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Technical Report

ORIENTATION TOWARD WORK AND SCHOOL :
CULTURAL CONTEXT AND INTERVENTION
STRATEGIES

by
Udai Pareek

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Name of the Author UDAI PAREEK

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ABSTRACT (within 250 words)

Cultural factors influence persons' orientation towards work and school. Four categories distinguishing pre-industrial from industrial cultures are: 1. Permanence of roles (affiliation versus inclusion, collaboration versus competition, sureness versus tentativeness, collectiveness versus individualism), 2. Societal Determinism (locus of control as external versus internal, dependency versus interdependence, momentariness versus transcendence) 3. Experience and knowledge (egocentrism versus decentrism, cognitive simplicity versus complexity) 4. Time orientation. For change in orientation to work, the following factors are important: 1. Time differentiation, 2. Role differentiation, 3. Temporary system membership, 4. Boundary differentiation, 5. Role hierarchy, 6. Reward system and 7. Use of tools. The factors influencing orientation to school are: 1. Decontextualization, 2. Development of internal control, 3. Development of abstract knowledge, 4. Systematic development, 5. Personal autonomy and 6. Group as a help. Various intervention strategies are discussed*

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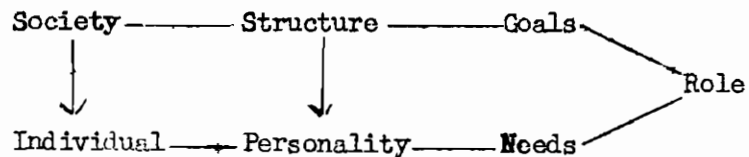
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Date October 15, 1974

Udai Pareek
Signature of the Author
Udai Pareek

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The relationship between culture and cognitive and personality development has been established by several anthropologists and psychologists (e.g. Boas, 1938 ; Bruner *et al*, 1966; Gryns, 1964; Hudson, 1960; Jahoda, 1956; Mead, 1946; Whorf, 1956; Wintringer, 1955). Culture influences the development of the individual in several ways. One model to understand the influence of culture on the individual is suggested below.



According to this model the society influences the individual through its structure and the goal setting process. The structure influences the personality of the individual and the goal setting process in the society influences the need pattern (motivation) of the individual. Individual's personality interacts with the structure of the society and the social goals in the formation of the role. Role seems to be a central concept in the transformation of an individual into a member of the society. It is through the role that the individual becomes a part of the society. The definition of role by Katz and Kahn (1966, p.37) may be taken as a good definition. They define role as "standardized patterns of behaviour required of all persons playing a part in a given functional relationship, regardless of personal wishes or interpersonal obligations irrelevant to the functional relationships." The process of role taking in a culture is the main process of the development of the individual. Several factors in a culture influence role taking, and the consequent cognitive and personality development of individuals in that culture. Some cultural factors are proposed in the next section.

* Paper read in the Symposium on Cognition at the Australian National Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, May, 1974.

Cultural Factors Influencing Orientation of Individuals

The various cultural factors or cultural characteristics influencing the orientation of persons toward many important dimensions of the society can be grouped into some significant categories. For the sake of convenience, we can divide the cultures into two categories: the industrial cultures and the preindustrial cultures. In the preindustrial cultures can be included cultures which were highly developed in the past, but which followed feudal form, like the cultures in India and China. We can also include in this category cultures of aboriginal societies. A detailed study of these cultures would require further differentiation between the various kinds of preindustrial cultures. One characteristic of preindustrial cultures is their comparatively slow rate of change. Mead calls them "homogeneous societies" (Mead, 1949). Similarly, the industrial cultures can also be classified further according to the social system which they follow. However, here we shall mainly distinguish between the preindustrial and the industrial cultures, based on the use of technology of production.

There are four main categories of characteristics distinguishing preindustrial from industrial cultures.

1. Permanence of Roles

In preindustrial cultures more permanent relationships prevail, as contrasted with industrial cultures where the relationships are more temporary. Since the pace of change is slow in preindustrial cultures, the societies are more or less stable and the relationships amongst people in the society are more simple. Such cultures have more fixed and permanent roles, and people belong to more permanent systems. As against this simplicity of role-relationships, industrial cultures are characterised by more complex role patterns, and individuals are members of many systems, so that the individuals perform multiple roles in the society. Such a society is more complex. The individuals, instead of being members of permanent systems, are members of increasingly larger number of temporary systems which emerge for specific purposes, but which disappear after the purpose has been achieved. This characteristic would influence various aspects of personality and orientation of the members. Some of these differences are suggested below :

a. Affiliation versus Inclusion : In a preindustrial culture people have high need for affiliation, and the society is based more on personal relationships existing amongst its members. Since the society is simple, and the role-relationships are more or less fixed, more permanent relationships exist. One characteristic of such permanent relationship is that

individual members are personal to one another. Affiliation is the basis of such a relationship. Contrasted with this, in the industrial cultures, affiliation is replaced by inclusion. Individuals tend to relate to others in order to work on some problems in the society, and for this purpose some temporary systems are formed. The relationship with others in such a context will be on the basis of a particular problem or a purpose which has been set up for that temporary system. The individual will, therefore, like to relate to other individuals for consulting and working together on those problems. This is the need for inclusion. The distinction between affiliation and inclusion has been very well brought out by Schutz (1958) who has devised an instrument (FIRO-B) for measuring the need for affiliation and for inclusion. Some data collected in India with FIRO-B suggests that persons who are working in organized sectors like industry tend to have lower need for affiliation and higher need for inclusion, both on expressed and wanted dimensions, using Schutz's framework.

b. Collaboration versus Competition : In preindustrial cultures, extension motivation or concern for others (Pareek, 1968) is pretty high. Again, this is a part of the permanent role system where people care more for each other. As a result there is much more collaboration, or working together. The problems are seen from the point of view of the collective and so a joint effort is made in solving it. In fact, from the beginning of the life of an individual, collaborative relationship exists between the individual and the parents, and later, the individual and his peer groups. Contrasted with this characteristic, the nature and amount of competition varies according to the social system. In the capitalist's system, individual competition will be much higher than in a socialistic system where collective competition is being promoted.

c. Sureness versus Tentativeness : In a preindustrial culture, people are more sure of what is likely to happen. Margaret Mead has described five main characteristics of preindustrial cultures. According to her these characteristics are: "the sequential consistency between the experience of a growing child at one period and at another; the summation or the total expression of the gamut of cultural experience in the behaviour of the adult members of the society; the prefiguring of future experience as the child sees others go through sequence through which he will later go; the consolidation of past experience as the growing individual sees younger individuals go through sequences culturally identical with those through which he has passed; and the increasing automaticity of behaviour and the consequent increasing sureness which accompany maturation" (Mead, 1949). Contrasted with this sureness, there is much more tentativeness in the industrial culture. The various solutions to the problems are seen as tentative solutions to be tested.

d. Collectiveness versus Individualism : Another characteristic of preindustrial cultures is collectivism; the individual is only a part of a larger group. The individuality of a person is not given much importance, and it is only the total group which is important. Contrasted with this, the industrial culture gives more importance to the person. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) have discussed this value orientation.

2. Societal Determinism

What distinguishes the preindustrial cultures from the industrial cultures is the characteristic of the society itself, whether it is a determined society or it is a planned society. A determined society is the one which is not consciously planned and which evolves according to natural development. A planned society is the one in which continuous efforts are made to introduce change and to plan the future development of the society. Preindustrial society is a determined society where forces of nature and the various constraints determine the nature of the society. The industrial society continuously plans and anticipates changes for which it prepares itself. The following characteristics are influenced by this aspect.

a. Locus of Control as external versus internal : In the preindustrial society, the locus of control is external, and in the industrial society it is internal. Rotter (1966) has elaborately discussed the concept of locus of control as an important concept determining orientation of persons toward work and other phenomena. The individual in the preindustrial society tends to feel that most of the things are determined and that he does not have much power over them. Several experiments conducted on aboriginal children and children of preindustrial cultures show that by and large children have a sense of powerlessness in the society (Bruner, 1972). In the industrial society, there is a sense of power of the individual and a sense of controlling nature. This is internal locus of control.

b. Dependency versus Interdependence : In a preindustrial society, the person who is more experienced, and by the fact that experience comes of age, an elderly person is given much more respect. In fact, this results in learning from such sources. Contrary to this, in the industrial culture all knowledge cannot be accumulated by a person and no single person can claim to know everything which he can teach other persons. As a result, the sources of knowledge become more important and age is not so relevant to development of competence. This results in breaking dependency relationship and eventually interdependent relationships emerge in the industrial societies.

c. Momentariness versus Transcendence : In the preindustrial culture, each experience is significant. In many cases, various experiences which may inherently be contradicted are not seen as contradictory. Tolerance for contradiction becomes a part of the culture. Non-perception of contradiction which is an important characteristic of preindustrial cultures. In the industrial culture, people transcend this kind of momentariness. Bruner (1972) has used this expression which he cites some instances of the development of the characteristic of transcending momentariness. Coherence develops over larger and larger parts of experience leading to transcendence over time and space.

3. Experience and Knowledge

Another distinction between the preindustrial and the industrial cultures is that while preindustrial cultures are experience-based, industrial cultures are knowledge-based. Direct experience is the most important source of knowledge and competence in preindustrial culture. In the industrial culture, experience is converted into knowledge, and knowledge becomes more and more abstract as it advances. This characteristic influences some orientations of the individuals in these two cultures.

a. Egocentrism versus Decentrism : We shall use the Piaget's terminology in this connection. According to Piaget cognitive development in children proceeds from egocentrism to decentrism. In the preindustrial cultures also individuals are influenced by their direct experience, and what they themselves perceive through their sense organs is regarded as real. Some anthropologists interpret this as the basis of animism. However, Bruner (1972) has suggested that this is not animism but this is a kind of realism which preindustrial cultures tend to show. In industrial cultures the process of decentrism is more prominent. Piaget used this term in the sense of a person being able to rate things not only from the egocentric axis but from other vantage points, personal as well as geometrical. This characteristic helps the persons in the industrial cultures to generalise and study various natural phenomena in more detail.

b. Cognitive simplicity versus Complexity : Since most of the competence in preindustrial culture is experience-based, there is much more cognitive simplicity in the preindustrial culture. With the advancement of knowledge and the advancement of concepts, industrial cultures tend to have more cognitive complexity.

4. Time Orientation

Preindustrial cultures are more present-oriented. Persons in that culture are more concerned with working on the problems which they face in

the immediate environment. These problems engage their continuous attention, and therefore, they live almost from moment to moment. On the other hand, in the industrial cultures, there is much more looking in the future, anticipating future and planning for it. Industrial culture is future-oriented. This difference influences individual's orientation.

Another characteristic of preindustrial culture is that it is crisis-oriented, contrasted with planning-orientation in industrial cultures, where people anticipate and plan for the future. One characteristic of momentariness is that the immediate reward is more important, contrasted with the postponement of gratification for some future reward.

Orientation to Work

Let us now turn to orientation.

Work is the most important human activity which distinguishes humans from the animal world. Work has been defined as "an instrumental activity carried out by human beings the object of which is to preserve and maintain life, which is directed at a planful alteration of certain features of man's environments (Neff, 1968, p.10). Work also includes attitudinal components. Salz has given a longer definition of work as follows : "Work is not understood to be only that activity by which something is produced or effected according to intention, plan, or purpose. The definition here also, and very emphatically, includes the attitude, set, or approach toward the specific task of producing or effecting and spirit and behaviour in which this goal-directed activity is carried out. In other words, work is intentionally sober and unadorned activity related to the execution of a task or project" (Salz, 1955, p.96).

In addition to these definitions, some attempt has been made to measure subjective meaning of work with the help of Semantic Differential (e.g. Agarwal and Kuppaswamy, 1968; Kuppaswamy and Agarwal, 1967a;1967b).

One of the problems in introducing organized work in preindustrial cultures (or in industrialization of preindustrial societies) is the functional orientation toward work. In order to develop such an orientation, we have to analyse the various characteristics of work and see what problems may arise in the preindustrial cultures in relation to these characteristics. Table 1 gives eight main characteristics of work and against each characteristic the relevant problem is mentioned.

Table 1

Problems in Work orientation in Preindustrial cultures

| <u>Characteristics</u> | <u>Problems</u> |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Time differentiation | Time management |
| 2. Role differentiation | Management of role stress |
| 3. Temporary system membership | Managing affection |
| 4. Boundary differentiation | Boundary management |
| 5. Role hierarchy | Alienation |
| 6. Reward system | Management of competition |
| 7. Use of tools | Ego deflation |

1. Time Differentiation

Work requires a different orientation to time. As Anderson(1964) has discussed, the concept of time changes in relation to work from the preindustrial society. The usual concept of time in the preindustrial society is a circular one, the time being seen along with the rhythm of nature. Anderson calls it natural time. Such a concept of time undergoes change when people begin to work, and the industrial world perceives time more as linear and as mechanical. In the preindustrial culture, there is no distinction between work time and non-work time. Several studies of aboriginal tribes have reported that they do not distinguish between work and non-work time. However, this changes as far as the work is concerned. After a person begins to work in the industrial sense, he has to conceive time as a definite entity which is different from non-work time over which the individual has control. Absence of such a distinction in the preindustrial culture creates stress.

2. Role Differentiation

Along with time differentiation, with the introduction of work, roles also get differentiated. In preindustrial culture, there is not much difference between the various roles because there are no specialised roles in the society. The person functions in various roles simultaneously.

This is not so in a work-oriented society where different roles have to be differentiated. The person becomes a member of several groups, and he has to deal with the problem of membership of multiple roles. This differentiation produces role stress. The stress may be because of the difficulty the individual may find in taking the role in relation to the work, and this may result in what Goffman calls role distance (Goffman, 1968) or what may be called self-role distance. There may be conflict between various roles, mainly the traditional role an individual occupies in his family and the community to which he belongs, and the work roles. Such conflicts produce enough stress in the individual and the individual has to manage this stress.

3. Temporary System Membership

In the industrial society, which is mainly based on work, the individual is a member of several temporary systems. When the individual goes to the work organization, he becomes a member of several groups which are transient and which do not continue for a long time. The individual in the preindustrial culture is more accustomed to smaller number of groups, which are more or less permanent groups. As already stated earlier membership of permanent groups promotes affiliation motivation. With the increasing membership of temporary systems, the individual faces the problem of managing his affection which is no more able to cope with multiple group membership.

4. Boundary Differentiation

With the introduction of work the individual has to make a distinction between his place of living and friendship, and the place of work which is different from the place where he lives. This forces the individual of preindustrial culture to respect and develop boundaries between the place of work and place of living. Similarly, the introduction of work creates a formal world for the individual, and he has to make a distinction between personal and private world on the one hand, and the public and impersonal world of work on the other. These boundary differences are difficult to maintain for a person who is accustomed to working while living, and where work and private life are not segregated. The stress in boundary management produces various problems.

5. Role Hierarchy

In a work situation, the individual has to be a part of a hierarchical system. In most of the preindustrial aboriginal cultures, peer culture is quite strong. The person is related to others in a society at an equal level. Even the father and the son work together, and while the son learns from the father, the working relationship is more or less

of peer type. In the industrial work situation, the person has to accept some others as his senior and he has to be supervised. This is entirely a new concept where the person may feel not much central in the work organization. The hierarchy may generate a feeling of being peripheral in the individual. This may produce alienation. If the worker is too low in the organization, and if the organization is highly bureaucratic and hierarchial, the feeling of alienation may be very strong. This problem has to be dealt with.

6. Reward System

Work is meaningful in terms of the reward which accompanies the performance of work successfully. The reward system is a part of orientation to work. In the preindustrial culture, such a reward system does not exist. There may be encouragement and appreciation of something done by an individual in an excellent way. However, reward system is a part of the industrial culture. It produces a sense of competition which has to be managed properly.

7. Use of tools

Every work has an appropriate technology and the individual who works has to use various tools. The person has to learn the art of using these tools. As work becomes more and more sophisticated, the tools to be used also become sophisticated. However, with increasing specialization, the person begins to feel that he himself is a tool. The use of tools, therefore, may produce a sense of powerlessness or a sense of not being important. This may result in ego deflation, where the individual may not feel as important as he used to feel in the pre-industrial society where he was performing all the functions of a job and where the tools were simple. This problem has also to be dealt with.

Orientation to School

As there are some problems in relation to work, similarly there are problems in relation to the introduction of schools in the preindustrial culture. The school performs certain functions, and these functions are important in transforming the society into a planning-oriented society. Some of the functions discussed below produces some problems when the school is introduced as an institution in the pre-industrial culture. These problems have also to be properly dealt with. The various functions of the school and the problems relating to them are summarised in Table 2, and are briefly discussed in this section.

Table 2

Problems in orientation toward the school in preindustrial cultures

| <u>Functions of the school</u> | <u>Problems</u> |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Decontextualisation | Social relevance |
| 2. Development of internal control | Collective life |
| 3. Development of abstract knowledge | Subject relevance |
| 4. Systematic development | Personal relevance |
| 5. Personal autonomy | Competitive orientation |
| 6. Group as a help | Individual pace |

1. Decontextualization

The school helps pupils generalise from experience. This is done through what Bruner (1972) calls "decontextualization", taking learning out of the context of immediate action. "This very extirpation makes learning become an act in itself, freed from the immediate ends of action, preparing the learner for that form of reckning that is remote from payoff and conducive to reflectiveness. In school, moreover, one must 'follow the lesson' which means one must learn to follow the abstraction of written speech ... or the abstraction of language delivered orally but out of the context of an on-going action (Bruner, 1972, p.12). This, however, raises the problem of social relevance of the school learning. If learning is taken out of the context of daily experience, it may degenerate into highly abstract learning, and the problem of social relevance may produce enough stress.

2. Development of Internal Control

The school develops in the child a sense of power, having control over external phenomena. This develops as a result of the child's realisation that natural and human phenomena are different, through the process of what Bruner calls "self-consciousness," "born of a distinction between human processes and physical phenomena" (Bruner, 1972, p.29). School plays a significant role in this development. Bruner reports that the "magical" reasoning of the Bush or Senegalese children was not found even in one case after the child had been in school for seven months or more. While in school, the child has the opportunity of manipulating several aspects of the environment, and he consequently develops "self-consciousness" and a sense of internal control. The development of internal control, however, comes in conflict with collective life of the

community. In an extreme form the individual may overlook the collective goals, and may get alleviated in a community wanting, and needing, working together for collective goals.

3. Development of Abstract Knowledge

The schools help in the development of knowledge. This function is extremely important for the continuous growth and development of the society. Beginning with decontextualization, the school contributes to the cognitive development of children through codified knowledge and through the use of language. The movement is in the direction of abstract. Writing helps in the formation of abstract ideas. However, with the explosion of knowledge the problem of school learning being relevant to the latest developments in that field acquires importance. Teaching in the school has to be relevant not only to the society, and to the learner, but also to the subject, the field of knowledge. The school has to face and deal with this problem.

4. Systematic Development

One important function of the school is to provide opportunities for the child to develop as a total person. Programmes are planned for the intellectual, emotional, physical and social development of the child and these programmes are graded according to the age and the child's level of development. Such programmes become more standardised and take the form of well prepared curricula. However, these can become too rigid and may not be as thrilling and meaningful to a child as necessary to motivate him. Learning to be effective has to be personally relevant to the child, challenging his capabilities and engaging his imagination and intellect.

5. Personal Autonomy

The school helps the child move away from collective to individualistic orientation. This is the movement for autonomy. By acquiring knowledge the child begins to acquire a status. Increased internal control helps the child live as an individual, and as a person. Development of personal autonomy - freedom to choose a life and freedom to live it - is a necessary function of the school. However, this may increase competitive orientation in the child. He may have problems of working together with other members. This problem may be a realistic one.

6. Group as a Help

The school promotes group living of peers. The school is the most organized institution for peer groups. This keeps children learn from each other, and develop norms of help exchange. The group begins to function as an entity and is a resource for the individual. The classroom group develops its own norms, and both formal and informal ways of working. For the classroom group is convenient for and helpful in learning, it may become a problem if the demands from the group are too exacting, and if the teacher does not pay much attention to the individual children. Children may need to learn at their pace, and the group may come in the way of spontaneous development according to one's own capacity, interest, and goals.

Intervention Strategies

In order to deal effectively with the problems created in a pre-industrial culture by the introduction work and school, some intervention strategies have to be planned. In fact, the school and industry are in themselves interventions. The intervention strategies should be based on some philosophy, some approach to the development of people. At least three goals should be kept in view while planning the intervention strategies. In the first place, the intervention strategy should help the people if the culture become more rational, develop understanding and insight into the cultural processes and their impact on the members' orientations. Smilansky (1968) suggests that intervention programmes should emphasise rationale and explanation in order to reach the deep conceptual level where cultural differences operate. Secondly, the intervention strategy should develop in the people a sense of power, confidence to be able to influence the events. "When cultures are in competition for resources, as they are today, the psychologists' task is to analyse the source of cultural difference so that those of the minority, the less powerful group, may quickly acquire the intellectual instruments necessary for success of the dominant culture, should they so choose (Cole and Bruner, 1971).

Thirdly, the intervention strategy should develop problem-solving orientation and skills in the people. In other words, it should help people learn how to help and work out solutions through collaborative work. If people can move away from the extremes of helplessness (resignation) and exaggerated sense of power (rebellion), they may be helped to face the problems and work out their solutions.

Intervention strategies for orientation to work

A large number of publications have appeared on industrialisation and social and cultural factors. Orientation to work in a culture is a part of the values and attitudes, or of ethos, Garg (1974) has discussed in detail of two competing ethos in India: the technological and the agrarian, as reflected in the conflicts of the Indian youth. He has suggested four dimensions of the technological ethos: work identity, change in role relationship, impermanence of relationship, and self-renewal. Nash (1967, preface) has summarised the generalisation on the implication of industrialisation. These include: differentiation from other subsystems, increase in occupational diversity and bureaucratisation, increase in labour mobility, erosion of corporate kingroups, intergenerational tensions, decrease in ascribed status, stratified class hierarchy, procedural system, voluntarism, separation of religion and other spheres of life, fundamentalist movements, and mass culture.

Introduction of organised work (industry) in a preindustrial culture creates certain problems. We can use some intervention strategies in order to reduce these problems and tensions. The following interventions are suggested.

1. The organisational design : The organisational design of the work (Industry) itself requires attention. Much is being given to organisational design. The socio-technical system of work should take into account the special characteristics of the culture. The design should provide for sharing of the process of designing by the persons who are to manage and work. If an aboriginal culture does not have social-hierarchical system, the organisational design should not be hierarchical (tall), and can be nonhierarchical (flat). For example, in such a culture the symbols of hierarchy (distinctions in the size of room, houses, etc.) can be kept to the minimum.

2. Peer culture : The development of peer culture is essential for functional work orientation. Various persons working in an organisation should feel that they are central in the organisation, and are partners in the field of work. Peer culture, among many factors, is a result of the perception of power in the organisation. The person working in an organisation perceives his power (centrality as well as his influence on important dimensions in his own sphere) and power of others. As shown in Figure 1, the interaction between these perception may produce isolation, withdrawal (and submission), coercion, or mutual respect and commitment. Only when the perceived power of self as well as others is high, can genuine peer relationship develop.

Figure 1 : Perceived power in a work organisation

| | | Self | |
|--------|------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| | | Low | High |
| Others | Low | Isolation of mutual sympathy | Coercion |
| | High | Submission or withdrawal | Mutual respect and commitment |

In one hospital in an Indian town persons from nearby villages were employed as messengers and wardboys. They were very proud to join the organisation and would bring their friends and relatives to the hospital to show them their place of work with great pride. However, in about a year's time their involvement in the hospital dropped and they became very indifferent. Interviews with a sample revealed that the main reason was their increasing perception of having no power, and so being peripheral in the hospital. In such an organisation peer culture cannot be built.

3. Interdependence: Peer culture is based on interdependence. When various roles see the need to give and receive help from other roles, interdependent relationship develops. Such a relationship depends on two dimensions -- trust and the style of influence. In an organisation, trust can be high or low. The style of influence can be direct or indirect. Flanders (1970) has discussed the concept of direct and indirect influence. Direct influence restricts the freedom of the person and is reflected in direct ordering, criticism, asking specific information. Indirect influence increases the autonomy of a person, and is shown in encouraging, building on the ideas of the other, helping him take initiative, expression of feelings. As shown in Figure 2, depending on the combination of high or low trust in the organisation, with the influence style of the leaders, there can be a culture of dependence, counterdependence (revolt), independence (working effectively in one's own role without caring for others), or interdependence (mutual help).

Figure 2 : Trust and Influence in work organisation

| | | Trust | |
|--------------------|----------|-------------------|-----------------|
| | | Low | High |
| Style of Influence | Direct | Counterdependence | Dependence |
| | Indirect | Independence | Interdependence |

It is necessary to ensure that mutual trust is high. More important is the behaviour of the leaders in the organisation. If they use more positive reinforcement (appreciation, recognition, encouragement), they will help develop independence in the organisation. However, if they use more negative reinforcement (ordering, frowning, admonition, punishment), dependent or counterdependent relationships will develop.

4. Culture of competence power : Bennis (1966), has discussed several kinds of power. Traditional power is the power of the authority in an organisation. Coercive power is the power a person exercises to force others to conform, by way of his position in the organisation. Referrent power is the power an individual has as a result of his individual expertise and qualities. Competence power is the power individuals exercise by virtue of their roles (and competences in the roles) in an organisation. Competence power is a result of the importance given to the function rather than to the status in the organisation, and the power being exercised as a part of the organisational tradition, rather than an individual's preference. This is shown in Figure 3. For the development of a culture of competence, the stress on functions and the recognition of competence in roles are necessary.

Figure 3 : Various types of power in an organisation

| | | Importance given to | |
|--|--|---------------------|------------------|
| | | Status | Function |
| Person Influence as a part of Organisation | | Coercive Power | Referrent power |
| | | Traditional power | Competence power |

5. Confrontation norms : In order to develop a culture of openness and trust, it is necessary that the work organisations develop norms of problem solving. Instead of postponing the problems, or evading them, or denying them, or deciding them arbitrarily, norms of confronting them should be developed. Confrontation helps in facing the problems squarely and working out a solution by discussion amongst those who are involved in the problem. Such norms will help in developing a culture of mutuality and trust.

6. Opportunities of Growth and Advancement : When persons from pre-industrial society join a work organisation, it is necessary that opportunities are planned for their continuous development and advancement in the organisation. A number of problems are solved when the individuals see the possibility of their moving into the desired direction. They have to develop a sense of internal control, a sense of being able to develop and manage things. The concluding sentences of the study of Nash (1967) are very significant: "... the human tolls in industrialisation are not built into the process itself. They are the result of an image of man in social change which delineates him as the passive agent mechanically responding to immutable forces, or as the pawn in a political chess game, or as the expendable material in an economic vision. The questions we must ask of the process of industrialisation cannot be phrased apart from the inculcable fact that man makes himself, or he is not made at all." The opportunities to help people make themselves are necessary for effectively managing change of introduction of work in preindustrial cultures.

Intervention strategies for schools

School itself is an intervention in a culture. This is the most important intervention for the development of children. In Bruner's words: "It is always the schooling variable that makes qualitative differences in directions of growth. Wolof children who have been to school are more different intellectually from unschool children living in the same bush village than they are from city children in the same country or Mexico city, Anchorage, Alaska or Brookline, Massachusetts" (Bruner, 1972, pp. 47-48). However, there has been a great dissatisfaction with the way the schools have been operating, and there have been powerful demands for deschooling of education (FREIRE, 1972 a, 1972b, REIMER, 1972). In many cases, therefore, the school may be more a restraining and a corrupting influence. Yet organised learning is necessary. In order to help children from preindustrial culture deal with the problems of their exposure to organised learning (schooling), some intervention strategies are suggested below.

1. Contextual Relevance

For the schools to be more functional they should develop more contextual and social relevance. Bruner (1972) has pleaded for putting knowledge "into the context of action and commitment." Education cannot remain neutral and objective. It must relate to the important and urgent problems of the society. The school attempting such a contextual relevance will be able to involve pupils in the social process. The system of elite or quality schools goes against the concept of contextual relevance. Such schools divorce learning from life, and create cultural division. A common public school system, using the cultural processes can make education more relevant.

2. Superordination

The relevance of the school to the society can be increased by developing superordination in children. Sherif (1953) has emphasised the role of superordinate goals in resolving conflicts and building cooperation. If children in school are given tasks that project superordinate goals, collaborative relationship will develop. Such goals may help utilise the collective orientation of preindustrial cultures also.

3. Goal setting

Realistic goal setting is important for the growth of the child. If the school seems to be too demanding, the child may not get involved in learning. Nor will he be involved if the school learning is not challenging to him. Moderately difficult, challenging and attainable goals motivate a child to learn. Based on several studies of cognitive growth, Greenfield concludes: "I should like to suggest that the goals set for the child by his caretakers and the relation of these to the child's available means is a critical factor in determining the rate and richness of cognitive growth in the early, formative years." (quoted by Bruner, 1972).

4. Collaborative competition :

Development of individualistic orientation and increased sense of internal control in the school will promote competition. Competition is very functional in some areas. However, if competition hampers the process of superordinate goal setting and working together for such a goal, it may create problems. The positive aspect of preindustrial collective orientation should be used in the school. School programmes can emphasise group competition, in which intergroup collaboration is developed. Individual competition for excellence will promote achievement motivation. Simultaneously, group tasks and intergroup collaboration may also be emphasised to develop a culture of mutuality.

5. Innovative curriculum :

In order to make schools more functional, and responsive to the needs of the culture, the curriculum should be more flexible and more challenging. The teachers and the pupils can participate effectively in developing curriculum for their use. Unless we build flexibility and motivation for creativity and innovation in the curriculum, the school may remain alien to the child's world. Work can be made the medium of education as suggested by Gandhi (1962), or the curriculum may be developed on the problem the society is facing. It is only an innovative and responding school system that can help change the society.

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