation'**, and the study became **cross-national** as opposed to **cross-cultural** study of organizations. This reflects the view that organizations are influenced by other national institutions besides culture (understood as a set of inherited values and ideas). The term 'nation' not only refers to culture but also to other societal, economic and political institutions which have a bearing on the nature of organizations located in particular countries.

As a consequence of this personal development, three perspectives are considered to be relevant to the objectives of the present study. The contingency perspective suggests that a 'fit' between an organization's context and its structural arrangements will be fundamentally necessary for achieving success and survival. The political economy perspective argues for the determining role of the social and economic structures within which the organization operates. The



ideational approach of the culturalist perspective looks to cultural attitudes and values of organizational members for an explanation for their organization's structure; while the institutional strand of culturalism draws attention to the ways in which institutions mould social values and behaviour, and generate social competences (e.g. expertise, or what is regarded socially as 'expertise').

Studies carried out within these three perspectives are reviewed in the following chapter. While they make valuable contributions to our understanding of organizations, they have only been partially successful in addressing the question of what influences organization and its structure. The reason for their partial success is that they have been confined to the boundaries of their respective frameworks, and hence failed to recognize the contributions of others. This suggests the need for a more complex multi-perspective approach to the study of organizations which would take note of the factors raised by the different perspectives. In a joint paper that my supervisor and I wrote (Child and Tayeb, 1983, p. 63-64) we pointed out such a need:

"Three major theoretical perspectives currently inform the cross-national study of organizations. Progress in assessing their collective contribution has been held back by a tendency for research within one perspective to devalue or ignore the considerations contained within the other perspectives. One thesis, expressed by the concept of cultured organization, subsumes contingency and political economy factors within a process of culturally-infused action (Sorge, 1983) ... While this thesis draws attention to an important dynamic of organizational development, it appears to exaggerate the autonomy of organizations from the framework of contingency and political economy parameters which set limits to the possibilities open to decision

makers. Rather than concentrating on, or claiming primacy for, one theoretical perspective, consideration of all three perspectives is warranted. The cultural, contingency and political economy variables they identify are interactive, although at the same time it may be possible to identify some particular influences emanating from each."

### **III. Plan of the thesis**

Chapter 2 discusses and evaluates the arguments advanced by scholars who have adopted contingency, political economy and cultural perspectives towards the explanation of organizational structures and systems. Chapter 3 focuses more closely on cultural factors, and develops hypotheses about the likely influence of these on work-related attitudes and behaviour and their implications for organizations. Chapters 4 and 5 discuss the design strategy adopted to carry out the present investigation and the methodology it employs. Chapters 6 and 7 then discuss the socio-cultural characteristics of English and Indian peoples and present the findings of questionnaire surveys which were conducted in the two countries. Chapter 8 draws together comparisons between the two societies and on this basis formulates hypotheses about work-relevant attitudes likely to be held by English and Indian employees and their consequences for the work organizations in each country.

Chapter 9 sees a transition of the study down to specific organizations. It discusses the findings of the work-relevant attitude surveys conducted among employees of a sample of carefully matched business organizations in England and India, and the findings of an

interview-based investigation which was carried out into the structural and managerial characteristics of the same organizations. Chapter 10 draws attention to the influence of some non-cultural factors on both employees' work-relevant attitudes and the organizational structures and systems. Chapter 11 concludes the thesis by interpreting the findings of the various stages of the study and suggesting their likely implications for theory and practice.

Figure 1.1 summarises the focus of the present study, and the rationale for the ordering of chapters just described.

Figure 1.1 about here

A point to note is the way I have referred to gender in the thesis. In order to avoid clumsiness and irksome (he/she, his/her) I have employed the male gender, and reference to any person or role in the text is to female or male without any prejudice.







## CHAPTER 2

### Organizations, Contingencies, Cultures

#### **Introduction**

This chapter evaluates the arguments advanced by the writers who studied organization within contingency, political economy and cultural perspectives, and discusses the stand of the present study with respect to these arguments.

It is necessary first to describe briefly organization structure as defined by other researchers (see Chapter 3 for the present author's definition of organizational structure), before discussing their identification of factors influencing its form.

#### **I. Organizational structure**

Researchers have employed a large variety of definitions and measures in an attempt to understand the structural characteristics of organizations (Child, 1972<sup>b</sup>; Scott, 1975; MacKenzie, 1978; Clegg, 1979; Meyer, 1979; Hunt, 1979; Cummings, 1982). For instance, Child defined organizational structure as "the formal allocation of work roles and the administrative mechanisms to control and integrate work activities including those which cross formal organizational boundaries" (Child, 1972<sup>b</sup>, p. 92). And Clegg argued that organization

structure "can be conceived in terms of the selectivity rules which can be analytically constructed as an explanation of its social action and practice (its surface detail, what it does). These rules, collected together, may be conceived of as a mode of rationality" (Clegg, 1979, p. 122).

There is also some disagreement as to whether control strategies (e.g. centralization and formalization) are part of one structure type or are separate independent dimensions (Child, 1972a; Mansfield, 1973; Pugh et al., 1968). However, there seems to be some agreement that three main dimensions of structure are complexity (number of hierarchical levels, number of functions, departments or jobs, number of operating sites, and the level of specialist expertise), formalization, and centralization (Hall, 1972, Pugh et al., 1968). Administrative intensity (ratio of administrative personnel to total or production personnel) has also been considered an important element of organizational structure (Ford and Slocum, 1977).

## **II. Predictors of organizational structure**

### **- the three perspectives**

Writers on organizational structure can be grouped into two broad categories: (1) those who have looked for an explanation of organizations and their structures to their contexts and (2) those who have focused their attention on their members and their relationships.

In the first category fall (i) those who attribute organizational

structure to its contextual variables and other environmental 'contingencies' (the so-called contingency theorists, such as Hickson et al. 1974; Pugh et al. ,1968; Aldrich, 1979), and (ii) those who go further beyond organization's immediate task environment and explain certain organizational characteristics in terms of broad macro political and economic systems within which the organization operates (the political-economy system theorists, such as Friedman, (1977a) and Clegg and Dunkerley (1980).

In the second category fall those who can be called culturalists and who focus on either (i) cultural values of organizational members as built up in primary social institutions, such as family and religion (general programmed culturism), such as Hofstede (1980) or (ii) the secondary social institutions, such as training and educational institutions (social action culturism), such as Crozier (1964), Brossard and Maurice (1976) and Gallie (1978). However, many Marxists would not accept the distinction between (i) and (ii). They would see relationships at the point of production within organizations as reflecting and reinforcing wider class relations/structures (in the society as context). Moreover, some 'contingency' theorists, such as the Aston School, saw a continuity of cause/effect between context-structure-relationships-member behaviour (cf Pugh et al., 1963; Child, 1973).

The following sections attempt to evaluate the perspectives within which the works of these groups of researchers have been pursued.



### **i. Contingency perspective**

For the first half of this century, management and organization theorists tended to ignore the environment in which organizations operated and argued for the universalistic 'one best way' of organizing work organizations and prescribed bureaucracy as the rational and efficient model of organization (Taylor, 1911; Urwick, 1943; Brown, 1945; Mooney, 1947; Fayol, 1949; Brech, 1953).

Later generations of theorists challenged their predecessors on the human relations grounds (Roethlisberger, 1944; Mayo, 1945; McGregor, 1960), but still implied that there was a 'one best way' of organizing activities with an emphasis on human beings' needs and abilities which, according to this new school, had been overlooked by classical theorists.

The contingency approach was developed as a challenge to the universal single pattern of structure of organizations advocated by both classical and human relations schools. The primary criticisms made by contingency writers concerned the alleged inability of bureaucracies to adapt to the changes in the environment. Gouldner (1954) provided case-study evidence suggesting that bureaucratization could be efficacious in one setting (an office) but damaging in another (a mine).

The premises of the contingency perspective are based on the argument that the survival of an organization depends upon its



efficient and effective (optimum) performance. This optimum performance, in turn, can be achieved if it responds and adapts to its environmental demands 'appropriately'. The appropriate response is crystalized in a 'match' or 'fit' between structural characteristics and contextual and other environmental variables (Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967). Hence, for example, an increase in size - especially in terms of numbers employed - should be accompanied by an increase in specialization; or, to mention another example, an increase in environmental uncertainty should be 'matched' by an increase in decentralization, especially when the environment is complex; i.e. highly differentiated, if the organization is to achieve a 'high' performance.

These assumptions are open to question on a number of grounds. First, the concept of 'high' performance, and indeed, performance itself, is a problematic one and far from being clear. If performance is defined in terms of goal(s) achievement, whose goal(s) is (are) to be achieved? managers? shopfloor workers? shareholders? governmental policy-making bodies? the public at large? A level of performance can be interpreted as 'high' or 'low' depending on how one answers these questions.

Second, the level of performance of an organization is achieved not in a vacuum but under certain conditions which are more often than not constraints, and of which inadequate structural arrangements are but one. Besides, how does one isolate and evaluate the impact of each of the various factors, including structural 'match', on

performance level?

Third, high performance, whatever that may be, can also be achieved by means other than adjustment and rearrangement of the organizational structure, such as choosing more appropriate overall policies and strategies (Child, 1972<sup>b</sup>), setting more feasible and realistic objectives, and setting up adequate training courses for the employees to equip them with the necessary knowledge and skills to meet the challenge of the competitive world outside.

Fourth, performance need not be always evaluated against financial and other economic criteria, as is implied by the arguments advanced by the researchers advocating the contingency perspective. Performance can be measured, amongst other things, in terms of social, political and humanitarian criteria. It is, therefore, quite possible that an organization's performance is considered poor in economic terms but high in non-economic terms.

Fifth, survival of organizations does not necessarily depend upon a high and optimum performance. For instance, monopolies, nationalized firms, and companies operating in heavily protected industries can afford to be sub-optimal well below the degree that contingency advocates would recommend. This protection, however, is now weakening for various political and economic reasons in some countries such as Britain, though it has been maintained in others such as certain sectors of Indian industry.

As a consequence of the contingency perspective, considerable research has been directed toward isolating factors upon which an organization's structure may be contingent. The vast majority of these studies have focused on technology, size, environmental uncertainty, industry, strategy and dependence. The following sub-sections deal with these factors.

### 1. Technology

Perrow (1967) defined technology as the actions an individual takes upon an object so as to bring about a change in that object. Marsh and Mannari (1981) defined it as the means by which an organization's outputs are created. Whatever definitions various researchers have given, the main concern, as Thompson and Bates (1957, p. 325) state, has been those sets of person-machine activities that together produce a desired good.

Woodward's studies in South Essex, England may be considered as the seminal study into impact of technology on organizational structure. In her research in a hundred firms engaged in widely diverse lines of business, she concluded that when the firms were grouped according to their techniques of production and complexity of their production systems, the more successful companies in each of these groupings followed similar management practices. In general, firms at the extremes of technological complexity (unit and continuous process) tended towards organic management styles and structures, whereas those at the centre were more mechanistic. The research led her to



conclude that the criterion of the appropriateness of organizational structure must be the extent to which it furthers the objectives of the firm (Woodward, 1958).

Woodward's conclusions are less than reliable on at least two grounds. First, her performance measures are open to question. She does not give any information on the level of performance of the firms concerned apart from saying that they were classified into three broad categories of average, below average and above average. The performance criteria are (i) subjective, such as "quality and attitudes of management", (ii) vague, such as rate of development (she does not elaborate what it is and how she has assessed it), and (iii) in the case of objective criteria, such as profitability and market standing, it is not clear from her report whether these have been considered for each firm for the financial year in which the study was conducted or over a period of years. If the former is the case, then the firms' growth and ability to expand are overlooked in the evaluation of their performance.

Second, her technology scale suffers from limitations too. The scale consists of five increasingly advanced and complex types of technology. A major limitation, as Marsh and Mannari (1981) point out, lies in the assumption that a single dominant type of technology is used in each factory. Khandwalla (1974, p. 81) found that "a firm manufacturing telephone switching equipment to customer specifications is using custom technology in the design of the equipment, but mass produces the parts and components going to the



assembly". Among Marsh and Mannari's (1981, p. 37) fifty Japanese factories, "although 27 used only one of the five types of technology, 13 used two types, five used three types, four used four types, and one used all five types simultaneously".

Many other researchers concentrated on the role of technology and argued in terms of the 'implications' of technology (Perrow, 1967; Harvey, 1968; Hage and Aiken, 1969; Zwerman, 1970; Van de Ven and Delbeq, 1974; Van de Ven et al., 1974; Blau et al., 1976) and therefore recommended an appropriate 'fit' between structural arrangements and the production technology as the means to ensure high performance.

Credit should be given to the pioneer of this line of research, Woodward (1958, 1965), whose work had a major impact on organizational theory and provoked and stimulated a series of fruitful intellectual debates and empirical investigations which could be put under the umbrella of the contingency approach. However, the 'technological implications' thesis suffers from certain drawbacks. First, the thesis is an unjustified sweeping generalization. Although many studies supported the 'fit' between technology and structure as the means to achieve success, one can argue that no number of successful firms whose structure 'fits' the demands of their production technology, to paraphrase Popper, justifies the assumption that all successful firms have a structure which 'fits' the requirements of their technology. And, as it turned out, there were many other studies which did not support Woodward and her argument (see, for

example, Mohr, 1971; Mahoney and Frost, 1974; Donaldson, 1976). In fact, Woodward (1970) herself toned down the technological implications argument contained in her 1958 and 1965 publications. Reeves and Woodward (1970) concluded that it is actually the nature of the interdependency created by a technology and methods of organizational control, rather than technology per se, that affect organization structure.

Second, if one can accept for a moment the argument that there should be a 'fit' between technology and structural form as a means to achieve high performance, there is more than one way to achieve this 'fit', since according to modern socio-technical theory the aims should be to achieve joint optimization on technology and social/organizational variables, which gives rise to the possibility of more than one structural arrangement (Trist, 1981).

Third, the advocates of the 'technological implications' overemphasize the role of technology as the determinant of organizational structure, and, by doing so, neglect other factors in and around the organization. Perrow, a former supporter of "technological imperatives", has reconsidered his former assumptions with this regard and points out:

"I once believed that if organizations had a better fit between their technology and their structure they would be more efficient and thus more profitable. In a study of a number of firms in various industries I learned what should have been obvious to me at the outset: If the Y's are growth and profitability, the X's should not be the fit between technology and structure but such variables as market position, industry profitability and growth, brand identification,

collusion, bribery, and falsification of accounting records. These relate directly to what pose as profitability and growth." (Perrow , 1977, p. 97)

Fourth, technology, far from being a given and 'imperative' imposed on the organization's managers, can be a 'tool' in their hands to exert control over the employees as well as the production design leading ultimately to higher productivity (Friedman, 1977a; Child and Tayeb, 1983).

However, it is possible that to some degree the contradictory and confusing findings of the studies carried out to investigate the impact of technology on organizational structure may be due to inadequacies and inconsistencies in the research design and methodologies adopted by various researchers (Reimann and Inzerilli, 1979). In regard to design, most of these works have studied technology and its implications for organizational structure in isolation from other factors, such as size, dependence and environmental uncertainty, which may have equally significant bearing on the organization. Moreover, the findings of most of these studies are not comparable because each of them has employed different measurements and methodologies (see for instance, Marsh and Mannari, 1981; Khandwalla, 1974; Perrow, 1967). As Ford and Slocum (1977) point out, many studies that found weak relationships between technology and structure focused exclusively on operations technology (Child and Mansfield, 1972; Hickson et al. 1969), even though these same writers argued that organizations may employ more than one type of technology.



As a result, one cannot argue strongly and convincingly for or against the role of technology as a determinant of organizational structure. It does appear clear, nevertheless, that technology is not **the** determinant of organizational structure. It may be one of many.

It is argued here that, although technology may not have an overriding influence on organizational structure, it is nonetheless an important factor, and no serious investigation into organizations and their structural predictors can afford to overlook it. The significance of technology is made even more pronounced because of, for instance, the built-in bias in its design to further 'capitalistic' or 'socialistic' objectives; or, the way the so-called new technology can be employed by managers to up-grade and down-grade various jobs, or indeed even create or abolish jobs (Child, 1984a).

## 2. Size

Size has attracted a good deal of attention as a predictor of organizational structure. There is no consensus as to how size should be measured. However, the most widely accepted definition of an organization's size is the number of its employees.

Many researchers have found strong relationship between size and organizational structure. Child (1972<sup>a</sup>), for instance, found that size was an important predictor of the degree of decentralization of decision making in the organizations that he studied. Although the results of considerable numbers of studies supported the importance



of size as determinant of structure (Hickson et al., 1969; Inkson et al., 1970; Blau and Schoenherr, 1971; Hinings and Lee, 1971; Child and Mansfield, 1972; Osborn and Hunt, 1974; Ayoubi, 1975; Yasai-Ardekani, 1979; Grinyer and Yasai-Ardekani, 1980), there were others which did not do so. Thompson (1967), for example, argued against the impact of size on organizational structure, and stated that if the workflow/task is simple, e.g. copper mining, then an increase in scale could be managed without a more elaborate/complex managerial superstructure. Hall et al. (1967), Mayhew et al. (1972), Blau et al. (1976), Evers et al. (1976) and Marsh and Mannari (1981) are among those researchers who did not find size to be a predictor of structure.

Aldrich (1972) argued that there were several alternative and equally plausible paths relating size, technology and structure. One showed technology to determine structure, which in turn determined size. In this connection, he argued that technology is causally superior:

"The development of an organization proceeds from its initial founding and capitalization in response to market opportunities, through its design based on copying and modifying an existing technology, on to the design of the organization's structure, and finally to the employment of a workforce to staff the nearly completed organization ... Technology is causally superior to the size of the workforce ... and is also causally superior to organization structure." Aldrich (1972, p. 34)

The problem with studies which focused on size is manifold. First, a major problem of these studies, and indeed others discussed in the previous sections, lies in their failure to advance an explanation as to

why technology, size etc. lead to a particular structure, and the process involved. Second, the interrelationships between size and other factors and their combined impact on structure have not sufficiently been explored. Third, here again there has been inconsistencies in measurement, that of size (Kimberly, 1976). Fourth, it has been argued that some size/structure relationships (especially specialization) are tautological. These problems cast a shadow of doubt on the validity of the conclusions of these studies.

However, size is a major aspect/dimension of an organizational anatomy and there is more to learn about its implications for organizations. For example, is an increase in size per se important or is it the increase in its quality (in terms of know-how)? How do different cultures cope with an increase in size? Does a larger size lead to a greater decentralization in all organizations in all cultures?

### 3. Environment

A number of researchers have attributed structural characteristics to the peculiarities of the environmental factors.

Environment is one of the most widely discussed concepts, and it has been defined in many ways. Pennings (1975, pp. 393-394) gives a useful broad definition which encompasses relevant factors which surround organizations: "environment is the organization's source of inputs and sink of outputs; that is, the set of persons, groups, and organizations with which the focal organization has exchange

relations." Osborn (1971) and Osborn and Hunt (1974) grouped the various broad elements in and around organizations into three categories: 'macro', 'aggregation', and 'task' environments.

"The macro environment is the general cultural context of a specified geographical area and contains those forces recognized to have important influences on organizational characteristics and outputs ... The aggregation environment consists of the associations, interest groups, and constituencies operating within a given macro environment ... Typically, the task environment is defined as that portion of the total setting which is relevant for goal setting and goal attainment (Dill, 1958; Thorelli, 1967)." (Osborn and Hunt, 1974, pp. 231-232).

It is the task environment which has attracted most attention of the writers on environment-structure relationships. Many researchers and theorists emphasize that organizations must adapt to their environment if they are to retain and or/increase their effectiveness. Much of the theoretical and empirical work on this issue has focused on the element of uncertainty.

Burns and Stalker (1961) noted that successful firms in a stable environment tended to have a 'mechanistic' or highly bureaucratic structure and process, while successful firms in a changing and uncertain environment tended to have an 'organic' or flexible structure with low centralization and formalization. It must be pointed out that Burns and Stalker had only one example of an organic unit (and it was only the R & D department of a firm, not the firm as a whole), which brings up the point of intra-organization structural variations (Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967).



Lawrence and Lorsch (1967) operationalized uncertainty by measuring the clarity of information, the degree to which cause-effect relationships are known, and the time span of definitive feedback. They then characterized an organization's environment as diverse if a wide range of uncertainty were perceived among its different parts, and homogeneous if the range were narrow. Studying a sample of six firms from three industries, they found that in successful organizations, each organizational subunit met the demands of its sub-environment. In diverse environments, subunits were more differentiated than those in homogeneous environments, and more efforts were required to integrate the differentiated subunits in diverse environments than in homogeneous ones. Differentiation, in this case, refers not only to differences in formal structure, but also to differences in the cognitive and emotional orientations of subunit members.

Cohen, March, and Olsen (1972) proposed a 'garbage can' model for organizations under conditions of uncertainty, where technology is unclear and goals are ambiguous, while Hedberg et al. (1976) advised the residents of changing environments to take a 'tent' and 'camp on seesaws' in order to achieve and maintain the required flexibility, creativity, immediacy and initiative. Weick (1976) prescribed 'loosely coupled' systems for organizations operating under changing conditions, which he argued would preserve more diversity in responding to environment than do tightly coupled systems.

The writers whose studies were described so far discussed



environmental uncertainty as if environment could per se be 'uncertain'. Duncan (1971<sup>a</sup>, 1972) directed, for the first time, attention to 'perceived uncertainty' and provided a systematic conceptualization and empirical analysis of the dimensions of environment that lead to different degrees of perceived uncertainty. He suggested that perceived environmental uncertainty, as it is related to decision making, is determined by two dimensions: simple-complex (number of factors considered in decision making and their degree of similarity) and static-dynamic (the degree to which the factors change). From a study of managers in twenty two decision units, he concluded that the static-dynamic dimension was a more important determinant of perceived uncertainty than the simple-complex dimension. He also identified the types of structural modifications decision units implement under uncertainty and the relationship between these adaptation processes and organizational effectiveness (Duncan, 1971<sup>b</sup>).

A new stream of thought was developed in the 1970s which studied organizations as species in relation with their environments. Exponents of this approach propose a 'natural selection' or what Aldrich and Pfeffer (1976) prefer to call 'population ecology' model. The natural selection model, developing the strongest argument for an environmental perspective, in its original form, applies at the population level of organizations rather than at the level of single units. Environments differentially select organizations for survival on the basis of the fit between organization structure (and activities) and environmental characteristics (Buckley, 1967; Campbell, 1969;

Aldrich, 1971; Hannan and Freeman, 1974). The process of organizational change, while controlled by the environment, does not necessarily involve progress to more complex or higher forms of social organization, or better organizations. The process of natural selection means the social organizations are moving towards a better fit with the environment, nothing more (Aldrich and Pfeffer, 1976; Aldrich, 1979; McKelvey and Aldrich, 1983).

These writers have made a major contribution to organization theory by drawing one's attention to the external influences on organizations. However, their argument that environment is **the** determinant of organizational structure is open to question on at least one important ground.

Population ecologists assume that the organization-environment relationship is a one way flow of 'demand' and 'command' from the environment to which the organization has passively to adapt by way of making necessary structural arrangements and modifications if it is to be successful, and indeed, to survive. These researchers have clearly ignored the organization's members, especially managers, who have power and resources to influence, change and even choose their environment as they see fit. To be sure, there are constraints and limitations on the resources and the exercise of their power. Nevertheless, they exist. It is ironic that these researchers who are almost all from Western societies with an established philosophy of faith in man's ability to conquer his environment should deny the organizations and their managers the same.

The combination of managers' resources and power and the two-way relationships between organization and its environment may result in circumstances under which an organization is able to negotiate (Cyert and March, 1963), to enact (Weick, 1969), and to manipulate its environment (Thompson, 1967).

However, there are some writers who have recognized the importance of the role of managers in managing their organizations and their environments.

Child (1972b) introduced the notion of 'strategic choice' and emphasized the role of managers and their strategic choices in the relationships between organizations and environments. Strategic choice, in Child's view, is exercised by organizational elites and other members of the "dominant coalition". This view of the determinants of organizational activities is introduced to account for how decisions are actually made, given that environment, technology, and size are not totally responsible for organizational change or stability.

Anderson and Paine (1975) and Bobbit and Ford (1980) have supported Child and argued that decision makers' choice is the determinant of organizational structure.

Exponents of the 'resource dependence' model argue along similar lines. The model proceeds from the indisputable proposition that organizations are not able to generate internally either all the



resources or functions required to maintain themselves, and therefore organizations must enter into transactions and relations with elements in the environment that can supply the required resources and services. Administrators, who must ensure a continued supply of resources to maintain satisfaction of their organizations' members, owners, and other powerful groups in their environment (White, 1974), manage their environments as well as their organizations. The resource dependence model portrays organizations as active, and capable of changing as well as responding to the environment. The model calls attention to the importance of environmental contingencies and constraints while at the same time leaving room for the operation of strategic choice on the part of organizational members as they maneuver through known and unknown contexts (Chandler, 1962; Child, 1972<sup>b</sup>; Pfeffer, 1972; Jacob, 1974; Pfeffer and Salancik, 1974; Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978).

#### 4. Industry

Hrebiniak and Snow sought to determine whether industry is an important variable for the kind of uncertainty perceived by top managers and for patterns of organizational structure and influence. Their study shows that perceptions of environmental uncertainty, interorganizational influence, and the degree of structural decentralization vary by industry. Their data also indicate that structural responses to environmental uncertainty are affected by industry, suggesting that the structural-contingency model may be comprised of "models", depending on organizational domain or setting



(Hrebiniak and Snow, 1980).

Industry is a significant variable because of the implications of such factors as the age of the industry, the organization's standing within it in terms of market share, competition, change, and governmental economic and industrial policies and priorities for the organizations concerned. For instance, firms engaged in the electronics industry face fierce competition and a rapidly changing climate compared to the brewery industry. This instability is made even greater, in the case of some western European countries like Britain, by their governments' 'open door' policies. In a country like India, with the government's highly protective industrial policies, there is relatively little competition in the market confronting electronics firms. These firms, however, face a dilemma of a different kind. Because the electronics industry is capital intensive, and the government's economic top priority is to create employment for hundreds of millions of job-less people, there is a restriction on the limit of the total production and expansion of the firms engaged in this industry. For reasons such as these it is important to take account of the industry in a study of business organizations.

Spender, in a study of foundry, dairy, and fork-lift truck rental industries, also pointed out the importance of industry and concluded that there is an industry-specific 'recipe' which bears "most heavily on organizational strategy-makers" and influences their policies, objectives and 'judgements' (1980, p. 109).

## 5. Strategy

The area of structure-strategy-environment has also received considerable attention within the contingency framework. The concept of organizational strategy was advanced by the Harvard Business School in the late fifties to embrace the major decisions that serve to match organizational resources with environmental opportunities and constraints (Andrews, 1960; Chandler, 1962). The major systematic insights in the relationships between environment, strategy, and structure stem from Chandler's historical studies. Chandler concentrated on the changing strategies of seventy five large American corporations and analyzed their groping efforts to devise new organizational structures to pursue these strategies more effectively (Chandler, 1962).

Following Chandler, Scott (1970) developed a paradigm of corporate development that views the firm as moving through successive stages as its product-market relationship becomes more elaborate. In this "stage model", the firm is seen as growing from a "one-man show" to a functionally organized structure, and then, as it develops multiple product lines, to a product-division structure.

Miles and Snow (1978) developed a model of organizational adaptation and argued that every organization chooses its own target market and develops its own set of products or services, and these domain decisions will then be supported by appropriate decisions concerning the organization's technology, structure, and process. Management is

relatively free to choose among alternative forms of each of these major organizational features. They identified four broad categories of such forms; i.e. 'defenders', 'prospectors', 'analyzers', and 'reactors', each of which has its own strategy in its interactions with the environment.

Rumelt (1974), basing his analysis on the data from more than two hundred American companies, found a positive relationship between performance on one hand, and a 'fit' between strategy and organizational structure, on the other. However, he also suspected that structure follows fashion.

Miller et al. (1982), studied a sample of thirty three business firms in Canada, and attempted to establish whether there is any relationship between the personality of the top executive and his strategy-making behaviour and whether this in turn has any implications for structure and environment. Locus of control was the personality characteristic that they saw to hold much promise in explaining strategy making behaviour. Confident, aggressive, and active chief executives, they argued, tend to undertake more innovative, risky, and proactive strategies; executives who are more given to feelings of helplessness and passivity will be more conservative, reactionary, and risk averse, and this in turn will have repercussions on the dimensions of environment and structure.

Strategy, although a significant factor, has not been, sufficiently, if at all, studied within a cross-national comparative framework, to



examine whether its influence on structure is as universally great as its advocates believe. Clearly further research in this area is needed.

## 6. Findings of the Aston Programme

Researchers involved in the Aston Programme (Pugh et al., 1968) attributed the state of the structural characteristics of organizations to certain variables in their context. Their first major study covered forty six organizations in Birmingham, England. They identified, and developed scales for, five structural dimensions. These were centralization, specialization, formalization, standardization, and configuration. Contextual variables which the Aston researchers considered as being predictors of state of structural dimensions were origin and history, ownership and control, location and resources, dependence on parent organization, size, technology, and charter. Child in his National Study (1972<sup>a</sup>), in which he replicated the Aston Programme in eighty two organizations throughout Britain, argued for the importance of the status of the focal organization (i.e., whether it is an independent company, a parent company, a subsidiary, a division, a department, or a production unit) in its relation to the degree of centralization of decision-making process, especially in the comparative studies of organizations.

Some researchers developed the concept of dependence on parent organization further and argued that dependence on other organizations in the environment, such as suppliers and customers, is



an important factor influencing the focal organization's autonomy and dispersion of decision making (McMillan et al., 1973; Horvath et al., 1976). Hickson et al. (1979) went further to argue for similar implications of such dependence for organizations in all countries.

Subsequent research and replications of the Programme did not support many of the earlier findings, and it was also criticised on methodological grounds (Aldrich, 1972; Child, 1972a, 1973; Mansfield, 1973; Pennings, 1973; Khandwalla, 1974; Brossard and Maurice, 1976; Ford, 1977; Kmetz, 1978; Grinyer and Yasai-Ardekani, 1980). However, the Programme remained a major attempt to provide an organizational taxonomy and a model for understanding the organization's relationship with its immediate context.

#### 7. The culture-free thesis

One of the most controversial arguments for the determining role of contextual and other contingency variables in the organizational structure was put forward by Hickson et al. (1974) who advocated a culture-free thesis and universalism. They went on so far as to state that if the contingency variables are similar across national boundaries, they will result in similar organizational structural forms. Focusing on the relationship between organizational characteristics and their contextual variables, they concluded that this relationship is stable across societies:

"...(our) hypothesis rests on the theory that there are imperatives, or 'causal' relationships, from the resources of 'customers', of employees, of materials and finance, etc., and of operating

technology, of an organization, to its structure, which take effect whatever the surrounding social differences ... Whether the culture is Asian or European or North American, a large organization with many employees improves efficiency by specializing their activities but also by increasing controlling and coordinating specialities." (Hickson et al., 1974, pp. 63-64)

Haire et al.'s (1966) well-known study also led them to advocate universalism and similarities in "managerial thinking" across cultures. They studied attitudes, perceived needs and need satisfaction among a sample of about 3600 managers from fourteen countries, the majority of whom were attending management training courses and had been selected by the researchers "impressionistically and sometimes opportunistically" (pp. 6-7). They noted that only 25 percent of the observed differences were associated with national differences and similarities between these managers were far more numerous than their differences.

Two points should be borne in mind with respect to the culture-free thesis and universalism assumed on the basis of these two, and similar, studies. First, some of the studies carried out within this framework suffer from methodological inadequacies. Take Haire et al.'s work. The managers whose attitudes they studied were attending management training courses at the time the research was carried out. This means they were subject to a similar flow of instructions about modern management practices and theories which could well have influenced their responses to the questionnaire that they completed. Besides, Haire et al. neither studied the structural characteristics of the organizations which were managed by these managers, nor surveyed the attitudes of their subordinates as to how

they perceived their managers ran the organization. To agree with statements favouring, say, a participative management style is one thing; actually to behave as a participative manager is another.

Second, the purpose of the studies such as Hickson et al.'s is to test the stability of relationships between organizational structure and its environmental variables, rather than to examine their underlying rationale (Maurice, 1976). They look for similarities rather than differences in organizations operating in different countries:

"Thus, when certain formal characteristics of organization structures (centralization, formalization, specialization, etc.) are related to such contextual variables as size and technology, it is important to realize that these studies are based on concepts and indicators that by nature are universal - thereby precluding any testing of the impact of national or cultural variables in which such studies express interest." (Maurice, 1976, pp. 5-6)

## **8. Contingency perspective - an overall view**

The contingency perspective as a whole suffers from other drawbacks which are attributable more or less to all the work carried out within its framework.

One problem with the approach lies in the inconsistency in its arguments and the findings of the studies conducted within this framework. For instance, the pioneers of the school started by condemning the 'universalism' of classical and human relations theorists, and advocated an 'it all depends' thesis. But they actually ended up prescribing a limited number of universal structural forms



and management styles depending on, for example, technological requirements (Woodward, 1958) and environmental uncertainty (Burns and Stalker, 1961).

Second, as was discussed in the previous sub-sections, there are also contradictions between the findings of various studies carried out on the impact of, say, size, technology, and environment on organizational structure. These contradictions, however, may have something to do with the way these studies were carried out within the contingency framework rather than the framework itself. For instance, Child (1972a) pointed out that differences in the units of analysis may cause differences in research results. Observing discrepancies between his results and those of Pugh et al. (1968) and Hinings and Lee (1971), he suggested that those differences might be due to the heterogeneity in organizational status of the Aston sample.

Third, another weakness of this approach is, echoing Schoonhoven (1981), its lack of clarity due to the ambiguous character of the 'theoretical' statements:

"Statements from contingency theorists and researchers suggest that a particular structure should be "appropriate for" a given environment (Thompson, 1967), that organizations are more successful when their structures "conform" to their technologies (Woodward, 1965: 69-71), that an organization's internal states and processes should be "consistent with" external demands (Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967), that organizations should attempt to maximize "congruence" between technology and their structure and adapt their structures to "fit" their technology (Perrow, 1970:80), that technology and structure need to be properly "aligned" (Khandwalla, 1974:97), that a "coalignment" should exist between environment and structure (Lawrence, 1975), and that



communication structures should "match" the nature of the task (Tushman, 1978). Contingency theory currently requires greater precision than is provided by these richly suggestive but ambiguous statements." (Schoonhoven, 1981, pp. 349-350)

Fourth, the contingency theorists' discussion of the way contingencies affect organizational structure sometimes is superficial and lacks a deep analysis of their implications. For instance, they argue for the importance of the economic market surrounding the organization but they fail to investigate market-organization relationships in terms of the power and dominance (or otherwise) that the organization might enjoy in the market vis-a-vis its customers, its suppliers and its labour force (Child and Tayeb, 1983). What Child (1984a, Chapter 7) calls 'political contingency' school has begun to investigate this issue.

Fifth, the studies conducted within the framework of this approach suffer from methodological inadequacies. They have, for instance, investigated the impact of contextual variables on organizational structure not in relation to each other and in a collective manner, but one by one across two or more organizations. A research design such as this neglects the impact of other factors and their multiple effects and by-passes the tension created especially by conflicting demands imposed by them. For instance, what happens if an organization's technology demands a highly decentralized and flexible structure but its stable economic market and small size demand the opposite? Studies to address this and similar questions have been few and far between.

This leads to a sixth problem. Contextual variables may not only

have different and conflicting implications for the organization; they may also affect different parts of the organization. For instance, a change in production technology from a routine and simple one to a more complex and non-routine technology may affect the structure of the production plant, but a change in export policies may result in restructuring of the marketing department. How is one to know which variable to what degree has affected which part(s) of the organization? Contingency theorists have done little to investigate such matters adequately.

Seventh, although the later advocates of the contingency approach, following Child (1972<sup>b</sup>), recognized the role of managers' perceptions and preferences in their dealings with environment, they assumed a universal pattern of perceptions and preferences in similar circumstances across cultural boundaries. This assumption manifests itself explicitly in such arguments as the 'culture-free' thesis. The major draw-back of this approach to organizational theory is that it denies that different nations have different degrees of values and different preferences, and hence behave differently under similar conditions. It underestimates the influence of deeply-rooted historically-developed cultural values and attitudes of a society on the work-related attitudes and behaviours of the organizational members in that society.

The contingency perspective, despite its shortcomings, is fruitful and stimulating, and has its positive points to make:

The main strength of this approach lies in its valuable contribution to understanding organization's structure and processes by pointing out the importance of the interaction between the organization and the environment in which it operates and the role that this interaction plays in shaping the structure and processes.

Another strong point is that this perspective was the first approach to organization theory to state the now accepted view that there is no 'one best way' of managing work organizations, and that a degree of choice was available to managers as to how to manage their organizations and their environments given certain environmental conditions.

## **ii. Political economy perspective**

There are some researchers who do not consider themselves as being followers of the contingency perspective, but they argue all the same for the significant influence of broad environmental factors, such as the degree and process of industrialization (Harbison and Myers, 1959; Dore, 1973), macro-economic structure (Child, 1980, 1984<sup>b</sup>), and labour market (Friedman, 1977<sup>a</sup>), on organizational structure and management practice. These researchers play down the role of national culture and assume a far reaching role for political and economic supra-structures which are argued to suppress local differences and produce similar solutions for similar problems so long as these supra-structures are similar. Hence, socialism, for instance, may encourage a relatively more centralized policy planning and



objective setting compared to capitalism where the emphasis is on flexible and decentralized economic activities and on minimum governmental intervention. And the logic of industrialization, to give another example, will bring about a general logic of management development applicable to all advanced and industrializing countries in the modern world (Harbison and Myers, 1959). The following sub-sections will discuss these propositions in detail.

### 1. The logic of industrialization

This theory basically argues that there is a central logic to industrialism which derives from the imperatives of machine technology and economic development. Industrialization, according to this argument, brings about certain changes in the fabric of organizations, particularly their size and complexity. These changes in turn are seen as necessitating certain developments in organization structuring: greater specialization, reliance upon rules, and decentralization. Management becomes more 'professionalized' and authority relationships tend to shift from autocratic to formalized and more participative modes. The logic of industrialization prevails whatever the cultural setting, although cultural factors can impinge on the process and may slow it down (Harbison and Myers, 1959).

Dore (1973) suggested a further aspect to the logic of industrialization thesis by arguing that the way a country comes to industrialization can have a lasting effect on the kind of industrial society it becomes. He compared development of labour movements

and industrial relations and their bearing on management policies and practice in Japan with those of Britain since the beginning of industrialization in the two countries. In Britain, industrialization was a long drawn-out slow process which started in the mid-eighteenth century and spread over a period of two hundred years. In Japan it started in the first quarter of the twentieth century, and the country 'jumped' from a feudal form of corporatism to a modern form of enterprise without ever experiencing either the sturdy independence or the callous indifference to one's neighbour of a thorough-going laissez-faire market economy. On the basis of this study, Dore made some speculations about the effect of what he called the 'late development syndrome' on, amongst other things, organization and management practice: "the later the industrialization, the bigger the organizational leap, the more likely industry is to begin with rationalized bureaucratic forms of organization, and the more the right of trade unions and workers would be stressed" (p. 416). Corporations in the contemporary late starter countries, "sending their personnel officers to business schools in Europe and America, begin industrialization under the influence of human relations theories and 'Y' theories, and theories about the virtues of consultation with workshop representatives" (p. 416).

Dore, however, does not provide any evidence that the Japanese managers are actually influenced by American- and European-based modern 'Y'-type theories of management. On the contrary, judging by the findings of studies of Japanese organizations (De Bettignies, 1973; Ouchi, 1981; Littler, 1983), Japanese managers have developed their

own brand of management style quite distinct from that which Dore assumes.

## 2. Socio-economic system

Relatively very few studies have been carried out to examine the influence of the two major forms of economic system of production, namely capitalism and socialism, on organization structure. The two systems appear to stand in sharp ideological and institutional contrast. As Lane has stated:

"State ownership of the means of production, the dominance of working-class values and the absence of an antagonistic ascendant class in state socialist society ensures its basic character as a workers' state. Its chief forms of production are socialist. Western capitalist societies have a quite different basis and dynamic: they are characterised by social classes which have rights over the disposal of property and of income from property; the capital market and the making of profit in the context of a more or less regulated economy are essential dynamics of the system." (Lane, 1977, p. 173)

In the light of recent events in Poland, as Child (1984<sup>b</sup>) points out, this depiction of state socialist society may appear in some need of revision. Also, of course, the debate continues as to whether the development of both capitalist and socialist societies is eroding the differences between them, and whether it would be more accurate to distinguish several variants of capitalism and socialism. Nevertheless, so long as each system rests upon intrinsically different foundations it is to be expected that their organized units will reflect the different 'basis and dynamic' of each system.



Child (1984<sup>b</sup>) discusses the likely implications of these differences for basic organizational objectives and relations, ideology, planning, resource allocation and control, and organizational hierarchies. However, he warns against exaggerating the differences in such matters as planning, resource allocation and control between organizations located in capitalist and socialist countries. Moreover, he draws attention to intra political system variations (i.e. within capitalism and socialism).

In principle, the objectives of the capitalist economic organization are directed towards profit maximization and the strategies for attaining these are formulated in the light of market conditions governing the value secured for products when these are exchanged. In contrast, the objectives of the socialist economic organization are seen to be directed at achieving a planned social product with whatever inputs of labour, plant and materials are required.

The model of capitalist objectives and its implications for organizational relations appears generally to hold in practice. However, the socialist alternative does not.

"...The avoidance of tensions in the relations of production by means of planning oriented towards social objectives has not been achieved in socialist societies. The low productivity of labour has been a long-standing concern in countries like the USSR, and there are many complaints about poor discipline (Lampert, 1984; Pietsch, 1984). Although socialism is expected to promote a sense of collective identity within organizations, there is concern about worker motivation in socialist countries, together with evidence of considerable job dissatisfaction and illegal informal practices (e.g. Haraszti, 1977; Grancelli, 1984). This inconsistency between the

expectations of the political economy model and actuality leaves an interesting question to be answered" (Child, 1984<sup>b</sup>, p.7).

Capitalist ideology appeals to the notion of economic betterment through individual initiative and self-help. Although it has clearly become modified with the rise of large bureaucratic corporations, and perhaps never took deep root in more corporatist societies, capitalist ideology stands in stark contrast to its socialist counterpart. Socialist ideology emphasizes the collective. The party is seen to play the role of representing the interests of the working class as a general collective, and hence having a legitimate role in the hierarchical structures of organizations. It is regarded as appropriate that the collective view of workers in an organization, and possibly its local community also, should guide its administration and operations.

"...Thus within socialist organizations one would expect to find, at least in terms of formal provision, an emphasis on representing collective views including channels for exerting influence over managerial actions to conform to collective norms. While formal channels for worker representation are not by any means unknown in capitalist societies, and have become legally institutionalized in some, these do not have the same ideological standing in terms of providing a voice for members of the owning working class with consequences that derive from that standing such as the right to discuss, even make, managerial appointments. Under capitalism, these and other decisions are much more likely to be claimed as managerial 'prerogatives' deriving from managers' claims to be representing ownership" (Child, 1984<sup>b</sup> p. 8).

The centralization of planning and control in most socialist countries contrasts with the decentralization inherent in the use of market mechanisms. Capitalism is conducive to organizational

decentralization through the establishment of internal market-allocation mechanisms on a semi-autonomous profit-centre subsidiary basis. Socialism appears to be difficult to sustain without a high degree of central direction. Kuc et al. (1980) found from a comparison of Polish, British, Japanese and Swedish factories matched for size and type of product, that the centralization of decision making within the Polish organizations was considerably higher than in organizations from the three capitalist countries. They attribute this difference to the nature of direct central State involvement in enterprise planning in Poland, whereby the State establishes long term norms for investment, pricing and resource allocation. In capitalist societies, plans or targets for such matters would normally be established within, not above, the enterprise. Also referring to Poland, Kolarska and Aldrich (1980) elaborate Hirschman's analysis of Exit, Voice and Loyalty (1972) by arguing that in non-market socialist societies complaint against the management of organizations has to rely on the 'indirect voice' of appealing to outside bodies (media, party) because exit (working somewhere else or purchasing products from a competing enterprise) is often not possible and 'direct voice' (complaint within the enterprise) may be ineffective when decision making is centralized and therefore remote.

In capitalist societies, economic organizations are normally supervised by one or two-tiered boards which legally represent the interests of ownership: either private shareholders or the state. In some cases, workers have a minority representation on such boards. This focal point of responsibility, which has charge of strategic policy and



planning in a decentralized capitalist system, provides for a single hierarchy of executive authority accountable through it to the owners of capital. In contrast, socialist enterprises may be characterized as having multiple power centres and dual hierarchies. There is a managerial hierarchy responsible for plan fulfilment to a planning centre located above the enterprise. A party hierarchy parallels the managerial line within enterprises and itself reports to local and central party organizations. However, there seems to be some degree of variations in this general model. Laaksonen (1984), for example, reports differences in managerial influence among Chinese organizations where the general manager is also the first secretary of the party committee and where he or she is not. Lockett and Littler (1983) report variations in the extent to which factory management elections had taken place in China and, where this had happened, in the degree to which nominations remained under the control of the factory director.

### 3. Labour market and management control strategies

In recent years economists have begun to observe how labour markets tend to become stratified (Watson, 1980, p. 171). Occupations may take their recruits from the 'primary sector' of what is seen as a dual market, where the work is characterized by good working conditions and pay levels, opportunities for advancement and fair treatment at work, and especially stability of employment. Occupations which draw on the 'secondary sector', however, are worse off in each of these respects and are particularly characterized by

considerable instability and a high turnover rate (Piore, 1972). Members of this secondary workforce will tend to be people who are dispensable, possess clearly visible social differences, are little interested in training or gaining high economic reward and are ones who tend not to act together collectively (Barron and Norris, 1976).

Friedman's work (1977a, 1977b, 1982) provides a Marxist analysis of management control strategies in capitalist economies and suggests how a dual labour market can be exploited by managers.

He argues that in response to changes in environment, such as varying strength of workers' resistance, new technology and market conditions (especially labour market), two types of managerial control strategies could be used in order to maintain a stable high profit. He labels these two strategies as 'responsible autonomy' and 'direct control'. Responsible autonomy involves allowing workers more discretion in doing their job, more status, light supervision, and encouraging them to identify the top managers' objectives as theirs and work responsibly. Direct control involves close supervision, little or no discretion and responsibility in workers' job, and centralization of decision making in hands of a few top managers.

Friedman suggests that the chosen control strategy is dependent on whether top managers perceive individual employees or groups of workers as 'central' or 'peripheral'. In the business world, employees are central when they are considered to be essential to the securing of high long-run profits, especially when business conditions are

depressed. This centrality may derive from their skill, knowledge and contributions they make to the managerial authority. They may also make themselves essential to the top managers through the exercise of their collective resistance. Peripheral workers are those who perform unskilled jobs with low responsibility and low status. They come from the disadvantaged sections of the society and during recessions are readily laid off. (Central and peripheral workers are clearly those who could be found in primary and secondary labour markets.)

By dividing the workers into the two categories, and employing separate control strategies for each category; i.e. responsible autonomy for central workers and direct control for peripheral ones, top managers can choose between the two strategies, depending on the market conditions and technological requirements without facing resistance or difficulties.

#### **4. Political economy perspective - an overall view**

The main objection to the researchers writing in this perspective is on the basis of their de-emphasis of national and cultural differences and their implications for work organizations in spite of the similarities in political and economic supra structures. Friedman, Dore, Harbison and Myers and many others who drew one's attention to the importance of economic and political institutions, such as capitalism, industrialization, trade unions and the like are correct in emphasizing the crucial role these play in shaping organizations'



structure and policies, but their assumptions have to be qualified on at least two grounds.

First, these institutions, contrary to what is implied in their arguments, are not something **beside** culture but an integrated **part** of the culture of the society concerned. Take industrialization, for example. If Weber's (1930) thesis that the 'Protestant ethic' was the underlying drive for capitalism and indeed, Industrial Revolution, in mid-eighteenth century in England holds true, this revolution could not have started in any better place than England. According to Weber, Protestantism encourages individualism, and individual success, including economic success, in life is considered as a part of a person's religious duties towards his/her Lord. It is true that Protestantism originated in Germany, but it was the English of the Industrial Revolution era who, as an individualistic people (Macfarlane, 1978), had the 'necessary' predispositions to accommodate the new religion. (See also Chapter 6 for further details.) So, probably it was not by some accident of the history that the English were the first nation to industrialize. Further implications of this, including Dore's (1973) early starter syndrome, would naturally follow. One could also argue for the cultural and historical origins of the labour movement and recognition of trade unions, democracy, authoritarianism, socialism, capitalism, and so on. They all, in most part, are created by the cultural values and beliefs of the peoples concerned and, in turn, reinforce and perpetuate these values and beliefs. However, one could also point out the non-cultural factors which may contribute to these social phenomena. For instance, availability of

cheap raw materials (coming from the British Empire's colonies) in the eighteenth century may have as much facilitated the Industrial Revolution in England as the cultural characteristics of the English.

Second, these institutions, although similar in name, have a strong local cultural flavour even when they are not originated locally and are imported from an outside culture. Advocates of the political-economy perspective argue that structural factors of a socio-economic nature generate more fundamental differences, and that so-called 'cultural' differences have effect only on how relationships are displayed, and on the forms of behaviour and expression, not on the relationships and behaviour per se. However, an examination of, for instance, the trade union movement in Britain, France, and United States whose economic system is similar (capitalism) shows that there are fundamental differences, in terms of ideology and approach, between them which are explainable more by their nations' cultural characteristics than economic system (see Jamieson, 1980 for a comparison of American and British trade union movements, and Gallie, 1978 for a comparison between British and French trade unions). The cultural and local differences in what appears to be the same in ideological terms have caused different types of, for example, socialism in China, Russia, Albania, Yugoslavia and Cuba; and different types of capitalism in Britain, India, Saudi Arabia and Nigeria. It would be, therefore, incorrect to assume that work organizations operating under these very different systems with similar labels would have similar management practices or respond to their environments in similar ways.

### **iii. Cultural perspective**

Keessing (1974) has distinguished between those theories in anthropology which treat cultures as 'ideational systems' and those which treat them as 'adaptive systems'. Ideational theories look upon cultures as sets of ideas, values, shared symbols and meanings. The adaptive structure tradition regards cultures as total ways-of-life whereby communities have survived and adapted in their ecological settings. This tradition draws attention to the expression of culture in the forms taken by artifacts and institutions. It assumes (1) that cultures are systems of socially transmitted behaviour patterns, (2) that these systems include technologies, and modes of economic, social and political organization, and (3) that technology, economy and the social organizations directly tied to production represent the areas of culture most central for adaptation. Whereas the ideational tradition tends to see ideas having a significant influence on social life and structures, the adaptive tradition tends to regard ideas as derived or secondary.

This contrast between ideational and adaptive traditions is reflected within the cultural perspective on cross-national organizational studies. One approach within this perspective focusses on the ideas, values and meanings shared by organizational members in particular societies, and like Kroeber and Parsons (1958), its adherents prefer to distinguish this ideational sphere from the issue of how social action is cultured through the medium of institutions. Following Keessing,



Child and Tayeb (1983) called this first approach 'ideational', and contrasted it with an 'institutional' concern with how the nature of organizations might reflect institutional features of the country in which they are located. Ideationalists have generally directed their attention to the attitudes and values expressed by organizational members, while institutionalists in the limited amount of research they have conducted so far have concentrated upon structural aspects within organizations, such as the division of labour, career, status and reward structures. While in principle, both approaches retain the holistic view of cultures inherited from anthropology, in practice they have selected a limited range of ideational 'dimensions' or particular institutional sectors for purposes of cross-national comparison (Child and Tayeb, 1983, p. 42).

Advocates of the culturalist perspective among students of organizations, although placing different emphasis on different aspects of organizations, have sought either to analyze the underlying values which shape organizations as they are, or to attribute organizational characteristics to 'culture' where they did not find any significant relationship between organizations and their environmental and 'non-cultural' contexts. Among the researchers advocating this perspective three groups can be identified. Those who consider culture as one of the contingency factors to which the organization has to respond (Roberts, 1970). There are some researchers who assume a more thorough role for culture and concentrate mainly on values, attitudes and ideas of the people concerned - the ideationalists (Crozier, 1964; Hofstede, 1980, Sorge, 1980). Finally,

there are those who view culture through certain societal institutions which in turn have bearings on organizations operating within the society of which all are parts - the institutionalists (Brossard and Maurice, 1976; Maurice et al., 1980).

To treat 'culture' as a 'contingency', as the first group mentioned above do, is objectionable because contingency factors, in the sense discussed by contingency theorists, are factors 'in' and 'around' the organization which stimulate and cause the organization's managers' behaviour and response, and which are entities, as it were, 'outside' the managers. But culture, in the sense of values and attitudes, is not something 'out there' to be responded to. It underlies the managers' behaviour, consciously or unconsciously. It does not stimulate or provoke the managers from 'without'. It is an entity, 'within' the managers. Cultural values and attitudes appear in the 'scene' to influence or even determine the managers' response to the contingencies which are in and around their organization (Tayeb, 1979). Culture may be looked upon as a contingency factor, for example, by subsidiaries of multinational corporations in a country other than their own. In this case, the cultural values and attitudes of the people (and the subsidiaries' employees) of the host country are 'outside' contingencies, which managers from home should take into account when they make various decisions.

The following sub-sections discuss in some detail salient studies carried out within the ideational and institutional strands of cultural perspectives.

## **1. Ideational strand**

De Bettignies in his study on Japanese organizations reported that cultural characteristics of Japanese people rooted in their history and family structure are manifested in their organizational behaviour. He argued that these deeply-rooted values influence organizational relationships in the forms of (1) a strong sense of group or community, (2) a strong sense of obligation and gratitude, (3) a strong sense of 'we' versus 'they', (4) an underlying emotionality and excitability which is controlled by a somewhat compulsive attention to details, plans and rules, (5) a willingness to work hard and to persevere toward long range goals, (6) a total devotion to boss, (7) an emphasis on self-effacement and a tendency to attribute responsibilities to others rather than taking responsibility for one's own actions, and (8) a strong belief that competence comes automatically with seniority (De Bettignies, 1973).

Ouchi compared American and Japanese organizations and found that they strongly contrasted with respect to certain characteristics that, in his view, are crucial for effectiveness of organizations. The Japanese organizations are generally characterized by lifetime employment, slow evaluation and promotion, non-specialized career paths, implicit control mechanisms, collective decision making, collective responsibility, and holistic concern; the American organizations are characterized by the opposite of these. He then proposed a model of successful organization which he called 'theory Z'



organization and suggested to be adopted by managers of American organizations (Ouchi and Jaeger 1978; Ouchi and Price, 1978; Ouchi and Johnson, 1978; Ouchi, 1981).

However, the heavily culturalist interpretation of Japanese management practice, advanced by writers such as De Bettignies and Ouchi, has been disputed (Child and Tayeb, 1983). For instance, Japan's so-called 'lifetime employment' system was first identified for western readers by Abegglen (1958) who regarded it as a near-absolute moral commitment that was culturally inspired by the ideals of earlier feudal eras. Subsequent investigation, while not necessarily denying the element of cultural continuity, tends towards the conclusion that lifetime employment was instituted by large oligopolistic firms between approximately 1910 and 1930 in the light of political economy factors. In a period of growing labour militancy and high labour turnover, oligopolistic firms could attempt to secure labour commitment through offering job security and regular progression up a pay hierarchy because they were in a position to protect themselves from the risk of shouldering this overhead in times of poor trade by exporting any adjustment of employment levels to large numbers of small highly dependent external sub-contractors (Littler, 1982, 1983). The important point, as Child and Tayeb (1983) state, is that this dual labour market policy is comparable to that pursued by oligopolistic firms in many other countries including the United States (Loveridge and Mok, 1979; Isamu, 1981). It has also been argued that the desire of workers to remain with a single employer offering favourable conditions is not a

particularly Japanese cultural characteristic either (Marsh and Mannari, 1976).

A number of investigations have also been conducted with respect to more specific characteristics of organizational structure, such as authority relationships and patterns of power.

Kakar (1971a) reported that paternal type of superior-subordinate relationships, especially in the form of assertive superior behaviour, dominates the authority relations in Indian organizations. He argued that this pattern is related to socio-cultural factors in Indian traditions as well as to the hierarchical development of modern work organizations in India. He concluded these authority relationships were dysfunctional. Meade (1967) obtained similar data about traditional authority patterns in Indian organizations, but he concluded that these patterns were functional.

Graves (1972) compared data from a small sample of managers within two subsidiaries of a multinational corporation in Britain and France (one in each country). In spite of the common corporation sub-culture, the attitudes and communication patterns of managers differed sharply. In Britain, the organization tended to be held together by ties of personal and general loyalty. The French managers tended to have a clear conception of role authority: they either accepted authority absolutely or rejected it entirely, depending on its legitimacy. Graves' findings are compatible with Crozier's (1964).

One of the recent studies on the issue of influence of cultural values on structure at an international comparative level has been conducted by Hofstede. In his investigations in subsidiaries of a multinational company in thirty nine countries, he discerned certain cultural values which he maintained are conceptually related to organizational structure.

Borrowing from Pugh et al. (1968), he identified two main dimensions of organizational structure; i.e. 'structuring of activities' (which includes specialization, standardization, and formalization) and 'concentration of authority' (which includes centralization). He argued that it should be possible to find cultural dimensions (on which countries differ) related to these structural dimensions.

'Power distance' is conceptually related to 'concentration of authority'. It indicates the extent to which a society accepts that power in institutions and organizations is distributed unequally. This is reflected just as much in the values of the less powerful members of society as in the values of the more powerful ones. Some national and regional cultures are characterized by large inequality; power is concentrated in the hands of small and permanent elites; organizations tend to be centralized with tall hierarchical pyramids; and upward communication is restricted. Some national and regional cultures are characterized by smaller inequality; more social mobility; less concentration of power in the hands of a small elite; decentralized organizations with flatter hierarchies; and relatively



free upward communication (1976<sup>a</sup>, 1977<sup>a</sup>, 1978<sup>a</sup>, 1978<sup>b</sup>, 1980, 1981).

'Uncertainty avoidance' is conceptually related to 'structuring of activities' and indicates the lack of tolerance in a society for uncertainty and ambiguity, which expresses itself in higher levels of anxiety and energy release, greater need for formal rules and absolute truth, and less tolerance for people or groups with deviant ideas or behaviours. Some cultures represent higher levels of activity and personal energy. The more active cultures tend to apply more formalization, specialization, and standardization in their organizations. They put a higher value on uniformity and are less tolerant of, and interested in, deviant ideas. They tend to avoid risky decisions. The less active cultures attach less importance to formal rules and specialization; they are not interested in uniformity and are able to tolerate a large variety of different ideas. They more easily take risks in personal decisions (1976<sup>b</sup>; 1977<sup>b</sup>, 1978<sup>a</sup>, 1978<sup>b</sup>, 1980, 1981).

The third dimension is 'individualism-collectivism'. Individualism refers to a loosely knit social framework in society in which people are supposed to take care of themselves and of their immediate families only; and collectivism to one in which they can expect their relatives, clan, or organization to look after them. More collectivist societies call for greater emotional dependence of members on their organizations; in a society in equilibrium, the organizations in turn assume a broad responsibility for their members. Using Etzioni's (1975) model, Hofstede argues that 'moral' involvement with the

organization can be assumed to exist in the society where collectivist values prevail, and more 'calculative' involvement where individualistic values prevail (1978a, 1980).

The fourth dimension along which cultures can be shown to differ systematically is 'masculinity-femininity'. The predominant socialization pattern in almost all societies is for men to be more assertive and for women to be more nurturing. Various data on the importance of work goals show near consistency on men scoring advancement and earnings as more important; women quality of life and people. With respect to work goals some societies are nearer the masculinity end of masculinity-femininity dimension, others nearer the femininity end (1978a, 1980).

The four dimensions deal with some of the basic problems of humanity with which every society must cope: inequality, anxiety and uncertainty, the relationship between person and family and society, and role distribution between men and women. The existence of differences on the corresponding four indices, even among countries on equal levels of development, shows that there is not one single uniform answer of human societies for each of these basic problems (Hofstede, 1980).

Hofstede, although he made a major contribution to the study of organizations within a culturalist approach, did not empirically investigate the relationships between the four dimensions of work-related attitudes and values and the structure of the

organizations whose managers participated in his study. The relationships are conceptual and speculative. He arrived at his conclusions about the overwhelming influence of cultural factors on organizational structure on the basis of these speculations rather than 'hard' evidence. Further research is needed to explore the extent of the accuracy of his speculations and conclusions.

## **2. Institutional strand**

Crozier (1964) attributed certain dysfunctions of the French bureaucracy to some cultural characteristics of French people which he argued were created and reinforced by various French social institutions, especially educational system.

Four basic elements appear to be essential to the stability of the vicious circle that characterizes French organizations. These are (1) the extent of the development of impersonal rules; (2) the unusual amount of centralization; (3) the isolation of different strata; and (4) the development of parallel power relationship. These characteristics, he argued, are rather well-established French cultural traits (Crozier, 1964, 1973). Another characteristic that Crozier attributed to French people, and argued that influences interpersonal relationships in French organizations, is 'fear of face-to-face relationships'. In a study with Thoenig, Crozier found that in the French system of local government and bureaucratic action, a compromise cannot be negotiated directly by the parties immediately involved. It is brought about through intervention of a third party, an external actor, an





individual who does not belong to any of the groups to which the parties belong (Crozier and Thoenig, 1976).

Sorge and Warner (1980, 1981) found marked differences between the West German and British factories that they studied with respect to shape of organizations, functional differentiation and integration mechanisms, basic features of industrial systems, and process of education and training. They attributed these differences to what they called 'distinct national technical culture'.

Brossard and Maurice posited a 'societal effect approach' for studying organizations. This is an extension of organizational research into the interaction of people at work, work characteristics of jobs, system of recruitment, education and training, remuneration and industrial relations. All these are considered as phenomena constituted in a society. The approach explores different courses of actions towards similar goals (such as running a factory within a certain task environment), conditions under which different solutions to similar challenges are chosen by the actors, and how these solutions and actions are influenced by the societal fabric in which the actors operate (Brossard and Maurice, 1976).

Working within a 'societal effect' framework, Maurice, Sorge, and Warner (1980), compared closely matched factories in France, West Germany, and Great Britain and remarked that organizational processes of differentiation and integration consistently interact with processes of educating, training, recruiting, and promoting manpower,

so that both develop within an institutional logic that is particular to a society, and bring about nationally different shapes of organizations.

Gallie (1978) studied the attitudes of workers in four oil refineries belonging to a multinational corporation, two situated in Britain and two in France. The refineries were matched for technology and size, and all had a low level of labour turnover. He found substantial contrasts in the attitudes of employees and their relations with management. In Gallie's view, the key to understanding the differences between British and French workers' attitudes and degree of integration into a company lies in the factors which are nationally specific:

1) the prevailing style and ideology of management in France is paternalistic and insistent on the preservation of managerial prerogatives,

2) the distribution of power within social institutions which is less diffused in France and which thus encourages a hostile and alienated attitude among employees, and

3) the ideology and mode of the trade union movement in each country. The major unions in Britain are closely linked to the organs of parliamentary government and do not see industrial action as a necessary medium for political change, while in France unions do to a great extent.

Jamieson (1980) studied structural characteristics and attitudes of managers in five British companies closely matched with six American subsidiaries operating in Britain. He found differences between the structural characteristics of the two groups of companies and also significant differences between the attitudes held by their managers. American companies reflected the more open culture of American society, tended to give more importance to the human factor, took more care in selection and appraisal of managers and training of personnel officers, made greater use of techniques of managerial control, and were more informal, more employee centred and less status conscious than their British counterparts. For the American companies, the crucial area was marketing, and for the British ones, production. Jamieson concluded that, given the findings of the study, it was not clear whether culture or economic conditions were more important in determining structural characteristics and managerial attitudes of the two samples. However, he suggested that although culture is a crucial factor, the role of economic conditions is equally great.

### **3. Cultural perspective - an overall view**

The major strength of the cultural perspective as a whole is its recognition of (1) the important role that cultural values of different societies play in shaping the values, attitudes and behaviour of individual members of those societies (including organizations' members); (2) the fact that these cultural values are different from one people to another; and (3) the differences in various peoples'



behaviours in similar circumstances because of the differences in their underlying values and attitudes.

However, this approach has its drawbacks too. First, many of the earlier studies conducted within this framework suffer from methodological inadequacies. Although they claim to have investigated the influence of culture on organizations, they have not made any effort actually to study the cultural settings of the organizations concerned. Instead, when they failed to attribute the observed differences between organizations in two or more countries to non-cultural variables, they offered culture as an explanation for those differences. As Child (1981) points out, they treated culture as "a residual factor which is presumed to account for national variations that have neither been postulated before the research nor explained after its completion" (p. 306).

Second, no effort has been made to disentangle organizations' own culture from the culture of the society within which they operate. This, as Evan (1975) points out, limits the extent to which one can claim the variations found in comparative studies are due to societal culture, because it could be due to organizational sub-culture. A major exception to be noted here is Hofstede's (1980) study which was conducted in subsidiaries of a multinational corporation in thirty nine countries, and in which organizational sub-culture was therefore held constant.

Third, there is a marked lack of systematic study of the cultural

values of the people concerned through both an investigation into the historical development of those values and an independent survey of the values of a sample of ordinary people outside the organizations which are to be studied, and those of a sample of the employees of the organizations, in order to examine the coherence between the cultural values and the organizationally-relevant attitudes and values of the people involved. Terry's (1979) study of English culture and values held by English managers has to some extent paid attention to this point. However, he used literature and findings of empirical surveys conducted by other researchers (notably, Gorer's, 1955) on English culture as his source material to establish cultural traits present in the English.

Fourth, there is a relative lack of reported studies that have attempted to examine the relationship between specific culturally-influenced work-related values and specific structural variables (except Hofstede, 1980, to some extent).

Fifth, many studies engaged in cross-cultural research have treated heterogeneous cultures as unified and homogeneous simply because they coexist within politically determined national boundaries. Take Britain for example. It consists of four major distinct cultural peoples; i.e. the English, the Irish, the Scottish, and the Welsh. Besides, there are many more small immigrant minorities who, along with the major groups, staff, run and own so-called British organizations. How is one to know, for instance, that the "British" organization which is compared with, say, an Indian company, is not

in fact staffed largely by the immigrants from the Sub-continent? Considerations such as this set limits to the validity of any generalization based on comparison between British (or any other heterogeneous culture for that matter) with other country(-ies).

Sixth, culturalists tend to over-emphasize the role of culture on organizational forms and policies to the neglect of the importance of the commercial, 'non-cultural' environment which surrounds the organization and imposes **its** own demands and 'imperatives' on the organization. As Caves (1980) points out, it is important for the organization to respond to its environment if it is to be viable. It is a gross mistake, committed by many of the culturalist researchers, to assume that an organization is shaped by the cultural values of its members alone, and that the economic and 'task' environment does not play any significant role in it.

### **III. The present study and the three perspectives**

The studies carried out within the three perspectives, as was noted earlier, make valuable contributions to one's understanding of organizations, and they should be recognized accordingly. And, also, rather than claiming primacy for one perspective, consideration of all the three is warranted:

The contingency perspective suggests that factors such as technology, size, industry and environmental uncertainty play a crucial role in shaping organizational structure and behaviour. Although the studies



which concentrated on contingencies-structure relationships arrived at contradictory conclusions, many of these contradictions appear to have been arisen by inconsistencies and inadequacies in the research methodologies employed, rather than the 'true' nature of the relationships between contingency factors and organizational structure. These relationships cannot, therefore, be ruled out or accepted without further examination. The present author, having learned from the experiences of other researchers, regards the present study as an opportunity to make yet another attempt to explore, in a cross-national setting, the likely impact of contingency factors on organizations. As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4, a sample of business organizations were selected in India and England which were matched in pairs across the two countries on contingency and contextual factors, and the data provide an opportunity to examine the relationships between various structural dimensions and contingency/contextual factors.

Very little attention has in the past been paid to the implications of political economy factors, such as economic system, labour movement, political regime and other national institutions, for organizations, especially in cross-national comparative studies. My own experience both as a manager and a student of management and organization in a country (Iran) with political economic institutions totally different from those in the western countries, has led me to believe that these institutions and their priorities have significant implications for organizations in terms of objectives, market share, competition, pricing policies, marketing and other strategic planning, recruitment

policies, employee-management relationships and trade union movement. The present study is intended to examine the role of political-economic institutions in influencing organizational structures and management systems in two other countries; i.e. England and India. However, for practical reasons to be explained in Chapter 4, the influence of these institutions on organizations are studied indirectly.

Studies conducted within the cultural perspective have been successful in drawing attention to the significance of cultural institutions in shaping organizational structures and systems; some, though, over-emphasized this significance. The conclusions arrived at by the researchers vary from a complete denial of the influence of culture to its over-arching role in determining structure. However, as was noted previously, the methodological inadequacies employed in most of these studies make it unwarranted to accept or reject the influence of culture on organizations without a more comprehensive study of the subject. The present study intends to overcome some of the inadequacies mentioned earlier by (i) hypothesizing the likely links between certain culturally-influenced work-related attitudes and values and specific aspects of organizational structure and systems, (ii) studying cultural characteristics of English and Indian peoples, (iii) studying the work-related attitudes of a sample of organizational members in the two countries, and (iv) studying organizational structures and systems of a carefully matched sample of business organizations in India and England, in an attempt to examine the degree to which there is a coherence between English and Indian

cultures and the organizations operating within them.



# CHAPTER 3

## Hypothetical Process of Influence of Culture on Organizational Structure and Systems

### Introduction

The previous chapter discussed and evaluated arguments concerning the implications of various factors in and around organizations for their structure and management systems. The present chapter, following the main objectives of the study, hypothesizes about the likely influence of cultural factors on such issues. The chapter is divided into two main parts. Part one presents the author's definitions of the concepts which are central to the present study. Part two suggests links between certain cultural variables and specific aspects of organizational structure and systems.

### I. Definitions and stances

The concepts which are most central to the present study are culture and organizational structure (including control systems). These concepts have aroused controversy and confusion among various scholars (mainly because of conflicting perspectives) as to their precise meaning. For instance, Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) cited 164 different definitions of culture. Mintzberg (1979) recalls that after reading over 200 books and articles for the first draft of the

Structuring of Organizations: "I was not really sure what structure was. I found myself groping for a frame of reference" (p. 13).

In the light of these controversies and disagreements, the present author decided to develop her own definitions with three criteria in mind: (i) the definitions should give the reader an idea about my understanding of the concepts; (ii) they ensure that the reader and I will have same definitions in mind wherever in the thesis we encounter these concepts; and (iii) they can be related to the hypotheses of the study in a straightforward manner.

#### 1. Culture and its scope

There are two major approaches to the study of culture in the field of organizational theory within culturalist perspective. One in which culture is viewed as an environmental contingency which the designers of organizational structure should take into account and the researchers are accused of neglecting it as such (Roberts, 1970). A second mode is to treat culture as an all-encompassing, 'catch-all' entity which determines all aspects of economic and non-economic life of members of a society (Sorge, 1982). The present author subscribes to the view that culture may be considered as a contingency so far as managers have to take into account the cultural attitudes and values of their employees and others affected by their organizations such as customers. But it is not a contingency when one considers culture as a factor which influences managers' own attitudes and behaviour within their workplace.

A distinction has been made between 'subjective' culture - "a cultural group's characteristic way of perceiving the man-made part of its environment" - and its expression in 'objective' artifacts (Triandis, 1972, p. 4). Sources of culture may be solely family and religious beliefs and practices and later socialization processes as in primitive communities (**ideational**), or these may be complemented by what Child and Tayeb (1983) referred to as **institutional** whereby formal education, socio-political and economic system, mass media and the like play a significant part in building up and reinforcing values and attitudes of the members of (notably more advanced) societies. In the former type of culture, as in many African countries which are in effect an arbitrarily brought-together group of tribes, the national culture is a heterogeneous one. In the latter type, thanks to the improvements in transport systems and other means of mass communication and the development of shared supra-community institutions, such as education and political regime, the national culture tends to be more homogeneous.

The present study focuses on 'subjective' culture of both an ideational and institutional nature, and its influence on organizational structure. Culture therefore is employed here, unless otherwise specified, in its broader sense to include both institutional and ideational aspects.

- i. Culture is defined as historically evolved set of learned values and attitudes and 'meanings' shared by the members of a given community which influence their material and non-material way



of life. This community can be an ethnic group, a public school, a business organization, a country, a group of countries, and so forth.

- ii. Members of these communities learn these shared characteristics through the different stages of the socialization process of their lives in institutions such as family, religion, formal education, and the society as a whole.
- iii. Not all the individuals who live in, and are members of, these communities need necessarily be assumed to follow all the directives of their culture in every aspect of their lives. In other words, there are individual variations within a given culture. This is so because an individual's values and attitudes are based on his perceptions of, and preferences for, the cultural norms of the society. These perceptions and preferences are influenced by certain characteristics unique to him - personality for instance - and his own 'way of life'. It is argued that to the extent a person's behaviour is influenced by the values and attitudes which he shares with other members of his community, his behaviour resembles that of others in that community. To the extent that his behaviour is influenced by values and attitudes unique to him, his behaviour deviates from that of other members of his society.
- iv. One can label the shared values and attitudes and their consequent behaviours as a **social pattern** of values, attitudes

and behaviour which is influenced by the dominant culture, and the individual values and behaviour as **individual variations**.

- v. In a cross-national study such as this, what is important to note is that the general pattern or dominant culture is a **recognizable whole** which may differ from another recognizable whole in another community in significant way(s).
- vi. The differences that exist between cultures are of degree rather than kind, and cultural values and attitudes can be considered in terms of dimensions placed on continua ranging from low to high. For instance, sexual discrimination against women is a socio-cultural dimension common to almost all parts of the world. However, the degree of this social inequality may vary from one part of the world to another, or lip-service may be paid by men to women's equal rights in some countries more than others.
- vii. There are many dimensions along which the culture of a given people differ from that of another people. Those which have received considerable attention from scholars are: need for achievement (McClelland, 1961); need for power (McClelland, 1975); need for extension (Pareek, 1968); power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism versus collectivism, and masculinity versus femininity (Hofstede, 1980); Appolonian versus Dionysian expression of emotion, pragmatism versus ideologism, associativeness versus abstractiveness (Glenn, 1981);

universalism versus particularism, affectivity versus affective neutrality, specificity versus diffuseness, ascription versus achievement, and self-orientation versus collectivity-orientation (Parsons and Shils, 1951); beliefs about human nature, relation of man to nature, orientation in time, mode of activity, and relationships among people (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961); familism, ingroup versus outgroup definitions (Triandis, 1981; Hofstede, 1980, Chapter 5); and other characteristics such as attitudes towards age, sex, social class, race and so forth.

- viii. Culture is both creator of and created by the people in a given community who serve at the same time as the medium of its transmission from one generation to next one.
- ix. Although the role of culture and its scope in shaping a person's way of life is emphasized here, it is not believed that the person is powerless to break away from his cultural bounds. But this may be possible only if:
  - a. The person is exposed to a different way of life from that of his community.
  - b. That he is convinced that this 'other' way of life is better than his own. In other words, it serves his interests better than the first one.
  - c. That his new values and his consequent deviant behaviour do not arouse opposition and disapproval of those whose approval matters to him.
  - d. That these new values and behaviours are encouraged by



other members of his community or at least those whose encouragement matters to him.

e. Even then, the individual is likely to retain most of his original cultural characteristics, as one can observe among immigrants and other ethnic groups in a country. Perhaps as Bertrand Russell put it, the instinct of conventionality, the horror of uncertainty, and vested interests, all militates against the acceptance of new ideas (Political Ideas, 1925).

- x. Every social phenomenon is the outcome of a chain of cause-effect processes and relationships which take place among a given cultural group over a period of time. Unless all of these processes and relationships take place in exactly the same way and manner among another cultural group, the social phenomenon in question will not occur anywhere else with the same characteristics. When social institutions such as democracy, industrialization, capitalism, trades unions and the like are adopted from outside the community, they lose much of their original characteristics and take on a form more compatible with the cultural atmosphere of the receiving community, or are even in some cases rejected. Democracy, for example, was born and flourished in West especially in England and United States (Paine, 1915; Montesquieu, 1949; Moore, 1969). In many countries, such as Iran it was never adopted (Halliday, 1979). In some British ex-colonies like India it was adopted, partly as a colonial legacy, but it was never the same as in the colonizing country (Segal, 1971). Among

Western democracies, too, such as France, United States, West Germany and Britain, there are considerable differences in their respective democratic machineries and the way they function (Finer, 1970).

## 2. Organization structure

- i. The decision making process is viewed as the skeleton of an organization on which the rest of its parts are placed. An organization comes into being when a person, or a group of persons, **decides** to achieve a goal(s) in collaboration with one or more persons. **Decisions** are then made on ways and means these goals are achieved. Subsequent activities of the organization, such as expansion, contraction, determining market territory, labour relations and hundreds of issues related to the day-to-day life of an organization, are all based on **decisions** which are made one way or another. The death of the organization is again the outcome of a **decision**.
- ii. Organizational structure, therefore, is regarded as a framework for decision-making and decision-implementation. An understanding of structure therefore requires reference not only to dimensions such as centralization, formalization, specialization, and standardization (Pugh et al., 1968), but also to the processes which lie behind these dimensions. These organizational processes are power and authority relationships; uncertainty, ambiguity, and risk taking; reliability, trust and

honesty; dedication, loyalty and commitment; motivation, reward and inducement; control and discipline; coordination and integration; communication, consultation and participation.

- iii. Organizations must therefore be looked at from two complementary aspects: (1) their **structural** characteristics such as centralization, specialization, communication channels and the like (the 'hard' aspect); (2) their **members' attitudes and behaviour** and the actual 'processual', 'informal', organization, that is, what actually goes on in a regular manner (the 'soft' aspect). An example can clarify this point. A high degree of centralization, taken by its own, means nothing other than that many decisions are taken by a few people at the top. It does not reflect the amount of consultation and information exchange that takes place before decisions are made. The degree to which consultation and information sharing occur could be an outcome of managers' philosophy, their trust in subordinates, and employees' ability and willingness to participate in decisions making. Neither does centralization reflect how much power the actors involved actually have. Decisions taken by senior managers may well have been influenced by those who do not hold any formal power but, because of, say, their expertise, can actually exert a great deal of pressure and control on decision makers.
- v. Organizational members can be divided into two groups: the strategic decision makers, or what Child (1972<sup>b</sup>) and some



other writers call 'dominant coalition', and Hofstede (1978<sup>b</sup>) refers to as 'organizational elite'; and the ordinary members.

- vi. The strategic decision makers, depending on the societal and cultural norms of the community of which the organization is a part, may be a few at what Mintzberg (1979) calls 'the strategic apex', or many up and down the hierarchy. These decision makers manage the organization, its members, and its environment through negotiation, manipulation, adaptation and enactment.
- vii. The choice of structural design of organization is the outcome of not only decisions made by the strategic decision makers (which are based on their perception of the situation, their preferences and 'tastes' and precedents), but also by other members of the organization in terms of acceptance of or resistance to these decisions.
- viii. The strategic decision makers' perceptions and preferences are influenced by:
  - a. their values and attitudes which are, in turn, influenced by their cultural, educational, and professional background and experience;
  - b. their subordinates' abilities, intentions and commitment; and
  - c. their organization's environment (in its broad sense) and its demands.

- ix. Following Sorge (1982), it is believed that organizations are not entities separate from their cultural setting, in that there is a 'systematic coherence' between the way of life within the organization and without it, especially with regard to such issues as power and authority relationships, trust, commitment and the like. However, as Chapter 2 argued, culture is not likely to be the only factor shaping organization structure. Non-cultural factors are also expected to have significant influence.
  
- x. There might be some organizations whose 'way of life' differs or deviates from that of their surrounding culture, but, as in the case of individual members of a society, a **general pattern** of an organization's way of life can be recognized in a society which may be distinguishable from that of another society in significant way(s), such as Ouchi's (1981) 'type J' (Japanese) organizations and 'type A' (American) organizations which are different from one another in fundamental ways. These are stereotypes or 'ideal types' which do not necessarily apply to all organizations within their respective countries. But it is possible that they may capture the **tendency** within those countries: a hypothesis central to this thesis.

## II. Organizations and cultures

As was mentioned earlier, an organization can be looked at from two

different angles: their formal structural dimensions, and their members. These two aspects are so interrelated that it would be meaningless to talk about one without discussing the other. In the analyses that follow, different properties of organizational structure will be discussed with regard to their interactions with the organizational members who inevitably carry with them their cultural values. The discussion is, at this stage, speculative and hypothetical and will be put to an empirical test later.

Organizational structure refers basically to decision formulation and decision implementation structures. Decision making involves power and authority relationship; coping with ambiguity and uncertainty; dedication and commitment; motivation; reliability and trust; control; reward and punishment; and communication. Decision making systems in an organization are intended, in effect, to coordinate and integrate these factors and to ensure that the decisions, once taken, are carried out accordingly. The following sub-sections attempt to relate these issues to cultural values of the members on one hand, and to the organizational structure on the other.

#### 1. Power and authority relationships

The kind of relationship with which this section is concerned is that between subordinate and superior. The power distance between a superior and a subordinate in a hierarchy is the difference between the extent to which the superior can determine the behaviour of the subordinate and the extent to which the subordinate can determine



the behaviour of a superior (Hofstede, 1976<sup>a</sup>, p. 3).

The actual power distance between two people is claimed to be influenced by cultural norms and role patterns as well as non-cultural factors such as social status, organizational positions, expertise, education, and access to resources. Since the present section is concerned with the cultural determinants of power, only these are dealt with in detail here.

Roles are some definite sets or complexes of customary ways of doing things, organized about a particular problem or designed to attain a given target. Decision making in this context can be viewed as role taking to achieve the goal which the decision maker has in mind. In a work organization, where people contribute to the achievement of organizational goals collectively, naturally a decision-making situation consists of more than one participant, each one playing his role to achieve the 'end' of that particular situation.

In a decision-making situation involving, at least, a superior and his subordinate, whether one makes the decisions and the other obeys him, and which one is the decision maker and which one is the obedient; or whether both participate in the decision-making process equally; or some combination of these two cases, depends to some extent on the generally-held superior-subordinate role pattern in the society of which the actors are members.

A study of the social history and customary role patterns of a

society will give one an idea of the status ordering of that society's members and the roles they are expected to play in different situations. These customary role patterns are built up and reinforced by social institutions, such as family, religion, education, and economic and political institutions. Child-parent, man-God, pupil-teacher, and subject-king relationships are some examples of the role-taking situations in which an individual is placed in his various capacities by his society's norms and customs.

Since different societies have different cultural norms and customs, we may expect the superior-subordinate role patterns, and, therefore, the power distance between the two actors, to be different in different societies.

Studies conducted by Hofstede (1976<sup>a</sup>, 1977<sup>a</sup>, 1980) in subsidiaries of a multinational corporation in thirty nine countries, and by the author in Iran (Tayeb, 1979) found that the power distance between superiors and subordinates in different countries was different.

Following the culturalist approach, one can logically argue that if in general the power structure in a society is such that it contributes to the 'gap' between the powerful and the powerless, and hence an 'authoritarian' mode is the prevalent pattern of power relationship between the actors involved, then organizations, too, in that society would have a relatively 'authoritarian' structure where power lies in the hands of a few, and the strategic decision makers are a small group holding senior positions. If, in general, the power structure in

a society contributes to the closeness of the powerful and the powerless, and hence a 'participative' and 'egalitarian' mode is the prevalent pattern of power relationship between the actors involved, then work organizations, too, in that society are expected to have a relatively egalitarian structure where power is diffused, and the number of strategic decision makers is relatively large and they are located up and down the formal hierarchy.

## 2. Tolerance for ambiguity

Most managerial decisions involve some degree of risk taking. The more uncertain are the conditions under which the decision is taken, the greater will be the risk involved and the greater will be the uncertainty as to the correctness of the decision and the consequences of its outcome. The degree of this uncertainty depends on the knowledge about various alternative courses of action and the consequences which follow each choice, the mental capacity of the decision maker to tackle the problem at hand (Simon, 1957; March and Simon, 1956), and the amount of information that he has about the task (Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967).

The degree of uncertainty depends also on the perception of the individual involved. Whether he perceives the decision-making situation as certain or uncertain depends further on his tolerance for ambiguity (Adorno et al., 1950; Berlyne, 1968). The more tolerant he is, the more certain will he perceive his environment. This degree of tolerance for ambiguity in turn influences the behaviour of the



individual in the face of uncertainty and also the mechanism he employs to cope with it.

An individual may have a low tolerance for ambiguity and choose to 'buffer' himself against it. This buffering shields him against uncertainty and at the same time it may make him more inexperienced and therefore vulnerable in the face of uncertainty. Conversely, an individual may have high tolerance for ambiguity and choose to face up to it and fight it. This further adds to his experience, confidence and ability to cope with uncertainty.

The roots of that passive defensive action and this aggressive 'way' of coping with uncertainty to a great extent lie in the experience of the individual through different stages in his life. This experience is expected to be influenced by collectively shared characteristics of the people among whom he has been brought up.

Empirical evidence (Fromm, 1942; Hofstede, 1977<sup>b</sup>; Tayeb, 1979) shows that tolerance for ambiguity is scattered unevenly throughout the world. Hofstede found that samples from different nations (those nations which he studied) possessed different degrees of uncertainty avoidance. He also showed that there was a significant correlation between this characteristic and the cultural values of those nations. Fromm explained Fascism and Nazism by a need to 'escape from freedom', a response to anxiety which freedom created in societies with low tolerance for such anxiety.

Organizations as decision-making structures provide numerous cases where the individuals involved have to handle uncertainty. It can be argued that in societies with low tolerance for uncertainty, organizational members will display not only this cultural tendency but also the buffering mechanism with which they can escape from uncertainty, namely authoritarianism (Fromm, 1942, pp. 121-122 and p. 141). In societies with high tolerance for ambiguity, members of an organization are assumed to have a lower fear of uncertainty and can cope better with it.

The degree of tolerance for ambiguity (freedom) is argued to be reflected in organizational structure in terms of the relative freedom offered to and tolerated by the members by 'tightening' or 'loosening' the structure. One would expect to see high formalization and standardization of rules and procedures, detailed job definitions, and a clear definition of areas of discretion and responsibility within organizations located in the cultures with low tolerance for ambiguity. In the cultures with high tolerance for ambiguity one would expect to see a low degree of formalization, standardization and job definitions within organizations.

### 3. Commitment

The concept of organizational commitment refers to a person's affective reactions to characteristics of his employing organization. It is concerned with feelings of attachment to the goals and values of the organization, one's role in relation to this, and attachment to

the organization for its own sake rather than for its strictly instrumental value (Cook and Wall, 1980).

Commitment has a significant implication for management control system. If employees' commitment to an organization is low, the management may have to enhance it by (i) adopting appropriate motivational measures, (ii) creating a 'climate' of community through house magazines, collective social and sport events, and the like, and (iii) increasing control and supervision over employees directly and indirectly.

The willingness to commit oneself to the organization and to accept responsibility and participate in decision-making process may be broken down into two components: (1) group-orientation and (2) motivation.

### 3.a. Group-orientation

It is important, though not sufficient, that the individual who is expected to contribute to the achievement of a collective purpose to have a rather high sense of co-operation. The strength of this sense of co-operation depends, it is assumed, on whether the individual is self-oriented (individualistic) or group-oriented (collectivist); and whether he sees any direct or indirect relationship and convergence between the achievement of his personal interests and the interests of the group.



If a self-oriented person belonged to a group, his commitment to the group's interests would be loose, his group would not be the centre of his loyalty, and he might be biased in his relations with the group. This is especially true if he did not perceive any convergence between his personal interests and those of the group. In this case he would not contribute, and dedicate himself, to the achievement of the group's interests and goals. He, in fact, is 'detached' from the group.

A group-oriented person has a strong feeling of belonging to the group or groups of which he is a member. Because of this sense of belongingness, he is likely to perceive a positive relationship between his personal goals and those of his group and is therefore expected to dedicate himself to, and actively participate in, the achievement of the collective interests of the group. A group-oriented person takes an interest in the group's affairs and is 'attached' to it, and his group is the centre of his loyalty.

In this connection, Hofstede (1980, Chapter 5) and Triandis (1981) have drawn attention to the concept of 'ingroup' versus 'outgroup'. The scope of 'ingroup' and domain of 'outgroup' denote the extent to which an individual is prepared to have 'close' or 'distant' relationships with others, and the extent to which others will be the object of his loyalty. In some cultures 'ingroup' consists of only family members (Iran, especially in large cities); in some others it encompasses close relations and friends (India); in yet some other cultures it includes also one's work organization (Japan).

Self-orientation and group-orientation may have their roots in the cultural characteristics of a society (see, for example, Macfarlane's (1978) account of the cultural origins of individualism in England). An individual learns in his society through the various stages of his life how to look after himself and his family at the expense of the interests of his community and vice versa. For instance, a person may be brought up to believe that the world outside the family boundary is hostile to him and is after something from him if it is nice to him (see Tayeb, 1979, for a discussion on Iranian culture as an example of this case). Distrust or trust in the benevolence of the community can build up self- or group-orientation.

### 3.b. Motivation

Employees participate in a decision-making process if they are motivated to do so (provided that, of course, they possess the required skills and knowledge about the situation at hand). One way of motivating employees to do their job 'properly', is to satisfy, or promise to satisfy, their expectations from their job. Different people expect different things from their job. Using Maslow's (1954) classification of needs, one may argue that employee expectations from work fall within five broad categories: physiological, safety or security, affection and belongingness, esteem, and self-actualization.

It is hypothesized that people from different cultural backgrounds attach different degrees of importance to the fulfilment of various

aspects of their job's content. For example, in a predominantly individualistic society employees are expected to consider independence, autonomy and privacy at work as more important compared to the employees from a predominantly collectivist society. The latter may attach more importance to belongingness.

The two components of commitment; that is, group-orientation and motivation, were discussed in the foregoing sub-sections. Following the culturalist approach, it may be assumed that the weaker the commitment to collective activities and decision making in a culture, the more organizational members are reluctant to involve themselves in the achievement of their organization's goals, the less decision-making power will be diffused, and the more external and coercive the control system that will be employed to maintain co-ordination, integration and accomplishment of the job. This would then be likely to be a self-reinforcing system.

#### 4. Trust

Trust refers to the extent to which one is willing to ascribe good intentions to, and have confidence in, the words and actions of other people (Cook and Wall, 1980). Trust, too, has significant implications for management control systems. The lower is management's trust in the employees' abilities and intentions, the more likely is it that the former will increase its direct and indirect control over the latter and the less will it delegate the decision making power to them.



It is hypothesized that if, in a culture, distrust is the 'rule of the game', the structure of work organizations in that culture is expected to be a centralized one. If in a culture trust is a prevalent characteristic, work organizations in that culture may tend to have a relatively more decentralized structure.

There are other factors besides commitment and trust which may influence management's decisions about control systems. The power of those who are affected by these systems is one such factor. There may be countervailing collective action by, say, trade unions, which attempt to negotiate over control systems. Also organizational members may have the power to mould the control rules and systems and establish informal practices. As mentioned earlier, challenge to authority and power of subordinates, of which trade unions are one manifestation, are argued to be culturally influenced phenomena which are expected to have a bearing on management practices - in this case, control systems.

## 5. Communication

Communication in an organization is maintained through either vertical or lateral channels or a combination of the two. The present study hopes to investigate the extent to which communication patterns are culture-bound. In some cultures the dominant pattern is vertical, in some others it is lateral as well as vertical. It is argued that communication patterns as a cultural trait is present in work organizations too.

Table 3.1 summarises the hypotheses stated in this chapter about the processes through which culture may influence organizational structure and systems.

Table 3.1 about here

**Table 3.1 Hypothetical process of influence of culture  
on organizational structure and systems**

Predominant cultural value	Characteristics of organizational structure
Small power distance	low centralization high consultation
Large power distance	high centralization low consultation
High tolerance for ambiguity	low centralization low structuring (low formalization, low standardization, non-specific definition of areas of discretion and responsibility, low specialization
Low tolerance for ambiguity	high centralization high structuring (high formalization, high standardization, specific definition of areas of discretion and responsibility, high specialization
High commitment	low centralization relaxed, internalized control
Low commitment	high centralization severe, external control
High trust	low centralization relaxed, internalized control
Low trust	high centralization severe, external control



## CHAPTER 4

### The Design of the Study

#### **Introduction**

The main objective of the present study is to examine the extent to which cultural characteristics of a people influence their work-related attitudes, and the structure and management systems of their work organizations. This chapter discusses the design strategy which was adopted to conduct the study and the methodology which was employed to collect the required data.

#### **I. Cross-national research strategies**

The history of the social sciences shows that two styles of scientific enquiry have attracted much attention and debate: the nomothetic - 'law-posing' - and the ideographic - 'describing the particular' (Nagel, 1961). Child and Tayeb (1983 pp. 57-63), following Galtung (1967) and Lammers (1978), discussed these two broad categories of research strategy for the cross-cultural study of organizations.

In the ideographic approach the relationships between organizations and their contexts are assumed to form configurations that are peculiar to a certain place and time - that is organizations which experience similarities in their contingencies and other task

environmental factors, but which are located in different political economies or cultural settings, or operate at different points in history, are regarded as 'birds of a different feather' (Lammers and Hickson, 1979, Sorge, 1983). The nomothetic approach, in contrast, assumes that there are generalized relationships between organizations and their contexts that transcend a particular space and time - that is organizations operating in similar task environments (albeit in different countries and at different points in time) are in fact 'brothers under the skin' (Hickson et al., 1974; Lammers and Hickson, 1979, Hickson et al, 1979).

The interpretation one has of the three theoretical perspectives discussed in Chapter 2 is of direct relevance to the selection of a research design. A purely culturalist approach can admit only to a strictly ideographic strategy, for it denies the validity of attempting any comparison among organizations across cultures, or even among organizations within one culture. Similarly, the view that cultural, contingency and political-economy variables form unique configurations in each society will also lead naturally to an ideographic perspective. At the other extreme, pure universalism, such as the technological imperative argument, in effect disregards the unique features of any organizational situation and thus gives rise to a kind of immature nomothetism in which little or no care is taken even to control for other relevant variables.

In between these extreme positions can be located the view that while cultural, contingency and political economy variables do form

different configurations and must be considered in relation to one another, it is also possible and worthwhile to examine the implications of each perspective through a mature nomothetism which proceeds through comparisons between carefully matched samples.

The authors identified three types of research design which suggest themselves for a nomothetic strategy applied to cross-national studies.

The first attempts a simultaneous assessment of salient cultural, contingency and political economy variables, and it may employ multivariate techniques to examine both the joint and separate 'effects' of these for characteristics of organizations (e.g. Budde et al., 1982).

A second design for nomothetic cross-national organizational research utilizes the principle of matching in order to maximize the variance of the variables in which the investigator has particular interest and to control the variance of other variables which may also have an influence on the features of organization under study (e.g. Gallie, 1978; Maurice et al., 1980; Hofstede, 1980; Kelly and Worthley, 1981; Ahiauzu, 1981).

A third research design remains within the nomothetic strategy but is also sensitive to the ideographic approach. This design is a practical possibility when a given contextual phenomenon can be treated as a constant across samples of organizations drawn from different countries, and where it is therefore possible to observe whether it



has any similar 'effects' within this variety of situations. The postulated relationship between the selected contextual variable and organizational phenomena is thus treated nomothetically, while the location of the organizations within their national settings is treated ideographically. This research design can only be pursued in the case of certain precisely definable contingency factors which will occur more or less identically in different countries; for example, size of organization and technological hardware. While this appears very restrictive, it may nonetheless furnish a useful way of investigating certain issues of theoretical and policy relevance such as the claim that new technology has given 'implications' for organization (see Child and Tayeb, 1983, for the discussion of advantages and limitations of these strategies).

## **II. The design of the present study**

The present study has employed the second design for nomothetic cross-national organizational research in which a sample of organizations are matched on contingency and, to some extent, political economic factors, and the influence of cultural factors on their structural features is studied. This choice was made mainly for two reasons. First, this design strategy recognizes the importance of various factors suggested by the three theoretical perspectives (Chapter 2) as having, in some respect, a bearing on organizations. Second, the matching of a sample of organizations on certain variables, makes the design practically more attractive than other nomothetic strategies. This is especially so because the present study

was to be carried out by one person, the author, and within the time limits of a doctoral programme, and it was not practically possible to design a methodology in which the influence of all the various cultural, environmental, and social factors on a sample of organizations could be studied and examined satisfactorily. The obvious course of action was to select salient factors and treat some of them as independent variables and hold others constant.

### 1. Selection criteria

The factors included in the study were selected on the following grounds (see also Chapter 2 especially section III):

- i. the emphasis and importance placed on them in previous studies carried out within contingency, political economy and cultural perspectives about their implications for organizations,
- ii. insufficient past research on the impact of some of the factors, such as political economic institutions, on organizations,
- iii. consideration of 'depth' over 'width' of the study, and
- iv. practical considerations, such as time and financial constraints and access, involved in a cross-national study of the scale which was intended, and which was to be carried out by a single self-supporting person.

Given these criteria, it was decided to include the factors presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 about here

Having decided what factors were to be examined, the next stage was to decide which ones had to be controlled for and which to be treated as independent variables. The author had a choice of either controlling for contingency and other 'external' factors and examining the effect of cultural values and attitudes on organizations, or holding cultural variables constant and observing the effects of contingency factors. The choices appeared to have equal implications in terms of access, measurements, time and financial resources, and the research objectives and interests. But since the author had already conducted a preliminary investigation into cultural influences on organizational structure in Iran, it was thought a research design favouring the examination of the cultural factors on organizations in other countries would provide an opportunity for a comparison to be made between the findings of the two studies. Therefore the decision was made in favour of the first choice.

In the light of the above discussion, the dependent and independent variables and those to be controlled for were identified as follows:

## 2. Dependent variables:

### i. work-related attitudes



**Table 4.1 Factors selected to be examined in the study**

Organizational variables	Contingency and contextual factors	Political-economic factors	Cultural factors
Centralization	Industry	Economic system	Primary and secondary social institutions: family, religion education, political regime, class structure, mass media, labour movement
Perceived autonomy	Product	Existence of trade unions	
Specialization	Technology	Industrialization	Cultural attitudes and values
Formalization	Market share		Work-related attitudes and values: attitude to power and authority tolerance for ambiguity commitment trust individualism expectations from job attitude to others attitude to control systems information sharing attitude to participation
Chief executive's span of control	Size		
Height	Age		
Communication pattern	Ownership		
Control systems	Control		
Reward and punishment policies	Status		

ii. organizational structure and management systems

3. Variables to be controlled for:

iii. contingency and contextual factors

iv. political economic factors

4. Independent variables:

v. cultural factors (ideational and institutional)

A point about the cultural aspect of the study should be made here. As was mentioned in Chapter 2, many of the studies conducted within a culturalist framework have simply held one or more contingency factors constant across two or more cultures and, without studying the cultural characteristics of the people concerned independently, have attributed the differences in the structural properties of the organizations under study to the differences in the cultures of the countries involved. Furthermore, these studies have not examined the implications of given aspects of culture for specific aspects of organizational structure.

Bearing these points in mind, the following steps were taken to conduct a study of culture:

1. Identify certain cultural values and attitudes (the independent variables) which could be theoretically related to certain aspects

of organizational structure (the dependent variables) and articulate the model of associations between these two sets of variables (Chapter 3).

2. Assess the culture of the peoples involved through (a) a study of the available literature supplemented by personal observations, and (b) administration of an independent survey of the values and attitudes of a representative sample of the populations of the countries concerned (Chapters 6 and 7).
3. Administer a second (and different) attitude survey in each of the organizations which participated in the research (Chapters 9 and 10).

Steps 2 and 3 would allow an examination of the coherence (or otherwise) between the culture of the people involved as members of a society and the work-related values and attitudes held by them as members of organizations.

The final part of the design of the study was to devise a methodology to carry out this design. The next section discusses this methodology and its implementation. It must be pointed out at this stage that my Iranian cultural background placed me in a position from which I was able to notice those aspects of Indian and English societies which may be taken for granted by the inhabitants in their own countries. It may, on the other hand, be argued that my non-English/non-Indian background decreases my sensitivity to



English/Indian cultures and leads me to misinterpreting their attitudes, values and behaviours. I tried to enhance my sensitivity and understanding through discussions with people from the two countries about my interpretations of various aspects of their societies and cultures, as well as through reading books and articles by English and Indian writers on their own societies.

### **III. The research methodology**

The field work was carried out in two countries; that is, England and India (see part three of this section for a justification of this selection), and in three independent stages in each country:

1. Information was gathered about people's cultural and social characteristics through an analysis of written source materials, observation, formal interviews, informal discussions, and administration of a brief questionnaire.
2. A work-related attitude survey questionnaire was administered to members of a sample of business organizations.
3. Information was then collected about structure and other characteristics of those organizations which participated in the second stage through a semi-structured interview programme, informal meetings and (where possible) examination of company documents.

The section is, accordingly, divided into three parts which describe

the details of the methodology employed at each stage of the fieldwork.

## **Part 1. Cultural surveys**

### 1.1. English survey

The United Kingdom consists of Wales, Northern Ireland, Scotland and England. Although people from these constituent countries share many social characteristics, they come originally from different historical and cultural backgrounds. In order to achieve some degree of homogeneity, it was decided to concentrate, both in the search of literature and in the questionnaire survey, on one of these nations only. And since the author has lived in England for most of her stay in the UK, English people were a natural choice as the subject of the study.

I commenced by reading literature on English culture and social institutions. I then carried out an unstructured and informal interview programme in which 20 people from different walks of life participated. One of the purposes of this exercise was to see how far the views expressed by writers on English culture were substantiated. The main objective, however, was to construct a secure basis for a cultural survey questionnaire.

#### a. the observations

In addition to the questionnaire survey, I had also the advantage of living in the country since 1976 as a student, first at Oxford then at Aston, which gave me ample opportunities, as both participant and non-participant observer, to learn about the English and their way of life. As a non-participant observer, I watched and listened to television and radio programmes; read systematically daily and weekly national papers and journals catering for interests of different social groups and tastes, including The Times, The Financial Times, The Guardian, New Society, The Spectator, New Statesman, and every now and again issues of The Daily Telegraph, Private Eye, Marxism Today, New Socialist, Tribune, and Militant. As a participant observer, I became actively involved in formal and informal political and social activities such as attending demonstrations, rallies and meetings, religious gatherings and debates, and even canvassing for candidates in local and national elections. I also went on organized tours and small group holidays with groups of people, had drinks in public houses with people from different walks of life; and spent time with English families at their home at such occasions as Christmas and Easter, and so forth.

#### b. the questionnaire

The survey was conducted by means of a brief questionnaire which was designed after a study of English culture and social system. The questionnaire, which is reproduced in Appendix A, was divided into



two parts. The first part contained questions devised to check the country of origin and to ascertain the occupational background of respondents. The main body of the questionnaire consisted of 35 pairs of opposing characteristics. The respondents were asked to rate English people in their own occupation rather than themselves, on a seven-point scale provided for each pair. This question was a projective one because people are likely to be more honest and frank when they describe others in terms of the characteristics included in the present study than they are when they describe themselves. Each pair of characteristics was placed in the questionnaire in such a way as to minimize unconscious response sets. For instance, if in one pair the positive characteristic was on the left end of the scale, for the next pair the negative characteristic was on the left end. Moreover, those pairs of items which were concerned with similar issues were placed at a distance from each other.

The form and the language of the questionnaire were determined after unstructured and informal interviews with some twenty men and women. Suggestions and comments on earlier drafts were also received from ten other people all from different educational and social backgrounds. The questionnaire was then piloted. Twenty copies were given to people from different background such as building stewards and cleaning women at the Aston Management Centre, students who shared a flat with me in Birmingham, doctors and nurses in a hospital situated in a small town north of England, a few skilled manual workers at a car plant at Cowley, and teachers and other members of staff at an English language school at Oxford.

Since no questions or difficulties were raised, further changes appeared to be unnecessary.

### c. the sample

England is said to be a 'class-ridden' society (Gorer, 1955; Terry, 1979), and, therefore, the sample of population whose attitudes were to be studied would have to be broadly representative of class membership. This was all the more necessary because the literature on English culture, as will be shown in Chapter 6, leads one to assume that there are some differences in the strength of the values ascribed to members of various social strata especially the middle and working classes. Further, since 'upper' middle class and the 'down and outs' form relatively very small minorities in the total population, it was decided to exclude them from the sample and concentrate on middle and working classes only. Many factors have been said to indicate the social class to which a person 'belongs', such as accent, educational background, parental background, occupation, income, housing conditions and so forth. Of these factors occupation was chosen as the basis of class differentiation, because it largely determines the level of income, and is in turn, influenced by educational and, to some extent, family background. Accent does not appear to be so much of an indication of social class because it can easily be adapted, as it may be seen among many contemporary English politicians and other public figures who are from humble working-class background but speak with an 'upper' class accent (e.g. Mr Roy Jenkins, the former leader of the Social Democratic Party).

In the 1971 general census the Registrar General classified economically active people into the following broad social classes/occupational categories: (I) higher professionals; (II) lower professionals, employers and proprietors, managers and administrators; (III N) clerical workers, foremen, supervisors, inspectors; (III M) skilled manual workers; (IV) semi-skilled manual workers; and (V) unskilled manual workers. The first three categories are non-manual occupations and the rest are manual ones (Reid, 1977).

For the purpose of drawing up a sample, the above classification was adopted, because it operationalized social background according to occupation. Non-manual workers were taken to represent middle class people and the manual workers to represent working class people.

According to the 1971 general census (which was the most recent available when this study commenced) 47 percent of the economically active population are engaged in non-manual work and 53 percent in manual occupations (Reid, 1977). It was decided to have a hundred copies of the questionnaire completed by English (as distinct from British) people whose occupations broadly represented that of the country as a whole. It was decided to aim for a sample of a hundred because of practical problems involved in distributing copies of the questionnaire in a survey of this kind which had to cover as many areas of England as possible and which in the most part was to be carried out by a single person (the author) only. Yet the size was



large enough to enable meaningful statistical analyses of the results. In order to meet the criterion of occupational representativeness of the sample, 140 copies of the questionnaire in all were distributed among people up and down the country, mainly in public places such as parks, public houses, trains, buses, streets, hospitals, hotels, universities and the like. Of the 140 copies, 40 were excluded from the sample. Some of these were completed by non-English, and some by economically inactive people. The remaining copies had been completed by middle-class people and were not needed because they were in excess of 47-copy quota assigned for this group. These latter copies were excluded from the sample at random.

The sample therefore consists of 47 non-manual workers and professionals and 53 manual workers. The composition of the manual worker section of the sample was also matched in terms of skill category with that of the national distribution - 22 skilled, 23 semi-skilled, and 8 unskilled workers.

Administration of the survey, including the pilot study, took eight months from August 1980 to February 1981.

## 1.2. Indian survey

### a. the observations

In the Indian survey, like the English one, I tried to complement the questionnaire survey with participant and non-participant observation

of the way of life of the Indians, albeit for a much shorter period of time compared with the English experience. I lived in India for just over four months from mid February to late June 1983. Table 4.2 summarizes the time I spent in the major cities of India.

**Table 4.2 Time spent in major Indian cities**

City	State	Period of stay
Bombay	Maharashtra	7 weeks
Calcutta	West Bengal	3 weeks
Delhi	Union Territory	1 week
Jaipur	Rajasthan	7 weeks

In addition to reading the relevant literature, I tried to learn about the Indians by (a) living with Indian families and 'mingling' and interacting with them in their day-to-day activities over the period of my stay in their country; (b) holding formal and informal discussions with people from various walks of life; (c) travelling to major cities and a few small towns and villages; (d) attending formal and informal parties, lunch and dinner sessions; (e) watching movies, plays, and television programmes; (f) attending new year, religious and other ritual and social functions and festivals; and (g) reading daily newspapers and periodicals representing a varied range of social and political interests. I read systematically the pro-establishment daily paper *The Times of India*, and the anti-establishment paper *Indian Express* throughout my stay in India (except three weeks spent in Calcutta). In Calcutta, I read *The Telegraph* and *The Statesman*

every day; and in Bombay, besides the first two papers mentioned above, I read The Sunday Observer, Mid-day and some issues of other newspapers, such as the one which is published by the Zoroastrian community. I also read all the issues of a two-weekly journal, India Today, published during my stay in India and about a dozen or so of the issues published in 1982. This journal is very much like New Society published in England, both in content and style, and provides the reader with a comprehensive analysis and coverage of national news and events.

I have tried to refrain from expressing my personal impression from the country and its people throughout the thesis. However, my observations and discussions, especially about familial relationships, have mainly taken place in the context provided by the people with whom I stayed and through whom I came to know others. This point should be borne in mind wherever in the thesis they are referred to. To give the reader an idea of the type of people with whom I was most closely in contact in India, the next section briefly describes their social and professional characteristics.

#### a.1. residence in India

The following are the families with whom I lived as a guest or a paying guest:

1. An elderly Zoroastrian couple; the husband a retired business man; the wife a retired teacher; who originated from a



pre-independent part of India now in Pakistan; settled in Bombay since independence; middle class with a touch of British Victorian values and outlook. They have four married children who live in Delhi, England and the United States.

This couple had a live-in male servant from Bihar with whom I had a limited verbal communication. A laundry woman and an 'untouchable' cleaning man would come to work in the house every day for an hour or so.

A second paying guest (beside myself) in this house was a young university graduate lady from Kashmir (Hindu Brahmin) brought up in Delhi, who has been working in Bombay since 1981 with a popular glossy magazine as a correspondent/reporter.

I stayed with this family on and off for 6 weeks.

2. A young educated couple; the husband was middle manager in an hotel, Hindu, originally from Goa educated in Delhi, now settled in Bombay; the wife a Zoroastrian lady, lived and worked in England for four years, originally from State of Gujarat, settled in Bombay.

They had a non live-in female Gujarati servant with whom I had a very limited verbal communication.

I stayed with this couple for one week. But I was in close daily

contact with them whenever I was in Bombay, and through them I met a lot of people. I knew this couple through my other Indian friends.

3. A West Bengali Hindu (Kshatriya) couple and their son; the husband a retired senior government official, educated at a British university; the son a senior manager at one of the largest Indian banks, has studied at Oxford; the family has spent most of the husband's professional life in Delhi and was temporarily settled in Jaipur, Rajasthan State, at the time of my visit to India; the couple have two other children with university qualifications who are married and live in Delhi.

They had two Rajasthani live-in helpers; the husband, a part-time servant in the house and a full-time manual labourer outside; the wife, a cook who would also wash dishes and clothes, with four small children. I had a good opportunity to observe this family who lived in their own quarters annexed to the main building of the house, and made friends with them.

I stayed 7 weeks on and off with this family as a guest. I have known this family since 1976.

4. Two Bengali couples (members of a large extended family) with whom I stayed for three weeks in Calcutta and through them I met and socialized with almost all other members of their family; they can all be grouped as middle class; some have

studied at Cambridge and other British universities and held senior government positions.

5. I stayed at Delhi for one week on two occasions with a young couple; the husband a middle-class French Roman Catholic who has lived in Delhi for ten years and has travelled widely in the country; the wife a West Bengali middle-class Hindu (Kshatriya), marketing manager at a food processing organization.

These families and also some of the managing directors who participated in the research introduced me to a host of other people and families from various parts of the country such as Punjab, Kashmir, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Goa, Delhi, Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, and Maharashtra.

#### b. the questionnaire

The same questionnaire which was used in the English survey was employed here, because, as will be explained later, the Indian survey was conducted after the English one was completed, and the items included in the questionnaire were therefore given. This also facilitated the comparison between the two samples. It must be pointed out that because different cultures may attach different meanings to given terms and concepts, the use of the same questionnaire in the survey may render particular questions non-comparable in terms of interpretations by respondents. This is a difficulty which is encountered in attempting cross-cultural



comparisons.

The questionnaire was administered in India both in English and Hindi languages. It was first translated into Hindi by a college professor, and then translated back into English by a different person. After necessary modifications, it was then typed and printed. In the case of illiterate respondents, my Indian friends who could speak the respondents' language helped with the interpretations.

The first 20 cases were treated as a 'pilot' survey. Since the respondents had no serious question or difficulty (in understanding the questionnaire, especially its scaling system, and completing it) which could not have been clarified verbally at the time it was completed, it was decided to go ahead with the administration of the questionnaire as it was.

### c. the sample

India is a vast country with a total population of around 683 million who are said to have different cultural and social characteristics, depending on their religions, castes, and the regions from which they come. However, the kind of attitudes and values the survey intended to examine were general and broad and were in the main related to familial and social relationships which, according to the literature and observers' accounts of the Indians (Koestler, 1966; Gore, 1965; Kakar, 1971<sup>a</sup> and 1971<sup>b</sup>; Lannoy, 1971; Segal, 1971; Parekh, 1974; Hiro, 1976) were more or less similar across different social and regional groups

and communities.

Koestler's comments on the Indian religious and social system is a fair representation of views expressed on the subject:

"...The system varied, of course, according to region and caste, and it is difficult to say to what extent real life conformed to the theory; but this at any rate was the ideal schema. And, notwithstanding all racial and cultural differences, the absence of a common language and even a common alphabet, this religious-social ideal did produce something like a Hindu national character with certain recognizable, specific traits and behaviour pattern. For this, after all, was the purpose of the system: to breed conformity and submission to the metaphysical and social order, and to preserve it by preventing individual deviations from the traditional norms of behaviour." Koestler (1966, pp. 153-154)

Given the vastness of the country, time and financial constraints, the limited availability of interpreters, and also the need for comparability with the English sample (in terms of size and occupational background), it was decided to limit the sample to 100 persons and to restrict it to the following groups:

#### c.1. the urban population

As will be seen later in Chapter 7, around 75 percent of the total population of India lives in rural areas and is engaged in agriculture and related fields. One of the main objectives of the present study is to examine the effect of culture on organization members' work-related values. It was thought inappropriate to include rural people in the sample because this would have meant inclusion of up to 75 respondents from rural areas (in order to make it

representative of the whole population), people who do not actually work in manufacturing organizations. This, in turn, would have resulted in studying a culture from which organization members had not, strictly speaking, come. This might have distorted the analyses of the findings of the survey of the attitudes of organization employees. Any discrepancy between the two samples could have been interpreted as a confirmation of 'culture-free' thesis, although it might quite possibly have been a consequence of differences between the two (the rural and the urban) cultures. In order to avoid this confusion, therefore, it was decided to exclude the rural population from the sample.

According to the managers who participated in the second stage of the research, state and union governments regulations and rules force business (manufacturing) organizations to recruit their manual workers primarily from villages. Although the present sample does not include villagers, it does contain 50 manual workers who may well have come from villages. In other words, the urbanized rural population is represented in the sample.

#### c.2. Hindus

Religion plays a significant role in the upbringing of Indian children and the formation of Indian culture as a whole. Since Hinduism is the religion to which the majority of the population, around 83 percent, adhere one way or another, it was decided to confine the sample largely to Hindus.



### c.3. people from Maharashtra and near-by states

The choice of these areas was influenced by the fact that the second and third stages of the research; that is, the surveys of the management style and structure of seven organizations and the work-related attitudes of their employees, were to be carried out in Maharashtra State which is the industrial heartland of India (see part three of the present chapter for justification of this choice). Here, again, as was argued in the case of urban population, it would be appropriate to choose the sample from the same cultural area in which the organizations and their members were to be located. It must be mentioned here that the two Indian samples who participated in the two surveys were, of course, two different groups and the surveys were carried out independently.

### c.4. caste

Caste is argued to be another influential factor in the cultural configuration of Indian people, and which has to be taken note of in a survey of Indian culture. However, choosing a representative sample of the population on the basis of their caste proved to be virtually impossible. First, there is no information, reliable or otherwise, about the proportion of the members of each of the four broad castes and the 'Untouchables' in the total population. Second, as Srinivas (1969, p. 265) argues,

"The idea of caste as the fivefold division of society represents a gross over-simplification of

facts. The real unit of the caste system is not one of the five varnas (castes) but juti (sub-caste), which is a very small endogamous group practicing a traditional occupation and enjoying a certain amount of cultural, ritual and juridical autonomy".

Moreover, there are innumerable jatis. Ghurye (1932, p. 27) estimates that there are 2,000 sub-castes (jatis) in each linguistic area. The complication is further magnified when one considers that there are at least 14 official Indian languages and hundreds of dialects spoken by over 683 million population of the country (Government of India, 1982), about whose proportion in the total population or any one state there is no information. Given this state of affairs, it was decided to drop caste as a measure of representativeness of the sample, and instead to choose occupation.

#### c.5. occupation

The choice of occupation was also justified on another ground. Divisions between castes are broadly, albeit not invariably, based on occupation. Although members of the same occupation do come from different castes or sub-castes, it is possible to argue that the unequal status and privileges associated with different castes and sub-castes provide unequal opportunities for their members. And again, although there are exceptional cases where an 'Untouchable' rises to Cabinet level (I have particularly in mind Mr Jagjivan Ram, the former Cabinet Minister in the Janata Government), the more general rule is that it is unlikely that a low-caste butcher or cobbler would be able to send his son to prestigious schools and colleges from which the bulk of would-be administrators, engineers, doctors, lawyers, lecturers,

managers and the like graduate. It is more likely that these people come from higher castes such as Brahmin or Kshatriya.

The choice of occupation also served an additional purpose. The Indian cultural survey is part of a study based on the comparison between English and Indian cultures and organizations. The English sample was chosen on the basis of their occupation. Taking occupation as the criterion of social background of the Indian sample places the sampling rationale for each country into the same basis and therefore permits culture to be the major differentiating feature of the two samples.

Applying the same sampling rationale as in England would have meant choosing an occupational distribution to match that of the population of the country (or rather the selected region) as a whole. In practice, there were again problems and constraints which made the occupational composition of the sample less than representative.

The major problem was that there are no reliable data about the total number or percentage of various occupations outside the organized sector in India. Of an estimated working population of 260 million, only 22 million are engaged in the organized sector. And even for this sector there is no accurate breakdown of the various occupations in the same detail as it is for the English population. Therefore it was decided to include in the sample as many occupations as was practically possible and, further, to draw an arbitrary line between manual and non-manual workers at the 50-50



...more, 120 copies of the questionnaire had to be distributed among people in order to obtain 100 qualified to be included in the analyses. Some of the remaining 30 copies had been completed by non-Indians and economically inactive respondents. The other copies had been completed by non-manual workers and were not needed because they were in excess of the 50-copy quota assigned to this category. These latter extra copies were excluded from the sample at random.

Administration of the survey took just over four months from mid-February to late June 1983.

## **Part 2. Work-related attitude surveys**

As will be discussed later, 14 manufacturing companies in England and India - 7 companies in each country - participated in the present study. It was intended to study their structures and management systems, as well as certain work-related attitudes of a sample of their members. Part 3 of the present chapter will discuss the methodology employed to obtain information about structural characteristics of these organizations; the present part describes the attempt made to conduct the attitude survey among their employees.

### 1. The attitude questionnaire

This questionnaire was designed to measure certain organizationally-relevant attitudes and values held by a sample of

English and Indian employees. It was divided into two broad sections. The first section contained 8 sampling questions, and the second section, the main body of the questionnaire, consisted of 87 items. These items, conceptually related to the hypotheses and arguments of the thesis, were designed or adapted from other researchers' works, and were selected to be included in the questionnaire after a preliminary survey carried out in Iran and a pilot study conducted in England.

#### a. the Iranian survey

It was noted in Chapter 1 that the author had conducted a study of Iranian culture and its likely impact on work-related attitudes and also organizational structure and systems (Tayeb, 1979). In that survey, the questionnaire which was administered among employees of a state owned and managed corporation consisted of 16 items from a survey conducted by Hofstede (1976<sup>a</sup>, 1977<sup>b</sup>) to measure power distance and uncertainty avoidance; 8 items designed by Haire et al. (1966) to study managerial attitudes; 19 items designed by the author 16 of which were devised on the basis of Maslow's need hierarchy (1954) to study need importance and need satisfaction; and other 3 items to study attitudes towards structural design.

The findings of this survey were encouraging, in the sense that they were consistent with the general cultural characteristics of Iranian people, and also with the management style and organizational structure of the company of which the respondents were members.

The success of this questionnaire as a tool to study culturally-influenced attitudes and values of employees encouraged me to employ it in the present cross-national study. However, as my arguments and hypotheses had advanced some steps further since I carried out the Iranian survey (see Chapter 3), there was a need for additional scales and items to measure such dimensions as commitment, trust, and individualism. As a result, a more detailed and comprehensive version of the questionnaire was designed from which a few items of the first questionnaire, now irrelevant and inappropriate for the present study, were dropped, and to which items more relevant to new ideas and hypotheses were added. This new version was then piloted.

#### b. the pilot survey

The pilot study, which consisted of two stages; i.e., an attitude survey and a study of structure and management style, was carried out in the University of Aston Management Centre in Summer 1981.

The Management Centre was chosen as the context for the study for several reasons. First, the cooperation of the employees was almost assured mainly because the author is a research student at the Centre, and the exercise was part of her academic work and therefore it was safe to assume that the members would be willing to help in its progress. And, as it happened, the cooperation extended to me by both academic members, from professors to



lecturers, and non-academic staff, from head of the department to technicians and kitchen ladies, was overwhelming. Of a hundred copies of the questionnaire, 80 were completed and returned to me. At the structural study stage, all those members who were approached for interview gave me generously as much of their time as was needed to obtain the required information.

Second, I could benefit from constructive comments and suggestions made not only by non-academic staff, but also by experienced academic members of the faculty. In practice, 10 respondents made comments and suggested changes in various questions and some others discussed the issue with me at length.

Third, it was very economic in terms of money and time. Distribution and collection of the questionnaire, and follow-up letters were handled through intra-faculty mail service within less than a month. The interview programme and other data collection for the structural stage of the study took only one week at the two premises of the Management Centre which were in a walking distance from my residence.

## 2. The final format of the questionnaire

The final format of the questionnaire was designed after the following steps had been taken:

1. A series of statistical tests, such as factor analysis, correlation,

and internal reliability, was carried on the data which led to elimination of some items.

2. A few respondents had made useful comments and suggested changes in the wording of some questions. My supervisor, who completed the questionnaire in his capacity as a member of the faculty, suggested a few items to replace the individualism scale which had originally been adopted from Hofstede's study (1978<sup>b</sup>). The suggested changes and modifications were incorporated in the questionnaire where appropriate.

3. While the structural study was being carried out, it was thought necessary to include in the attitude survey questionnaire two sets of items concerning communication pattern and perceived autonomy to complement the information obtained in the interview programme about the structure and management style of the organizations under study.

### 3. The position of the questions in the questionnaire

The 87 questions in the main body of the questionnaire were selected on the basis of the hypotheses set in Chapter 3 and their conceptual connection to certain issues assumed to be related to work organizations and day-to-day relationships among its members. These questions fall into the following sections: power and authority, ambiguity and uncertainty, commitment, trust, individualism, important features of job, management philosophy, perceived

autonomy, and communication pattern. However, the questions appeared in the questionnaire neither as parts of these sections, nor in the above order. The place of each item on the questionnaire was decided on the basis of the following considerations:

1. Each section should have a simple heading related to work, organization, and other similar concepts, easily understood by and familiar to all employees, especially workers with low levels of education.
2. The questions in each section should be readily identified by the respondent as relevant to the heading of the section.
3. The questions related to the same concepts with common underlying meaning were distributed in the questionnaire in such a way as to be far enough from one another to discourage deliberate identical answers.
4. Since a Likert-type five-point answer scale was provided for almost all the questions, there was a danger that the respondents would mark automatically all answer numbers on either extreme ends or in the middle of the scale. To prevent this, questions with opposing underlying meanings were placed next to one another so that the respondents would contradict themselves if they were to mark one question at the same side as the one which preceded or succeeded it. Therefore, they had to, one hoped, think and choose their answers carefully according to their genuine preference.



5. In order to avoid creating confusion for the respondents, the code numbers for the answer scales for all questions, even for opposing items, were same: from 1 at the left end of the scale to 5 at the right end. Later on, at the computation stage, the author had to reverse the coding of almost half the items one by one before entering them onto computer data sheets. Appendix B presents the final version of the attitude survey questionnaire.

#### 4. The language of the questionnaire

The questionnaire was devised in English and later on was translated into Hindi for administration in Indian companies. Managerial, other members of staff, engineers and similar employees, who like all educated Indians, have a good command of English language, completed the English version of the questionnaire. Copies of the Hindi version were distributed among manual workers who would comprehend this language better than English.

An Indian college professor, the same person who helped with the translation of the cultural survey questionnaire, translated the attitude survey questionnaire into Hindi. And, again, a different person translated it back into English. After making necessary changes and modifications in the wordings, in order to get the meaning of each concept as near its English version as possible, it was typed and printed.

## 5. The distribution of the questionnaire

### a. the English survey

A hundred copies of the questionnaire were handed or posted to the managing director of each of the seven English companies which participated in the research - 700 copies in all. The actual distribution of the questionnaire was handled by personnel manager in four companies, secretary to managing director in two companies and sales director (chairman's son) in one company. The response rate in two companies, especially among their manual employees, was so low (4 and 12 percent respectively) that I had to make a special visit to their shopfloors and talk to the employees and persuade them to complete the questionnaire there and then.

In order to ensure the confidentiality and anonymity of the respondents' answers, a self-addressed stamped envelope was attached to each copy of the questionnaire so that the respondents could return the completed copies directly to me. However, I had to be able to identify employees of each company as a group for company-wise analyses. And since no question regarding the name of the company was included in the questionnaire (in order to assure anonymity), I had batches of a hundred copies printed in different colours, and assigned, in my own records, each company a colour. For instance, white was for the brewery organization, yellow for the confectionery organization, and so on. Distribution, collection and return of the completed copies took nine months from October 1981

to June 1982. Of 700 copies distributed, 376 copies were completed and returned to me - a response rate of 53.7 percent.

b. the Indian survey

On the basis of my experience with the English companies, and the discussions and negotiations with Indian senior managers, it was decided to administer 60 copies of the English version in each company. However, one company could accept 50 copies only, giving an overall total of 410 English language questionnaires distributed. Three companies agreed to distribute altogether 65 copies of the Hindi version among their manual employees (20, 20, and 25 each respectively) as well. The English copies were handed to the managing directors and the completed copies were collected from them between two and three weeks later. The Hindi copies were posted from Jaipur, where I had them back translated, typed and printed by some friends, to the managing director of the respective companies in Maharashtra. The completed copies were returned to my contact addresses in Bombay and Birmingham.

The actual distribution of the questionnaire among the employees was handled by personnel manager in five companies, administrative officer in one, and secretary to managing director in one company.

b.1. Indian manual workers and the questionnaire

There were two major problems with respect to distribution of the



questionnaire among manual workers in Indian organizations. The first, and the more formidable one, was the state of mistrust and hostility between management and labourers. I was told by every single senior manager that, given this state of affairs, the workers and their union representatives would regard the survey as a means employed by the management to spy on them and harass them. Three companies ruled out straight away the possibility of administering the questionnaire among their manual workers. I was told that even if I spoke to them and explained the genuine academic purpose of the research personally and assured them of the confidentiality and anonymity of the treatment of their responses, I would not be able to secure their trust and cooperation. The situation was especially made worse by my inability to speak Hindi or Marathi, and the communication with them had to be through an interpreter. However, it must be pointed out that distrust and hostility between management and workers are as much a feature of industrial relations in India as in England. And as will be discussed in Chapter 10, English and Indian manual workers were not much different from one another in the level of trust. It is therefore possible that the Indian managers who participated in the study greatly exaggerated the distrust of their manual workers, perhaps on the basis of caste 'hauteur'.

The second problem was illiteracy. Manual workers, in accordance with government policies, are largely recruited from villages, and they can scarcely read and write in any language - so I was told by their senior bosses. Therefore the questionnaire, whether in English

or Hindi, or any other Indian language for that matter, had to be completed with the help of an interpreter. This had a few drawbacks:

1. Confidentiality and anonymity would be lost. The responses to the questions, which in many cases could have been perceived by the respondents as 'sensitive', would be unrealistic and even quite opposite to what they might have otherwise given.

2. It would be very time consuming. The managing director of one of the companies, who was very friendly and cooperative, tried, while I was in his office, to examine how the interpretation of the questionnaire for a manual worker would work. He called for one of his shopfloor labourers and explained to him the purpose of the research and went through the questions with him one by one. It took them just over an hour to answer 17 (out of a total of 95) questions, by which time the managing director said he had lost concentration and could no longer continue with the practice.

Managing directors of four out of seven companies rejected the idea of administering the questionnaire with the aid of an interpreter on the grounds of the time loss to the company. Managing directors of other three companies, however, encouraged me to send them the Hindi version of the questionnaire and promised they would do their best to have as many copies as possible completed by those manual labourers who could read or write Hindi at least. In one of the first four companies, the administrative officer, who was in charge of the

distribution, by his own initiative, had a few copies interpreted and completed through a man trusted by the workers.

All in all, of 410 copies of the English version and 65 copies of the Hindi version distributed within Indian companies 341 copies were completed and returned to me - a response rate of 71.7 percent. Distribution, collection and return of the completed copies took five months from mid-February to mid-July 1983.

### **Part 3. Organizational structure surveys**

#### **1. The organizations**

The overall strategy of the study, it may be recalled, was to control for contingency factors as much as was practically possible, in order to clarify any influence of socio-cultural factors on management style and organizational structure. To do this, it was decided to select a sample of organizations which could be matched in terms of contingency factors across at least two different cultural settings. Furthermore, bearing in mind the arguments of contingency theorists (Chapter 2, section 1), the organizations within each culture had to be chosen in such a way as there would be variations in their contexts, in order to enable the author to examine the effects of various contexts on organizational structure in each setting.

A few practical considerations also had to be taken into account at the outset. These were time and financial resources available to the



researcher. All three stages of the study were to be carried out by a single person, the author, financed by her very limited private resources, and within the time span of a doctoral study.

Having established academic criteria and practical considerations, it was decided to select seven organizations in two countries. England and France were the initial choices. England was an obvious choice since the author had lived in the country prior to and during the study, and could gain access to people and organizations with little difficulty. France was chosen as the second country because (1) French culture is sufficiently different from English culture (Graves, 1972; Gallie, 1978; Hofstede, 1980) to generate different implications for French organizations as compared with their English counterparts; (2) yet the two countries are comparable in terms of industrialization, economic superstructure and other macro environmental factors surrounding their organizations.

Having established England and France as the settings for the study, a list of English and French companies, engaged in six industries ranging from simple stable to unstable complex technologies, and matched in pairs in terms of contingency and contextual factors was compiled.

Unfortunately, despite her efforts over more than a year, the author was unable to gain access to the selected French organizations and to secure cooperation of various relevant bodies. France, therefore, had to be dropped. Instead, India was chosen as the second setting for

the study.

Indian culture, too, is sufficiently different from English culture (Parekh, 1974; Hofstede, 1980). India and England both have a range of industrial sectors combining new and old industries, and both are substantially capitalist. However, India's capitalism favours government intervention and protection much more compared with England's capitalism, especially under a Conservative government such as the present one.

A final point to be noted about India is that there are distinct regional variations in the cultural characteristics of the people. In order to achieve some degree of homogeneity, it was decided to concentrate on only one part of the country. The choice of the area had to be made with regard to the availability of the organizations which could be matched with their English counterparts, since by the time the author had decided to drop France and to choose India the English study was completed and, therefore, the characteristics of the Indian sample in terms of contextual and other contingency factors were given. The State of Maharashtra was chosen as the setting of the Indian section of the study. This state produces the bulk of India's industrial output and is very advanced in terms of industrialization. It provides a very wide range of industries and companies from which one could easily select the required organizations.

In order to decrease the complications in matching the two sets of

organizations, the sample in each country was selected from among companies which were (i) engaged in manufacturing, (ii) profit-oriented, (ii) owned by private stakeholders, (iv) totally owned, managed, and largely manned by people from their respective countries.

Each of these organizations was matched with its counterpart in the other country in terms of industry, product, production technology, size (numbers employed). Attempts were also made to match the pairs in terms of ownership and control, market share, geographical scope of their market, and the competition they faced.

Certain measures were taken to diminish the effect of organizational subcultures. Generally, a well-established multinational corporation (such as I.B.M.) and large single-national enterprises (such as Tata in India) tend to develop their own cultures which can diverge from, and override that of, the society within which they operate. Therefore, it was decided to choose organizations which (i) were not very large, and (ii) were not part of multinationals of I.B.M.'s standing.

In order to examine the effects of different contexts on organizational structures and systems, especially in terms of size, industry and technological change which are said to be major factors affecting organizational structure, it was decided to choose companies of varying size in each country in the following industries: electronics, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, confectionery, and brewery, with electronics being the highest in terms of technological



dynamism, and confectionery and brewery the lowest.

## 2. The required information

The information and data had to be collected on (i) contextual and other contingency factors which were to be held constant for the organizations in each pair across the two countries, and (ii) organizational structures and management systems. The aspects of organization relevant to the interests and objectives of the study are (1) centralization, (2) formalization, (3) specialization, (4) chief executive's vertical and horizontal span of control, (5) communication pattern, (6) control system, and (7) reward and punishment policies.

## 3. The sources of information

The main participant of the interview programme in each company was the managing director (or his/her equivalent in the companies which did not have this position). In many companies other senior managers such as technical director, marketing director, production /manufacturing managers, and finance director were also interviewed to obtain complementary information, where necessary.

## 4. The research tools

The prime means of obtaining information about structural characteristics of the organizations and their environment was a structured interview programme in which senior managers

participated. The interviews were complemented by company documents and informal discussions and meetings, where possible. The author had already employed the complete version of Aston interview schedule (Pugh et al., 1968), with some modifications in the standardization scale, in the Iranian study (Tayeb, 1979). In that study, a number of items was added to the schedule to cover such aspects of organizational structure and systems as control, reward and punishment policies. A few items were also adopted from Aiken and Hage (1968) and Hage and Aiken (1969) to complement and cross-check centralization and formalization scales.

A new interview schedule more suitable for the purposes of the present study was designed largely drawing upon abbreviated version of Aston Programme scales (Inkson et al., 1970), and piloted at the University of Aston Management Centre.

#### a. the pilot survey

Six senior administrative and academic officials were approached and asked to participate in the interview programme. These were the head of the Management Centre, the Centre's secretary, directors of undergraduate, post-graduate and post-experience programmes, and the chairman of the doctoral programme who was also the head of one of the subject groups.

Aston scales, although successful in the Iranian study, where the organizations were all business, (manufacturing or service) companies,

proved to be improper for studying an organization such as the Management Centre with a matrix structure and dual character of academic and administrative positions. They did not register any meaningful picture of the style of management or structural characteristics of the Centre. It was the ad hoc questions and lengthy discussions with the interviewees, especially questions about control system and management philosophy, which had been added to the Aston schedule by the author, that helped her understand and draw a reasonably comprehensive picture of the structural profile of the Centre.

However, the piloting of the interview schedule at the Management Centre had its advantages:

1. It gave me a good idea about the time scale for the interviews in the main study.
2. The position holders who would be most suitable to provide me with the kind of information which was required.
3. The company documents required to supplement the interview schedule.
4. The style and manner in which the interviews were to be conducted and the best way to record the discussions. In the first interview conducted in the pilot survey, a small cassette tape recorder was used to record the conversation. But I noticed



that very often the interviewee's attention was drawn to it, and he was, as it were, very conscious of its presence. This created a formal atmosphere, like that of radio and television interviews, and the answers to my questions turned to clichés and stereotypes. For the remaining interviews, the tape recorder was dispensed with. Instead, I tried to write down the conversation in shorthand in as unobtrusive a manner as possible. The exercise was more successful both in terms of the amount and depth of the information obtained, and the relaxed and informal atmosphere surrounding the meeting.

5. In order to obtain information about the pattern of communication among employees, I had designed a form in which sections were provided for one's communications with boss, subordinates, colleagues, people in other areas of work, and people from outside the organization. This form was used in the pilot study. The secretaries of the interviewees were asked to keep a diary for a week of their boss's communications - by telephone, letter, meeting - and mark the appropriate section in the form. At the end of the one-week period, the result of the exercise was poor and the exercise proved impractical and insufficient. The diary could not be kept systematically and the information given was inadequate and inaccurate. To overcome this problem, it was decided to include a set of five items covering the above mentioned types of vertical and horizontal communication in the attitude survey questionnaire and ask all the respondents to rate, on a five-point scale, the time they

spent in any of these forms of communication (Appendix B). A more comprehensive and accurate pattern of communication, one hoped, could then emerge from the survey. Appendix C presents the final format of the interview schedule.

## 5. Access

### a. the English survey

A list of thirty companies was prepared from two directories, Kompass 1981 and Key British Enterprise 1981, and from the archive of the National Study conducted by Child (1972a). Two batches of 10 letters explaining the purpose of the research and requesting a brief preliminary interview, accompanied by a covering note by my supervisor, were sent to managing directors of 20 companies of whom 10 indicated their willingness to participate in the study. The preliminary interviews led to the inclusion of the 7 most appropriate organizations for the purposes of the research, and the fieldwork was carried out in all but one in full. The 7th company, which was engaged in manufacturing of high technology equipment, withdrew its cooperation at the second stage of the research, the attitude questionnaire survey, in spite of the prior agreement of the managing director. To find a replacement for this organization, another batch of 10 letters were sent to managing directors of ten companies in high technology industry, all of whom responded positively. After conducting the preliminary interview with all, the last company was found qualified to be included in the study.

The interview programme was carried out between September 1981 and May 1982 in Leicester, Burton-on-Trent, Blackpool, Dover, Ilfracombe, Barnstaple, London, Crawley, and Royston.

b. the Indian survey

The Times of India Directory 1981-82 and Kothari's Economic and Industrial Guide of India 1982-83, both available in Britain, were consulted to prepare a list of Indian companies comparable with their English counterparts. However, none of these directories, or any other publication on Indian companies, provided information about size (numbers employed) and status - two factors crucial to the study. In order to obtain information on these two items, a list of 300 companies situated in Maharashtra and engaged in relevant industries was prepared. A preliminary letter explaining the purpose of the research and its background in Iran and England, and requesting the required information was sent to their managing directors. 295 companies replied of which 5 declined to participate in the research. The rest provided the information requested and expressed their interest in further cooperation. Of these only 18 companies could be matched with the English companies (more than one Indian company for some of the English ones). Further communications with these selected companies helped to build up a rapport between me and their senior managers prior to the visit to India.

In the first week of my stay in India, preliminary meetings with



managing directors of 10 companies were arranged. Five of these companies were found comparable with their English counterparts. There were no back-up alternatives for the other two (pharmaceutical and brewery organizations) among the remaining companies in the list. However, I had made friends with managers and other people who knew many business men and industrialists in Bombay. They helped me search for and find the two companies I needed: the marketing director of one of the participating organizations introduced me to the managing director of a brewery firm; and an old Indian friend introduced me to the managing director of a pharmaceutical firm. Both these companies met the sampling criteria and matched with their English counterparts.

The interview programme was carried out between 14th February to 21st March 1983 in Bombay and Poona.

Appendix E, Part 1 reproduces examples of the letters which were sent to managing directors of English and Indian organizations in order to gain access to their companies.

In order to maintain a good relationship with the companies which participated in the study, and also to show my appreciation for their help and cooperation, a brief feedback report was sent to the managing director of each company. The report discussed major findings of the work-related attitude survey of their own employees separately and in comparison with those of other participating companies (see Appendix E for details).

As a warning to those who intend to undertake comparative studies in countries other than their own, I would like to emphasize the enormous problems I encountered in obtaining a visa and permission to carry out the fieldwork in India. My supervisor and I were in constant contact with Indian senior officials in both London and New Delhi by correspondence, meetings, telephone and telex over a period of nine months. We had eventually to write to the Prime Minister, Mrs Gandhi, to obtain the visa. In India itself, I faced further problems when I applied for an extension of my stay beyond the initial three month visa period. Certificate of registration with the police in every city I visited, income tax clearance from State Governments, and certificate of residence from those with whom I stayed were but a few documents which various state and central government departments demanded from me, and the preparation of which consumed much of my time and financial resources. Appendix E, Part 2 reproduces a sample of the correspondence with the Indian officials.

The following chapter will discuss the measurement scales adopted or devised to study cultural and organizational dimensions.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **The Methodology Employed to Measure Cultural and Organizational Dimensions**

#### **I. Cultural surveys**

The questionnaire administered in this stage of the study was a simple and brief one. It consisted of thirty five pairs of opposing characters placed on either side of a seven-point scale. These characteristics were selected on the basis of their relevance to the purposes of the present study: they are indirectly related to the issues and relationships involved in work organizations and among their members. They are also among those observed by most of the writers on Indian and English societies as salient in their respective cultures. The areas covered by these items are acceptance of responsibility, honesty and trust, obedience to and respect of senior people, independence, trustworthiness, corruption, group-orientation, individualism, ability to cope with ambiguity and uncertainty, self-confidence and resourcefulness, discipline and self-control, tolerance, friendliness, fair play, interest in community affairs, fatalism, and social stratification (see Appendix A for details).

#### **II. Work-related attitude surveys**

The eighty seven items included in the main body of the



questionnaire employed in this stage are concerned with the areas discussed in Chapter 3 and are more directly related to employees' relationships and attitudes in work organization. They cover issues such as power and authority relationships, tolerance for ambiguity and uncertainty, trust, commitment, individualism, expectations from job, management philosophy and attitudes to management practices, perceived autonomy and communication. Some of these items, as will be discussed in the following sections, were devised by the present author and others were selected from among the available measures designed and tested by others (see Appendix B for details).

A number of the items included in the work-related attitudes questionnaire were to be treated as composite measures on the basis of which groups of employees within and between the two cultures could be compared. Statistical tests, however, showed that there was a poor consistency and correlation between items of a few of these 'composite' measures, and the items could not be used collectively as scales. The following sections discuss the weaknesses and strengths of these composite measures. In order to avoid disjunctures in the text the tables are placed at the end of the chapter.

#### 1. Power distance and uncertainty avoidance measures

These measures are adopted from Hofstede's study (1976<sup>a</sup>, 1977<sup>b</sup>, 1980) and consist of seven and ten items respectively. Although they are conceptually related to the power relationship between subordinates and their superior (in the case of power distance items)

and coping with uncertainty (in the case of uncertainty avoidance items), alpha internal reliability coefficients for the data collected in the Iranian survey, pilot study, English and Indian surveys within each sample were very poor.

### 1.1. Power distance items

#### a. factor analysis

Principal component factor analyses carried out for power distance questions separately for each sample showed the items collapse into three factors in each case. As Tables 5.1 and 5.2 show, the pattern of factors is dissimilar in the two samples, and the loadings are very low in both instances.

Tables 5.1 and 5.2 about here

#### b. internal reliability test

An alpha internal reliability test was carried out for each sample separately, and the poor coefficients in both cases show that the items do not construct a coherent and consistent scale. The alpha coefficient is .16 for the English sample, and .32 for the Indian sample. This inconsistency is evident in the pattern of response to the power distance items (cf. Chapter 9, Tables 9.5 through 9.7): responses given by members of the same sample to some questions would indicate a large power distance, and to some others would

point to the opposite. It is not possible to carry out a K-R8 internal reliability test for the power distance questions because their answer scales are not similar.

### c. correlations

Pearson correlations between power distance items showed poor correlations in both samples. The highest coefficient in the English sample was .28 ( $p = .001$ ) between "fear of the boss" and "complaining employees", and in the Indian sample was .48 ( $p = .001$ ) between "preferred boss" and "perceived boss".

## 1.2. Uncertainty avoidance items

### a. factor analysis

A principal component factor analysis was carried out on the uncertainty avoidance items for each sample separately. As Tables 5.3 and 5.4 show, the items clustered into four factors in English sample and five factors in Indian samples. The loadings of the items in each factor are very low.

Tables 5.3 and 5.4 about here

### b. internal reliability test

The alpha internal reliability test showed a poor consistency among



the items in both English and Indian cases. Alpha was  $-.26$  for the former and  $-.01$  for the latter. Here, too, it is not possible to carry out a K-R8 test because of the dissimilarities of the answer scales for the 10 questions in this section.

### c. correlations

Pearson correlations test showed poor results for both samples. The highest coefficient in the English sample was  $-.37$  ( $p = .001$ ) between "job satisfaction" and "how long to stay", and  $-.35$  ( $p = .001$ ) between same items in the Indian sample.

Hofstede has constructed power distance and uncertainty avoidance indices on the basis of three 'core' items from each respective set of items. These 'core' items and their rationale are discussed in more details in the following sub-sections.

### 1.3. Power distance index core items

#### i. fear of the boss

This item refers to the emotional side of power distance in a hierarchy as perceived by subordinates. It asks the respondents how frequently in their experience employees are afraid to disagree with their boss. It is a projective question; respondents are not asked how frequently they themselves are afraid to disagree, but their answers can be expected to reflect a projection of their own feelings.

## ii. perceived and preferred boss

These items provide unique information about power distance in boss-subordinate relationships. They use a description of four types of decision-making behaviour by bosses and ask the respondents to indicate (i) their perception of their boss's leadership style, and (ii) their preferred type. The description for the four types of boss reads as follows:

- Boss 1 usually makes his decisions promptly and communicates them to his subordinates clearly and firmly. He expects them to carry out the decisions loyally and without raising difficulty.
- Boss 2 usually makes his decisions promptly, but, before going ahead, tries to explain them fully to his subordinates. He gives them the reasons and answers whatever questions they may have.
- Boss 3 usually consults with his subordinates before he reaches his decisions. He listens to their advice, considers it and then he announces his decision. He then expects all to work loyally to implement it whether or not it is in accordance with the advice they gave.
- Boss 4 usually calls for a meeting of his subordinates when there is an important decision to be made. He puts the problem before the group and invites discussion. He accepts the majority viewpoint as the decision.

This description of the four types of boss, with modifications to the last one, are taken from Tannenbaum and Schmidt (1958), and they

refer to the styles of "tells", "sells", "consults" and "joins" bosses respectively. The respondents were then asked to indicate first to which type their own boss most closely corresponded, and second, under which type they preferred to work.

Contrary to the items on "fear of the boss" and "perceived boss" which deal with perception rather than value, the "preferred boss" question expresses a value which Hofstede (1980, p. 102) calls "value as the desired". This item reflects the dominant values about managerial decision-making behaviour in a culture.

Hofstede argues that in countries in which few employees are perceived as afraid, many employees will prefer a "consultative" boss. In countries in which many employees are perceived as afraid, employees tend **not** to prefer the consultative boss but to vote for the autocratic, the persuasive, or the democratic ones. He further states that in the cultures in which superiors maintain large power distances, subordinates **prefer** such superiors - 'dependent reaction' - or go to the other extreme and prefer a superior who does not decide at all but who governs by a majority vote of his subordinates - 'counterdependent reaction' - (Hofstede 1980, p.102).

### iii. power distance index formula

A Power Distance Index (PDI) for a country is computed on the basis of its mean scores for the above mentioned three questions:



- a. Non-managerial employees' perception that employees are afraid to disagree with their managers.
- b. Subordinates' perception that their boss tends to take decisions in an autocratic (boss 1) or persuasive/paternalistic (boss 2) way.
- c. Subordinates preference for anything but a consultative (3) style of decision making in their boss: that is for an autocratic (1), a persuasive/paternalistic (2), or a democratic (4) style (1980, p. 103).

Hofstede has excluded the managers' answers to the first item because "managers' perceptions of employees' fear to disagree are not the same as employees' perceptions: they may be distorted by low sensitivity or wishful thinking precisely in those cases where employees are very afraid (1980, p. 136). This means that part of the PDI score includes managers' responses, and part of it does not. Moreover, if one wants to calculate the PDI for managers in an organization, the score consists of their responses to two items (perceived and preferred bosses) only. It is very questionable how responses to only two items can reflect a group of employees' attitude to power and authority.

The actual computation of a country's PDI uses mean percent values for questions b and c. It uses mean scores for question a; these mean scores have been multiplied by 25 to make their range roughly equal to the range in percentage values of questions b and c. The formula is computed as follows (1980, p. 103):

$$\begin{aligned} \text{PDI} = & (\% \text{ perceived "tells" boss} + \% \text{ "sells" boss}) - 25 \\ & \times (\text{mean score for "how often in your experience"} \\ & \text{are employees afraid to disagree with their boss?"}) \\ & - (\% \text{ preferred "consults" boss}) + 135 \end{aligned}$$

The constant 135 has been added to give the country index value a range between zero (small PD) and 100 (large PD).

Hofstede does not explain why he has chosen these three items as constituents of his formula, but presumably it is because "the statistical analysis shows that across the 39 HERMES (the pseudonym of the international company in which Hofstede conducted the study) countries, the percentages of employees preferring a certain types of manager are correlated with the perceptions both of employees being afraid and of managers being autocratic or persuasive/paternalistic" (p.102). However, as will be discussed shortly, the correlations between these items for the present data were very poor.

#### 1.4. Uncertainty avoidance index core items

These items refer to three components of national level of uncertainty avoidance; i.e. rule orientation, employment stability, and stress. On the country level, higher mean stress goes together with stronger rule orientation and greater employment stability, and vice versa (Hofstede, 1980, p. 163).

### i. rule orientation

Rules and directives decrease uncertainty and anxiety in performing the jobs which might otherwise be ambiguous. One knows what one's job is and what one is expected to do under different conditions. Those with less tolerance for ambiguity may be expected to favour rules; and those with more tolerance for ambiguity, would not mind even breaking the rules if necessary (Hofstede, 1977<sup>b</sup>).

### ii. employment stability

Whether an employee tends to change his employer less or more frequently or change it at all, is argued to be an indication of his/her tolerance/intolerance for ambiguity involved in losing the job. A person's degree of such tolerance can be tested by a question related to this issue.

### iii. stress

This item measures the frequency at which respondents feel nervous and tense at work. The pattern of answer to this question is not only an indication of the general trend in the respondents' socio-cultural environment, but also is influenced by the particular job they have. A higher score on this item indicates that respondents experience less anxiety at work which may be caused by ambiguity and uncertainty.



#### iv. uncertainty avoidance index formula

The actual computation of the Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI) uses mean percentage values for employment stability question and mean scores for the other two. The mean scores have been multiplied by 30 (for rule orientation) and 40 (for stress) to make their range roughly equal to the range in percentage values of employment stability question. The formula is computed as follows (1980, p.164):

$$\text{UAI} = 300 - 40 \times (\text{mean score for "How often do you feel tense and nervous at work"}) - 30 \times (\text{mean score for "company rules should not be broken"}) - (\% \text{ of those who would like to continue to work with the organization less than 5 years}).$$

The constant 300 brings country index values in a range between 8 and 112 (the lowest and highest UAI values obtained in Hofstede's study).

As was mentioned earlier, Hofstede has shown that there are high correlations between the sets of the items used in each of the PDI and UAI formulae across cultures. However, the Pearson correlation tests carried out between these items on the present data demonstrated low levels of inter-item association. Tables 5.5 and 5.6 give these correlations for the English and Indian samples as well as for the pilot and the Iranian studies.

Tables 5.5 and 5.6 about here

In response to a personal communication with him about the results of the statistical tests obtained by the present author, Professor Hofstede explained that :

"...These measures are ecological dimensions which are found when one factor analyses mean country scores for a large number of countries. You, however, analysed data from individuals within a country."

He makes similar comments on the statistical analyses on the data collected in his own study about the power distance measure:

"As the statistical analysis shows, the correlations among the country scores on the three questions across the 40 countries are well over .50. ... Across 38 occupations, the mean score on the three questions are also highly correlated. ... However, the correlations among the three questions across individuals are virtually zero. ... The lack of individual correlations should remind us that Power Distance as measured here can be used only as a characteristic of social systems, not of individuals. It cannot be used to measure, for example, the authoritarianism of individuals; however, it can be used to measure the "authoritarianism" of whole societies and their dominant supervision styles." (1980, pp. 103-104)

Laurent, following Hofstede, advocates, and indeed employs, ecological statistical analyses for his data in which he has identified four dimensions across which groups of managers from different countries scored differently:

"The indices represent attempts to capture a structure of collective managerial ideologies that meaningfully differentiates national cultures. They do not account for individual ways of thinking within a given culture. Indeed, whereas

correlations among country scores are very high across the clustered items within a given index, correlations among individual scores for a given country within the same index have proved to be remarkably low. Once again, the purpose here is not to analyse the structure of individual opinions, but to compare countries." (Laurent, 1983, pp.78-79)

Both Hofstede and Laurent seem to assume that 'cultures' are entities different and separate from their constituents (individuals). This assumption is open to question. A culture is comprised of individuals the majority of whom share certain characteristics. If not, then, on what 'culture' is grounded? An authoritarian culture is regarded as such because the individuals within it generally hold authoritarian values and attitudes. Surely, a large power distance country, to use Hofstede's own suggested dimension, is where individuals perceive a large distance between themselves and their superiors. It is very doubtful that an 'index' incapable of measuring power distance between an individual and his superior can be an appropriate means to measure such a distance between a group of persons and their superiors.

There is a further problem with the so-called "ecological" measures. They do not seem to be very reliable measures for some comparative studies such as the present research any way. Hofstede himself admits that comparisons between a small number of countries, say less than 10, will not easily show statistically significant correlations of ecological data.

The PD and UA indices have other drawbacks too. Although they are meant to measure power distance and uncertainty avoidance as



cultural dimensions, they are heavily influenced by non-cultural factors common to all modern civilized cultures throughout the world, such as educational level, occupation, age, and sex. Moreover, the effect of these non-cultural factors on the scales are not, at least as far as the findings of the present research demonstrate, consistent.

#### 1.5. Power distance index and non-cultural factors

Using Hofstede's formula, PDI for English and Indian samples in the present study were calculated. The two countries scored **70** and **67** respectively. In Hofstede' study, the British (including the English) employees scored **35** and the Indian employees **77** on PDI. However, the respondents in his study were middle managers, whereas the present samples consist of employees of all levels from senior managers to shopfloor manual workers. This points, among other things, to the effect of the formal position of employees in an organization on their PDI score. Table 5.7 was therefore constructed to compare holders of different job categories in each sample with their colleagues in their own country as well as in the other country.

Table 5.7 about here

The PDI scores are, as in Hofstede's study, different. However, he found that as one went lower down the hierarchy, the power distance increased. As the Table shows, in the present study, in the English sample various occupational groups score differently, but the differences are not systematic except for the highest (managers, 16)

and lowest (manual workers, 100) positions. In the Indian sample, supervisors and shopfloor employees (categories 2 and 6) scored lowest (smallest power distance). This is, perhaps, because the hierarchical position inside an organization per se, as Hofstede would argue, is not enough, in the Indian sample at least, to explain the power distance perceived by the job holders. A political economy-type factor; that is, the 'protected' position of Indian manual workers, may have increased their sense of power. The respondents in categories 2 and 6 may hold low-paid and low-status jobs in their organization compared with other employees, but, thanks to the 'pro' workers industrial legislation, may enjoy powers and privileges beyond the formal limits of their jobs. An alternative explanation may be to do with the extent to which Indian managers are 'paternalistic', especially towards manual workers and supervisory staff. A comparison between the two samples suggests that occupation plays a more important part in the PDI scores than cultural characteristics.

Education too is argued to be another factor which influences PDI in such a way that an increase in the level of education will result in a decrease in power distance (Hofstede, 1980, p. 105). Table 5.8 illustrates the PDI calculated for Indian and English employees grouped according to their level of education.

Table 5.8 about here

As the Table shows, for the English sample power distance decreases as the level of education goes up, but the pattern is not the same

among the Indian respondents. This may be because of the nature of educational systems in the two countries. In the English educational system, teacher-pupil relationships, especially in universities and other institutions of higher education, are more egalitarian than is the case in the Indian system. The former helps reduce the power distance between authority positions; the latter help maintain a large distance. However, in the Indian sample there is not a systematic increase of power distance along with the increase in the level of education. The PDI for 'A' level holders is higher than for the holders of a university first degree. Here the occupation of the respondents may have also influenced the PDI scores. A comparison between educational groups across the two countries shows a confused and unsystematic picture. In the Indian sample, the 'A' level and university degree holders score higher and the 'O' level group scores lower on PDI than their English counterparts.

The data collected in this part of the present study also provide an opportunity to test the validity of PDI as a tool to measure the combined influence of education and occupational status on power distance. Hofstede argues (1980, p. 105) that lower-education lower-status occupations tend to produce high PDI values and higher-education higher-status occupations tend to produce low PDI values. If his argument is correct, and if PDI is capable of testing it, the following hypothetical continuum should be the case for both samples:



low-educated manual workers	high-educated managers
large power distance	small power distance

In each sample, the manual workers holding 'O' levels or below were taken as low-educated low-status employees, and the managers with first or higher university degrees were taken as high-educated high status employees. The result of this exercise was as follows:

English sample:

low-educated manual workers	high-educated managers
100	30

Indian sample:

low-educated manual workers	high-educated managers
55	65

As the two continua show, Hofstede's argument is supported by the English data, but rejected by the Indian data. This may be an indication of higher influence of various occupational groups' power bases in the society compared with their formal power and status inside their work organization, a point which Hofstede does not consider. It may also be because of the limitations of PDI to measure accurately the power distance perceived by these groups of respondents. Or it may be because of the smaller number of Indian manual workers (34) compared to the number of their English

counterparts (104). Either of the first two possibilities would question the credibility of the power distance index.

Age of the respondents is another factor which influences their PDI scores. Table 5.9 shows the scores for different age groups in the two samples. In the Indian sample, as age increases, PDI scores decrease, but in the English sample there is no such systematic relationship between age and power distance.

Table 5.9 about here

On the whole, as far as the findings of the present surveys are concerned, Hofstede's power distance index can only discriminate to a limited degree between various occupation, education and age groups, and, contrary to his arguments, it does not differentiate between cultures.

#### 1.6. Uncertainty avoidance index and non-cultural factors

The associations between uncertainty avoidance items and non-cultural factors are problematic too. Here, individual items comprising the scale, and not the scale itself, are separately influenced by certain factors. The item related to stress and tension at work is argued to be affected by and correlated with occupation, and the item related to breaking company rules, with level of education (Hofstede, 1980, p.105).

In the present study, in the English data the correlation coefficient was  $-.13$  ( $p = .008$ ) between education and rule orientation, and  $-.003$  ( $p = .47$ ) between the stress item and occupation. In the Indian data it was  $-.06$  ( $p = .13$ ) in both cases. These correlations are very low indeed. Hofstede would of course attribute this to the ecological nature of UAI. However, correlations of country averages for these items across England and India (where  $N = 2$ ) could not be constructed as a further examination of Hofstede's findings because, as was noted earlier, he argues that (1980, p. 114) a comparison of ecological measures (of which He maintains UAI to be one) across less than ten countries does not show statistically significant correlations of data. This still remains a major weakness of UAI (and PDI for that matter), since it cannot be used in a cross-national study conducted in less than ten countries, such as the present one, even if the argument is a valid one.

UAI has a problematic relationship with age too. Across countries, age and UAI correlate at  $.52$  in Hofstede's data. Age correlates separately with rule orientation scores ( $-.45$ ), with employment stability scores ( $-.46$ ) and with stress scores ( $-.36$ ). "In order to test how strong the effect of age differences on the UAI country scores really is", Hofstede (p. 193) offers the following formula of the regression line:

$$\text{UAI} = 7 \times (\text{average age in years}) - 157$$

"...Which means that one year of increase in the average age of a



country sample corresponds to a UAI increase of seven points." (p. 193).

The average age of the English sample in the present study is 37 and the Indian sample 34. This means that, if the relationship between UAI and age is in fact in the same manner as suggested by the above mentioned regression line, the UAI score for the English sample should be 102 and the Indian sample 81. However, this is not the case. Using the UAI formula described earlier, the two samples scored 19 and 43 respectively. Either UAI is not capable of measuring the respondents' degree of uncertainty avoidance or its connection with age is not as Hofstede suggests.

Hofstede found that across individuals age related to two of the three UAI questions. The correlation for age versus stress was .00; it was -.13 for age versus rule orientation scores (older people more rule-oriented), and -.32 for age versus employment stability scores (older people more stable), (1980, p. 193). Table 5.10 was constructed to examine the pattern of correlations between age and UAI items for the English and Indian samples. As can be seen, the pattern is somewhat different from that obtained in Hofstede's study.

**Table 5.10 Correlation between age and UAI items**

Samples	Stress		Rule orientation		Employment stability	
	coef.	p	Coef.	p	coef	p
English	.10	.03	-.15	.003	-.54	.001
Indian	.009	.43	.06	.12	-.30	.001
Hofstede's	.00	1.00	-.13	*	-.32	***

Note: \*  $p < .05$   
 \*\*\*  $p < .001$

The limitations of the power distance and uncertainty avoidance indices make them unsuitable for use in cross national studies, at least for one comparing a small number of countries.

## 2. Perceived power items

To complement the conceptual strength of Hofstede's power distance items, ten additional items related to the concept of power were included in the final version of the questionnaire. These items, too, do not seem to be coherent across individuals within single culture.

### a. factor analysis

A principal component factor analysis was carried out for the ten items on English and Indian data separately. As Tables 5.11 and 5.12 show, in the former sample the items collapsed into three factors, and in the latter they clustered in five factors. The loadings in both

cases are low.

Tables 5.11 and 5.12 about here

#### b. internal reliability tests

Alpha and K-R8 internal reliability tests showed a poor consistency between the items and therefore they cannot be treated as a scale. For Indian sample coefficient alpha was .23, and the K-R8 coefficient was .45. For English sample they were .15 and .41 respectively.

#### c. correlations

A Pearson test gave low correlations between the perceived power items. The highest coefficient was .28 ( $p = .001$ ) between "disagree with the boss" and "equal chance", and  $-.28$  ( $p = .001$ ) between "loyalty to the boss" and "equal chance" in the Indian sample, and .25 ( $p = .001$ ) and  $-.25$  ( $p = .001$ ) between the same items in the English sample.

### 3. Tolerance for ambiguity items

This section consists of eleven items and was included in the final version of the questionnaire as a complement to Hofstede's uncertainty avoidance measure. Five items in this measure were adopted from Child and Partridge's (1982) "personal flexibility" scale.



#### a. factor analysis

The principal component factor analysis for the two samples showed that the eleven items collapse into two factors in the English data and four factors in the Indian data. As Tables 5.13 and 5.14 show, the loadings of the items in the former are reasonably high, but low in the latter.

Tables 5.13 and 5.14 about here

The personal flexibility items were separately factor analysed. Table 5.15 shows that for both sets of data they clustered in one factor, however, the loadings of items, again, are much higher for the English data (from .53 to .60) than for the Indian data (from .37 to .47).

Table 5.15 about here

#### b. internal reliability tests

Alpha and K-R8 internal reliability tests were carried out for each sample separately for the eleven items and also for personal flexibility items only.

As is noticed in Tables 5.13 to 5.15, the internal reliability coefficients are higher for the English sample for both sets of items than for the Indian sample. The discrepancies are perhaps because of

cultural difference between the two samples which may have led to different interpretations of the items. However, they are high enough in each case to enable one reasonably not only to treat the items as a composite measure, but also to use them for between-culture comparisons. And indeed they are quite good in both samples for the 'personal flexibility' measure.

#### c. correlations

Pearson correlations tests showed that although there were, on the whole, higher correlations among the tolerance for ambiguity items than the uncertainty avoidance items in both samples, the highest coefficient was only .45 ( $p = .001$ ) between "complicated problems" and "taking on new problems" in English data, and .24 ( $p = .001$ ) between "complicated problems" and "unusual circumstances" in Indian data.

#### 4. Commitment items

The nine items which comprise this scale were originally devised by Cook and Wall (1980) in a study of attitudes of a sample of U.K. industrial workers. The items were adopted for the present study with some modifications to make them more suitable. Cook and Wall's study was conducted among industrial manual workers and the wording of the questions in their questionnaire was appropriate for the kind of relationships which are involved in shopfloor among workers and supervisors and for the workers' attitudes to organization

and its management. In the present study, the questionnaire was administered among employees of all levels from top managers to shopfloor manual workers. It was therefore necessary to make some modifications in the wording of the items which comprise this scale.

#### a. factor analysis

The principal component analysis carried out for the two sets of data shows that the nine items cluster in one factor with high loadings in English sample, and three factors with not so high loadings in Indian sample. Tables 5.16 and 5.17 present the details.

Tables 5.16 and 5.17 about here

For the Indian data, the items were further forced to cluster in one factor (by reducing the number of factors to 1 in the command procedures) in order to examine whether or not the factor resembles the one obtained for the English data. As is shown in Table 4.18, this is not the case, and only three items have a loading higher than .50.

Table 5.18 about here

#### b. internal reliability tests

In Cook and Wall's study, coefficient alpha was .80 for these items. In the present study, too, Alpha and K-R8 tests show high



coefficients in both samples. Alpha is .60 for Indian sample and .84 for English sample. K-R8 is .70 and .88 respectively. Commitment items clearly construct a consistent composite measure.

### c. correlations

In the Indian sample, the Pearson correlations were not as strong as the English sample. The highest coefficient was .38 ( $p = .001$ ) between "leaving the organization" and "friends to join". In the English sample, there were five sets of items whose correlations were .50 or above.

## 5. Trust items

This scale consists of nine questions. Cook and Wall (1980) had also designed a trust scale but the wording and the type of relationships to which the items were conceptually related rendered it unsuitable for the present study. Encouraged by their attempt, the present author devised nine questions four of which were substantially modified versions of four of Cook and Wall's items, and the rest were new items.

### a. factor analysis

In the English data, as Table 5.19 shows, all the nine items collapse into one factor, and in the Indian data they cluster into two factors (Table 5.20). The loadings of the items, except those in the second

factor in the Indian sample, are high.

Tables 5.19 and 5.20 about here

Here, again, for Indian data the items were forced into one factor (Table 5.21). The pattern of loadings is similar to that of factor one for Indian data illustrated in Table 5.20, but loadings are higher.

Table 5.21 about here

#### b. internal reliability tests

Alpha and K-R8 tests showed a high consistency between items. The Alpha coefficient was .81 in the English data. and .78 in the Indian data. The K-R8 coefficient values were .85 and .83 respectively.

#### c. correlations

Pearson correlation coefficients were reasonably high and they all were significant at  $p = .001$  and  $p = .005$  levels.

#### 6. Individualism items

In the pilot study, as was mentioned earlier, six items by Hofstede (1980) were adopted to measure individualism, but the subsequent statistical tests showed they were not consistent enough to be considered as a scale. In the main study, they were replaced by six

new items. However, although they seem to be conceptually related to individualism, the new items do not collectively construct a scale.

#### a. factor analysis

The principal component factor analysis carried out for both samples on the six items, as can be seen in Tables 5.22 and 5.23, produced three factors in both English and Indian data with relatively poor loadings.

Tables 5.22 and 5.23 about here

#### b. internal reliability tests

Internal reliability tests showed a poor consistency between the items. The Alpha coefficient was .21 for Indian sample and .18 for English sample. The K-R8 was .51 for both samples.

#### c. correlations

Pearson tests, too, showed poor correlations between the items. The highest coefficient in the Indian sample was .34 ( $p = .001$ ) between "merge with the crowd" and "going against majority view", and in the English sample .30 ( $p = .001$ ) between the same items.



## 7. Perceived autonomy items

This section consists of five items adopted from Aiken and Hage (1968) and Hage and Aitken (1969). In the Iranian survey they were used as part of the structured interview schedule employed at the structural study stage of the research. Only senior managers who participated in the interview programme for that study answered these questions. In the present investigation they were used in order to obtain a picture of centralization of decision-making power as perceived by employees. As will be discussed later, a centralization score was calculated for each participating organization on the basis of the information obtained from their senior managers. It was thought it would be appropriate to examine whether or not there was any consistency between the perception of the two groups about the degree to which authority was delegated in their organization.

### a. factor analysis

The six items in this section divided into two different factors in each sample which are shown in Tables 5.24 and 5.25.

Tables 5.24 and 5.25 about here

### b. internal reliability tests

Alpha and K-R8 tests showed a poor consistency between the items. Alpha coefficient was .33 for English and .39 for Indian samples.

K-R8 coefficient was .60 and .64 for the two samples respectively. The association between perceived autonomy items is very low and they cannot be treated as a composite measure.

### c. correlations

Pearson correlation coefficients were not very high either. The highest coefficient was .31 ( $p = .001$ ) for both samples between "being one's own boss" and "checking decisions with others".

## **8. The treatment of the 'scales' in the analysis of the data**

As the statistical tests carried out for various scales discussed in the previous sub-sections show, there are three sets of items which can safely be regarded as scales. These are tolerance for ambiguity/personal flexibility, commitment and trust. These items will therefore be treated as composite measures in the analysis of the data (Chapters 9 and 10); that is, various categories of respondents will be compared with one another between and within the two countries on their respective aggregate scores for these items.

Hofstede's power distance and uncertainty avoidance items and those which comprise perceived power, individualism, and perceived autonomy will be treated individually in the analysis of the data.

## **II. Organizational structure surveys**

### 1. The interview schedule and scales

The interview schedule employed in this stage of the study had six sections, one each for contextual factors, centralization, formalization, specialization, configuration, control system, and reward and punishment policies (shown in Appendix C).

#### 1.1. Contextual factors and their measurement

1. Industry The industries in which the fourteen organizations are engaged are brewery, confectionery and soft drinks, chemicals, pharmaceuticals (one pair in each), and electronics (three pairs).

2. Main product In each organization the product (or a group of very similar products, such as tablets and capsules in the pharmaceutical firms) which accounted for more than fifty percent of its turnover was considered as the main product.

3. Dominant technology The degree of change in the dominant technology in each organization was measured using information obtained in the following areas: (1) frequency of change in manufacturing technology; (2) frequency of change in product technology; (3) frequency of introduction of modified products and change in the ingredients; (4) frequency of introduction of a brand new product or design; and (5) the percentage of the annual sales



spent on R & D. In the case of the first four items, a five-point answer scale ranging from "little or none" to "continuously" and in the case of R & D expenditure the absolute figure were used in the measurement of technological change (see also Appendix C).

4. Size was measured in terms of the number of full-time employees.

5. Status distinguishes between an independent organization with a production unit(s), an independent organization without a production unit(s), and a subsidiary of a parent company.

6. Ownership Four categories of ownerships were used to classify the fourteen organizations: (1) family, (2) private shareholders, (3) public shareholders (in the sense of general public, not public sector), and (4) parent group.

7. Control Four categories of control were used to measure this variable. These were (1) members of family, (2) members of family and salaried managers, (3) owner-chairman and salaried managers, and (4) salaried managers. The levels at which the assessment was made were managing director/chief executive, board of directors, and chairman, where strategic and other major decisions are expected to be taken.

8. Age is a count of number of years since the organization was first established.

9. Market share This variable is the share of the organization in the main product market as estimated by its managing director. Six items were included in the sub-section on market to determine the companies' market share and the nature of the competition they faced.

### 1.2. Structural dimensions and their measurement

The aspects of structure which were studied were centralization, formalization, specialization, chief executive's span of control, height (vertical span of control), communication pattern, control system, and reward and punishment policies.

For the measurement of these structural variables a substantially modified version of the Abbreviated Aston (hereafter referred to, for simplicity, as Aston) schedule was employed. The choice of the Aston scales was on two major grounds. First, they operationalize the various aspects of organizational structure which are relevant to the present study, and thus facilitate a conceptual link between these aspects and different cultural dimensions. Second, the Aston scales, after modifications and changes, are comprehensive, practical, and economical in terms of time, especially the interviewees' time, which is an important consideration.

The modifications were made in view of the criticisms and anxieties expressed in the previous replications of the Programme, and in the

light of the author's experience in the Iranian and pilot surveys.

### 1. Centralization

The following changes were made in the Aston scale for centralization:

1. inclusion of ten new items on centralization to cover more decision areas.
2. omission of one item (salaries of supervisory staff) from the centralization score, which was considered a poor item, because it is very limited in scope and, moreover, in unionized firms may be determined jointly by management and the union representatives. This would not be applicable to those organizations in the sample which were not unionized.
3. break down of items on expenditure in centralization scale to a series of more precise levels.
4. breakdown of the item on training methods into two items covering managers and operators separately.
5. modifications in the wording of the item on 'dismissal of supervisory staff' and 'price of output'.

After these inclusions and omissions, the centralization section



consisted of 65 items (see Appendix C for details). Five of these (marked with an asterisk in Appendix C) were excluded from the analysis because one or more of them were not present in at least one organization. The exclusion of these items was necessary, of course, for a meaningful comparison between the organizations.

### 1.1. Factor analysis of centralization items

In a recent replication of the Aston Programme, Yasai-Ardekani (1979) questioned the unidimensionality of the centralization scale. He factor analysed the items (varimax and oblique rotations) and found that they clustered in five groups which he labelled as 'financial control', 'marketing', 'production management', 'personnel and buying' and 'organizational change'. The last three decision groups were highly correlated with one another. Yasai-Ardekani subsequently concluded that the centralization scale consisted, in fact, of three clusters of 'strategic' (new products, marketing territory, extent of market), 'financial' (expenditure of unallocated money on capital and revenue items), and 'operational' (the remainder of the Aston centralization scale items) decisions (Yasai-Ardekani, 1979).

Following Yasai-Ardekani's approach, the centralization items used in the present study were factor analysed. Tables 5.26 and 5.27 show the pattern of factors after both varimax and oblique rotations. It must be pointed out that the factor analysis of 60 items when the number of cases is only 14 may not yield reliable results.

Tables 5.26 and 5.27 about here

As can be seen, the items clustered in 8 and 10 factors respectively and the pattern of factors is somewhat different from that found by Yasai-Ardekani. However, the difference may have arisen because in the present study the financial items are broken down into small-amount items and also some other items have been added. In any case, Yasai-Ardekani's argument about the multidimensionality of the Aston centralization scale is not refuted by the present exercise.

#### 1.2. Computation of centralization score

The centralization dimension, measured on the basis of 60 items, was computed first using the Aston six-point scale ranging from "above chief executive = 5" to "operator = 0". However, this scale was found to be inadequate on two main counts. First, many of the organizations in the sample had more than six layers and the positions were such that the grouping of two or more of them together under any one of Aston categories would distort the centralization score for those organizations. Second, Aston scale does not take account of the number of hierarchical levels in an organization and how far down a chief executive delegates his decision making power. Take fictitious organizations A and B for example:

A	B
managing director	managing director
works director	production director
production manager	plant manager
manufacturing manager (TV sets)	supervisor
plant manager	operator
superintendent	
supervisor	
operator	

Supposing the decision on the promotion of direct workers in the two organizations is taken by the plant manager. On the Aston scale both organizations will score 2. However, in organization A the plant manager is four levels below the managing director, whereas in organization B he is only two levels below the managing director. Clearly, the managing director of the first organization is prepared to delegate the decision on the promotion of direct workers far lower down the hierarchy than the managing director of the second organization, but this subtle point is not picked up by the Aston scale.

Given this drawback of the Aston scoring scale for the measurement of centralization, it was decided to compute the centralization scores on the basis of the hierarchical position of decision makers for each of the sixty items. The above fictitious organizations can be used to demonstrate this new scale. Organization A has 8 levels and organization B, 5.



A	score	B	score
managing director	1/8	managing director	1/5
works director	2/8	production director	2/5
production manager	3/8	plant manager	3/5 = .60
manufacturing manager (TV)	4/8	supervisor	4/5
plant manager	5/8 = .62	operator	5/5
superintendent	6/8		
supervisor	7/8		
operator	8/8		

Although the difference between the scores for the two organizations seems small, when the scores are calculated for 60 items, the differences add up to a significant figure which should not be ignored.

### 1.3. Delegation

In the light of the above argument, it was decided to compute also a delegation score for each organization by a count of the number of levels down from the chief executive. In the example mentioned previously, for the decision on the promotion of direct workers, organization A would get a score of 5 and organization B a score of 3.

### 1.4. Joint decisions

Following the Aston Programme procedures, where a decision was made in collaboration by two or more people, the score for each

item was determined by the position of the senior partner in each case. However, this missed the point that in some organizations more decisions were made jointly than others. A new scale, which may be called joint decisions, was therefore computed on the basis of the number of decisions made in each organization described by the interviewee as 'in conjunction with...', 'in consultation with...', 'jointly with...' and so on.

#### 1.5. Perceived autonomy

The centralization score, calculated using either the Aston scale or the method employed here, although it reveals something about the degree of centralization or otherwise of the decision-making process in an organization, does not reveal anything about what goes on in the organization before a decision is finally made by someone or another by way of consultation. Moreover, it is based on the information given by the senior managers who participated in the interview programme. As was noted earlier, in order to gain further insight into the decision-making process in these organizations and how the other side of the organization, the employees, perceived it, five questions were included in the attitude survey questionnaire (Appendix B) which was administered among the employees of each organization. These items, which may be collectively labelled "percieved autonomy", not only show the employees' perception of centralization, they also say something about their involvement in the decision-making process even though the final decision maker is someone higher up the hierarchy.

Each question contained a statement and the respondents were asked to indicate, on a five-point answer scale ranging from "definitely true" to "definitely false", the degree to which it was true at their organization. These statements were:

1. People here are allowed to do almost as they please.
2. I feel I am my own boss in most matters.
3. Going through proper channel is constantly stressed here.
4. A person can make his/her own decisions without checking with anybody else.
5. Whatever problem we have, we are expected to go to the same person for an answer.

## 2. Formalization

This section consisted of 19 items (see Appendix C for details). One of the items, 'written union contract' was excluded from the analysis because a number of the organizations were not unionized and naturally did not have this item. A formalization score, following the Aston Programme, is computed by a count of the number of items which are present in each organization in written form.

The item 'to whom organizational chart is given', which was included in the original Aston scale, was omitted from the formalization measure. Since the organizational chart item itself was sufficient to



discriminate between those organizations who had it and those who did not, it was felt unnecessary, given the time factor, to have the second item related to it.

### 2.1. job description sub-scale

Four items in the formalization measure are concerned with job descriptions. Job descriptions can be interpreted as a device to draw clear-cut boundaries around one's own job territories and work sphere. Job descriptions interpreted in this way, then, can be a reflection of one's concept of spatiality, personal territory and privacy. Since the English are reputed to have a high love of privacy and maintenance of distance and the Indians are reputed to be the opposite (Parekh, 1974), it was thought it would be useful to make a further comparison between the two samples with respect to this sub-scale.

## 3. Specialization

This scale consisted of 19 items - 16 from the Aston functional specialization scale, and three additional items (see Appendix C for details). The score is calculated by a count of the number of specialized activities.

## 4. Span of control

4.1. chief executive's span of control This is a count of the people who report directly to the chief executive.

4.2. vertical span of control (height) This is a count of the hierarchical levels (main production hierarchy) between chief executive and direct worker, inclusive of both.

#### 5. Communication pattern

In order to study the pattern of communication, a five-item section was included in the attitude survey questionnaire. In this section, respondents were asked to indicate, on a five-point answer scale ranging from "very little of my time" to "much of my time", the amount of time they spent with each of the following: (1) their boss, (2) their subordinates, (3) their colleagues, (4) people from other areas of work, and (5) people from outside the organization.

#### 6. Control, reward and punishment policies

This section was based on three main questions around which discussion and further ad hoc questions, depending on each particular case, evolved. These questions were as follows:

1. How do you make sure that your employees do their job 'properly'?
2. How do you reward those who perform well?
3. How do you punish/discipline those who do not do their job properly?

Chapters 6, 7, 9 and 10 will discuss the findings of the three stages

of the fieldwork carried out in England and India.



**Table 5.1 Power Distance - factor analysis (English sample)**  
 Varimax rotated factor matrix after  
 rotation with Kaiser normalization

Items	Factor 1 (loading)	Factor 2 (loading)	Factor 3 (loading)
1. if an employee took a complaint to a person higher than his/her own boss, do you think he/she would suffer later on for doing this?	<b>.47</b>	-.0008	-.03
2. how often is your immediate boss concerned to help you getting ahead?	<b>.35</b>	-.008	-.14
3. how often in your experience are employees afraid to disagree with their boss?	<b>.62</b>	-.05	.16
4. preferred boss	-.12	<b>.28</b>	.25
5. perceived boss	.004	.06	<b>.60</b>
6. employees should participate more in decisions made by their bosses.	-.009	<b>-.29</b>	-.01
7. employees lose respect for the boss who asks them for their advice before he makes a decision.	-.01	<b>.69</b>	.06

Coefficient alpha for all 7 items = .16

**Table 5.2 Power Distance - factor analysis (Indian sample)**  
 Varimax rotated factor matrix after  
 rotation with Kaiser normalization

Items	Factor 1 (loading)	Factor 2 (loading)	Factor 3 (loading)
1. if an employee took a complaint to a person higher than his/her own boss, do you think he/she would suffer later on for doing this?	.01	.10	.32
2. how often is your immediate boss concerned to help you getting ahead?	-.03	.09	.16
3. how often in your experience are employees afraid to disagree with their boss?	.05	-.19	.37
4. preferred boss	.76	.22	.03
5. perceived boss	.60	-.02	-.01
6. employees should participate more in decisions made by their bosses.	-.01	-.03	.30
7. employees lose respect for the boss who asks them for their advice before he makes a decision.	.15	.70	.03

Coefficient alpha for all 7 items = .32

**Table 5.3 Uncertainty avoidance - factor analysis (English sample)**  
 Varimax rotated factor matrix after rotation with Kaiser normalization

Items	Factor 1 (loading)	Factor 2 (loading)	Factor 3 (loading)	Factor 4 (loading)
1. how often do you feel nervous or tense at work?	-.27	-.09	.13	.30
2. how long do you think you will continue to work for this organization?	-.53	-.04	-.04	-.02
3. if you had a choice of promotion to either a managerial or specialist position, and these were at the same salary level, which would appeal to you most?	-.18	-.11	.26	-.04
4. how do you feel about working for a boss who is from a country other than your own?	.01	.04	-.10	.52
5. considering everything, how would you rate your overall satisfaction with this organization at the present time?	.76	.13	-.17	-.07
6. decisions made by individuals are usually of a higher quality than decisions made by groups.	.08	.61	-.06	-.05
7. company rules should not be broken even when the employee thinks it is in the company's best interest.	.26	.08	.20	-.14
8. most organizations will be better off if conflict can be eliminated	.08.	-.02	.41	-.03
9. employees lose respect for the boss who asks them for their advice before he makes a decision.	-.09	-.52	-.10	-.05
10. competition between employees usually does more harm than good.	-.11	.18	.60	.01

Coefficient alpha for all 10 items = -.26



TABLE 2.7 COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS - FACTOR ANALYSIS (WITHIN COMPANIES)  
 Varimax rotated factor matrix after rotation with Kaiser normalization

Items	Factor 1 (loading)	Factor 2 (loading)	Factor 3 (loading)	Factor 4 (loading)	Factor (loading)
1. how often do you feel nervous or tense at work?	-.04	.05	.01	.13	-.0
2. how long do you think you will continue to work for this organization?	-.46	.11	-.06	.08	-.0
3. if you had a choice of promotion to either a managerial or specialist position, and these were at the same salary level, which would appeal to you most?	.03	.04	.44	.11	.0
4. how do you feel about working for a boss who is from a country other than your own?	-.006	-.02	.01	-.04	.0
5. considering everything, how would you rate your overall satisfaction with this organization at the present time?	.71	.02	.08	-.15	-.0
6. decisions made by individuals are usually of a higher quality than decisions made by groups.	.25	-.36	-.01	.35	-.0
7. company rules should not be broken even when the employee thinks it is in the company's best interest.	.002	-.38	.39	-.17	-.0
8. most organizations will be better off if conflict can be eliminated	.07.	-.05	.45	-.04	-.0
9. employees lose respect for the boss who asks them for their advice before he makes a decision.	-.05	.67	-.01	.003	-.0
10. competition between employees usually does more harm than good.	-.13	-.02	.0006	.28	.0

Coefficient alpha for all 10 items = -.01

**Table 5.5 Pearson correlation between core power distance items**

Surveys	a with b		a with c		b with c	
	coef.	p.	coef.	p.	coef.	p.
Iranian survey	-.05	.34	.43	.001	-.27	.02
Pilot survey	.15	.14	.09	.25	-.28	.01
English survey	.09	.03	.16	.001	-.07	.08
Indian survey	-.01	.41	.48	.001	.05	.13

Note: a = perceived boss  
b = employees afraid to disagree with their boss  
c = preferred boss

**Table 5.6 Pearson correlation between core uncertainty avoidance items**

Surveys	a with b		a with c		b with c	
	coef.	p.	coef.	p.	coef.	p.
Iranian survey	.04	.36	.05	.34	-.29	.01
Pilot survey	.19	.07	-.10	.22	-.27	.02
English survey	-.09	.04	.13	.008	-.17	.001
Indian survey	-.008	.44	.06	.12	-.11	.02

Note: a = tense or nervous at work  
b = breaking company rules  
c = how long continue to work with the company

**Table 5.7 Power distance and occupation**

	English	Indian
1. directors, and other managers	16	61
2. superintendents, supervisors, foremen, section heads, etc.	82	53
3. technicians, engineers, inspectors, controllers, etc.	49	70
4. specialists, computer programmers, accountants, etc.	52	70
5. office workers, telephonists, etc.	73	79
6. manual workers	100	48

Note: a higher score indicates a larger power distance.



**Table 5.8 Power distance and education**

	English	Indian
masters	*	69
university first degree	30	63
training college	57	*
'A' levels	67	79
'O' levels	78	66
below 'O' levels	97	*

Note: 1. the number of respondents in the categories marked with \* was too small (7 or less) to make the PDI score meaningful.

2. a higher score indicates a larger power distance.

**Table 5.9 Power distance and age**

	English	Indian
20 and under	84	*
21 - 30	84	72
31 - 40	90	64
41 - 50	75	60
51 - 60	58	*
60 and over	*	*

- Note: 1. following Hofstede (1980) power distance score is computed for age brackets rather than absolute age.
2. the number of respondents in the categories marked with \* was too small (8 or less) to make the PDI score meaningful.
1. a higher score indicates a larger power distance.

**Table 5.11 Perceived power - factor analysis (English sample)**

Varimax rotated factor matrix after rotation with Kaiser normalization

Items	Factor 1 (loading)	Factor 2 (loading)	Factor 3 (loading)
1. people here are not afraid to disagree with their boss if they think he/she is wrong in a particular case.	.42	-.14	-.07
2. here we call each other by first name.	.02	.05	.58
3. it is very easy for most of us to have access to our boss.	.35	-.12	.17
4. most of us here are obedient and loyal to our superiors.	-.18	.47	-.20
5. everybody here has an equal chance to have a say in the decisions which concern his/her job.	.30	-.31	.21
6. a good employee here is the one who does not contradict his/her boss on 'important' issues.	.49	.08	-.01
7. obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.	.06	.40	.08
8. people in authority are usually more intelligent and more knowledgeable than their subordinates.	-.08	.20	.03
9. employees should receive equal salaries regardless of the position they hold in the hierarchy.	-.32	-.02	.01
10. I am prepared to argue openly with people in higher positions.	.18	.27	-.02

alpha for all 10 items = .15  
K-R8 for all 10 items = .41



**Table 5.12 Perceived power - factor analysis (Indian sample)**

Varimax rotated factor matrix after rotation with Kaiser normalization

Items	Factor 1 (loading)	Factor 2 (loading)	Factor 3 (loading)	Factor 4 (loading)	Factor (loadin
1. people here are not afraid to disagree with their boss if they think he/she is wrong in a particular case.	-.09	<b>.38</b>	.15	.16	.1
2. here we call each other by first name.	-.10	-.02	.004	.01	<b>.3</b>
3. it is very easy for most of us to have access to our boss.	-.05	.15	<b>.24</b>	.12	-.0
4. most of us here are obedient and loyal to our superiors.	<b>.42</b>	.02	-.03	-.06	-.0
5. everybody here has an equal chance to have a say in the decisions which concern his/her job.	-.64	.62	.06	-.15	.1
6. a good employee here is the one who does not contradict his/her boss on 'important' issues.	.02	<b>.37</b>	-.01	.00	-.0
7. obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.	.13	-.02	<b>.72</b>	-.02	.0
8. people in authority are usually more intelligent and more knowledgeable than their subordinates.	<b>.36</b>	-.05	.13	.07	-.0
9. employees should receive equal salaries regardless of the position they hold in the hierarchy.	.01	.01	-.01	-.003	<b>.4</b>
10. I am prepared to argue openly with people in higher positions.	.04	.05	.04	<b>.71</b>	.0

alpha for all 10 items = .23

K-R8 for all 10 items = .45

**Table 5.13 Tolerance for ambiguity - factor analysis (English sample)**  
 Varimax rotated factor matrix after  
 rotation with Kaiser normalization

Items	Factor 1 (loading)	Factor 2 (loading)
1. I would generally prefer to do something I am used to rather than something that is different	.37	.51
2. it is more fun to tackle a complicated problem than to solve a simple one	.59	.03
3. I enjoy finding myself in new and unusual circumstances	.52	.22
4. people who fit their lives to schedule probably miss most of the joy of living	.30	-.06
5. I am in favour of a very strict enforcement of all laws no matter what consequences	-.003	.36
6. a good job is one where what is to be done and how it is done are always clear.	.05	.48
7. I do not like to undertake any project unless I have a pretty good idea as to how it will turn out	.17	.50
8. I get a lot of pleasure from taking on new problems	.68	.17
9. I would prefer a job which is always changing	.48	.23
10. people who seem unsure and uncertain about things make me feel uncomfortable	-.005	.22
11. I like to have a regular pattern in my working day	.36	.55

alpha for all 11 items = .69  
 K-R8 for all 11 items = .78

**Table 5.14 Tolerance for ambiguity - factor analysis (Indian sample)**  
 Varimax rotated factor matrix after rotation with Kaiser normalization

Items	Factor 1 (loading)	Factor 2 (loading)	Factor 3 (loading)	Factor (loadir)
1. I would generally prefer to do something I am used to rather than something that is different	<b>.48</b>	.28	.12	-.0
2. it is more fun to tackle a complicated problem than to solve a simple one	<b>.41</b>	.06	.08	-.1
3. I enjoy finding myself in new and unusual circumstances	<b>.45</b>	.01	.19	.0
4. people who fit their lives to scedule probably miss most of the joy of living	.09	-.07	<b>.41</b>	-.0
5. I am in favour of a very strict enforcement of all laws no matter what consequences	-.02	<b>.34</b>	.09	-.0
6. a good job is one where what is to be done and how it is done are always clear	.28	.29	-.10	.0
7. I do not like to undertake any project unless I have a pretty good idea as to how it will turn out	.07	.71	-.08	.0
8. I get a lot of pleasure from taking on new problems	<b>.39</b>	-.10	.05	.1
9. I would prefer a job which is always changing	.34	.02	.21	<b>.4</b>
10. people who seem unsure and uncertain about things make me feel uncomfortable	-.06	-.02	-.09	<b>.3</b>
11. I like to have a regular pattern in my working day	.21	.23	<b>.40</b>	.0

alpha for all 11 items = .52, K-R8 for all 11 items = .63



**Table 5.15 Personal flexibility - factor analysis**  
 Varimax rotated factor after rotations  
 with Kaiser normalization

Items	English	Indian
1. I would generally prefer to do something I am used to rather than something that is different.	.60	.47
2. I enjoy finding myself in new and unusual circumstances.	.59	.44
3. I get a lot of pleasure from taking on new problems.	.58	.39
4. I would prefer a job which is always changing.	.53	.47
5. I like to have a regular pattern in my working day.	.59	.37
alpha	.71	.53
K-R 8	.82	.71

**Table 5.16 Commitment - factor analysis (English sample)**  
 Varimax rotated factor matrix after  
 rotation with Kaiser normalization

Items	Factor (loading)
1. I would be pleased to know that my own work has made a contribution to the good of the company	.40
2. sometimes I feel like leaving this organization	.71
3. I would not recommend a close friend to join this organization	.55
4. I am not willing to put myself out just to help this organization	.54
5. I am quite proud to be able to tell people which organization I work for	.68
6. even if I had a choice of another job, I would be reluctant to leave this organization	.78
7. I feel myself to be part of this organization	.70
8. in my work I like to feel I am making some effort, not just for myself but for the organization	.60
9. the offer of a bit more money with another employer would not seriously make me think of changing my job	.52

alpha for all 9 items = .84  
 K-R8 for all 9 items = .88

**Table 5.17 Commitment - factor analysis (Indian sample)**  
 Varimax rotated factor matrix after  
 rotation with Kaiser normalization

Items	Factor 1 (loading)	Factor 2 (loading)	Factor 3 (loading)
1. I would be pleased to know that my own work has made a contribution to the good of the company	.26	.22	.19
2. sometimes I feel like leaving this organization	.62	.24	-.17
3. I would not recommend a close friend to join this organization	.61	.13	.11
4. I am not willing to put myself out just to help this organization	.39	-.03	.18
5. I am quite proud to be able to tell people which organization I work for	.29	.47	.04
6. even if I had a choice of another job, I would be reluctant to leave this organization	.14	.27	.13
7. I feel myself to be part of this organization	.06	.64	.007
8. in my work I like to feel I am making some effort, not just for myself but for the organization	-.02	.38	.24
9. the offer of a bit more money with another employer would not seriously make me think of changing my job	.07	.09	.40

alpha for all 9 items = .60  
 K-R8 for all 9 items = .70



**Table 5.18 Commitment - factor analysis (Indian sample)**  
(Items forced to cluster in one factor)

Items	Factor 1 (loading)
1. I would be pleased to know that my own work has made a contribution to the good of the company	.39
2. sometimes I feel like leaving this organization	.52
3. I would not recommend a close friend to join this organization	.53
4. I am not willing to put myself out just to help this organization	.28
5. I am quite proud to be able to tell people which organization I work for	.55
6. even if I had a choice of another job, I would be reluctant to leave this organization	.32
7. I feel myself to be part of this organization	.42
8. in my work I like to feel I am making some effort, not just for myself but for the organization	.26
9. the offer of a bit more money with another employer would not seriously make me think of changing my job	.18

**Table 5.19 Trust - factor analysis (English sample)**  
 Varimax rotated factor matrix after  
 rotation with Kaiser normalization

Items	Factor 1 (loading)
1. most of my colleagues can be relied upon to carry out what they say they will do	.53
2. most people in this organization are honest and can be trusted	.58
3. most of employees here have a strong sense of responsibility	.67
4. employees here can be trusted to work hard for good of organization	.68
5. I have full confidence in the abilities of my subordinates to carry out their work	.63
6. I have no confidence in the good intentions of my subordinates to do their work	.47
7. most of my colleagues would work just as hard even when their bosses are not around	.52
8. most employees here would on occasion be prepared to take advantage if they had a chance to deceive others	.50
9. employees here can be trusted to provide management with correct information about what they are doing	.51

alpha for all 9 items = .81  
 K-R8 for all 9 items = .85

**Table 5.20 Trust - Factor analysis (Indian sample)**  
 Varimax rotated factor matrix after  
 rotation with Kaiser normalization

Items	Factor 1 (loading)	Factor 2 (loading)
1. most of my colleagues can be relied upon to carry out what they say they will do	.32	.34
2. most people in this organization are honest and can be trusted	.53	.35
3. most of employees here have a strong sense of responsibility	.78	.12
4. employees here can be trusted to work hard for good of organization	.70	.05
5. I have full confidence in the abilities of my subordinates to carry out their work	.56	.25
6. I have no confidence in the good intentions of my subordinates to do their work	.03	.61
7. most of my colleagues would work just as hard even when their bosses are not around	.60	.21
8. most employees here would on occasion be prepared to take advantage if they had a chance to deceive others	.15	.44
9. employees here can be trusted to provide management with correct information about what they are doing	.53	.15

alpha for all 9 items = .78

K-R8 for all 9 items = .83



**Table 5.21 Trust - Factor analysis (Indian sample)**  
(Items forced to cluster in one factor)

Items	Factor 1 (loading)
1. most of my colleagues can be relied upon to carry out what they say they will do	.43
2. most people in this organization are honest and can be trusted	.63
3. most of employees here have a strong sense of responsibility	.75
4. employees here can be trusted to work hard for good of organization	.64
5. I have full confidence in the abilities of my subordinates to carry out their work	.62
6. I have no confidence in the good intentions of my subordinates to do their work	.26
7. most of my colleagues would work just as hard even when their bosses are not around	.64
8. most employees here would on occasion be prepared to take advantage if they had a chance to deceive others	.31
9. employees here can be trusted to provide management with correct information about what they are doing	.55

**Table 5.22 Individualism - factor analysis (English sample)**  
 Varimax rotated factor matrix after  
 rotation with Kaiser normalization

Items	Factor 1 (loading)	Factor 2 (loading)	Factor 3 (loading)
1. I prefer to make my own mind after seeking advice from friends.	.16	-.05	-.21
2. it is important to me that my job leaves me sufficient time for my personal life.	-.04	-.02	.33
3. I would like to stand on my own in life rather than relying on others.	.11	.37	.24
4. I prefer to merge with the crowd than to stand on my own.	.48	.06	-.08
5. I feel uncomfortable going against the view of a majority.	.63	-.06	-.08
6. one can learn better by striking out alone than one can by following the advice of others.	-.07	.52	-.09

alpha for all 6 items = .18  
 K-R8 for all 6 items = .51

**Table 5.23 Individualism - factor analysis (Indian sample)**  
 Varimax rotated factor matrix after  
 rotation with Kaiser normalization

Items	Factor 1 (loading)	Factor 2 (loading)	Factor 3 (loading)
1. I prefer to make my own mind after seeking advice from friends.	.17	-.04	.06
2. it is important to me that my job leaves me sufficient time for my personal life.	.16	-.21	.35
3. I would like to stand on my own in life rather than relying on others.	-.03	.10	.30
4. I prefer to merge with the crowd than to stand on my own.	.44	.55	-.03
5. I feel uncomfortable going against the view of a majority.	.66	.08	-.06
6. one can learn better by striking out alone than one can by following the advice of others.	.01	-.10	-.01

alpha for all 6 items = .21  
 K-R8 for all 6 items = .51



**Table 5.24 Perceived autonomy - factor analysis (English sample)**  
 Varimax rotated factor matrix after  
 rotation with Kaiser normalization

Items	Factor 1 (loading)	Factor 2 (loading)
1. people here are allowed to do almost as they please	.07	-.15
2. I feel I am my own boss in most matters	.41	.13
3. going through proper channel is constantly stressed here	.09	.31
4. a person can make his/her own decisions without checking with anybody else	.74	-.05
5. whatever problem we have, we are expected to go to the same person for an answer	.19	.67

alpha for all 5 items = .33  
 K-R8 for all 5 items = .60

**Table 5.25 Perceived autonomy - factor analysis (Indian sample)**  
 Varimax rotated factor matrix after  
 rotation with Kaiser normalization

Items	Factor 1 (loading)	Factor 2 (loading)
1. people here are allowed to do almost as they please	<b>.37</b>	-.12
2. I feel I am my own boss in most matters	<b>.53</b>	.16
3. going through proper channel is constantly stressed here	.01	<b>.38</b>
4. a person can make his/her own decisions without checking with anybody else	<b>.68</b>	.06
5. whatever problem we have, we are expected to go to the same person for an answer	.01	<b>.53</b>

alpha for all 5 items = .39  
 K-R8 for all 5 items = .64

**Table 5.26 Centralization - factor analysis (N = 14)**  
(Varimax rotation)

Items	Factor 1 (loading)	Factor 2 (loading)	Factor 3 (loading)
1. Promotion of supervisory staff	.61		
Expenditure of allocated money on capital items:			
2. up - £50	.78		
3. £50 - £300	.78		
4. £301 - £500	.68		
5. £501 - £1000	.68		
6. £1001 - £5000	.69		
7. £5000 - £10,000	.69		
8. Introduction of new product	.81		
9. Marketing territories	.61		
10. Type and extent of market	.61		
11. Buying procedures	.56		
12. Price of output	.83		
13. Alteration of responsibilities of specialist departments	.87		
14. Alteration of responsibilities of line departments	.87		
15. Creation of new departments	.83		
16. Creation of new jobs	.92		
Approval of investment projects:			
17. less than £10,000	.74		
18. £10,000 - £20,000	.62		
19. above £20,000	.62		
20. Discount	.78		
21. What plans to be adopted	.62		
Expenditure of allocated money on capital items:			
22. £10,000 - £20,000		.88	
23. above £20,000		.90	
Expenditure of unallocated money on capital items:			
24. £1001 - £5000		.75	
25. £5000 - £10,000		.90	
26. £10,000 - £20,000		.90	
27. above £20,000		.95	
Expenditure of unallocated money on revenue items:			
28. £5000 - £10,000		.54	
29. £10,000 - £20,000		.54	
30. above £20,000		.65	
31. What shall be costed		.56	
32. Supervisory establishment			.69
33. Number of shopfloor workers			.81
34. Appointment of supervisory staff			.88

Note: for each factor only the highest loadings are reproduced here.

continued ...



**Table 5.26 Centralization - factor analysis (N = 14)**  
(Varimax rotation)

/... continued

Items	Factor 4 (loading)	Factor 5 (loading)	Factor 6 (loading)	Factor 7 (loading)	Factor 8 (loading)
Expenditure of allocated money on revenue items:					
35. up to £50				.73	
36. £50 - £300				.80	
37. £301 - £500				.84	
38. £501 - £1000				.84	
Expenditure of unallocated money on capital items:					
39. £501 - £1000	.64				
Expenditure of unallocated money on revenue items:					
40. up to £50	.60				
41. £50 - £300	.83				
42. £301 - £500	.76				
43. £501 - £1000	.89				
44. £1001 - £5000	.83				
45. What shall be inspected	.66				
46. Suppliers of materials	.52				
47. What welfare facilities be provided	.77				
48. Permissible level of inventory	.63				
Expenditure of allocated money on revenue items:					
49. £1001 - £5000		.61			
50. £5000 - £10,000		.84			
51. £10,000 - £20,000		.78			
52. abobve £20,000		.78			
Expenditure of unallocated money on capital items:					
53. up to £50			.82		
54. £50 - £300			.82		
55. £301 - £500			.50		
56. Promotion of direct worker				.81	
57. Appointment of direct worker				.49	
58. What brand or type new equipment should be					.65
59. Dismissal of supervisors					.58

Note: 1. The 60th item, "How much credit should be given to customers" fell in factor 9 (with a loading of .63), and it was the only variable with a loading higher than .50 in that factor.

2. For each factor only the highest loadings are reproduced here.

**Table 5.27 Centralization - factor analysis** (N = 14)  
(Oblique rotation)

Items	Factor 1 (loading)	Factor 2 (loading)	Factor 3 (loading)	Factor 4 (loading)
1. Supervisory establishment	.70			
2. Number of shopfloor workers	.72			
3. Appointment of supervisory staff	.64			
Expenditure of allocated money on revenue items:				
4.                                   up to £50	.49			
5.                                   £50 - £300	.40			
6. What shall be inspected	-.60			
7. Buying procedures		.72		
8. Alteration of responsibilities of specialist departments		.58		
9. Alteration of responsibilities of line departments		.58		
10. Creation of new departments		.79		
11. Creation of new jobs		.78		
Approval of investment projects:				
12.                   less than £10,000		.46		
13.                   £10,000 - £20,000		.49		
14.                   above £20,000		.49		
15. Discount		.89		
16. What strategic plans to be adopted		.52		
Expenditure of allocated money on capital items:				
17.                   £5001 - £10,000			-.55	
18.                   £10,000 - £20,000			-.85	
19.                   above £20,000			-.84	
Expenditure of unallocated money on capital items:				
20.                   £1001 - £5000			-.59	
21.                   £5001 - £10,000			-.89	
22.                   £10,000 - £20,000			-.88	
23.                   above £20,000			-.90	
Expenditure of unallocated money on revenue items:				
24.                   above £20,000			-.39	
25. What shall be costed			-.39	
Expenditure of unallocated money revenue items:				
26.                   up to £50				.79
27.                   £50 - £300				.65
28. What brand or type new equipment should be				-.55

Note: for each factor only the highest loadings are reproduced here.

continued...

**Table 5.27 Centralization - factor analysis** (N = 14)  
(Oblique rotation)

/...continued

Items	Factor 5 (loading)	Factor 6 (loading)	Factor 7 (loading)	Factor 8 (loading)
Expenditure of unallocated money on capital items:				
29. up to £50	.95			
30. £50 - £300	.95			
31. £300 - £500	.58			
32. £501 - £1000	.47			
33. Type and extent of market	.40			
34. Suppliers of materials	.43			
35. Permissible level of inventory	.31			
36. Promotion of direct worker		.88		
37. Appointment of direct worker		.54		
Expenditure of allocated money on revenue items:				
38. £1001 - £5000			.68	
39. £5001 - £10,000			.93	
40. £10,000 - £20,000			.87	
41. above £20,000			.87	
Expenditure on unallocated money on revenue item:				
42. £5001 - £10,000			.47	
43. £10,000 - £20,000			.47	
44. Marketing territories				.54
45. Dismissal of supervisory staff				.72
46. What welfare facilities be provided				.44

Note: for each factor only the highest loadings are reproduced here.

continued...



**Table 5.27 Centralization - factor analysis** (N = 14)  
(Oblique rotation)

/...continued

Items	Factor 9 (loading)	Factor 10 (loading)
Expenditure of unallocated money on revenue items:		
47.                           £301 - £500	-.59	
48.                           £501 - £1000	-.75	
49.                           £1001 - £5000	-.66	
50. How much credit should be given to customers	-.50	
51. Promotion of supervisory staff		-.54
Expenditure of allocated money on capital items:		
52.                           up to £50		-.76
53.                           £50 - £300		-.76
54.                           £301 - £500		-.82
55.                           £501 - £1000		-.84
56.                           £1001 - £5000		-.75
Expenditure of allocated money on revenue items:		
57.                           £301 - £500		-.44
58.                           £501 - £1000		-.44
59. Introduction of new product		-.59
60. Price of output		-.51

Note: for each factor only the highest loadings are reproduced here.

## CHAPTER 6

### The Survey of English Culture

#### **Introduction**

This chapter attempts to distinguish salient cultural traits of English (as distinct from British) people, with special emphasis on organizationally-related values and attitudes and their socio-cultural origins.

It has been argued that many of the so-called values and attitudes which are attributed to a people as their cultural traits may in fact be only opinions which relate to economic and other situational factors which they face at a given point in time. Therefore, in order to identify deeply-seated cultural values and attitudes of English people it was decided, as was noted in Chapter 4, to collect information about the English through various methods, namely observation, a study of literature on the English, informal interviews and discussions, and administration of an attitude survey questionnaire.

The chapter consists of three main parts. Part one is based on a study of the historical evolution and present state of English culture. The starting point for this part is the Industrial Revolution when England and the English faced substantial changes. However,

pre-Industrial Revolution conditions are also considered when appropriate. Five main social institutions were chosen through which the evolution of English culture and its present form were traced: family, education, religion, political system, and socio-economic structure. It must be pointed out that many researchers of English culture use British and English terms interchangeably. Since the present research, among other things, is concerned with the impact of **English culture** on **English organizations**, it was decided to avoid carefully the confusion between the two terms by treating materials written or said about the British merely as background knowledge about the people of the whole country, and only employing available information and literature relating exclusively to the English.

The second part presents the findings of the questionnaire-based attitude survey conducted by the author in which values and attitudes of a sample of a hundred English men and women from different walks of life were studied to examine the extent to which certain characteristics attributed to the English are present in the present-day English culture. These findings are then compared with the views expressed by some other researchers and writers about English people. The final part examines the degree to which the characteristics attributed to the English are compatible with their socialization processes at home and in the society as a whole.



## **I. Formation of English culture**

### **i. Where is England?**

England is a part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain (England, Wales, Scotland) and Northern Ireland and is located in northern hemisphere off the main land of the continent of Europe. The area is 130,438 sq. kilometers (50,362 sq. miles). The prime meridian of 0° passes through its capital London. England is predominantly a lowland country. It has a generally mild and temperate climate. The weather is subject to frequent changes but to few extremes of temperature. It is rarely above 32° C (90° F) or below 10° C (14° F). The annual rainfall is about 1,100 millimeters (over 10 inches).

### **ii. The origins of the English**

Britain emerged into recorded history with the arrival of the Celts in the British Isles. It was occupied by the Romans in the first century A D and an ordered civilization was established under their rule for about three hundred years. They withdrew completely from Britain by the fifth century following which began a long period of increasing disorder and raids on the island from northern Europe - mainly by people traditionally described as Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. In the following two centuries the raids turned into settlements and the establishment of a number of small kingdoms. In the ninth century there were further raids and settlements from Europe, in this case by the Vikings from Scandinavia followed by more invasions. The last

successful invasion of England took place in the eleventh century.

Immigration from Europe over the centuries has led to the establishment of Irish and Jewish communities in many of the larger cities. In the latter part of the 20th century immigrants from the South Asian countries and the Caribbean have also formed distinctive urban communities.

### **iii. Some general demographic, economic and social features of England**

The total population of England (mid 1980) is 46,467,000 and its density is 356 persons per sq. kilometer (923 persons per sq. mile). At the time the fieldwork was being carried out in English companies as a part of the present study (September 1981 - June 1982), on average 10.5 percent of the economically active people in the England and Wales (the Office of Population Censuses Surveys' report on the results of the 1981 census) were unemployed (about three million). The unemployment rate, however varied in different parts of the region. In England, the highest rate was 25 percent which prevailed in much of Mersyside or in the inner areas of Birmingham. The lowest rate was 4.1 percent in East Surrey.

It is significant to note that the period of the survey was one of rising unemployment. Insofar as this generates anxiety and depression, it might affect people's expression of 'cultural' attitudes towards, for instance, tolerance.

England has no government minister or department with sole responsibility for the central administration of domestic affairs, in contrast to Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. Instead responsibility is shared among a number of government departments, whose responsibilities in some cases, also cover aspects of affairs in Wales and Scotland. Traditionally, of the two major political parties, the Conservatives find their support chiefly in rural areas, primarily in the southern half of the country, while the Labour Party derives its main support from urban industrialized areas especially in the northern half of the country.

Local government outside London is administered through a two-tier system of 45 counties subdivided into districts. Apart from six metropolitan counties created in 1974, the counties' histories can, for the most part, be traced back a thousand years to the administrative units or 'shires' of the Saxon period.

The legal system of England comprises on the one hand an historic body of conventions, known as 'common law' and 'equity', and on the other Parliamentary and European Community legislation. Common law stems from the work of the king's judges after the Norman conquest of 1066 who sought to bring together into a single body of legal principles the various local customs of the Anglo-Saxons. Equity law derives from the practice of petitioning the king's chancellor in cases not covered by common law.



#### iv. Primary and secondary social institutions

##### 1. Family

###### 1.1. Middle-class families

The present middle-class family in England is a loosely-knit and nuclear one. Many writers have assumed that this system is one of the consequences of changes which occurred in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries following the Industrial Revolution. Macfarlane (1978), however, traces the origin of individualistic and loosely-knit family structure in England as far back as early thirteenth century when there already existed families in which mothers and fathers could not depend on their children's goodwill and aged parents were treated as lodgers (Macfarlane, 1978, p. 143).

Contemporary families are a more egalitarian partnership, wives have more or less the same freedom as their husbands, responsibilities are shared, and the distinctions between the husband's and the wife's familial tasks are blurred (Farmer, 1970). The Englishmen whom I interviewed said that they treated their wives as equal partners. However, many of the English women to whom I spoke did not think their husbands or boyfriends voluntarily treated them as equal partners. Rather, it was the enlightened women who reminded them of their duties towards their wives and of the women's equal rights. However, the point to be noted is that not all middle-class families either live up or accept the ideal of equal, mutually shared

responsibilities between the marriage partners.

a. parent-child relationships and child-rearing practices

a.1. independence, individualism

According to my observations and the discussions I held with people, in middle-class families generally parents act as companions to their children as well as being the source of authority. Children are regarded as independent individuals and are 'pushed' towards independence at as early an age as two or three. Parents do not interfere with their children's affairs, at least not directly, especially after the age of puberty. They do not go further than giving advice and even that only when asked for. Children have great freedom in matters like further education, marriage, social intercourse with people and choice of job, but parents very subtly and indirectly dissuade them from, say, getting involved with partners of lower class than their own, engaging in jobs and general affairs undesirable and radically deviant from the norms of their own social class.

The techniques of child rearing employed by middle-class parents seem to be developmental, that is, they are directed towards the encouragement of the cognitive processes of reasoning, planning, imagination and self-control, and are of a kind that Klein (1965) calls the 'problem-solving approach'. Problem-solving learning experiences are those in which the child is presented not only with rules for behaviour but also with explanations for them. He learns that there

are solutions for problems which he may discover by knowing enough and by thinking enough (Klein, 1965, pp. 520-521). The consequences for a child reared in this way, according to Klein, are (1) ability to perceive the need for change, (2) independence of the group, (3) tolerance for ambiguity, (4) ability to postpone an immediately gratifying response in the interest of some more remote but ultimately more desirable goal, and (5) willingness to experiment and reaction to novelty (Klein, 1965, pp. 521-524).

In the course of my discussions with people, a typical response to the question as to how they help their children with their school homework was that the parent usually waits for the child to approach him. He then refers the child to some reading materials. As the next step he tries to stimulate the child's imagination by giving him examples. As a last resort only will he help the child directly to solve his problem. According to Radke (1946), when parents allow the child to profit from the natural result of his act, the child tends to be able to face reality with less strain, and to be able to act independently of adult affection and attention.

English middle-class children's learning experiences appear to inculcate in them a sense of significance of the individual vis-a-vis the group, self-respect, individual identity, individual liberty and, in short, individualism.



### a.2. achievement motivation

The over-arching value which dominates child rearing in all groups of the middle class is the value of achievement and success. Both through the process of direct learning and through the identification process the child is rewarded for trying to succeed. High standards of performance are demanded of the child, success is rewarded, failure punished, task-relatedness is demanded and independence is sought for. The internalization of parental standards of achievement leads the child on to his own high achievement (Raynor, 1969, pp. 90-91). Middle-class families appear also to provide the child with the right conditions required for an inculcation of achievement motivation, namely consistent parental discipline, orderly routine for the child, much parent-child interaction of a warm-hearted non-possessive kind, problem-solving approach, experience of task-relatedness, encouragement of psychological independence, and experience of time-perspective (Klein 1965, p. 510).

McClelland et al. (1953) relate high level of achievement motivation to emphasis on independence, self-reliance, autonomy, achievement in problem-solving situation, and regarding the child as an individual worth developing in his own right, rather than as a subordinate part of a larger 'solidary' family unit to which he owes loyalty over and above his individual interests. They also argue that people who are highly motivated for achievement think more often in anticipatory and general terms. They are concerned with general and vague life-goals. They want to relate 'now' to 'then', to see (if they are



students, for example) the connection between what they are studying and what they want to do later.

The child-rearing practices of English middle-class families (Klein, 1965; Farmer, 1970; Gorer, 1955; Parekh, 1974; Raynor, 1969) seem to fulfill McClelland's requirements for high achievement motivation.

### a.3. discipline

There is little belief in childish innocence or in the innate goodness of children, views which are strongly held in some other societies, and hence there is a strong emphasis on discipline in English families. There is little systematic evidence on normal English practice but discipline in English culture appears to be more in terms of the punishment of undesirable traits than in terms of rewards for good behaviour (Klein, 1965, p. 478; Gorer, 1955, p. 197). The punishments most generally used are some sort of deprivation: withdrawing privileges, forbidding or withdrawing favourite toys or pastime, temporary stopping of pocket money or going without food.

On the implications of 'stopping privileges' Gorer writes:

"Its implications seem to be that all pleasure is, as it were, conditional, that children's enjoyments are not 'rights', but are granted by the benevolence of the parents and while the children's conduct is satisfactory, and may be withdrawn under provocation." (Gorer, 1955, p. 187)

Klein (1965, p. 485) in respect to this point argues that the "control of behaviour by means of deprivation or the fear of deprivation

encourages the development of a somewhat greater foresight and long-time perspective than slaps and smacks, which run their course in a moment."

Farmer (1970) argues that these methods of discipline are guilt producing, and they result in a strict conscience, which in the end leads the child to discipline himself, irrespective of the presence of an authority figure be it parent, teacher or policeman. These methods give the child an awareness of the feelings of others, the capacity to face up to difficulties and to cope with them, and an ability to take a long-term view of his behaviour in relation to future events and prospects.

#### a.4. honesty, fair play and love of privacy

Respect of one's own privacy as well as material belongings and those of others' is emphasized at home. And honesty is a way of fulfilling this respect. Dishonesty, cheating and sneaking are means of immorally acquiring things which are someone else's belongings (both material and non-material). Honesty, like many other values, is taught at home by providing the child with examples of honest and socially acceptable behaviour and if necessary by talking to him. English children have a strongly developed sense of fair shares before school-going age.

## 1.2. Working-class families

The contemporary English working-class family is characterized to some degree by a strict role and task allocation between sexes. The ideal wife is patient, submissive, home-centred and self-effacing where her husband's interests are concerned. This, however, may be less the case in the younger generation of working-class families.

The maintenance of a kinship system is valued in itself and one could almost say that the working-class family is a network of closely-knit and dense relationships. This density of relationships, which is extended to some degree to neighbours and one's community, gives rise, according to Rose (1968), on one hand, to "a feeling of community support and on the other a strong tendency towards autonomy and independence" (p. 58). Living in a closely-knit community implies, Rose further argues, "at least an outward conformity, and this also furthers the use of commonly accepted ideas and attitudes...departure from which is likely to cause unease" (p. 58).

### a. Parent-child relationships and child-rearing practices

Life for the working-class child on the whole is harsher than that of his middle-class counterpart. Attitudes are more authoritarian, and parents are punitive, repressive and unimaginative in their attitudes towards their children. Father is the head of the household and demands obedience from the child. However, independence on the



part of children is valued and they are literally 'pushed' out of home at early ages (Rose, 1968; Roberts, 1978).

#### a.1. discipline

In some ways the working-class child is more indulged in the early years than the middle-class child. But he is also more familiar with violence, is more likely to receive corporal punishment, and less likely to know what he is being punished for. The favourite punishment for boys is cane and for girls the stopping of pocket money (Gorer, 1955, p. 299). Unlike many middle-class parents who see the maintenance of control over conduct as something growing from an inner anxiety, working-class parents see it as obedience to "an overriding certain knowledge of what is right" (Rose, 1968, pp. 79-80.)

The working class has been said to live on the 'pleasure principle'; if satisfactions are within reach they are taken at once. This immediacy, according to Farmer (1970, p. 95), reflects and is reflected in disciplinary practices. The effects of the usual type of punishment, that is corporal, frequently unpremeditated, are immediately felt. As with the punishment, working-class rewards are also direct and tangible; sweets and treats, rather than approval.

On the whole, it seems that working-class familial relationships and child-rearing practices encourage and favour, among other things, subordination and loyalty to the family and community interests,



collectivism, preference for immediate pleasure over long-term interests, and 'external' standards of discipline and control; and discourage individual success and achievement - all in sharp contrast to the characteristics of middle-class families.

## **2. Religion**

The main religion of the English is Christianity - especially Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. Rowntree and Lavers wrote in 1951 that large numbers of people and very likely a majority of the whole population had rejected so much of the Christian story as related in the New Testament that no church could recognize them as Christians at all (1951, p. 354). However, my experience with the English gives me the impression that they do not reject the 'Bible story' so much as the institutions and rituals of the church. Gorer (1955) in a seminal survey of 'English character' found that one quarter of the population of England do not consider that they belong to any religion or denomination, and far fewer are active. On the whole, women are more religious than men, the old than the young, the upper than the lower social strata and the North and West more than the South (Gorer, 1955; Martin, 1967). However, it seems that, as Rowntree and Lavers (1951) put it, there is a substantial measure of practical Christianity in the way people deal with each other. They have a vivid sense of right and wrong, a deep sense of decency, ideas about what the pattern of life should be, and how their country and the world should be organized. Generally speaking, the standards are Christian (Rowntree and Lavers, 1951, p. 356 and p. 366).

### 2.1. The 'Protestant ethic' and individualism

About eighty percent of those who claim any church membership belong to some organized Protestant Church, the Church of England accounting for by far the largest proportion (Gorer, 1955; Martin, 1967). Protestantism was initiated by Luther in Germany in early sixteenth century and expanded by Calvin in Switzerland (Geneva). It came to England during the reign of Henry VIII. Protestantism, as part of its protest against the interposition of the Church between God and the believer, tended to replace the patterns of the society in which the institutions of the Church were integrated with a more individualistic system.

For Weber the change of the economic structure in England from feudalism to capitalism and private ownership occurred in the sixteenth century. One of the contributory factors, according to Weber (1930), was the peculiar 'ethic' which stressed untiring, never-ending acquisition which developed in certain parts of Protestant Europe. It is well known that Weber believed that this ethic was somehow associated with Calvinism though not in any simple system of cause and effect. In Weber's view, Protestantism stood at the cradle of modern economic man, and Calvinism in particular stressed the individual, one's own ability and initiative. Thus, though modern Western capitalism "was derived from the peculiarities of the social structure of Occident, it was inconceivable without Calvinism" (p. 25) , for it "had the psychological effect of

freeing the acquisition of goods from the inhibitions of traditionalistic ethics" (p. 171).

According to Weber (1930), Christianity was one of the factors which broke the original 'clan' system in Europe. It encouraged an abstract, non-familistic attitude, and stressed individual behaviour; every Christian community was basically a confessional association of individual believers, not a ritual association of kinship groups (Benedix, 1966, p. 74). While Christianity in general was dissolvent of the earlier State, Protestantism was especially more powerful in its attack on the 'fetters' of earlier kinship systems. Weber argued that the great achievement of ethical religions, above all of the ethical and asceticist sects of Protestantism, was to shatter the fetters of the kinship group. These religions established the superior community of faith of a common ethical way of life in opposition to the community of blood, even to a large extent in opposition to the family (Weber, 1930).

It seems, however, that the origins of individualism and the 'capitalist ethic' in England lay well before sixteenth century. Macfarlane (1978), having examined various documents, argues that from the early thirteenth century onward "it is not possible to find a time when an Englishman did not stand alone. Symbolized and shaped by his ego-centred kinship system, he stood in the centre of his world" (p. 196). He further argues that:

"The majority of ordinary people in England from at least the thirteenth century were rampant individualists, highly mobile both geographically and socially, economically 'rational',



market-oriented and acquisitive, and ego-centred in kinship and social life." (p. 163).

If Macfarlane's arguments are correct, one can conclude that Protestantism, since its adoption by the English, has encouraged and reinforced individualism and the spirit of capitalism in the society.

However, it has to be added that 'Protestant ethic' in terms of the 'spirit of capitalism/industrialism' which once was the major drive behind Industrial Revolution seems to have declined among the English since then (Barnett, 1972; Roderick and Stephens, 1978; Roderick and Stephens, 1981; Wiener, 1981; Roderick and Stephens, 1982). Nor do the English seem to be a highly individualistic people, compared to, say, the Americans (Jamieson, 1980; Wiener, 1981).

### **3. Educational system**

Education in modern England is a large-scale activity. Virtually all adult members of English society have experienced nine or more years of full-time education. About one sixth of the total population are currently receiving full-time education. This includes nearly all the children between the ages of five and sixteen. In addition, millions of young and mature adults are engaged in part-time education. Education, therefore, seems to play a very important part in forming the cultural values of English people.

The aspects of the English educational system which are of particular relevance to the present study are teaching practices, values and priorities.



### 3.1. Teaching practices

Modern teaching practices in England are based on the traditions enriched by theories advocated by mainly English and other European experts and writers on the subject, such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-78), Pestalozzi (1746-1827), Philipp von Fellenberg (1711-1844), Edgeworth (1744-1817), Robert Owen (1771-1858), Froebel (1782-1852), Spencer (1829-1903) and Huxley (1825-95) and practitioners, such as Thomas Arnold of Rugby and Samuel Butler of Shrewsbury (Barnard, 1961).

The essence of these theories is that (Barnard, 1961):

- (1) education should be regarded as the development and cultivation of the possibilities native to the human being and the educator's duty is to assist 'nature's march of development' so as to ensure a natural, systematic and harmonious progress. It must be based on observation, self-discovery, and experience by the pupil;
- (2) emphasis must be put on methods which would stimulate self-activity and train the power of self-experience, and which at the same time would be adjusted to the needs of individual pupil. It should aim at making pupils self-reliant in intellectual as well as in moral matters;
- (3) the child should not be given a rule, but should be led to make his own investigation and make his own generalization from the particulars which he observes;
- (4) play is an important part of education as it encourages children's

natural development.

As for discipline and control, experts in self-government have helped to displace conventional methods of discipline and organization in favour of encouraging freedom and flexibility. The teacher-pupil relationship is a dynamic one in which control of the classroom situation must be negotiated or bargained for. King (1973, Chapter 10) reported that some of the control systems employed by teachers were praising a student in a voice that can be heard by anyone, eye-scanning and contact ('keeping an eye on them'), reference control where some external authority is evoked (headmaster or parents), age-reference control, sex-reference, and ability-status reference. Harrogate et al. (1975) found that shame, guilt, humour, physical punishment and systematic rewards were employed by some teachers to discipline the pupils.

### 3.1. Value systems

Education is generally regarded as a process of cultural transmission. It is suggested that the culture transmitted in the English educational system and the means of its transmission are more closely related to the culture of middle classes than that of the working classes. Thus, King (1977, p. 24) argues that the values of the children from middle-class backgrounds are regarded as being culturally continuous with the educational process, whereas those of the working-class children may be culturally discontinuous.

Sugarman (1966), in a study of fourth-year boys in four secondary schools, found that the boys who did well in school work and were judged well-behaved tended to have an orientation towards the future, a stress on activity in relation to success, and individuality (supposedly middle-class values). The working-class boys who were not judged so favourably tended to make what were thought to be more characteristically working-class choices: in favour of a present orientation (having a good time now), a stress on being (an acceptance of prevailing structure) and collaterality (sticking with one's mate).

Hargreaves (1967) found that the 'successful' pupils more often showed the following characteristics: ambition regarded as a virtue; individual responsibility, resourcefulness and self-reliance; cultivation and possession of skills; worldly asceticism, postponement of immediate satisfaction in the interest of long-term achievement; rationality and planning; cultivation of manners, courtesy and personality; control of physical aggression and violence; wholesome recreation; and respect for property. The contrast with characteristically 'working-class' values is again apparent.

The social composition of universities and other institutions of higher education is also predominantly middle class, but there is little general evidence of an element of social selection in the admission procedure. The students' experience of the university is to some extent an extension of the experience of school with middle-class students feeling more at home and working-class ones feeling



marginal (King, 1977, pp. 101-103).

A major feature of the English (and indeed British) educational system has been its emphasis on arts and classics and a relatively low priority for engineering and technology. This, as many writers have pointed out, betrays a significant influence of middle-class values. It is the English middle class which is said to favour arts subject and disdains anything concerning industry and technology (see, for instance, Barnett, 1972; Roderick and Stephens, 1978; Jamieson, 1980; Wiener, 1981; Roderick and Stephens, 1981; Jenkins, 1982; Lorenz, 1982; Roderick and Stephens, 1982).

### 3.3. Public schools and their role in educational value systems

Public schools, which are exclusively private, are schools for the children of the well-to-do. They were originally set up in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries under the Church and royal patronage for 'poor scholars'. By the mid-eighteenth century these were almost completely taken over by the sons of the aristocracy and gentry.

Public schools appear to have two major effects on the values and attitudes of English people. On one hand, they influence the value system of the educational institutions. On the other, they perpetuate the stratified structure of the society.

The influence of public schools on the value system is exerted



through two channels. First, they are used as models for maintained (State) secondary schools. Second, the graduates of public schools occupy many positions of power and persuasion, and prestige in business and public life (Dancy, 1963; Public School Commission, 1968; Sampson, 1971, 1982a, 1982b). Many studies, concentrating on the educational and social background of the chairmen and top executives of commercial companies, clearing banks and other financial institutions, and political leaders, have concluded that at least between 50 to 80 percent of these people had been educated at public schools and that this has changed very little over time (Copeman, 1955; Farrow, 1963; Glennerster and Pryke, 1973; Heller, 1973; Whitely, 1973; Stanworth and Giddens, 1974; Fidler, 1981, Sampson, 1982b).

Much of the organization of the schools relates to their total character. Pupils are subject to a formal round of life under fairly constant supervision. The smooth running of the school, as King argues,

"... puts a premium on the propagation of emotional neutrality in personal relationships, as a part of what Lambert et al. (1975) call the 'stiff-upper-lip syndrome', and on conformity, which may be obtained by stripping away the pupil's personal identity by the use of uniforms". (King, 1977, p. 90)

The emphasis on conformity, loyalty, acceptance of authority and concealment of emotions are valued as important to the smooth running of the school, and as desirable in themselves (King, 1977, p. 91). However, the schools also claim to encourage 'individualistic'

traits via an emphasis on leadership, hobbies, etc. Yet this is a qualified individualism confined to strict socially acceptable limits and incorporated into the wider notion of the 'team' which in adult life becomes the 'social elite'.

Most people in England are said to be conscious of class distinction. There seems to be little doubt that public schools at present serve a limited class in English society, that they are one of the important common links between members of that class, and that they can justly be called a 'divisive factor' in the society. The public schools, however, as Dancy (1963, p. 104), like many other writers, argues, are not the cause of class division in English society.

#### **4. Political system**

##### **4.1. Government**

The political system is based on the principle of parliamentary democracy and party government. Its origins can be traced back to the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

The head of the state is the Crown - the Crown being not the monarch in person but rather the Crown as a legal concept of office. Constitutionally, the Crown appoints all ministers, ambassadors, judges, and officers of the armed services. It creates peers, bestows honours and assents to Acts of Parliament. In practice, in most cases the powers of the Crown are exercised by the government in

the name of the Crown and the monarch must nearly always act on advice not personal initiative. The choice of prime minister is always clearly indicated by the result of a general election when the leader of the majority party takes office; and if the prime minister requests the dissolution of Parliament the monarch will almost certainly comply.

Parliament consists of a "House of Commons" whose members are elected by British people and citizens of other Commonwealth countries, and an upper house, the "House of Lords" whose members are hereditary and life peers and who are not elected by the electorate. The supremacy or sovereignty of Parliament is one of the fundamental principles of the unwritten English constitution. The government of the day, consisting of prime minister and ministers responsible for various departments, are themselves members of the parliament and are answerable to it for their policies and actions. The system presupposes the existence of an opposition, 'Her/His Majesty's Opposition', and Parliamentary procedures are organized so that the Opposition has enough time allotted to be able to function properly.

In terms of power, Parliament's part in making policy is very circumscribed and its chief function is to watch the government critically and ask questions. The cabinet occupies a central and dominant position in the system, and decides policies and devises tactics. It has been argued by academics and politicians alike (see for instance, Hunt, 1982; Benn, 1982) that the prime minister in



effect is now undoubtedly the most powerful member of the government.

#### 4.2. Pressure groups

In recent years pressure groups, such as the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), groups who oppose experiments on animals in research laboratories, and ad hoc groups who organize themselves to prevent government authorities from deporting immigrant families, have increased in number, size and influence. These groups exercise their influence and pressure through bargaining with ministers and senior civil servants, and lobbying members of Parliament to persuade them to change the agreed programmes. Despite limitations on how well they can achieve their goals, pressure groups play an important part in the political system of the country. They act as vital two-way channels of communication in the society, and also as powerful negotiators on behalf of their members. Through membership in pressure groups, individual English men and women may indirectly participate in the making of public policies.

Mass media are another vital channel in the two-way flow of information and opinions between politicians and electors as well as significant agents in the formation of political opinions. The government itself does not own any newspaper and no broadcasting stations are controlled directly by government. However, this may not be thoroughly true with respect to broadcasting some politically sensitive issues, such as some matters related to Northern Ireland and



IRA's activities, handling of the news about the Falkland Islands crisis while it lasted (Panorama, BBC 1, 18 October, 1982), where Government authorities hold back, control and censor the information to be given to the public.

#### 4.3. Individuals and politics

##### a. liberty

Among the rights of English men and women, liberty is considered pre-eminent. Traditionally, the individual liberty has been protected by Common law against Crown and State. England is, or rather was, an insulated island. The absence of land frontiers with foreign nations has meant that the country has not needed a large standing army. As a result, she has avoided the threat posed to public liberty by the presence of an ever-ready agency for use by the executive power. Today, so deeply inculcated in the individual is respect for the liberty to speak, to act, and to travel as one pleases that there are few statutory guarantees for liberty. However, the enjoyment of liberty may sometimes be curtailed by the activities of government departments and, in the conflict between the claims of an individual for libertarian rights and the claims of a government department, the individual has often been the loser.

##### b. equality

The high value given to liberty is not matched by a strong support

for social equality, and favourable attitudes towards inequality have deep and strong historical roots. The English, wrote Bagehot a century ago, are a deferential nation.

"Certain persons are by common consent agreed to be wiser than others, and their opinion is, by consent, to rank for much more than its numerical value. We may in these happy nations weigh votes as well as count them ... Instead of resenting the assumed superiority of a relative few, many Englishmen defer to those they regard as legitimately superior" (Bagehot, 1963, p. 141).

It must be added, however, that one of the basic principles of the English Constitution is the rule of law and that individuals are equal before the law.

#### 4.4. Leaders and followers

Leaders enjoy special advantages in English politics by virtue of cultural attitudes, such as deference to people in the position of authority, but these same attitudes also reflect the expectation that leaders will pay heed to the needs and the desires of their own followers. Democratic elections are the main institutional restraints upon leaders and regulate their activities.

A sense of trust is also pervasive in the attitudes of the people toward the political leaders and government. Rose (1965, p. 43) points out that "the ancient legal maxim, 'The Queen can do no wrong', suggests the viewpoint that the government is not a menace to Englishmen".

The Civic Culture survey by Almond and Verba (1963) found that English people are quite trusting in their general social relationships, and this trust is reflected in their political attitudes.

#### 4.5. Political culture

The present political culture reflects a range of attitudes and is the product of a long process of historical development. During the past two centuries at least three major emphases can be noted. One is that of the social conservative, averse to change and strongly attached to the culture of a pre-democratic society. Another is that of the liberal reformer, concerned with removing the barriers to individual advancement. The third is that of trade unionist and socialist, placing emphasis upon the need for collective action to ensure equal treatment for needs of those who live by manual labour (Rose, 1965). In the words of Samuel Beer, an American political scientist, political culture of the past two decades represents the following sets of values: (1) Tory values whose direction would seem to be toward "a corporatist economy, managed by a technocratic elite, and moderated by the traditional controls of party government and parliamentary democracy"; (2) "Building likewise on the centralised, bureaucratic state, a Bevanite version of socialism would tend toward a planned economy, with egalitarian social programmes enjoying the support of a coherent trade union movement and of a mass party of "workers by hand and brain" "; (3) the neo-liberals, Mrs Thatcher and her followers, who "seek to move the burdens of social choice from government and politics to the market"; (4) egalitarian in



the socialist tradition, neo-socialism, its principal advocate being Tony Benn, "departs sharply from Bevanite collectivism in its thrust toward a radical decentralisation and democratisation of the economy"; (5) the neo-radicals, including mainly the Social Democrats and the Liberals, in economic and social policy "eschew a "drastic move" from the middle ground, and they take their stand to the left of its centre...They accept an updated version of the consensus brought into existence by the system of party government that dominated public choice in the postwar years" (Beer, 1982, pp. 451-453).

Major political parties who represent these values are Conservative (Tory), Labour, Liberal and newly founded Social Democratic parties. In the past sixty years or so governments have been formed either by the Conservative or Labour parties.

## **5. Socio-economic structure**

### 5.1. Economy

England was the home of capitalism and it determined the evolution of capitalism (Weber, 1930, 1961). Weber believed that the change in England from a 'peasant' society to a 'capitalist' one grew up in the sixteenth century. But, as Macfarlane (1978) argues, there is evidence that private individual ownership and many other features of a non-peasant society existed in England as early as the thirteenth century. The capitalist system has developed slowly in England. At the end of the Middle Ages there was a system that could be called

'commercial capitalism'. This system changed to the 'industrial capitalism' in the eighteenth century and for nearly two hundred years was of a laissez-faire nature which implied opposition to government interference and a belief in free competition and unrestricted liberty of the individual (Dore, 1973; Macfarlane, 1978).

The contemporary economy can hardly be called a pure version of capitalism since it is characterized by a mixture of freedom and control, and of private and of state enterprise. Yet the main channel of control is through market rather than through direct intervention in the allocation of the factors of production or their product. The state provides the legal framework within which the capitalists operate largely on market principles. Since the 1920s, Labour governments have tended to use direct powers to control the economy in addition to using fiscal measures to regulate growth. Conservative governments, on the other hand, have tended to rely mainly on fiscal policy, or what has recently been called 'monetarism', rather than direct intervention.

## 5.2. Class

The social structure of modern England is described as stratified because groups of similar occupations in terms of training, entrance qualification, conditions of work and wages, are given a fairly distinct social position or status. This stratified structure is not regulated by laws, as were the estates of medieval times, or by ritual, as are the castes in India, but is based on the way that the different members

of society regard their own position and that of others. According to Gorer's survey in 1955 nine out of ten English people felt no hesitation in assigning themselves to a social class (Gorer, 1955). In 1971 Gorer found that thirty five percent of the people whose attitudes he surveyed thought they belonged to the middle class and sixty five percent to the working class (Gorer, 1971). The class hierarchy broadly consists of upper class (a very small proportion of the total population), middle class, and working class. However, there is no sharp and rigid division between these strata and, moreover, the structure is a dynamic one in that there is a movement between classes.

The values and attitudes of the society are dominated by the middle class values, mainly because they occupy a large proportion of positions of power and persuasion - in Parliament, civil service, universities, mass communication media, financial and commercial institutions and the church (see for instance, Gorer, 1955; Dancy, 1963; Public School Commission, 1968; Stanworth and Giddens, 1974; Fidler, 1981, Sampson, 1971, 1982<sup>a</sup>, 1982<sup>b</sup>).

### 5.3. Labour movement

Although the origins of the trade union movement are traced back to the craft guilds of the Middle Ages, the modern trade union is essentially a product of the Industrial Revolution (Irwin, 1976). The Trades Union Congress (TUC), which first met in 1868, is the central body of the movement representing the majority of trade unions and



their affiliated members and meets once a year.

Union membership is industry and craft based and cuts across firms and organizations. Collective bargaining, whose subject matter is terms of employment, is carried out at both national (industry) and plant levels mainly by shop stewards. A further characteristic of the trade union movement is the practice of the 'closed shop' according to which no one can be employed at a unionized firm without being a member of one union or another. A closed shop is based on an agreement between employers and the trade unions. However, recent government employment legislations have placed many restrictions on the exercise of the closed shop practice.

Gallie (1978) found in his studies that the English unions see their role as one of representing the workforce; that is to say pushing for objectives that are consciously desired by the workers themselves. Unlike trade unions from some other European countries such as Poland and France, the English unions are more pragmatic in their approach and fight for better pay settlement and better working conditions within the present economic and social system rather than engaging in class struggle and ideological battles for overthrow of the system. A section in the Transport and General Workers Union's (T&GWU) handbook for shop stewards reads: "Don't talk for the sake of talking. There is no need to give management the benefit of your views on social philosophy. They are unlikely to dispose them to generosity" (quoted in Gallie, 1978, p. 248). This pragmatism is further reflected in one of Gallie's informants' statements about a

good union:

"A union should be trying to forward the interests of its members in three ways. First, it should look after wages and conditions in the workplace. Second, it should keep a check on the standards of health and safety in the factory. And third, it should try to influence legislation to benefit the workers by influencing MPs and sending delegates to the Labour Party Conference." (Gallie, 1978, p. 245)

Trade unions engage also in political activities; that is, activities designed to persuade, by a variety of means, the public, political parties and governments that a particular action is desirable or otherwise. Their concerns range from the legal framework within which they operate to the financial terms and physical conditions under which men and women work, and to the impact of politically determined economic and social policies such as decisions on the levels of public spending, on employment, on tariffs and on the provision of social welfare, all affecting the lives of trade unionists.

Trade unions have had in the past two hundred years to resort to a range of tactics to pursue their interests depending on the general political context in which they have found themselves. Since the establishment of the Labour Party in 1906, which grew out of the trade unions movement, they have been able to use it to further their interests as well as being its major source of finance. The affiliated unions represent a large majority of trade union membership, and in fact represent the dominant bloc of members in the Party Conference as compared with local constituency parties. Unions are additionally tied to the party through the practice of union subvention of Labour MPs. Their position vis-a-vis Labour

governments is often, but not always, that of negotiation and with the Conservative governments that of confrontation.

A final point to be made about trade unions is that much of their powers has been eroded in recent years for a variety of reasons such as decline in membership (loss of 2,000,000 members) because of mass-redundancies caused by economic recession and introduction of new technology, and anti-union legislation by the present Conservative government - e.g. banning secondary picketing, ending closed shop practice (Bain, 1983; The Times, September 2, 1983, p. 8; International Assignment, B.B.C. Radio 4, December 2, 1983).

## **II. The English today**

The previous part studied the social and cultural environment in which English people are brought up and live. The present part examines the values and attitudes that this environment is likely to inculcate and reinforce in English people.

### **i. Previous surveys on English character**

Although research into various aspects of British society and the British abounds, relatively very few empirical surveys have attempted to study the English and their way of life exclusively or comprehensively.

A seminal, and perhaps the first comprehensive empirical survey on



the subject was conducted by Gorer (1955) among the readers of a national popular newspaper. He found that the English, amongst other things, are aggressive, shy, reserved, class conscious, and law-abiding. They, as a whole, have high ideals of conduct both for themselves and for others.

A second survey was conducted by Terry (1979). He carried out his studies among 20 English managers and 20 foreign managers working in England. He also made an extensive survey in the literature by English and non-English writers and observers on the English and their cultural values and attitudes. He identified thirteen characteristics which are significantly present in the English. These are conservatism, tenacity, compromise, rural focus, liberty and individualism, violence and aggression, class consciousness, love of sport and fair play, pragmatism, reserve, lack of ambition, chauvinism, and orderliness and discipline.

## **ii. The present survey on English culture**

The present survey was carried by the author to examine the values and attitudes held by a sample of English people (see Chapter 4 for details of the methodology which was employed). This section discusses the findings of the survey and compares them with the views expressed by other researchers and writers about the English and also my own observations.

### **a. The sample**

The hundred respondents who participated in the survey come from a wide range of socio-economic backgrounds. Their occupations can be classified into two broad categories of non-manual and professional and manual. The proportion of these occupations in the sample is similar to that of the total population of the country as a whole (1971 census): 47 percent non-manual workers and professionals and 53 percent manual workers.

### **b. The findings**

Table 6.1 shows the respondents' opinion about the English people in their occupation with respect to the 35 pairs of characteristics. The results are presented as a percentage of the total sample. Table 6.2 shows the responses in terms of mean scores for each characteristic. (In order to avoid disjunctures in the text all the tables are placed at the end of the chapter.)

Tables 6.1 and 6.2 about here

As the Tables show, the degree of agreement on the 35 pairs of characteristics varies considerably. Table 6.3 was subsequently constructed to establish a list of traits which are more significantly attributable to the English. It was decided to single out those characteristics which 70 percent or more of the respondents agreed to be present in English people, and/or for which there were at least

five times as many endorsements as non-endorsements.

A secondary list also was constructed in which the characteristics on which between 50 and 70 percent of the respondents had agreed as being present in the English were included.

A further list was constructed which included those characteristics on which agreement was expressed more than agreement on their opposites.

Table 6.3 about here

### **c. Discussion - English character**

#### **1. A strong sense of responsibility**

This characteristic is attributed to the English by a clear majority. 80 percent of respondents thought that English people have a strong sense of responsibility and only 6 percent thought otherwise. As could be seen later, this is consistent with some other characteristics believed to be held by the English.

#### **2. Honesty and trust**

79.8 percent of respondents believed that the English are trustworthy and 75.8 percent thought they were honest. This establishes honesty as a trait which English people believe they possess. Coupled with a



belief by 57.6 percent of the sample that the English are not open to bribery, one can safely say that they value honesty. It is also interesting to note that they are trusting people too, although they do not score very high on this trait. Only 58 percent of the sample thought that the English have trust in others.

Honesty and trust have been suggested by Rowntree and Lavers (1951) and Almond and Verba (1963) as salient characteristics present in the English. However, Parekh (1974), an Indian writer, believes that they are distrustful and suspicious of others. Having come from a different culture, Iran, where the state of trust among people in general is very low, and the public administration is bedevilled by corruption, I personally perceive the English to be much more honest and trusting than Iranians.

### 3. Resourcefulness

A resourceful person is able to cope well with new situations and set-backs without losing his integrity and self-confidence and to tackle problems in a 'rational' manner. It appears that the English as seen by the sample are a resourceful people. 77.8 percent of respondents believed that they can cope well with set-backs. An ability to cope with new and uncertain situations collected 70 percent of respondents' votes. 71.4 percent thought that English people were self-confident and 57.7 percent thought them to be rational.

These findings are consistent with Raynor's (1969) observation on

English characteristics where he attributes to them individual responsibility, resourcefulness and self-reliance, curiosity, ability to think at an abstract level and a willingness and ability to stand on their own feet intellectually; and Parekh's (1974) assertion about their self-confidence and ability to handle difficult situations.

#### 4. Discipline and self-control

Judging by the views expressed by the sample, one might also conclude that the English are a disciplined people, with control over both themselves and their emotions. 67 percent of respondents agreed that the English are disciplined and 75.5 percent thought that they possess self-control. The agreement on self-control and discipline is further complemented by views expressed by no less than 43.9 percent (as compared to 27.5 percent for the opposite) who regarded the English as reserved. The question of emotionality produced a mixed response. 31 percent of respondents thought the English were emotional, 31 percent thought otherwise, and 38 percent thought a mixture of the two characteristics existed in the English.

Raynor (1969) and Parekh (1974) also argued that the English have an ability to exercise self-control over their emotions and aggression. To me, as a person from an emotional culture, the English at first seemed unemotional and without feelings. But once I got closer to them, I found that they are emotional nonetheless. The difference between the English and the Iranians is that the former refrain from expressing their emotions in public, which may have something to do

with their love of privacy, whereas the latter are in general less inhibited in showing their finer feelings and emotions in the company of others.

#### 5. English people and the law

A great majority of the respondents seem to agree that the English are law abiding. 70 percent believed that they are law-abiding and 48.5 percent thought they respect the law to the letter. This again possibly reflects the English people's love of privacy. Law can be viewed as a means to protect people against intrusion by outsiders in their affairs. It can also reflect orderliness and discipline which, as was discussed earlier, are among the characteristics attributed to the English.

Respect for law and order, appreciation of the police, decency and, paradoxically, 'fiddling' have been said to be present in the English by writers on the subject (e.g. Gorer, 1955; Terry, 1979; Parekh, 1974). Fiddling, however, is directed against authorities; i.e. non persons rather than against individuals; i.e. persons.

An example of the English people's respect for law which struck me most in my early days of stay in England lay in their driving habits and careful observation of traffic rules, such as maintaining sufficient distance from the car in front of them, using their indicators, stopping before red lights even in the middle of the night when there was no other car in sight, stopping at pedestrian crossings, and the



like. None of these rules are observed to this extent in Iran. I later on travelled to France and India and found that Indian and French people are more like Iranians than the English in this respect.

#### 6. Fair play and feelings for others

These traits seem to attract a fair agreement among respondents as being present in the English. 48 percent thought that the English believe in sharing fairly and only 25.5 percent thought that they were selfish. 38 percent believed that the English prefer to take account of others' opinion as compared with 33 percent who thought they will impose their own opinion on others, and a good majority, 67 percent, thought that English people are friendly. Another manifestation of the English people's feelings for others is their public spirit and their interest in community affairs. 57 percent of respondents agreed that the English are interested in community affairs as compared with the 18 percent who agreed its opposite was the case.

Law (1948), Parekh (1974), Terry (1979) and The Times (September 10 and 22, 1980) too have observed a 'sense of duty toward local community', 'consideration for others' feelings', and a 'highly developed public spirit' among the English.

#### 7. Tolerance

59.6 percent of the respondents thought that English people in their occupation were tolerant. One interpretation of tolerance would

concern others' ideas and opinion, in which case it is consistent with the response to the questions related to 'fair play' 'interested in community affairs' and 'taking account of others' opinion' just discussed.

It can, however, also be interpreted as tolerance of other people, such as tolerance of foreigners and immigrants. Interpreted this way, tolerance, although known to be a characteristic present in the English, does seem to be at a low ebb at present time. Judging by the race-related events happening up and down the country nowadays and the general attitudes of people towards non-English people, such as the Irish immigrants and 'coloured' people, in their day to day contacts, the English seem to be a very intolerant nation indeed. The explanation for this contradiction may lie in the present economic hardship and high unemployment whereby 'foreigners' are viewed as a threat to one's job security. This intolerance for immigrants at present seems to be prevalent in other countries too, for instance, in West Germany towards Turkish immigrants and in France towards Algerian immigrants.

#### 8. Deference

Deference and obedience to seniors seem to be held strongly by the English, according to the sample, as a virtue. 61 percent of respondents believed this is the case. Further, 44 percent agreed that English people respect powerful people. However, a distinction should be made between fear of powerful people and a respect for

them. This was quite clearly reflected in the opinion of 64 percent of the respondents who believed that the English are not afraid of powerful people, against 21 percent who believed the opposite was the case.

Terry (1979) found that many writers on English culture attributed deference and respect for authority to the English. However, I feel that people from my own country are much more deferential to those in authority than is the case with the English, and that this deference is accompanied, especially among the less educated, the poor and those of low social standing, with some degree of fear.

#### 9. Independence, autonomy, individualism

An English person is known to love liberty and privacy. This should certainly be reflected in his preference for being independent and having autonomy at work. A considerable majority of the sample, 70.4 percent, thought that the English are independent of their parents and 61.6 percent believed that they would prefer to work on their own. 42.4 percent thought that they hate to be told what to do as compared with only 19.2 percent who like to be told what to do. The interesting point to note is that only 27 percent believed that they prefer to be on their own compared with 44 percent who said they prefer to be in a group. Again, 36.7 percent prefer to stand on their own, whereas 40.8 percent prefer to merge with the crowd. Two explanations may be offered in this respect. These findings appear to be consistent with arguments by such writers as



Jamieson (1980), Wiener (1981), Lorenz (1982), Jenkins (1982), and Bradley (1982) about the decline of the English individualism in the course of the past two centuries or so. They might also be consistent with their class consciousness. If class is viewed as a social group whose members share certain attitudes, values and life style, then one would expect a class conscious people to prefer group membership.

#### 10. Conservatism

The English are known to be a nation with a love for the past and for traditions. Only some of those questioned, however, agreed with this view. 42 percent of respondents agreed that the English are opposed to change as compared with 41 percent who believed the English accept change. 37.4 percent thought that English people play safe as compared with 35.4 percent who believed they take chances.

Nevertheless, a love of past, traditionalism, reluctance to change and conservatism were observed by Terry (1979) as English characteristics. This love of past and traditions is clearly manifested in the careful preservation of old buildings and monuments and minute observations of public ceremonies such as the annual pageantry surrounding the opening of the Parliamentary sessions which has its roots in centuries-old traditions.

Finally, while the results of the questionnaire survey are mostly in accord with those characteristics ascribed to English culture by other

writers, the likelihood of some bias must be borne in mind. As was described in Chapter 4, respondents were asked to rate English people in their occupation on each of the characteristics in the questionnaire. It is quite likely that they tended to report the characteristics of their 'own kind of people' in a favourable light.

#### **d. Middle-class and working-class values**

The literature on English culture suggests that middle-class and working-class people are different from one another in terms of the degree of some values and attitudes that they are said to hold (Rose, 1968; Goldthorpe et al., 1968<sup>a</sup>, 1968<sup>b</sup>, 1969; Bulmer, 1975; Critcher, 1979; Willis, 1979; Hoggart, 1957). To examine this assumption, the sample was broken down into two sub-samples on the basis of respondents' occupations. Table 6.4 shows the results in this respect.

Table 6.4 about here

There are six characteristics with respect to which the two groups' opinions differ from one another to an extent which, according to the results of a 't' test, is unlikely to have occurred by chance more than five times in a hundred. The manual workers seem to regard others in their walk of life as being less interested in community affairs ( $p = .01$ ), more modest ( $p = .05$ ), less rational ( $p = .04$ ), and less law-abiding ( $p = .04$ ), possess less self-control ( $p = .04$ ), and are more open to bribery ( $p = .01$ ), than do non-manual workers.

Some of these differences have been noted by other writers. For instance, Gorer (1955) argued that middle-class people participate in voluntary community and charity activities and fund raising functions, and they do so because they have a guilty conscious about their poorer fellow countrymen. Raynor (1969), commenting on working-class people, states that they like to exhibit their aggression and physical toughness.

There are other characteristics where differences occur of a kind which may be inferred from the literature on English working-class and middle-class cultures, but which are small and more likely to have occurred by chance ( $p > .05$ ).

There is an interesting difference between the findings of the present survey and the views expressed by some writers on English culture with regard to individualism. According to writers such as Goldthorpe et al. (1968<sup>a</sup>, 1968<sup>b</sup>, 1969), English working class people are more collectivist and group oriented than their middle class compatriots. The opinions expressed by the present sample do not indicate any significant difference between the two classes on the items related to individualism, and the direction of such difference, if any, points to the opposite. This finding, however, is more compatible with the views of some other writers, such as Wiener (1981), who believe that English middle class people are not as individualistic as they used to be.

On the whole, the similarities between working and middle class



people, according to the present survey, are far greater than the differences between the two. Although members of the two classes experience different family upbringing, they are more or less equally exposed to other social institutions such as school, religion, mass media and the like. The advanced communication systems within the society have also facilitated the fusion of values and attitudes among people. These intra-societal institutions seem to enhance some degree of homogeneity in the culture. It may therefore be safe to argue that the two classes of English society are sufficiently alike to talk about an English culture.

### **iii. The English socialization process, cultural attitudes and values**

This chapter has so far attempted to (1) examine the socialization processes to which English people are exposed and by which they will come to possess certain values and attitudes toward people and the general environment surrounding them, (2) ascertain which traits and characteristics could be regarded as salient features of English culture and social system, and (3) identify what may be safely called the 'English way of life'.

As the findings of the present survey and the literature on English society show, there is consistency between the attitudes and values held by the English and their upbringing at home and later socialization processes in the society. For instance, English parents place a great emphasis on their children's independence and autonomy.

This emphasis is continued at school and other educational institutions through their teaching methods which are based on self-discovery and experimentation. One would expect that a person who is brought up in an environment such as this would be highly independent, and able to stand on his own feet. The findings of the survey confirm this view: the English see themselves as independent, resourceful, self-confident and able to cope with set-backs. The same consistency appears to exist between, on the one hand, the degree to which other characteristics such as love of privacy, deference, tolerance, fair play, honesty, respect for law, self-control, and absence of fear of powerful people are held by the English, and, on the other hand, the socialization processes to which an English person is exposed in primary and secondary social institutions.

#### **iv. Is there an English culture?**

English social institutions; i.e. family, religion, education, and socio-economic systems are based on such foundations, and are organized in such a way, as to make it almost inevitable for English people to possess certain values and traits and to behave in certain ways in given circumstances. It is, of course, difficult to ascertain the direction of the cause and effect relationship between a person's values and attitudes and the characteristics of social institutions. In other words the vexed question here is whether it is an English person who creates his home and his society as they are, or it is his family and his society which make him what he is. The answer perhaps is that the process is one of a two-way

enforcement-reinforcement. But whatever the answer, the important point to note is that, in the light of numerous studies about people living in different 'spaces' and 'times' and their ways of life, English culture at the present time is a **recognizable whole** which is likely to differ significantly from other recognizable wholes formed in other parts of the world and other points in time.

For example, an early report on the findings of an on-going international attitudes survey carried out by Gallup (unpublished report in the author's possession), shows a marked difference between the peoples of the sixteen countries which participated in the first stage of the survey on a variety of political, social and religious issues.

Hofstede (1980), to cite another example, found significant differences between the degree to which managers from forty countries held certain attitudes and values.

A final point to be noted about characteristics attributable to the English is that it seems English values and attitudes fall into the following broad categories:

1. Those characteristics which are more salient in the culture than other characteristics, such as those listed in the first section of Table 6.3.
2. Those characteristics which seem to be more deep-seated among



the people, which do not change quickly over time and, indeed, could be safely said to be cultural traits, such as love for freedom, liberty, autonomy, and privacy.

3. Some deep-seated characteristics whose strength has nevertheless changed over long spells of time, such as individualism and 'spirit of capitalism', which were at a high point especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but may have since been on the decline (Wiener, 1981), and achievement motivation which also has been unstable over time and has been through 'high' and 'low' points (Bradburn and Berlew, 1961).

4. Those characteristics which are probably not cultural as such but rather appear to be situation-based, such as intolerance for immigrants and 'coloured' people.

Table 6.1 English character

Characteristic	Agreement (percentage)	Characteristic	Agreement (percentage)
1. interested in community affairs indifferent to community affairs mix of the two	57.0 18.0 25.0	7. cope well with set-backs do not cope well with set-backs mix of the two	77.8 9.1 13.1
2. honest dishonest mix of the two	75.8 8.1 16.2	8. rational irrational mix of the two	57.7 19.5 22.7
3. modest arrogant mix of the two	35.4 34.3 30.3	9. independent of their parents dependent on their parents mix of the two	70.4 13.4 16.3
4. respect the law to the letter prepared to bend the law mix of the two	48.5 25.2 26.3	10. reserved out-going mix of the two	43.9 27.5 28.6
5. self-confident lack self-confidence mix of the two	71.4 8.2 20.4	11. aggressive submissive mix of the two	45.0 18.0 37.0
6. have trust in others do not trust others mix of the two	58.0 20.0 22.0	12. law-abiding law-breaking mix of the two	70.0 12.0 18.0

Note: Pairs of opposing characteristics were placed on either ends of a seven-point scale. The points were scored from 1 to 7. Points 1, 2, and 3 were taken to signify 'agreement' with one characteristic and points 5, 6, and 7 'agreement' with its opposite.

continued...

**Table 6.1 English character /...continued**

Characteristic	Agreement (percentage)	Characteristic	Agreement (percentage)
13. believe in sharing fairly selfish mix of the two	48.0 25.5 26.5	19. respect powerful people do not respect powerful people mix of the two	44.0 27.0 29.0
14. obedient to their seniors disobedient to their seniors mix of the two	61.0 18.0 21.0	20. willing to take account of others' opinion prefer to impose their own opinion on others mix of the two	38.0 33.0 29.0
15. opposed to change accept change mix of the two	42.0 41.0 17.0	21. have a strong sense of responsibility have no sense of responsibility mix of the two	80.0 6.0 14.0
16. trustworthy not trustworthy mix of the two	79.8 7.1 13.1	22. play safe take chances mix of the two	37.4 35.4 27.3
17. unemotional emotional mix of the two	31.0 31.0 38.0	23. not afraid of powerful people afraid of powerful people mix of the two	64.0 21.0 15.0
18. disciplined undisciplined mix of the two	67.0 10.0 23.0	24. do not believe in fate believe in fate mix of the two	29.3 28.3 42.4

**Note:** Pairs of opposing characteristics were placed on either ends of a seven-point scale. The points were scored from 1 to 7. Points 1, 2, and 3 were taken to signify 'agreement' with one characteristic and points 5, 6, and 7 'agreement' with its opposite.

continued...



Table 6.1 English character /...continued

Characteristic	Agreement (percentage)	Characteristic	Agreement (percentage)
25. hate to be told what to do like to be told what to do mix of the two	42.4 19.2 38.4	31. see things through give up easily mix of the two	76.8 9.1 14.1
26. tolerant intolerant mix of the two	59.6 19.1 21.2	32. prefer to stand on their own prefer to merge with the crowd mix of the two	36.7 40.8 22.4
27. possess self-control lack self-control mix of the two	75.5 12.3 12.2	33. class conscious do not believe in class difference mix of the two	42.4 30.3 27.3
28. friendly unfriendly mix of the two	67.0 12.0 21.0	34. able to cope with new and uncertain situations unable to cope with new and uncertain situations mix of the two	70.0 16.0 14.0
29. not open to bribery corruptible mix of the two	57.6 21.2 21.2	35. prefer to be on their own prefer to be in a group mix of the two	27.0 44.0 29.0
30. prefer to work on their own prefer to work under supervision mix of the two	61.6 19.2 19.2		

Note: Pairs of opposing characteristics were placed on either ends of a seven-point scale. The points were scored from 1 to 7. Points 1, 2, and 3 were taken to signify 'agreement' with one characteristic and points 5, 6, and 7 'agreement' with its opposite.

**Table 6.2 English character (mean scores of responses)**

Characteristic	Mean score
have a strong sense of responsibility	2.25
trustworthy	2.34
see things through	2.36
honest	2.43
cope well with set-backs	2.45
law-abiding	2.60
possess self-control	2.66
friendly	2.68
self-confident	2.71
independent of their parents	2.72
disciplined	2.76
prefer to work on their own	2.83
able to cope with new and uncertain situations	2.88
not open to bribery	2.96
tolerant	3.00
not afraid of powerful people	3.01
obedient to their seniors	3.08
rational	3.10
have trust in others	3.14
interested in community affairs	3.24
believe in sharing fairly	3.31
respect the law to the letter	3.38
hate to be told what to do	3.41
aggressive	3.56
willing to take account of others' opinion	3.77
modest	3.77
reserved	3.80
respect powerful people	3.82
play safe	3.83
class conscious	3.84
do not believe in fate	3.94
unemotional	4.01
prefer to stand on their own	4.01
opposed to change	4.17
prefer to be on their own	4.27

Note: 1. Pairs of opposing characteristics were placed on either ends of a seven-point scale. The points were scored from 1 to 7. Points 1, 2, and 3 were taken to signify 'agreement' with one characteristic and points 5, 6, and 7 'agreement' with its opposite.

2. The lower the score, the more the characteristic is present; the higher the score, the more the opposite is present.

**Table 6.3 Major English characteristics according to the sample**

Characteristic	Rank order
<b>Primary list:</b> (characteristics endorsed by 70 percent or more of the sample)	
have a strong sense of responsibility	1
trustworthy	2
cope well with set-backs	3
see things through	4
honest	5
possess self-control	6
self-confident	7
independent of their parents	8
law-abiding	9
able to cope with new and uncertain situations	9
disciplined	10
friendly	10
<b>Secondary list:</b> (characteristics endorsed by 50-69 percent of the sample)	
not afraid of powerful people	11
prefer to work on their own	12
obedient to their seniors	13
tolerant	14
have trust in others	15
rational	16
not open to bribery	17
interested in community affairs	18
<b>Tertiary list:</b> (remaining characteristics endorsed by more people in the sample than not endorsed)	
respect the law to the letter	19
believe in sharing fairly	20
aggressive	21
prefer to be in a group	22
respect powerful people	22
reserved	23
hate to be told what to do	24
class conscious	24
opposed to change	25
prefer to merge with the crowd	26
willing to take account of others' opinion	27
play safe	28
modest	29
do not believe in fate	30



**Table 6.4 Comparison of non-manual and manual workers and the values they ascribe to others in their occupation**

Characteristic	Mean score		Value of 't'	Level of confidence (p)
	manual	non-manual		
interested in community affairs	3.56	2.87	-2.40	.01
not open to bribery	3.34	2.53	-2.50	.01
rational	3.42	2.76	-2.02	.04
law-abiding	2.88	2.27	-2.07	.04
possess self-control	2.92	2.36	-1.99	.04
modest	3.48	4.10	1.98	.05
reserved	3.50	4.15	1.84	.06
respect powerful people	4.09	3.51	-1.82	.07
honest	2.62	2.21	-1.55	.12
respect the law to the letter	3.57	3.17	-1.26	.21
self-confident	2.92	2.47	-1.59	.11
have trust in others	3.26	3.00	-.79	.43
cope well with set-backs	2.51	2.38	-.48	.63
independent of their parents	2.88	2.54	-1.01	.31
aggressive	3.66	3.44	-.75	.45
believe in sharing fairly	3.30	3.32	.06	.95
obedient to their seniors	3.16	2.97	-.61	.54
opposed to change	3.90	4.46	1.43	.15
trustworthy	2.46	2.21	-1.00	.32
unemotional	4.15	3.85	-1.03	.30
disciplined	2.94	2.55	-1.42	.15
willing to take account of others' opinion	3.75	3.78	.10	.92
have a strong sense of responsibility	2.39	2.08	-1.21	.23
play safe	3.80	3.87	.18	.85
not afraid of powerful people	3.03	2.97	-.18	.85
do not believe in fate	4.16	3.69	-1.50	.13
hate to be told what to do	3.23	3.61	1.26	.21
tolerant	3.00	3.00	0.00	1.00
friendly	2.58	2.78	.70	.48
prefer to work on their own	2.61	3.08	1.34	.18
see things through	2.17	2.57	1.45	.14
prefer to stand on their own	4.17	3.82	-.95	.34
class conscious	3.76	3.93	.47	.63
able to cope with new and uncertain situations	2.92	2.82	-.27	.78
prefer to be on their own	4.05	4.51	1.33	.18

Note: The lower the score, the more the characteristic is present.

The higher the score, the more the opposite is present.

## CHAPTER 7

### The Survey of Indian Culture

#### **Introduction**

This chapter attempts to examine cultural characteristics of Indian people with special emphasis on organizationally-related values and attitudes and their socio-cultural origins.

The chapter consists of three main parts. Part one is based on a study of literature and my own observations on the past and present state of Indian culture and its formation and evolution through the major social institutions; that is, family, religion, education, political system and socio-economic structure. The second part presents and discusses the findings of the questionnaire-based survey conducted by the author in which the values and attitudes of a sample of a hundred Indian men and women residing in the State of Maharashtra, and coming from different walks of life were studied. These findings are then compared with the characteristics attributed to Indian people by some other writers and researchers. Part three examines the extent to which Indian cultural attitudes and values are compatible with the socialization experiences of Indian people at home and in the society as a whole.

## **I. Formation of Indian Culture**

### **i. Where is India?**

India with an area of 3,287,782 sq. kilometers is the second largest country in the world. It is located in the northern hemisphere and is a part of the continent of Asia. The main land stretches between latitudes 8°4' and 37°6' north and longitudes 68°7' and 97°25' east. The climate of India may be broadly described as the tropical monsoon type. However, the annual rainfall varies from part to part. Cherrapunji gets 11,419 mm of annual rainfall whereas places like Rajasthan get between 100 and 500 millimeters.

### **ii. The origins of the Indians**

It was for long assumed that the basic structure of Indian society had its foundation in the Aryan conquest which took place in the middle of the second millennium B.C. But recent archaeological research into the pre-Aryan periods, based on the city-sites of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa in what is now Pakistan, has uncovered traces of a civilization that lasted a thousand years, from roughly 2,500 to 1,500 B.C., and possessed features closely paralleled in the traditional culture of India, such as their bathing habits and religious rituals (Segal, 1971, p. 43).

Linguists and archaeologists apparently agree on placing the probable area of Aryan origin as somewhere between the Danube and the



Oxus, among the earliest agriculturalists of the South Russian steppes and the lands lying eastwards to the Caspian Sea (Segal, 1971, p. 47).

India, as a whole or in parts, has been periodically invaded and ruled by the Persians, Moguls, French, Portugese and other peoples throughout its long history. The last colonial power was the British raj whose rule lasted about 200 years and was ended in 1947 with the Declaration of Independence.

### **iii. Some general demographic, economic and social features of India**

The total population of the country according to 1981 census is 683,997,512 of which almost 75% live in rural areas. The average density is 221 persons per sq. km., but it varies from state to state, being as high as 654 in Kerala and as low as 44 in Sikkim and 7 in Arunachal Pradesh. Many languages and dialects are spoken by the people of which 15 (including English) are specified in the Constitution as official languages.

Although India has become an industrial power in its own right (10th in the world), agriculture is still the mainstay of its economy - it is far the largest single employer in the country and accounts for around 40 percent of the country's gross national product (Financial Times, March 24, 1982, p. VIII).

The labour force constitutes about 37.44% of the total population,

although it must be borne in mind that reliable figures and data are available only for the organized sector of the Indian economy.

India, a union of states, consists of 22 states and 9 union territories. Under the Constitution, the areas of jurisdiction of the union and states are demarcated. The states have their own assemblies and council of ministers as well as being represented in the union legislature, the Parliament, at the capital.

The main sources of law in India are the Constitution, statutes (enacted by Parliament, the state legislatures and the union territory legislatures), customary law and case law.

#### **iv. Primary and secondary social institutions**

##### **1. Family**

While there are obvious differences between one family and another, and particularly between Hindus and Muslims, as Lannoy (1971, p.84) points out, their similarities are more striking and more significant. These similarities are especially prominent in parent-child and husband-wife relationships, hierarchical structure, dominance of the father as the source of power and authority, and the family's functions as a whole.

A review of the past literature on Indian family shows that the discussion centres around the institution of the joint family. This

type of family style, which originated in Vedic times, was patriarchal: the oldest male member was absolute head, under whose roof his younger brothers and their families, his sons and their wives and children, and his grandchildren all lived. They ate food cooked at one kitchen, held property in common and participated in common family worship. Rights and duties, sentiments and authority constituted its unity. Members were related by an interlocking pattern of mutual dependence. Individuality was subordinate to collective solidarity, and the younger generation was strictly controlled by the elders (Lannoy, 1971, p. 86).

In the face of the economic and social changes which Indian society has undergone, the joint family has not disintegrated but has adapted itself to the modern industrial setting. It is generally held that

"...though the joint family has undergone 'structural' changes, it continues 'functionally' to be the same. Although it may no longer be a physical aggregation of lineal agents or collaterals, it is continuing to be a joint family in spirit" (Ramu, 1981, p. 58).

A joint family system, physical or spiritual, may have certain consequences for its members. My own observations and experience with Indian families as well as the past literature (see for instance, Segal, 1971; Parekh, 1974; Barua, 1982) led me to believe that some of the more significant consequences are: (1) minimum privacy for individuals, (2) close emotional relationships between members and mutual dependence on each other, (3) an imposition of conformity, (4) minimal opportunity for individuals, especially the younger ones, to exercise initiative, independence, pursuit of personal goals and



interests that are against the wishes of the elders and/or are perceived to be in conflict with the interests of the family as a whole, (5) a high measure of economic and psychological security and stability, and (6) continuity of traditional values and culture.

#### 1.1. Husband and wife relationships

One feature of the man-wife relationship which strikes any outside observer is that it is not regarded as of primary importance, especially among the Hindus. This relationship, in cases of arranged marriages, which constitute almost all marriages in India, is based not on love but on matrimonial duties. The husband's love and loyalty are primarily for his parental family, and the wife seeks the outlet for her love and emotions in her sons (Segal, 1971; my own observations).

The woman's position in the family is generally inferior to that of her husband and she is on the whole regarded as her husband's possession and is expected to be obedient and submissive. However, Lannoy (1971, p. 105) states that "the lower down the caste and economic hierarchy, the more equal are the relations between the sexes, especially where men and women work together in fields, factories and labour gangs". But media reports about the harassment and subjugation of wives by their husbands and in-laws in lower as well as higher strata of the society appear to contradict Lannoy's observations (Wheels of Fire, B.B.C. 2, 11 August, 1983).

## 1.2. Parent-child relationships and child-rearing practices

The position of father in relation to the child is, generally, that of authority and 'indisputable' power and control. The position of the mother is one of tender love and care. There is a strong emotional bound between parents and child. Parents usually, in the words of one of many Indians to whom I spoke on the subject, "regard their child as their own creation in the absence of any other creative activity in an ordinary person's life, and as such they love him, possess him and dominate him".

### a. dependence

Children, especially in better-off families, are both emotionally and economically dependent on their parents until late in their life. Many major and minor decisions related to the children's life, such as type of schooling, choice of subjects to study at college and university, marriage partner, job, purchase of house and the like, are taken by parents and other elder members of the family. The child is very explicitly and openly assisted in whatever he does, such as school homework and changing clothes, and in some cases these are done for him. I even saw 'mas' (mothers) and 'nanimas' (grandmothers) who would literally spoon feed their sons and grandsons of 10 years of age.

The implicit, and more often than not explicit, assumption is that children are young and inexperienced and hence are not capable of

making the 'right' decisions and doing the 'right' things; the elders should constantly 'have an eye on them', make decisions for them, and 'tell' them what to do in various occasions. This tends to make children dependent on their parents' advice and even instruction in whatever they wish to do. However, in poor families where both parents and even children themselves have to work, the parents do not have so much time to spend on the children who then learn to look after themselves and their younger brothers and sisters, and stand on their own feet, at an early stage.

#### b. discipline

Discipline in an Indian family, in general, takes a physical and external form. But other means, such as threat of withdrawal of love, are also employed. Usually the children in better-off families are more pampered and less disciplined compared to their poorer counterparts, and boys are 'spoiled' more than girls. However, in the matter of education and respect for seniors discipline is very harsh, especially for boys. Almost all Indian men to whom I talked about their childhood experience said they did not remember a day in their younger years when they were not beaten up by their father. Parents in general do not reason matters out with the children. As a consequence, they keep repeating the same act for which they have been punished - at least behind their parents' back. The children gradually learn to do things without their parents' knowledge, and telling lies to parents becomes a part of life and loses its 'dishonest' character. They learn, instead of standing up to their parents and



challenging their authority, to do what they want to do in a manner which might appear to an outsider as hypocritical. Alternatively, they may choose to accept the parents' authority passively and submissively (discussions with people; my own observations).

### c. achievement motivation, ambition

The ambitions and goals set for children by their parents, depending on their social standing, are success in education, a well-paid job, marriage and setting up a home. They are constantly 'pushed' towards achieving these and aiming as high as possible. The children's achievement, or for that matter the achievement of any other member of the family and close relatives, is the achievement of the family as a whole. It is therefore surprising to note that some writers argue that the Indians are not ambitious (Segal, 1971), or possess low-achievement orientation (McClelland, 1961). Assertions such as these, on closer examinations, do not seem to be correct. The Indians do have their ambitions and high-achievement orientation (Pareek, 1974), but in most cases these are crystalized in their hopes and efforts for a better future for their children and the family as a whole (discussions with people; my own observations).

## **2. Religion**

The main religion in India is Hinduism. According to the 1981 census 82.7 percent of the total population are Hindus, followed by 11.2 percent Muslims, and the rest are mainly Christians, Sikhs,

Zoroastrians, Buddhists and Jains.

The majority of people are very religious, even superstitious, and perform religious functions and rites both on a daily basis and on special occasions. Unfortunately, there are no reliable data about the extent of adherence to religion by people according to their sex, educational and social background, caste and age. My own impression was that on the whole, women seem to be more religious than men, or at least, express their religious beliefs more explicitly in terms of erecting small shrines in the house, regular daily prayers, and so on. The rural people seem to be more caste-conscious and more superstitious than the urban elite. However, education and occupation among the urban population do not seem to have fundamentally changed their religious beliefs and values. I met a Cambridge-educated senior government official who believed his rise in professional and social life was owed as much to his daughters' prayers to God for his success as to his qualifications and efforts. Again, one frequently comes across young educated men and women who wear a 'lucky' stone on their necklace and rings and consult fortune-tellers and astrologers regularly to know about their future.

Illustration is provided by an incident in connection with the British monarch's recent visit to India. Her plane was due to arrive at the Delhi airport at 12 noon, but she had to delay her arrival by five minutes because Mrs. Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister, had been advised by her astrologers that 12 o'clock was not an auspicious time. The Prime Minister, in turn, had asked the Queen to land a few

minutes after 12 (B.B.C. 1, News, 18 November, 1983).

## 2.1. Major Hindu precepts and values

### a. Caste

The main characteristic of Hinduism is its belief in a stratified social structure where people are placed, by birth, in certain hierarchically ordered exclusive categories or castes. The sociologist Andre Beteille defines caste as:

"...a small and named group of persons characterized by endogamy, hereditary membership and a specific style of life which sometimes includes the pursuit by tradition of a particular occupation and is usually associated with a more or less distinct ritual status in a hierarchical system, based on the concepts of purity and pollution" (1969, p. 274).

In theory, there are four castes (varnas) to each of which thousands of sub-castes and sub-sub-castes (jatis) belong. These castes in descending order in terms of purity and social status are Brahmin (priests and religious teachers), Kshatriya (kings, warriors, and aristocrats), Vaisya (traders, merchants, and people engaged in other professions), and Sudra (cultivators, servants and so on). The Untouchables, or what Gandhi called the Harijans (Children of God), are generally regarded as outcastes and do not fall into any of these varnas.

In day to day life, especially in urban areas, one does not notice the existence of caste as a barrier to communication and socialization



between people, but in matters such as marriage caste is a serious consideration. Movements from lower castes and sub-castes to higher ones are possible, but, as Beteille (1969) notes, this may take generations of following the life style of a particular caste or sub-caste.

In modern India occupations do not necessarily follow the traditional pattern based on caste. For example, one frequently meets engineers who belong to Brahmin or Kshatriya castes. However, the distinction is more explicit and observable between the very high caste, Brahmin, and the lowest stratum, the 'outcastes' or Scheduled Castes, since economic, educational and social opportunities for the children of the members of the two groups are vastly unequal in favour of the former.

#### b. Questions of free-will and fatalism

Hinduism, like many other religions, is ambivalent on this issue which is further mingled with the belief in reincarnation (cycle of re-births). On the one hand, man is born into his jati and has to suffer or enjoy (as the case may be) his predicament depending on his bad or good deeds in his previous lives, a predicament from which there is no escape in this life. However, on the other hand, man can improve his plight in the next life, in terms of being born into a higher jati and caste, by good deeds in this life, and eventually uniting with God and ridding himself of the misery of re-births. If he does indulge himself in 'bad' deeds, he will be born in a lower jati and caste or

'lower' form of beings, such as a woman or even an animal.

It seems that, as far as this life is concerned, Hinduism is a fatalist creed. But it recognizes free will for man as far as his future life cycles are concerned.

### c. God-man relationship

God is not something 'up there' to be afraid of. In Radhakrishnan's (1980, p. 55) words, "there is no such thing as absolute prescience on the part of God, for we are all his fellow-workers. God is not something above us and beyond us, he is also in us." As Younger and Younger (1978, p. 37) put it, "God and his numerous images and incarnates are not creators and lawgivers who retain a supervisory role on the outside of life ... They are passionate participants in life, as were the ancient Greek and Roman Gods." God is lovable and loving. He protects, interacts and finally helps to breakdown the individual ego-self for absorption into the cosmic substance. The highest duty of man is to absorb God through ceaseless devotion and obedience to the commands of the sacred scriptures. In this ultimate absorption lies the only escape from the otherwise interminable miseries of life, death and rebirth.

Segal (1971), after citing a few examples of how in pursuit of the ultimate relief from life and unity with God people sacrifice concern for others, argues that

"...the concentration of traditional Hinduism upon the personal relationship to God, with distrust of

the real world and its deceptive, contradictory experiences, must ultimately lead to an obsession with self and a fundamental indifference to feelings of others." (pp. 164-165)

Other basic precepts and tenets of Hinduism are its emphasis on self-control, self-renunciation and spiritualism yet encouragement of material success, role differentiation between man and woman, observance of rules of purity and avoidance of pollution, and tolerance of others' religious beliefs. This last point apparently, according to The Gentleman (May, 1983, p. 1), is no longer the case among contemporary Indians. The violent clashes between religious groups, especially between Muslims and Hindus, and Hindus and Sikhs, in various parts of the country are evidence to this remark.

### **3. Educational system**

The discussions in this section are mainly based on my talks with people and quotations from Indian national press which enjoys a complete freedom of expression and, although it may be biased, is, according to my informants, certainly more reliable than the government published reports on education. Other materials on the Indian educational system which the author consulted were either very old and out of date or lacked analytical discussions about the issues of the type with which the present study was concerned.

Government official publications describe a person as literate if he or she can read and write with understanding (Government of India, 1982). Given this definition, according to the 1981 census, only 36.17 percent of the total population of India are literate. Formal



education, therefore, unlike the institutions of family and religion, does not play a significant part in the upbringing of the majority of the Indians. Education, does not seem to get a fair share of attention by the leaders of the society either. As one commentator puts it, "...as a society we do not care enough about education ... (It) has come to be treated as a big bore. Hardly anybody wants to discuss the subject. Certainly not the leaders ... Education portfolio itself has got downgraded" ... and "both at the Centre and the States it is held by those who do not possess much political weight, or are 'in transit' waiting for more attractive portfolios" (The Times of India, 27 March 1983, p. 4).

### 3.1. Teaching practices

There are four types of schools in India: the British style public schools, independent private schools, state run and controlled schools and centre schools whose curricula and administration come under the Central Government authority. The first two categories care for children of a very small elite and constitute a negligible percentage of all the schools in the country. They usually provide students with a variety of means of learning ranging from laboratories, to libraries, games, and sporting facilities. For the rest of the schools, the only means for transmitting learning, apart from lectures given by teachers, are textbooks whose publication and contents are controlled by the State or Central Government. Pupils are forced to memorise facts, which are more often than not "out-dated" and "full of mistakes" (The Times of India, 27 March, 1983, p. 4) and reproduce

them on examination papers. These books are generally written or compiled by "incompetent and unimaginative - and at times even unscrupulous - authors ... Genuinely qualified people do not write textbooks; they regard it below their dignity to write for school children or even undergraduates" (p. 1).

Textbooks have been principally responsible for killing the interest of young minds in learning. Indian education, as the leader comments of The Times of India puts it, is nothing but "sheep-herding" where all the student knows "is to recite marked portions in his or her textbooks" (p. 1). There is, therefore, no scope for innovation when children's studies are confined to textbooks. "They begin to believe that everything in black and white is the gospel truth and make no effort to find out things for themselves" (p. 1).

Another major characteristic of the system is its emphasis on conformity. One brilliant child, Indian Express Sunday Magazine (10 April, 1983, p. 2) reports, had an entire essay crossed through with the remark "not in text". The system does not seem to encourage creativity, self-discovery, curiosity, divergent opinions, self-expression and reading books other than those related to school work (p. 2).

A third major characteristic of the educational system is its tradition-oriented policies. As The Indian Express Sunday Magazine commentator argues: "In India, we have a tradition-oriented education policy, with examinations, grading, strict dress conformity, punishment for originality and rigorous homework requirements from kindergarten

upwards" (p. 2). The emphasis is on learning for certificates and degrees and not development of the mind.

"One of the major problems we face today", Indian Express goes on to argue, "is not the absence of brain power but the absence of intellectual hunger ... the emphasis is on acquiring a degree by cheating, by cramming or by nepotism, since a degree is considered the passport to gainful employment. Instead of looking on a college or university degree as something that helps the student gain intellectual power, the power of understanding and judgement and the ability to become more accurate in observation and to develop an analytical enquiring mind, in India, higher education turns out young men and women who are still emotionally immature, and who seem to have learned nothing except perhaps how to manipulate the machinery of civilization and other people" (Indian Express Sunday Magazine, 10 April, 1983).

#### **4. Political system**

The government of India is based on parliamentary democracy with a president as the executive head - corresponding in his general functions to the British monarch. On paper he enjoys enormous authority; but in practice he acts, and is expected to act, on the advice of the Council of Ministers through the Prime Minister. The Parliament consists of two chambers: the Lok Sabha (House of People) whose 540 members are directly elected by people; and the Rajya Sabha (Council of States) some of whose members are nominated by the President and the others elected by the legislative assemblies of the twenty two states and six union territories. In all significant respects the procedures, power and privileges of both Houses correspond to those of the British Parliament (Segal, 1971). Each of the states and union territories have executive and legislative



bodies of their own similar to that of the Centre.

Indian democracy has certain characteristics which make it different from many other democracies, especially those in western societies.

First, the government machinery is very centralized. India is technically a federation but one in which there is provision for such centralized control that it should be considered ultimately a union, and indeed it so officially describes itself. The country possesses all the usual characteristics of a federation: a written constitution; a dual political composition with power distributed between the national government and the governments of the constituent states; and an independent judiciary. However, the centre has secured for itself far more substantial powers in relation to the states than exist in any other federations (Segal, 1971, p. 232).

Segal compares India with the Australian and American federations and concludes that in the latter "the powers not specifically given to the centre belong to the parts; in India, the powers of both the central and the state governments are carefully enumerated in three legislative lists, with all residuary power assigned to the centre" (p. 232). Provision is made in the Constitution under a proclamation of emergency for the government of India to become a unitary one with extraordinary powers vested in the centre not only over the constituent states but over individual citizens, whose fundamental rights may be disregarded. Such emergency powers may be used not only in times of invasion and war, but even to maintain proper

government in the constituent states, or to reinforce law and order as in the case of 1975-77 Emergency declared by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi. (Cynics argue that she declared the state of emergency to save her position through the suppression of individual civil and political rights and the censorship of newspapers and other media.)

Second, there is a lack of significant and great political parties divided by broad issues of policy rather than by sectional interests. In terms of tradition, consistent popular appeal and parliamentary representation at the national level, there is only one such party and that is the Indian National Congress (I) - "I" for Indira - which is dominated by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, and which has been in power one way or another since independence (except for a brief period after the Emergency was lifted). The Party has a strength of more than 350 in a Parliament of 540 members. The opposition is fragmented into innumerable small groups, none of which qualifies for recognition as a distinct political party because none has the requisite 10 percent of the seats in Parliament (Financial Times, 24 May, 1983, p. VI). This dominance of the Congress Party over the political scene has resulted in some sort of single-party system and hence the mass electorate is not given a meaningful national choice.

Third, the virtually 'unassailable' possession of government by Congress for so many years has blurred the line between the Parliament and the civil service. At the time of elections, Congress politicians make extensive use of government facilities and officials to organize their campaigns and this puts them on an enormous

advantage compared to their financially and otherwise weaker rival candidates.

Fourth, there is an unwillingness of the minority to accept the majority rule through submission to constitutional forms of opposition. The towering majority of Congress (and its successor, Congress (I)) in parliament over so many years, Segal (1971, p. 241) argues, has excited opposition groups to believe that the speediest way of accomplishing their immediate purposes, and simultaneously discrediting the government, is by organizing street pressures against it. This kind of pressure has in the past caused the change of policies of the ruling party and even the collapse of the government.

Fifth, the elections are in most cases far from free and fair. Party workers usually spend a lot of money and organize lunch and dinner sessions for villagers or distribute food items among them to induce them to vote for their candidates. There are also cases of violation of rules. As Rajinder Puri, the political editor of The Sunday Observer (20 March, 1983, p. 6) remarks on the recent state elections in Assam,

"One has only to hear the personal accounts of scores of central government employees returned from Assam after performing poll duty to appreciate what kind of farce was enacted there in the name of free and fair elections. It was an election in which no rules were observed. In 85 out of 127 constituencies it was a total fraud. In 29 constituencies there was either no contest or polling was less than 5 percent."



#### 4.1. Political culture

The political culture of India today covers various viewpoints represented by various parties. In the words of Sharma, commentator of Financial Times (24 May, 1982, p. VI), the Congress (I) follows a Gandhian (after the Mahatma) socialist policy but this is extremely ambivalent. "It purports to be left-of-the-centre, but is really pragmatic in its belief. Recently, for instance, Mrs Gandhi, its leader, has been following a Right-wing economic policy while apparently accepting overtures to her from the Communists". The Communist Party (Marxist) and the Communist Party of India draw their inspiration from Russia. The Janata Party "follows a vague Gandhian socialist policy but has no distinct ideology". The Lok Dal (People's Party) represents the interests of the high-caste farmers in northern states. The Bharatiya Janata Party is "essentially the representative of the urban orthodox Hindus with a hankering for what it thinks is a true Indian culture".

#### 4.2. Mass media

All India Radio (AIR) and Doordarshan (television network) are run and directly manipulated and controlled by the government, especially in the case of news broadcasts. As a result, instead of playing a neutral role, these media have been acting as "Government mouthpieces" (The Statesman, 23 April, 1983, p. 6). The Shah commission report revealed how AIR news staff were forced to show the brighter side of the Emergency, and the views of Opposition

parties were drastically curtailed (p. 6). The censorship of the news is such that, as a reader of The Statesman puts it, "people need to tune in to the BBC and VOA (Voice of America) to know what is happening in their own country" (p. 6).

The newspapers, however, enjoy freedom of expression and criticize government bodies, politicians and other public figures freely, as one can gather from their contents. The Indian press, unlike radio and television, is not a monolithic body. If one does not trust The Times of India, one can opt for The Indian Express, or The Sunday Observer, or The Daily, or Mid-day. Indeed, India has been claimed to be the only society outside the western world where issues of public importance can still be debated freely in the press (India Today, 31 March, 1983, p. 7).

## **5. Socio-economic structure**

### **5.1. Economy**

India's may be described as a mixed economy with protective and interventionist policies where the private sector is allowed to operate under governmental guidelines and direct control, and where the government also owns and manages manufacturing and service industries. The governments' objectives in economic planning are mainly removal of poverty, creation of employment, attainment of self-reliance, reduction of inequalities in income and wealth (through high taxes and setting a low upper limit for wages and salaries) and

attainment of balanced regional developments. It tries to achieve these goals by exerting its hold over the economy through such means as (1) carrying out five-year economic plans, (2) issuing licences for setting up factories, (3) discriminative licencing policies for different industries according to the country's needs, (4) giving priorities to applicants who set up factories in 'centrally noted backward areas', (5) strict import control to protect domestic industries, (6) strict control of the percentage of foreign ownership in Indian companies, (7) establishing social goals, such as employment and prosperity of backward areas, for private industries before profit, (8) setting limits to the use of productive capacity of private factories, (9) restriction on issuing licences for setting up capital-intensive high-technology industries, and (10) owning and managing manufacturing and service units.

Although in the past few years Government has eased its hold on the economy, especially the private sector, and relaxed its import policies, its economic policy is still highly protectionist and far from being a free market one. (Sources: Mehta, 1982; The Guardian, 23 March, 1982, "India: Major Industries Part II."; Financial Times, 24 May, 1983, "India"; Financial Times, 16 June, 1982, p. 16; Financial Times, 26 January, 1983, "Indian Industry"; and India Today, 15 June, 1983, p. 103 and p. 116).

## 5.2. Class

Indian people are not as much class conscious as they are conscious



of their caste and sub-caste. The society is still stratified on the basis of caste membership rather than class as it is known in western industrial countries. However, Mehta (1982) identifies three economic classes in India. These are: (1) the middle class which is largely the product of British power and consists of educated people with no other common economic or political ideology than their interest in the new order. This class is the dominant class, but in a predominantly agricultural country it is far less powerful and influential than what Mehta calls the 'middle castes' or the rural elite; (2) The middle castes who include landed proprietors as well as money-lenders and merchants in rural areas; and (3) the rest who are the masses.

### 5.3. Industrial relations

The Trade Unions Act, 1926, provides for the registration of trade unions. There are also provisions for setting up works committees in factories and workers participation in decision making at shopfloor and plant levels. However, these committees, and indeed any other form of workers participation, have not been successful (Chaudhuri, 1981). There are various acts of Parliament which secure minimum wages, regulation for payment of wages, working conditions, equal remuneration for men and women and several schemes providing security to the workers against contingencies, such as ill health, industrial accidents, and maternity. Generally, industrial relations acts are pro-workers and aim at protecting their employment and general well-being. For instance, the regulations are such that it is

virtually impossible for management to sack a worker even if he or she has not abided by the terms of their contract.

a. trade unions

Government statistics (Government of India, 1982) put the number of trade unions in the country at 486. Of the total population of around 684 million and an estimated working population of around 260 million, the total employed in the organized sector is no more than 22 million (Financial Times, 26 January, 1983, p. VI.). There are no craft unions in India. The unions are either plant based or national organizations but run locally in each state and focus their activities on the interest of their immediate members at the plant or local industry level.

b. trade unions and politics

All of India's ten central trade union organizations are, to a greater or less degree, committed to political parties. The All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), for instance, is effectively the industrial arm of the pro-Moscow Communist Party of India. The Centre of Indian Trade Unions (CITU) is its counterpart with the Communist Party of India (Marxist). Most of other major parties have over 20,000 plant unions affiliated to them. In the past few years the unions have found themselves being increasingly used as a weapon, or convenience, by their political affiliates. The nationwide railway strike led by Dr George Fernandez in 1974 and the 20-month old (as

on May 1983) textile strike in Bombay led by Dr Data Samant are examples of this kind.

#### c. trade unions and management

India, in the words of one captain of industry, is caught in "a crisis of deteriorating industrial relations". The number of man-days lost in 1981, due to strike or lockouts, was nearly 26 millions. In Maharashtra alone, over 10 million man-days were lost in 1981 (Financial Times, 24 May, 1982, p. XI). Industrialists, the Government and moderate trade unionists also point to the violence which seems to accompany strikes. This has been a traditional feature of the labour scene, but now prolonged strikes are frequently accompanied by rioting and intimidation and result in bloody confrontations with the police.

## **II. The Indians today**

The previous section outlined the social and cultural environment in which Indian people are brought up and live. The present section discusses the findings of a cultural survey which the author carried out in India in order to examine the values and attitudes which this environment is likely to inculcate and reinforce in Indian people, and compares these findings with the views expressed by other researchers and writers on Indian culture and also my own observations.



## **i. The Indian character survey**

### **a. The sample**

As can be seen in Table 7.1, the majority of the respondents are from the southern states of Maharashtra and Karnataka and the central state of Rajasthan. 97 are Hindus, 2 Muslims and one is Zoroastrian. One half of the sample is engaged in manual work and other half in non-manual professions. (In order to avoid disjunctures in the text all the tables are placed at the end of the chapter.)

Table 7.1 about here

### **b. The findings**

Table 7.2 shows the respondents' opinion about the Indian people in their occupation with respect to the 35 pairs of characteristics. As was explained in Chapter 4, these 35 pairs are the same as used in the English character study. The results are presented as a percentage of the total sample. Table 7.3 shows the responses in terms of mean scores for each characteristic.

Tables 7.2 and 7.3 about here

As Tables 7.2 and 7.3 show, the degree of agreement on the 35 pairs of characteristics varies considerably. Table 7.4 was constructed, as in the case of English sample (see Chapter 6), to establish major

traits which are more attributable to the Indians. It was decided to single out those characteristics about which 70 percent or more of the respondents agreed were present among Indian people, and/or for which there were at least five times as many endorsements as non-endorsements (Primary list in Table 7.4).

A secondary list also was constructed in which the characteristics on which between 50 and 70 percent of the respondents had agreed as being present in the Indians were included.

A further list was constructed which included those characteristics on which agreement was expressed more than agreement on their opposites.

Table 7.4 about here

### **c. Discussion - Indian character**

#### 1. Obedience to seniors, respect of people in authority

These two characteristics come on the top of the list of traits attributed to Indian people by the sample. A significant majority of the respondents, 80.8 percent, agreed that the Indian people in their occupation are obedient to their seniors; only 8.1 percent did not think so. 54.6 percent said that they like to be told what to do. This is also consistent with another item where as many as 77 percent of the sample believed that the people in their occupation

respect powerful people. Further, 54 percent thought that their fellow countrymen were afraid of powerful people.

The views expressed by other writers appear to confirm the findings of this part of the survey. A belief that all wisdom comes from elders, respect for, and fear of authority, obedience to seniors and those in authority, authoritarian dependency, preference for authoritarian leadership (Kakar, 1971a, 1971b), use of fear as principal motive of social conduct, and authoritarian social discipline (Barua, 1982; The Telegraph, 18 April 1983; India Today, 30 April 1983) have been mentioned as characteristics of Indians and Indian society.

## 2. Communitarianism, clan-orientation

The Indians are said to be, according to the literature, 'clannish' and community conscious. The sample seems to agree on this point. A substantial majority of 74.7 percent agreed that they are interested in community affairs, as opposed to 7.1 percent who did not agree with this point.

However, the 'community' to which an Indian person feels affiliated and in whose affairs he is interested seems to be his own caste, religious group, or close circles of family and friends rather than the society as a whole. During my stay in India I found that an Indian person does not have very much love and consideration for people outside his exclusive community. Zoroastrians in Bombay, for example, have a hospital which, except in emergency accident cases,



admits Zoroastrian patients only. Mother Teresa, who has lived most of her life in India, in an interview published in India Today (31 May, 1983) remarked there was among the Indians a "painfully profound" lack of love and concern for others outside their immediate circle of relatives and friends, indifference to human misery, cruelty, lack of understanding and consideration for others' feelings, lack of sense of social service, selfishness and no sense of neighbourhood. Koestler (1966) too was struck by the lack of concern of the rich Bombayites for the pavement dwellers of their city. These observations are also, to some degree, consistent with the response to another pair of characteristics in the questionnaire where 42 percent of the respondents thought the Indians are selfish as opposed to 39 percent who said they believe in sharing fairly. However, the Indians are very friendly people, and once they accept you as a friend, or even an acquaintance, they will go out of their way to be nice to you and help you in any way they can. Needless to say that my research fieldwork in India would not have been possible had it not been for the generous assistance of dozens of Indians who did not even know me before I visited their country.

### 3. Group morality, family-orientation, collectivism

The responses to the pairs related to these characteristics also confirm the findings about the pairs discussed in point 2. A majority of 73.8 percent agreed that the Indians prefer to be in a group, and 50 percent agreed that they prefer to merge with the crowd. Points 2 and 3 clearly suggest that Indian people are collectivity-oriented:

group, be it community or family, takes preference over individual members.

This is consistent with Parekh's (1974) and Segal's (1971) observations that there is a high group morality among Indian people whereby freedom of the individual is subjected to the interest of the group and there is a pressure for conformity to the group. Characteristics such as 'very little regard for internal private space', 'no sense of privacy for oneself', and 'averse to spatial structuring of life' which Parekh attributes to the Indians may also be interpreted as a reflection of a high degree of group belongingness and a low degree of individualism among Indian people.

#### 4. caste consciousness

Indian society is primarily stratified on the basis of caste membership. A pair of items related to caste was included in the questionnaire to examine the extent to which Indian people believe in caste differentiation. This pair substituted for one in the English version related to class. In response to this pair, 59.6 percent of the respondents agreed that the Indians are caste conscious. It has to be mentioned here that on the questionnaire the respondents were asked to write which caste they belonged to. 51 out of 100 mentioned their caste or sub-caste. The ones who did not mention their caste were either Muslims (two cases), whose religion does not approve of caste system, or those who wrote they did not believe in it (two cases) and those who, judging from their low-grade occupations,

perhaps belonged to Scheduled Caste or Untouchables and found it embarrassing to admit to that.

#### 5. Cope with set-backs and suffering

72.7 percent of the respondents thought that the Indian people in their walk of life cope well with set-backs, and further a majority of 64 percent agreed that they are able to cope with new and uncertain situations. In response to another closely related pair, 69 percent thought the Indians are self-confident. I was told of many cases where people had lost their jobs, homes, land and relatives in natural disasters such as flood and drought, but they had worked hard and made it again. This point clearly is reflected in the responses to the two pairs related to ability to cope with adversities. It further suggests the tenacity of Indian people, which is also reflected in the sample's response to another pair in the questionnaire where a moderate majority of 52.8 percent of the respondents agreed that their fellow countrymen see things through.

#### 6. Self-restraint, discipline

Judging by the views expressed by the sample, Indian people are disciplined and value self-restraint. 59.6 percent of the sample thought that they are disciplined, and 66.6 percent agreed that they possess self-control. However, when it comes to expressing their emotions they see themselves as less reserved and restrained. A majority of 65 percent of the sample agreed that the Indians are



emotional; and only 36 percent said that they are reserved, as compared to 43 percent who believed they are open and out-going.

Parekh (1974) comparing the Indians with the English said of the former that they are emotional and display their emotions in public even to the extent of self-indulgence. I too found the Indians far more emotional than the English and even the Iranians. Their 'public display of emotions' may have something to do with their lack of a sense of privacy which is opposite to the English love of privacy.

#### 7. Honesty, trustworthiness

69.1 percent of the respondents believed that the Indian people in their occupation are trustworthy and 56 percent said that they have trust in others. A further 64.3 percent thought they are honest. However, the percentage drops considerably when they rate their compatriots on corruption. Only 43.3 percent thought that they are not open to bribery and 35.1 percent that they are corrupt. The explanation perhaps is that acceptance of a bribe, which usually happens in Government bureaucracy, is not considered an act of dishonesty since it does not take place at a personal level; i.e. with one's relatives and friends. Rather, it is done against an impersonal body, such as a Government department, which is an 'outsider' anyway.

Other observers of Indian society have also noticed distrust and suspicion towards politicians and those in authority (Segal, 1971), low

morality and considerable corruption in public service, tax-evasion, embezzlement, and fabrication of accounts (Indian Express, 1 and 29 March 1983; India Today, 31 March 1983).

#### 8. Fatalism

A majority of 71 percent said that Indian people believe in fate, and 45.9 percent that they were submissive.

Segal (1971) attributed Indian fatalism, acceptance of status quo, submissiveness, resignation and acceptance of social differentiation and any form of human suffering as a means of cleansing themselves of their past. However, my observations contradict most of these assertions. The militancy of trade unions, months-old strikes by workers in textile factories in Bombay and power stations in Calcutta and the recent (March, 1984) industrial action by dock workers for better wages and working conditions can hardly be 'acceptance of status quo' and 'acceptance of any form of human suffering'. I once witnessed a very long procession of domestic servants marching in the streets of Bombay demanding the right to belong to trade unions, fixed working hours and paid annual leave. The Indians may be fatalistic but they certainly do fight, like any other nations, to change their plight for the better.

#### 9. Tolerance

Agreement on tolerance is quite high at 69.7 percent. If tolerance

reflects fatalism, this high score confirms the sample's views about the Indian people's belief in fate discussed above. But if it were to be taken as tolerance of others' views and opinion, it would be supported only moderately by the views expressed on another pair: only 45.4 percent said that Indian people are willing to take account of others' opinions, and as many as 34.4 percent said they prefer to impose their own opinion on others. This point, to some extent, goes along with the view that argues for the authoritarian nature of Indian culture (Kakar, 1971a, 1971b). The intolerance of others' opinions is further reflected, for instance, in violent clashes between sectarian groups in West Bengal, Assam, Jammu and Kashmir, Maharashtra and Punjab.

#### 10. Indian people and the law

The Indians seem to be considered by the sample as a law-abiding people. 61.6 percent thought they respect the law to the letter and 72 percent said they are law-abiding. As a matter of fact, both in England and in India, I had many encounters with various officials in my efforts to obtain permission to carry out this research in India and to extend my stay in the country for a few weeks beyond the initial visa period. The insistence of the Indian officials on doing everything according to the laws, rules and regulations prescribed for every minute details, which at the time was very time consuming and frustrating, was a good example of rules and laws being followed to the letter by people in charge of affairs. However, many officials are prepared to bend, or even ignore, rules and directives for their



friends, relatives, and, in some cases, for money. I, personally, had to appeal to them to get things done a little faster mainly through my friends and connections.

#### 11. Acceptance of responsibility, dependence on others

68 percent of the sample believed that the Indian people in their occupation have a strong sense of responsibility. This should be, among other things, an indication of the ability of the people to work on their own and to be independent of others. However, the high score on responsibility is not matched with the relatively high scores on the items related to independence. Only 46.5 percent agreed that the Indians are independent of their parents, and as many as 41.4 said they were dependent on their parents. On another item, 43.4 percent thought they prefer to work on their own, and 40.5 percent believed they prefer to work under supervision. The high score on the first item and the low ones on the other two may be a reflection of the Indians' collectivism where people are emotionally and otherwise dependent on each other. This interpretation is consistent with Koestler's (1966) observations. He attributed to the Indians a lack of imagination and ability to use one's own judgement, reluctance to make decisions, and lack of independence. However, this does not necessarily mean that the Indians are an irresponsible people. Even if, as was discussed in point 10, they appear to act irresponsibly, they could still be regarded as a people with a strong sense of responsibility, only this sense of responsibility seems to be centred around their relatives and friends rather than others outside

this circle.

#### **d. Values and attitudes of manual and non-manual workers**

In order to examine the similarities and differences between manual and non-manual workers with regard to the degree they hold the characteristics studied in the present survey, a 't' test was carried out between the two groups. Table 7.5 illustrates the results of this exercise. As can be seen, the two groups are different on five items. These are "interested in community affairs" ( $p = .03$ ), "reserved" ( $p = .03$ ), "aggressive" ( $p = .007$ ), "believe in sharing fairly" ( $p = .006$ ) and "believe in fate" ( $p = .05$ ). According to this test, the manual workers are more interested in community affairs, less reserved (more out-going), less aggressive, believe less in sharing fairly, and believe more in fate than their non-manual compatriots. It is interesting to note that with regard to fear of powerful people the two groups hold exactly identical views, and so do they in the case of self-confidence.

Table 7.5 about here

#### **e. Values and attitudes of people from different states**

The majority of the respondents, as is shown in Table 7.1, come from Maharashtra State. Since the number of respondents coming from each of other states was too small to make a 't' test between individual states meaningful, it was decided to compare people from

Maharashtra with those from other states grouped together under one category. Table 7.6 illustrates the result of the test. Here, the two groups differ from each other on four items. These are "law-abiding" ( $p = .03$ ), "discipline" ( $p = .02$ ), "respect powerful people" ( $p = .004$ ), and "caste consciousness" ( $p = .02$ ). People from Maharashtra, according to this test, tend to be less law-abiding, less disciplined, respect powerful people less, and are less caste conscious compared to their fellow countrymen from other states. This could be due to a larger urbanization.

Table 7.6 about here

The writers who have written on or made reference to the culture and other social characteristics of the people of specific parts of India, have mainly concentrated on either small geographical units like villages or large units comprising more than one state (see for instance, Beteille, 1969; Hirmani, 1977; Pfeffer, 1983; and Pearson, 1983). It is therefore not possible to make a meaningful comparison between the findings of the present survey and their work to examine their similarities and differences. The author was also unable to find any published reports on the state of attitudes and values of Indian working and middle class people.

## **ii. Indian socialization process and cultural attitudes and values**

This chapter has so far attempted to (1) examine the socialization



processes to which Indian people are exposed and by which they come to possess certain values and attitudes towards people and the environment surrounding them, (2) ascertain which traits and characteristics could be regarded as salient features of Indian culture and social system, and (3) identify what may be called "Indian way of life".

The discussions in the previous parts show that there is a continuity and coherence among various stages of socialization processes that an Indian person experiences in terms of the value system to which he is exposed. For instance, "dependence on parents", "emotionality", "preference to be in a group", "conformity", "respect for and obedience to seniors / powerful people" and "fear of those in authority" are all consistent with Indian family structure, child rearing practices and teaching methods practised at educational institutions. The degree to which other characteristics studied in the present survey are held by Indian people are also consistent with the socialization processes that an Indian person experiences at home, school and the society as a whole.

### **iii. Is there an Indian culture?**

The findings of the present study of Indian society suggest that the similarities between people from different occupational and regional backgrounds are far greater than the differences between them. However, the respondents who participated in the survey come mainly from Maharashtra, Karnataka and Rajasthan (70 out of 100) and the

findings cannot therefore be generalized about Indian culture. But there is a relatively high consistency between these findings, the author's observations and the views expressed by the writers on the Indians with regard to broad characteristics, such as familial relationships, attitudes to seniors, public expression of emotions, and caste-consciousness. Moreover, it seems that regional cultural differences are more visible in rural areas and also in such matters as religious and community rituals, eating habits and marriage ceremonies. It may be therefore safe to say that Indian society with all its regional diversities, thanks to common supra-national institutions, such as education, mass media, and union government policies, is an identifiable and **recognizable whole** which can be distinguished from other identifiable and recognizable wholes in other parts of the world, not the least the English one, which is also the subject of the present comparative study. This argument is consistent with the views of writers such as Koestler (1966) whose comment was quoted in Chapter 4.

The following chapter compares Indian and English peoples and hypothesizes about the likely bearing of their socio-cultural traits on (a) the work-related attitudes held by members of organizations and (b) the structures and systems of work organizations in each society in comparison with one another.

**Table 7.1 Composition of the sample**  
(N = 100)

Background	No.
<b>State of origin:</b>	
Maharashtra	48
Karnataka	11
Rajasthan	11
Uttar Pradesh	8
Gujarat	7
Andra Pradesh	3
Kerala	3
Tamil Nadu	3
Madya Pradesh	2
West Bengal	2
Goa	1
Punjab	1
<b>Religion:</b>	
Hindus	97
Muslims	2
Zoroastrian	1
<b>Occupation:</b>	
manual workers	50
non-manual workers	50



Table 7.2 Indian character

Characteristic	Agreement (percentage)	Characteristic	Agreement (percentage)
1. interested in community affairs indifferent to community affairs mix of the two	74.7 18.3 7.1	7. cope well with set-backs do not cope well with set-backs mix of the two	72.7 21.2 6.1
2. honest dishonest mix of the two	64.3 7.1 28.6	8. rational irrational mix of the two	66.4 21.4 12.2
3. modest arrogant mix of the two	55.0 23.0 22.0	9. independent of their parents dependent on their parents mix of the two	46.5 41.4 12.1
4. respect the law to the letter prepared to bend the law mix of the two	61.6 22.2 16.2	10. reserved out-going mix of the two	36.0 43.0 21.0
5. self-confident lack self-confidence mix of the two	69.0 16.0 15.0	11. aggressive submissive mix of the two	25.5 45.9 28.6
6. have trust in others do not trust others mix of the two	56.0 28.0 16.0	12. law-abiding law-breaking mix of the two	72.0 15.0 13.0

Note: Pairs of opposing characteristics were placed on either ends of a seven-point scale. The points were scored from 1 to 7. Points 1, 2, and 3 were taken to signify 'agreement' with one characteristic and points 5, 6, and 7 'agreement' with its opposite.

continued...

Table 7.2 Indian character /...continued

Characteristic	Agreement (percentage)	Characteristic	Agreement (percentage)
13. believe in sharing fairly selfish mix of the two	39.0 42.0 19.0	19. respect powerful people do not respect powerful people mix of the two	77.0 11.0 12.0
14. obedient to their seniors disobedient to their seniors mix of the two	80.8 11.1 8.1	20. willing to take account of others' opinion prefer to impose their own opinion on others mix of the two	45.4 34.4 20.2
15. opposed to change accept change mix of the two	36.0 44.0 20.0	21. have a strong sense of responsibility have no sense of responsibility mix of the two	68.0 13.0 19.0
16. trustworthy not trustworthy mix of the two	69.1 12.4 18.5	22. play safe take chances mix of the two	42.4 39.4 18.2
17. unemotional emotional mix of the two	19.0 65.0 16.0	23. not afraid of powerful people afraid of powerful people mix of the two	31.0 54.0 15.0
18. disciplined undisciplined mix of the two	59.6 22.2 18.2	24. do not believe in fate believe in fate mix of the two	14.0 71.0 15.0

Note: Pairs of opposing characteristics were placed on either ends of a seven-point scale. The points were scored from 1 to 7. Points 1, 2, and 3 were taken to signify 'agreement' with one characteristic and points 5, 6, and 7 'agreement' with its opposite.

continued...

Table 7.2 Indian character /...continued

Characteristic	Agreement (percentage)	Characteristic	Agreement (percentage)
25. hate to be told what to do like to be told what to do mix of the two	26.3 54.6 19.2	31. see things through give up easily mix of the two	52.8 29.1 19.1
26. tolerant intolerant mix of the two	69.7 14.2 16.2	32. prefer to stand on their own prefer to merge with the crowd mix of the two	37.0 50.0 13.0
27. possess self-control lack self-control mix of the two	66.6 18.2 15.2	33. caste conscious do not believe in caste mix of the two	59.6 30.4 10.1
28. friendly unfriendly mix of the two	71.0 18.0 11.0	34. able to cope with new and uncertain situations unable to cope with new and uncertain situations mix of the two	64.0 32.0 4.0
29. not open to bribery corruptible mix of the two	43.3 35.1 21.6	35. prefer to be on their own prefer to be in a group mix of the two	15.1 73.8 11.1
30. prefer to work on their own prefer to work under supervision mix of the two	43.4 40.5 16.2		

Note: Pairs of opposing characteristics were placed on either ends of a seven-point scale. The points were scored from 1 to 7. Points 1, 2, and 3 were taken to signify 'agreement' with one characteristic and points 5, 6, and 7 'agreement' with its opposite.



**Table 7.3 Indian character (mean scores of responses)**

Characteristic	Mean score
respect powerful people	2.54
obedient to their seniors	2.54
trustworthy	2.81
tolerant	2.82
have a strong sense of responsibility	2.83
friendly	2.83
honest	2.88
interested in community affairs	2.89
law-abiding	2.92
self-confident	2.96
possess self-control	3.00
cope well with set-backs	3.02
respect the law to the letter	3.14
rational	3.15
modest	3.26
disciplined	3.26
able to cope with new and uncertain situations	3.34
have trust in others	3.37
caste conscious	3.48
see things through	3.49
not open to bribery	3.80
prefer to work on their own	3.80
play safe	3.81
willing to take account of others' opinion	3.82
independent of their parents	3.92
believe in sharing fairly	4.10
opposed to change	4.21
prefer to stand on their own	4.24
aggressive	4.29
reserved	4.35
not afraid of powerful people	4.40
hate to be told what to do	4.47
unemotional	4.95
prefer to be on their own	5.14
do not believe in fate	5.25

Note: 1. Pairs of opposing characteristics were placed on either ends of a seven-point scale. The points were scored from 1 to 7. Points 1, 2, and 3 were taken to signify 'agreement' with one characteristic and points 5, 6, and 7 'agreement' with its opposite.

2. The lower the score, the more strongly the characteristic was endorsed by the sample; The higher the score, the more the opposite characteristic was endorsed.

**Table 7.4 Major Indian characteristics according to the sample**

Characteristic	Rank order
<b>Primary list:</b> (characteristics endorsed by 70 percent or more of the sample)	
obedient to their seniors	1
respect powerful people	2
interested in community affairs	3
prefer to be in a group	4
cope well with set-backs	5
law-abiding	6
believe in fate	7
friendly	7
trustworthy	8
have strong sense of responsibility	9
honest	10
<b>Secondary list:</b> (characteristics endorsed by 50-69 percent of the sample)	
tolerant	11
self-confident	12
possess self-control	13
rational	14
emotional	15
able to cope with new and uncertain situations	16
respect the law to the letter	17
caste conscious	18
disciplined	19
have trust in others	20
modest	21
like to be told what to do	22
afraid of powerful people	23
see things through	24
prefer to merge with the crowd	25
<b>Tertiary list:</b> (characteristics endorsed by more people in sample than not endorsed)	
independent of their parents	26
submissive	27
willing to take account of others' opinion	28
accept change	29
prefer to work on their own	30
not open to bribery	31
out-going	32
play safe	33
selfish	34

**Table 7.5 Comparison of non-manual and manual workers and the values they ascribe to others in their occupation**

Characteristic	Mean score		value of t	Level of confidence (p)
	manual	non-manual		
believe in sharing fairly	4.56	3.64	-2.78	.006
aggressive	4.72	3.88	-2.73	.007
interested in community affairs	2.55	3.24	2.16	.03
reserved	4.70	4.00	-2.11	.03
do not believe in fate	5.58	4.92	-1.95	.05
obedient to their seniors	2.81	2.28	-1.76	.08
honest	2.85	2.91	.23	.82
modest	3.18	3.34	.49	.62
respect the law to the letter	2.92	3.36	1.33	.18
self-confident	2.96	2.96	0.00	1.00
have trust in others	3.56	3.18	-1.10	.27
cope well with set-backs	3.20	2.83	-1.17	.24
rational	3.08	3.22	.42	.67
independent of their parents	4.02	3.83	-.45	.65
law-abiding	3.00	2.84	-.50	.61
opposed to change	4.34	4.08	-.80	.42
trustworthy	2.72	2.89	.55	.58
unemotional	4.86	5.04	.55	.58
disciplined	3.26	3.26	-.02	.98
respect powerful people	2.42	2.66	.79	.42
willing to take account of others' opinion	3.67	3.98	.85	.39
have a strong sense of responsibility	2.64	3.02	1.23	.22
play safe	4.02	3.61	-1.10	.27
not afraid of powerful people	4.40	4.40	0.00	1.00
hate to be told what to do	4.73	4.22	-1.53	.12
tolerant	2.85	2.80	-.18	.85
possess self-control	3.02	2.98	-.13	.89
friendly	3.02	2.64	-1.18	.24
not open to bribery	3.68	3.92	.69	.49
prefer to work on their own	3.81	3.80	-.04	.96
see things through	3.52	3.46	-.19	.85
prefer to stand on their own	4.14	3.34	.53	.59
caste conscious	3.46	3.50	.08	.93
able to cope with new and uncertain situations	3.42	3.26	-.44	.65
prefer to be on their own	5.18	5.10	-.26	.79

Note: The lower the score, the more the characteristic is present.

The higher the score, the more the opposite is present.



**Table 7.6 Comparison of respondents from Maharashtra and other Indian States and the values they ascribe to others in their occupation**

Characteristic	Mean score		Value of t	Level of confidence (p)
	Maharashtra	others		
respect powerful people	2.97	2.13	2.90	.004
disciplined	3.66	2.88	2.36	.02
caste conscious	3.91	3.07	2.24	.02
law-abiding	3.27	2.59	2.16	.03
obedient to their seniors	2.83	2.27	1.83	.06
play safe	3.50	4.11	-1.67	.09
interested in community affairs	2.68	3.09	-1.28	.20
honest	2.87	2.90	-.11	.91
modest	3.06	3.44	-1.18	.24
respect the law to the letter	3.25	3.03	.62	.53
self-confident	2.97	2.94	.11	.90
have trust in others	3.43	3.30	.37	.70
cope well with set-backs	2.95	3.07	-.38	.70
rational	3.02	3.28	-.77	.44
independent of their parents	3.68	4.15	-1.18	.24
reserved	4.47	4.23	.74	.46
aggressive	4.14	4.43	-.88	.38
believe in sharing fairly	3.89	4.28	-1.15	.25
opposed to change	4.27	4.15	.36	.72
trustworthy	2.89	2.73	.52	.60
unemotional	5.16	4.75	1.29	.19
willing to take account of others' opinion	3.64	4.00	-.98	.32
have a strong sense of responsibility	2.89	2.76	.41	.68
not afraid of powerful people	4.20	4.57	-1.01	.31
do not believe in fate	5.27	5.23	.12	.90
hate to be told what to do	4.31	4.62	-.93	.35
tolerant	2.81	2.84	-.10	.92
possess self-control	2.97	3.01	-.13	.89
friendly	2.66	2.98	-.97	.33
not open to bribery	3.93	3.68	.73	.46
prefer to work on their own	3.52	4.07	-1.54	.12
see things through	3.56	3.42	.44	.66
prefer to stand on their own	3.97	4.48	-1.34	.18
able to cope with new and uncertain situations	3.43	3.25	.52	.60
prefer to be on their own	5.12	5.15	-.10	.92

Note: The lower the score, the more the characteristic is present; the higher the score, the more the opposite is present.

**CHAPTER 8**  
**English and Indian Cultures:**  
**Comparisons and Hypotheses**

**Introduction**

Chapters 6 and 7 discussed the socio-cultural characteristics of English and Indian peoples. The present chapter compares these characteristics with one another, and hypothesizes about the work-related attitudes that members of work organizations in the two countries are likely to hold and their consequences for English and Indian work organizations. These hypotheses are set also with regard to those stated in Chapter 3 about the process of influence of culture on work-related attitudes and behaviour and organizational structure and systems.

**I. English and Indian cultures - a comparison**

**i. Socio-economic institutions**

1. The economic systems in both countries are based on a capitalistic mode of production with both public and private enterprises. However, the Indian capitalism is much more protectionist and the government is involved in direct intervention in the economy to a larger extent. The local industries are protected against foreign

competition through government's strict import policies. English capitalism, especially under the present Conservative government, is rooted on the concept of reduced direct government intervention and on the stimulation of industry through monetary policies which aim to facilitate the free play and interaction of market forces. In pursuit of this aim, import controls have been dismantled and, in consequence, manufacturing companies face fierce competition from foreign firms.

2. Trade unions in England have lost much of their powers in recent years because of job insecurity under the conditions of high unemployment (caused by economic recession), loss of membership (due to mass redundancies) and 'anti' union government legislation. In India, the organized sector is very small compared to the total workforce but the government's industrial relations acts are 'pro' workers and the unions are more powerful than their English counterparts. A fairly typical comment made by one of the Indian managers who participated in the research demonstrates the extent of the protection that Indian manual workers enjoy: "...There is nothing much that we can do about the shopfloor people if they are late or do not do their job properly. We cannot sack them because of the Government's employment policies. We cannot decrease or deduct from their wages, again because the Government forbids us. And also because they are unionized and the unions are very powerful as far as these matters are concerned. These people can get away with murder."



3. The political regime in both countries is based on parliamentary democracy and freedom of expression and other collective and individual civil rights are respected in both systems. However, in practice Indian democracy is less 'democratic' and more centralized than English democracy. Opposition parties are weaker and much more fragmented in India. Since Independence, except a brief period in late 1970's, only one party (Congress) has been in power. Frequent irregularities during elections have also led cynics to have reservations about the extent to which democracy is practised in India (The Sunday Observer, 20 March, 1983, p. 6).

4. Social stratification in England is based, primarily, on economic factors such as occupation, ownership and control of means of production, wealth, etc. The society is divided into two large middle and working classes with a relatively small 'upper' class and an 'under' class of low paid women and unemployed at either ends of the social hierarchy. In India, social stratification is based, primarily, on caste. The caste system is sanctioned by Hindu religious precepts and caste membership is determined by birth and, in turn, determines, to a large extent, a person's occupation as well as social standing. Class membership in England has a 'subjective' aspect, and the system is much more fluid and flexible than the Indian caste system. In England a former member of the working class can consider himself as a member of the middle class once his occupation and economic conditions change from a working-class category and type (e.g. manual work) to a middle-class category and type (e.g. managerial work). In India, social stratification is very rigid: a person is born

into a caste, and no matter what professional and economic position he comes to occupy later in life, he will remain a member of the caste of his birth.

## ii. Cultural institutions

1. Family is much more extended in India than England. A traditional Indian family normally includes three to four generations, whereas an English family generally consists of parents and children, and the children normally leave their homes even before they set up their own families. The structure of family is less hierarchical and more egalitarian in England than in India, and the members' roles are less rigidly defined in the former than the latter.

Relationships between members of the family are more emotional and dependent in India than in England. Child-rearing practices in the former encourage conformity, collectivism and obedience to seniors; in the latter, independence, individualism, and challenge are encouraged.

2. Religions in both countries are tolerant of other religious beliefs and practices, but more so in England than in India. In England, the religious tolerance is manifested in the many different Christian denominations, Protestant and others. In India, Hinduism consists of numerous forms of worship and religious practice. Hinduism emphasizes re-incarnation, and is, as far as this life is concerned, a more fatalistic religion than Christianity. The latter emphasizes 'free

will' and encourages individual action and individualism.

3. Teaching practices in Indian educational institutions are based on a one-way relationship between teachers and pupils, and learning is generally through passive acceptance of 'facts' and memorising text books. In England, learning is largely based on self-discovery, experimentation, games, discussion and argument.

### iii. Attitudes and values

The cultural surveys carried out by the author in England (Chapter 6) and India (Chapter 7) suggest that there are differences between the two countries in the degree to which the characteristics that were measured in the surveys are present among their people. Table 8.1 illustrates a comparison between the two samples.

As the Table shows, the two samples are different from one another on 20 pairs of characteristics. And, as the results of the 't' test indicate, the likelihood that these differences have occurred by chance is 2 percent or less. Since the present study is an exploratory one, it was decided to consider those differences for which the level of confidence is between 5 and 10 percent as 'interesting' differences. One item, namely 'able to cope with new and uncertain situations' fell into this category. Any differences between the two samples on other characteristics appear to have occurred by chance ( $p > .10$ ).

Table 8.1 about here



According to the findings of these surveys:

1. Indians are more obedient to their seniors, more afraid and respectful of powerful people, and resent being commanded less than do the English. These findings appear to be consistent with Indian and English people's upbringing, family structure and educational practices.

2. The Indians are more dependent on their parents, more emotional, less disciplined, less tenacious (see things through less) and less able to cope with set-backs and new and uncertain situations than the English. This, again, seems to be consistent with the child-rearing practices and teaching methods at schools in the two countries.

3. The English prefer more to be, and work, on their own and are more reserved than the Indians. This is consistent with English people's love of privacy and emphasis on individualism and independence and the Indians' emphasis on conformity, extended family and dependent emotional relationships between its members.

4. The English believe less in fate compared to the Indians. This appears to be consistent with their respective religious beliefs and doctrines.

5. The English are more honest and trustworthy and less open to bribery. This is consistent with a relatively low level of corruption

in public administration in England and a much higher and more pervasive corruption in Indian government bureaucracies.

6. The Indians believe less in sharing fairly than the English, which is consistent with the former's communitarianism and the latter's belief in 'fair play'.

There are very few reported comparative studies between Indian and English people of the present kind. Parekh's (1974) and Elizabeth Child's (1982) works are the nearest to the present study.

Parekh compared Indian and English people and concluded that the English are more individualistic, less emotional, more concerned about other people, more self-contained, more rule-governed and spatial, more resourceful and more disciplined than the Indians (Parekh, 1974).

Child (1982), in a comparative study of play behaviour among English and Asian (Indian and Pakistani) children living in England found that the English children were more independent, more aggressive, had less respect for people in authority, and maintained more physical distance between themselves and others compared with the Asian children.

The conclusions of these two authors are thus similar to some of the findings of the present study.

## **II. English and Indian work-related attitudes - hypotheses**

Chapter 3, it may be recalled, defined organizational structure as a framework for decision-making and decision-implementation. The decision process as a whole was argued to involve power and authority relationships, ambiguity, uncertainty and risk taking; reliability, honesty and trust; dedication, loyalty and commitment; motivation, reward and inducement; control and discipline; and communication. The Chapter then hypothesized about the likely influence of culture on these aspects of organization.

With respect to the above definition of organizational structure and the behaviours which may surround it, a series of hypotheses are advanced here about the likely impact of English and Indian cultures on organizational members' attitudes towards power and authority, tolerance for ambiguity, state of trust and commitment, importance given to various aspects of job and management philosophy, and their consequences for work organizations in the two countries. Table 8.2 presents these hypotheses.

Table 8.2 about here

Chapters 9 and 10 will discuss the findings of the surveys carried out in a sample of companies in India and England and which were undertaken to put these hypotheses to the test.



**Table 8.1 Comparison of English and Indian cultural characteristics as reported by respondents to the culture questionnaire**

	English (N=100)	Indian (N=100)	Value of 't'	Level of confidence (p)
independent of their parents	2.72	3.92	4.60	.000
not afraid of powerful people	3.01	4.40	5.74	.000
do not believe in fate	3.94	5.25	5.55	.000
hate to be told what to do	3.41	4.47	4.64	.000
prefer to work on their own	2.83	3.80	3.82	.000
see things through	2.36	3.49	5.35	.000
prefer to be on their own	4.27	5.14	3.70	.000
unemotional	4.01	4.95	4.32	.000
respect powerful people	3.82	2.54	-5.78	.000
aggressive	3.56	4.29	3.45	.001
not open to bribery	2.96	3.80	3.51	.001
believe in sharing fairly	3.31	4.10	3.44	.001
have a strong sense of responsibility	2.25	2.83	2.88	.004
cope well with set-backs	2.45	3.02	2.69	.008
obedient to their seniors	3.08	2.54	-2.45	.015
honest	2.43	2.88	2.40	.017
trustworthy	2.34	2.81	2.38	.018
disciplined	2.76	3.26	2.29	.023
modest	3.77	3.26	-2.28	.024
reserve	3.80	4.35	2.21	.028
able to cope with new and uncertain situations	2.88	3.34	1.85	.065
willing to take account of others' opinion	3.77	3.82	.24	.81
possess self-control	2.66	3.00	1.62	.106
interested in community affairs	3.24	2.89	-1.56	.122
law-abiding	2.60	2.92	1.47	.144
class / caste conscious	3.84	3.48	-1.41	.161
self-confident	2.71	2.96	1.15	.253
respect the law to the letter	3.38	3.14	-1.04	.302
have trust in others	3.14	3.37	.96	.340
prefer to stand on their own	4.01	4.24	.88	.381
tolerant	3.00	2.82	-.79	.432
friendly	2.68	2.83	.69	.490
rational	3.10	3.15	.21	.832
oppose to change	4.17	4.21	.16	.876
play safe	3.83	3.81	-.08	.937

Note: the lower the score, the more the characteristic is present in the culture. The higher the score, the more the opposite is present.

Table 8.2 Hypotheses about the influence of English and Indian cultures on work-related attitudes and their consequences for work organizations

Cultural aspects	Rationale	Hypotheses	
		Work-related attitudes	consequences for organizations
Power and authority relationships	Indian people are more obedient to their seniors, respect powerful people more, and are less adverse to being told what to do compared with English people.	H-1.1: Indian employees will perceive a larger power distance between themselves and their managers (lower perception of power) compared with English employees.	H-1.2: Indian organizations will be more centralized than their English counterparts.
Ambiguity and uncertainty	English people are more able to cope with new and uncertain situations compared with Indian people.	H-1.3: The degree of tolerance for ambiguity will be higher (lower uncertainty avoidance) among English employees compared with Indian employees.	H-1.4: Indian organizations will be more specialized and more formalized (more use of laid-down rules and regulations) compared with their English counterparts.
Commitment:			
a. Motivation	Indian people are more fatalistic than the English.	H-1.5: Indian employees will have lower expectations from their organization and are therefore more easily motivated. This will be reflected in a higher satisfaction with their company compared with English employees.	
b. Individualism	Indian people have a lower preference to work on their own (higher preference for working in a group) and a lower preference for being on their own (higher preference to merge with the crowd) compared with the English.	H-1.6: Indian employees will be less individualistic than English employees.	
		H-1.7: Indian employees will score higher on the two components of commitment and they are therefore expected to express a higher commitment to their organization.	H-1.8: Indian managers will employ a more relaxed control system compared to English managers.

continued...

## 8.2 Hypotheses about the influence of English and Indian cultures on work-related attitudes and their consequences for work organizations

/...continued

Rational aspects	Rationale	Hypotheses	consequences for organization
Expectations from job	The English are more honest and trustworthy, and are less open to bribery compared with Indian people. However both peoples appear to be law-abiding and law-respecting, and have trust in others.	H.9: On the whole state of trust will be same among Indian and English employees.	H.10: Managers in both countries will employ similar control systems.
	Because of the prevalent 'us' and 'them' attitudes, mistrust and hostility between workers and management in both countries, the former will identify themselves less with their work organization compared with their white-collar colleagues.	H.11: The state of commitment will be lower for English and Indian manual workers compared with members of staff.	H.12: Managers in both countries will employ a more external and direct control over their manual workers compared with other employees.
	The English value individuality and self-determination more than do Indians.	H.13: Autonomy at work and freedom to do one's work will be of higher importance to English employees than they will be to Indian employees.	H.14: Authority and decision-making power are delegated lower down the hierarchy in English organizations compared with their Indian counterparts.
Management philosophy	The Indians are alleged to be less materialistic in outlook than the English, despite their massive poverty.	H.15: Good pay and other financial benefits will be of less importance to Indian employees than to English employees.	H.16: Reward and punishment policies will be more financially-oriented in English organizations than in their Indian counterparts.
	Both peoples believe in a social hierarchy. However, the class system in England is less rigid and inequalities are less marked than is the case in Indian society.	H.17: English employees will have a more egalitarian outlook towards management practices and favour a participative style more compared with Indian employees.	H.18: There will be more consultation and communication in English organizations compared with their Indian counterparts.



## CHAPTER 9

### Cultures, Work-Related Attitudes, and Organizational Structure

#### **Introduction**

The previous chapter compared the present-day cultural and socio-economic characteristics of England and India and the peoples of the two countries. The chapter advanced some hypotheses, following a culturalist framework, about the state of Indian and English employees' work-related attitudes and their likely consequences for their organizations. The present chapter discusses the findings of the surveys carried out in the two countries to test these hypotheses. It is assumed that to the extent that the hypotheses are supported by the findings of the study, the arguments of the writers following a culturalist perspective may offer a valid model for understanding Indian and English organizations. To the extent that the hypotheses are rejected, the culturalist perspective offers an inadequate model and there is a need to look for non-cultural explanations.

## **I. The surveys**

## **II. The samples**

### 1. Employees

#### a. English employees

700 copies of the attitude survey questionnaire were distributed among the employees of seven companies in England of which 376 copies were completed and returned to me - a response rate of 53.7 percent. Of these, 33 copies had been completed by non-English employees and were therefore excluded from the analyses.

#### b. Indian employees

475 copies of the questionnaire (410 English version, 65 Hindi version) were distributed among the employees of seven companies in Maharashtra State of which 341 copies were completed and returned to me - a response rate of 71.7 percent. Of these, 4 copies had been completed by non-Indian employees and were therefore excluded from the analyses.

### c. Employees' background

#### i. culture

There were two questions in the questionnaire about respondents' experience abroad. It had been decided to exclude from the analysis those who had lived and/or received education abroad for longer than a year on the grounds of the influence of the host country's culture on their attitudes and values. There were only one such respondent in the English survey who had already been excluded because he was an immigrant. There were no such respondents in the Indian sample.

Responses to an item on religion showed that a vast majority of the two samples represents the dominant religion of its respective country. 259 out of 343 of the English respondents adhere to Protestant denominations. In the case of Indian sample, 266 people out of 337 are Hindu. For the Indian respondents a further question concerning their caste was also included in the questionnaire but very few people answered that question.

It was noted in Chapter 7 that some cultural characteristics attributed to Indian people are said to vary, in degree at least, from state to state. It was therefore decided to include an extra item regarding the respondents' state of origin in the questionnaire administered in Indian companies. The majority of the respondents, 229 out of 337, come from southern states of Maharashtra, Kerala and Karnataka. The regional backgrounds of this sample are very



similar to that of the survey which was carried out at an earlier stage of the study (see Chapter 7) to examine the present-day cultural characteristics of Indian people. Any differences between the degree of the values and attitudes held by the two samples are therefore likely to be for reasons other than regional cultural differences.

Clearly, given the diversity of Indian culture, it is not reasonable to assume that these employees are wholly representative of Indian employees in general. However, for convenience and simplicity, the sample will hereafter be referred to as Indian employees.

Many of the work-related attitudes which were studied in the present surveys are said to be affected not only by culture but also by non-cultural factors such as occupation, age, and level of education (see next chapter for details). Therefore, in order to be able to make more precise comparisons between particular categories of employees, a number of questions concerning respondents' personal background were included in the questionnaire.

## ii. occupation

The proportion of manual workers in the English sample is much higher than that of the Indian sample (Table 9.1). This, as was noted in Chapter 4, is because of the difficulties the author faced in getting the questionnaire completed by this group of employees in India. Whenever the data are presented for each sample as a whole,

the disproportionately small number of Indian manual workers should be borne in mind. (In order to avoid disjunctures in the text all the tables are placed at the end of the chapter.)

Table 9.1 about here

### iii. education

The level of education among Indian respondents is much higher than that of the English sample (see Table 9.2). This is mainly because of the highly competitive job market in India. Judging by job vacancy advertisements in the national and state press, and my discussions with various managers, the minimum requirement for most jobs, including lower grade clerical work and shopfloor supervisory jobs, is a first class or upper second degree from a 'well-reputed' university as well as a few years of experience.

Table 9.2 about here

### iv. age

The Indian sample has a lower average age profile than the English one, 34 and 37 respectively (Table 9.3). This perhaps stems from the high rate of unemployment in India. In that country government regulations have set the age of retirement at 58 in order to give a chance to more youngsters to have a job. In England the retirement age for women is 60 and for men 65. However, the Indian sample

has hardly anyone below twenty years of age. This may have been caused by the fact that the questionnaire was distributed among educated employees only and it is possible that the younger employees (manual workers perhaps?) were not educated.

Table 9.3 about here

## 2. Organizations

Seven organizations in each country were selected which were matched in pairs across the two countries with respect to their major contextual variables. For reasons explained in chapter 4, the Indian organizations were selected after the fieldwork in the English organizations had been completed. Because a perfect match on all the contextual variables proved to be practically impossible, the level of control over certain factors, such as market share and age, had to be traded-off against control of others, such as size, industry and technology. The trade-off was made on the basis of the importance and emphasis that other researchers have placed on them as predictors of organizational structure (see Chapters 2, 4 and 5 for details).

The fourteen companies which were eventually included in the study are manufacturing firms engaged in a varied range of industries in terms of stability and complexity. Their size, in terms of number of employees, ranges from 133 to 1670. In order to maintain anonymity of the organizations, each one is given a pseudonym which



corresponds to its country of origins and the industry in which it is engaged and by which it will be referred in the chapter. For example, Chem I is the Indian organization which produces chemicals, and Chem E is its English counterpart.

Table 9.4 shows the contextual characteristics of the organizations in the two countries each in comparison with its counterpart. As can be seen, the organizations in each pair are matched on almost all the contextual factors included in the present study.

Table 9.4 about here

### **III. The data**

Chapter 4 noted that the sequence in which the questions appeared in the main body of the questionnaire was determined by two considerations: (i) to avoid creating confusion for the respondents, and (ii) to prevent them from giving patterned responses to the questions. In the present section, the sequence in which the responses to these questions as well as the findings of the organizational structure surveys are discussed and analysed follows the the sequence in which the main hypotheses of the study were stated in Chapter 3 and their relevance to the hypotheses specifically set with respect to English and Indian cultures in Chapter 8, in order to make it more convenient for the reader to relate each set of findings to its corresponding set of hypotheses.

## 1. Criteria for interpreting differences and similarities

### 1.1. Work-related attitude survey

A 't' test was carried out between the two samples on all items and composite scales in order to establish whether or not there was any difference between the two groups on these items. If the level of confidence (p) was equal to or less than 5 percent for an item, the probability that the difference between the samples had occurred by chance was equal to or less than five percent and the difference was therefore assumed to be 'real'. Since the present study is an exploratory one, it was decided to regard the differences for which the level of confidence was between 5 and 10 percent as 'interesting'. The differences for which the level of confidence was more than 10 percent were assumed to have occurred by chance and were therefore discounted.

### 1.2. Organizational structure survey

Since the number of organizations in each sample was small (7), the Mann-Whitney test, a non-parametric test for a small number of cases, was employed to examine the degree of significance in the differences between the two samples on structural dimensions.

## 2. Criteria for interpreting correlation coefficients

The correlations in which coefficients are .50 or higher and the level

of significance ( $p$ ) is .05 or less are considered as significant. Those in which the coefficients are smaller than .50 but the level of significance is between 5 and 10 percent are regarded as 'interesting'. Others will be taken as non-correlations.

The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) Programme Version 8 was utilised throughout to analyse the data and run various statistical tests.

#### **IV. The findings**

##### **1. Attitude to power and organization**

Hypotheses H.1 and H.2

###### 1.1. Employees attitude to power and authority

Hypothesis H.1: Indian employees will perceive a larger power distance between themselves and their bosses (lower perception of power) compared with the English employees.

There were 17 questions in the attitude survey questionnaire related to this hypothesis, of which 7 items were included to replicate Hofstede's power distance measure. The remainder were designed to complement these and will be discussed under the heading of perceived power.



#### a. Power distance

For each item included in this section, the respondents were provided with an answer scale and were asked to choose from among the alternative answers. The responses to these items are presented in Tables 9.5 to 9.7. The codes have been reversed in these tables for some items in order to maintain a consistency between the scores and the direction that they indicate.

Tables 9.5 to 9.7 about here

As was mentioned in Chapter 5, these items do not form a composite measure and the scores therefore cannot be aggregated. The pattern of responses to some items point to a larger power distance perceived by English employees, and others by the Indian employees. On the whole, there is no difference between the two samples on these items.

#### b. Perceived power

This section consists of 10 questions which were included in the questionnaire to complement Hofstede's power distance items. Each question contains a statement worded in such a way that it underlines a concept related to power. In the case of four items respondents were asked to indicate the degree to which they agreed with their respective statement on a five-point scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". For the remaining questions,

respondents were asked to indicate the degree to which their respective statements were true in their work organization on a five-point scale ranging from "definitely true" to definitely false". Table 9.8 shows the responses to perceived power questions.

Table 9.8 about here

The items in this section are conceptually related to power and authority relationships but they do not form a composite scale. Coefficients alpha and K-R8 are very low for the items (see Table 9.8). The two samples are different from one another on 9 items. The direction of the differences in all except one indicates that English employees perceive themselves and their colleagues to enjoy greater power than the Indian employees. This finding is consistent with English and Indian cultural differences, as discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, and also with hypothesis H.1, which speculated a higher perception of power by the English employees. However, the responses to Hofstede's items reject hypothesis H.1. As was discussed in Chapter 5, this is probably because his power distance measure does not capture cultural differences, whereas the perceived power items do.

#### 1.2. Consequences of employees' perception of power for organization structure

Hypothesis H.2: Indian organizations will be more centralized than their English counterparts.

The information collected about centralization in the interview schedule and the employees' response to the items on perceived autonomy and other related areas in the attitude survey questionnaire were analysed to test this hypothesis. Table 9.9 shows the scores for centralization and other dimensions for the 14 organizations.

Table 9.9 about here

## 1. Centralization

### 1.1. aggregate score

Brew I, Hi-tech I and Electron I are more centralized than their English counterparts; Soft I, Chem I, Pharm I and Silican I are less so. The difference between the two samples is insignificant and inconsistent ( $p = .74$ , Mann-Whitney test, Table 9.10). A comparison of the centralization scores calculated according to the Aston method, shows no significant difference between the two samples either, but the direction of the differences in some cases is opposite to that obtained using the present study's method for computing the centralization scores. This discrepancy is likely to have been caused by the different methods employed to calculate the centralization score in the present study and the Aston style. The latter, as was discussed in Chapter 5, is less sensitive to the hierarchical position of decision makers than the former.



Table 9.10 about here

### 1.2. centralization sub-scales

Following Yasai-Ardekani (1979) and Budde et al. (1982), the two samples are compared on the degree of the centralization of their financial, strategic and operational decisions (using all the items measured in the present study). Table 9.11 shows this comparison. The differences between the two groups are not statistically significant, but the direction of these differences shows an interesting pattern, especially in the case of financial decisions. On the whole, English organizations are more centralized than Indian organizations on financial decisions. An interesting point to note is that in both countries the expenditure of money on capital items is more centralized than on the revenue items, and the expenditure of unallocated money is more centralized than the allocated money. This strongly suggests the operation of a contingent factor, namely perceived risk attached to the decision, including its having longer term consequences.

Table 9.11 about here

### 1.3. delegation

On this scale, where a higher score indicates a lower centralization, Brew E, Sweet E, Pharm E, Electron E and Computer E scored higher (are less centralized) than their Indian counterparts; Chem E and

Hi-tech E scored lower (are more centralized). On the whole, decisions are delegated lower down the hierarchy in English organizations than in the Indian organizations. The result of the Mann-Whitney test shows that the difference between the two samples as a whole is sufficient to be interesting ( $p = .08$ ).

#### 1.4. joint decisions

Soft I, Chem I, Pharm I and Electron I scored higher on this scale (are less centralized) than their English counterparts; Brew I, Hi-tech I and Silicon I scored lower (are more centralized). On average, English organizations scored higher (19) on the joint decisions scale than the Indian ones (17), but the difference between the two is negligible ( $p = .84$ ).

#### 1.5. perceived autonomy

The five items in this section (adopted from Aiken and Hage, 1968 and Hage and Aiken, 1969) were included in the attitude survey questionnaire which was administered among the employees of the 14 organizations. Table 9.12 compares the responses given by the two samples to these items.

Table 9.12 about here

As the Table shows, the scores for three items (2, 4, 5), on which the two samples are different ( $p < .001$ ), show that Indian employees

perceive themselves to have less autonomy at work than their English counterparts.

Judging by the result of the Mann-Whitney test, English and Indian organizations are not significantly different from one another on the centralization scale and its components whichever way they are calculated. However, on the delegation and perceived autonomy scores the difference between the two samples is very near significance,  $p = .08$  and  $.06$  respectively.

So far, it seems, that H.2 is rejected. But this conclusion may be premature. The difference between the two samples on the perceived autonomy items, which is in the direction expected from the two cultures, raises some doubts about the sensitivity to culture of the Aston-type items, which were employed in the present study to measure centralization. In order to examine this possibility, a series of Pearson correlation tests was carried out between centralization and perceived autonomy items on one hand and the relevant work-related attitudes on the other. The result (Table 9.13) is revealing.

Table 9.13 about here

The scales purporting to measure centralization, based on the organizations' scores on Aston-type items, have virtually no correlation with any of the work-related attitudes, whereas the opposite is the case with perceived autonomy.



Perceived autonomy is significantly and positively correlated with perceived power ( $r = .75$ ,  $p = .001$ ), tolerance for ambiguity (.84,  $p = .001$ ), personal flexibility (.74,  $p = .001$ ), individualism (.69,  $p = .003$ ), and information sharing (.82,  $p = .001$ ). It is significantly and negatively correlated with power distance (-.51,  $p = .03$ ), uncertainty avoidance (-.73,  $p = .001$ ), belonging to a group (-.50,  $p = .02$ ), learning new things (-.49,  $p = .03$ ), status and prestige (-.60,  $p = .005$ ), and attitudes to participation (-.62,  $p = .01$ ).

The pattern of correlations lends support to the author's argument (Chapter 5) that the Aston measure for centralization shows only who finally makes a decision. It does not capture consultation and similar processes which are involved in a decision-making situation, and which are more likely to reflect people's attitudes and values. In contrast, perceived autonomy, which comprises items closely connected with employees' perceptions of the process which takes place before a decision is finally made, does have significant relationships with many of the cultural factors conceptually related to the decision-making process. These correlations also provide evidence against the 'culture-free' thesis whose founding fathers based their argument on the scores using the Aston scales for, among other dimensions, centralization (Hickson et al., 1974). The findings are consistent with Maurice's (1976) criticism of the 'culture-free' thesis:

"...Thus, when certain formal characteristics of organization structures (centralization, formalization, specialization, etc.) are related to such contextual variables as size and technology, it is important to realize that these studies are based on concepts and indicators that by nature

are universal - thereby precluding any testing of the impact of national or cultural variables in which such studies express interest." (Maurice, 1976, pp. 5-6.)

## **2. Uncertainty and organization**

Hypotheses H.3 and H.4

### 2.1. Employees tolerance for ambiguity and uncertainty

Hypothesis H.3: The degree of tolerance for ambiguity will be higher (lower uncertainty avoidance) among English employees compared with Indian employees.

There were twenty one questions in the attitude survey questionnaire related to this hypothesis. Of these, ten were Hofstede's measures for uncertainty avoidance (1977<sup>b</sup>, 1980). The remainder were included in the questionnaire to complement them and will be discussed under the heading of tolerance for ambiguity.

#### a. Uncertainty avoidance

Each item in this section had an answer scale and the respondents were asked for each question to choose from among the alternative answers provided. Table 9.14 illustrates the responses to the uncertainty avoidance items. The codes for some items have been reversed in order to maintain a consistency between the responses and the directions they indicate. Scores on these items do not

cluster tightly together and they cannot therefore be aggregated.

Table 9.14 about here

The two samples are different from one another on four items (1, 2, 5, 6) but the mixed direction of the differences on these and other items points to an overall lack of discrimination between the two samples with respect to the degree of uncertainty avoidance.

#### b. Tolerance for ambiguity

This section consists of eleven questions, five of which are adopted from Child and Partridge's (1982) 'personal flexibility' scale. The questions all share a common underlying reference to change and uncertainty. Each question contained a statement and respondents were asked to indicate the degree to which they agreed with it on a five-point scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". Table 9.15 shows the responses to these items.

Table 9.15 about here

The eleven items in this section had high enough internal reliability alpha and K-R8 coefficients (see Table 9.15) for both samples to be regarded as a composite scale on which meaningful comparisons between various groups could be made.

A tolerance for ambiguity index (TAI) for each country was



calculated by aggregating the individual scores for the above eleven items. A personal flexibility index (PFI) was also computed in the same manner using Child and Partridge's five items only. The possible range for tolerance for ambiguity index is from 11 to 55, and for personal flexibility index is from 5 to 25. The figures are rounded.

English sample:

TAI = 36

PFI = 17

Indian sample:

TAI = 34

PFI = 17

The 't' test carried out on the TAI scores shows that the two samples have different degrees, though not much, of tolerance for ambiguity ( $p < .001$ ). The direction of the difference is consistent with the cultural backgrounds of the two samples and supports hypothesis H.3. The personal flexibility index, however, shows no difference and the support for H.3 must therefore be treated very cautiously.

## 2.2. Consequences of the degree of employees tolerance for ambiguity for organization structure

Hypothesis H.4: Indian organizations will be more specialized and more formalized (use laid-down rules and regulations to a greater extent) compared with their English counterparts.

The organizations' scores on formalization and specialization scales (Table 9.9) as well as the relevant work-related attitudes held by the

employees were used to test this hypothesis.

### 1. Formalization

As Table 9.9 shows, the Indian organizations are far less formalized (average: 5) than the English (average: 12) companies. The Mann-Whitney test shows a significant difference between the two samples ( $p = .001$ ). It has been argued that an organization's degree of formalization is influenced by its age: the older the organization, the higher its formalization. Although the present study, as will be seen in the next chapter, confirms this argument, the degree of formalization remains lower in Indian organizations when organizational age is controlled. A forward stepwise regression of formalization with age by country indicated the higher relation of country ( $\text{sig.} < .001$ ) over age ( $\text{sig.} = .12$ ) to formalization.

Hypothesis H.4, as far as formalization is concerned, is rejected. However, this rejection concerns the speculated relationship between the degree of the employees' tolerance for ambiguity, as a cultural trait, and the degree of formalization of their work organization. A Pearson correlation test carried out between structural dimensions (including formalization) and some other work-related attitudes measured in the present study shows (see Table 9.13) that almost all of these items are one way or another correlated with formalization.

Moreover, a closer examination of the degree of formalization of the English and Indian organizations and the different degree to which the

English and Indian peoples value privacy and independence, leads to some interesting observations. The two groups of organizations, as Table 9.9 shows, are very different on the job description sub-scale. Job descriptions can be argued to reflect, among other things, people's preferences for clear-cut territorial boundaries and the spatial distance they may wish to maintain between themselves and others. Indian and English cultures have been depicted to be diametrically opposite with regard to such concepts as spatiality, privacy, and independence (see for example Parekh, 1974). It is, of course, difficult to arrive at any definite conclusion and generalization on the basis of the job description scores for the small number of organizations which participated in the present study, but nevertheless the much lower scores by the Indian organizations on this sub-scale are consistent with the absence of love of privacy, the existence of close physical and emotional dependence and proximity in the formers' culture, and the love of privacy, independence, and maintenance of a physical and emotional space in the latter's culture.

It would be appropriate to mention here Shenoy's study of the structural characteristics of a number of Indian organizations, especially since its findings with regard to formalization contradict those of the present study. Shenoy (1981), in a replication of the Aston Programme, compared the scores obtained for eleven Indian organizations, which are situated in the state of Karnataka, on the centralization, formalization and specialization scales with the findings reported by other researchers about Polish, British, Swedish and Japanese organizations. He found that the Indian organizations



were far more structured than other organizations. The formalization score for the Indian companies was particularly high in his study. Shenoy's findings with respect to the comparison between Indian and British organizations are inconsistent with the findings of the present study.

Shenoy's findings, however, raise doubts on several grounds and should therefore be treated with caution. First, the eleven organizations were matched with other organizations "approximately on size" (in terms of numbers employed) only. There is reason to expect that had the organizations been matched on other contextual variables, at least to the extent that is done in the present study, Shenoy's findings would have shown a different pattern. Second, in his comparison, 'size' is the average size of organizations and the upper limit of the range among Indian organizations is far smaller than the other organizations (900 versus 1,600). An examination of past research shows the significant role that size plays in the degree of structuring of organizations. Third, nearly one half of the Indian organizations are either subsidiaries or owned by the state. The higher centralization and more use of documentation of these organizations are likely to be largely explained in terms of their status and ownership. Finally, Shenoy had added a few items to his scales in the Indian study. This certainly makes the comparison less than precise.

## 2. Specialization

Table 9.9 shows that there are some differences between individual organizations in the two samples and their counterparts, but on the whole they are not significant. The Pearson correlation test shows a positive association between tolerance for ambiguity and specialization (.49,  $p = .03$ ): the higher the tolerance for ambiguity (lower uncertainty avoidance), the higher the specialization (Table 9.13). This finding refutes the connection between specialization and tolerance for ambiguity as postulated in hypothesis H.4.

Hypothesis H.4 was in fact advanced on the basis of Hofstede's (1980) argument. He maintains that uncertainty avoidance is conceptually related to what the Aston Programme researchers (Pugh et al, 1968) called 'structuring of activities' (consisting of formalization, specialization, and standardization). He speculated that a higher degree of uncertainty avoidance would lead to a higher degree of structuring of activities, because structuring provides more security and certainty that are welcomed by people from an uncertainty avoiding culture. The present study does not support Hofstede's speculations about the relationship between 'uncertainty avoidance' and 'structuring of activities'. The Indian employees in the present study are on the whole less tolerant of ambiguity and uncertainty than their English counterparts, yet their organizations are far less formalized than the English ones and are not different from the English organizations on the specialization scale. Clearly, there is more to formalization and structuring of activities than tolerance or

intolerance for ambiguity. The concept of spatiality and love of privacy, perhaps?

### **3. Commitment and organization**

Hypotheses H.5, H.6, H.7, H.8

#### **3.1. Employees commitment**

Chapter 3, it may be recalled, argued that employees will commit themselves to their work organization if, among other things, they are motivated and have a high sense of group-orientation (low individualism). There were 16 items in the attitude survey questionnaire which were used to measure these concepts.

##### **a. Motivation**

Hypothesis H.5: Indian employees will have lower expectations from their work organization and are therefore more easily motivated than the English employees. This will be reflected in a higher satisfaction with the organization among the Indian employees.

There was one item in the uncertainty avoidance section which concerned the respondents' satisfaction with their organization. The respondents had been asked to rate, on a seven-point scale ranging from 'I am completely satisfied' to 'I am completely dissatisfied', their overall satisfaction with their organization. The English



employees scored 4.56 and the Indians 4.97. The difference between the two groups is significant ( $p < .001$ ). It may be argued that there is a tendency for hierarchical level to correlate with expressed job satisfaction, and that the higher score by the Indian sample is because of the smaller number of manual workers in that sample. However, when occupation is controlled, Indian employees' score remains higher. And, an analysis of variance of job satisfaction by country and by occupation indicates a higher relation of country (sig. = .001) over occupation (sig. = .052). Hypothesis H.5 is not rejected.

#### b. Individualism

Hypothesis H.6: Indian employees will be less individualistic than the English employees.

This section consisted of six items which were designed to measure the degree of individualism of respondents. Each item was a statement written in first-person terms, and the respondents were asked to express their degree of agreement with it on a five-point scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". Table 9.16 shows the responses to these items. These items do not form a composite measure because their internal reliability coefficients are poor and the scores cannot reasonably be aggregated.

Table 9.16 about here

As the Table shows, the Indians scored higher on three items and lower on others than the English. Judging by the mean scores achieved by each group on each item, there is little difference between the two samples on the whole. The relatively high scores by Indian employees on these items mean a rejection of hypothesis H.6 which was based on the literature and the findings of the surveys carried out by the author in the two countries. However, this finding is consistent with the author's subjective judgement about the Indians whose way of life she observed (Chapter 7), and the "individualistic tendencies" to which Koestler (1966), also an observer, alluded. As an outside observer of both cultures, the author found the people living in Bombay, the main setting of the Indian study, are more individualistic, and self-centred compared to the English (see also Chapter 7). One has only to take a ride on a bus or a commuter train to see how people literally push, pull and walk over others to find a better place for themselves, and how badly the disabled, the elderly, and children are treated by the physically stronger in a struggle for self-satisfaction and comfort. The English, on the contrary, are a people who stand up to their reputation for fair play and care. This personal evaluation, of course, cannot be treated as a 'hard' evidence.

#### c. Employees' level of commitment

Hypothesis H.7: The Indian employees are expected to express a higher commitment to their work organizations than the English employees.

There were nine items in the attitude survey questionnaire which related to the concept of commitment and were adopted from Cook and Wall (1980). Each item contained a statement, and the respondents were asked to indicate the degree to which they thought it was a true description of their relationship with their work organization on a five-point answer scale ranging from "definitely true" to "definitely false". Responses to these items are presented in Table 9.17

Table 9.17 about here

The consistency among the items in this section was very high for both samples and the internal reliability tests showed that they can be treated collectively as a composite measure.

A commitment index (ComI) for each country was computed by aggregating the individual scores for the nine items. The possible range is from 9 to 45. The figures are rounded.

English sample:

ComI = 34

Indian sample:

ComI = 35

The result of a 't' test carried out between the two samples does not show any difference between the two groups on this scale ( $p = .19$ ). Hypothesis H.7, which, like other hypotheses discussed in this chapter, is based on the cultural characteristics of the two peoples, is



rejected.

### 3.2. Consequences of employees commitment for organization structure

Hypothesis H.8: Control systems in the Indian organizations will be more relaxed than in the English organizations.

It must be pointed out here that this hypothesis was advanced on the speculation that the Indian employees would have a higher degree of commitment to their organization. Since, this was not the case, and indeed the two samples scored almost the same on the commitment measure, one would now expect, maintaining a culturalist perspective, that the control systems in the two groups of organizations would be similar. And this, as will be discussed later in conjunction with the implication of trust for organization structure, was in fact the case (see also Appendix D).

## **4. Trust and organization**

Hypotheses H.9 and H.10

### 4.1. Employees state of trust

Hypothesis H.9: On the whole the state of trust among both Indian and English employees will be the same.

There were nine items in the questionnaire each of which contained a statement about honesty of the employees. Respondents were asked to rate the degree of truth of each statement in connection with their own work place on a five-point answer scale ranging from "definitely true" to "definitely false". Four of the items were adopted, with substantial modifications, from Cook and Wall (1980). Table 9.18 shows responses to these items.

Table 9.18 about here

The internal reliability tests show that the items in this section have a high consistency and can collectively be treated as a composite scale.

A Trust Index (TI) for each country was computed by aggregating the individual scores for the nine items. The possible range of TI is from 9 to 45. The figures are rounded.

English sample:

TI = 34

Indian sample:

TI = 34

Hypothesis H.9 is not rejected.

#### 4.2. Consequences of employees state of trust for organization structure

Hypothesis H.10: Control systems will be similar in both English and

Indian organizations.

A detailed description of the control strategies (together with reward and punishment policies) of the organizations is presented in Appendix D. Control strategies, as is noted in the Appendix, are to a large extent similar in both samples: managers and other members of staff are treated differently from manual and other shopfloor employees. External control is far more relaxed for the former than the latter. Control is generally exercised over managers and staff through target setting, and progress monitoring, and over manual workers through time-keeping and productivity measurement.

The differences between the control policies employed for two groups of employees in each sample is of course consistent with the argument advanced in hypotheses H.11 and H.12 (Chapter 8, Table 8.2) which are based on the class conflict between management and workers in the two countries. But since this aspect of the findings is more closely related to political economy and other non 'cultural' factors, it will be discussed in detail in the next chapter where the implications of some non-cultural factors for organizations are examined.



## 5. Expectations from job and organization

Hypotheses H.13, H.14, H.15, H.16

### 5.1. Employees expectations from job

This section consisted of eight items which were devised following Maslow's concept of need hierarchy (1954). Respondents were asked to indicate the degree to which it would be important to them to have any of the features mentioned in the section in their job. For each item they were provided with a five-point answer scale ranging from "of little or no importance" to "of utmost importance". Table 9.19 shows these items and the responses given by respondents to each of them. Table 9.20 shows the rank order of each of these features in terms of the importance of their presence in the job.

Tables 9.19 and 9.20 about here

#### 1. within sample analysis

##### a. English sample

The two features which are of most importance to English sample are "being creative and imaginative at work" and "having an opportunity to learn new things" - a mean score of 4.06 for both. These are closely followed by "good pay" (4.04) and "job security" (3.92). "Having freedom and independence" was ranked fourth - mean score

of 3.88. The least important feature of job is belonging to a group.

#### b. Indian sample

To Indian respondents the most important feature of job is "having an opportunity to learn new things" (4.40). It is followed by "being creative and imaginative at work" (4.28), "having freedom and independence" (4.01), and "status and prestige" (4.00). To Indian employees, too, belonging to a group is of least importance, but Indians give it significantly greater importance than do the English. This finding is, of course, consistent with the differences in the cultural upbringing of English and Indian people in general, especially in terms of familial relationships.

#### 2. between-sample comparison

Hypothesis H.13: Autonomy at work and freedom to do one's work will be of higher importance to English employees than will be to Indian employees.

Hypothesis 15: Good pay and other financial benefits will be of less importance to Indian employees than English employees.

As Tables 9.19 and 9.20 show, freedom and independence are more important to Indian employees (ranked 3, mean 4.01) than the English employees (ranked 5, mean 3.88). Hypothesis H.13 is not supported. This could be, as was noted earlier, because of the English employees'

higher perception of autonomy than the Indian employees. In the former the need for autonomy is relatively more satisfied than in the latter, and therefore is of less importance.

Good pay and fringe benefits are more important to the English employees (ranked 3) than to the Indian employees (ranked 5). Hypothesis H.15 is not rejected.

Three points stand out from the comparison between the two samples. First, the elements which are important to one group are, to some extent, different from the ones which are important to the other. To Indian respondents the so-called intrinsic contents of job (learning new things, having freedom and independence, status and prestige) are of more importance than the so-called extrinsic ones (good pay, job security). To English employees a mixture of both (learn new things, being creative, good pay, job security, having freedom and independence) is important. Second, those items which are important to the Indian employees are given more importance by them than given by the English employees to their important items, and a greater proportion of the former have indicated the items as important than is the case for the latter. For instance, "learning new things " is ranked first by both groups. However, the Indians have scored 4.40 on this item, the English have scored lower, 4.06. And 92.7 percent of the Indian employees in comparison with 78.6 percent of the English employees have said that to them this is of importance. The same is true for all other items. The final observation is that if these items and the responses given to them by



the two groups can be interpreted as the reflection of their need hierarchy (in Maslowian sense), the findings of this section of the research challenge the order of needs suggested by Maslow in his hierarchy. The author also would like to draw attention to the findings of her similar research in Iran (Tayeb, 1979) as yet another case in which Maslow's theory of hierarchy of needs failed to gain support.

The possible sources of differences observed between the Indian and English samples besides their cultural backgrounds may be their occupation, level of education, age, and sex (Haire et al, 1966; Hofstede, 1980). The implications of some of these non-cultural factors will be examined in the following chapter.

## 5.2. Consequences of employees expectations from job for organization structure

Hypothesis H.14: Authority and decision-making power are delegated lower down the hierarchy in the English organizations compared with their Indian counterparts.

As was noted in the section on centralization, Brew E, Sweet E, Pharm E, Electron E and Computer E delegated lower down than their Indian counterparts; two Indian companies, Chem I and Hi-tech I, however, delegated lower down than their English counterparts. On the whole, in the English organizations there was more delegation than in the Indian companies. A Mann-Whitney test

shows that the difference between the two samples as a whole is worthy of note high ( $p = .08$ ). Hypothesis H.14 is therefore not wholly rejected. However, these findings are not consistent with the importance that the Indian employees placed on freedom and autonomy at work. A possible explanation is that the Indian managers ignore the demands of their employees for more autonomy and freedom.

Hypothesis H.16: Reward and punishment policies will be more financially-oriented in English organizations than their Indian counterparts.

In all the organizations in both countries (see Appendix D for details), reward takes financial as well as non-financial forms and is claimed to be linked to performance. Punishment is less harsh and non-financial in Indian organizations for manual workers because of the government regulations aiming to maintain employment and a minimum living standard for this group of employees. However, Indian managers, for tax purposes, usually reward their employees in kind, such as house and car allowances, rather than in cash. Hypothesis H.16 is supported for the English organizations but not for the Indian companies.

## **6. Management philosophy and organization**

Hypotheses H.17 and H.18

### **6.1. Employees attitude towards management practices**

Hypothesis H.17: English employees will have a more egalitarian outlook towards management practices and favour a participative style more compared with Indian employees.

This section consists of eight questions (in four pairs) through which the respondents' management philosophy is studied. The questions, adopted from Haire et al.'s study (1966), are based on contrasting assumptions between 'modern' and 'classical' theories on the nature of employees and the management of organization. Each of the items is relevant to an assumption or attitude on which the two types of theories differ. The items cover four distinct areas of disagreement between the traditional (directive) and democratic (participative) approaches. The four areas are: (i) capacity for leadership and initiative, (ii) sharing information and objectives, (iii) participation, and (iv) control mechanism. There is a pair of questions related to each area, and in the present study the pairs are referred to, for convenience, as attitudes about others, information sharing, attitudes towards participation, and attitudes towards type of control system.

Each question contained a statement and respondents were asked to indicate the degree to which they agreed with it on a five-point



scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". A high score for each item indicates attitudes in favour of modern, participative management practices, and a low score indicates attitudes in favour of traditional, directive ones. Table 9.21 shows the responses to these items.

Table 9.21 about here

As the Table shows, the Indian employees score significantly higher on the item related to participation of all concerned in decision making compared with the English employees ( $p = .02$ ), but they do not seem to hold a strong view about an average human being with regard to acceptance of responsibility. Here they score significantly lower ( $p = .001$ ). One explanation for this inconsistency may be that the Indian employees pay 'lip service' to participative management. This interpretation is consistent with the scores on the items related to information sharing: the Indian employees score much lower than do the English employees ( $p = .001$ ). There is no significant difference between the two groups of employees on other items in this section.

The items in this section, as was noted earlier, were adopted from Haire et al.'s (1966) study of attitudes of a sample of managers in 14 countries, including England and India. Table 9.22 shows a comparison between the findings of the two studies.

Table 9.22 about here

As can be seen, in both studies the difference is particularly marked in regard to 'information sharing': English managers hold a more 'modern' and participative view compared with their Indian counterparts.

## 6.2. Consequences of employees attitude to management practices for organization structure

Hypothesis H.18: There will be more consultation and communication in English organizations compared with their Indian counterparts.

As was noted in Chapter 5, five items related to the communication pattern among employees, and between the employees and the people from outside the organization were included in the attitude survey questionnaire administered within the 14 organizations. Table 9.23 compares the responses to these items given by English and Indian employees.

Table 9.23 about here

As Tables 9.23 and the scores for the individual organizations presented in Table 9.9 show, a constant feature of English companies is their higher score on communication on all the four channels inside the organizations compared to their Indian counterparts. This is consistent with their employees' cultural background. The English employees' higher scores can be interpreted as a reflection of their

culturally-rooted democratic values and interest in participation, consultation, discussion, arguments, and collective action by peer groups. The Indian employees' lower scores are consistent with the Indian people's authoritarian culture where decisions are generally made by seniors (even on behalf of the juniors, in the case of education and arranged marriage, for example) with little consultation, and submission is expected from juniors (Kakar, 1971a, 1971b; Meade, 1967).

A final point to note is the English employees' lower score on communication with people from outside their organization compared to the Indian ones. This may have been caused by the fact that there are many more manual workers in the English sample (104) compared to the Indian sample (34) - manual workers are, on the whole, closest to the 'core' activities of organizations and have few extra-organization communication. In fact, when manual workers are excluded from the samples, mean scores for the two countries are 2.10 and 2.19 respectively, and the difference between the two is insignificant.

This chapter so far has examined the degree to which employees' work-related attitudes may influence the structure of their organizations. It has been argued that cultural attitudes may influence organization structure through (1) ideology and philosophy held by managerial designers of organization; and (2) the predisposition of those whose jobs are most susceptible to direct managerial control - as a contingent factor to which the managers



have to respond (Lorsch and Morse, 1974). The present data provide an opportunity to examine these two possibilities and to determine which one may have a higher influence on the way an organization is managed.

The managers in each organization were taken to represent the first group, the organizational designers, and the manual and clerical workers (referred to hereafter as workers) the second group. The first group's responses to the management philosophy items were taken as an indication of their managerial ideology, and the second group's scores on commitment, trust, tolerance for ambiguity and individualism as their organizationally-relevant predisposition. The items related to power and authority were excluded from the analysis, since they were projective and were related to the respondents themselves less directly.

Two sets of Pearson correlation tests were carried out (1) between managers' management philosophy and organizational structure and (2) between the workers' attitudes and organizational structure. Table 9.24 shows the result of these tests.

Table 9.24 about here

#### 1. Managers and organization structure

As the Table shows, the managers' ideology scores have the highest association with perceived autonomy, formalization, specialization,

communication and height. The direction of these associations indicates that the more democratic and 'modern' are the managers' attitudes to managerial practices, the more their employees perceive themselves to have autonomy at work, the higher is the use of rules and documentation, the more communication and consultation take place, the taller is the hierarchy and the more specialized are the organizations' structures. In other words, the less traditional are the decision makers, the further away is their organization from traditional forms and the closer to modern bureaucratic ones.

## 2. Workers and organization structure

An interesting correlation here is that between commitment and centralization - the higher the workers' commitment, the lower the centralization. There is also a positive association between trust and delegation - the higher the state of trust among the employees, the more the decision making authority is delegated to them.

The pattern of correlations between the managers' philosophy and the workers' predisposition on the one hand and some aspects of the structures of the organizations on the other suggests that both managers' ideology and their subordinates' attitudes may in some degree have implications for the way their organizations are structured and managed. However, the correlations obtained in this exercise are patchy and much lower than those where the whole sample and all the work-related attitudes were included in the analysis (see Table 9.13). This is interpreted as a weak support for

the above mentioned assumption.

## **V. Discussion - cultures, work-related attitudes, and organizational structure**

### 1. Culture and work-related attitudes

There are systematic differences between English and Indian employees on some of the work-related attitudes measured in the study. These are attitudes to power and authority, tolerance for ambiguity, expectations from the job and job satisfaction, and management philosophy. The direction of the differences between the two samples on these measures is generally consistent with the cultural backgrounds of the respondents. The fact that the corresponding hypotheses were not refuted by the findings of the study bears witness to this consistency. There is a dearth of comparative studies between Indian and English cultures and organizationally-relevant attitudes. Some of the previous cross-national studies such as Haire et al.'s (1966) and Hofstede's (1980) have included both Britain and India in their sample. The findings of the present study are consistent with their findings for similar attitudes.

There is some degree of similarity between the two samples on trust, commitment and individualism. A closer examination of these similarities reveals interesting patterns.



The similar scores obtained by the English and Indian respondents on trust are consistent with their respective cultural backgrounds as discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 and crystalized in hypothesis H 9. The commitment and individualism scores achieved by the English employees are consistent with their cultural backgrounds, but those by the Indian respondents are not. The latter's scores on these items are opposite to what one would expect from the general pattern of Indian culture. This finding points to a discontinuity between the Indian employees' culture, characterized by a high group-orientation and collectivism, and the degree to which they identify themselves with their work organization, characterized by a low commitment and a high individualism. The explanation for this discontinuity may lie in non-cultural and situational factors, such as organizational culture, political economy conditions and the employees' formal position in the company, age and level of education. Some of these factors will be examined in the next chapter.

It should be noted that the inconsistencies observed between the respondents' cultural background and some of their work-related attitudes exist in the Indian sample only. This may be because of the influence of the British style of within-organization relationships on the Indian employees. This is not necessarily an indication of the universalism of Western management practices, but may be a result of the British rule in India over two centuries. Under the British raj India received a steady injection of British bureaucratic methods notably in public administration (Shenoy, 1981). True, it was only the Indian administrative elite who were in close contact with the British

rulers, but it is plausible to assume that through the former the British management style permeated Indian organizations over a period of years.

## 2. Work-related attitudes and organizational structure

The most pronounced difference between the two samples concerns formalization and the job description sub-scale. The English organizations are far more formalized and use job descriptions to a greater extent than the Indian organizations.

The English managers delegate their decision-making power lower down the hierarchy than do the Indian managers. The Indian employees, not surprisingly, perceive themselves to have less autonomy in doing their job than do their English counterparts.

The two samples also differ in their communication pattern: (a) more consultation and communication in English organizations than their Indian counterparts; (b) a somewhat higher level of lateral communication in the former, and higher level of vertical communication in the latter.

The two samples are similar with regard to centralization, specialization, chief executive's span of control, hierarchical levels, management control strategies and the reward and punishment policies employed.

There is some degree of consistency between the employees' attitudes to power and authority and their perception of the degree of concentration of decision-making power (perceived autonomy). The communication patterns in both groups of organizations are also consistent with the attitudes of their respective employees toward management practices. Another area in which there is a consistency between work-related attitudes and organizational characteristics, concerns the employees' state of commitment and trust on the one hand and the management control strategies on the other. The degree of formalization in both countries is also consistent with the value their respective peoples attach to privacy and independence.

There are also some unexpected findings concerning work-related attitudes and organizational features hypothesized to relate to these. For instance, there is no relationship between the degree of specialization in the organizations and any of the cultural attitudes held by their members. There are apparent discontinuities between the employees' expectations from their job and the reward policies employed by their managers.

Some of these findings point to a lack of significant correlation between, on the one hand, Indian people's cultural traits in general, and on the other, the Indian organizational structures and systems. As was discussed earlier, this may have to do as much with the influence of the Western management styles and practices on Indian management as with the latter's colonial links with the British. However, some of the similarities between results from the two



countries were found to be associated with shared contingencies and may be attributable to the stronger influence of these contingencies compared with cultural factors. The following chapter considers the relevance of contingent and other non-cultural variables.

## **VI. Conclusion**

The findings of the study presented so far lend only partial support to the culturalist perspective. To the extent that these findings can be generalized, this perspective may be said to offer a useful but incomplete explanation for, at least, English and Indian organizations. The organization-culture model proposed in chapter 8 on the basis of the arguments of the culturalist writers (Table 8.2), while apparently accounting for some of the links between culture and work-related attitudes, and between organization and work-related attitudes, does not allow for the absence of other expected linkages. There is clearly a need to look for non-cultural factors which may enhance our understanding of the organizations investigated.

**Table 9.1 Occupational profile of the employees**

	English		Indian	
	N	%	N	%
1. directors and other managers (e.g. head of departments and their deputies)	68	19.8	75	22.3
2. superintendents, supervisors, foremen, section heads, etc.	44	12.8	32	9.5
3. technicians, engineers, inspectors, controllers, etc.	45	13.1	52	15.4
4. specialists (e.g. chemists, computer programmers, accountants)	25	7.3	52	15.4
5. office workers, telephonists, etc.	49	14.3	85	25.2
6. manual workers	104	30.3	34	10.1
(no response)	8	2.3	7	2.1
total	343		337	

**Table 9.2 Educational profile of the employees**

	English		Indian	
	N	%	N	%
doctorate	2	0.5	7	2.0
masters	2	0.5	38	11.2
university first degree	33	9.6	135	40.0
training college	38	11.0	4	1.1
'A' levels	34	9.9	33	9.7
'O' levels	96	27.9	26	7.7
below 'O' levels	73	21.2	5	1.4
others	63	18.3	64	18.9
(no response)	2	0.5	25	7.4
total	343		337	



**Table 9.3 Age profile of the employees**

	English		Indian	
	N	%	N	%
20 and under	35	10.2	2	0.5
21 - 30	86	25.0	134	39.7
31 - 40	78	22.7	120	35.6
41 - 50	70	20.4	55	16.3
51 - 60	47	13.7	12	3.6
61 and above	8	2.3	3	0.8
(no response)	19	5.5	11	3.2
total	343		337	

**Table 9.4 Contextual characteristics of the fourteen organizations**

Contextual factors	Pair One		Pair Two	
	Brew E	Brew I	Sweet E	Soft I
Industry	brewery	brewery	confectionery	soft drinks
Product	beer	beer	sweets	soft drinks
Technology	simple, stable	simple, stable	simple, stable	simple, stable
Size	213	258	143	133
Status	independent with production units	independent	independent with production units	independent with production units
Ownership	family	family	family	family
Control	salaried managers + owner executive chairman and president	salaried managers + owner executive directors	members of the family	members of the family and salaried managers
Age	134 years	15 years	55 years	34 years
Market share	9.1 percent	40-45 percent	20 percent	60 percent

continued...

**Table 9.4 Contextual characteristics of the fourteen organizations /... continued**

Contextual factors	Pair Three		Pair Four	
	Chem E	Chem I	Pharm E	Pharm I
Industry	chemicals	chemicals	pharmaceuticals	pharmaceuticals
Product	chemical compounds and dyestuff	chemical compounds	wide range of drugs and medical products	wide range of drugs and medical products
Technology	process, infrequent changes	process, infrequent changes	simple, standard formulation, minor changes	simple, standard formulation, minor changes
Size	1470	1670	268	284
Status	autonomous subsidiary	independent	independent	independent
Ownership	parent group	public shareholders	family	family
Control	salaried managers	salaried managers	members of the family	salaried managers and owner chairman
Age	16 years	16 years	144 years	48 years
Market share	15 percent	20-30 percent	1 percent	1 percent

continued...



**Table 9.4 Contextual characteristics of the fourteen organizations /... continued**

Contextual Factors	Pair five		Pair Six	
	Hi-tech E	Hi-tech I	Electron E	Electron I
Industry	electronics	electronics	electronics	electronics
Product	electrical and electronic precision measuring instruments	electronic equipment and components	electronic power supplies	electronic components for industry
Technology	complex, not rapid change, rapid design change, several new products a year	complex, not rapid change, rapid design change, several new products a year	complex, standard electronic technology, rapid change in electronic components, continuous change in product design	complex, continuous change in production process, continuous change in product design
Size	550	450	220	320
Status	autonomous subsidiary	independent	autonomous subsidiary	independent
Ownership	parent group	private shareholders	parent group	private shareholders
Control	salaried managers	salaried managers	salaried managers	salaried managers and owner chairman
Age	60 years	37 years	21 years	20 years
Market share	10 percent	30 percent	10 percent	50 percent for some, 80-90 percent for others

continued...

**Table 9.4 Contextual characteristics of the fourteen organizations /... continued**

Contextual Factors	Pair Seven	
	Computer E	Silicon I
Industry	electronics	electronics
Product	high technology computer systems	semiconductors, silicon rectifier equipment
Technology	complex, continuous change in production process, continuous change in product design	complex, continuous change in production process, continuous change in product design
Size	650	620
Status	autonomous subsidiary	independent
Ownership	parent group	public shareholders
Control	salaried managers	salaried managers
Age	14 years	25 years
Market share	over 20 percent	40-50 percent

**Table 9.5 Power distance**

Items	English (mean) N = 343	Indian (mean) N = 337	Value of 't'	Level of confidence (p)
1. how often in your experience, are employees afraid to disagree with their boss?	2.97	3.10	-1.57	.117
2. if an employee took a complaint to a higher position than his/her immediate boss, do you think he/she would suffer later on for doing this?	2.00	2.26	-3.69	.000
3. how often is your immediate boss concerned to help you getting ahead?	2.85	2.15	8.04	.000
4. employees lose respect for the boss who asks them for their advice before he makes a decision.	2.39	2.42	-.36	.718
5. employees should participate more in decisions made by their boss.	3.58	3.60	-.28	.779

Note: the higher the score, the larger the power distance  
(see Appendix B for the answer scale and its range for each item.)



**Table 9.6 Perceived boss**

	English (percentage) N = 343	Indian (percentage) N = 337
1. boss 1 (tells)	23.3	18.6
2. boss 2 (sells)	28.9	27.4
3. boss 3 (consults)	27.4	28.7
4. boss 4 (joins)	7.7	17.7
5. none of the above	12.7	7.6
Mean score	3.42	3.31
Value of 't' = 1.13		
Level of confidence = .260		

Note: perceived bosses 1 + 2 = high power distance  
(see Appendix B for the answer scale and its range for the item.)

**Table 9.7 Preferred boss**

	English (percentage) N = 343	Indian (percentage) N = 337
1. boss 1 (tells)	8.5	8.4
2. boss 2 (sells)	29.6	26.6
3. boss 3 (consults)	42.2	42.2
4. boss 4 (joins)	19.6	22.8
Mean score	2.27	2.20
Value of 't' = .93		
Level of confidence = .351		

Note: preference for bosses 1 + 2 = high power distance  
(see Appendix B for the answer scale and its range for the item.)

**Table 9.8 Perceived power**

Items	English (mean) N = 343	Indian (mean) N = 337	Value of 't'	Level of confidence (p)
1. people here are not afraid to disagree with their boss if they think he/she is wrong in a particular case.	3.55	3.14	4.66	.000
2. here we call each other by first name.	4.54	2.74	21.69	.000
3. it is very easy for most of us to have access to our boss.	4.21	3.82	4.46	.000
4. most of us here are obedient and loyal to our superiors.	2.39	2.13	3.31	.001
5. everybody here has an equal chance to have a say in the decisions which concern his/her job.	2.78	3.15	-4.00	.000
6. a good employee here is the one who does not contradict his/her boss on "important" issues.	3.27	2.85	3.99	.000
7. obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.	2.16	1.74	5.51	.000
8. people in authority are usually more intelligent and more knowledgeable than their subordinates.	3.38	2.86	5.63	.000
9. employees should receive equal salaries regardless of the position they hold in the hierarchy.	2.00	2.07	-.72	.474
10. I am prepared to argue openly with people in higher positions.	3.66	3.30	4.37	.001
alpha coefficient	.15	.23		
K-R8 coefficient	.41	.45		

Note: for each of the items 1 to 6 there was a five-point answer scale ranging from "definitely true" to "definitely false", for others the answer scales ranged from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". The responses were coded in such a manner that a higher score indicates a higher degree of perceived power.



**Table 9.9 Structural characteristics of the fourteen organizations**

Structural dimensions	Pair One		Pair Two		Pair Three	
	Brew E	Brew I	Sweet E	Soft I	Chem E	Chem I
Centralization: *	29	20	23	26	23	26
Aston score for centralization **	194	236	220	221	200	175
Delegation	174	124	140	131	181	187
Joint decisions	27	20	12	18	3	4
Perceived autonomy	15	12	13	14	14	13
Formalization:						
- aggregate score	12	5	10	6	9	4
- job description	3	2	4	0	3	0
Specialization	3	3	4	3	13	16
Chief executive's span of control	7	4	8	7	5	10
Height	5	5	5	4	7	6
Communication:						
- with boss	2.28	2.06	2.16	2.40	2.40	2.16
- with subordinates	3.04	2.41	2.92	2.16	2.92	2.68
- with colleagues	3.24	2.16	3.23	1.88	3.40	2.41
- with people in other areas of work	2.64	1.87	1.82	2.04	2.43	2.25
- with people outside the organization	2.45	2.50	2.03	2.33	2.32	2.18

Note: \* a lower score indicates a higher centralization.

\*\* a higher score indicates a higher centralization.

continued...

**Table 9.9 Structural characteristics of the fourteen organizations**  
/... continued

Structural dimensions	Pair Four		Pair Five		Pair Six	
	Pharm E	Pharm I	Hi-tech E	Hi-tech I	Electron E	Electron I
Centralization:*	18	27	19	17	24	16
Aston score for centralization**	218	223	224	203	190	232
Delegation	142	131	136	157	169	128
Joint decisions	22	35	19	10	6	20
Perceived autonomy	14	11	14	12	14	14
Formalization:						
- aggregate score	17	4	13	5	13	6
- job description	4	0	3	3	3	3
Specialization	11	8	15	3	10	14
Chief executive's span of control	7	10	6	20	8	8
Height	7	5	6	8	6	7
Communication:						
- with boss	2.47	2.28	2.31	2.65	2.47	2.00
- with subordinates	3.16	3.04	3.12	2.09	2.65	2.18
- with colleagues	3.73	2.47	3.50	2.41	3.09	2.38
- with people in other areas of work		1.89	1.72	2.25	2.00	2.59
2.19						
- with people outside the organization	1.71	1.95	1.95	2.43	1.39	2.18

Note: \* a lower score indicates a higher centralization.  
 \*\* a higher score indicates a higher centralization.

continued...

**Table 9.9 Structural characteristics of the fourteen organizations**  
/... continued

Structural dimensions	Pair Seven	
	Computer E	Silicon I
Centralization: *	19	25
Aston score for centralization **	227	211
Delegation	132	117
Joint decisions	45	13
Perceived autonomy	16	14
Formalization:		
- aggregate score	13	3
- job description	3	0
Specialization	15	12
Chief executive's span of control	8	6
Height	6	5
Communication:		
- with boss	2.71	2.10
- with subordinates	3.21	2.89
- with colleagues	3.34	2.58
- with people in other areas of work	2.78	2.08
- with people outside the organization	1.92	2.17

Note: \* a lower score indicates a higher centralization.  
 \*\* a higher score indicates a higher centralization.



**Table 9.10 Mann-Whitney test between the two samples  
- structural dimensions**

Structural dimensions	Mean ranks		'U'	2-tailed p.
	English	Indian		
Centralization: *	7.14	7.86	22.0	.74
Aston score for centralization **	6.71	8.29	19.0	.48
Delegation	5.57	9.43	11.0	.08
Joint decisions	7.71	7.29	23.0	.84
Perceived autonomy	9.57	5.43	10.0	.06
Formalization	11.0	4.00	0.0	.001
Specialization	8.00	7.00	21.0	.65
Chief Executive's span of control	6.57	8.43	18.0	.39
Vertical span of control (height)	8.36	6.64	18.5	.43
Communication:				
- with boss	9.36	5.64	11.5	.09
- with subordinates	10.21	4.79	5.5	.01
- with colleagues	11.0	4.00	0.0	.001
- with people from other areas of work	9.36	5.64	11.5	.09
- with people from outside the company	5.64	9.36	11.5	.09

Note: \* a lower score indicates a higher centralization.  
 \*\* a higher score indicates a higher centralization.

**Table 9.11 Mann-Whitney test between the two samples  
- centralization items**

Structural dimensions	English	Indian	2-tailed p.
	mean ranks	mean ranks	
Financial decisions:			
- expenditure of allocated money on capital items	3.07	3.18	
- expenditure of unallocated money on capital items	2.47	2.75	
- expenditure of allocated money on revenue items	3.53	3.66	
- expenditure of unallocated money on revenue items	2.63	2.97	
- aggregate	11.72	12.57	.56
Investment decisions	.83	.81	1.00
Marketing and other strategic decisions	1.52	1.63	.74
Operational decisions	7.92	7.54	.74

Note: a lower score indicates a higher centralization.

**Table 9.12 Perceived autonomy**

Items	English (mean) N = 343	Indian (mean) N = 337	Value of 't'	Level of confidence (p)
1. people here are allowed to do as they please	2.36	2.33	.34	.733
2. I feel I am my own boss in most matters	3.26	2.79	4.80	.000
3. going through proper channel is constantly stressed here	2.54	2.70	-1.63	.104
4. a person can make his/her decisions without checking with anybody else	2.64	2.32	3.82	.000
5. whatever problem we have, we are expected to go to the same person for an answer	3.25	2.71	5.33	.000

Note: for each item there was a five-point answer scale ranging from "definitely true" to "definitely false", and the responses were coded in such a manner that a higher score indicates a higher degree of perceived autonomy.



Table 9.13 Pearson correlation coefficients - structural dimensions with cultural variables (N = 14 organizations)

Cultural variables	Central-ization	Aston score	Delegation	Joint decisions	Perceived autonomy	Formal-ization	Special-ization	CE's span of control	Vertical span of control
Power distance	.12	.31	-.09	-.15	-.51*	-.02	-.51*	-.03	-.40@
Perceived power	-.29	-.14	-.24	.05	.75***	.85***	.35	-.19	.46*
Uncertainty avoidance	.01	.09	.20	-.29	-.73***	-.63***	-.35	.43@	-.03
Tolerance for ambiguity	-.25	-.16	-.15	.15	.84***	.69***	.49*	-.25	.40@
Personal flexibility	-.35	-.24	-.10	.10	.74***	.45*	.40@	.05	.57**
Commitment	.26	-.21	.24	-.14	.18	-.51*	.20	.13	-.10
Trust	-.28	.19	.49*	-.22	.07	-.19	-.01	-.15	.22
Individualism	-.00	-.17	-.36@	.16	.69***	.13	.37@	-.07	.03

Note: The correlations are between organizations' average scores for work-related attitudes and structural dimensions.

Power distance and uncertainty avoidance scores are computed following Hofstede's (1980) formulae in order to be able to test his arguments about the implications of power distance and uncertainty avoidance for organizational structure.

@  $p < .10$ , \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

continued ...

Table 9.13 Pearson correlation coefficients - structural dimensions with cultural variables (N = 14 organizations) /... continued

Cultural variables	Central-ization	Aston score	Delegation	Joint decisions	Perceived autonomy	Formal-ization	Special-ization	CE's span of control	Vertical span of control
<u>Expectations from job:</u>									
job security	-.02	-.12	-.10	-.19	-.22	.45*	-.38@	.04	.17
get to know others	.00	-.49*	.008	-.37@	.26	-.21	-.13	.40@	.41@
good pay	.01	.12	-.21	.29	.12	.70***	.03	-.41@	-.15
belong to a group	-.07	.15	.38@	-.19	-.50*	-.88***	-.25	.37@	.01
autonomy	-.07	-.02	.09	-.22	.17	-.33	-.18	.05	.11
learn new things	-.19	.24	.19	.01	-.49*	-.60***	-.17	.45*	.06
status and prestige	.17	.06	.34	-.28	-.60***	-.92***	-.30	.29	-.24
use initiative	-.11	-.29	.06	-.28	.15	-.42@	.18	.38@	.29
<u>Management philosophy:</u>									
attitude about others	-.56**	.08	-.11	-.28	.02	.58**	.01	.05	.56**
information sharing	-.08	-.23	-.22	.23	.82***	.72***	.50*	-.22	.27
attitude to participation	.18	.24	.01	.31	-.61**	-.25	-.09	.26	-.37 @
attitude to control	-.09	-.48*	.13	-.07	.26	.48*	.42@	.12	.41@

Note: The correlations are between organizations' average scores for work-related attitudes and structural dimensions.

@  $p < .10$ , \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

continued ...

Table 9.13 Pearson correlation coefficients - structural dimensions with cultural variables (N = 14 organizations) /... continued

Cultural variables	Communication with boss	Communication with subordinates	Communication with colleagues	Communication with people from other areas of work	Communication with people from outside the company
Power distance	-.25	-.17	-.14	-.63***	-.09
Perceived power	.51*	.46*	.84***	.70***	-.39@
Uncertainty avoidance	-.48*	-.51*	-.52*	-.64***	.23
Tolerance for ambiguity	.47*	.29	.55*	.78***	-.30
Personal flexibility	.58**	.04	.33	.75***	-.08
Commitment	.06	-.30	-.43@	.26	.41@
Trust	-.09	-.45*	-.24	.14	.59**
Individualism	.20	.15	.07	.40 @	-.07
<u>Expectations from job:</u>					
- job security	-.09	.26	.53*	-.15	-.09
- get to know others	-.05	-.28	-.06	.33	.49*
- good pay	.01	.49*	.56**	.21	-.61**
- belong to a group	-.38@	-.77***	-.86***	-.51*	.60**
- autonomy at work	-.24	-.59**	-.46*	-.00	.61**
- learn new things	-.01	-.60***	-.76***	-.49*	.41@
- status and prestige	-.45*	-.68***	-.90***	-.65***	.49*
- use initiative	.11	-.59**	-.52*	.14	.22
<u>Management philosophy:</u>					
- attitude about others	.13	.20	.65***	-.11	-.32
- information sharing	.57**	.56**	.72***	.84	-.38@
- attitude to participation	-.13	-.02	-.29	-.50*	-.05
- attitude to control	.43*	.39@	.51*	.45*	-.17

Note: The correlations are between organizations' average scores for work-related attitudes and structural dimensions. Power distance and uncertainty avoidance scores are computed following Hofstede's (1980) formulae in order to be able to test his arguments about the implications of power distance and uncertainty avoidance for organizational structure.

@ p < .10, \* p < .05, \*\* p < .01, \*\*\* p < .001



**Table 9.14 Uncertainty avoidance**

Items	English (mean) N = 343	Indian (mean) N = 337	Value of 't'	Level of confidence (p)
1. company rules should not be broken even when the employee thinks it is in the company's best interest.	2.97	3.29	-3.44	.001
2. how long do you think you will continue to work for this organization?	2.85	3.01	-2.02	.037
3. how often do you feel nervous or tense at work?	2.20	2.25	-.73	.466
4. if you had a choice of promotion to either a managerial or specialist position, and these were at the same salary level, which would appeal to you most?	2.96	3.10	-1.28	.200
5. considering everything, how would you rate your overall satisfaction with this organization at the present time?	4.56	4.97	-4.31	.000
6. how do you feel about working for a boss who is from a country other than your own?	2.22	1.94	6.88	.000
7. decisions made by individuals are usually of a higher quality than decisions made by groups.	3.35	3.34	.06	.95
8. most organizations will be better off if conflict can be eliminated	3.97	3.92	.74	.457
9. employees lose respect for the boss who asks them for their advice before he makes a decision*.	3.60	3.57	.36	.718
10. competition between employees usually does more harm than good.	3.04	3.07	-.29	.77
alpha coefficient	-.26	-.01		

Note: the higher the score, the higher the avoidance of uncertainty (see Appendix B for the answer scale and its range for each item.)

\* This item was also included in the power distance section, but the codes have been reversed here (see Hofstede, 1980 for details).

**Table 9.15 Tolerance for ambiguity**

Items	English (mean) N = 343	Indian (mean) N = 337	Value of 't'	Level of confidence (p)
1. I would generally prefer to do something I am used to rather than something that is different*	3.20	3.19	.10	.919
2. it is more fun to tackle a complicated problem than to solve a simple one	3.99	4.07	-1.09	.277
3. I enjoy finding myself in new and unusual circumstances*	3.67	3.63	.53	.594
4. people who fit their lives to schedule probably miss most of the joy of living	3.50	3.38	1.38	.167
5. I am in favour of a very strict enforcement of all laws no matter what consequence	3.23	2.88	3.94	.000
6. A good job is one where what is to be done and how it is done are always clear.	2.62	2.08	6.39	.000
7. I do not like to undertake any project unless I have a pretty good idea as to how it will turn out	3.00	2.43	7.04	.000
8. I get a lot of pleasure from taking on new problems*	3.85	3.99	-2.07	.039
9. I would prefer a job which is always changing*	3.46	2.97	5.43	.000
10. people who seem unsure and uncertain about things make me feel uncomfortable	2.60	2.20	5.20	.000
11. I like to have a regular pattern in my working day*	3.16	2.88	3.08	.002
tolerance for ambiguity score	36	34	6.41	.000
personal flexibility score	17	17	0.00	1.000
alpha coefficient	.69	.52		
K-R8 coefficient	.76	.63		

Note: for each item there was a five-point answer scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree", and the responses were coded in such a manner that a higher score indicates a higher degree of tolerance for ambiguity.

**Table 9.16 Individualism**

Items	English (mean) N = 343	Indian (mean) N = 337	Value of 't'	Level of confidence (p)
1. I prefer to make my own mind on things only after seeking advice from friends	3.02	3.10	-.84	.404
2. It is important to me that my job leaves me sufficient time for my personal life	4.23	3.45	9.45	.000
3. I would like to stand on my own in life rather than relying on others	3.96	4.39	-6.08	.000
4. I prefer to merge with the crowd than stand on my own	3.46	3.30	1.85	.065
5. I feel uncomfortable going against the view of a majority	3.37	3.22	1.74	.083
6. one can learn better by striking out alone than one can by following the advice of others	2.89	3.45	-6.33	.000
alpha coefficient	.18	.21		
K-R8 coefficient	.51	.51		

Note: for each item there was a five-point answer scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree", and the responses were coded in such a manner that a higher score indicates a higher degree of individualism.



**Table 9.17 Commitment**

Items	English (mean)	Indian (mean)	Value of 't'	Level of (p)
confidence	N = 343	N = 337		
1. I would be pleased to know that my own work has made a contribution to the good of the company	4.46	4.45	.22	.826
2. sometimes I feel like leaving this organization	3.27	3.30	-.32	.752
3. I would not recommend a close friend to join this organization	3.67	3.34	2.95	.003
4. I am not willing to put myself out just to help this organization	4.13	3.86	2.79	.005
5. I am quite proud to be able to tell people which organization I work for	3.79	4.18	-4.34	.000
6. even if I had a choice of another job, I would be reluctant to leave this organization	3.12	3.11	.09	.929
7. I feel myself to be part of this organization	3.85	4.42	-7.55	.000
8. in my work I like to feel I am making some effort, not just for myself but for the organization	4.24	4.45	-3.13	.002
9. the offer of a bit more money with another employer would not seriously make me think of changing my job	3.18	3.49	-2.79	.005
commitment index	34	35	-1.31	.190
alpha coefficient	.84	.60		
K-R8 coefficient	.88	.70		

Note: for each item there was a five-point answer scale ranging from "definitely true" to "definitely false", and the responses were coded in such a manner as a higher score indicates a higher degree of commitment.

**Table 9.18 Trust**

Items	English (mean)	Indian (mean)	Value of 't'	Level of (p)
confidence	N = 343	N = 337		
1. most of my colleagues can be relied upon to carry out what they say they will do*	3.74	3.53	2.68	.007
2. most people in this organization are honest and can be trusted	3.99	3.66	3.96	.000
3. most of the employees here have a strong sense of responsibility	3.46	3.49	-.35	.730
4. employees here can be trusted to work hard for good of organization	3.43	3.83	-5.07	.000
5. I have full confidence in the abilities of my subordinates to carry out their work *	3.73	3.93	-2.68	.008
6. I have no confidence in the good intentions of my subordinates to do their work	4.04	4.17	-1.57	.118
7. most of my colleagues would work just as hard even when their bosses are not around*	3.75	3.78	-.25	.800
8. most employees here would on occasion be prepared to take advantage if they had a chance to deceive others *	3.62	3.57	.56	.578
9. employees here can be trusted to provide management with correct information about what they are doing	3.87	3.91	-.57	.567
trust index	34	34	-.69	.489
alpha coefficient	.81	.78		
K-R8 coefficient	.85	.83		

Note: for each item there was a five-point answer scale ranging from "definitely true" to "definitely false", and the responses were coded in such a manner as a higher score indicates a higher degree of trust.

\* these items are adopted with modification from Cook and Wall's 'trust' scale (1980).

**Table 9.19 Expectations from job**

Items	English (N = 343)			Indian (N = 337)			Value of 't' of confidence (p)
	Important (%)	Not important (%)	Mean score	Important (%)	Not important (%)	Mean score	
* How important would it be to you to:							
a. have a job that is very secure	72.3	2.7	3.92	59.7	11.4	3.67	3.49 .001
b. get to know other people while on the job	52.8	10.1	3.56	62.6	14.3	3.62	-.76 .445
c. have a good pay and fringe benefits	78.1	2.1	4.04	67.1	5.7	3.86	2.75 .006
d. belong to a social group at work	10.3	55.9	2.36	36.7	27.7	3.09	-8.89 .000
e. have considerable freedom and independence in how you do your job	71.9	3.0	3.88	77.2	8.2	4.01	-1.80 .072
f. learn new things	78.6	2.1	4.06	92.7	2.1	4.40	-5.94 .000
g. have status and prestige in your job and have your friends and colleagues respect you	48.0	12.5	3.44	74.8	7.2	4.00	-7.75 .000
h. have opportunities to use your initiative and be creative and imaginative	81.2	4.2	4.06	87.1	3.0	4.28	-3.49 .001

Note: for each item there was a five-point answer scale ranging from "of utmost importance" to "of little or no importance", and the responses were coded in such a manner that a higher score indicates a higher importance placed on the item.

**Table 9.20 Expectations from job - rank order**

	English (rank order) N = 343	Indian (rank order) N = 337
1. job security	4	6
2. get to know others	6	7
3. good pay and fringe benefits	3	5
4. belong to a group	8	8
5. freedom and independence	5	3
6. learn new things	1	1
7. status and prestige	7	4
8. be creative	1	2



**Table 9.21 Management philosophy**

Items	English (mean) N = 343	Indian (mean) N = 337	Value of 't'	Level of confidence (p)
<b>Pair 1 attitudes about others</b>				
The average human being prefers to be directed, wishes to avoid responsibility, and has relatively little ambition	3.25	2.94	3.37	.001
Leadership skills can be acquired by most people regardless of their particular inborn traits and abilities	2.85	2.92	-.86	.393
<b>Pair 2 information sharing</b>				
A good leader should give detailed and complete instructions to his subordinates rather than giving them merely general directions and depending upon their initiative to work out the details	2.75	2.19	5.89	.000
A superior should give his subordinates only that information which is necessary for them to do their immediate tasks	3.62	2.73	9.87	.000
<b>Pair 3 attitudes towards participation</b>				
In a work situation, if subordinates cannot influence me then I lose some influence on them	2.81	2.74	.90	.366
It is better to have all the people concerned to participate in decision making rather than the boss making decisions on his own*	3.45	3.65	-2.27	.024
<b>Pair 4 attitudes towards type of control system</b>				
The use of financial rewards (pay, promotion, etc.) and punishment (failure to promote, etc.) is not the best way to get subordinates to work	3.29	3.21	.93	.351
The superior's authority over his subordinates in an organization is primarily economic	2.98	2.85	1.68	.093

Note: for each item there was a five-point answer scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree", and the responses were coded in such a manner that a higher score indicates a higher endorsement of democratic values.

\* this item is a modification of Haire et al.'s (1966) original statement.

**Table 9.22 A comparison between management philosophy scores for managers in the present study and Haire et al.'s**

Pairs	Present study (mean values)		Haire et al's study (1966) (mean values)	
	English (N = 68)	Indian (N = 75)	English (N = 239)	Indian (N = 114)
attitudes about others	2.94	2.33	2.72	2.81
information sharing	3.52	2.98	3.78	2.96
attitudes towards participation	3.53	2.98	3.48	3.35
attitudes towards control	3.45	3.22	3.56	3.38

Note: for each item there was a five-point answer scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree", and the responses were coded in such a manner that a higher score indicates a higher endorsement of democratic values.

**Table 9.23 Communication pattern**

	English (mean) N = 343	Indian (mean) N = 337	Value of 't'	Level of confidence (p)
1. communication with boss	2.40	2.21	1.90	.058
2. communication with subordinates	3.03	2.52	4.48	.000
3. communication with colleagues in one's own area of work	3.39	2.36	10.30	.000
4. communication with people from other areas of work	2.34	2.03	3.24	.001
5. communication with people from outside the organization	1.96	2.24	-2.52	.012

Note: there was a five point answer scale for each item ranging from "much of my time" to "very little of my time", and the responses were coded in such a manner that a higher score indicates a higher time spent on communication.

le 9.24 Pearson correlation coefficients - structural dimensions with managers' philosophy and workers' predisposition

	Central- ization	Aston score	Delegation	Joint decisions	Perceived autonomy	Formal- ization	Special- ization	CE's span of control	Vertical span of control
Managers' philosophy: (N = 143)									
- attitude about others	-.32	.01	-.03	-.07	-.11	.15	.42	.24	.34
- information sharing	-.00	-.38	.29	-.31	.44	-.22	.57*	.45	.27
- attitude to participation	-.18	-.03	.02	-.06	-.26	.11	.38@	.31	.27
- attitude to control system	-.02	-.32	.41@	-.30	.15	-.00	.28	-.18	.28
Aggregate score	-.16	-.35	.03	.07	.58*	.41@	.66***	-.30	.51*
Workers' predisposition: (N = 272)									
- commitment	.17	-.47@	-.06	-.01	.29	-.21	.25	.27	.04
- trust	-.25	-.02	-.23	.55*	.25	-.14	.12	-.17	.37@
- tolerance for ambiguity	-.25	-.11	.36	-.23	.60*	.47*	.21	.02	.37@
- individualism	-.23	.38@	-.02	.09	.50*	.29	.24	.18	.45@

@ p < .10  
 \* p < .05  
 \*\* p < .01  
 \*\*\* p < .001

... continued



Table 2.24 Pearson correlation coefficients - structural dimensions with managers' philosophy and workers' predisposition /... continued

ms	Communication with boss	Communication with subordinates	Communication with colleagues	Communication with people from other areas of work	Communication with people from outside the company
Managers' philosophy (N = 143)					
attitude about others	.14	-.04	.11	-.13	-.69***
- information sharing	.14	.09	.05	.42@	.14
- attitude to participation	.25	.15	.18	-.36	-.53*
- attitude to control system	-.29	-.23	-.04	.40@	-.17
Aggregate score	.45*	.34	.48*	.67***	-.37@
Workers' predisposition: (N = 272)					
- commitment	.27	-.20	-.23	.60*	.00
- trust	-.08	-.27	-.06	.47*	.49*
- tolerance for ambiguity	.50*	.26	.39@	.55*	.03
- individualism	.35	.04	.22	.52*	.08

@ p < .10  
 \* p < .05  
 \*\* p < .01  
 \*\*\* p < .001

**CHAPTER 10**  
**Some Non-Cultural Determinants**  
**of Employees Work-Related Attitudes**  
**and Organizational Structure**

**Introduction**

The previous chapter discussed the cultural influences on work-related attitudes and their implications for organizational structures and systems. Some of the hypotheses which had been advanced within a cultural framework were refuted by the findings of the study. This was taken to indicate that non-cultural factors may be relevant to employees' attitudes and organizational structure. The present chapter examines the implications of some of these non-cultural factors. There is evidence that factors such as wealth, occupation, level and type of education, age, sex and race influence people's attitudes (Haire et al., 1966; Rokeach, 1979; Hofstede, 1980). The present data make it possible to explore the impact that the respondents' occupation, level of education and age may have on the degree to which they hold certain attitudes. In the case of the structures of the organizations, the data provide an opportunity to examine the validity of the arguments advanced by contingency theory writers and those who argued for culture-free context-organizational structure relationships (notably Hickson et al., 1974, and other sources cited in Chapter 2, section 1). Again in

order to avoid disjunctures in the text all tables are placed at the end of the chapter.

## **I. Work-related attitudes and some non-cultural factors**

### **1. Occupation**

#### 1.1. Power and authority

Chapters 5 and 9 noted that the perceived power items were more successful in discriminating between Indian and English employees compared to Hofstede's power distance items. It is therefore more appropriate to use the former for an examination of the effect of non-cultural factors.

In the English sample, as can be seen in Table 10.1, there are variations in the scores obtained by each category on each item, some in the expected direction (having regard to their social and cultural background), some in the opposite direction. On the whole, managers seem to perceive that they have more power than other employees: they are more prepared to argue with people in higher positions, they perceive that they have more opportunity to have a say in decision making, it is easier for them to have access to their boss, they believe less that people in authority are more intelligent and knowledgeable, and are less afraid to disagree with their boss than most of other employees. An analysis of variance shows that various occupational groups in the English sample are different from

one another on 8 items. This suggests a strong association between these employees' position in the hierarchy and their perception of power within their organizations.

Table 10.1 about here

In the Indian sample, too, as Table 10.2 shows, there are differences between various occupational categories on various items. The pattern of scores, however, is not systematic and is in some cases even contradictory. The responses seem to indicate a higher perception of power by managers on some items in comparison with some employees, and a lower perception on other items in comparison with some other employees. Indian manual workers seem to be less afraid to disagree with their bosses, and are less obedient to them than are other employees, even the managers. A likely explanation for this lies in the relatively powerful position enjoyed by the organized workers in India, encouraged by pro-union legislation, compared to white-collar employees (see also Chapter 7) - the Indian organizations which participated in the present study are all unionized. The analysis of variance shows that the Indian employees' perception of power is to a less extent related to their occupational position compared to their English counterparts. Nevertheless, the difference between various occupational categories is significant for 6 items.

Table 10.2 about here



Across the two countries, the mean scores obtained by similar occupational categories for most items are significantly different, but the direction in some cases point to a higher perception of power by the Indian employees in others by their English counterparts.

### 1.2. Tolerance for ambiguity

In the English sample, as is shown in Table 10.3, the technicians/engineers group has the highest degree of tolerance for ambiguity (39) followed closely by managers (38) and specialists (38). Manual workers score lowest. In the Indian sample, the pattern is somewhat different. Technicians/engineers group and manual workers score highest (35) and the office workers lowest (32). According to the analysis of variance test, the respondents' tolerance for ambiguity seems to have some correspondence with their hierarchical positions within their organizations.

Table 10.3 about here

### 1.3. Commitment

Managers in both countries scored higher on commitment than did other employees. The difference between this group and the manual workers is the widest in both samples (Table 10.4). This finding is hardly surprising, given the different treatment the two groups of employees receive from their employers. It is reasonable to argue that since offices differ from one another, among other things, in the

privileges they accord to their holders, such as status, power, salary, and 'perks', they are likely to influence the attitudes (including commitment) of their holders towards the organization. The author's impressions from both English and Indian organizations in which the respondents work confirm the wide differences between the two extreme categories: the quality of eating places provided, the physical conditions of their working area, the rules for lunch and tea breaks and annual leaves, and the tight direct control to which manual workers are subjected. These are only a few visible examples, and there may well be other discriminatory features of jobs which underline the low commitment among manual workers and the high commitment among employees at higher levels. Moreover, in both countries there is a state of mistrust and hostility, emanating from a conflict of interests, between the management and workers which may have contributed to their respective high and low levels of commitment. The result of the analysis of variance test suggests that the association between employees' level of commitment and their occupational position in the hierarchy is significant, whereas the 'effect' of country is not.

Table 10.4 about here

#### 1.4. Trust

Although there are differences between various groups on their degree of trust, these differences are not systematically related to the positions of the respondents (Table 10.5). In the English sample, the

state of trust is highest among managers (37) and lowest among manual workers and engineers (32). In the Indian sample, it is highest among manual workers (36) and lowest among supervisors, engineers and office workers (33). In each sample and also in the two as a whole the difference between various occupational groups indicates a high association between employees' occupation and state of trust.

Table 10.5 about here

### 1.5. Individualism

As Tables 10.6 and 10.7 show, in the English sample the difference between the occupational categories is negligible but in the Indian sample is very high for four items. It may be recalled that Chapter 9 reported unusually high scores for individualism items by the Indian employees which were noted to be inconsistent with their cultural backgrounds. This inconsistency, given the significant difference between various occupational groups in Indian companies, may have been caused, to some extent, by their different experiences in their work organizations. An alternative explanation may be that employees were engaged in the occupations which were more compatible with their predispositions. The first four categories, namely managers, supervisors, engineers and specialists, score higher on almost all items compared with office and manual workers. This may be because of their greater exposure to Western cultural values through higher education, direct and indirect contact with people



from West and the like.

Tables 10.6 and 10.7 about here

#### 1.6. Expectations from the job

In the English sample (Table 10.8), there are two items on which the occupational groups are different from one another: "job security" and "having an opportunity to be creative". Supervisors and manual workers attach more importance to job security than do other groups. This is to be expected given the present economic conditions in Britain where shopfloors employees are being made redundant on a massive scale. Manual workers attach the least importance to having an opportunity to be creative at work compared to their other colleagues. This may be because the routine manual jobs that most of these employees perform has affected their predisposition. It may also be that those who do not prefer a creative job are likely to have been attracted to manual jobs.

Table 10.8 about here

In the Indian sample (Table 10.9), expectations from job are more related to the organizational position of the respondents than is the case in the English sample. Various occupational groups in the former are different from one another on "job security", "having good pay", "belonging to a group", "having freedom and autonomy", "having status, prestige, and respect", and "having an opportunity to be



creative". As the Table shows, "good pay" and "status, prestige and respect" are more important to manual workers than other groups. This is to be expected because this group of workers are paid very low wages and, as far as the author's impression in the interview programme and the general attitudes of Indian managers indicate, the manual workers are the least respected people within their work organizations. This group of employees also attached the highest importance to job security compared to other employees. This may be because of the abundance of (especially unskilled) manual workers in the Indian job market, which gives them less security and confidence to find an alternative job. However, this is inconsistent with the protection against dismissal that the Indian industrial relations legislation provides for manual workers, and by which, so the author was told, the managers of the participating companies abide.

Table 10.9 about here

### 1.7. Management philosophy

In the English sample, there are differences between various occupational groups on 6 out of 8 items in this section (Table 10.10). The scores and the direction of the responses, however, do not show any systematic difference among these groups in terms of the degree to which they hold democratic attitudes towards managerial practices, except that all groups seem to hold similar views about employees participation in the decision making process.

An interesting finding in this section concerns the manual workers' attitudes to control. Their relatively low score on this pair indicates their preference for financial and other external reward and punishment systems. This is consistent with the type of discipline and other child-rearing practices that the English working-class people employ at home (see Chapter 6 for details).

Table 10.10 about here

In the Indian sample (Table 10.11), there is only one item on which the six occupational groups differ from one another; i.e. a belief in the leadership capacity of people regardless of their particular inborn traits and abilities. And it is the lower grade white-collar employees and manual workers who endorse this belief to a greater extent than others.

Table 10.11 about here

## **2. Education**

### 2.1. Power and authority

In both samples, as Tables 10.12 and 10.13 show, various educational groups score differently on some of the perceived power items. But there is no systematic relationship between the scores and the respondents' level of education, suggesting a moderating effect by

other factors such as occupation. The only noticeable pattern is that the Indian employees with a Masters degree score consistently higher on five of the items compared to their less educated colleagues. On the whole, it seems that the level of education differentiates between occupational groups in the English sample more than is the case in the Indian sample. This may have been caused by the nature of the educational system in the two countries. In England, the system encourages a smaller perceived power 'gap' and a more egalitarian authority relationship; in India, the opposite is generally the case. It is therefore plausible to suggest that a higher level of education in England, other things being equal, may result in a higher perception of power, whereas a higher level of education in India does not have the same implication.

Tables 10.12 and 10.13 about here

## 2.2. Tolerance for ambiguity

Table 10.14 shows that the degree of tolerance for ambiguity increases with an increase in the respondents' level of education in both samples but the difference between various educational groups is significant only for the English sample. This, too, may have something to do with the different types of teaching practice employed in their respective countries. The English educational practices are mainly based on experimentation, trial and error, and self-discovery, a system which encourages facing and coping with uncertainty and ambiguity (Chapter 6). In the Indian educational

institutions, the teaching practices are mainly based on reading and memorising textbooks, a system which does not encourage coping with the uncertainty involved in experimentation and self-discovery (Chapter 7).

The analysis of variance also indicates a country 'effect' on tolerance for ambiguity. This is consistent with the significant difference between the two samples as a whole in their scores (Chapter 9): English employees are more tolerant of ambiguity, and their educational experience seems to be one of the factors affecting this tolerance.

Table 10.14 about here

### 2.3. Commitment and trust

As can be seen in Tables 10.15 and 10.16, education does not seem to have any noticeable influence on employees' level of commitment and state of trust. However, the analysis of variance test shows (Table 10.16) that variations in the state of trust are explained more by the respondents' level of education ( $p = .04$ ) than by their country of origins ( $p = .13$ ).

Tables 10.15 and 10.16 about here



## 2.4. Individualism

In the English sample (Table 10.17), there is only one item on which various educational groups are different from one another and almost consistently so: the more educated employees prefer to stand on their own, the less educated ones prefer to merge with the crowd. In the Indian sample (Table 10.18) level of education does not make any difference in the degree of the respondents' individualism. On the whole, individualism is not influenced by the level of education to any significant degree.

Tables 10.17 and 10.18 about here

## 2.5. Expectations from job

Tables 10.19 and 10.20 show that respondents' level of education corresponds only with the degree to which they attach importance to job security. In India (Table 10.20) job security is more important to the less educated respondents than is to the more educated ones. The job market, as was noted in Chapter 9, is very competitive in India. One of the major criteria on which employees are recruited is their educational qualifications. For example, for a simple secretarial job applicants are required to have at least a first or an upper second degree from a good university (my sources are job advertisements published in the Indian press). The Indian managers whom the author interviewed said that most of their supervisors had at least an undergraduate degree in an engineering discipline.

In the English sample (Table 10.19), the difference in the degree to which employees attach importance to job security is not systematically related to their level of education.

Tables 10.19 and 10.20 about here

## 2.6. Management philosophy

As Tables 10.21 and 10.22 show, education does not have any influence on the degree to which Indian employees hold attitudes towards managerial practices, but it does have some significant implications for the English employees' attitudes. Here again the explanation may lie in the different nature of the educational practices in the two countries. However, the relationship between the level of education of the English employees and their attitudes towards managerial practices is not systematic.

Tables 10.21 and 10.22 about here

## **3. Age**

In order to examine the relationships between respondents' age and the degree to which they hold the work-related attitudes measured in the present study, a series of Pearson correlation tests between age and these attitudes was carried out. The variable age in this exercise is the absolute age of the respondents rather than an age

bracket. As will be seen later, the correlation coefficients are very low but significant in most cases.

### 3.1. Power and authority

As Table 10.23 shows, the relationship between age and perceived power items is not similar and consistent. The sign of the coefficients for some items indicates a higher perception of power by younger employees and for some others by the older employees. This inconsistency together with other findings of the study in the power and authority section discussed so far in the present chapter and Chapter 9 suggests that perception of power is not a unidimensional concept. People may perceive themselves to have different degrees of power within their work organization, and indeed elsewhere, depending on the particular situations in which they find themselves. There may be more to perception of power than respondents' culture, hierarchical position, level of education and age. Power may indeed be a situation-based dimension.

Table 10.23 about here

### 3.2. Tolerance for ambiguity, commitment, trust

Table 10.24 shows that there is a high association between age of the respondents and their degree of tolerance for ambiguity and level of commitment. The direction of the correlations indicates that younger employees have a higher tolerance for ambiguity, and the older ones

a higher level of commitment. The association between age and trust is not systematic.

Table 10.24 about here

### 3.3. Individualism

As can be seen in Table 10.25, there is no significant association between age and most of the individualism items. In the two cases where there is such association, this is not consistent.

Table 10.25 about here

### 3.4. Expectations from job

Table 10.26 shows that, the correlations between age and the items in this section are significant in some cases and negligible in others. The pattern of significance, however, is not the same in English and Indian samples. On the whole, age is shown not to be related to expectations from a job. In the case of no single item do English and Indian results tally.

Table 10.26 about here

### 3.5. Management philosophy

There is no significant association between the respondents' age and



the items in this section. However, the direction of the correlations indicates that the younger employees in both samples hold a more democratic views towards almost all the managerial practices included in the section (Table 10.27). This finding is consistent with that of Haire et al.'s (1966), whose management practices items were employed in this part of the present study. Haire et al. found that younger managers had a "very slight tendency to hold more democratic attitudes toward management practices" (p. 155).

Table 10.27 about here

#### **4. Discussion**

This chapter has so far presented the data which suggest that there is an association between personal characteristics and some (not all) work-relevant attitudes. It may be recalled that Chapter 9 noted some discontinuities between employees' work-related attitudes and their cultural (in ideational sense) backgrounds. Some of these discontinuities, such as the high individualism of Indian employees, according to the findings discussed in the present chapter, appeared to be associated with their hierarchical position. There are some work-related attitudes which are more associated with the type and nature of political economic institutions of the countries concerned. For instance, the present data suggest that labour market conditions and government's industrial relations policies and legislation may indirectly have some implications for employees' perception of power and high preference for job security.

Class conflict in the two societies also seems, as Watson (1980) suggests, to have been reflected in the Indian and English organizations. Chapter 9 noted that managers in both countries employed a dual control system: a tight and direct control policy for manual workers and a more relaxed and indirect one for managers and other members of staff. Section 1 of the present chapter reported that manual workers in both countries had a much lower level of commitment to their organizations than the employees in higher positions, especially managers. It is impossible to discern from the present data the direction of causality in the commitment-control strategy relationship between management and workers. Nevertheless, it is safe to assume that the two reinforce each other and reflect a much deeper conflict based on a different relationship that they have with the means of production.

Socio-cultural institutions, too, appear to have some implications for employees' work-related attitudes. The nature of educational practices, for instance, was found to be associated with the employees' tolerance for ambiguity, perception of power and management ideology.

The findings of the present study suggest that power is a complex and dynamic concept and there can be no single determinant for it. At the most one can suggest a strong situational basis for employees' attitude to power and authority. This may explain, among other things, why there was no consistency between both "power distance"

and "perceived power" items (see Chapter 5 for details), and between the respondents' scores on individual items in the two measures.

Different types of occupation, levels of education and age reflect the different degrees of the exposure of employees to their national institutions. The multiple effect of these institutions together with the more deep-rooted cultural traits learned in the primary institutions (family and religion), all represented in the respondents' national background, may or may not be higher than each of the three non-cultural factors. It can be argued that to the extent that the respondents' national background has a higher influence, their work-related attitudes are society-specific. To the extent that the influence of the non-cultural factors is higher, the attitudes are universalistic in nature, for the present samples at least.

A discriminant analysis test was carried out to examine this point. All the 87 items which comprise composite and non-composite scales measuring the work-related attitudes were included in the test. The result shows that these items classify correctly **97.47** percent of the respondents by their country of origin, **73.68** percent by education, **68.80** percent by occupation, and **67.91** percent by age (Table 10.28). The findings suggest that the work-related attitudes held by the Indian and English employees who participated in the present study are society-specific. Many of the two-way analyses of variance presented in other tables also indicated a country 'effect'. This is consistent with the findings of the previous cross-cultural studies on work-related attitudes and values (Crozier, 1964; Maurice, 1976;



England, 1975; Hofstede, 1980. See also Chapter 2, section 2 for other sources).

Table 10.28 about here

## **II. Organizational structure and some non-cultural factors**

### **1. Contingency theory and organizational structure**

#### **- hypotheses**

Contingency writers attribute the structural characteristics of organizations to their contexts. This assertion has further been developed in an argument for a 'culture-free context of organization structure' (Hickson et al. 1974, 1979), that is the relationship between contextual variables and structural configurations is said to be consistent across countries. This argument can be put to test for the organizations which participated in the present study.

The following hypotheses are advanced on the basis of the arguments and assumptions of these contingency writers. In order to avoid a lengthy text, only one example per hypothesis is cited from the literature (see Chapter 2, section 1 for other sources).

#### **1.1. Centralization and context**

##### **Hypothesis I:**

The greater the technological change (in the sense of the make up of product and production process), the lower the centralization (Schoonhoven, 1981).



**Hypothesis II:**

The larger the organization, the lower the centralization (Khandwalla, 1973).

**Hypothesis III:**

The higher the competition (higher uncertainty in the market), the lower the centralization (Galbraith, 1973).

**1.2. Formalization and context****Hypothesis IV:**

The older the organization, the higher the formalization (Inkson et al., 1970).

**Hypothesis V:**

The larger the organization, the higher the formalization (Marsh and Mannari, 1981).

**Hypothesis VI:**

The greater the technological change, the lower the formalization (Schoonhoven, 1981).

**1.3. Specialization and context****Hypothesis VII:**

The greater the technological change, the higher the specialization (Argote, 1982).

**Hypothesis VIII:**

The larger the organization, the higher the specialization (Blau and Schoenherr, 1971).

#### 1.4. Communication and context

##### **Hypothesis IX:**

The higher the competition (higher uncertainty), the more consultation and communication (Burns and Stalker, 1961).

#### 1.5. Culture-free thesis

##### **Hypothesis X:**

The relationships between structural dimensions and contextual variables in England and India are similar (derived from Hickson et al., 1974).

#### 1.6. Technological implication thesis

##### **Hypothesis XI:**

The greater the technological change, the more organic the structure; the more stable the technology, the more mechanistic the structure (Fry and Slocum, 1984).

A series of Pearson correlation tests was carried out between the contextual variables and structural dimensions of the organizations, first for the whole sample (14 organizations) and then for the organizations in each country separately (7 organizations in each case). In the following sections, the results of the correlation tests are given in detail for each set in the corresponding tables, but only those which are more closely relevant to the purpose of the present chapter are discussed.

## **2. Context-structure relationship - whole sample**

Table 10.29 shows the results of the Pearson correlation test between

the structural dimensions of the fourteen organizations and their contextual factors.

Table 10.29 about here

### 2.1. Centralization

Centralization is negatively correlated with technological change ( $-.61$ ,  $p = .009$ ). Given the computation procedures of the centralization score in the present study (see Chapter 5 for details), a lower score indicates a higher centralization. The negative correlation between technological change and centralization here therefore means the more unstable the technology, the higher the centralization. This finding refutes hypothesis I which speculated the opposite. However, it may still be interpreted as a support for a contingency theory-type argument depending on which view one holds. It is, for instance, plausible to argue that the uncertainty and competition in the market caused by a rapid technological change may make senior managers more sensitive to technological matters and want to be more directly involved in decisions about technology. They may even, with the help of new technology, want to centralize information processing thereby to enhance their control over decisions (Child, 1984a).

### 2.2. Aston score for centralization

Centralization computed using the Aston method is negatively correlated with size ( $-.54$ ,  $p = .02$ ): the larger an organization's size,

the less it is centralized. This is of course consistent with the contingency theory argument in this connection as stated in hypothesis II.

The Aston score is also negatively correlated with control ( $-.47$ ,  $p = .04$ ) and ownership ( $-.46$ ,  $p = .04$ ). Given the coding system employed in the present study for control and ownership (Chapter 5), these correlations indicate that the family and private control and ownership of organizations are associated with a higher centralization of the decision-making process, and the ownership by public shareholders and control by salaried managers are associated with a lower centralization.

The Aston score is positively correlated with market share ( $.37$ ,  $p = .09$ ): the smaller the market share is, and, by implication, the more competitive the market is, the more organizations are decentralized. This correlation is also, as will be noted later, consistent with a negative correlation between market share and the time spent on communications among employees. And both sets of correlations support the contingency theory argument with respect to the impact of uncertainty (inherent in competitiveness) on the degree of centralization. Hypothesis III is not refuted.

### 2.3. Delegation

The highest correlation here is with size ( $.62$ ,  $p = .009$ ): larger size is accompanied by a higher delegation of authority down the hierarchy.



This finding supports the contingency theory argument about the association between size and centralization (hypothesis II).

#### 2.4. Joint decisions

This item is negatively correlated with size ( $-.40, p = .07$ ). Given the scoring procedures for the joint decisions scale (Chapter 5), this means that the larger the size the more people besides the chief executive are involved in decision making - a further support for the contingency theory.

#### 2.5. Formalization

This dimension is positively correlated with status ( $.57, p = .01$ ), and age ( $.58, p = .01$ ). The more dependent and the older organizations tend to use more written rules and documentations. The findings are consistent with hypothesis IV. However, as was noted in Chapter 9, a multiple regression analysis test suggested that the influence of the organizations' respective country on the degree of formalization was greater than that of their age.

A second hypothesis about the relationship between formalization and context was concerned with the impact of size on the degree of formalization. Hypothesis V speculated that the larger organizations tend to be more formalized. As Table 10.29 shows the correlation coefficient between size and formalization is  $-.21$  ( $p = .22$ ). The association between the two not only is insignificant, it is also in the

opposite direction.

A third hypothesis in this section (hypothesis VI) stated that lower formalization will be associated with higher technological change. Table 10.29 shows that the relationship between formalization and technological change is positive which is opposite to the argument advanced in the hypothesis. As was noted in Chapter 9, it seems that formalization is more associated with the employees' work-related attitudes than is with their organizations' context.

However, it may be that the Aston formalization scale employed in the present study does not in fact reflect the degree of formalization in the organizations investigated. After all, the scale measures the extent to which written documents are used in the companies. There may also be unwritten rules and directives which regulate employees' activities. This may be especially so in the Indian organizations where most of the shopfloor manual workers are illiterate (a political economy-type factor).

Moreover, formalization is in effect a means to control employees and to improve their performance. There are some other ways in which control can be exerted (Child, 1984<sup>a</sup>). The managers who participated in the interview programme mentioned a variety of methods that they employed, such as training courses, personal supervision, time-keeping, verbal contact, and the like. My discussions with these managers suggest that the Indian managers employed direct supervision and personal contact with shopfloor

employees as well as their immediate subordinates more than did the English managers (Appendix D). This greater use of personal supervision may explain to some extent the Indian organizations' lower score on formalization (Chapter 9).

## 2.6. Specialization

The association between the contextual factors and this dimension is far greater than that with cultural factors (see also Chapter 9). It is positively correlated with technological change (.53,  $p = .02$ ), and size (.60,  $p = .01$ ). The findings clearly support the contingency theory argument summarized in hypotheses VII and VIII.

## 2.7. Communication pattern

Hypothesis IX speculated a positive association between competition (uncertainty in the market) and consultation and communication. The findings in this section suggest that this is in fact the case:

There are negative correlations between market share and communications with boss (-.60,  $p = .01$ ), subordinates (-.50,  $P = .03$ ), and colleagues (-.58,  $p = .01$ ) - the smaller the market share, the more the time spent on communications. If smaller market share is taken as an indication of more competitive and uncertain conditions under which the firm has to operate, one can argue that a higher uncertainty causes more communication, and by implication, more consultation and participation. This argument is also consistent with

the positive (although not significant) relationship between communications inside the organization and technological change. The findings of this section lend support to hypothesis IX.

An important point to note about communication is that the amount of time spent on it seems to be influenced by contextual factors, especially market share, and its direction by cultural factors (Chapter 9).

### **3. Context-structure relationship for the organizations in each country**

Hypothesis X stated that the relationship between structure and context in England and India will be similar.

Table 10.30 shows the result of the Pearson correlation tests between the structural dimensions and contextual variables of Indian and English organizations separately. It must be pointed out that because the number of the organizations in each country is small ( $N = 7$ ), the correlation coefficients are very high, but only those with the level of significance equal to or less than .05 are regarded as significant.

Table 10.30 about here

As the Table shows, there are some similarities between the Indian and English organizations in their context-structure relationships: correlations between centralization and technological change and



between ownership/control and communication with people from other areas of work are relatively high and consistent. However, there are many differences between the two samples in the associations between their contextual variables and structural dimensions. These differences refute the culture-free thesis (hypothesis X). One must bear in mind that the smaller number of the cases in each country may have caused some distortions in the statistical associations. When these tests were carried out for the fourteen organizations together, a vast majority of the contingency theory-based hypotheses gained support from the findings. Nevertheless, the findings are consistent with the conclusions arrived by Budde et al (1982) in a similar comparison between British and West German companies. Clearly further research of this kind is needed before a judgement is made about the validity of the culture-free thesis.

#### **4. Technology and structure**

Hypothesis XI was based on the technological implications argument, and speculated that the fourteen organizations will have 'mechanistic' or 'organic' structural configurations depending on whether they had a stable technology or an unstable one. The variations among the fourteen organizations in terms of technological change make it possible to examine this hypothesis.

The organizations were grouped broadly under two categories: those with unstable technologies (6 firms) and those with stable technologies (8 firms). The Mann-Whitney test showed a significant difference

between the two groups in terms of technological change ( $p = .001$ ). The same test, as can be seen in Table 10.31, did not show any significant difference between the two groups in their structural dimensions. The technological implication thesis as stated in hypothesis XI is refuted by the present findings.

Table 10.31 about here

## **5. Discussion**

Contingency theory gains a considerable degree of support from the findings of the present study. This support is further highlighted when one examines the results of the attitude survey and the organizational structure survey more closely. As was noted in Chapter 9 and the present chapter, the work-related attitudes of a sample of the employees of the fourteen organizations were to a large extent influenced by their national backgrounds. This was reflected, among other things, in the extent to which the culture-based hypotheses (Chapter 9) gained support by the findings of the attitude survey. In contrast, many of the hypothesized linkages between work-related attitudes and organizational aspects were refuted by the findings. Moreover, the study lent support to a majority of the contingency theory-based hypotheses about the relationship between some organizational aspects and contextual factors.

However, there are some findings that do not fit in a contingency

model. For instance, the relationships between the organizations' context and structural dimensions are not similar in all cases in the two countries. The differences between the two countries in the context-structure relationship are highlighted by the fact that the organizations in each pair, although they were matched with one another on almost all of their contextual variables, had different structural configurations. And these differences were significant for such dimensions as formalization, perceived autonomy, delegation and communication patterns. It is therefore argued that the contingency perspective makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of organization, but the culture-free model which this perspective suggests is inadequate, certainly for the organizations studied here. The model does not explain the differences between the Indian and English organizations, which appear to be more consistent with their employees' work-related attitudes and the general characteristics of the society within which they operate (see Chapter 9 and part I of the present chapter for details).

The next chapter elaborates this theme and proposes a multi-perspective model for understanding organizational structures and systems in which the arguments of major theories are incorporated.



Table 10.1 Perceived power and occupation - English sample

Items	Managers (N = 68)	Supervisors (N = 44)	Engineers (N = 45)	Specialists (N = 25)	Office workers (N = 49)	Manual workers (N = 104)	F-Ratio	Level of confidence (p)
1. people in authority are usually more intelligent and more knowledgeable than their subordinates.	3.06	3.06	3.56	3.43	3.60	3.54	2.88	.01
2. obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.	2.44	1.81	2.40	2.45	2.00	2.06	3.50	.004
3. most of us here are obedient and loyal to our superiors.	2.07	2.25	2.66	2.64	2.31	2.47	3.03	.01
4. people here are not afraid to disagree with their boss if they think he/she is wrong in a particular case.	3.76	3.36	3.62	3.56	3.66	3.42	1.25	.28
5. a good employee here is the one who does not contradict his/her boss on "important" issues.	3.89	3.34	3.37	3.70	3.42	2.60	10.43	.001
6. I am prepared to argue openly with people in higher positions.	3.82	4.00	3.60	3.68	3.41	3.56	2.35	.04
7. it is very easy for most of us to have access to our boss.	4.55	4.47	4.43	4.36	4.12	3.91	4.46	.001
8. everybody here has an equal chance to have a say in the decisions which concern his/her job.	3.07	2.63	2.53	3.00	2.97	2.68	2.30	.04
9. employees should receive equal salaries regardless of the position they hold in the hierarchy.	1.55	1.62	1.97	1.54	2.14	2.53	10.94	.001
10. here we call each other by first name.	4.61	4.38	4.62	4.76	4.33	4.63	1.88	.09

Note: for each of items 1 to 6 there was a five-point answer scale ranging from "definitely true" to "definitely false", for others the answer scales ranged from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". The responses were coded in such a manner that a higher score indicates a higher degree of perceived power.



Table 10.2 Perceived power and occupation - Indian sample

Items	Managers (N = 75)	Supervisors (N = 32)	Engineers (N = 52)	Specialists (N = 52)	Office workers (N = 85)	Manual workers (N = 34)	F-Ratio	Level of confidence (p)
1. people in authority are usually more intelligent and more knowledgeable than their subordinates.	3.06	2.75	2.92	2.85	2.90	2.18	2.44	.03
2. obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.	1.86	1.62	1.82	1.63	1.54	2.15	2.53	.02
3. most of us here are obedient and loyal to our superiors.	2.04	2.16	2.04	2.43	2.20	1.64	2.54	.02
4. people here are not afraid to disagree with their boss if they think he/she is wrong in a particular case.	3.20	3.09	3.05	3.23	2.88	3.58	1.86	.10
5. a good employee here is the one who does not contradict his/her boss on "important" issues.	3.25	2.84	3.21	3.00	2.28	2.52	5.16	.001
6. I am prepared to argue openly with people in higher positions.	3.50	3.34	3.37	3.48	3.21	2.64	3.08	.01
7. it is very easy for most of us to have access to our boss.	4.04	3.80	4.40	3.46	3.44	3.91	5.73	.001
8. everybody here has an equal chance to have a say in the decisions which concern his/her job.	3.06	3.31	3.23	2.98	3.11	3.61	1.23	.29
9. employees should receive equal salaries regardless of the position they hold in the hierarchy.	1.91	1.93	2.02	2.06	2.16	2.30	.77	.56
10. here we call each other by first name.	2.64	2.53	2.64	2.58	2.79	3.30	1.74	.12

Note: for each of items 1 to 6 there was a five-point answer scale ranging from "definitely true" to "definitely false", for others the answer scales ranged from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". The responses were coded in such a manner that a higher score indicates a higher degree of perceived power.

Table 10.3 Tolerance for ambiguity and occupation

	Managers N = 68/75	Supervisors N = 44/32	Technicians, engineers N = 45/52	Specialists N = 25/52	Office workers N = 49/85	Manual workers N = 104/34	F-Ratio	Level of confidence
English employees	38	36	39	38	36	34	6.28	.001
Indian employees	34	34	35	33	32	35	2.43	.03
<b>Variance of tolerance for ambiguity by country and by occupation</b>								
- main effects								level of confidence
- country							12.34	.001
- occupation							46.52	.001
- percentage of variance explained							6.59	.001
= 14.16								

Note: a higher score indicates a higher tolerance for ambiguity.

Table 10.4 Commitment and occupation

	Managers N = 68/75	Supervisors N = 44/32	Technicians, engineers N = 45/52	Specialists N = 25/52	Office workers N = 49/85	Manual workers N = 104/34	F-Ratio	Level of confidence
English employees	38	35	32	33	35	31	7.14	.001
Indian employees	36	34	36	35	33	34	2.48	.03
<b>Variance of commitment by country and by occupation</b>								
- main effects								level of confidence
- country		6.19						.001
- occupation		.194						.66
- percentage of variance explained = 9.41		7.08						.001

Note: a higher score indicates a higher commitment.

Table 10.5 Trust and occupation

	Managers N = 68/75	Supervisors N = 44/32	Technicians, engineers N = 45/52	Specialists N = 25/52	Office workers N = 49/85	Manual workers N = 104/34	F-Ratio	Level of confidence
English employees	37	34	32	35	35	32	9.35	.001
Indian employees	35	33	33	34	33	36	2.63	.02
<b>Variance of trust by country and by occupation</b>								
- main effects		4.25						.001
- country		.002						.96
- occupation		5.03						.001
- percentage of variance explained	= 9.89							

Note: a higher score indicates a higher trust.



Table 10.6 Individualism and occupation - English sample

Items	Managers (N = 68)	Supervisors (N = 44)	Engineers (N = 45)	Specialists (N = 25)	Office workers (N = 49)	Manual workers (N = 104)	F-Ratio	Level of confidence (p)
1. I prefer to make my own mind on things only after seeking advice from friends	3.05	3.29	3.06	3.25	3.06	2.75	1.71	.13
2. It is important to me that my job leaves me sufficient time for my personal life	4.11	4.27	4.28	4.33	4.10	4.37	1.32	.25
3. I would like to stand on my own in life rather than relying on others	3.85	3.86	4.06	3.91	3.83	4.10	1.23	.29
4. I prefer to merge with the crowd than stand on my own	3.92	3.41	3.68	3.58	3.12	3.23	5.07	.001
5. I feel uncomfortable going against the view of a majority	3.58	3.31	3.60	3.33	3.17	3.25	1.65	.14
6. One can learn better by striking out alone than one can by following the advice of others	2.92	2.75	2.73	2.96	3.00	2.98	.67	.64

Note: for each item there was a five-point answer scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree", and the responses were coded in such a manner that a higher score indicates a higher degree of individualism.

Table 10.7 Individualism and occupation - Indian sample

Items	Managers (N = 75)	Supervisors (N = 32)	Engineers (N = 52)	Specialists (N = 52)	Office workers (N = 85)	Manual workers (N = 34)	F-Ratio	Level of confidence (p)
1. I prefer to make my own mind on things only after seeking advice from friends	3.17	2.96	3.42	2.98	2.85	3.31	1.70	.13
2. It is important to me that my job leaves me sufficient time for my personal life	3.40	3.75	3.76	3.51	3.12	3.71	2.52	.02
3. I would like to stand on my own in life rather than relying on others	4.35	4.50	4.46	4.67	4.28	4.09	1.91	.09
4. I prefer to merge with the crowd than stand on my own	3.60	2.93	3.37	3.70	3.34	2.21	8.57	.001
5. I feel uncomfortable going against the view of a majority	3.59	3.06	3.50	3.38	3.08	2.32	7.26	.001
6. One can learn better by striking out alone than one can by following the advice of others	3.30	3.75	3.47	3.28	3.51	3.59	.95	.44

Note: for each item there was a five-point answer scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree", and the responses were coded in such a manner that a higher score indicates a higher degree of individualism.

Table 10.8 Expectations from job and occupation - English sample

Items	Managers (N = 68)	Supervisors (N = 44)	Engineers (N = 45)	Specialists (N = 25)	Office workers (N = 49)	Manual workers (N = 104)	F-Ratio	Level of confidence (p)
have a job that is very secure	3.71	4.07	3.86	3.52	3.87	4.17	4.67	.001
get to know other people while on the job	3.40	3.65	3.51	3.56	3.87	3.48	1.69	.13
have good pay and fringe benefits	3.86	4.09	4.04	3.96	4.06	4.19	1.62	.15
belong to a social group at work	2.22	2.57	2.31	2.68	2.41	2.27	1.26	.27
have considerable freedom and independence in how you do your job	4.04	3.92	3.82	3.84	3.87	3.79	.95	.44
learn new things at work	3.98	4.11	4.22	4.12	4.06	3.99	.76	.57
have status and prestige in your job and have your friends and colleagues respect you	3.47	3.74	3.22	3.41	3.41	3.42	1.43	.21
have opportunities to use your initiative and be creative and imaginative	4.25	4.20	4.20	4.04	4.08	3.82	2.87	.01

Note: for each item there was a five-point answer scale ranging from "of utmost importance" to "of little or no importance", and the responses were coded in such a manner as a higher score indicates a higher importance placed on the item.

Table 10.9 Expectations from job and occupation - Indian sample

Items	Managers (N = 75)	Supervisors (N = 32)	Engineers (N = 52)	Specialists (N = 52)	Office workers (N = 85)	Manual workers (N = 34)	F-Ratio	Level of confidence (p)
have a job that is very secure	3.42	3.80	3.53	3.36	3.82	4.55	8.26	.001
get to know other people while on the job	3.81	3.68	3.64	3.42	3.55	3.75	1.05	.38
have good pay and fringe benefits	3.86	3.64	3.76	4.00	3.73	4.35	2.96	.01
belong to a social group at work	3.19	2.96	3.04	2.94	2.96	3.76	3.19	.008
have considerable freedom and independence in how you do your job	4.29	4.06	4.26	4.07	3.63	3.94	4.69	.001
learn new things at work	4.24	4.45	4.53	4.46	4.25	4.45	1.25	.28
have status and prestige in your job and have your friends and colleagues respect you	3.94	4.06	4.17	4.00	3.81	4.41	2.44	.03
have opportunities to use your initiative and be creative and imaginative	4.42	4.53	4.49	4.19	3.96	4.41	4.63	.001

Note: for each item there was a five-point answer scale ranging from "of utmost importance" to "of little or no importance", and the responses were coded in such a manner as a higher score indicates a higher importance placed on the item.



Table 10.10 Management philosophy and occupation - English sample

Items	Managers (N = 68)	Supervisors (N = 44)	Engineers (N = 45)	Specialists (N = 25)	Office workers (N = 49)	Manual workers (N = 104)	F-Ratio	Level of confidence (p)
<b>Pair 1 attitudes about others</b>								
The average human being prefers to be directed, wishes to avoid responsibility, and has relatively little ambition	3.33	3.20	3.35	3.08	3.21	3.29	.28	.92
Leadership skills can be acquired by most people regardless of their particular inborn traits and abilities	2.55	2.88	2.42	2.80	2.80	3.20	4.90	.001
<b>Pair 2 information sharing</b>								
A good leader should give detailed and complete instructions to his subordinates rather than giving them merely general directions and depending upon their initiative to work out the details	3.14	2.09	3.00	2.70	2.87	2.44	6.86	.001
A superior should give his subordinates only that information which is necessary for them to do their immediate tasks	3.91	3.50	3.91	4.00	3.53	3.32	4.06	.001
<b>Pair 3 attitudes towards participation</b>								
In work situation, if subordinates cannot influence me then I lose some influence on them	2.80	2.72	2.79	2.68	2.62	2.97	1.22	.29
It is better to have all the people concerned to participate in decision making rather than the boss making decisions on his own*	3.26	3.09	3.407	3.54	3.50	3.70	2.52	.02
<b>Pair 4 attitudes towards type of control system</b>								
The use of financial rewards (pay, promotion, etc.) and punishment (failure to promote, etc.) is not the best way to get subordinates to work	3.40	3.44	3.02	2.92	3.06	3.45	2.69	.02
The superior's authority over his subordinates in an organization is primarily economic	3.50	3.20	2.91	3.20	2.95	2.57	8.28	.001

Note: for each item there was a five-point answer scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree", and the responses were coded in such a manner that a higher score indicates a higher endorsement of democratic values.

\* this item is a modification of Haire et al.'s (1966) original statement.

Table 10.11 Management philosophy and occupation - Indian sample

Items	Managers (N = 75)	Supervisors (N = 32)	Engineers (N = 52)	Specialists (N = 52)	Office workers (N = 85)	Manual workers (N = 34)	F-Ratio	Level of confidence (p)
<b>Pair 1 attitudes about others</b>								
The average human being prefers to be directed, wishes to avoid responsibility, and has relatively little ambition	2.93	3.06	2.74	3.06	2.81	3.38	1.36	.23
Leadership skills can be acquired by most people regardless of their particular inborn traits and abilities	2.73	2.50	2.84	2.92	3.13	3.39	2.92	.01
<b>Pair 2 information sharing</b>								
A good leader should give detailed and complete instructions to his subordinates rather than giving them merely general directions and depending upon their initiative to work out the details	2.40	2.06	2.29	1.98	2.06	2.36	1.56	.16
A superior should give his subordinates only that information which is necessary for them to do their immediate tasks	2.83	2.87	2.86	2.00	2.55	2.59	.73	.60
<b>Pair 3 attitudes towards participation</b>								
In work situation, if subordinates cannot influence me then I lose some influence on them	2.60	2.75	2.58	2.77	2.92	2.71	1.05	.38
It is better to have all the people concerned to participate in decision making rather than the boss making decisions on his own*	3.36	3.78	3.747	3.54	3.70	3.69	.24	.94
<b>Pair 4 attitudes towards type of control system</b>								
The use of financial rewards (pay, promotion, etc.) and punishment (failure to promote, etc.) is not the best way to get subordinates to work	3.39	2.71	3.17	3.24	3.32	3.09	1.65	.14
The superior's authority over his subordinates in an organization is primarily economic	3.05	2.77	3.09	2.95	2.55	2.68	2.50	.03

Note: for each item there was a five-point answer scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree", and the responses were coded in such a manner that a higher score indicates a higher endorsement of democratic values.

\* this item is a modification of Haire et al.'s (1966) original statement.

Table 10.12 Perceived power and education - English sample

Items	University first degree (N = 33)	Training college (N = 38)	'A' Levels (N = 34)	'O' Levels (N = 96)	Below 'O' levels (N = 73)	F-Ratio	Level of confidence (p)
1. people in authority are usually more intelligent and more knowledgeable than their subordinates.	3.03	3.57	3.63	3.39	3.41	1.11	.35
2. obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.	2.81	2.07	2.27	2.17	1.76	5.06	.001
3. most of us here are obedient and loyal to our superiors.	2.30	2.18	2.75	2.52	2.23	1.74	.09
4. people here are not afraid to disagree with their boss if they think he/she is wrong in a particular case.	3.66	3.63	3.54	3.55	3.35	1.28	.25
5. a good employee here is the one who does not contradict his/her boss on "important" issues.	3.45	3.52	3.50	3.17	2.64	3.17	.003
6. I am prepared to argue openly with people in higher positions.	3.72	3.50	3.57	3.74	3.67	.57	.77
7. it is very easy for most of us to have access to our boss.	4.24	4.28	4.21	4.40	3.83	2.45	.01
8. everybody here has an equal chance to have a say in the decisions which concern his/her job.	2.72	2.57	2.81	2.66	2.95	.65	.71
9. employees should receive equal salaries regardless of the position they hold in the hierarchy.	1.81	1.86	1.59	2.16	2.52	4.70	.001
10. here we call each other by first name.	4.54	4.31	4.72	3.38	4.63	1.74	.09

Note: for each of items 1 to 6 there was a five-point answer scale ranging from "definitely true" to "definitely false", for others the answer scales ranged from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". The responses were coded in such a manner that a higher score indicates a higher degree of perceived power.

The number of respondents in each of other educational groups was too small (2) to make the scores meaningful.

Table 10.13 Perceived power and education - Indian sample

Items	Masters degree (N = 38)	University first degree (N = 135)	'A' Levels (N = 33)	'O' Levels (N = 26)	F-Ratio	Level of confidence (p)
1. people in authority are usually more intelligent and more knowledgeable than their subordinates.	3.48	2.76	2.56	2.84	2.23	.03
2. obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.	2.16	1.60	1.78	1.65	1.91	.06
3. most of us here are obedient and loyal to our superiors.	2.15	2.30	1.66	1.84	1.95	.06
4. people here are not afraid to disagree with their boss if they think he/she is wrong in a particular case.	3.18	3.27	3.42	2.76	1.29	.25
5. a good employee here is the one who does not contradict his/her boss on "important" issues.	3.00	2.96	2.71	2.32	1.72	.10
6. I am prepared to argue openly with people in higher positions.	3.58	3.42	3.24	2.96	1.14	.33
7. it is very easy for most of us to have access to our boss.	4.20	3.70	3.75	3.84	1.73	.10
8. everybody here has an equal chance to have a say in the decisions which concern his/her job.	3.00	3.03	3.39	3.57	.95	.46
9. employees should receive equal salaries regardless of the position they hold in the hierarchy.	1.83	1.97	2.18	1.92	1.33	.23
10. here we call each other by first name.	2.31	2.84	3.24	2.80	1.70	.10

Note: for each of items 1 to 6 there was a five-point answer scale ranging from "definitely true" to "definitely false", for others the answer scales ranged from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". The responses were coded in such a manner that a higher score indicates a higher degree of perceived power.

The number of respondents in each of other educational groups was too small (7 or less) to make the scores meaningful.



Table 10.14 Tolerance for ambiguity and education

	Masters degree N = 2/38	University first degree N = 33/135	Training college N = 38/4	'A' Levels N = 34/33	'O' Levels N = 96/26	Below 'O' Levels N = 73/5	F Ratio	Level of confidence
English employees	*	39	38	37	36	32	9.27	.001
Indian employees	35	34	*	33	33	*	.85	.54

**Variance of tolerance for ambiguity by country and by education**

	F-Ratio	level of confidence
- main effects	12.47	.001
- country	55.84	.001
- education	9.79	.001
- percentage of variance explained	= 17.26	

Note: 1. the number of respondents in the categories marked with \* was too small to make the scores meaningful.

2. a higher score indicates a higher tolerance for ambiguity.

Table 10.15 Commitment and education

	Masters degree N = 2/38	University first degree N = 33/135	Training college N = 38/4	'A' Levels N = 34/33	'O' Levels N = 96/26	Below 'O' Levels N = 73/5	F Ratio	Level of confidence
English employees	*	35	34	32	33	33	1.13	.34
Indian employees	35	35	*	35	34	*	.64	.71

**Variance of commitment by country and by education**

	F-Ratio	level of confidence
- main effects	.74	.65
- country	.41	.52
- education	.41	.87
- percentage of variance explained	= 3.09	

Note: 1. the number of respondents in the categories marked with \* was too small to make the scores meaningful.

2. a higher score indicates a higher commitment.

Table 10.16 Trust and education

	Masters degree N = 2/38	University first degree N = 33/135	Training college N = 38/4	'A' Levels N = 34/33	'O' Levels N = 96/26	Below 'O' Levels N = 73/5	F Ratio	Level of confidence
English employees	*	36	34	34	33	32	1.70	.10
Indian employees	34	33	*	36	34	*	1.93	.06

Variance of trust  
by country by and education

	F-Ratio	level of confidence
- main effects	1.84	.07
- country	2.27	.13
- education	2.14	.04
- percentage of variance explained	= 5.12	

Note: 1. the number of respondents in the categories marked with \* was too small to make the scores meaningful.

2. a higher score indicates a higher trust.

Table 10.17 Individualism and education - English sample

Items	University first degree (N = 33)	Training college (N = 38)	'A' Levels (N = 34)	'O' Levels (N = 96)	Below 'O' levels (N = 73)	F-Ratio	Level of confidence (p)
1. I prefer to make my own mind on things only after seeking advice from friends	3.21	3.34	3.09	2.96	2.70	1.60	.13
2. It is important to me that my job leaves me sufficient time for my personal life	4.15	4.15	4.27	4.35	4.22	.64	.71
3. I would like to stand on my own in life rather than relying on others	3.93	3.94	3.93	3.95	4.16	.93	.48
4. I prefer to merge with the crowd than stand on my own	3.87	3.47	3.27	3.62	2.88	5.24	.001
5. I feel uncomfortable going against the view of a majority	3.51	3.31	3.48	3.53	3.14	1.36	.22
6. One can learn better by striking out alone than one can by following the advice of others	2.84	2.94	3.17	2.91	2.87	.53	.80

Note: for each item there was a five-point answer scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree", and the responses were coded in such a manner that a higher score indicates a higher degree of individualism.

The number of respondents in each of other educational groups was too small (2) to make the scores meaningful.



Table 10.18 Individualism and education - Indian sample

Items	Masters degree (N = 38)	University first degree (N = 135)	'A' Levels (N = 33)	'O' Levels (N = 26)	F-Ratio	Level of confidence (p)
1. I prefer to make my own mind on things only after seeking advice from friends	3.18	3.07	3.00	3.08	.80	.58
2. It is important to me that my job leaves me sufficient time for my personal life	3.70	3.48	3.25	3.57	.64	.72
3. I would like to stand on my own in life rather than relying on others	4.43	4.43	4.34	4.61	1.42	.19
4. I prefer to merge with the crowd than stand on my own	3.35	3.51	2.93	3.07	1.43	.18
5. I feel uncomfortable going against the view of a majority	3.45	3.29	2.96	3.36	.63	.72
6. One can learn better by striking out alone than one can by following the advice of others	3.16	3.43	3.81	3.34	1.46	.17

Note: for each item there was a five-point answer scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree", and the responses were coded in such a manner that a higher score indicates a higher degree of individualism.

The number of respondents in each of other educational groups was too small (7 or less) to make the scores meaningful.

Table 10.19 Expectations from job and education - English sample

Items	University first degree (N = 33)	Training college (N = 38)	'A' Levels (N = 34)	'O' Levels (N = 96)	Below 'O' levels (N = 73)	F-Ratio	Level of confidence (p)
have a job that is very secure	3.36	4.05	3.38	3.95	4.26	5.73	.001
get to know other people while on the job	3.27	3.36	3.45	3.60	3.70	1.72	.10
have good pay and fringe benefits	3.87	4.00	4.00	4.10	4.23	1.59	.32
belong to a social group at work	2.36	2.36	2.66	2.21	2.47	1.33	.23
have considerable freedom and independence in how you do your job	4.09	3.73	3.90	3.87	3.85	1.40	.20
learn new things at work	4.21	3.94	4.24	4.09	3.97	1.03	.40
have status and prestige in your job and have your friends and colleagues respect you	3.27	3.42	3.39	3.43	3.68	1.47	.17
have opportunities to use your initiative and be creative and imaginative	4.15	4.00	4.06	4.10	3.82	1.20	.30

Note: for each item there was a five-point answer scale ranging from "of utmost importance" to "of little or no importance", and the responses were coded in such a manner as a higher score indicates a higher importance placed on the item.

The number of respondents in each of other educational groups was too small (2) to make the scores meaningful.

Table 10.20 Expectations from job and education - Indian sample

Items	Masters degree (N = 38)	University first degree (N = 135)	'A' Levels (N = 33)	'O' Levels (N = 26)	F-Ratio	Level of confidence (p)
have a job that is very secure	3.31	3.59	3.96	4.30	3.04	.004
get to know other people while on the job	3.78	3.60	3.78	3.88	1.94	.06
have good pay and fringe benefits	3.86	3.82	3.96	3.92	.60	.74
belong to a social group at work	3.21	2.97	3.09	3.15	.53	.80
have considerable freedom and independence in how you do your job	4.34	3.99	3.77	4.00	1.28	.25
learn new things at work	4.68	4.31	4.45	4.44	1.74	.09
have status and prestige in your job and have your friends and colleagues respect you	3.86	4.06	4.06	3.84	1.59	.13
have opportunities to use your initiative and be creative and imaginative	4.50	4.31	4.54	4.03	1.37	.27

Note: for each item there was a five-point answer scale ranging from "of utmost importance" to "of little or no importance", and the responses were coded in such a manner as a higher score indicates a higher importance placed on the item.

The number of respondents in each of other educational groups was too small (7 or less) to make the scores meaningful.

Table 10.21 Management philosophy and education - English sample

Items	University first degree (N = 33)	Training college (N = 38)	'A' Levels (N = 34)	'O' Levels (N = 96)	Below 'O' levels (N = 73)	F-Ratio	Level of confidence (p)
<b>Pair 1 attitudes about others</b>							
The average human being prefers to be directed, wishes to avoid responsibility, and has relatively little ambition	3.62	3.42	3.33	3.31	3.09	1.37	.21
Leadership skills can be acquired by most people regardless of their particular inborn traits and abilities	2.45	2.78	2.84	2.70	3.34	4.19	.001
<b>Pair 2 information sharing</b>							
A good leader should give detailed and complete instructions to his subordinates rather than giving them merely general directions and depending upon their initiative to work out the details	3.12	3.02	2.81	2.65	2.26	2.83	.007
A superior should give his subordinates only that information which is necessary for them to do their immediate tasks	4.15	3.73	3.81	3.77	2.90	7.37	.001
<b>Pair 3 attitudes towards participation</b>							
In a work situation, if subordinates cannot influence me then I lose some influence on them	3.06	2.65	3.00	2.63	2.96	2.41	.04
It is better to have all the people concerned to participate in decision making rather than the boss making decisions on his own	3.34	3.42	3.247	3.47	3.53	.32	.94
<b>Pair 4 attitudes towards type of control system</b>							
The use of financial rewards (pay, promotion, etc.) and punishment (failure to promote, etc.) is not the best way to get subordinates to work	3.21	3.18	3.18	3.07	3.64	2.23	.03
The superior's authority over his subordinates in an organization is primarily economic	3.34	2.84	3.15	3.02	2.56	4.21	.001

Note: 1. for each item there was a five-point answer scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree", and the responses were coded in such a manner that a higher score indicates a higher endorsement of democratic values.

2. the number of respondents in each of other educational groups was too small (2) to make the scores meaningful.



Table 10.22 Management philosophy and education - Indian sample

Items	Masters degree (N = 38)	University first degree (N = 135)	'A' Levels (N = 35)	'O' Levels (N = 26)	F-Ratio	Level of confidence (p)
<b>Pair 1 attitudes about others</b>						
The average human being prefers to be directed, wishes to avoid responsibility, and has relatively little ambition	3.24	2.75	2.68	3.34	1.76	.42
Leadership skills can be acquired by most people regardless of their particular inborn traits and abilities	2.52	2.85	3.28	3.30	2.05	.04
<b>Pair 2 information sharing</b>						
A good leader should give detailed and complete instructions to his subordinates rather than giving them merely general directions and depending upon their initiative to work out the details	2.27	2.25	2.03	1.92	.86	.53
A superior should give his subordinates only that information which is necessary for them to do their immediate tasks	3.05	2.67	2.65	2.46	1.00	.42
<b>Pair 3 attitudes towards participation</b>						
In a work situation, if subordinates cannot influence me then I lose some influence on them	2.47	2.78	2.71	3.00	.97	.45
It is better to have all the people concerned to participate in decision making rather than the boss making decisions on his own	3.83	3.66	3.597	3.44	.39	.90
<b>Pair 4 attitudes towards type of control system</b>						
The use of financial rewards (pay, promotion, etc.) and punishment (failure to promote, etc.) is not the best way to get subordinates to work	3.02	3.28	2.96	3.15	.52	.81
The superior's authority over his subordinates in an organization is primarily economic	3.11	2.87	2.50	2.58	1.11	.35

Note: 1. for each item there was a five-point answer scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree", and the responses were coded in such a manner that a higher score indicates a higher endorsement of democratic values.

2. the number of respondents in each of other educational groups was too small (7 or less) to make the scores meaningful.

**Table 10.23 Perceived power and age - Pearson correlation coefficients**

Items	English sample N = 324	Indian sample N = 326
1. people here are not afraid to disagree with their boss if they think he/she is wrong in a particular case.	-.09	.09*
2. here we call each other by first name.	-.19***	-.03
3. it is very easy for most of us to have access to our boss.	-.24***	.06
4. most of us here are obedient and loyal to our superiors.	.05	.006
5. everybody here has an equal chance to have a say in the decisions which concern his/her job.	.12**	.10*
6. a good employee here is the one who does not contradict his/her boss on "important" issues.	.07	.006
7. obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.	.13***	.12**
8. people in authority are usually more intelligent and more knowledgeable than their subordinates.	.07	.000
9. employees should receive equal salaries regardless of the position they hold in the hierarchy.	-.16***	-.10*
10. I am prepared to argue openly with people in higher positions.	.03	-.02

\* p < .05  
 \*\* p < .01  
 \*\*\* p < .001

Table 10.24 Composite measures and age - Pearson correlation coefficients

Items	English sample N = 324	Indian sample N = 326
1. Tolerance for ambiguity	-.10*	-.11*
2. Commitment	.40***	.17***
3. Trust	.22***	.05

\*  $p < .05$   
 \*\*\*  $p < .001$

**Table 10.25 Individualism and age - Pearson correlation coefficients**

Items	English sample N = 324	Indian sample N = 326
1. I prefer to make my own mind on things only after seeking advice from friends	-.06	.02
2. it is important to me that my job leaves me sufficient time for my personal life	-.07	.01
3. I would like to stand on my own in life rather than relying on others	-.004	.002
4. I prefer to merge with the crowd than stand on my own	-.09*	-.05
5. I feel uncomfortable going against the view of a majority	.05	.01
6. one can learn better by striking out alone than one can by following the advice of others	-.12**	-.01

\*  $p < .05$

\*\*  $p < .01$

\*\*\*  $p < .001$



**Table 10.26 Expectations from job and age**  
- Pearson correlation coefficients

Items	English sample N = 324	Indian sample N = 326
have a job that is very secure	.06	.08
get to know other people while on the job	.09*	.06
have a good pay and fringe benefits	.04	.08
belong to a social group at work	.03	.009
have considerable freedom and independence in how you do your job	.11*	.08
learn new things	-.002	-.14***
have status and prestige in your job and have your friends and colleagues respect you	.11	.09*
have opportunities to use your initiative and be creative and imaginative	.16***	.07

\*  $p < .05$

\*\*  $p < .01$

\*\*\*  $p < .001$

**Table 10.27 Management philosophy and age  
- Pearson correlation coefficients**

Items	English sample N = 324	Indian sample N = 326
<b>Pair 1 attitudes about others</b>		
The average human being prefers to be directed, wishes to avoid responsibility, and has relatively little ambition	-.04	-.12**
Leadership skills can be acquired by most people regardless of their particular inborn traits and abilities	-.04	-.08
<b>Pair 2 information sharing</b>		
A good leader should give detailed and complete instructions to his subordinates rather than giving them merely general directions and depending upon their initiative to work out the details	-.09*	.03
A superior should give his subordinates only that information which is necessary for them to do their immediate tasks	.09*	-.002
<b>Pair 3 attitudes towards participation</b>		
In a work situation, if subordinates cannot influence me then I lose some influence on them	-.06	-.009
It is better to have all the people concerned to participate in decision making rather than the boss making decisions on his own	-.05	.005
<b>Pair 4 attitudes towards type of control system</b>		
The use of financial rewards (pay, promotion, etc.) and punishment (failure to promote, etc.) is not the best way to get subordinates to work	-.09*	-.07
The superior's authority over his subordinates in an organization is primarily economic	.01	.13***

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

**Table 10.28 Discriminant analysis of work-related attitudes by respondents' background**

	Percentage of cased groups correctly classified
<b>by country</b>	
England	99.1
India	95.3
average	97.47
<b>by occupation</b>	
Managers	74.7
Supervisors	72.0
Technicians/engineers	66.1
Specialists	48.9
Office workers	74.0
Manual workers	67.0
average	68.8
<b>by education</b>	
Doctorate	100
Masters	77.3
First degree	73.1
Training college	75.8
'A' Levels	72.5
'O' Levels	66.3
Below 'O' Levels	88.2
average	73.83
<b>by age</b>	
20 and under	81.3
21-30	73.3
31-40	61.7
41-50	62.8
50 and over	73.5
average	67.91

Table 10.29 Pearson correlation coefficients - structural dimensions with contextual variables (14 organizations)

Contextual variables	Centralization	Aston score	Delegation	Joint decisions	Perceived autonomy	Formalization	Specialization	CE's span of control	Vertical span of control
Technological change	-.61 ***	.13	-.26	.17	.41	.09	.53*	.28	.56**
Size	.10	-.54**	.62***	-.40	.19	-.21	.60**	-.00	.33
Status	.02	-.09	-.13	.02	.58**	.57**	.24	-.30	.02
Ownership	-.03	-.46*	.23	-.35	.44*	-.13	.74***	-.00	.30
Control	-.28	-.47*	.09	-.28	.57**	.18	.57**	.13	.63***
Age	.09	-.04	-.42	.23	.07	.58**	-.27	-.05	-.00
Market share	-.10	.37	.36	-.06	-.05	-.44*	.12	-.32	-.22

continued ...

Table 10.29 Pearson correlation coefficients - structural dimensions with contextual variables (14 organizations) /... continued

Contextual variables	Communication with boss	Communication with subordinates	Communication with colleagues	Communication with people from other areas of work	Communication with people from outside the company
Technological change	.35	-.00	.16	.36	-.32
Size	-.00	.14	.07	.28	.16
Status	.45*	.37	.55*	.63***	-.33
Ownership	.03	.13	.10	.47*	-.19
Control	.36	.05	.28	.66***	-.11
Age	.10	.43	.50*	-.08	-.10
Market share	-.60**	-.50*	-.58**	-.17	.35

\*  $p < .05$   
 \*\*  $p < .01$   
 \*\*\*  $p < .001$



Table 10.30 Pearson correlation coefficients - structural dimensions with contextual variables (for each country separately, N = 7)

Contextual variables	Central-ization		Aston score		Delegation		Joint decisions		Perceived autonomy		Formal-ization		Special-ization		CE's span of control		Vertical span of control	
	E	I	E	I	E	I	E	I	E	I	E	I	E	I	E	I	E	I
Technological change	-.62 <sup>a</sup>	-.61 <sup>a</sup>	.29	.03	-.11	-.31	.41	-.13	.58	.38	.30	-.08	.82***	.28	.15	.39	.43	.66 <sup>a</sup>
Size	-.15	.29	-.03	-.89***	.82**	.46	-.21	-.67*	.29	.21	-.47	-.47	.56	.66*	-.76*	.12	.60	.23
Status	.02	.33	-.11	.13	.34	-.29	-.09	.03	.39	.25	-.51	.50	.49	-.30	-.18	-.19	.00	-.45
Ownership	-.29	.14	-.01	-.73*	.40	.10	-.07	-.70*	.39	.62	-.20	-.63	.78**	-.30	-.27	.04	.38	.28
Control	-.23	-.30	-.19	-.65*	.29	.02	.11	-.89***	.60	.54	.18	-.28	.75*	.40	-.38	.37	.55	.65*
Age	.15	.28	-.02	.11	-.30	-.74*	.18	.56	-.23	-.37	.55	-.05	-.47	-.38	-.00	.46	-.10	-.23
Market share	-.21	-.67	.49	.35	.52	.05	-.65	-.33	-.35	.63	-.50	.50	.61	-.01	-.58	-.54	-.19	.42

continued...

Table 10.30 Pearson correlation coefficients - structural dimensions with contextual variables (for each country separately, N = 7) /... continued

Contextual variables	Communication with boss		Communication with subordinates		Communication with colleagues		Communication from other areas of work		Communication with people from outside the company	
	E	I	E	I	E	I	E	I	E	I
Technological change	.90***	.008	.18	-.13	.07	.63	.51	.30	-.50	-.15
Size	.25	-.15	.07	.30	.19	.39	.27	.59	.39	-.19
Status	.26	.31	.29	-.38	-.49	-.84***	.64	.04	-.01	.19
Ownership	.51	-.24	-.18	.33	-.17	.60	.56	.68*	-.25	-.21
Control	.65*	.07	.04	-.17	.10	.43	.69*	.75*	-.17	.22
Age	-.32	.66*	.38	.19	.47	.05	-.38	-.62	.19	-.40
Market share	-.54	-.30	-.00	-.82*	-.15	-.40	.17	.54	-.00	.57

<sup>a</sup> p < .10 \* p < .05 \*\* p < .01 \*\*\* p < .001

**Table 10.31 Comparison between structural dimensions of unstable-technology and stable-technology organizations (Mann-Whitney test)**

Structural dimensions	Mean ranks		'U'	2-tailed p
	unstable ( 8 firms)	stable (6 firms)		
Centralization: *	9.25	5.17	10.0	.07
Aston score for centralization **	7.00	8.17	20.0	.60
Delegation	8.38	6.33	17.0	.36
Joint decisions	7.56	7.42	23.5	.94
Perceived autonomy	6.25	9.17	14.0	.19
Formalization	7.13	8.00	21.0	.69
Specialization	6.38	9.00	15.0	.24
Chief Executive's span of control	6.94	8.25	19.5	.55
Vertical span of control (height)	6.13	9.33	13.0	.14
Communication:				
- with boss	6.81	8.42	18.5	.47
- with subordinates	7.88	7.00	21.0	.69
- with colleagues	7.31	7.75	22.5	.84
- with people from other areas of work	6.19	9.25	13.5	.17
- with people from outside the company	8.63	6.00	15.0	.24

Note: \* a lower score indicates a higher centralization.  
 \*\* a higher score indicates a higher centralization.

## **CHAPTER 11**

### **Conclusion**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter is divided into four sections. Section one summarizes the study and the findings of its various stages. The second section discusses the strengths and limitations of the methodology employed to conduct the study. Section three discusses the implications of the findings for theory and practice and proposes a multi-perspective model for understanding organization structure and systems. The final section concludes the thesis by making recommendations for future research.

#### **I. Summary of the findings**

This thesis reports a cross-national study carried out in England and India in an attempt to clarify the association of cultural and social characteristics with people's work-related attitudes and values, and with the structure of their work organizations.

The first two chapters of the thesis set out the author's premises vis-a-vis the arguments advanced by the advocates of three major perspectives in the study of organizations. These are contingency, political economy and cultural perspectives. The proponents of each

of these perspectives attribute internal characteristics of organizations to factors such as task environment and immediate context, national socio-political institutions, and the cultural attitudes and values of organizational members respectively. The present author argued that all these perspectives contribute insights into the complex issues involved in the structuring and functioning of organizations.

Chapter 3 advanced some general hypotheses about the likely links between work-related socio-cultural characteristics and aspects of organizational structures and systems. It was argued that attitudes to power and authority, tolerance for ambiguity and uncertainty, commitment, trust, individualism, expectations from job and management philosophy may have a significant bearing on the degree of organizational centralization, formalization, specialization, communication pattern, control strategies and reward and punishment policies.

The empirical investigation to test these hypotheses was carried out in three stages in each of the two countries involved: socio-cultural surveys, work-related attitudes and values surveys, and organizational structures and systems surveys. The methodology employed at each stage to collect the required data was discussed in detail in Chapters 4 and 5.



## 1. The socio-cultural surveys

This stage of the research involved a study of socio-cultural characteristics of English and Indian people. It utilized available literature and the author's observations. It was accompanied by the administration of a cultural questionnaire survey conducted among a representative sample of the population in each country. Chapters 6 and 7 discussed the findings of this stage of the study.

### 1.1. Summary of the findings of the socio-cultural surveys

India and England were found to be different from one another in their broad socio-economic characteristics especially their economic systems, industrial relations regulations and social stratification.

The English economy is based on a capitalistic mode of production with a welfare state and a minimal governmental direct intervention in market forces. In India, the government exerts considerably more direct and indirect control over the economy.

Industrial relations legislation in India is protective of workers and aims at restricting management discretion and practices in this area to a large extent; in England the protective aspect is less marked and is currently being reduced.

Both countries are socially stratified. However, in England the social differentiation is based on a class system, which, in turn, is largely

based on control and ownership of means of production and on occupation. In India, social stratification is based on a caste system in which an individual's standing in the society is determined by his birth into one caste or another. The English class system is far more flexible than the Indian caste structure.

The cultural surveys carried out in the two countries suggested that Indian and English people were different from one another on some characteristics and similar on some others. The English have less fear of, and respect and obedience to, their seniors and those in the position of power and authority, are more able to cope with ambiguity and uncertainty, are more honest and trustworthy, more independent, less emotional, less fatalist, more arrogant, more reserved and care more for other people.

The two peoples were found to be similar with regard to tolerance, friendliness, attitude to change, attitude to law, self-control and self-confidence, and in their attitudes to social differentiation. The cultural attitudinal differences were found to be consistent with the institutionalized differences discerned from the literature.

## 2. The work-related attitude surveys

In the second stage of the study, an attitude survey questionnaire was administered among employees of 14 organizations (seven companies in each country). Of the 719 employees who participated in the surveys, 341 English and 337 Indian employees were suitable for the

study in terms of their cultural backgrounds, and their responses to the questionnaire were included in the analysis. The respondents' occupations covered a wide range from senior managers to shopfloor manual workers. Their levels of education were from a doctorate degree to below 'O' level. The findings of this stage of the study were discussed in Chapters 9 and 10.

### 2.1. Summary of the findings of the work-related attitude surveys

The work-related attitudes which were studied in this stage fall into the following categories: attitudes to power and authority, tolerance for ambiguity and uncertainty, commitment, trust, individualism, expectations from job and management philosophy.

Both differences and similarities emerged between the two groups of employees on these attitudes. English employees perceived themselves and their colleagues to have more power at work, expressed more tolerance for ambiguity, and had different expectations from their job than Indian employees. For English employees both 'intrinsic' and 'extrinsic' aspects of their job were important; for Indian employees 'intrinsic' aspects were given more importance.

The difference between the two groups on their expectations of a job was evident not only in the job features that they saw as important, but also in the degree of importance they placed on those features.



For Indian employees this importance was greater than for their English counterparts.

The two samples were similar with respect to the degree of commitment to their company and trust in their colleagues. However, it was suggested that these similarities may not necessarily be an indication of the 'universalism' of commitment and trust. The two samples studied here may have scored similarly on the scales which measured these characteristics for different cultural and situational reasons. Future research could clarify this point further.

There were also similarities in the relationships between certain work-related attitudes and some non-cultural characteristics of the respondents. For example, in both countries commitment to organization increased with employees' age and with seniority of their position. In fact, most of the attitudes surveyed were to a greater or lesser degree predicted by non-cultural factors such as age, level of education, and occupation. For instance, employees' perception of power was found to be related to the position of their occupation in the hierarchy. But this trend was, for some occupations, moderated by the relative power that they had outside the organization. This was especially the case for manual workers. The greater strength of Indian manual workers and the weakening position of their English counterparts in their respective economies were reflected in the former's higher perception of power and the latter's lower perception of power vis-a-vis their bosses.



### 3. The surveys of organizational structures and systems

The final stage of the research concerned a study of structures, control systems, and reward and punishment policies in the same sample of 14 manufacturing firms engaged in the private sector of the English and Indian economies. These firms were matched almost completely on their contextual factors, namely, industry, technology, product, size, ownership and control, status, age and market share.

The aspects of organizations which were studied were centralization, formalization, specialization, chief executive's span of control, number of hierarchical levels, communication pattern, control strategies, and reward and punishment policies.

#### 3.1. Summary of the findings of the organizational structure surveys

Matched English and Indian organizations were found to be similar in terms of the degree of centralization (using Aston-type items), specialization, chief executive's span of control and height. There were also similarities between the management control strategies and reward and punishment systems employed in the two countries.

There were differences between the two sets of companies on some aspects of organization. Indian organizations were far less formalized and used job descriptions much less than their English counterparts. This was argued to be consistent with their employees' cultural traits,

especially their attitudes to privacy, spatiality and personal territory. English employees spent more time on communication (consultation) and their managers delegated authority lower down the hierarchy than was the case in Indian organizations.

Strong associations were found between work-related attitudes on one hand and perceived autonomy, formalization and communication patterns on the other. The organizations' contextual factors seemed to influence their degree of specialization and centralization to a greater extent than other aspects. However, in the case of centralization, it was argued that the items which constituted the centralization scale were insensitive to cultural and social characteristics. The perceived autonomy scale, employed to measure employees' perception of power and autonomy at work, was argued to be more sensitive to work-related attitudes and to reflect the actual degree of centralization of power better.

The major finding of this stage of the research was the multiple association that cultural, national and contingency factors were found to have with the structural characteristics of the participating organizations and with the work-related attitudes of their members.

## **II. The methodology of the research**

The findings of the present study should be interpreted in the light of the strengths and limitations of the methodology which was employed to conduct it and the concepts and quantitative measures which were

used to analyse the data. It is therefore useful to discuss these points at this stage.

### 1. Strengths

A strength of the present cross-national study lies in its rigorous and systematic investigation into the socio-cultural characteristics of the peoples and organizations conducted in separate stages. As was noted in Chapter 2, most researchers who have conducted their studies within a 'cross-national' or 'cross-cultural' framework claim to have investigated the influence of culture on organizations, but they have not actually made the effort to study the cultural settings of the organizations concerned. Instead, when they failed to attribute the observed differences between organizations in two or more countries to non-cultural variables, they offered culture as an explanation for those differences. There has in organizational research been a marked absence of systematic study of the cultural values and attitudes of the people concerned through (1) investigation into the historical development of those attitudes and values, (2) independent surveys of the values or attitudes of a sample of ordinary people outside the organizations which are to be studied, and (3) assessment of the values or attitudes of a sample of the employees of the organizations, in order to examine the coherence between the cultural values and the organizationally-relevant attitudes and values of the people involved. There has also been a dearth of reported studies that have attempted to examine the relationship between specific culturally-influenced work-related attitudes and specific structural



variables. Moreover, many studies engaged in cross-cultural research have treated heterogeneous cultures as unified and homogeneous simply because they coexist within politically determined national boundaries (e.g. falsely equating the English and British).

The present study attempted to overcome some of these inadequacies by (i) hypothesizing the likely links between certain culturally-influenced work-related attitudes and values and specific aspects of organizational structure and systems, (ii) studying the cultural characteristics of English and Indian peoples, (iii) studying the work-related attitudes of a sample of organizational members in the two countries, and (iv) studying organizational structures and systems of a carefully matched sample of business organizations in India and England, in an attempt to examine the degree to which there is a coherence between English and Indian cultures and the organizations operating within them.

A further contribution of the present study lies in the degree to which contextual variables of the participating organizations in each pair were matched. The authors of many of the reported comparative 'cross-cultural' studies, in some cases having available greater resources, such as foundation funding and international collaborators, than the present author, have only achieved a 'rough' matching of the focal organizations usually on technology and size, and very few have extended the matching to the degree achieved in the present study (see for example, Inkson et al., 1970; Hickson et al., 1974; 1979; Jamieson, 1980). This careful sampling increased the



degree to which socio-cultural factors could be isolated for study, and therefore improved the opportunity for examining of their role in shaping the structure of organizations and the attitudes of members.

A third strength of the study was that the author was an 'outsider' to both countries. This enabled her to note those aspects of the two societies which are taken for granted by their respective members, such as close and emotional relationships among members of extended family and a weak sense of respect for personal privacy in India; the freedom of press and other mass media, democratic political system, and the role of trade unions in the economy in England.

Finally, the scope of the data collected went beyond the confines of any of the three major perspectives and provided an opportunity to examine the implications of some significant variables for organizations suggested by their proponents.

## 2. Weaknesses and limitations

Some of the limitations of the methodology employed in the present study were clearly evident from the outset but for financial, time and other practical constraints they were unavoidable. First, a larger number of organizations in each country and even a larger number of countries with much more different economic systems, at different stages of development, and without colonial 'links' would ideally have been included. Second, the study could have been a longitudinal one. This would have permitted an isolation of the situational factors from

the cultural and deep-rooted characteristics and an examination of their implication over time. Third, in order to control for situational factors, both local and international, the three stages of the study could have been carried out by a team of researchers in England and India simultaneously. However, an operation of this kind would, among other things, have required enormous financial resources which were well beyond my means. Besides, the present study were to constitute a major part of my doctoral dissertation and it had to be carried out and analysed by myself as a candidate for a Ph.D. degree. The time lapse between the various surveys was therefore inevitable.

Finally, although India's capitalism is different from that of England's, I would have probably done the proponents of the political economy perspective more justice had I compared a socialist country with England. But the problem of gaining access to a socialist country for a citizen of Iran with its extreme anti-socialist ideology would have made this project impossible from the start.

There were some other limitations which became apparent as I carried out the fieldwork and as each stage was completed. If I were to conduct this study again, I would endeavour to avoid them, especially if I could secure more funding and time. The most significant of these limitations is the absence of any observation of employee behaviour in the second and third stages of the research. There is, however, evidence that attitudes and behaviours are related (Schuman and Johnson, 1976; Ajzen and Fishbein, 1977; Fazio and

Zanna, 1981; Snyder, 1982). Some researchers have focussed on the influence of attitudes on behaviours (Kahle and Berman, 1979; Bentler and Speckart, 1981), while other researchers have emphasized the effects of behaviour on attitudes (Bem, 1972; Kleinke, 1978). It is relevant to mention here briefly an attitude-behaviour exercise that the present author and a faculty member at the Aston Management Centre carried out recently (Luck and Tayeb, 1984).

Our objective in the exercise was to explore the likely linkages between work-related attitudes and behaviours of people working in an operational research team. We therefore decided to carry out an experiment with a group of students studying operational research within an MBA course. In a case exercise the students formed groups representing an operational research team advising an agricultural co-operative in a developing country (see Luck and Walsham, 1984, for details of the Chakula Case used in this exercise).

In the first phase of the experiment a shortened version of the work-related attitude questionnaire which measures power distance, uncertainty avoidance, motivation and attitudes towards participative and non-participative management styles was completed by twelve participants. In the second phase, the first meeting of each group, where the participants were engaged in small group discussions as part of the case exercise, was observed and video-taped. The video-taped group discussions were coded, in terms of superior-subordinate relationships and leadership styles, degree of consultation and participation, aggressive-submissive behaviour, and



tolerance for and respect of others' opinion, and analysed. Then the attitude survey questionnaires were opened and the responses were analysed. From the analysis of the two phases, interesting patterns of attitude and behaviour emerged:

The findings of the questionnaire survey suggested that there was a marked difference between British and non-British students with respect to their attitudes and values. The former held a more favourable view towards participative management, had a smaller power distance and lower uncertainty avoidance. These were consistent with their culture and the findings of other studies carried out on British work-related values (see, for instance, Hofstede 1980). The non-British students held a more traditional view of management style, had a larger power distance and higher uncertainty avoidance, consistent with their high power-distance countries.

The analysis of the second phase examined the behaviour in the simulated operational research teams. It was found that the students' work-related values and attitudes were consistent with their behaviour in the groups. Those who scored high on power distance and held a more traditional view of management style, behaved in a more submissive and less challenging manner in group discussions and allowed their leader to get his own way. Those respondents who favoured consultative management and scored lower on power distance, participated more actively in discussions and showed more interest in and tolerance of other participants' views.



The findings of the two phases of the experiment were found to be remarkably consistent, suggesting that differences recorded by work-related attitude measures may be indicative of the trend of differences in equivalent behavioural categories.

Nevertheless, what people say in an interview, or write in a questionnaire, that they believe or do is one thing, and what they actually do in reality may be another. Moreover, people's attitudes may be influenced by their cultural background, but their behaviour in their work organization may be influenced more by the organizational culture and climate. There may in fact be a discontinuity between organizational culture and societal culture. A recent incidence bears witness to this point. An Iranian bank operating in London has recently issued a ruling to its female employees asking them to wear Islamic head-dress. A British employee was quoted on the radio as saying that given the difficulty in finding another job and the salary she could earn with that bank, she was prepared to dress as her managers wished her to do. Another example is the compliance of some British employees of Japanese firms operating in Britain with Japanese-style industrial practices.

The findings of the present study could therefore have been more rigorous and reliable if I had observed the behaviour of employees in the participating organizations, as I did in the earlier socio-cultural stage of the project. However, even if I had the required resources, I am not certain whether I could have obtained the agreement of the senior managers of every organization to allow a more detailed

time-consuming investigation in their companies.

Another limitation of the present study, and indeed most of the previous research carried out within contingency, cultural and political economy perspectives was that, although the author has throughout interpreted the associations between English and Indian cultural and non-cultural characteristics, work-related attitudes, contingency factors, and organizational structures and systems as an indication of the influence of one set of factors on the other, she has not been able to demonstrate the processes by which these influences, if any, take place. Correlations and associations of themselves lend the hypotheses and assumptions plausibility but they do not demonstrate the nature of the connection (i.e. how connects). A simple example may illustrate this point. Supposing that employees of an English organization have a high preference for individual freedom and privacy and the organization happens to be highly formalized. How did the former result in the latter? Did the employees go to their boss and ask him to write down rules and regulations to demarcate their job territories? Did the boss do this himself without being approached by his subordinates because he knew their cultural backgrounds and hence their expectations? Did he call for a meeting and invited them to decide on the degree of formalization? Did job descriptions and rules evolved over time and after implicit and explicit adjustments and experimentations? How did contingency factors such as age and size of the organization influence the degree of formalization? If this organization were a small one (in terms of numbers employed) what, and how, would determine its degree of

formalization compared to a larger one? Clearly further in-depth research with an appropriately sophisticated methodology and ample resources is required to study the processes by which various factors influence organizational structures and systems. In the final part of the present chapter a general prospectus for such research is proposed.

A further weakness of the present study lies in the absence of an investigation into organizational sub-culture. The author is aware of the significance of an organization's culture for its employees' work-related attitudes and behaviour (Pettigrew, 1979; Schein, 1984). There are obviously many factors which may influence organizations and their members, but one has to draw the line at some point. Organizational culture can be a major topic for a full-time cross-cultural study in its own right. I could not have paid it the attention that it deserves by including it in the present study as a subsidiary portion.

Another limitation I faced concerned my interactions with the illiterate people in India who could not speak English. In India, especially in Maharashtra, where the major part of the fieldwork was carried out, I could easily observe people on the street and other public places without being obtrusive, largely because of my physical appearance (I look very much like an Indian Zoroastrian). However, I was unable to engage in any meaningful conversation with uneducated people and 'mingle' with them because I could not speak any of the local languages. Perhaps an English speaking country whose people



are sufficiently different from the English, such as the Republic of Ireland, would have been a better choice.

### 3. The measures employed to study culture and work-related attitudes.

A major question that arises here is to what extent the items included in the two attitude survey questionnaires administered in the first and second stages of the study were able to capture English and Indian cultural characteristics. To the extent that the findings of these surveys are consistent with the views expressed about Indian and English people by other writers and with the present author's observations, one could argue that the items in the questionnaires were in fact capable of reflecting the present state of cultural attitudes and values of the respondents. As the discussions in Chapters 6, 7 and 9 show, there were very few inconsistencies between the findings of the attitude surveys and other sources used in the present study. One was the high degree of individualism among the Indian employees whose attitudes and values were measured in the second stage of the study. The sociological and anthropological literature on Indian culture leads one to believe that the Indians are a collectivist people. The findings of the cultural attitude survey conducted in the first stage of the study in India also support this view. However, the findings of the second attitude survey conducted among Indian employees show that the respondents are highly individualistic. Hofstede (1980, Chapter 5) too found the Indian employees in his sample to be individualistic.



There could be a self-selection process here. Namely that those Indians who had the drive to leave rural poverty and enter industry, with its markedly better economic rewards, were unusually individualistic for the population at large and had responded to the economic individualism of the wage packet.

A second explanation, which was noted in Chapter 10, lies in the likely influence of the respondents' hierarchical position on their degree of individualism. There may have indeed been a discontinuity between organizational culture and societal culture in this respect. Singh (1979) too, in a study of occupational values of a sample of Indian managers, found that there was a discontinuity between the participants' work-relevant values and those of Indian society in general, and a "non-adoption of culturally prescribed occupational actions" by Indian managers (p. 106). It remains to be seen in future research whether one can actually devise questions which may disentangle, for instance, organizationally-located culture from societal culture.

Another explanation could be that a person may have a more emotional and close involvement with his relatives and friends, but a more calculative and distant relationship with his colleagues and work organization. The discussion about one's identification with different groups and a distinction between 'ingroup' and 'outgroup' advanced by Triandis (1981) is relevant here. One dimension of what Triandis (p. 18) refers to as 'self-concept' is a person's identification with

other people. One's race, social class, religion, tribe, language, age, sex and ethnic group can be targets of identification.

"There are probably no gross cultural differences on this tendency, but it is an important individual differences variable and it is likely that in some cultures there will be more persons identifying with one or another of the above."  
(Triandis, 1981, p. 18)

Triandis then goes on to make a distinction between ingroup and outgroup:

"A person defines certain people as trustworthy, and worthy of cooperation or even self-sacrifice for (ingroup), and other people as untrustworthy and not worthy of self-sacrifice for (outgroup). The size of ingroups can be small (e.g. family) or large (mankind), though most people employ some intermediate-size group (e.g. tribe, nation)."  
(Triandis, 1981, p. 18).

In a collectivist culture, people's 'ingroup' is expected to be larger than that in an individualistic culture. Indian people seem to be collectivistic in comparison with the English in the sense that the former's ingroup may include extended family, close friends and even fellow caste members, but the latter's ingroup generally includes their immediate family only (especially in the case of middle class people). A point to note here is that unlike the Japanese people, whose work organization is in a sense an extension of their family, and a part of their 'ingroup' in Triandis' term (De Bettignies, 1973; Ouchi, 1981), work organization may not be a part of ingroup among Indian people.

There is also the problem of the definition and meaning of such concepts as individualism. If, for example, individualism is taken to mean individual liberty, autonomy, love of privacy and independence,

and the right of an individual vis-a-vis his ingroup, then the English are more individualistic than the Indians (and this, as was discussed in Chapter 9, may have encouraged the higher degree of use of job descriptions in their work organizations). On the other hand, if individualism means pursuit of self-interest at the expense of others, lack of care and consideration for outgroups, then my own observations and those of some other observers (see Chapters 6 and 7 for details), lead me to believe that the Indians are more individualistic than the English.

### **III. Implications of the study for theory and practice**

The implications of the present study for practice and theory are discussed below on the following assumptions:

- i. The findings may be generalized to the populations from which the samples at each stage of the study were drawn.
- ii. The results are valid for the particular time periods and places in which each stage of the study was carried out.

#### **1. Implications for theory**

The present research proposes an approach to the study of organizational structures and systems in which the contributions made by the three major perspectives; i.e. contingency, political economy and cultural perspectives, are recognized and incorporated in



empirical investigations. The study provided an opportunity to examine empirically the relevance of the arguments of these perspectives for organizations. The study showed there were strong and systematic associations between cultural, national and situational factors and the work-related attitudes and values held by organizational members. These in turn were found to be associated with the structural dimensions and other internal characteristics of organizations. Contextual factors were also found to have associations with organizational structure and systems.

To the extent that the findings of the present study can be generalized, any single explanation for organizational structure and attitudes and behaviours of their employees is rejected. Theories such as the 'culture-free' thesis, 'logic of industrialization', and 'societal-effect', taken by themselves and in isolation from others, are found to be inadequate as a means to explain organization. The present study suggests that there is a need for a multi-perspective theory in which organization is regarded as a complex phenomenon and an outcome of complex relationships between it and various factors in and around it. The following sections elaborate this thesis.

#### 1.1. Contingency theory, culture-free thesis

According to this perspective, technology and other contextual and environmental factors are determinants of organizational structure. For instance, advocates of the 'technological implication' thesis argue that organizations with complex and unstable technologies tend to



have different structural arrangements from those with simple and stable technologies. This theme is further developed in the culture-free thesis according to which organizations operating in similar task environments and employing similar production technologies tend to have similar structural forms regardless of the socio-cultural characteristics of the countries in which they are situated.

The present study shows that, although this thesis may apply to some dimensions of organizational structure, it does not for other dimensions. As was noted earlier, centralization, specialization and the amount of time spent on consultation were strongly associated with contextual factors, but formalization, perceived autonomy, delegation and direction of communication were not; they had closer associations with employees' work-related attitudes, which, in turn, were found to be consistent with their respective socio-cultural backgrounds. Moreover, Indian and English organizations with similar contextual and task environmental characteristics were found to be similar on some structural aspects but not all.

In conclusion, the explanations for organizational structures and systems offered by the contingency theorists are illuminating and relevant, but not sufficient.

## 2. Political economy perspective

The main thrust of the political economy perspective is that

organizations operating in similar political economic systems; i.e. socialist or capitalist, tend to have similar characteristics in terms of objectives, control strategies and degree of centralization. Proponents of the logic of industrialization argue for a 'universalism' based on the degree of economic advancement of the countries in which organizations operate.

The present study was conducted in organizations situated in England and India, two countries which have similar political economic systems (capitalism) and which have highly developed industrial sectors. If the arguments of the writers whose theses were just referred to are valid, there should be no significant difference between the English and Indian organizations which participated in the present study. But as was noted earlier, this is not the case. Perhaps this is because the terms capitalism and socialism are very broad and each of which covers a variety of political economic systems. As was noted in Chapter 3, within the socialist bloc countries there are different types of socialism such as Russia's, Yugoslavia's, Hungary's and China's. The last-mentioned country's socialism at the present time is even different from what it was under Mao (Laaksonen, 1984). Within the capitalist countries too, different variations can be observed, such as the full-blooded capitalism of United States, the welfare state capitalism of Britain, which adopts different emphases under different Conservative and Labour governments, the welfare corporatist capitalism of the Scandinavian countries, and the highly protectionist and planned capitalism of India and most of other third world countries. Which

brings one to the question of the level of economic development.

Although India is an industrialized country, 75 percent of its population is still engaged in agriculture and agriculture-related occupations. The country faces enormous problems of inadequate infra-structures, poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, and communal tensions. These problems have called for direct governmental intervention in and control of the economy which, in turn, have significant implications for Indian organizations. The present study highlighted some of these implications in areas such as market share, competition and industrial relations. However, despite the fundamental differences between English and Indian societies, there were some similarities between Indian and English organizations, especially in control strategies, performance evaluation and reward and punishment policies. One possible explanation for this is, in the words of Littler (1984), a 'developmental' one. Discussing management practices in the Soviet Bloc organizations, he maintains that:

"The usual reasons advanced by spokesmen in both the Soviet Union and East Europe are that there have been economies in the early stages of industrialisation and that only by pressing ahead as fast as possible (which in practice means using Western technology and management methods) can standards of living be improved." (Littler, 1984, p. 13)

A second explanation may lie in the two hundred years of British rule in India. India's industrialization and economic development, although it achieved a rapid pace after independence in 1947, started when the British were still there and in the context of a well-established



bureaucratic administration and a sophisticated civil service.

A third reason could lie in the exposure of Indian managers to Western, mainly American and British, management theories and practices. Almost all the managers who were interviewed had either a degree in management sciences from Western or Indian universities or had attended various post-experience and on-the-job management training courses. They were conversant with 'modern' management techniques and practices. It is likely that this had coloured their 'presentation' of their management practices to the author as a student of a management school.

The political economy perspective, although offering valid explanations for some of the similarities and differences between English and Indian organizations, does not account for other features of the organizations, such as perceived autonomy, direction of consultation and delegation, which may emanate from English and Indian employees' cultural upbringing, such as their attitudes to seniors and powerful people, and the extent to which they take account of other people's opinion. The cultural perspective appears to be more relevant in this respect.

### 1.3. Cultural perspective

The present study provides some support for the arguments advanced by the proponents of the culturalist approach who maintain that organizational structure and systems are determined by the



socio-cultural characteristics of people inside and outside the organizations. The findings of the three stages of the study show that there is a considerable consistency between English and Indian peoples' socialization processes in their homes, schools, religions and societies as a whole on one hand, and the degree to which they hold certain attitudes on the other. There was also some consistency between employees' cultural background and their work-related attitudes and values; and, finally, there was a consistency between some of the employees' work-related attitudes and values and certain aspects of their organizations. The culturalist perspective would provide a rationale for this area of consistency.

However, the study also indicates that the socio-cultural characteristics of the environments within which Indian and English organizations operate are not the only factors which affect the way they are managed and structured. Some of the hypotheses which were advanced in Chapter 3, and were derived from the cultural perspective, were refuted by the present data. For instance, according to some culturalist writers, notably Hofstede (1980), a high degree of uncertainty avoidance should result in a high degree of structuring in organizations (high formalization and specialization). This, as the data presented in Chapters 9 and 10 show, was not the case for either the English or Indian organizations. The English employees scored lower than their Indian counterparts on uncertainty avoidance (higher on tolerance for ambiguity), but their organizations were far more formalized than the Indian organizations. Age of the organizations may have been a contributory factor here to some

extent because some, but not all, of the English organizations were older than their Indian counterparts. As far as specialization was concerned, there was no evidence of any strong association between the employees' degree of uncertainty avoidance (or tolerance for ambiguity) and the degree of specialization.

Moreover, employees' work-related attitudes were found to be associated not only with their cultural upbringing, but also with their age, level of education, formal position in the hierarchy and the standing of their occupational group outside the organization. Also, although some work-related attitudes were associated more with cultural than non-cultural situational factors, such as attitudes to seniors and powerful people, there were others which had stronger association with situational factors, such as commitment and individualism (involvement with the organization).

#### 1.4 The present study and the multi-perspective thesis

Weber (1930, 1947, 1951, 1958, 1961) pioneered a multi-perspective approach when he developed the thesis that socio-cultural institutions such as religion had an important role in the formation of economic systems and in the degree to which organizations are administered rationally in addition to materialistic forces of the kind identified by Marx. More recently, Budde et al. (1982) when compared British and West German companies examined the role of both cultural and contingency perspectives in explaining the differences and similarities between these companies. Multivariate models have also been

suggested by other researchers (see for example Farmer and Richman, 1965; Randolph and Dess, 1984), but they incorporate variables from one framework only.

The multi-perspective thesis proposed here incorporates the variables suggested by contingency, political economy and cultural perspectives in the model presented in Figure 11.1.

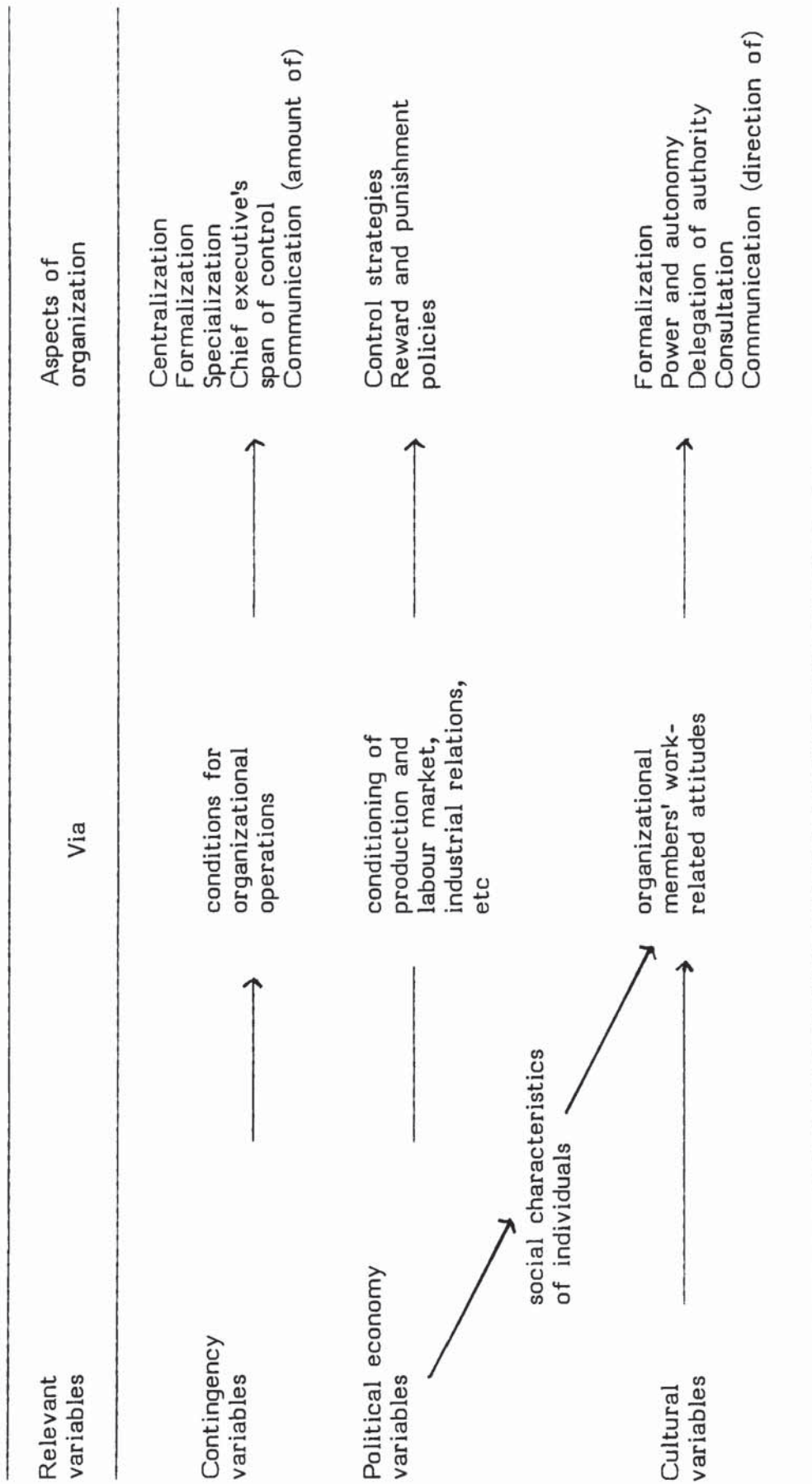
Figure 11.1 about here

The model suggests that contingency factors have implications primarily for formal organizational structure, or what was called in Chapter 3 'hard' aspects, such as centralization, formalization, specialization and span of control. The relationships between these features of organization and contextual factors are more or less universal, at least for the samples studied here. It is indeed a 'common sense' to expect, for example, an increase in the number of employees, to lead, one way or another, to an increase in the division of labour (functional specialization).

Chapter 3, it may be recalled, argued that an understanding of organizational structure requires reference not only to its formal dimensions but also to the processes which lie behind them, and which are managed and implemented by the members of the organization (the 'soft' aspects). The model suggests it is here that the universality of the relationships and behaviours ends. Employees' behaviours and relationships with one another within the workplace



Figure 11.1 A multi-perspective model for understanding organizational structure and systems



Note: the interactions between various sections in the model are two-way ones, but the present study has been contained mostly within theoretical perspectives in which the dominant causality is assumed to be that portrayed by the arrows shown.



are based on their work-related attitudes and values, such as attitude to power and authority, tolerance for ambiguity, commitment, and management philosophy and ideology. Work-related attitudes, as was noted in Chapters 9 and 10, are strongly associated, among other things, with the employees' cultural and non-cultural backgrounds, such as socialization processes, hierarchical position, and education. These, in turn, have their roots in the cultural and political economic characteristics of the societies from which the organization and its members come.

The model, therefore, suggests that, although in modern industrial societies business organizations tend to develop similar structural configurations in response to similar task-environments, the means by which they achieve these configurations are different, depending on the particular cultural and political economic characteristics of the society in which they operate and from which the bulk of their employees come.

The demarcation lines between the three perspectives are not clear-cut. For instance, political economic factors, such as government industrial policies, may result in smaller or bigger market shares and, subsequently, a higher or lower competition, which, in turn, constitutes a contingency factor for the organizations concerned. The areas which are influenced by the factors within each perspective may also overlap. For example, formalization and the use of job descriptions are associated with employees' predispositions, such as preference for clear-cut job territories,

managers' control strategy, such as personal vs impersonal supervision, and the organization's age. This overlapping of the areas of influence suggests that the three perspectives complement each other's contribution to our understanding of organizational structures and systems. In this connection, Child (1984<sup>b</sup>, p. 25) points out that:

"Thus a contingency, large size, may help to explain why an organization is divided into many departments and why its procedures and communications tend to be formalized. That organization's location in a socialist system may explain why one aspect of formalization is a workers' congress with attendant rights and procedures. The fact that within the congress male representatives are more active and vocal than female, may have to be explained by reference to the persistence of traditional cultural norms, perhaps because the country is relatively recently industrialized."

An important point to be made here is that organizational sub-culture should occupy a significant place in the model, but the author, for the reasons discussed earlier, did not include a study of organizational culture in the present research investigation.

## 2. Implications for practice

A study such as the present one should be of value to managers and other employees in multi-cultural organizations and in developing countries. It could help to enhance understanding between employees from different cultural backgrounds. It draws the attention of managers and other designers of organization structures and systems to the roles that culturally-influenced traits, such as attitudes to people in positions of power and authority, ability to cope with

uncertainty involved in decision-making situations, commitment to organizations, trust among employees, expectations from jobs, and attitudes to participation and control, play in influencing employees' behaviour. The study may also assist managers to devise suitable authority structures, control strategies and inducement policies which would recognize and utilize their employees' diverse attitudes and behaviour, and which could result in a higher satisfaction of employees and a more effective management of organizations. For instance, if employees come from a culture where people generally work better under constant direction and guidance from superiors than when they are left alone with only overall objectives of the task at hand, then their managers could devise a system which would facilitate the flow of detailed information and instruction between superiors and subordinates. Or, alternatively, these types of employees could be assigned the tasks which are routine and predictable and for which a manual of detailed instructions can be prepared.

A relevant question is how can managers measure and assess culture, or, more specifically, their employees' work-related attitudes and values? Multinational corporations such as HERMES (pseudonym) (Hofstede, 1980) conduct periodical attitudinal questionnaire surveys among their employees all over the world. This kind of survey among other things, can provide managers with information about the cultural and non-cultural characteristics of their employees. A simplified version of the attitude questionnaire employed in the present and similar studies could be administered by a small team



working in an organization's personnel department.

In the light of complications involved in conducting attitude surveys, it might be argued that it is easier for managers and organization designers to ignore culture and instead to concentrate their attention on key, easily recognizable contingencies. To do this might indeed be easier, but it may not necessarily be a more appropriate course of action, in terms of, for instance, employees' satisfaction and productivity. There is evidence that some cultural characteristics, such as attitude to power and authority relationships, can be dysfunctional (Kakar, 1971<sup>b</sup>). It has also been argued that some cultures set limits to the extent organizations can respond and adapt to their environmental demands (Tayeb, 1979).

One way of overcoming the cultural roots of such dysfunctions may be to substitute organizational culture for national culture, which is what corporations like IBM and Japanese multinational organizations operating in host countries have tended to do.

Another possible course of action is to attempt to change people's cultural attitudes and values. The question therefore arises as to whether culture is malleable or not.

Attitude theories, such as congruity, consistency, cognitive dissonance, and social judgement theories, suggest that people's attitudes and behaviour can be changed through communication and persuasion (Petty, 1981; Kleinke, 1984), cultural shock (Hofstede, 1978<sup>b</sup>) and



sustained discontinuity (Mangham, 1978). As Silverman (1970, p. 135) puts it: "If the reality of the social world is socially sustained, then it follows that reality is socially changed - by interaction of men". Bate (1982) also argues in the same vein and recommends a possible way to introduce the change:

"Perhaps the initial step would be for the change agent to attempt to raise the parties' awareness of their culture - the taken-for-granted meanings that they share and collectively maintain, and which inhibit the development of effective problem solving activities." (Bate, 1982, p. 27).

Cross-national studies such as the present one could provide such an initial step in changing cultures by raising the cultural awareness of the people concerned.

An interesting model for multi-cultural organizations has been proposed by Adler (1981). She suggests a 'cultural synergy approach' to the management of cross-cultural interactions. Cultural synergy is a process in which organizational policies and practices are formed based on, but not limited to, the cultural patterns of individual members and clients. Culturally synergistic organizations create new forms of management: they transcend the individual cultures of their members. The approach recognizes both the similarities and the differences between the nationalities that compose the multi-cultural organization. It suggests that cultural diversity neither be ignored nor minimized, but rather viewed as a resource in the design and development of the organization.

Another practical implication of the present study, which was

conducted in a developed country and a developing one, is that it draws the attention of managers from developing countries to the implications of non-technical non-task environmental factors for their organizations that are unique to their own societies. It helps them to recognize and utilize their own people's socio-cultural characteristics and devise management systems which are more authentic and suitable to their own particular circumstances, instead of importing and applying without modifications management practices from countries with different sets of values, socio-economic conditions and political ideologies. There is evidence (see for example, Kuc et al., 1980; Littler, 1984) that organizations in the countries whose political and economic ideologies and systems are different from those of the Western capitalist countries adopt different control strategies and industrial relations policies which suit their particular societies better. Kiggundu et al. (1983) reviewed the literature on the application of Western management theories in the third world countries and concluded that:

"Whenever the organization can function as a closed system - either because of the nature of the practice involved or because the managers succeed in sealing its core technology from the intervention of "outside" actors - then what we know about organizations from North America seems to work fairly well. Whenever the organization interacts with its environment, however, the resulting behaviour cannot be understood without significant adjustments to the theories developed in industrialized nations" (Kiggundu, et al., 1983, pp. 79-80).

Hofstede (1980) compares Japan (once a developing country) and Iran (still a third world developing country) with respect to the adoption of Western-style leadership practices and points out the dangers of

ignoring culture in the process:

"Attempts at the transfer of leadership skills which do not take the values of subordinates into account have little chance of success ... Technologies are not neutral with regard to values: in order to work, they assume that certain values are respected. Making these technologies work means that people in the receiving countries must learn new leadership and subordinateship skills, change old institutions and shift their values ... Cultural transposition, in the ideal case, means finding a new cultural synthesis which retains from the old local values those elements deemed essential but which allows the new technologies to function. Probably the country which has most successfully done this so far is Japan; a country where it has clearly failed is Iran." (Hofstede, 1980, p. 380)

A more specific practical implication of the present research concerns Indian firms with Indian managers operating in Britain. Indian immigrants constitute a sizeable minority in Britain. There are many small firms founded and managed by these people in this country which are staffed by both English and Indian employees. The findings of the present study suggest that unless Indian managers and their English subordinates in such organizations work out some compromise, tension is to be expected in their relationships. For instance, Indian managers are likely to be reluctant to consult their subordinates and delegate their authority to them. This is incompatible with English people's expectations of a right to participate and to be consulted. Indian managers are paternalistic and are likely to involve themselves in the private lives of their subordinates. This is contrary to English people's desire for privacy and their principle of 'keeping oneself to oneself'.

If the managers of Indian firms are recruited from India (unlikely



though it may seem given the present British immigration laws), without previous work experience in British companies, they may have some difficulties, initially at least, in coping with the 'unprotected' highly competitive market, especially in high-technology industries. They are also likely to be inexperienced in the management of activities such as market research and R&D.

#### **IV. Recommendations for future research**

It has been argued that a multi-perspective model is appropriate for the attempt to unravel some of the factors which may influence organizations' structures and systems and employees' attitudes and behaviour. However, the formulation advanced in this thesis does not consider how these factors come to play their respective role in an organization **over time**. Thus when an organization is established, the founder(s)' cultural attitudes and values may determine and shape its structure and management systems. As the organization 'grows up', its members face shared contingences and problems and develop shared solutions (Schein, 1984). At this stage, these shared experiences may have more influence on the way the managers and employees manage and shape their organization than do the founders' cultural traits. Here, not only does the question of influence of organizational culture arise, but also the role that task environment and other contingencies play in shaping this culture. In order to understand an organization more deeply and fruitfully, it is necessary to 'dig' into its origins and the historical processes of its evolution. This clearly calls for a longitudinal cross-national case study in which



the processes leading to the birth and 'growing up' of focal organizations are reconstructed and unravelled.

As was noted earlier, a limitation of the present study is that it does not demonstrate the processes by which various cultural and non-cultural factors influence organizational structures and systems. This issue should be addressed in future research if we are to enhance our understanding of organizations. The research should go beyond the stage of plotting the associations and non-associations between sets of variables to a more in-depth study of processes. The researchers would ideally become involved in the processes from the inception of a group of organizations to be able to study them. The role of each set of contingency, cultural, and political economic factors in these processes could be more specifically scrutinized by controlling for other sets. An intriguing research would be one which involves an organization established by owners and managers from a different culture, such as a Japanese organization in Britain. This would allow the researchers to examine the interaction between the two different cultures and its impact on the outcome in terms of organizational structures and systems.

APPENDIX A

Cultural Survey Questionnaire



	strongly applies	does apply	slightly applies	mix. of the two	slightly applies	does apply	strongly applies	
interested in community affairs	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	indifferent to community affairs
honest	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	dishonest
arrogant*	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	modest
respect the law to the letter	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	prepared to bend the low
self-confident	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	lack self-confidence
have trust in others	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	do not trust others
cope well with set-backs	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	do not cope well with set-backs
irrational*	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	rational
dependent on their parents*	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	independent of their parents
reserved	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	out-going
submissive*	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	aggressive
law-abiding	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	law-breaking
selfish*	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	believe in sharing fairly
obedient to their seniors	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	disobedient to their seniors
opposed to change	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	accept change
trustworthy	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	not trustworthy
emotional*	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	unemotional
disciplined	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	undisciplined
respect powerful people	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	do not respect powerful people
prefer to impose their opinion on others*	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	willing to take account of others' opinion



	strongly applies	does apply	slightly applies	mix. of the two	slightly applies	does apply	strongly apply	
have a strong sense of responsibility	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	have no sense of responsibility
take chances*	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	play safe
afraid of powerful people*	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	not afraid of powerful people
believe in 'fate'*	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	do not believe in 'fate'
like to be told what to do*	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	hate to be told what to do
tolerant	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	intolerant
possess self-control	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	lack self-control
unfriendly*	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	friendly
corruptible*	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	not open to bribery
prefer to work under supervision*	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	prefer to work on their own
see things through	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	give up easily
prefer to merge with the crowd	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	prefer to stand on their own
class conscious	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	do not believe in class differences
able to cope with new and uncertain situations	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	unable to cope with new and uncertain situations
prefer to be in a group*	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	prefer to be on their own

V. What other characteristics have you observed in the English people in your occupation? (Please mention them in the space below).

Thank you

Monir Tayeb (Miss)

**Note:**

1. The answer scales for the pairs of characteristics were coded from 1 to 7 except for those which are marked with an asterisk (\*). For these, the codes were reversed in order to maintain consistency in the direction of responses. The copies of the questionnaire which were used in the survey were not so marked.
2. In the version of the questionnaire which was administered in India, the words "England", "English" and "class" were substituted by "India", "Indian" and "caste" respectively. This version included additional items related to respondents' caste and state of origins.
3. The Hindi version of the questionnaire can be obtained from the author.

## APPENDIX B

### Attitude Survey Questionnaire

**The University of Aston Management Centre - Birmingham**

Doctoral Programme

ATTITUDE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Monir Tayeb



Dear Respondent

I am a former employee of the Iranian Sugar Corporation who is now carrying out an international study into how people's culture affects the organizations in which they work. Not very much is known about this matter, and I believe that studies into it can be of practical value for the success of companies as well as the morale of the employees.

This questionnaire asks for your ideas and opinions about issues connected with organizations and jobs. Your replies will be of great value to my research.

You should find that it will take between 20 and 25 minutes to complete the questionnaire. The results of this study should give me a picture of how people employed in English organizations think about their work and jobs, which will then be compared with the results from similar companies in other countries.

Your answer to the questions will be completely anonymous and confidential. Please do not sign your name. you should feel free to answer exactly as you feel.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION.

Yours sincerely,

Monir Tayeb (Miss)

\* Note: Do not spend a lot of time over each question. Please write the first answer which comes to your mind.

\*\* PLEASE USE THE ENCLOSED SELF-ADDRESSED STAMPED ENVELOPE TO RETURN THE QUESTIONNAIRE TO ME.

## I. Some general questions about yourself

1. Where were you born?      England ....      Ireland ....      Scotland ....  
   Wales ....      Others ....

2. Is your family of English origin?      Yes ....      No ....

3. What is your level of education? (Please mark only one answer):

- |                           |   |
|---------------------------|---|
| - Bellow 'O' level        | - Masters degree                            |
| - 'O' level               | - Doctorate                                 |
| - 'A' level               | - Others (e.g. professional qualifications) |
| - Training College        |   |
| - University first degree |   |

4. Have you ever lived abroad?      Yes ....      No ....

5. If yes, what was the purpose  
of your stay? :

education ....      work ....

to be with  
your family ....      holiday ....

- And for how long? ....

6. What is your religion? ....

7. What is the title of your job in this organization? .....

8. How old are you? ....

## II. What would you like from a job?

People differ in what is important to them in a job. Below are listed a number of factors which people might want in their work. Could you please indicate how important each of these would be to you in an ideal job.

\* Please choose only one answer for each line and circle the appropriate number.

How important would it be to you to:	of very little or no importance	of little importance	of moderate importance	very important	of utmost importance
1. Have a job that is very secure	1	2	3	4	5
2. Get to know other people while on the job	1	2	3	4	5
3. Have a good pay and fringe benefits	1	2	3	4	5
4. Belong to a social group at work.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Have considerable freedom and independence in how you do your job.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Learn new things.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Have status and prestige in your job and have your friends and colleagues respect you.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Have opportunities to use your initiative and be creative and imaginative.	1	2	3	4	5

### III. About your organization

1. If an employee took complaint to a person of higher position than his/her own boss, do you think he/she would suffer later on for doing this (such as having his pay reduced, getting a less desirable work to do, etc.)? (mark only one answer please): @

- 1 - Yes, the employee would definitely suffer later on.
- 2 - Yes, probably.
- 3 - No, probably not.
- 4 - No, the employee would definitely not suffer later on for taking his complaint to somebody higher up the organization.

2. How often is your immediate boss concerned to help you getting ahead? (mark one answer):

- 1 - Always
- 2 - Usually
- 3 - Sometimes
- 4 - Seldom
- 5 - Never

3. How often in your experience are employees afraid to disagree with their boss?: @

- 1 - Very frequently
- 2 - Frequently
- 3 - Sometimes
- 4 - Seldom
- 5 - Never



4. How often do you feel nervous or tense at work? (mark one answer only please): @

- 1 - I always feel this way
- 2 - Usually
- 3 - Sometimes
- 4 - Seldom
- 5 - Very seldom

5. How long do you think you will continue to work for this organization?

- 1 - 2 years at the most
- 2 - From 2 to 5 years
- 3 - More than 5 years (but I probably will leave before I retire)
- 4 - Until I retire

6. If you had a choice of promotion to either a managerial or specialist position, and these were at the same salary level, which would appeal to you most? (you may have already been promoted in either direction, but just assume that you could start again): @

- 1 - I would have a strong preference for being a specialist.
- 2 - I would have some preference for being a specialist.
- 3 - It would not make any difference to me.
- 4 - I would have some preference for being a manager.
- 5 - I would have a strong preference for being a manager.

7. How would you feel, or think you would feel, about working for a boss who is from a country other than your own? (mark one answer only): @

- 1 - In general, I would prefer to work for a boss of my own nationality.
- 2 - Nationality would not make any difference to me.
- 3 - I might even prefer to work for a boss from a different country.

\* The descriptions below apply to four types of boss. First read through these descriptions:

Boss 1 Usually makes his decisions promptly and communicates them to his subordinates clearly and firmly. He expects them to carry out the decisions loyally and without raising any difficulties.

Boss 2 Usually makes his decisions promptly, but, before going ahead, tries to explain them fully to his subordinates. He gives them reasons and answers whatever questions they may have.

Boss 3 Usually consults with his subordinates before he reaches his decisions. He listens to their advice, considers it and then announces his decision. He then expects all to work loyally to carry it out whether or not it is in accordance with the advice they have given.

Boss 4 Usually calls a meeting of his subordinates when there is an important decision to be made. He puts the problem before the group and invites discussions. He accepts the majority viewpoint as decision.

8. Now for the above types of boss, please mark the one you would prefer to work under: @

- 1 - Boss 1
- 2 - Boss 2
- 3 - Boss 3
- 4 - Boss 4

9. And to which one of the above types of boss would you say your own boss most closely corresponds? (please mark only one answer): @

- 1 - Boss 1
- 2 - Boss 2
- 3 - Boss 3
- 4 - Boss 4
- 5 - He does not correspond to any of the above types of boss.

10. Considering everything, how would you rate your overall satisfaction in this organization at the present time ? (mark only one answer please): @

- 1 - I am completely satisfied
- 2 - Very satisfied
- 3 - Satisfied
- 4 - Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
- 5 - Dissatisfied
- 6 - Very dissatisfied
- 7 - I am completely dissatisfied

\* Please indicate the extent to which you think the following statements hold true in your organization.

Please choose only one answer in each line and circle the appropriate number.

	definitely true	fairly true	true to some extent	not very true	definitely false
11. People here are not afraid to disagree with their boss if they think he/she is wrong in a particular case. @	1	2	3	4	5
12. I would be pleased to know that my own work had made a contribution to the good of this company. @	1	2	3	4	5
13. Most of my colleagues can be relied upon to carry out what they say they will do. @	1	2	3	4	5
14. People here are allowed to do almost as they please. @	1	2	3	4	5
15. Here we call each other by first name. @	1	2	3	4	5
16. Most people in this organization are honest and can be trusted. @	1	2	3	4	5
17. Sometimes I feel like leaving this employment for good.	1	2	3	4	5
18. It is very easy for most of us to have access to our boss. @	1	2	3	4	5
19. Most of the employees here have a strong sense of responsibility. @	1	2	3	4	5
20. I would not recommend a close friend to join our company. @	1	2	3	4	5
21. Most of us here are obedient and loyal to our superiors.	1	2	3	4	5
22. Employees here can be trusted to work hard for good of the organization.@	1	2	3	4	5
23. Everybody here has an equal chance to have a say in the decisions which concern his/her job. @	1	2	3	4	5
24. I have full confidence in the abilities of my subordinates to carry out their work. @	1	2	3	4	5
25. I feel I am my own boss in most matters.@	1	2	3	4	5



\* Please indicate the extent to which you think the following statements hold true in your organization:

	definitely true	fairly true	true to some extent	not very true	definitely false
26. I am not willing to put myself out just to help this organization.	1	2	3	4	5
27. I have no confidence in the good intentions of my subordinates to do their work.	1	2	3	4	5
28. I am quite proud to be able to tell people which organization I work for. @	1	2	3	4	5
29. Going through proper channel is constantly stressed here.	1	2	3	4	5
30. Most of my colleagues would work just as hard even when their bosses are not around. @	1	2	3	4	5
31. Even if I had a choice of another job, I would be reluctant to leave this organization. @	1	2	3	4	5
32. A person can make his/her own decision without checking with anybody else. @	1	2	3	4	5
33. I feel myself to be part of this organization. @	1	2	3	4	5
34. Most employees here would on occasion be prepared to take advantage if they had a chance to deceive others.	1	2	3	4	5
35. In my work I like to feel I am making some effort, not just for myself but for the organization. @	1	2	3	4	5
36. Whatever problem we have, we are expected to go to the same person for an answer.	1	2	3	4	5
37. A good employee here is the one who does not contradict his/her boss on "important" issues.	1	2	3	4	5
38. Employees here can be trusted to provide management with correct information about what they are doing. @	1	2	3	4	5
39. The offer of a bit more money with another employer would not seriously make me think of changing my job. @	1	2	3	4	5



Please indicate in general terms how much of your time is taken up by communication with the following people. Please place an x in the appropriate space. For example, if communication with Mr X takes up quite a lot of your time you might answer as follows:

Mr X	much of my time	<u>. . x . . . . .</u>	very little of my time
40. Your boss	much of my time	<u>. . . . .</u>	very little of my time
41. Your subordinates		<u>. . . . .</u>	
42. Your colleagues in your own area of work		<u>. . . . .</u>	
43. People from other areas of work		<u>. . . . .</u>	
44. People from outside the organization		<u>. . . . .</u>	

#### IV. About organizations, jobs, and yourself in general

\* Please indicate the degree to which you personally agree or disagree with the following statements:

Please choose one answer for each line and circle the appropriate number.

	strongly disagree	disagree	undecided	agree	strongly agree
1. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn. @	1	2	3	4	5
2. I would generally prefer to do something I am used to rather than something that is different. @	1	2	3	4	5
3. I prefer to make my own mind on things only after seeking advice from my friends. @	1	2	3	4	5
4. It is better to have all the people concerned participate in decision making rather than the boss making decisions on his own.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Decisions made by individuals are usually of a higher quality than decisions made by groups. @	1	2	3	4	5
6. It is important to me that my job leaves me sufficient time for my personal life.	1	2	3	4	5
7. It is more fun to tackle a complicated problem than to solve a simple one.	1	2	3	4	5
8. The superior's authority over his subordinates in an organization is primarily economic. @	1	2	3	4	5
9. People in authority are usually more intelligent and more knowledgeable than their subordinates. @	1	2	3	4	5
10. I enjoy findings myself in new and unusual circumstances.	1	2	3	4	5
11. A superior should give his subordinates only that information which is necessary for them to do their immediate job. @	1	2	3	4	5
12. People who fit their lives to a schedule probably miss most of the joy of living.	1	2	3	4	5

\* Please indicate the degree to which you personally agree or disagree with the following statements:

	strongly disagree	disagree	undecided	agree	strongly agree
13. I am in favour of a very strict enforcement of all laws no matter what consequences. @	1	2	3	4	5
14. Employees should participate more in decisions made by their bosses.	1	2	3	4	5
15. I would like to stand on my own in life rather than relying on others.	1	2	3	4	5
16. The average human being prefers to be directed, wishes to avoid responsibility, and has relatively little ambition. @	1	2	3	4	5
17. Employees should receive equal salaries regardless of the position they hold in the hierarchy.	1	2	3	4	5
18. I prefer to merge with the crowd than to stand on my own. @	1	2	3	4	5
19. A good job is one where what is to be done and how it is done are always clear. @	1	2	3	4	5
20. Company rules should not be broken even when the employee thinks it is in the company's best interest.	1	2	3	4	5
21. I am prepared to argue openly with people in higher positions.	1	2	3	4	5
22. The use of financial rewards (pay, promotion, etc.) and punishment (failure to promote, etc.) is not the best way to get subordinates to work.	1	2	3	4	5
23. Most organizations will be better off if conflict can be eliminated. @	1	2	3	4	5
24. Employees lose respect for the boss who asks them for their advice before he makes a decision.	1	2	3	4	5
25. I feel uncomfortable going against the view of a majority. @	1	2	3	4	5
26. I do not like to undertake any project unless I have a pretty good idea as to how it will turn out. @	1	2	3	4	5

\* Please indicate the degree to which you personally agree or disagree with the following statements:

	strongly disagree	disagree	undecided	agree	strongly agree
27. A good leader should give detailed and complete instructions to his subordinates, rather than giving them merely general directions and leaving it to their initiative to work out the details. @	1	2	3	4	5
28. I get a lot of pleasure from taking on new problems.	1	2	3	4	5
29. One can learn better by striking out alone than one can by following the advice of others.	1	2	3	4	5
30. Leadership skill can be acquired by most people regardless of their particular abilities.	1	2	3	4	5
31. In a work situation, if the subordinates cannot influence me then I lose some influence on them.	1	2	3	4	5
32. I would prefer a job which is always changing.	1	2	3	4	5
33. Competition between employees usually does more harm than good.	1	2	3	4	5
34. People who seem unsure and uncertain about things make me feel uncomfortable.@	1	2	3	4	5
35. I like to have a regular pattern in my working day. @	1	2	3	4	5

\*\*\*\*\*

THANK YOU

\* PLEASE USE THE ENCLOSED SELF-ADDRESSED STAMPED ENVELOPE TO RETURN THE QUESTIONNAIRE TO ME.



**Note:**

1. The codes of the answer scales for the items marked with an @ were reversed in order to maintain consistency in the direction of responses. The copies of the questionnaire which were used in the survey were not so marked.
2. The answer scales for communication in section III were coded from "much of my time = 5" to "very little of my time = 1".
3. Item 24 in section IV was included in the analysis of the data in both power distance and uncertainty avoidance sections. The answer scale for this item was coded as shown in the questionnaire when regarded as an uncertainty avoidance item, and was reversed when a power distance item.
4. In the version of the questionnaire which was administered in India, the words "England" and "English" were substituted by "India" and "Indian" respectively. Other appropriate changes were made in this version to accommodate respondents' caste and state of origins.
5. The Hindi version of the questionnaire can be obtained from the author.

## APPENDIX C

### Organizational Structure Interview Schedule

**The University of Aston Management Centre - Birmingham**

Doctoral Programme

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Monir Tayeb

## Section I

Name of the organization .....

Main products .....

Could you please tell me the total turnover that each of these products account for? :-

Size (number of employees) :-

full-time ....

part-time ....

Status : are you a :-

branch ....

division ....

subsidiary ....

parent company ....

Ownership .....

Age .....

Size and age of the parent company (if any) ..... .....



Technological change:

1. How often is a completely new design introduced?
2. How often is a modified design introduced (change in the ingredients)?
3. How often does the manufacturing technology change?
5. How often does the product technology change?

answer scale :  
(for each item)

1. none or very little
2. once evrey few years
3. frequently
4. very frequently
5. continuously

Market share and competition:

1. What is the share of the market of your main product?
2. What percentage of the annual sales or turnover do you spend on R & D?
3. How would you describe the nature of the competition in your market?
4. How many main competitors do you have
5. Do they all produce the same products as you?
6. Do they all sell to the same customers as you?

## Section II

1. How many people report directly to the chief executive/managing director? .....
2. What is the number of levels between the chief executive and the direct worker? .....
3. Could I have a copy of your organization chart (if you have one) please.
4. If you do not have an organization chart could you please sketch one containing all the levels and departments in the hierarchy, number of people who report to the person at the top of each level, and number of employees in each department.
5. Could you tell me why the organization has been divided into these units and departments?
6. How many people hold any of the following categories of job in the company? :
  - Directors .....
  - Head of departments and other senior managers .....
  - Superintendents, supervisors, foremen, etc. ....
  - Engineers, technicians, etc. ....
  - Specialists e.g. computer programmers  
accountants, chemists, etc. ....
  - Office workers, clerks, secretaries, etc. ....
  - Shopfloor manual workers .....

### Section III

I am interested to know which people have authority to take which decisions. What is meant by authority here is that action can be taken on the decision without waiting for confirmation from above, even if in fact, the decision is later ratified by a higher level.

Could you tell me who is the most junior person on whose decision action can be taken in the following matters:

1. Supervisory establishment (first line supervisory) .....
2. Total number of shopfloor workers .....
3. Appointment of supervisory staff from  
outside the organization .....
4. Promotion of supervisory staff .....
5. Expenditure of budgetted or allocated money  
on capital items for the amount of:
  - up to £50 .....
  - £50 - £300 .....
  - £300 - £500 .....
  - £500 - £1000 .....
  - £1000 - £5000 .....
  - £5000 - £10000 .....
  - £10000 - £20000 .....
  - above £20000 .....
6. Expenditure of unbudgetted or unallocated money  
on capital items for the amount of:
  - up to £50 .....
  - £50 - £300 .....
  - £300 - £500 .....
  - £500 - £1000 .....
  - £1000 - £5000 .....
  - £5000 - £10000 .....
  - £10000 - £20000 .....
  - above £20000 .....

7. Expenditure of budgetted or allocated money  
on revenue items for the amount of:
- |                 |       |
|-----------------|-------|
| up to £50       | ..... |
| £50 - £300      | ..... |
| £300 - £500     | ..... |
| £500 - £1000    | ..... |
| £1000 - £5000   | ..... |
| £5000 - £10000  | ..... |
| £10000 - £20000 | ..... |
| above £20000    | ..... |
8. Expenditure of unbudgetted or unallocated money  
on revenue items for the amount of:
- |                 |       |
|-----------------|-------|
| up to £50       | ..... |
| £50 - £300      | ..... |
| £300 - £500     | ..... |
| £500 - £1000    | ..... |
| £1000 - £5000   | ..... |
| £5000 - £10000  | ..... |
| £10000 - £20000 | ..... |
| above £20000    | ..... |
9. What type, or what brand, new equipment is to be .....
10. Introduction of a new product or service .....
11. Marketing territories covered .....
12. The extent and type of market to be aimed for .....
13. What shall be costed .....
14. What shall be inspected .....
15. What operation shall be work-studied\* .....
16. Dismissal or ending the contract of a supervisor .....
17. Training methods to be used for managers\* .....



18. Training methods to be used for operators*	.....
19. Buying procedures	.....
20. Which suppliers of materials to be used	.....
21. What and how many welfare facilities are to be provided	.....
22. Price of the output in the catalogue	.....
23. Alteration of responsibilities/areas of work of specialist departments	.....
24. Alteration of responsibilities/areas of work of line departments	.....
25. Creation of new departments	.....
26. Creation of new jobs	.....
27. Expenditure on promotion of market research	.....
28. Promotion of direct worker	.....
29. Appointment of direct worker	.....
30. Approval of investment project for the value of:	
less than £10000	.....
£10000 - £50000	.....
above £50000	.....
31. Permission to secure credit from a bank:*	
short-term loan (up to 5 years)	.....
long-term loan (more than 5 years)	.....
32. How much credit should be allowed to be accumulated by customers/clients	.....
33. The permissible level of inventory	.....
34. Deviation from the price of outputs (discount)	.....
35. What strategic plan(s) to be adopted	.....

## Section IV

### 1. Do you have the following documents?:

written union contract*	yes ....	no ....
written policies	yes ....	no ....
written research programme report	yes ....	no ....
written operating instructions	yes ....	no ....
manual of procedures	yes ....	no ....
workflow, production schedule or programme	yes ....	no ....

### 2. Do you have written job descriptions for the following:

direct workers	yes ....	no ....
line superordinates	yes ....	no ....
staff	yes ....	no ....
chief executive	yes ....	no ....

### 3. Do you have any information booklets?

yes ....	no ....
----------	---------

### 4. If yes, how many? .....

### 5. Is the information booklet given to:-

few employees .....
many employees .....
all employees .....

## Section V

Could you please tell me if there is a department or at least a person in your organization performing any of the following functions and no other function:

1. Activities to develop, legitimise and symbolise the organization's purpose, e.g. public relations, publicity, display, customer relations.
2. Activities to dispose of, distribute, and service the output, e.g. pricing and order, sales by customer or product, sales record, export sales.
3. Activities to carry outputs and resources from place to place:
  1. external transport
  2. internal transport
4. Activities to acquire and allocate human resources - employment.
5. Activities to develop and transform human resources, e.g. general education, clerical training, apprentice training, management training.
6. Activities to maintain human resources and promote their identification with the organization, e.g. welfare, canteen, sports and social, magazine, safety.
7. Activities to obtain and control materials and equipment, e.g. buying, stores, stock control, administration by material.
8. Activities to maintain and erect buildings and equipment, e.g. machine maintenance, building maintenance, electrical maintenance.
9. Activities to record and control financial resources, e.g. financial accounts, auditing, costs.
10. Activities to control the workflow, e.g. progress, planning and scheduling, machine loading.
11. Activities to control the quality of materials, equipment, and outputs, e.g. product inspection, raw material control, laboratory test of product, division of raw material.
12. Activities to devise ways of producing the outputs, e.g. work study by process, methods, process planning, layout, production engineering.
13. Activities to devise new outputs, equipment and processes, e.g. new product research, drawing office, process and equipment research, pure research.
14. Activities to develop and operate administrative procedures, e.g. statistics clerk, organization and method, committees and policies, filing and post.

15. Activities to deal with legal and insurance requirements, e.g. share register, legal section, legal enquiries.
16. Activities to acquire information on the operational field, e.g. market research, economic analysis.
17. Planning, policy formulating, forecasting, and strategy designing.
18. Information processing.
19. Other specialized functions (please specify them).



## **Section VI**

Control, reward and punishment:

1. How do you make sure your subordinates do their job 'properly'?
2. How do you reward your 'good' employees?
3. How do you discipline those who do not do their job properly?

**Note:**

The items which are marked with an asterisk (\*) were excluded from the analysis because they were not applicable to all the participating organizations.

## **APPENDIX D**

### **Control, Reward and Punishment Policies in English and Indian Organizations**

## **Note**

This appendix is based on the information collected in the interview programme, company documents and the interviewees' subsequent correspondence with the author. For the most part the material presented here is direct reportage of these sources.



## **I. English Organizations**

## Brew E

### control

#### Managing Director

First, there is a fairly detailed budget which is a checking and limiting device for financial matters. Second, there is a staff appraisal scheme which is now under final discussions. Meetings are frequently held to see how everybody is getting on. Fourth, heads of the departments and other managers hold similar meetings with their own subordinates. In the fifth place, managers consult everybody on everything. Sixth, there are training courses which help the employees do their jobs better. Seventh, there are social and sport clubs, social activities, newspapers, etc. which promote the employees' identification with the company. And, finally, people here are trusted. For instance, nobody here clocks in or out.

#### Finance Director

First of all we trust them to a large extent. Besides, if they do not do their jobs well it will become apparent sooner or later; someone will tell you because his job is affected. You have got to trust them, and pretend you trust them, and let them know that you trust them.

### Brewer-in-Charge

Control of employees here is based on trust. There is no clock here. They can come and go as they please but they are all here at 6 a.m. I am here at 5.30 a.m. and know who comes late. At 6 a. m. the foreman checks that everybody is here. The general atmosphere here is friendly. It is a happy place to work. There is a fair amount of freedom for everybody. If someone doesn't do his work properly it is immediately apparent: something somewhere goes wrong. There is a warning signal in some cases.

### reward

### Manging Director

We cannot reward them financially because we've got to keep up with inflation and cannot afford it. But we have a sort of performance-linked bonus and also sometimes give them cheques of up to £50 as a present. We let them know their good work has been noticed and mention it in the house magazine. We ask them to have a drink or lunch with us.

### Finance Director

If someone does a good job, we tell him he is doing a good job and thank him for that. We increase his salary. Say, if at the time of pay increase the average increase is 5 percent, you increase his by 8

percent and tell him it is because of his good work. We allow him to take half an hour off every now and again to go to attend to his private life, visit someone at hospital, etc.

#### Brewer-in-Charge

We cannot reward them financially because of trade unions regulations but the managing director sometimes gives them a small amount of money (cheque) as a present. We give them a beer allowance. They can go to the pub and have beer at lunch time provided that they don't make a "pig" of themselves. We make them feel they are part of the company.

#### punishment

The company has detailed disciplinary procedures. They are briefly as follows:

Where an employee has failed to honour obligations to the company, then subject to the nature of the offence, the company will take appropriate steps to inform, warn and/or penalise the employee. This, in increasing order of severity, includes verbal warning/reprimand, written warning, final written warning, downgrading, suspension and dismissal. The objective of the warning and penalty system is to treat all employees fairly and equally. Its essence is to ensure that those who may be penalised for infringing their contract or company rules, know the range of options open to the company and the likely outcome. As far as possible, the aim is



to use the warning system to give the employee the opportunity to change attitudes and conform to agreements.

The Managing Director and the Brewer-in-Charge referred to the disciplinary procedures as summarized above as the company's general policies for punishment. The Finance Director had also this to add: bad work either is due to incompetence of the employee or it is deliberately done. If it is the first case, one has to see whether the job is too much for him; see whether there is another job that he can do. Else he has to leave the company. If the bad work is deliberately done, he will be given three chances and then the sack.

#### further comments

##### Managing Director

One has to devolve responsibility as far down as possible and make it clear to the people what has to be done and make everybody support it. The previous managing director was a dictator and wouldn't delegate. But I believe in democracy. (This was also said about him by others to whom I talked.) Discipline is very important. Consensus is another important matter. For example, we are these days holding meetings to approve the staff appraisal scheme. Some are against the matter. I've asked them to go back and think about it and reconsider it. We will discuss it again and I shall try to make them agree with it.

### Finance Director

Managing is not only telling people do this, do that. They need guidance and leadership, not a person who is unsure. This should be blended with consulting them, talking to them, and telling them about what we are doing. Discipline is very important but is maintained by our personality rather than force. If you force them you've lost the argument. If they misuse your trust you will know that and there is no place for them here anymore.

## **Sweet E**

### control

Senior and important managerial positions are held by the members of the family. The general atmosphere of the company is informal and friendly and people are on a first name term, but control is tight. Non-managerial staff and workers clock in and out and they are allowed to arrive up to 4 minutes late. After this time limit they will lose a quarter of an hour's pay.

Systematic reports are required to be submitted by various sections. For example, branches have to send accounts of their sales every week. There are training policies for employees at various levels one aim of which is to ensure that the training enables individuals to reach a satisfactory level of performance in their jobs. The company has its own social club with various entertainment programmes and enhances the employees' sense of belongingness to the company.

### reward

The hard working employees are rewarded financially. For instance, we give them money to take their wife out or change their car.

### punishment

Aggressive behaviour, dishonesty, skylarking or any malicious practice will not be tolerated, and depending on the severity of the misconduct, disciplinary action will be taken which may lead to immediate dismissal.

### further comments

Managing Director looks at his employees as his brothers and sisters but believes he has got to be in command "because nobody knows the ship better than the captain who built it."



## Chem E

### control

Staff: we control them not by fear but by example, by talking to them, by explaining to them, and seeking their agreement. We then monitor their performance. We apply the principle of management by objective here.

Shopfloor workers: It is similar but is much more verbal. They have to clock in and out. All late arrivals will be recorded and anyone arriving late to work is required to give an explanation at once to his manager. Persistent late coming is a ground for dismissal.

### reward

Employees are rewarded financially for their contribution to the good of the company. For instance, for the protection of the company's property and its good name the directors will pay to employees a reward of £300 for information leading to the conviction of any person concerned in the theft of a significant quantity of precious metal belonging to the company. A reward of not less than £100 will be paid for such information even when the values involved are relatively small. Substantially higher rewards may be paid at the discretion of the directors for information resulting in convictions relating to a conspiracy to defraud the company or the conviction of

receivers of property stolen from the company.

There is also a long service awards scheme. The company recognizes long service with following awards:

- 20 years service, the sum of £35 or a watch
- 30 years service, the sum of £50 or a watch
- 35 years service (for ladies) and 40 years service (for men),  
a gold watch.

#### punishment

Should it be necessary for the company to take disciplinary action against an employee, the normal procedure will be recorded verbal warning, final warning in writing, and dismissal. This procedure will not apply where an employee is dismissed for breach of contract or gross misconduct. In such cases dismissal would be instant.

#### further comments

The company is basically run like a family concern. The employee turnover in the whole Group is very low. People feel they belong. The variety of activities makes it easy for them to find their niche. They usually work here for years. I myself have been working for the Group for 30 years.

## Pharm E

control, reward, punishment

### Managing Director

Procedures are laid down to maintain job performance standards. The aim of these procedures is to ensure that fair and effective arrangements exist to deal with those who fail to attain, or maintain, the requisite job performance standards against a job description. It is the responsibility of every manager and supervisor to ensure that all his subordinates have a complete understanding of the requirements of their job and the performance standards relating to their job description. If, after adequate training and experience in the job, a member fails to attain, or maintain, the requisite job performance standards, he shall be informed by his immediate superior of the improvements necessary to meet the standards, the steps he should take to achieve a satisfactory job performance level, and the time period in which the improvement is expected.

In the event of failure to improve within the time limit specified, the following procedure shall apply:

- Formal warning: this warning will be given by the individual's immediate manager and will be recorded in writing.
- Final warning: on continued failure to meet standards, the employee will be interviewed by the next level management who will give the

employee a chance to state his case. A final warning will be given the employee in writing which will contain a statement as to the period of time in which the employee must improve his performance, and will indicate the consequences of the failure to achieve such improvements.

- Dismissal: failure to achieve the improvements mentioned above may result in a decision to dismiss the employee. Before the decision on dismissal is finally taken, the employee must be given the opportunity to state his case to a higher level of management not previously involved.

The shopfloor employees clock in and out. They are expected to keep to the times laid down for their department and must arrive at their place of work on time. If anybody is late, he must report to his immediate boss before commencing work. Persistent lateness could lead to dismissal. Time records are kept and checked regularly. Employees should clock in at the start of each work period and clock out at the end of the day's work. Falsification or clocking of another person's time card is an offence which will be treated as a serious misconduct and may result in dismissal. In the case of lateness or clocking out early, stoppages will be made.

The penalty for gross misconduct is instant dismissal. Gross misconduct includes the following:

- smoking in forbidden areas
- theft. Because of the special nature of our business, concerned as it is with medicines, rules concerning their handling must be strict.



In many cases their handling and use is subject to stringent legal requirements - in the wrong hands they can be dangerous. For these reasons anyone having unauthorised possession of any such product is liable to dismissal on grounds of gross misconduct.

- disorderly conduct
- refusal to obey a reasonable instruction
- being under the influence of drugs or alcohol
- action affecting the safety of others

The following are some other offences which may result in disciplinary action:

- malingering or other time-wasting activities during working hours
- possession of firearms or any weapon on company property
- conduct of a criminal, dishonest or immoral nature which is likely to reflect unfavourably upon the company
- falsification of personnel records, giving false testimony, loaning of company equipment without permission, duplication of, or unlawful possession of, keys belonging to the company, knowingly covering up mistakes or faulty work
- climbing fences enclosing company property or entering or leaving the factory by any other method than those authorised
- violation or disregard of fire or safety rules
- doing personal work in company time or on company property without permission
- collecting contributions on the company premises during paid work time, unless authorised by the Personnel Department
- posting notices or signs or writing in any form on official notice

boards or otherwise, or removing approved notices without specific permission

- abusive or threatening language

'Good' employees are rewarded financially. For instance, there is a profit sharing bonus which is paid for loyal service at the discretion of the directors. There are also bonus schemes operated for sales personnel which are related to profitability, sales and job performance standards and are paid quarterly one month in arrears.

#### Chief Accountant

They are given jobs and deadlines. If they do their jobs properly they are praised and also financially rewarded. If not, they are told off. These people are fairly responsible and I trust them a great deal. There are certain functions which cannot be delayed or done improperly. Other connected works stop, like the payment of wages. The girl who is in charge of it has got to pay the wages every week and on time.

We have fairly reasonably disciplined environment here. We train them for their jobs. Put them in the right type of job. If someone doesn't do his job properly I talk to him and weigh the problem, review the method he does his job, find the crux of the problem and solve it there and then. If he is not capable of doing the job we find another, more suitable job for him; or, if this is not possible, we release him.

#### Dispatch and Warehouse Manager, Production Manager

Control is exercised through the supervisors. They talk to them about policies and problems. They also hold regular meetings with the production manager to discuss matters concerning employees. We have a code of conduct and disciplinary procedures to deal with those who do their jobs carelessly or commit any offence, but basically to sort the problems out becomes the prime objective rather than punishment or reward. We have a probationary period for new employees which is now six months. This allows us to see enough of a person with respect to his attitudes to work.

The relationships between people here are good. This is reflected in the number of people who have been working with the company for a long time. Turnover is negligible. Of course, the outside unemployment may have an effect on the matter as well.

#### Purchasing Manager, Works Engineer

You don't have a standard level of handling them. There is not just one way of being a manager. People have got to accept that attitudes are different. To some you can be soft. To others you have got to be hard, if you are nice to them they take advantage of you. You are dealing with different people. Supervisors here take a tour around the factory every hour to make sure that the job is done. Control is fairly tight. Yet you do rely on somebody's good

intentions to some extent.

I prefer to **ask** people to do something and ensure that they do it. I know what they are supposed to be doing and I follow it up. There is an internal check as well. The work they do all fits into a system. Each tradesman is doing the job with others. When something has gone wrong, if it could have been avoided, the person responsible for it will be reprimanded. If you are just and fair you get respect. You have to be able to do the job as well as they can before you can say anything about their performance, before you can check whether their work conforms with the regulations.



## Hi-tech E

### control, reward and punishment

#### Managing Director

I discuss and agree the assignments with each director for each budget year. These assignments are limited to less than six in number but cover quantitatively the main parameters they are expected to achieve in the year. Directors' assignments are sub-divided and they prepare, discuss and agree with managers the sub-assignments which are, again, quantitative and limited in number and against which their performance will be judged at the end of the financial year. All assignments are identified as to date that they should be achieved and, in many cases, they are quarterly. At the end of each quarter of the financial year, personal reviews are held between myself and directors and other managers, progress on assignments is reported and discussed and additional actions and counselling take place.

At the end of the financial year, performance of each director and manager is rated and the results are discussed with the directors/managers and have a direct bearing on annual salary reviews. Salary awards are based on the cost of living and merit. Merit awards, excellent performance and potential are identified and fed into a half yearly succession plan. One of our longer term

objectives is to make bonus payments to directors and, eventually, to senior managers on the basis of allocating a percentage of company profits to selected people as a direct financial reward, directly related to the company performance. This does not operate at the moment. Also, training needs are identified for individuals and courses arranged as appropriate.

Non-managerial employees are reviewed less formally but staff are counselled annually and told how they are doing, and areas where performance can be improved are pointed out to them. At this time we consider their aspirations and determine whether, in the company, we can develop their full potential. Direct working employees on the shopfloor earn a bonus on performance and we keep an eye out for good operators who have scope and potential to do more complicated, more highly paid tasks and who wish to aspire to staff positions. There is a strong focus on career development.

Poor performance by directors will become increasingly apparent as a result of the above appraisal review system and counselling that take place. Continuous failure to perform well will result, eventually, in a sideways move and their replacement. Other managers are dealt with by directors in much the same way. Persistent poor performance will either result in reassignment, demotion or termination of employment with the company on agreed terms.

Poor performance of shopfloor personnel is dealt with by supervisors and foremen under the agreed terms of the various U.K. Employment

Acts. A verbal warning is followed by two written warnings and continuous failure to achieve a satisfactory work level or a satisfactory level of time keeping or attendance, will eventually result in the termination of employment.

#### Works Director

The management team reporting to me are targeted to meet the agreed production targets in terms of delivery, quantity, quality, and cost. Each manager is set personal assignments at the beginning of the year. These are monitored on a quarterly basis and a meeting with the individual manager is held once a quarter to discuss the results to date.

- Production output is checked monthly and any shortfalls are discussed with the management team. When people do not perform satisfactorily the reason is explored. In some cases the reason for sub-standard performance is beyond the immediate control of the manager concerned and in such cases the reasons are identified and corrective actions taken. If the person concerned behaved irresponsibly then the situation would be discussed and a formal warning given that the performance must be improved. If this does not happen, then disciplinary procedures would follow, which under some circumstances could mean the person losing the job. Generally speaking, the positive way is to explore the reasons for bad performance and give help if necessary. We try to grow the person in the job and give him a little bit more at salary review time over and above the normal increase.

### Finance Director

I would control the performance of my subordinates by establishing and agreeing specific tasks and programmes of work with details for completion. I would reward those who contribute to the good of the company always by personal thanks, and, if possible, by financial rewards. I would punish those who perform badly by first drawing their shortcomings to their attention, which may then lead to reduced financial incentives if performance is not improved. If their failings were major, termination of the employment may be considered.



## **Electron E**

The author had arranged two meetings with the managing director of this organization. In the first session information about various aspects of the company had been collected. The second session, assigned for control strategies, was to be held a few weeks later, but the managing director left the company before that date. However, in an informal conversation over the telephone he told me that he had elaborate policies for performance evaluation, incentives and discipline. His immediate subordinates and heads of departments would give him periodical reports about their progress which would then be discussed and weighed against the targets set at the beginning of the financial year. The performance of lower clerical workers and shopfloor employees were monitored by their own superiors. 'Good' performers were rewarded by promotion, bonus payment and other forms of financial incentive. 'Poor' performance, depending on each particular situation, could result in reprimand, demotion, suspension or dismissal.

Since a company's policies on control, reward and punishment may to a large extent depend on its chief executive's personal style and preferences, it was therefore inappropriate to interview the new managing director. Moreover, the attitude survey questionnaire was administered in the company while the former managing director was still in charge. To the extent that there is a relationship between employees' work-related attitudes and company's policies and attitudes

towards them, it was appropriate to include the former managing director's style of control, reward and punishment in the analysis, rather than that of his successor.

## Computer E

### control, reward, punishment

We set objectives and targets, then the performance is reviewed by the management committee once a month. We have a lot of committees and we talk a lot.

Good performance is acknowledged privately and in public, and rewarded. In the case of poor performance, an inquest is held to find out the nature of the mistake and reasons. We talk to the person concerned. Undue poor performance may lead to punishments such as dismissal in some cases.

## **II. Indian Organizations**



## **Brew I**

There are various issues involved. There are more than one tricks. I am production oriented. I plan ahead first, set goals for them and then monitor them. You should accept that they are not perfect. Try to train or otherwise improve them, then get them to do what you want. You have to be able to communicate with them. Talk to them. Consult them. Make them feel they are part and parcel of the company. Give them job satisfaction. When they do a good job automatically reward them. Look into their needs. Solve their personal problems, be paternalistic. Fit people to the jobs according to their abilities. We are relaxed on time control.

The interviewee also remarked that in his company, classconsciousness exists in the relationship between management and workers.

## **Soft I**

### control

Managers: they give a report on their work once a month to their seniors which is considered and discussed.

Non-manegrial staff: supervisors and other men on the shopfloor are controlled by time-keeping. Anyone below the rank of executive should check in and out. If they are under-productive or come late they will be warned. However, there is nothing much that we can do about the shopfloor people if they are late or do not do their job properly. We cannot sack them because of the Government's employment policies. We cannot decrease or deduct from their wages, again because the Government forbid us. And also because they are unionized and the unions here are very powerful as far as these matters are concerned. These people can get away with murder. As far as the staff and higher people are concerned, if, for instance, they come late for three days they lose half a day of their annual leave. These employees are not unionized.

### reward

We can not reward people financially because of a high taxation on income. If they have housing problem, we try to solve it for them and, if possible, give them a loan. If a salesman, for example,

makes a big sale, we send him and his family abroad.

further comments

I try to be liberal, but there is no sense of dedication here whether workers or vice-presidents. They all while away the time. I tend to trust them. You have got to trust them, and if your trust is misplaced you cannot do anything. Given the hardship under which they work, they are honest.

There is one canteen in the company premises in which everybody eats, but the company does not have a social club.

## Chem I

### control

There is no uniform policy in this respect. I try to identify people and build them into a team, set objectives for them and explain and interpret the overall policies for them, and give them the facilities they need. At higher levels, my emphasis is on consultation and participation, communication and sharing of information, unity, and awareness of their responsibilities. But I believe a participative and consultative approach at the levels below functional heads is inappropriate. There is some risk in that.

I get information on the performance of each function on daily, weekly and monthly bases. We also have weekly meetings of directors. I personally visit the factories and talk to people and ask questions about their work. The performance of non-managerial staff is monitored by their respective managers. For the operative people, for instance, their output per hour is controlled and the time spent on each stage is kept. The slack is pointed out to them. They have to check in and out. If they are late 15 minutes three or four times, they will be considered as absent and they lose a day's wage.

### reward

We have an annual performance appraisal. I talk to those whose



performance reports come to me. So will other managers in the case of their own subordinates. They will be given a chance to speak out for themselves. The 'good' performers will be rewarded. We have recently introduced financial reward like salary adjustment and cash. The reaction to the scheme is very good. There has been improvement in the level of performance. However, cash rewards cannot be beyond certain limits because of tax.

#### punishment

'Poor' performers will be punished. In the case of the operative employees, the engineering director deals with the matter. In serious cases, they will be warned and dismissed. So far there has been no need for this action yet. There are well laid down rules for cases like this and the unions are heavily involved. In the case of members of staff, they will be given a month notice.

#### further comments

By and large they are committed; you could say about 50 percent of them, especially the managerial people. Hard work as a national philosophy doesn't exist. The workers work hard under pressure only. If they are left free they don't do anything.

## Pharm I

### control

The senior managers are quite motivated people but they need more additional training and professionalism. People have specific job to do and are judged by the results. I get all sorts of reports on various subjects from all departments. (A few of these reports were shown and explained to me.) Take costing people for example. They have to give monthly, quarterly and yearly reports. From their reports one can judge whether they are doing well or not. In the accounts department monitoring is done on a day-to-day basis. There is a report on inventory movement. I get annual performance reports from departmental heads about their members.

We have a time keeper who checks comings and goings of the staff. For shopfloor workers there is a punching system. I am a bit relaxed with this respect. One day leave is lost for every three late comings. For habitual late comers, half-day is lost each time they come late. Once in a while a notice is given to everyone warning them about the consequences of late coming. (One such notice and also the time-keeping book were shown to me.)

Employees are also checked for theft at the gate by security men on a daily basis. However, for the members of staff this is unacceptable. They are checked thoroughly once a month only.

### reward

Financial incentive works for the shopfloor workers, but at higher levels it is not appropriate. The most important thing to them is job satisfaction. We make them feel they are doing their own job rather than a job for others. However, we give them annual financial rewards depending on their contribution and usefulness.

### punishment

If some one does something wrong, we try to involve ourselves in his work. If he is unable to cope, we try to help him. If the reasons are his negligence, lack of interest and involvement, and he is not prepared to correct himself, we will part with him. We basically recruit people on a short-term basis. If they prove cooperative and involved, we change their contract to a permanent one. Otherwise we dispense with them. This kind of things does not happen at higher levels.

The company used to have a social club which would organize cricket matches for the employees, but "they wasted so much time either playing or discussing the matches afterwards instead of doing their work", that the club had to be closed down.

## Hi-tech I

### control

I keep discussing things with people like managers, supervisors and technicians, asking questions to find out how they are doing. And I tell them what I expect from them. I get reports on weekly and monthly bases on the jobs done, and on new proposals.

In the case of workers and other staff, their respective managers set up the same report system to control their performance. We have a strict time-keeping system here. Five late comings in a month result in the loss of half a month's salary. Everybody, including directors, has to check in and out, although for the latter the time is not fixed and they ususally work after business hours.

### reward

In the case of managers and non-shopfloor employees we have a performance-linked incentive scheme. For instance, reports on the managers come to the board of directors and depending on the results and the ratings they get, they will be paid cash sometimes up to 70 percent of their salary.

For the manual workers there is a 20 percent normal bonus plus a production-linked bonus which is paid to them quarterly and is



naturally flexible. We try to regulate our production by this financial incentive.

#### punishment

You cannot really punish any one here. In the case of workers, there are strict rules. Minor offences or even not doing the job are unpunishable. For serious offences, after issuing notices and warnings, an enquiry is held in which the company and union present their cases. Depending on the outcome of the enquiry, the punishment may range from a temporary suspension to dismissal. In the case of members of staff, I am at a loss to find a suitable punishment. Sacking is possible but I think performance-linked incentive scheme is the best way to make them do their job properly.

## Electron I

### control

It depends on the type of work that a person does. At the top, it is in terms of the contribution that he makes. I give him a project and he prepares a report. At the lower levels, a person's work is controlled in terms of hours spent on a particular job, and its completion. They can leave any time, the job should be done. Manual workers clock in and out.

We provide people with the maximum resources and facilities that they can handle to do their job. We have a performance evaluation system which goes down the hierarchy. I personally see the evaluation reports of managers and fifty odd supervisors and officers.

For the promotion of the commitment of employees we have a sport club, and provide them with opportunities to participate in cultural activities and competition. We make them feel they are part of the company which is doing well, and feel proud of it. We have, however, separate canteens for manual and non-manual employees. The workers cannot remain very clean on the shopfloor and we cannot mix them with the rest.

### reward

We reward 'good' performers by promotion and an increase in pay. To managers, money is not important. They are interested in career and big responsibility. To the others it is job security that matters. Prestige and recognition are important to everybody. In the case of manual workers, we cannot use financial incentive because, if, for example, we give some money to one worker for his good performance, the unions want us to pay the same to another 50 or so. We use mainly non financial rewards such as recognition, treating them fairly and promotion. If we had a choice we would use financial rewards.

### punishment

If someone does not do his job properly because he is incompetent, we try to reduce his responsibility, take part of his job from him and give it to someone else, or change his job completely. If his poor performance is for 'doubtful' intentions, we deal with him according to the severity of his offence; he might even get the sack.

## Silicon I

### control

I maintain a close contact and personal dialogue rather than paper works with factory and marketing people. Targets are set for them and there are periodical check to see how they are doing. Nobody checks in and out. We monitor workers by a strict time-related wage system. But the timing of the attendance of senior managers are not monitored.

### reward

We use cash incentives for all our employees.

### punishment

There is no way to check a lack of commitment. At the top level, though, sacking is possible. At junior levels you cannot do anything. You cannot fine them because of the union agreement. For the same reason, you cannot sack them either. Instead, we refuse to promote them.



## APPENDIX E

### **Establishing Access and Maintaining Goodwill in the Research Process**

## **I. Establishing Access**

**1. Correspondence with English  
and Indian organizations**

## English organizations



Dear Mr X

I would like to take the opportunity of writing this covering note to the attached letter to you from Miss Tayeb.

She is a member of our Doctoral Programme here in the Management Centre. I believe that the research she is undertaking is a competently designed study into a matter of practical concern for management today. I do hope that you will feel able to grant her the brief appointment she is requesting.

Yours sincerely,

John Child  
Professor of Organization  
Chairman of the Doctoral Programme

Dear Mr X

I am writing to you in your capacity as Chief Executive to ask whether I could meet you for half an hour.

The reason for this request is that I am conducting research into the impact that executives' priorities and attitudes in different countries have on organizational problems and policies. I first became aware of such factors when working as a financial specialist in the pre-revolutionary Iranian Sugar Corporation, and subsequently completed a preliminary study of the subject at Oxford University.

My present research is building upon this study and extending it to comparisons between British and French firms of similar size operating in the same industries. I have chosen your company because it is possible to match it closely with a French equivalent. I believe that research of this kind is of practical value for the companies which participate, and among other things throw light upon the policies adopted within the same industries of different countries.

I should very much appreciate the chance of having a brief appointment with you in order to explore whether your company might be interested in taking part in my research.

Yours sincerely,

Monir Tayeb (Miss)

**Note:**

The author had originally planned to conduct the study in England and France, but, despite her efforts over a year, she was unable to gain access to the selected French companies and to secure cooperation of various relevant bodies. France, therefore, had to be dropped. Instead, India was chosen as the second setting for the study.

## **Indian organizations**



Dear Sir

I am writing to you to ask for two basic items of information about your firm which would be of considerable value for some management research I am conducting.

I am studying the impact that executives' priorities and attitudes in different countries have on organizational problems and policies bearing in mind cultural differences between those countries. I first became aware of such factors when working as a financial specialist in the pre-revolutionary Iranian Sugar Corporation, and subsequently completed a preliminary study of the subject at Oxford University.

My present research is building upon this earlier study and extending it to matched companies in the United Kingdom and India operating in the same industries. I have just completed a study of British companies and I am planning to travel to India shortly to visit a carefully chosen selection of companies in which your own could possibly be included because of its product specialization.

As a preliminary to visits in India, I have been collecting detailed information about the companies which match with my British sample, using various sources available in England. I would, however, like to complete my data in two respects before coming to India, and asking companies whether they would be interested in taking part in my research.

Could you therefore kindly tell me:

1. the total number of your current full-time and part-time employees;
2. whether your company is:
  - a production unit or branch,
  - a division,
  - a subsidiary with its own legal identity,
  - parent or holding company,
  - an independent company.

I should greatly appreciate your help in this matter. When I visit India, would you be interested, in principle, to having a brief visit from me which might allow for a comparison to be made between yourselves and some equivalent UK companies?

Yours sincerely,

Monir Tayeb (Miss)

Dear Mr X

Further to our previous communications concerning my research in your company, the government of India has now given me permission to visit the country.

I have booked my flight for 11th February and I am hoping to call in your office some time in the second half of the month.

I would like to apologize to you for not being able to travel to India earlier and meet you as planned. I would also like to express my gratitude to you for being so patient and helpful to me.

I look forward to meeting you very soon.

Yours sincerely,

Monir Tayeb (Miss)

## **2. Correspondence with Indian Government Officials**

His Excellency Dr A Seyied Muhammad  
The High Commission of India  
India House  
Aldwych  
London WC2

OSP/JC/ST  
18th June 1982

Your Excellency

I am writing in connection with a personal application for a visa to visit India which my research student, Miss Monir Tayeb, made yesterday. Unfortunately I omitted to make sure that she was supplied with a comprehensive letter of explanation, and your Consulate therefore felt unable to issue the visa at the time. I should like to take this opportunity of explaining why it is important for her to make the visit in the very near future.

Miss Tayeb is working with me in our programme of international research into industrial management and organization. We have arranged a comparative study of British and Indian companies which are carefully matched by size and industry. The British half of this research has just been completed, and arrangements have been made with eighteen Indian companies to conduct the Indian half over the period July-October this year. I should be happy to supply copies of correspondence with these companies if you wish. As well as providing data for purposes of research scholarship, our project involves a reporting back to each participating company enabling it to benefit from comparison with others in a manner that has so far been greatly appreciated. This research is, however, independently funded from the United Kingdom and involves absolutely no payment by participating companies.

In association with our programme, Miss Teyeb has been offered an honorary position of Visiting Research Fellow at the Centre for Organization Development at Hyderabad, as well as scholarly support from the two Indian Institutes of Management at Ahmedabad and Bangalore. Professor S R Ganesh at Ahmedabad has expressed particular interest in our research and has offered to collect certain material relevant to it. I originally invited Miss Tayeb to the University of Aston because she is especially well suited to this area of study. She was formerly a senior financial specialist in the Iranian Sugar Corporation. She read for her M.Litt at the University of Oxford between 1976 and 1979, and she has since worked at the University of Aston's Management Centre.

continued/...



The arrangements which have now been made for our research in India cannot readily be postponed or repeated. Miss Tayeb is booked on an Air France flight to Bombay (via Paris) departing on June 29th. In the light of my own previous and very cordial academic contacts with India I did not foresee that any problem might stand in the way of continued collaboration. I am naturally rather anxious about the situation that has arisen and about any possible delay. I should therefore greatly appreciate anything that you can do to expedite completion of visa arrangements for Miss Tayeb. I should, of course, be only too glad to pay for the cost of any special communication with India which may be required.

May I follow up this letter with a telephone call to your office in a few days time?

Yours sincerely,

Professor J Child

Mr B L Gupta  
Private Principal Secretary  
The High Commission of India  
India House  
Aldwych  
London WC2

OSP/JC/BR  
24 June, 1982

Dear Mr Gupta

It was very kind of you to take the trouble of telephoning me today.

In the light of the information you gave me, I have had a further discussion with Miss Tayeb. We concluded that it would be possible for her to confine her visit to Bombay and its immediate vicinity if this would facilitate the issuing to her a visa, perhaps in the tourist category. The companies I want her to visit are all located in or close to Bombay, and if necessary she could forgo the planned visits further afield to research institutes. From our point of view, the visits to companies are of greater importance, and we should ideally like to have completed these by October so that Miss Tayeb can resume her teaching here at the University of Aston when the new academic year begins.

Once again, may I express my appreciation for your help and advice.

Yours sincerely,

Professor John Child

Mr E Bharwa  
First Secretary  
Consular Department  
The High Commission of India  
India House  
Aldwych  
London WC2

OSP/JC/BR  
3rd August, 1982

Dear Mr Bharwa

My doctoral student, Miss Monir Tayeb, has told me of her telephonic conversation with you today concerning the progress of her visa application. As you know, it is of considerable importance for our research to be carried out in India over the remainder of the summer while Miss Tayeb can be absent from her other duties at the University.

Accordingly, I am enclosing a Postal Order for the sum of £10.00 (Ten Pounds) to cover the expenses you will incur in telexing your Government authorities requesting that the visa application be processed at the earliest possible date.

I greatly appreciate your kind assistance in this matter.

Yours sincerely,

Professor J. Child

Mr B L Gupta  
Private Principal Secretary  
The High Commission of India  
India House  
Aldwych  
London WC2

OSP/JC/MT  
1 September, 1982

Dear Mr Gupta

You may recall that we spoke over the telephone in June about the application by Miss Tayeb, my research student, for a visa to visit India in order to complete the research in which we are comparing management in matched Indian and English companies.

We have not heard any definite news about the visa application for two months now, although we did send £10 by registered post to pay for telex communication with the relevant Government department in India as a measure to expedite the process. In the meantime we have been keeping our arrangements with the Indian companies and with Indian institutes of management interested in our research, 'on ice', as it were. I am now becoming very worried at the length of delay which has ensued and would like to ask whether there is anything that could be done to finalize the issue of a visa quickly.

I am sorry to trouble you again over this matter, and very much appreciated your kind encouragement when we spoke. We are anxious to complete the research which I believe will add to understanding in a way that benefits the companies involved as well as academic teachers.

Yours sincerely,

Professor J Child



Mrs Indira Gandhi  
Prime Minister of India  
1 Safdarjang Road  
New Delhi  
India

JC/MT  
24 November, 1982

Dear Prime Minister

I am writing to you in order to bring to your attention a matter of concern relating to academic co-operation between India and the United Kingdom.

In the Spring of this year arrangements were finalized from the University of Aston with 18 companies concentrated in the Bombay area to participate in an international study on the relevance of culture for effective management practice. The intention was for Monir Tayeb, my doctoral student, who has completed a study of similar companies in England, to conduct the Indian study during August and September.

Accordingly, I asked Miss Tayeb to apply for a visa for entry to India which she did on the 17th June (application reference number LON/CONS/407/96/82). Despite repeated enquiries and the payment of the costs of telexing the appropriate department in India, there has been no response to this application after a period of five months. Copies of the relevant correspondence are enclosed.

My department has enjoyed a long history of close and fruitful collaboration with Indian scholars, which we value highly. For example, we were pleased recently to welcome Dr Gupta of the Central Labour Institute, and we are looking forward to hosting a stay by Dr Pratap of the University of Rookee in the near future. I therefore find it difficult to understand what has led to the delay in authorizing our proposed visit to India for equally scholarly purposes. This is why I have thought it appropriate to bring the matter to your attention or to that of your advisors.

Yours sincerely,

John Child  
Professor of Organizational Behaviour

10 February, 1983

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Miss Monir Tayeb is a full-time PhD student working under my supervision at the University of Aston Management Centre. Her research involves a cross-cultural comparison of management practices. In order for her to complete this study satisfactorily, I have arranged for Miss Tayeb to conduct fieldwork within selected companies in India between February and May of this year.

I consider that this particular opportunity to include Indian companies in Miss Tayeb's research is an extremely valuable one and I would therefore appreciate any assistance that you can afford her by way of facilitating her return to Britain.

Following this visit to India, I would expect Miss Tayeb to complete her PhD studies back here at the University of Aston during academic year 1983/84.

Yours faithfully

John Child

(Date)

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to confirm that Miss Monir Tayeb of University of Aston in Birmingham, United Kingdom, is currently staying at my address in \*\*\*\* and is carrying out her research under my guidance.

(Signature)

## Maintaining Goodwill



Dear Mr X

I have now completed the English stage of my international comparative study of management practices and styles.

I enclose a copy of the report on some findings of the research in \*\*\*\* as well as other English companies which participated in the research.

As the rsearch progresses in future in other countries, I shall send you further reports in which \*\*\*\* will be compared with some of its foreign counterparts.

I would like to take the opportunity to thank you and the members of your Company, especially Mr Y, the Personnel Manager, and your secretary, who most kindly helped me in my academic work and to whom I am eternally indebted.

I hope you will find the report of interest and use. Needless to say that any comments and suggestions by you and your colleagues are most welcome.

Thank you once again for your help.

Yours sincerely

Monir Tayeb (Miss)

cc. Mr Y  
Personnel Manager

Dear Mr X

I am writing to inform you that I completed various stages of the research in India three weeks ago and I came back to Britain with beautiful memories from India and Indian People.

I would like to take the opportunity to express my immense gratitude to you and your colleagues at \*\*\*\* whose help in the progress of my research was invaluable. I shall send you a feedback report about the results of the survey in your company as well as other Indian firms which participated in the research as soon as the data are analysed.

Thank you once again for your interest and help in my research.

Yours sincerely,

Monir Tayeb (Miss)

### **A brief outline of the feedback report**

The report presented the results of the attitude survey questionnaire administered within the company concerned and other information reported in interviews. The results were compared with those for other companies which participated in the study.

After an executive summary, it gave a broad description of other companies, such as the industry in which they were engaged and the number of their employees. The main body of the report was divided into the following sections:

1. The sample
2. Importance of needs in the job
3. Job satisfaction
4. Relationships with superiors
5. Commitment to the Company
6. Honesty and trust in interpersonal relationships
7. Management's delegation of authority
8. Employees' perception of autonomy
9. Conclusion

In each section the results were presented in graphic forms and figures, using different colours to distinguish between different groups of employees. Each graph/figure was accompanied by a discussion. The comparison between the Company and the averages for all other companies as a whole was made with the help of a transparency sheet superimposed on corresponding graphs and figures.

Dear Miss Tayeb

Thank you for your preliminary findings resulting from the research programme.

Would you confirm the following broad conclusions from your preliminary report:

1) Needs in the job

That the managers and shop floor employees needs seem to line up closely with the average sample of your study, with a slightly lower emphasis amongst managers on job security and close working relationships; but a slightly higher emphasis on opportunities to use personal initiative?

2) Job satisfaction

Both managers and employees seem to have a higher level of job satisfaction than the comparison sample.

3) Perceived management style

There is a greater perceived emphasis on "telling" and "selling" of decisions, than "consulting" and "participating".

4) Participation

It would seem in \*\*\*\* we have an above average desire amongst managers and employees for participation than the sample? I wonder why you think this is?

5) Loyalty

I was interested to note the very high degree of management loyalty compared with the average sample and the slightly below average loyalty of the shop floor employees. I would be very interested in any comments on the latter.

6) Level of commitment

I note we are slightly above average for both managers and shop floor employees on commitment. It is interesting that there is a higher shop floor employee commitment than average, yet slightly below average loyalty as per 5)?

continued/...



7) Level of trust

I was interested to note that both managers and shop floor employees have a level of trust above the average sample and, indeed, the shop floor employees are higher above the average than managers. This is strange when one compares the results on 'loyalty' and 'commitment'. I wonder if you have any observations on this.

8) Delegation

I was interested to note that managers felt they had much below average freedom of action, yet a well above average perception that they made their own decisions; coupled with an above average perception that they would approach whichever person they felt appropriate to solve a problem, rather than going to their immediate superior. This seems slightly strange but I suppose has to be associated with the fact that a higher percentage of people, both managers and shop floor employees, wished to participate than the sample.

Would it be fair to conclude that we have an above average company in terms of commitment, honesty and trust; with an above average management loyalty, but an average shop floor employee loyalty with an above average desire for participation and involvement: coupled with a below average actually perceived level of participation?

These are quick observations from a review of the report, without studying it very closely and raising of the questions one would perhaps like to, but I would be interested in your comments.

Yours sincerely,

X  
Managing Director

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