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Cross-cultural study of Maslow's need theory of motivation

Jitendra N. Mishra
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CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF MASLOW'S NEED THEORY OF MOTIVATION

by

Jitendra N. Mishra

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the New Jersey Institute of Technology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science

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Title of Thesis: CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF MASLOW'S NEED THEORY OF MOTIVATION

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ABSTRACT

Abraham H. Maslow's Need Theory of Motivation was subjected to a cross-cultural scrutiny to see if his theory has universal application. It was thus also intended, to make a contribution to his theory since today, global interdependence is no longer a matter of belief, preference or choice. Rather, it is an inescapable reality.

To achieve this goal, an extensive Literature Survey was undertaken. It was found that his theory is more consistent with American value system. Nevertheless, if care is exercised, his theory can be useful in International context too, with some necessary modifications.

This paper is directed to save managers from the perils of ethnocentrism, since it is the view of this writer and his counseling Professor, Dr. Anthony Kahng, that ethnocentric distortions are significantly reduced by intensive study of different cultures. The challenge for executives is to transcend blinders imposed by their home cultures, a formidable but essential task if operations in foreign cultures are to succeed. For real understanding of cultures, we must be able to explain social institutions, religious values and organizations, family and kinship system, and the status hierarchy of the country. It is these variables that channel behavior and give a meaning and functionality to relationships. Cross-cultural learning however, must be a continuous process and the need
to learn never ceases.

Managing relations between an organization and its cultural environment is largely a matter of accurate perception, sound diagnosis, and appropriate adaptation. Thus one basic purpose of this thesis is to enhance sensitivity of managers to cultural differences among people, in order for them to better cope with the realities of these differences for improved interaction and commerce within the world marketplace.

Finally the author and his advisor wish to make a modest contribution to cultural synergy which can be best described as $1+1=3$. It is two or more people, groups, or nations working together for a mutual benefit that is greater in quality and quantity than the sum of their individual efforts. In true synergy, nothing is given up or lost. It is in fact, a sound economic development which is not a zero sum game.

Perhaps where missionaries, politicians, and the military have failed in promoting peace and prosperity by cooperation among nations, the 21st century cosmopolitan managers and technicians may succeed. Certainly, economic and community development on a planetary scale can only occur when human family learns to work together by capitalizing on its very divergences. As we grow in synergistic understanding and skills, we are in a better position to utilize effectively the resources of our own planet.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Definition, Scope and Purpose of Motivation

Man's interest in finding out why he behaves as he does, what forces operate within and outside of him to make him do what he does, which is to say what motivates him, has existed long before he learned to record his thought by means of language.

However, human beings are very complex in their psychological make-up. When they interact with the world and other people, these complexities tend to multiply. We still have much to learn about our own nature. Nevertheless, from the point of view of organizations, whatever organizational changes occur in the future and whatever management theory develops, human aspect will continue to be most important.

Therefore in management, one of the greatest challenges the manager faces is that of motivating the workers. A good understanding of motivation can serve as a valuable tool for understanding the causes of behavior in organizations, for predicting behaviors so that organizational and individual goals can be achieved. Also, the existence of many organizations will depend on how people are motivated and rewarded for their contributions.

Although understanding the fundamentals of motivation
is essential, one very important reason why it is so difficult a job is that "Motivation is an intervening variable—an internal psychological process that manager cannot see. Rather, the management can only assume its presence (or absence) based on observations of worker behavior."¹

When the hypothetical man on the street asks, "What motivates behavior?" he is asking to have identified one or a combination of three kinds of things:

1. An environmental determinant which caused the behavior in question—the application of some irresistible force which of necessity led to this action;
2. the internal urge, wish, feeling, emotion, drive, instinct, want, desire, demand, purpose, interest, aspiration, plan, need or motive which gave rise to the action; or
3. the incentive, goal or object value which attracted or repelled the organism.

In case of first of these alternatives, the why question is addressed to the causation probably independent of the organism, whereas in the second and third instances, a hypothetical internal state is assumed. In other words, whenever no clearly identifiable relationship is found between an environmental and behavioral event, some hypo-

thesised intervening event(s) is(are) postulated to account for behavior.

Thus sometimes, we are fortunate enough to observe behavior occurring as a direct response to prevailing stimulus conditions in the environment. In such cases, no very elaborate explanation is necessary; we may simply cite the eliciting conditions.

In these cases of reflexive responses, the behavior of the organism becomes nearly as predictable as the behavior of simple physical systems and our explanations can be correspondingly simple. More frequently though, no identifiable external stimulus can be specified for a certain act.

Again, some of the intervening events, as mentioned earlier, are capable of being specified and others are not. For instance, an endocrine discharge into the bloodstream, a change in the electric potential of a nerve, a tightening of muscle tonus, can be identified and measured. But less obvious are changes in the organization of memory system, the intensity of a wish or drive, the valence of a goal, etc.

We can specify certain antecedent events and measure extensity of resultant behaviors. The discrepancies between antecedents and consequents leave room for considerable speculation as to the nature of the mediating systems, processes or mechanisms. It is into this void that men have poured their ideas about motivation, offering one or
another model to fill the gap of knowledge.

The models used to describe motivational processes vary considerably. They range from purely biogenic hypothesis to highly sociogenic theories. Furthermore, the motives may be seen to be conscious or unconscious, pushed by drives and instincts or pulled by goals or values.

One view may hold that man is a biological beast—the slave of his bodily needs and active only when these needs require him to provide means to their reduction. On the other hand, an opposite view may hold that man is a creative, self-actualizing organism—freeing himself from his bodily tensions incidentally as part of an unfolding God-like nature.

Thus we are dealing with an organism capable of stimulation and of response. It is possessed of an energy system—a system able to respond differentially to stimulation and thus able to store and to convert energy at least partly independently of outside forces. The animal system is metabolic—constantly expending energy in the process of self-maintenance and thus constantly in need of replenishing its energy sources. At a minimum level, then, it engages in responses effective in maintaining itself.

On the other hand, the apparently long-range complex, goal directed behavior of higher species and especially of man—the delayed, involved and sometimes seemingly
5.

self-defeating behaviors—seems less likely accountable for, on basis of biological need dominated responding.

It may be useful here to cite some additional definitions of motivation.

P.T. Young has defined Motivation as "...the process of arousing action, sustaining the activity in progress, and regulating the pattern of activity."\(^2\)

Gardner Murphy calls it, "General name for the fact that an organism's acts are partly determined by its own nature or internal structure."\(^3\)

On the other hand, N.R.F. Maier used the term motivation to "characterize the process by which the expression of behavior is determined or its future expression is influenced by consequence to which such behavior leads."\(^4\)

According to Atkinson, "The term motivation refers to the amount of tendency to act to produce one or more effects. The term motivation point to the final strength of the action tendency which is experienced by the person as an 'I want to...' The particular aim of the momentary state of motivation is situationally determined."\(^5\)


Maslow rejected the idea that motivational state is a special state, marked off from other happenings in the organism. "Sound motivational theory should, on the contrary, assume that motivation is constant, never ending, fluctuating and complex, and that it is an almost universal characteristic of practically every organismic state of affairs."\(^6\)

Brown considers a specific variable motivational:

"(1) if it tends to facilitate or energize several different responses, (2) if its termination or removal following a new response leads to the learning of that response, (3) if sudden increase in the strength of the variable leads to the abandonment of responses, and (4) if its effects on behavior cannot be attributed to other processes such as learning, sensation, innate capacities, and sets."\(^7\)

Motivation in Historical Perspective

As discussed earlier, in the history of thought, the problem of understanding behavior has received lots of attention. The problem has been conceived in different ways and this is apparent from the kinds of explanations which have been put forward.

Instinct—

McDougall developed his famous instinct doctrine by


emphasizing the purposive nature of behavior and described instincts as the fundamental "motives" which moved organisms toward particular ends or goals. "An instinct was for McDougall, a biological process that was innate rather than dependent on learning. He characterized it as an emotional impulse or striving which predisposed the organisms (1) to notice significant stimuli, and (2) to make approach or avoidance movements in relation to those stimuli." 8

Instincts were thus purposive activities found in the creature for its guidance in the attainment of ends useful to it, for its own preservation.

Plato and Aristotle denied rational souls to animals and left them with lower level souls capable of monitoring basic organic functions.

St. Thomas Aquinas continued the separation of animal and man by equipping the former with a sensitive soul alone and the latter in addition, a rational soul also. "The animal is impelled by sense impulse, directed toward the pleasurable. Man's activity, though impulse plays a part, is motivated by rational insight into the relation between the acts and its end, which is the realization of the good." 9


William McDougall stressed the role of irrational forces in conduct, rejecting the essentially rationalistic assumptions of certain philosophers. He went on to say that those who denied the fact that man is essentially an irrational, impulse-driven being must be persons in whom the instincts are unusually weak. The prime movers of conduct, in his view were instincts and their associated emotions. Without them, the organism would not act in any significant way. The major instincts which he listed were flight, repulsion, curiosity, pugnacity, self-abasement, self-assertion, reproduction, gregariousness, acquisition, and construction. Each of the first seven of these instincts were accompanied by specific emotions. The emotions which correspond respectively, to the first seven instincts were fear, disgust, wonder, anger, negative self-feeling or subjection, positive self-feeling or elation, and the tender emotion. The remaining three instincts had no such specific emotional accompaniment.

McDougall thus believed these instincts to be the mainsprings of action. No action can take place without the participation of an instinct, and behavior serves the end or purpose of the instinct.

Later on however, the concept of instinct was under considerable attack. There was realization that many characteristics, values, beliefs and behavior patterns typical of western culture were not shared by groups living in other
cultures. This variation made it difficult to adhere to the notion that such manifestations were instinctive.

Within psychology, there were a number of negative reactions to the concept of instinct and of innate emotional patterns. Watson and Morgan observed infants under various kinds of stimulations and concluded that there were only three innate emotional reactions (fear, rage and love) and that these reactions could be elicited by only a small variety of stimuli. All other emotional reactions, they thought were learned. Ultimately Watson, who founded the school known as "Behaviorism" took the position that there are no human instincts, and that so called instinctive behavior can be explained by the individual's body structure and his early training.10

Although instinct as a concept seemed to disappear by the 1930's, one of its meanings, "drive" was never really eliminated.

As mentioned earlier, the cultural evidence suggested that many of the urges and behavior patterns were not innate. Also, experimental analysis in many cases revealed that experience was an important determiner of a number of instincts of animals. So many of the behavioral scientists rejected the purposive implication of the term instincts and contended that purposive character of behavior is a problem to be explained, rather than being itself an explanation for the behavior.

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Nevertheless, there are a number of behaviors, like those of eating, drinking, mating, sleeping, which are present in virtually all members of the higher species. Such behaviors provide the means whereby individuals and species survival is accomplished.

Dunlap stressed the point that desire resides in tissues.\textsuperscript{11} Dashiell emphasized tissue needs as sources of drives.\textsuperscript{12}

Although there are difficulties with the notion of tissue needs as the sources of drives, this conception, together with operations (such as fasting) for inducing tissue needs, provided a concreteness of meaning and the possibility for investigation that instinct did not have. In this sense, henceforth, drive continued the urge meaning of instinct; it may be added, however, that relatively few drives were thought to be native, and most of the human motives were believed to be learned.\textsuperscript{13}

Knowledge—

Among the central issues which interested Socrates, Plato and Aristotle was the determination of how it is that virtue or right conduct may be achieved. Socrates,

\textsuperscript{11}K. Dunlap, \textit{Elements of Scientific Psychology} (St. Louis: Mosby, 1922).


\textsuperscript{13}For example, see R.S. Woodworth, \textit{Dynamic Psychology} (New York: Columbia University Press, 1918).
in his search for truth, appears to have been guided by the belief that knowledge and virtue are identical and that right knowing always leads to right acting.\textsuperscript{14}

Plato too was concerned with the notion of the good which could be reached by an approach to the ideas through contemplation. It is clear from Plato's general concern with the achievement of good through wisdom that in general, Plato equated the good with knowledge, the beautiful and the control of passions.

Aristotle believed that the highest goal of human life is happiness, to be achieved through activity which is unique to man, "reason". But a prerequisite to the full use of reason was virtue. In order to achieve ethical virtue, the desires had to be subjected to the control of practical reason; this led, when all went well, to the choice of mean or midpoint between extremes to which the unchecked desires themselves would go. An example of this would be courage, seen as the midpoint lying between fear and daring; or mildness, the mean between irascibility and indifference.

A large part of western thought has been influenced by these conceptions, and the conventional notions of sin—

fulness of what is bodily or is due to the flesh and of the superiority of the spiritual or mental aspect of life owe a good deal to the above mentioned Greek philosophy.

Will and Free Will—

In Aristotelian ethics, the concern, as it is in ethics generally, is the suitable direction of desire and action. Aristotle did not think reason sufficient for right action, although it was important to it. Needed in addition was the strength of the Will, developed through practice; he believed the Will to choose freely that which knowledge indicated to be good—that is, the midpoint between the extremes to which the desires, if left to themselves would go. So according to him, we must be first compelled to perform good or just acts. If done often enough, they will become pleasurable and habitual. To St. Augustine, the will was the most important aspect of life, and will was separate from knowledge. Will ruled the body, and Augustine was especially concerned about bodily activities, like the sexual act, which seemed to overthrow the monarchy of the will.

In the centuries that followed, will seems to be a sort of faculty, whose tendency, when it is effective, is to control the animal or passionate side of man in the interests of right virtue and salvation. Although often
closely linked to knowledge and feeling, it is separate from both, though its nature and laws remain largely unspecified. According to Murphy, this is well expressed in Immanuel Kant, who suggested that "the ultimate moral and religious reality lies not in the field of knowledge, but in the process of will. His adoption of a 'faculty psychology' made feeling and willing each quite separable from knowledge."\textsuperscript{15}

Arthur Schopenhauer, (1788-1860) believed that the will—the primematter of the world as well as of the individual—was bad and evil, its impulses never brought pleasure but only pain; and their gratification only led to satiety, not happiness. Thus according to Hoffding, Schopenhauer asserted the primacy of the non-intellectual factors in human conduct and thus opposed a purely rationalistic interpretation of human behavior.\textsuperscript{16}

Nature and Motives of Men—

As discussed earlier, human nature is sometimes conceived as intrinsically good, with evil arising from a weak will, evil spirits, ignorance, or the ill-effects of society. On the other hand it may be considered as essen-


tially evil, with law or social order required to keep it in check. Sometimes the evil part is associated with the flesh or the body and the good part with soul or spirit.

Thus in the past, theorists have often based their conceptions of man on a few dominant motives or have seen him handicapped by some dominant factor. The views of four writers, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Shaftesbury and Rousseau, show the range and variety of such conceptions. These writers reached their views on the basis of their own experience.

Machiavelli - (1469 - 1527) - On the basis of his observation of Florentine politics for many years, he found it much inferior to ancient times and attributed these political defects to bad education and to religion. He felt the Leaders (or Princes) were apparently motivated to gain power by egotism and the major motives they could manipulate in dealing with and controlling to populace were fear and love, the former being more powerful and dependable than the latter.

Hobbes (1588-1679) - This British philosopher felt that people are equal but their desires (like hunger, thirst, sex, fear, for pleasure and avoidance of pain, and for honor) would lead to conflicts between them. Since he
viewed man as being innately competitive, Hobbes thought that man would be constantly at war with his fellows in the natural state, in the interest of his desires. Also according to Hobbes, fear was the strongest motive.

Shaftesbury (1671-1713) - He believed that there is an instinct which holds man to his race, so that it is natural for man to exist in society. He also postulated a moral sense which is inborn. This moral sense consists in a "sense of order and harmony,"\(^{17}\) among our internal impulses, a state reached apparently through thought and introspection. There was a strong religious note in this doctrine, and God is said to be an ideal example of the harmony which should reign within us.

Rousseau (1712-1778) - Feelings were stressed by Rousseau as the aspect of experience having the greatest value, and he thought this aspect of experience most realizable in the state of nature, (i.e., among noble savages). Because this was not realized by most of the civilized people of his times, Rousseau condemned society and its influences on the developing individual. Society generates egoism, and then one's need and capacities do not correspond with one another and as a result frustration,

doubt, suicide, and the like appear.

Evolution—

The most significant aspects of the theory of evolution for the study of behavior lie first in its conception that there is a continuity in development from the lowest form of life to the highest and second in its emphasis on the point that survival requires adaptation to the prevailing environment. Study of the mechanisms and processes of this adaptation, therefore, assumes the highest priority.

Darwin took the notion of struggle and conflict in the process of survival. According to him, the members of a species vary in their characteristics. There is competition among species for the use of earth's limited resources. In the competition, some organisms will survive and others will not. This is covered in the phrase, "survival of the fittest".

Thus one of the implications of this theory was that man is not unique among creatures, because the difference between man and animal is one of degree rather than of kind. In short, there is continuity between man and animal rather than separation.

Another implication arises from the emphasis in the
Darwinian theory on survival and on the characteristics of animals which promote or defeat it. A thorough investigation of this implication involves the study of the characteristics of many animals and consideration of the role of these characteristics in survival. Further, adaptation to environmental change is significant in survival, so investigation of processes of adaptation assumes significance following this implication of evolutionary theory.

A third implication of this theory was, in views of many, that psychology came to be regarded as a biological science. This is somewhat implicit from the above discussion.

The study of animals, especially their behavior, had not progressed much prior to Darwin's time, but during the period following Darwin, there was a major surge in this kind of activity. Some of these activities sought to find evidence, of human characteristics like reason and intelligence in animals; likewise, the emphasis on instinct in man, and on the study of primitive people and children as "bridges" between animal and man were further expressions of the evolutionary point of continuity between man and animals. Peters has stated this consequence as "a
developing tendency both to humanize animals and to brutalize men."\textsuperscript{18}

So evolutionary theory gave emphasis on instinctual and irrational sources of conduct in study of motivation. Secondly, consciousness, reason, memory, learning, skill, affect and the like, were seen from the vantage point of evolution as having utility to organism 'in its or its species' struggle to survive; this was a dynamic conception as opposed to the descriptive analysis of the contents of consciousness. This was a fundamental thesis of the functionalist psychology which emerged in the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Finally, behavior was thus seen to serve the organism's needs—a functional conception which probably has no clear or highly influential precedent in the history of Western thought. While evolution has had numerous repercussions in the form of emphasis on and controversy about instincts, of stress on purposiveness and goal

directedness of behavior, and of attempted mechanical accounts of behavior, its greatest significance lies in the functional or the utility model to which it has given rise. The range of investigation of animal behavior following evolutionary principles has been enormous. One of its main consequences has been the notion of "drive", a term used to describe internal states whose consequence is restless activity to be terminated only when the internal state is quieted by consummatory activity or death. Motivation has tended to be identified with these internal states.

Homeostasis—

The theory of homeostasis can be traced far back in the history of biopsychology. It has, in one way or another, been deeply woven into the fabric of explanation of biological science. According to this theory, organism (and each of its subsystems) tends to resist changes in its environment that are of a magnitude large enough to upset its equilibrium or thereafter its survival as a stable system.
This theory however does not require that a disturbed system return to its prior state of equilibrium (perhaps a logically impossible thing to do anyway), but it allows a variety of means and states through which and at which stability can be reached.

This is possible by assuming that biological systems are open, having continuous energy exchange with the environment and that equilibrium can be achieved even though there is continuous supplanting of specific materials in both. Also, Adaptation-acquiring stability in the face of disturbance is achieved automatically.

There seems little doubt that much of the behavior of organisms and of organ systems is consistent with homeostatic theory. The main objections have been that the theory does not account for enough or for all behavior. The concept is thought to be necessary but not sufficient, so to speak, as a theory of motivation.

Some other criticisms of this theory has been that it is essentially negative in nature—that is, it nowhere appears to allow for spontaneous action, but conceives of systems only in terms of their response to disturbance. Critics further contend that equilibrium cannot adequately account for altruistic and creative behaviors.
Nevertheless, in spite of the criticisms, current homeostatic theories, have not only aroused once again the perennial problems of mind-body, vitalism-mechanism, free-will-determination, but their advocates feel that they have also provided a satisfactory means of accounting for motivated acts without resort to untestable teleological or phenomenological explanations.

Active Unconscious Factors, Psychoneurosis and Hypnosis—

Over the whole history of western thought it has been said from time to time, that factors which are not available to awareness may influence behavior, and that reason may not be sufficient to action. However, the fullest systematic expression of an emphasis on unconscious factors was achieved by Edward Von Hartmann in 1869 and subsequent years. Brett has put it this way: No one can deny that Hartmann, "powerfully influenced the development of nineteenth-century thought. Whatever Hartmann said always came back to the one and only essential conclusion—the unconscious must be accepted. And it has been accepted. Some writers almost apologize for using the term 'rational'. The old habit of putting "clear ideas"
in the foreground is almost obsolete. We are told that men live by impulses; that actions express the efforts of a vital energy which moves darkly on the wings of heredity through the generations of men; that we do not act from conscious reasons, but rather construct reasons to explain what has been done in and through us. The soberest psychology of the twentieth century is leavened by these ideas." 

The study of hypnotism and psychoneurosis probably helped pave the way for the acceptance of the idea of unconscious factors. Hypnotic phenomena came to have big popularity and some scientific interest from about 1776 when Anton Mesmer began to publish and demonstrate it. Hypnotism is a phenomenon in which rational control and control by one's own will would seem to be given up in deference ot those of the hypnotist.

In the later nineteenth century, hypnosis was a method widely used in conjunction with neurotic disorders, especially hysteria. When neurotic disorders came to be treated humanely, during the nineteenth century, they could hardly be explained in terms of rational processes postulated in the contemporary philosophical systems.

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19 Ibid., p. 553.

While unconscious processes were not systematically considered factors in hypnosis and neurosis until Freud's work, the very existence of these phenomena probably prepared the way for the admission of unconscious factors as objects of study and as concepts.

Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) developed the most influential and wide-reaching theories of the nature of neurosis, hypnotism, and certain crowd phenomena. As a neurologist in Vienna, Freud's medical practice included many hysterical patients and, he used hypnosis to treat such cases. His method ultimately went beyond hypnosis, which he later abandoned, and his cases included many kinds of disorders aside from hysteria. However in Freud the study and use of hypnosis and study and treatment of neurosis, converged. Out of this convergence developed a very general theory of human motivation, one which emphasized the notions of unconscious instinctual energy, conflict, and a hedonistic principle.

Hedonism ——
Common experience suggests that pleasure and pain are potent determiners of conduct and that we seek pleasure and avoid pain. This is known as hedonism.

Aristippus of Cyrene, whose life was partly contemporaneous with that of Socrates, is usually regarded as the originator of hedonism in philosophy. He believed that pleasure was the only thing worthy of striving for.
Pleasure to Aristippus and his group meant the pleasure of the moment and virtue was the same as the ability to enjoy. Self-control was, however, advocated.

The doctrines of Aristippus persist, but in modified form, in the teachings of Epicurus, who held that the goal of life was happiness or pleasure. But he disapproved of sexual intercourse. According to him, friendship was the best and safest social pleasure. He opposed religion because he thought that the fear of the life hereafter was a deterrent to happiness.

After Epicurus died in 270 B.C., the emphasis on hedonism languished. However, in early Christian era, it became a chief principle of the British associationists and of the French associationists and empiricists. It is found with some degree of emphasis in viewpoints from those of Thomas Hobbes (born 1588) to John Stuart Mill (died 1873) and Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), and it still has a significant place in conceptions of motivation.

However, its fullest development and advocacy, especially in relation to political behavior and state comes from Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832). He and his supporters were called Utilitarians. Bentham contended that conduct of practical affairs must accord with what is good, and he defined good as "pleasure or happiness".

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According to Troland, there are three hedonisms — one which emphasizes the present, as in the view of Aristippus; one which stresses the future, as in the view of Utilitarians, and the promise of happiness in an after life; and a hedonism of the past.22

Boring asserts that Freud advocated a hedonism of the future, whereas learning theory, in its emphasis on the law of effect, has used the hedonism of the past.23

Additionally, hedonism also figures widely in views of D.C. McClelland and P. T. Young.

Hedonism and the Law of Effect —

As discussed earlier, hedonism has occupied a significant place in the history of motivation. Also discussed was the emergence of the study of animal behavior following the development of the theory of evolution.

These two historical trends merged together when at the end of the nineteenth century, E. L. Thorndike (1874–1949) formulated his well known "law of effect."

He, along with James at Harvard conducted several studies concerning animal behavior at Columbia where he got his doctorate in 1898. In these studies, hungry animals, such as cats, were confined in boxes with food located out of reach and outside the boxes. If the animal operated a


latch or pulled a string, a door would open, thus permitting the subject to reach food; Thorndike observed that progress in this task seemed to depend on success in reaching the food. He suggested that the "pleasure" arising from the success and from obtaining the food somehow operated to "stamp in" the associations between the stimuli of the situation and the successful movements, and also that when an animal's reactions led to discomforts (punishment), they would tend to be eliminated. Later on though, Thorndike modified his formulations greatly, re-defining the processes.

The law of effect has had a central place in learning theories and it is one of the reasons that such theories have led to much stress on drive, reinforcement, amount and delay of reinforcement, and a host of problems which have a heavy motivational loading.

However, there is one difference between Thorndike's concept of hedonism and those found in earlier use of it. Mowrer has brought it out as follows:

"Hedonism...held that we are 'propelled by pleasure and repelled by pain.' And it is possible to find traces of this thinking in works of both Freud...and Thorndike... But the notable difference is that, with the latter two investigators, pleasure ceased to be a drive in and of itself and was conceived as the experience which occurs
when a drive or motive, terminates, i.e., is satisfied, relieved, or fulfilled."\textsuperscript{24}

Thus to summarize, theories of motivation are heavily indebted to instinct, homeostasis, evolution and hedonism for their origins. Active unconscious factors are also strongly implicated in some of the theories. Still stressing homeostatic and evolutionary conceptions, the advocates of self-actualization theories have seemed to emphasize reason and knowledge, the fundamental goodness of human nature, and the idea that, in the explanation of behavior, behavior can be viewed as an end in itself rather than necessarily serving other organismic needs. This view seems consonant with the early stress we found in such writers as Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, some of the church fathers and Rousseau.

Motivation in Different Cultures

Paul Illman in his book \textit{Developing Overseas Managers and Managers Overseas} argues that there is no major difference between motivating people at home and motivating them in a developing country. People everywhere, in general, are the same and respond to the same stimuli.

Such an argument is oversimplification and may not be true. It is necessary to realize that different people are motivated by different things and a correct understanding of what motivates people is critical to effective management. Motivation and job satisfaction levels are determined largely by the interaction between value

\textsuperscript{24} O. H. Mowrer, "Motivation", \textit{Ann Rev Psychol} 3 (1952): 419.
orientation or expectations which managers and workers have toward their jobs and the perceptions which they hold with respect to the job outcomes. Assumptions, perceptions, feelings and actions go together and two persons may have different perceptions of the same thing because of their different underlying assumptions.

The following old oriental story vividly dramatizes the consequences of ignorance:

"Once upon a time, there was a great flood and involved in this flood were two creatures, a monkey and a fish. The monkey being agile and experienced, was lucky enough to scramble up a tree and escape the raging waters. As he looked down from his safe perch, he saw the poor fish struggling against the swift current. With the very best of intentions, he reached down and lifted the fish from the water. The result was inevitable."\(^\text{25}\)

Just as the monkey in the story assumed that the fish's environment was similar to his and behaved accordingly, in the same way many international executives unconsciously assume that all people feel and think in the same way as they do. Management practices that are suitable to their own cultural environment may bring about undesirable, perhaps terrible consequences in another

culture. In international business dealings, then, ignorance of cultural differences is just not unfortunate—it is bad business.

Human behavior is controlled by drives and impulses that demand gratification or that avoid pain. The biological and physiological drives—the animal aspects of human behavior—relate largely to the individual's physical subsistence, i.e., the absolutes of his ability to exist. While the basic biophysiological needs always remain, they are cast into an elaborate psychological edifice as a person is socialized by his elders and compatriots. "Instinctive behavior mechanisms...are the source of love and friendship, of all warmth of feeling, of appreciation of beauty, of the urge to artistic creativeness or insatiable curiosity striving for scientific enlightenment. These deepest strata of human personality are, in their dynamics, not essentially different from the instincts of animals, but on that basis human culture has erected all the enormous superstructure of social norms and rites whose function is so closely analogous to that of phylogenetic ritualization. Both phylogenetically and culturally evolved norms of behavior represent motives and are felt to be values by any normal human being. Both are woven into an immensely complicated system of universal interaction."26

The modern man is inconceivable outside of society. In his behavior, the motivations of biopsychological drives are indistinguishable from the motivations that have been acquired through learning from others by inculcation, by example, and other rules of conduct flow from the accumulated experience of the society to which he has been socialized.

In the process of socialization, each individual invests with emotion most aspects of culture, especially those which he exemplifies. Similarly society as a collective invests with sanctity the norms and customs that are believed crucial to societal welfare and safety. Strict mores with accompanying sanctions and judgments prescribe and restrict the activities of individuals in these respects of life. Shared values and habits imply shared learning and shared motives. "Physiological urges are modified and transformed into cultural appetites. Every activity has its emotional as well as its functional components. Love and hate, anxiety and security, guilt and shame, self-esteem and self-depreciation...the jokes and insults, the proverbs, the causes for quarrels and methods of reconciliation, the most often repeated myths and stories, the varying and rigid composition of work and play groups, the metaphors for technical processes, even habitual physical postures, can all provide
American companies expanding internationally have, with a few notable exceptions, dispatched their managers to other countries not to learn more about the host culture and to adapt to it, but to change it or, as it is usually put, to "help introduce modern managerial values." In the history of shift from domestic to multinational operations, there has been a conflict between the traditional ethnocentric and an emerging egalitarian perception of the people outside the United States.

The first follows closely the colonialist principle: the strong do what they can and the weak do what they must. It overlaps much of the chauvinistic prejudices of American superiority, especially with regard to economically less-developed nations which, because of their material backwardness, are conceived as formless matter waiting to be shaped and developed by expatriate enterprise.

This vision of the world was through a narrow monocultural tunnel. Understanding the social realities of other cultures was not in the field of this view. To most executives with such a view, the initial cultural shock and subsequent setbacks in their expatriate assign-

ment has brought the sobering realization that the native social fabric of any country, advanced or backward in industrial development, can be as tenacious as that of their own. They have had to learn painfully that what was most on their minds and dearest to their hearts was often only fitful and tangential to the concerns of their host people and their leaders, and that any congenial progress of their expatriate firms required an understanding and appreciation of the indigenous socio-economic order, most of all the human values. Those expatriate managers who failed to learn these lessons have long since repatriated, firmly convinced of the hopeless "backwardness" of the other people.

Although there has been recognition of this problem, the capacity to deal with it is a quite different matter. And there still remain many who fail to even recognize the problem. "While established multinational firms typically do prepare their new recruits for overseas assignments, the preparation is typically limited to some rudimentary seminar, with or without some travel. Cultural matter, save some possible allowance for language instruction, is usually not part of the preparation. Management schools of multinational companies seldom have more than few days segments, if any, on international aspects of management. Many recent entries to multinational business proceed on the "management is management" dictum with no
regard whatsoever to potential expatriate's cultural competence...what is worse, some senior executives and university professors whose own frames of reference has been limited to the traditional curricula of American business, law or engineering schools have rigidly refused to emerge from the intellectual confinement to which the unicultural curricula of their alma maters have committed them. There are also the xenophobes to whom the mounting pressures for greater cultural awareness seems to have signalled the start of a holy war against 'foreign subversion of good old American ways'."  

To achieve empathic integration between the corporate culture and its multicultural environment, is a goal which the management cannot approach with balance-sheet or organizational chart criteria. Cultural empathy can be achieved only through cultural sensitivity based on the living realities of the national societies concerned. Appreciation of all the cultures involved and attitude sympathetic to their cardinal values are required from those shaping the company's cultural milieu.  

It may be useful here to discuss how can different value orientations can mean different things for the organization. According to Social Anthropologist,

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Professor Child, a society's dominant cultural orientations can affect the organizational life of that society in the following way. 29

A. A cultural value that regards human nature as basically good, will influence organizations to encourage employee autonomy and reliance upon intrinsic motivation.

B. A cultural orientation which holds the belief that man can master his environment, rather than be its victim, will influence the management to be adventurous and proactive.

C. A cultural orientation to future will find this value exhibited in the long-term organizational planning, manpower planning, and assessment centers.

D. Cultural orientation which values "being" over "doing" may be expressed in organizations which emphasize interpersonal sensitivity and a management which is high on consideration and very concerned about morale and climate.

E. A cultural orientation which holds the individual as more important than status, will minimize authority and hierarchy in its organizations, will tend to minimize compliance with rules, and will likely develop personnel policies which treat people equally.

Definition, Scope and Purpose of Culture

In general, when individuals enter a foreign environment, they use a self-reference criterion to evaluate and interpret events and behavioral actions in the new environments. They unconsciously refer to their own cultural values in judging situations in the new culture. As an individual matures and gains experience in the world, he builds a system of personal standards of judgments and points of references which help him make decisions and take appropriate actions. These standards or reference points are, quite naturally, intimately intertwined with specific culture in which the individual learned to deal with life. This causes no difficulty until one travels to another culture, where a different set of standards or points of reference are required for effective performance in that culture. A foreigner in a new environment often makes decisions and judgments by referring to the standards that were relevant to his home culture (Thus using a SRC for judgment), without sufficiently considering the differences between the criteria he naturally tends to use and those used by local standards. Only rarely is an individual from one culture able to develop a relatively complete sensitivity to another significantly different culture. Therefore, one must usually train himself to examine basic assumptions and reference points that he uses in determining his own
actions and behavior to identify "culturally rooted" criteria. Since one can probably never eliminate the self-reference criterion, he must constantly monitor his bases for action in order to be sensitive to important differences that might require a modification of behavior.

Hence, people behave in diverse ways because of differences in how they see the world around them. The International Manager working overseas must comprehend what motivates people in host culture and avoid transplanting too easily home culture concepts of human behavior. "Our thinking is partly conditioned by national culture factors. This is an effect of our early life experiences in the family and later educational experiences in schools and organizations which are not the same across national borders. In a classroom, I can easily demonstrate the process of conditioning by experience. For this purpose, I use an ambiguous picture; one that can be interpreted in two different ways. One such picture represents either an attractive young girl or an ugly old woman, depending on the way you look at it. In order to demonstrate the process of conditioning, I ask one half of the class to close their eyes. To the other half, I show for 5 seconds a slightly changed version of the picture, in which only the young girl can be seen. Then I ask the other half to close their eyes, and to the first half I show, also for
5 seconds, a version in which the only old woman can be seen. After this preparation, I show the ambiguous picture to everyone at the same time. The results are amazing; the vast majority of those 'conditioned' by seeing the young girl first now see only the young girl in the ambiguous picture; and most of those 'conditioned' by seeing the old woman first, can see only the old woman afterwards.

This very simple experiment shows that as a teacher, I can in 5 seconds condition a randomly taken half of a class to see something else in a picture than would the other half. If this is so, how much stronger should the differences in perception of the same reality be between people who have been 'conditioned' by different educational and life experiences not for mere 5 seconds, but for 20, 30, or 40 years? Through our experiences, we become 'mentally programmed' to interpret new experiences in a certain way. My favorite definition of 'culture' is precisely that its essence is collective mental programming; it is that part of our conditioning that we share with members of our nation, region, or group but not with members of other nations, regions, or groups."

Coming to other definitions of culture, E. B. Tylor said that culture is "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any

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other capabilities and habits acquired by man as member of society."\textsuperscript{31}

Alfred L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn concluded, after surveying no less than 164 definitions of culture, that the consensus of the social scientists is that "culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of behavior, acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts, the essential core of culture consists of traditional ideas and especially their attached values."\textsuperscript{32}

Kroeber and Kluckhohn also argued that, "in explanatory importance and in generality of application it is comparable to such categories as gravity in physics, disease in medicine, evolution in biology."\textsuperscript{33}

According to Terpstra, cultural environment of International Business consists of language, religion, values and attitudes, education, social organization, technology and material culture, politics and law.\textsuperscript{34}

Dressler and Carns list the following characteristics of culture:\textsuperscript{35}


\textsuperscript{33}Ibid., p. 3.


1. Culture exists in mind of individual human beings who have learned it in their past associations with other human beings and who use it to guide their own continuing interaction with others.

2. Human cultures vary considerably, one from another.

3. But although different in some respects, cultures resemble one another to a considerable extent.

4. Once a culture has been learned and accepted, it tends to persist.

5. All cultures are gradually and continuously being changed, even though human beings tend to resist these changes.

6. Different individuals of the same society may behave differently in response to a given situation, even though all have internalized certain elements of the same culture.

7. No person can escape entirely from his culture.

   Dressler and Carns offer the following as the functions of culture:

   1. Culture enables us to communicate with others through a language that we have learned and that we share in common.

   2. Culture makes it possible to anticipate how others in our society are likely to respond to our actions.

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36Ibid., p. 60.
3. Culture gives us standard for distinguishing between what is considered right or wrong, beautiful and ugly, reasonable and unreasonable, tragic and humorous, safe and dangerous.

4. Culture provides the knowledge and skill necessary for meeting sustenance needs.

5. Culture enables us to identify with - that is, include ourselves in the same category with - other people of similar background.

Although social scientists differ with regard to what culture is, according to Hall, there are three characteristics of culture on which there is widespread agreement. "...it is not innate, but learned; the various facets of culture are inter-related -- you touch a culture in one place and everything else is affected; it is shared and in affect defines the boundaries of different groups."\(^{37}\)

Insensitivity to cultural differences is a natural consequence of singular familiarity with one's own way of doing things, what the sociologists call "ethnocentrism". It is rooted in assumptions that down deep, we are all alike and appealing advice to the traveler, "to be yourself". Such assumptions and advice ignore the proverbial

wisdom of "when in Rome, do as the Romans do." But to do as the natives do, more than anything else, requires training and time. Perhaps most of all, it takes an eagerness to cultivate an appreciation of others' way of doing things and conscious monitoring of one's own communication:

Under colonialism, optimization of business operations was attempted through economic and political exploitation and social and cultural subjugation; that is, coercion. Due partly to the colonial heritage and partly to cultural unawareness, efforts still continue, too often, to impose upon all affiliates of a multinational company the value system of headquarter country—the underlying assumption being that, only that culture represents the true values of modern society, and as such, is superior to indigenous cultures. It will be accepted sooner or later; once the people of other cultures are fully exposed to it, the inevitable outcome will be their repentance and conversion. While very gratifying to the headquarters' executives' nationalistic egos, there is no justification for any claim of western cultural superiority.

Cultural systems are intricate and basically conservative. Yet they are never inherently rigid, but plastic, supplied with built in laws of dynamics. Change comes slowly, or more precisely, at speeds that its
internal dynamics can accommodate. "Any effort to change the cultural pattern has a domino effect; breaking one pattern tends to lead to dislocation in others. There is thus what might be called the change—absorptive capacity of each culture; it can accommodate only a given maximum of change at any particular time to remain structurally stable and operationally balanced... If the absorptive capacity is exceeded, either by too extensive or too sudden external infusion, a dual system of mutually inimical norms results, and if it persists, an internalization of the conflict between the native and imported values will provide the change for eventual violent eruptions which may seek either social or political outlets, but which, in any case, will embroil the multinational company as the agent of anomie and decay in the cultural ecosystem of the host nation."³⁸

Hall makes yet another interesting argument for knowing different cultures. He says: "The best reason for the layman to spend time studying culture is that he can learn something useful and enlightening about himself.... One of the most effective ways to learn about oneself is by taking seriously the cultures of others. It forces you to pay attention to those details of life which differentiate them from you".³⁹

³⁸Kolde, _The Multinational Company: Behavioral and Managerial Analyses_, p. 84.

CHAPTER II

NEED SATISFACTION THEORY OF MOTIVATION

With regard to the fundamental question as to why do people behave as they do, one explanation is the need-satisfaction approach. It is assumed that everyone has needs that require satisfaction. In order to satisfy these needs, an individual takes some form of goal-oriented behavior. "...the unsatisfied need creates tension, which serves as a driving force to arouse the individual and suggests the choice of a specific behavioral act or pattern of acts to satisfy this need." 40

According to Beach, there are two types of needs. "...we have innate or primary needs such as food, shelter, water, rest to overcome fatigue and so on. These are in-born needs... The innate needs are primarily physiological in nature. Gratification of these needs is vital to the survival of a human being as an organism.

The other major type of need is called an acquired or secondary need. These needs are dependent upon our experience. They are learned... The need for a lady to wear white gloves and a hat at a certain social gathering

in warm weather is certainly not inborn. It is culturally determined. It is acquired from her parents and friends. It is largely a manifestation of the desire to belong and be accepted by others.”

Another aspect related to need satisfaction is that people have different assumptions as to whether or not the satisfaction of their needs depend on their own behavior. Externally oriented people do not believe that whatever happens to them depends on their own behavior. They see it as a result of someone else's kindness. Those who are at this extreme become motivationally paralyzed. Internally oriented people believe that satisfaction of their needs is completely a function of their own behavior. Such people believe that only they are important and everyone else must give way. This too leads to insanity.

Most of the people, however, are in the middle of these two extremes.

The need theory of motivation has been formulated and explained in detail by Abraham H. Maslow, a psychologist. Among the various theories of human motivation which have been presented by the social scientists, his is one of the most promising, well organized and intriguing.

Abraham H. Maslow—An Introduction

Henry Geiger in his introduction to Maslow in the

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latter's book says that Maslow tried very hard to invent another approach to psychological problems, in order to deal with them. He gave psychology a new conceptual language.

"...The key terms of language he developed are 'self-actualization', 'peak experience' and 'the hierarchy of needs', ranging from 'deficiency needs' to 'being needs'.... Core of what Maslow found out about psychology, he found out from himself.... He said in one place 'that knowledge of one's own deep nature was also simultaneously the knowledge of human nature in general'. ....The climax of self-actualization is the peak experience. 'Peak experience' is a splendidly 'naturalistic' idiom, hospitable to all the similar meanings in the vocabularies of religion and mysticism, yet confined by none of them. A peak experience is, what you feel and perhaps 'know' when you gain authentic elevation as a human being.

...There is no neglect of weakness, badness, or what used to be called 'evil', in Maslow's work. It was natural for him to reach a Socratic position—the view that most, if not all the evil in human life, is due to ignorance.

...One aspect of Maslow's later thought deserves attention. The older he got, the more 'philosophical' he became... He said that all the deliveries of human awareness must be accepted by psychology, 'even the contradictions and illogicalalities, and the mysteries, the vague, the ambiguous,
the archaic, the unconscious, and all other aspects of existence that are difficult to communicate'.

'...The beginning stages of knowledge', he wrote, 'should not be judged by the criteria derived from 'final knowledge'... Maslow was, more than anything else, a philosopher of science.'

Maslow's Need Hierarchy and the Nature of Basic Needs

Man is a wanting animal. As soon as one of his needs is satisfied, another appears in its place. This process is unending. It continues from birth to death. Furthermore, man's needs are organized in a series of levels—a hierarchy of importance. The needs at the lower levels require basic satisfaction before individual can move on to the next level.

Weber gives an interesting but unpleasant example of the hierarchy of human needs, citing Homer Croy: "In the early 1800's, a group of courageous pioneers sought a passage west across the American continent. With their ox-drawn covered wagons, the Donner party transversed the western plains and climbed the mountains that blocked their way. Many never made it. Some years ago, a diary of one of this party was published. At the beginning of their journey, the writer described his compatriots as the salt of the earth—God fearing, individualistic but cooperative and

socially concerned for one another's welfare. For many, however, the trip ended high in the mountains. Marooned by enormous snow drifts, they were unable to move forward or go back. Exhausting their supply of food and slowly freezing on the wind swept slopes of Rocky Mountains, the people gradually deteriorated. They withdrew into themselves; concern shifted from the larger group to the immediate family, then to the individual, and finally emerged the ultimate horror-cannibalism.⁴³

According to Maslow, "basic needs" (or simply needs) can be defined in terms of questions and answers.⁴⁴ With regard to the question as to what makes people neurotic, the answer is that neurosis seems at its core, and in its beginning, to be a deficiency disease; that it is born out of being deprived of certain satisfactions which can be called needs in the same sense that water and amino acids and calciums are needs, namely that their absence produces illness. Most neurosis involved, along with other complex determinants, ungratified wishes for safety, for belongingness and identification, for close love relationship and for respect and prestige.

According to Maslow, following are the characteristics

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of the basic needs: "It is a basic or instinctial need if
1. its absence breeds illness
2. its presence prevents illness
3. its restoration cures illness
4. under certain (very complex) free choice situations, it is preferred by the deprived person over other satisfactions.
5. it is found to be inactive, at a low ebb, or functionally absent in the healthy person.

Two additional characteristics are subjective ones, namely, conscious or unconscious yearning and desire, and feeling of lack and deficiency, as of something missing on one hand, and, on the other, palatability ('it tastes good')."

Maslow felt that writers, in order to define motivation, only want externally observable criteria. But the fact remained that original criterion of motivation and the one still used by all human beings was the subjective one. "I am motivated when I feel desire or want or yearning or wish or lack. No objectively observable state has yet been found that correlates with these subjective reports, i.e., no good behavioral definition of motivation has yet been found."

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46 Ibid.
Nevertheless, Maslow maintained that search for objective criteria for subjective states should continue and the day it could be found, psychology would jump a century ahead. But until the time it was not really found, there was no reason why human beings could not be asked to give subjective reports.

Maslow has given some additional characteristics of the basic needs and the nature of need hierarchy.

A. The degree of Fixity of the Hierarchy of Basic Needs—

Hierarchy of the Basic Needs is not very rigid.

There are some, according to Maslow, in whom self-esteem is more important than love.

There are other innately creative people in whom the drive for creativeness seems to be more important than any other counter determinant. Their creativeness might appear despite the lack of basic satisfactions. In some people, aspirations become static. "...the less prepotent goals may simply be lost, and may disappear forever, so that the person who has experienced life at a very low level, i.e., chronic unemployment, may continue to be satisfied for the rest of his life if only he can get enough food."47

There are some psychopathic people who have lost their need to love forever, since they have been

47 Maslow, Motivation and Personality, p. 98.
starved for love during the early months of their lives.

Another situation where hierarchy may not seem rigid is when there is an under evaluation of a need which has been satisfied for a long time. One who has not experienced chronic hunger may not give any importance to food. For him or her, higher need is only important. It becomes then possible, that they may, for the sake of their higher need, put themselves in a position of being deprived of their more basic needs. However, "We may expect that after a long time deprivation of the more basic need, there will be a tendency to reevaluate both needs so that more prepotent need will actually become consciously prepotent for the individual who may have given it up lightly. Thus a man who has given up his job rather than lose self-respect, and who then starves for six months or so, may be willing to take his job back even at the price of losing his self-respect." 48

Ideals, high social standards, high values, constitute very important exceptions for the hierarchy. These are the values for which people may give up their lives.

Also people who have been satisfied in their basic needs throughout their lives, particularly in their earlier years, seem to develop extraordinary power to

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48 Ibid., p. 99.
face present or future deprivation of these needs, simply because they have strong, healthy character structure as a result of basic satisfactions. "They are the strong people who can easily weather disagreement or opposition, who can swim against the stream of public opinion, and who can stand up for the truth at great personal cost. It is just the ones who have loved and been well loved, and who have had many deep friendships who can hold out against hatred, rejection and persecution." 49

B. Degrees of Relative Satisfaction—

Maslow never contended that a need must be 100% satisfied before the next level becomes important. As he has explained: "In actual fact, most members of our society who are normal, are partially satisfied in all their basic needs and partially unsatisfied in all their basic needs at the same time. A more realistic description of the hierarchy would be in terms of decreasing percentages of satisfaction as we go up the hierarchy of prepotency. For instance if I may assign arbitrary figures... it is as if the average citizen is satisfied perhaps 85% in his physiological needs, 70% in his safety needs, 50% in his love needs, 40% in

49 Ibid., p. 100.
his self-esteem needs, and 10% in his self-actualization needs."

C. Unconscious Character of Needs—

The needs may be unconscious or conscious. In general however, in an average person, they are more likely to be unconscious than conscious. Nevertheless, though basic needs are often unconscious, they may become conscious in sophisticated people with suitable techniques.

D. Cultural Specificity and Generality of Needs.

According to Maslow, there are only superficial differences in specific desires from one culture to another, with regard to the basic needs. "Certainly in any particular culture an individual's conscious motivational content will usually be extremely different from the conscious motivational content of an individual in another society. However, it is a common experience of anthropologists that people, even in different societies, are much more alike than we would think from our first contact with them... We then recognize the most startling differences to be superficial rather than basic, e.g., differences in style of hairdress, clothes, tastes in food, etc. Our classification of basic needs is in part an attempt to account

for this unity behind the apparent diversity from culture to culture. No claim is made yet that it is ultimate or universal for all cultures. The claim is made only that it is relatively more ultimate, more universal, more basic than the superficial conscious desires, and makes a close approach to common human characteristics."51

E. Multiple Motivations of Behavior—

The needs discussed above are not the exclusive or single determiners of any kind of behavior. Behavior may be a channel through which various impulses flow, i.e., most behavior is multi-motivated. Behavior tends to be determined by several or all of the basic needs simultaneously rather than by only one of them. "...it would be possible (theoretically if not practically) to analyze a single act of an individual and see it in the expression of his physiological needs, his safety needs, his love needs, his esteem needs, and self-actualization."52 For example, one may make love not for purely sexual release, but also to convince oneself of one's masculinity or to make a conquest, to feel powerful, to win more basic affection.

F. Multiple Determinants of Behavior—

According to Maslow, not all behavior is motivated.

51Maslow, Motivation and Personality, pp. 101-102.

52Ibid., p. 102.
There are many determinants of behavior other than motives. "...behavior may be determined completely by the external field, or even by specific, isolated, external stimuli, as in association of ideas, or certain conditioned reflexes. If in response to the stimulus word "table", I immediately perceive a memory image of a table, or think of a chair, this response certainly has nothing to do with my basic needs."\(^53\)

There is also an important difference between expressive behavior and coping behavior (purposive goal seeking). An expressive behavior does not try to do anything; it simply reflects the personality. A stupid man behaves stupidly, not because he wishes to, or tries to or is motivated to, but simply because he is what he really is.

It is important to note however, that expressiveness of behavior and goal directedness of behavior are not mutually exclusive. Rather, the average behavior is usually both.

G. Animal and Human Centering—

Many of the findings which have been made in animals are true for animals but not for human beings. One does not have to start with animals in order to study human motivation. "It is no more necessary to study animals before one can study man than it is to

\(^{53}\)Ibid., p. 103.
study mathematics before one can study geology or psychology or biology."\textsuperscript{54}

H. Motivation and the Theory of Psychopathogenesis—

Many of the everyday conscious desires are the surface indicators of more basic needs. If one takes these superficial desires on their face value, one would be dealing with the symptom rather than the disease. For example, a desire for ice cream may be an indirect expression of the desire for love. If that is the case, such a desire becomes very important. If on the other hand it is only to cool the mouth or a casual appetitive reaction, the desire is comparatively unimportant. Thus "thwarting of unimportant desires produces no psychopathological results; thwarting of basically important need does produce such results. Any theory of psychopathogenesis must then be based on a sound theory of motivation. A conflict or a frustration is not necessarily pathogenic. It becomes so only when it threatens or thwarts basic needs or partial needs that are closely related to the basic needs."\textsuperscript{55}

I. The Role of Gratified Needs—

According to Maslow, a satisfied need is not really motivating. It should be considered for all

\textsuperscript{54}Ibid., p. 104.

\textsuperscript{55}Ibid.
practical purposes, as having disappeared. "The perfectly healthy, normal, fortunate man has no sex needs or hunger needs, or needs for safety or for love, or for prestige, or self-esteem, except in stray moments of quickly passing threat."\textsuperscript{56}

Maslow contended that one who is deprived of his basic need could be called a sick man, just like anyone else who lacks vitamins or minerals. Therefore a healthy man is only motivated by his self-actualization needs.
CHAPTER III
THE FIVE BASIC NEEDS

Physiological Needs According to Maslow

According to Maslow, the physiological needs are the starting point for the motivation theory. These needs are necessary to sustain life. They include food, water, sex, oxygen, clothing and shelter.

The concept of homeostasis and appetites are fairly efficient indication of actual needs or deficiencies in the body. Homeostasis means that body automatically makes an effort to maintain a constant normal state of the bloodstream. Research on appetites has shown that if body lacks some chemical, the individual will tend, though in an imperfect way to develop a specific appetite or partial hunger for that food element.

Hence "it seems impossible as well as useless to make any list of fundamental physiological needs, for they can come to almost any number one might wish, depending on the degree of specificity of description. We cannot identify all physiological needs as homeostatic. That sexual desire, sleepiness, sheer activity and material behavior in animals are homeostatic has not yet been demonstrated. Furthermore, this list would not include the various sensory pleasure (tastes, smells, tickling,
stroking), which are probably physiological and may become goals of motivated behavior."57

Any of the physiological needs and consummatory behavior involved with them serve as channels for all sort of other needs as well. As Maslow put it, "the person who thinks he is hungry may actually be seeking more for comfort, or dependence, than for vitamins or proteins. Conversely, it is possible to satisfy the hunger need in part by other activities such as drinking water or smoking cigarettes. In other words, relatively isolable as these physiological needs are, they are not completely so."58

These physiological needs are more important than other needs. An individual, who is lacking in everything in life in extreme fashion, will be more motivated by the physiological needs than any other. "A person who is lacking food, safety, love and esteem would more probably hunger for food more strongly than for anything else...The urge to write poetry, the desire to aquire an automobile, the interest in American history, the desire for a new pair of shoes are, in the extreme case, forgotten or become of secondary importance. For the man

57Ibid., p. 81.

who is extremely and dangerously hungry, no other interest exists but food. He dreams food, he remembers food, he thinks about food, he emotes only about food, he perceives only food, and he wants only food."\textsuperscript{59}

One interesting aspect of human organism is that when it is dominated by a certain need, its whole philosophy of future tends to change. When an individual is extremely hungry, he thinks that if he is only guaranteed food for the rest of his life, he will be perfectly happy and will never want anything more. Freedom, love, respect and philosophy are likely to be waived aside as useless, since they cannot satisfy the hunger for food.

The satisfaction of physiological needs generally depends on money - in terms of what it can buy. But this may not be true for all other needs. "Although one could argue that other needs could also be satisfied with money, it seems clear that the value of this factor diminishes as one goes up the hierarchy. Self-respect, for example, cannot be bought."\textsuperscript{60}

When an individual's stomach becomes chronically filled, higher needs emerge and dominate the individual. When these also are satisfied, again new and still higher needs emerge and so on. Thus, the human needs according

\textsuperscript{59} Idem, Motivation and Personality, p. 82.

\textsuperscript{60} Hodgetts, Management: Theory, Process and Practice, p. 315.
to Maslow, are organized into a hierarchy of relative importance. "The physiological needs, along with their partial goals, when chronically gratified cease to exist as active determinants or organizers of behavior. They now exist only in a potential fashion in the sense that they may emerge again to dominate the organism if they are thwarted. But a want that is satisfied is no longer a want."\(^1\)

Also according to Maslow, those individuals in whom a certain need has always been satisfied, are best equipped to tolerate the deprivation of that need in the future, and that furthermore, those who have been deprived in the past will react differently to current satisfactions than the one who has never been deprived. A manager working in international context may find it useful to be aware of this aspect.

**Physiological Needs in Different Cultures**

In international context, we find that people in less developed countries stay at the lower level of Maslow's need hierarchy or Herzberg's hygiene factors. "Although they make up three-fourths of world's population, they consume less than one-fourths of its

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\(^1\)Maslow, "A Dynamic Theory of Human Motivation", in Stacey and Demartino, eds and comps., *Understanding Human Motivation*, p. 89.
resources. More than 700 million people are classified as destitutes: it is estimated that seventy percent of the children suffer from malnutrition; as many as 300 million people are physically or mentally retarded as a result of inadequate diets."

Again we find that in these countries, accident rates are high because workers are malnourished and come to work hungry; diseases among the workers, families and communities are endemic and health care is woefully inadequate, water supplies are non-existent or polluted and governments at the municipal or national level are more concerned with controlling their population than with enhancing their welfare.

Under these conditions, manager has to focus more on lower needs satisfaction of the individual. This runs in conformity with Maslow's belief that a person who is lacking in basic physiological needs will not care for the other needs as much.

There are many societies which have a less affirm-ative attitude toward wealth and material gain than their western counterparts. For example, to the extent that a Hindu or Buddhist is seeking "Nirvana", the preoccupations with material things are avoided. The goal is in

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the opposite direction, i.e., the absence of desire.

Another basis for limited material aspirations may be the widespread experience of poverty and subsistence-level living. Long experience of poverty may greatly limit aspirations. Planners in the less developed countries invariably assume that the desire for higher levels of living is inherent and universal in population being planned for. But Kusum Nair does not agree based on her study in India. "From what I have seen or experienced, however, it would seem that a great majority of rural communities do not share in this concept of an ever rising standard of living. The upper level, they are prepared to strive for is limited and it is the floor generally that is bottomless. This does not mean that the desired standard is always fixed at the subsistence level. It varies with different communities. In some groups, it is very much higher than in others, and it may be considerably more than the minimum necessary to breed and survive. But whatever the level, it tends to be static, with a ceiling rather than a floor, and it is socially determined. Generally, lower the level, the more static the aspirations tend to be."\(^{63}\)

In the western industrialized nations (and Japan), the aquisitive urge seems to be fairly obvious. This is little surprising since the Christian background of these nations would suggest their attitude to be close to Eastern religions. In fact, Jesus told his followers not to lay up treasures on earth, and also spoke of difficulty with which a rich man may enter the kingdom of heaven. However, we will discuss later in detail as to how did the protestant ethic encouraged the production of wealth as a sign of God's blessings.

There are also differences between the western industrialized countries with regard to their attitude concerning material gain. Research has shown that United States is more consumption oriented than the western European countries. Germans are more critical of wives' employment than the people in any other large western country. Americans use installment debt freely where as its use in Germany is very low. The German word for debt, "schuld", is the same as word for guilt, showing the importance of attitudes in acquisitive behavior.

In the United States and many other industrialized countries, the amount of labor supplied is often a

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function of the worker's acquisitive desires. Many say that there is no satiation level -- aspirations keep rising as earlier ones are satisfied and new consumption possibilities become available.

However, a frequent observation in less developed countries is that the amount of labor supplied decreases with higher wages. Where money is not valued in itself and aspirations are static, the workers will quit as soon as they have met their limited desires.

Safety Needs According to Maslow

When physiological needs are basically satisfied, safety needs become to manifest themselves. The individual may be fully dominated by them. "They may serve as the almost exclusive organizers of behavior, recruiting all the capacities of the organism in their service, and we may then fairly describe the whole organism as a safety-seeking mechanism."65 All other needs look less important than safety.

Economic security comes under an individual's safety needs. These include on the job fringe benefits like accidents, health, life insurance, etc.

One of the most common of the safety needs is protection from physical dangers. In industrial setting,

such signs as "No Smoking in This Area" and "Beyond This Point, Safety Glasses Must be Worn" are examples of the satisfaction of the security needs.

It may however, need emphasis here that in order to cope with job insecurity, unpleasant and hazardous working conditions, many workers take to alcoholism, drug abuse and even suicide. "Our interviews with blue collar workers in heavy industry revealed a number who found it necessary to drink large quantities of alcohol during their lunch to enable them to withstand the pressure or overwhelming boredom of their tasks." 66

Furthermore, lack of stability, support and security have been found to be related to high risk of heart diseases.

Also significant is the fact that adverse working conditions can cause the management in addition to the workers, a high cost in future. The following case study illustrates the point: "Management was suspicious of its employees, feeling that 'they were always trying to get away with something.' The factory floor was noisy, dingy, hot in summer, cold in winter. Rules were plentiful and strictly enforced. Suspicion and open dislike of management was evident. Two years ago, a factory worker died of heart attack while working at the job. As the news

got around the plant, several women employees became ill and fainted. A few weeks later, noxious odors leaked into the plant through sewage pipes and a few employees were overcome and had to leave work. Although the odor was quickly eliminated, employees began complaining of dizziness, nausea, malaise, headaches, and other problems. A team from the Public Health Service was called in, but no toxic agents could be discovered, and medical doctors could find nothing physically wrong with any of the workers after thorough examinations and laboratory tests. A representative of the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health was then called in and concluded from the evidence that it was a case of industrial hysteria, a physical reaction to the psychological stresses of the job. He offered suggestions for remedying the situation, but no action was taken. A year later, the plant was burned to the ground. Arson was suspected.67

Thus, in the above example, a small investment on the part of the company could have saved it from the tremendous loss.

In management, safety needs also become apparent when employees are afraid to give their true opinion for

fear of losing their jobs or when new changes are introduced in the organization. Many managers who have crossed the age of 40 are locked into their job, thinking that chances for their re-employment are slim. On the other hand, many younger managers cannot quit their job since they have to wait for their children to get through school.

Safety needs can be better understood by observation of children because when an adult feels his safety to be threatened, he is able to conceal it. The infants do not inhibit this reaction at all. "Infants will react in a total fashion and as if they were endangered, if they are disturbed or dropped suddenly, startled by loud noises, flashing light, or other unusual sensory stimulation, by rough handling, by general loss of support in the mother's arms, or by inadequate support."\(^{68}\)

Research indicates that those individuals whose parents were heavily security minded place great emphasis on safety needs. Their parent, often having suffered economic crisis, regard themselves as past and potential victims of the environment and pass this strong lack of security on to their children. The offspring, in turn, seeks secure, non-threatening positions in, for example, major corporations or federal bureaucracies, where they can carve out a stable, protected niche for themselves.

\(^{68}\)Maslow, Motivation and Personality, p. 85.
Overprotective parents play, yet another role, for security minded individuals. Always sheltering their children from disappointment, they paint to him an unrealistic picture of the world. So a young person from this kind of family, once out and suffering one of the world's setbacks, is thrown for a loss and is unable to cope with the accompanying frustration, tension and anxiety.

In management therefore, safety needs assume an important consideration. "Arbitrary management actions, behavior which arouses uncertainty with respect to continued employment or which reflects favoritism or discrimination, unpredictable administration of policy - these can be powerful motivators of the safety needs in the employment relationship at every level from the worker to the Vice-President." 69

Safety Needs in Different Cultures

In international context, the dedication of Japanese managers and workers to their organization is unique among the industrialized countries of the world. In return for the loyalty the Japanese workers give to their companies, the corporations give the workers assurance of life-time employment and security. In a system of life-

time employment, it is generally agreed that only under the extreme circumstances, such as bankruptcy, will an organization terminate its employee. Firing an employee otherwise is like firing son or daughter.

Lifetime employment is a system whereby an individual enters a company after graduation from high school or university and receives in-company training. This person remains the employee of the same company until the mandatory retirement age of 55. However in United States, worker freedom and mobility are a way of life. The typical American employee changes his job several times in his career. When the business is poor and there are economic slow-downs, people are temporarily laid off from work.

Another significant observation which can be made here is that this system of lifetime employment in Japan is one of the important reasons why new technology and automation, for example robots, have been more easily accepted by the Japanese workers.

Historically, Japan's relentless march towards modernization began with the Meiji period in 1868. Before that Japan was a feudal society. Remarkably, however, in much less than a century, Japan became a modern industrial and military power. "To make Japan modern, the leaders of the Meiji period sought - meaningful values which could serve both as motivation
for modernization and as sanctions for the necessary social changes and sacrifices. The values used for this system was the emperor system and the family system - loyalty and filial piety. Both were Confucian values which had been modified by Shinto beliefs and the interpretation of Tokugawa scholars.

The Japanese were familiar with, and comfortable with, the values of loyalty to the emperor and filial piety. This carryover of important traditional values lessened the shock of many changes which occurred in the Meiji period. Furthermore, motivation to work for and accept change was provided by the value of loyalty to the emperor - the changes were for the emperor and Japan. Obedience to government directives was encouraged by both loyalty and filial piety. Even the Zaibatsu (the giant industrial combines) fit into this centralized hierarchy of authority, between the emperor and the family. The patriotism and the paternalism of the Zaibatsu are explained by the same values that motivated all the Japanese people to work for the common goal -- the transformation of Japan into a modern nation."70

Recently many scholars however, writing on the subject of lifetime employment have said that it was

institutionalized as a part of Japanese employment-management practice only after the World War I when it resulted from the employees, desires to stabilize labor relations in large organizations by cutting high labor turnover. After World War I, this practice of permanent employment only applied to a minority of employees, and it was not until late 1930's and the events following World War II that lifetime employment applied to a wide range of full-time employees who became institutionalized as part of Japan's employment practices. It still does not apply to many part-time or temporary workers.

According to one survey, "Lifetime commitment of the employee to his company is a phenomenon nearly universal (92%), and the larger the company, the more firmly is it entrenched. Only about one quarter of the companies questioned in 1963 were inclined to do much about it. Opinion as to whether this system was likely to change was evenly divided. Those who believed that the life employment system was likely to change expected that it would give way under modernization of management practices or the attempts to cope with the technical revolution. Most of the companies which took, shall we say, a more pessimistic view felt that the 'familistic mentality' of the Japanese, upon which this system is thought to be based, is not likely to change. The defects of this system were considered
to be the inability to lay off superannuated or unnecessary labor, the 'preservation of the length-of-service system'; the fostering and spread of that prudential attitude which prompts workers to seek their own security first and the tendency toward indifferentism. But this system is believed to have its good points too: more than half the companies questioned (53%) thought that the life employment system produces a sense of security among the employees. Nearly as many companies (47%) said that the system provides a basis of nourishing the spirit of a cooperative body (kyodotai teki seishin) in the enterprise.\(^7\)

A question that many foreign managers ask themselves is how can a manager or worker who is assured or guaranteed life time employment be motivated to work hard if promotion is based on seniority rather than merit? The answer to this question is based on an understanding of the Japanese society.

The procedures for entering a Japanese company are rigorous and time consuming, and much effort is spent on the part of the organization in determining whether or not this particular candidate will be an asset on a life time basis to the organization. Once this is determined,

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the Japanese employees are recognized as contributing an important ingredient to the success of the organization, and in identifying with the organization, the Japanese employee receives the feeling of integration into the company and the society.

In United States as discussed earlier, there is a high degree of job mobility. The promotion is based on merit. The organization is profit oriented and is characterized as materialistic and individualistic. The training here is promotion oriented.

In contrast, the Japanese organization is humanistic and paternalistic. The employees are loyal and their private life is not separate but interwined with the company. The training is performance oriented.

One example of how loyalty is generated in Japan can be traced to "Memawashi" custom which literally means root binding, "a symbol of the long term, deep relational ties between the employees and the firm in which seedling pine trees are planted at factory entrances each time a new worker is hired and a tag bearing the worker's name and hiring date is tied to each seedling."\(^72\)

Even when the Japanese managers come to U.S., their central motives are security, safety and avoidance of blame because the capital is obtained from the banks in

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Japan and executive decisions are largely made in the parent country. Additionally, their usual sojourn abroad is only three years or so. Their hearts and stakes are in their home country.

In Germany, also like Japan, security is a powerful motivator and there is less willingness to take risks. "People are very willing to perform if they are offered security in exchange. Interestingly, these security seeking countries seem to have been doing better economically in the past twenty years than the risk takers; but the management theories that tell us that risk taking is a good thing were made in the United States and Great Britain, not in Japan or Germany."73

In U.S.S.R. too, security needs are important. "Each director of an enterprise, big or small considers the selection of reliable assistants as his primary task. The attitude is: 'all for one and one for all'. People know they must sink or swim together. This is why the plant director always supports his subordinates. If they get in trouble, he bails them out. His subordinates in turn give their wholehearted loyalty and support to him. In many instances, when the plant

director is transferred to another plant, he takes his loyal assistants with him to ensure a continuation of this secure relationship."

The typical German manager is not professionally mobile and most have had only one or two employers in their lifetime, as compared to American managers at the same level who have had seven to eight employers. This results in a strong degree of company loyalty.

German people place a great deal of emphasis on a close-knit family. From the secure base of the family, Germans feel better able to face an unsure world.

Societies also differ widely in the degree to which change is perceived in a favorable light. At one extreme, in very traditional societies, new products or processes may be considered as evil. "Part of the definition of a traditional society is that it tends to favor the old established ways and things. Beyond that negative view of change, attitudes range from an acceptance of change to a positive welcoming of change and a feeling that new is better and old is old fashioned. It is revealing, for instance that the most important word in American advertising is 'new'."

Religion is another basis for differences in attitude. 

74 Gregory Ryapolov, "I was a Soviet Manager," cited by Weber, Culture and Management, p. 418.

75 Terpstra, The Cultural Environment of International Business, p. 86.
tudes towards change. Among those with negative attitudes towards change, for example, are animistic societies and Muslim nations. Two elements of animism contribute especially to a negative view of change. These are ancestor worship and taboos. Together these elements emphasize traditional, backward looking behavior and consumption patterns.

Islam also contains several elements which militate against change. Islam is not only a faith. It is also a religion organized as a political community, with integration rather than separation, of church and state. Furthermore, it is a way of life with every activity down to the smallest detail regulated by Koranic prescriptions. As Dean comments: "This complete integration of religion, political system and way of life make it extremely difficult to alter the institutions of Muslim countries unless the priests, or ulema, who interpret Koran are favorable to proposed changes. If they oppose change, they may resort to fanatical opposition, up to and including the assassination of would be reformers, as has happened in the case of Muslim Brotherhood in Iran and Egypt."76

Margaret Mead citing H.D. Fong. 1973, gives another aspect of the potential cultural costs of change. "To the Chinese, the introduction of power

machinery meant that he had to throw over not only habits of work but a whole ideology; for dissatisfaction with the ways of his fathers in one particular meant doubt of the father's way of life in all its aspects. If the old loom must be discarded, then 100 other things must be discarded with it, for there are somehow no adequate substitutes."

There is yet another risk involved in innovation. For example, in poor agricultural societies, small farmers may be slow to adopt a highly touted agricultural change. They realize that if the innovation is not successful, they could lose their whole crop, and that would be a greater disaster than they could afford. Therefore, they tend to be conservative.

In America, on the other hand, there are fewer social risks involved in innovation because of the society's favorable attitude towards change. For example, this is somewhat evident as mentioned earlier too, by comparing the connotation of the words "new" and "old fashioned".

Another factor affecting society's openness to change is its place in optimism - pessimism spectrum. Many societies, especially the traditional ones, have a rather pessimistic, fatalistic attitude. In part, this pessimism is based upon their unhappy experience -

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centuries of hardship and lack of progress.

John Gillin also speaks of the sense of fatalism in many Latin-American societies. There is a feeling of resignation and lack of hope or efforts of change.

"In public life, there is a tendency to shirk the seeking of constructive solutions to problems. In politics, it has induced a general paralysis of action. In public health, one of the principal problems has been the ingrained belief that some amount of sickness and death is inevitable. It is 'the will of God' or 'fate'."\(^78\)

In United States, people are generally more optimistic in their outlook. It is felt that change is not only possible but desirable. American proverbs and mythology reflect that optimism. This is also reflected in the planning activities and research and development expenditures of American industry.

A society's openness to change can also be influenced by political factors. The less developed countries which were once colonies, a large number of social, political and technical changes which were then introduced by colonial powers, were accepted by the host country. But reverse is occurring today in many of these countries where there is a partial revulsion against the colonial

legacy. There is reluctance to accept innovations from industrialized world, especially when they are seen as a form of neo-imperialism.

There is reluctance by non-western societies to accept innovation, also when they see it as western-izing influences. This nationalistic fear is very common and even many Europeans and Canadians worry about the "Americanization" of their societies. Someone has spoken, for example, of the "cocacolanization of Europe."

Japan represents a unique middle position. It feared westernization but was willing and able to select and assimilate many innovations without undue western influence within the society.

French come from an authoritarian family and an educational system and emphasis on a "catholic ethic." Therefore, French tend to perceive their work not for its own sake, but for the sake of their family and friends. So they seek the security and the fringe benefits which they can provide for their families. Such an attitude is also seen in Malayans and Indonesians.

British, however, regard their work highly for its own sake because of Protestant Ethic.

It may be useful here to discuss in some detail how Catholicism and Protestantism, the two major branches of Christianity, affect needs of the people concerned. The number of people in the world represented by each
branch of Christianity is very large and they have had substantial economic impact on their respective societies.

Relevant Catholic Beliefs and Practices—

1. The Roman Catholic church has traditionally emphasized the church and the sacraments as the principal elements of religion and the way to God. Apart from them, there is no salvation.

2. Church and its priests are intermediary between God and people. People do not approach God directly, but rely on the priest and the church as intermediaries.

3. There is clear distinction between the religious orders and the laity, with different requirements and standards of conduct applied to each. There is an implicit difference between the secular life of laity and the religious life of those in a religious calling.

Relevant Protestant Beliefs and Practices—

1. Regarding the role of church and the sacraments, the Protestants strongly disagreed with the Catholic position. Whatever good, the church and sacraments may possess, "salvation is by faith alone" was the famous cry of Luther.

2. People can approach God directly -- they do not need a go between other than Jesus himself.

The result of these two differences in Protestant belief obviously was a downgrading of the role of the
church and the priest in Protestantism. The important corollary was the corresponding rise in the importance of individuals in their own salvation. Salvation became more of an individual matter, and individualism became a major characteristic of Protestantism.

3. The distinction between secular and religious life was eliminated. Luther said that religious significance is attached to the "secular" life. God accomplished all things through human beings. Through them he milks the cow, for example. This concept of secular life as a God-appointed task involved the idea that the proper performance of even such a secular task is a religious obligation. When a person goes to work for God, his or her job becomes more than a job. It becomes a calling. It becomes the means by which a person glorifies God.

Thus for Protestants, making of money became a positive sign rather than a shameful activity, because if one works hard and well at a vocation, the result will be greater production and income. Secondly, according to Protestant doctrine of asceticism, spending on personal consumption was limited. The result was a significant residual accumulation for investment. So the Methodists, Puritans and Quakers accumulated wealth and not infrequently became what we call "capitalists."
Filipinos are family oriented. They have a high need for security. "Hiya", or shame is an important social force for Filipinos. To accuse a person of not having this Hiya trait is gross insult because it indicates that a person is unable to feel shame as well as all other emotions. Henceforth, it is very important not to criticize another person in public, or in front of his friends because it shames him, and is thus the greatest of insults. "The negative ramifications of Hiya are that the Filipinos avoid change, innovation or competition simply because if it results in failure, it would cause an individual to shame his family. Consequently, the Filipino family and the Filipino business person will "save face" at any cost."

French have a strong "Uncertainty Avoidance" or ambiguity avoidance. According to some however, business in France is leading to somewhat less conservative attitude toward risk taking and to a somewhat more expansionist business attitude.

Countries having large uncertainty avoidance are: Latin European and Latin American; Mediterranean countries, such as Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey, Japan, Korea, etc.; countries having weak "Uncertainty Avoidance" are Denmark, Sweden, Great Britain and Ireland,

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while the Netherlands, United States, and Norway are in the middle. "People in such societies will tend to accept each day as it comes...they are societies in which people have a natural tendency to feel relatively secure."  

**Social Needs According to Maslow**

When physiological and safety needs are basically satisfied, social needs become important motivators. The individual wants to give and receive acceptance, friendship and affection. People need to feel needed. "Now the person will feel keenly as never before the absence of friends or a sweetheart, or a wife or children. He will hunger for affectionate relations with people in general, namely, for a place in his group, and he will strive with great intensity to achieve this goal. He will want to attain such a place more than anything else in the world and may even forget that once, when he was hungry, he sneered at love as unreal or unnecessary or unimportant."  

Medical research has found that a child who is not held, cuddled or stroked can actually die. Though this may not always be true, the findings are important and is in agreement with the currently popular concept of

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"stroking." "People seek strokes - loving and admiring physical and psychological gestures - from others and in turn, wish to reciprocate."\(^{82}\)

People need this and when it is withdrawn, they suffer. The psychological punishment of isolation is perhaps the severest mode of inflicting hurt. This can be illustrated with regard to use of solitary confinement by the prisons, depriving the prisoners of their social needs.

According to Maslow, love and sex do not mean the same thing. "Love is not synonymous with sex. Sex may be studied as a purely physiological need. Ordinarily, sexual behavior is multidetermined, that is to say, not only by sexual but also by other needs, chief among which are the love and affection needs."\(^{83}\)

Love needs can be divided into two parts. First is the affectionate or love relationship with other individuals. Such a love is seen between sweethearts and married people, between parents and children and between very close friends. Second is the desire for belongingness. Individuals do not only want to have close love relations with two or three people but to have more diffuse love or affection relations with a wide number of people. The notion is being accepted as one

\(^{82}\) Hodgetts, Management: Theory, Process and Practice, pp. 316-317.

\(^{83}\) Maslow, Motivation and Personality, p. 90.
of the functioning members of a group of some kind. The thwarting of the first aspect we may call rejection, and of the second, isolation. More commonly are used the terms "Secure" and "Insecure".

According to Maslow, as has been worked out in previous research, following are the 14 characteristics of secure and insecure people.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Insecure</th>
<th>Secure</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Feeling of rejection,</td>
<td>1. Feeling of being liked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of not being loved, of</td>
<td>or loved, of acceptance, or</td>
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<tr>
<td>being treated coldly, of</td>
<td>being looked upon with warmth.</td>
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<tr>
<td>being hated.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Feeling of isolation,</td>
<td>2. Feeling of belonging or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feeling of &quot;uniqueness&quot;, of</td>
<td>being at home in the world,</td>
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<tr>
<td>being essentially unlike or</td>
<td>of having a place in the group.</td>
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<tr>
<td>inferior to others.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Perception of world or</td>
<td>3. Perception of world and life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>life as dangerous, threatening, dark, or</td>
<td>as pleasant or warm,</td>
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<tr>
<td>challenging, a jungle</td>
<td>in which all men tend to be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in which one eats or</td>
<td>brothers.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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Insecure

4. Perception of other human beings as essentially bad, evil or selfish.

5. Constant feeling of threat or anxiety.

6. Feeling of suspicion and mistrust: of envy or jealousy towards others.

7. Tendency to expect the worst: general pessimism.

8. Tendency to be unhappy and discontented.

9. Feelings of tension, example: Nervousness, fatigue and irritability, nervous stomach and other psychosomatic disturbances, emotional instability.

10. Tendency to compulsive introspective-ness, morbid self-

Secure

4. Perception of other human beings as generally good, friendly, etc.

5. Feeling of safety, unanxious.

6. Feeling of friendliness and trust; tolerance of others.

7. Tendency to expect good to happen: general optimism.

8. Tendency to be happy and contented.

9. Feelings of calm, ease, relaxation, emotional stability.

10. Tendency to outgoingness, interest in other people.
Insecure

Examination, acute conscious of self.

11. Guilt and shame feelings, sin feelings, feelings of self-condemnation, suicidal tendencies, discouragement.

12. Disturbances of various aspects of self-esteem complex, e.g. craving for power and status, over-aggression and/or the opposite masochistic tendencies, over-dependence.

Inferiority feelings.

13. Various neurotic trends, inhibitions, defensiveness, false goals. Psychotic tendencies, delusions, hallucinations, etc.

14. Selfish, egocentric, individual-

Secure

11. Self-acceptance, acceptance of the impulses.

12. Desire for strength or adequacy with respect to problems rather than for power over other people. Feeling of courage.

13. relative lack of neurotic or psychotic tendencies.

14. Social interest (in Adlerian sense); co-opera-
istic trends. tiveness, kindness, interest in others, sympathy.

Management today knows of the existence of these needs but sometimes assumes quite wrongly that they represent a threat to the organization. Many studies have demonstrated that the tightly knit, cohesive work group may, under proper conditions, be far more effective than an equal number of separate individuals in achieving organizational goals.

Management, fearing group hostility to its own objectives, often goes to considerable lengths to control and direct human efforts in ways that are inimical to the natural "groupiness" of human beings. When man's social needs are thus thwarted, he behaves in ways which tend to defeat organizational objectives. He becomes resistant, antagonistic, uncooperative. But this behavior is consequence, not a cause.

Work is also an important instrument for satisfying social needs. People on the job share things which they do not share even with their closest family members or friends, like jokes, gossip, job satisfaction and dissatisfaction, insecurities and most important, tensions.

In United States, many elderly people adopt a 'sick' role and get admitted to a nursing home, where the real reason is family rejection. "Instead of a respected work role, we provide our elder citizens with a sick role that encourages psychosomatic illness
and excessive use of medical care system — which might better be called in this instance the 'tender loving care' system."\textsuperscript{85}

Social Needs in Different Cultures

Motivation in different cultures can be related to "Individualism - Collectivism" dimension. In case of individualistic societies, ties between individuals are very loose. Everyone is supposed to look after his or her own interest.

It is also important to understand here that there are certain conditions in a society which encourages individualism. These are abundance of natural resources, enough space and population scarcity.

On the other hand, in collective societies in general, such conditions are frequently missing. William Brown comments on Japan, "The agrarian culture of Japan began with the Tayoi Period and the introduction of wet-rice culture. As is well known, cultivation of rice requires a constant and abundant supply of water which in Japan could only be insured by an elaborate system of irrigation. Since the numerous dams, canals, etc. which make up this system could not be built nor maintained by individuals, cooperative forms of labor were needed. The mountains surrounding the village supplied

\textsuperscript{85}Special Task Force, on \textit{Work in America}, p. 77.
building materials, fuel, and fertilizer, but careful co-operation was required for the development and conservation of these resources. The village, through the co-operation of its members, was economically independent from other villages, just as it was physically separated from them by geographical conditions."  

An official of the powerful Ministry of International Trade and Industry commented: "Our system is born of the traditions and history of this country, a small nation with few resources. Without our way of doing things, there would be continual conflict and nothing would ever get done."  

In collective societies, people in general, try primarily to fulfill their obligations toward their ingroup, like their family - their enterprise and so on. Such people do not seek so much a self-actualization in Marlow's terms, but they primarily seek "face" in their relationships with in-group members. However, face as a motivator does not appear in United States motivation literature.

Individual behavior gradually conforms to group behavior by means of socialization. Socialization works  

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by making the individual want to do what he or she has to do in social context. The individual's view of himself or herself is through the eyes of others, and the "do's and don'ts" of group become part of the individual's conscience. Thus group control extends substantially beyond the external sanctions applied to deviant behavior.

One of the most frequent criticisms of American business abroad is of its failure to appreciate the importance of social norms and group-status reward as opposed to monetary compensation. In many instances, it is only when the foreign employee has come to adopt a more materialistic, achievement oriented mentality that high salaries are motivators. Thus, one has to ask, "What will make the employee look good to his peers?" and not, "What would motivate me if I were in that position?"

American managerial philosophy traditionally viewed the worker as an individual, essentially isolated from and not connected to other workers. The individual produces, earns a salary, and can be individually rewarded or punished if the necessity arises.

The emphasis on the individual derives from the school of scientific management developed by Frederick W. Taylor and others around the turn of century. They taught that the individual worker must be better trained
and rewarded. 88

The thinking in America is: make the individual happy and the group will become more productive. The group exists for the good of the individual. In Japan, the individual exists for the group. The whole is more important than its parts.

The system of group rewards in Japan imply that members of a group are no longer able to indiviously compare themselves to others. There is less basis for jealousy. L. Keith Miller and Robert L. Hamblin 89 found that low reward differentials for groups in which there is high member interdependence or cooperation resulted in high productivity.

Rewarding everyone, as well as the originator satisfies what the Japanese call 'amaeru', a person's need to be accepted by others, or the need to depend on the benevolence of others. 90 The innovator receives the love of others because they have profited by his actions. Those who have been rewarded even though


they have contributed less feel obligated to equalize the imbalance of working hard.

In contrast, American individualistic reward systems are more likely to cause envy among co-workers. They may feel so jealous that they may refuse to co-operate with the star. After all, the giving of a reward to one worker essentially punished the others, who have relatively less.

In Japan, being rewarded as members, rather than as individuals, workers see the other group members as supportive peers rather than as potential competitors. Such emphasis on group welfare allows the worker to focus his competitive instincts or traits onto the intergroup level. That is, group rewards encourage the workers to express aggressiveness against outsiders rather than towards members of the group. A web of mutual debt binds the co-workers more closely together and places the non-productive members in a situation where they feel obligated to return the favor by also contributing to the group's profit. Group reward in this context resembles a very gentle but pursuasive form of blackmail. Not to repay the group causes the individual to lose face.

Just as all members of a family enjoy a new oven

or television set, team members are expected to enjoy certain rewards together. In Japan, a crew which has achieved the highest production during a period of time will be photographed for the company paper, or a plaque with members' names can be hung in a "hall of honor". So each member of a rewarded group enjoys the first type of reward individually - say, a cash bonus or a watch. The recipients of the second type of reward enjoy the reward together.

Ringi system of decision making is another example of Japanese collectivity. The ringi system represents a basic philosophy of management rooted in Japanese tradition and the word ringi consists of two parts: the "rin" means submitting a proposal to one's superior and receiving his approval, and the "gi" means the deliberation.

In the process of making a decision, meetings take place to ensure that the decision is widely adopted. A proposal that has been prepared by a lower functionary, works itself up the hierarchy of an organization in a slow, circuitous manner. At each step, it is examined by the appropriate persons concerned, whose approval is indicated by placing a seal.

The proposal slowly works its way up to top management, until finally, the President reviews it. When he
sees that all other managers have put their seals, he puts his seal on the material, and the decision is final. The proposal is then returned to the original proposer of the decision for implementation. The implementation phase is very quick, as the support of all the particular departments affected by the decision has already been given.

During this time, there have been many formal and informal meetings, and it is not unusual for managers of various sections to have bargained heavily. "In order for the ringi system to operate effectively in Japan, a number of conditions are important. First, there is a great deal of emphasis on the informal, personal relations between the various managers, and therefore, there is much discussion, negotiation, persuasion that occurs at a variety of levels in the organization. Another condition is the strong pressure of shared understanding among the Japanese managers that they are basically operating for the good of the organization or company as opposed to their individual good."92

In the Japanese society, there is personal shame, arising out of the disapproval of the society of one's behavior since one is defined in terms of one's ie -

92 Moran and Harris, Managing Cultural Synergy, p. 49.
apart from it, one has no identity - the fear of being ostracized from the group exerts a compelling pressure to conform to group norms and values, to strive for the group goals. But of course, as long as the individual conforms to the group norms, is loyal to it, and is content with one's status in its hierarchy, the group in turn bestows maximum security. Brown comments: "It is precisely the group-orientation of the members, the cohesion, and the insistence on harmonious personal relations which, I submit, are the strength of Japanese organizations and the source of their efficiency. Such a type of organization gives an individual's particular talents and abilities a wide range of play. Furthermore, one man's deficiencies are obscured because they are made up for by his companion's strong points. Finally, a sense of satisfaction is achieved through the awareness of a real contribution to and participation in the vital activity of the company."

Many countries operate with much less formal contractual business relationship than do U.S. businessmen. Since people cannot rely on legal contracts, continuity and reliability is assured by working largely with friends and relatives whom one can trust. "In countries

where loyalty to kin is strongest, where professional management is not widely accepted, and where trust of strangers in business dealings is weak, the family business is often prevalent. It is particularly common in countries that are in early stages of economic development, such as Pakistan. Commerce is a logical extension of the pervasive functions of the kinship grouping where management is controlled by an elite class. Family members can be trusted and relied upon, and loyalty within the business family hierarchy is assured.⁹⁴

Family business is also found in modern countries such as France and Italy. In Italy, where loyalty to kinship groupings prevails, the structure of business management coincides with that of the family group and serves familial interests even at the expense of industrial expansion or profitability. Family control is ensured even in large scale enterprises by the appointment of family members to the key managerial positions on the basis of family ties rather than on performance.

In France, there is a large number of private enterprises and the traditional family groups of artisan workers, who are for the most part, still engaged in

business on their own account. So in spite of its
drive towards modernity, and decades of upheaval and
restructuring, France is still a market of family
empires and paternalistic traditions. "Behind the
glittering technological triumph of concorde and the
insolvent innovation of citroen motor cars, the back-
ward and fragmented structure of many parts of industry
still survives unharmed." 95

Some development economists argue that savings,
capital and industry alone cannot bring about self-
sustained economic growth in a country. 96 A further
precondition to industrialization, they say, is the
development of rational and impersonalized attitudes
and social relationships, as exist in the west.
Industrialization, according to them, must be accom-
panied by an emphasis on individuality.

Such a statement does not apply to all societies.
Julius Nyerere of Tanzania has long advocated an
African Socialism in which village collectives or
"Ujamma" form the focus of economic development. A

95 A. Rowley, ed., The Barons of European Industry

96 See for example, Everett E. Hagen, On the Theory
of Social Change: How Economic Growth Begins (Homewood:
more potent example is provided by Japan, whose industrialization has occurred with much less change from the kind of social organizations and social relations of pre-industrial or non-industrial Japan than would be expected from western model. One study concludes: "...although the technology of modern industry was introduced into Japan, factory organization at the same time developed consistent with the historical customs and attitudes of the Japanese, and with the social system as it existed prior to the introduction of modern industry. Thus looking beyond the modern equipment and formal organization, the systems of relationships are more nearly similar to those which seem to have characterized an earlier Japan."  

Thus Japanese place higher importance on the organizationally and interpersonally mediated extrinsic job outcomes than on the more self-fulfilling intrinsic rewards. "Japanese employees help each other when they face new problems beyond the contents of their general job description, and it is not unusual to find all members of a department assisting a person when he is unable to finish a specific assignment.

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Promotional system in Japan is based on seniority and age, rather than on merit. Within the organization, structure, collaboration and cooperation, rather than competition, are the norm. Therefore, persons are promoted in a highly predictable manner. "The life-employment system and the seniority system are intimately related and appear to be two expressions of the typical social structure of a Japanese company... I would like to call attention to the closely knit relations between the employers and employees. Such close relations would naturally be expected where members of an organization realize that they will be together for the rest of their working lives. They also expect that promotions, instead of separating them, will keep them close together. The relations with superiors is also usually quite close. The superiors in a company feel obligated to call their subordinates together frequently for an informal talk and they make it a point to be present at company outings and other forms of recreations."  

However, "...for the Japanese employee who rises

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98 Moran and Harris, Managing Cultural Synergy, p. 82.
through the first step or rank rather automatically, his continued rise to more important position will depend on how he performs once he enters the supervisory level."

Japanese work organization is somewhat familial. "Presidents are 'family heads', executives - 'wise uncles', managers - 'hard working big brothers' workers - 'obedient and loyal children'." American workers by contrast do not see themselves as loyal and obedient children and hold traditional American values of individualism, competitiveness and social mobility.

Also in Japan, clear job descriptions are not provided because tasks are usually done collectively. "Furthering the collectivity principle, Japanese organizational structure is defined in terms of groups of people and not in terms of individual positions. Also, the responsibilities of each organizational unit are defined only in very general terms. This is because of the traditional view that a task should be performed through the cooperative effort of the members of the organization. What is more important than an individual's performance is working together

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100 Moran and Harris, Managing Cultural Synergy, p. 43.

101 Gorden, "Organizational Imperatives and Cultural Modifiers", p. 81.
harmoniously to accomplish the goals of the collectivity.  

Hence detailed job descriptions can be an obstacle in cooperating together for mutual accomplishment of specific objectives. If each Japanese employee completely followed a job description, individualism would supersede collectivism which would not be beneficial to the organization.

There is substantial evidence that wealthy countries are more individualistic and poor countries are more collective. Very individualistic countries are the United States, Great Britain, the Netherlands. Very collective are Columbia, Pakistan and Taiwan. In the middle are Japan, India, Austria and Spain.

British exhibit relatively more interpersonal trust and consideration, while German being more collective, exhibit more aggressiveness and lower trust levels.

A fundamental concept surrounding the ethical system of Malay people revolves around the concept of "Budi". "Budi" illustrates the ideal behavior expected of a Malay. Its basic rules are respect and courtesy, especially towards elders, and affection, love for one's parents, as well as a pleasant disposition and harmony in the family, the neighborhood, and in the society as a whole.

There are two forms of Budi: "Adab", which means that

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the individual has a responsibility to show courtesy at all times; and "Rukun", which means that the individual must act to obtain harmony, either in a family or in society. Malayans do not seem to value the pursuit of wealth for its own sake. They do, however, believe in hard work and self-reliance. Life is viewed as a passing thing, and family and friends take precedence over self-centered interests, such as the accumulation of profit and materialism.

Trust for a Malay is fundamental to a successful interpersonal relationship regardless of the nationality of the person concerned. A person's capability for loyalty, commitment, and companionship are the key characteristics upon which the Malay generally bases his trust.

On the other hand, an American bases his or her trust on a person's capacity for performance, level of expertise, and position in the social structure.

Since the Industrial Revolution, the Protestant work ethic has been a mainstay of American achievement in business, as well as other areas. Idleness has been looked upon as the work of the devil.

The distinction between idleness and action is not clearly delineated in Malay culture and language. "A large percentage of the time in a Malay's life is spent developing deeper relationships with family and friends in ways that would appear as idle time to many Americans."
This contrast is clearly illustrated by the differing perspectives of how the elderly are viewed in Malaysia and in America. When a person reaches old age in United States, the fact that he can no longer work generates the feeling that he is no longer useful, whereas, in Malaysia, an elderly person is regarded as a wise counsellor who plays an important role in society.\textsuperscript{103}

An additional cultural obstacle that hinders the American understanding of Malay-Chinese relations stem from the fact that the Americans come from a low-context culture. When communicating, the Americans use and expect explicit messages. For the Americans, it is the words that convey meaning and information. Malays and also Chinese, however, have grown up in a high-context culture, where they depend more on non-verbal means of communication than on verbal messages. Unlike many Americans, persons from high-context cultures usually depend on a traditional structure that resists change or modification, and such persons tend to be group-oriented rather than individual-oriented.

In Indonesia, family is the basic unit of life. It is highly complex system with many interlocking relationships in the vast network of an extended family system.

\textsuperscript{103} Moran and Harris, \textit{Managing Cultural Synergy}, pp. 215-216.
For most Indonesians, family is the first priority and hence for them their highest need, need for self-actualization.

One of the basic concepts of their life, both in social and business context is the importance of avoiding making someone feel "malu". The word literally means, ashamed or embarrassed. Criticizing or contradicting a person in front of others will cause the person to lose face with the group and the person will feel "malu".

Also important to Idonesians are the concepts of unity and conformity. They do not strive, as many Americans do, to become individualistic.

Filipinos generate warmth and friendliness. They too place great importance on family. The well-being of the family supersedes all other desires, therefore the questions concerning family are very important. The Filipinos do not strive to accumulate money and power for their own sake, but rather in order to better their family position. Large extended families, including cousins and friends reflect the great interdependence of the family in the Philippines. For them again, the success of the family is their own success and hence it fulfills their need for self-actualization.

Success in the mind of the Filipino is often a function of fate rather than individual merit, and therefore, most people are content in their social position only because they feel that fate has placed them there. Again,
due to Spanish influence, they are somewhat emotional and very sensitive. They are loyal friends and demand the same kind of loyalty in return. This aspect of theirs is also reflected in business interactions. They are reluctant to share or do business with a person unless there is mutual sincerity. This has been a great obstacle in the past, as Filipinos have described American businessmen as being overly aggressive and insensitive to feelings.

Traditionally in India, Joint Family system has been very common. In this system, members of more than one nuclear family live together. Since the children are brought up in large joint families and since there are many children in each family, they acquire considerable familiarity, practice and skill in dealing with peer relationships. There is much criticism of each other at peer level, but there is also a high degree of tolerance, which experience and circumstances have taught. "The lack of competitiveness on one hand and the strength of peer relationships on the other, are distinctive factors in the Indian social system as compared with western culture, and have great relevance to the style of leadership and of management practices in Indian business and
In Korea, a vital concept to understand is "Kibun", which is one of the most important factors influencing the conduct and relationship with others. The word literally means inner feelings. If one's Kibun is good, then one functions smoothly and with ease and feels great. If one's Kibun is upset or bad, then things may come to a complete halt, and the individual feels terrible.

In interpersonal relationships, keeping the Kibun in good order takes precedence over all other considerations. In business, therefore, businessmen should try to operate in manner that will enhance the Kibun of both persons.

To damage the Kibun may effectively cut off relationships and create an enemy. One does not tend to do business with a person who has damaged one's Kibun.

Arabs place great importance on manners, generosity and hospitality. It is important to recognize that their system of hospitality is based on mutuality. An invitation must be returned. The offer of hospitality to visit an Arab's home must be accepted.

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Refusing this gesture of friendship is taboo and almost unforgivable.

The Mexicans are a relaxed, hospitable and warm people who may relate more to their Indian, rather than Spanish heritage. They are proud, patriotic and family-oriented, and hard working. Emotional, with a leisurely sense of time, they are generally comfortable with themselves and others and are very person-oriented.

As in Mexico, so in Italy, there is a great importance on the maintenance of personal alliances. David McClelland comments: "In both Mexico and Italy, n affiliation is higher than n achievement; there is some evidence that these needs tend to be complimentary. In a random sample of 119 cases out of the 760 men tested...n achievement score correlates negatively with n affiliation score (r=.32, p < .01). Similarly...there is a significant negative correlation between the two variables in the children's stories in 1950... People who are concerned about interpersonal relationships tend generally to be less concerned about achievement and vice versa."105

In the Netherlands and the Nordic countries, the

105 David C. McClelland, Contrasting Motives and Attitudes of Managers in More or Less Developed Countries, cited by Weber, Culture and Management, p. 343.
maintenance of good interpersonal relations is a strong motivation, and people frown at competition for performance. The kind of strong interpersonal motivation that we find in these countries, is not found in U.S. "There is striking difference in the forms of 'humanization of work' proposed in U.S. and Sweden: a stress in the United States on creating possibilities for individual performance but a stress in Sweden on creating possibilities for interpersonal solidarity." ¹⁰⁶

Yugoslavia is also a unique case of collectivity. It embarked on a special path of development in 1950 by establishing a new social and economic order based on a system of workers' self-management, a system to be characterized by social ownership and workers' control of the means of production. "Worker's self-management was perceived to be an embodiment of socialism as envisaged by Marx. But the Yugoslav interpretation went beyond nationalization, which merely replaces capitalist domination with managerial and bureaucratic domination. The Yugoslav interpretation also went beyond the concept of workers' participation, which implies some sharing of decision - making power by workers and by the owners of the means of production or their appointed represen-

tative. And in contrast with the mainstream of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, the 'withering away of the state' was not expected to occur incidently and in some distant future as the final element of progression from capitalism to socialism to communism.

This goal was to be pursued purposefully and at once, to be promoted whenever workable substitutes for state function could be designed in the realm of the 'association of free producers.' Such a perception of the state engendered decentralization and distatization as persistent features of the evolutionary momentum of self-management socialism.\footnote{107}{Martin Schrenk, Cyrus Ardalan, and Nawal A. El Tataway, Yugoslavia: Self-Management Socialism and the Challenges of Development (A World Book Country Economic Report, Published for the World Bank at Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1979), p. 3.}

Transcending both private capitalism and state capitalism, self-management socialism was to institute direct democracy in economic matters, with decision making power as the exclusive prerogative of individuals directly affected by the decisions, and with individuals directly exercising their power without the intervention of the autonomous intermediaries, thus giving the workers control over their workplace and the economy. Self-management system was intended to provide a way to deal
with ethnic pluralism of Yugoslav society and enable different regional interests to be voiced, considered and harmonized. Through the maximum devolution of policy making from federal government to the republics and communes, the system could accommodate diverse needs of the various nationalities that Yugoslavia has.

During 1950 to 1965, the drive for decentralization and destatization stripped the state of many functions it previously performed, including fiscal policy and planning. With the number of instruments for economic policy greatly reduced, economic management was significantly weakened, and resulted in inflationary pressures and stop-go policy cycles started.

Hence, a new vision of the system of economic decision making was put forward in 1974 constitution. Under it, a novel system of planning was introduced. In this new system, the participation of all economic agents - government and non-government - was mandatory and non-hierarchial. Each agent prepared its own plan on the basis of predetermined and standardized set of indicators that described prevailing conditions and future expectations. The co-ordination of these diverse plans involved a series of successive adjustments and compromises among the agents. Social planning, which emanated from the federation, the
republics, and the communes, provided the basic framework. It encountered the self-management planning which emanated from economic organizations. This process was not necessarily designed to resolve all conflicts, but to compel planning agents to view their development objectives at different levels of aggregation. Henceforth, Harmonization of Social and Self-management planning was intended to ensure consistency between national, regional and local considerations and the goals and objectives of enterprises. Based on the widespread participation and consent of all affected parties, they establish a coordinated framework for action that is consistent with the principles of workers' self-management. These instruments, once agreed upon and signed, have the force of law.

The constitution also introduced important changes in the structure of the economy by breaking up enterprises into separate autonomous units called basic organizations of associated labor (BOALS). This organizational decentralization was intended to broaden the control of workers by reducing the size and the complexity of the self-managed units and by increasing the discretion of worker over the use of income generated in these units.

It is also interesting to contrast the role of the labor unions in Europe, U.S. and developing countries.

European labor unions were formed with the goal of
total social transformation. Even today, they function in a much broader way than is suggested by term "interest group". Their function not only embrace, many aspects of workers' life but historically, they have sought and achieved major political goals, like rejection of feudalism and the right to vote. European labor unions are closely indentified with political parties and ideologies, especially socialist ones. They also have a much greater sense of worker solidarity, then do those of United States, because suffrage and other rights were not won by European labor unions until they took collective action to get them.

American unionism has always been more pragmatic and concerned with the immediate needs and grievances of the workers. The reason has been that they did not have a feudal system to overthrow and suffrage and other civil rights were granted early in the history of the union.

Although today, American unions are concerned with a broad range of social issues, such as poverty, national medical care, environment, etc., they started off as an effort to organize fragmented craft unions into national unions. The objective was to maintain a nation level of wages which could not be undercut by a shift in plant location.

A similar movement now appears to be in occurring
on an international scale, although it is quite unlikely that comprehensive international unionism will emerge in the near future. 108

Since European labor unions are closely identified with political parties, they have substantial influence on the government's social policy, especially when their favorite party is in power. For example: The British Trade Union Congress, had a hand in drafting all social legislations when the Labour party was returned to power in 1964.

Thus the European unions have really two options for enhancing the interests of the workers: collective bargaining and legislation. One result of this has been that collective bargaining is much more restricted in Europe; many issues that are bargained in U.S., have been removed from the scope of union-management agreements in Europe and legislated into effect.

Another difference is that in United States, the collective bargaining is generally limited to one firm or geographical region, whereas in Europe, bargaining tends to be on a national scale, between employers' associations and union federations.

The labor union system in Japan is very different from those in the western countries, and strongly

reflects the Japanese familial system of social organization. "Both within and outside the work place, close bonds are established between superior and subordinates. Loyalty to the firm is rewarded by the security of life time employment, other paternalistic benefits and remuneration based on length of service. The result of this close identification with the firm is that unions are limited to single firm ('enterprise unions'), and are only loosely federated into national industrial unions with limited authority. The industrial unions are in turn affiliated to four major labor centers, which as in Europe, assumes a highly political role in influencing government policies." 109

However, in United States, the labor relations is characterized by "adversarial relationship" between the management and the union. It is a system in which the interest of one party is enhanced at the expense of another. The employer lays off the workers whenever he finds himself in difficulty or financial crisis, with no regard whatsoever of what happens to the laid off employee. In a similar fashion, an employee leaves his employer whenever he gets another job which pays higher.

In the less developed countries, labor unionism is a critical force in political and economic modernization. The reason is, that while in Europe and North America political and economic modernization proceeded separately, in developing areas, they have been inseparable. In many African countries, unions have been a part of pre-independence, anti-colonial struggle and are still headed by political leaders. Several union movements in Latin America sought to secure political rights for the illiterate mass of Indos. As a result, in most cases, unions have become highly politicalized and after independence became highly dependent on the government.

Furthermore, economic development implies capital accumulation, therefore the demands of labor unions for higher wages may be in fundamental conflict with national economic goals. This may lead the government to force the labor unions to subordinate immediate wage gains to the development of the country. A common result is that when a foreign business operation deals with labor unions, it is in fact negotiating with the government as a third party to the bargaining process. When government objectives are in conflict with the demands of relatively weak labor unions, the foreign firm may find itself caught between two fires and so incur the ire of both parties to the conflict. "Spain is an example of a country whose
labor movement plays a major role in political change and development. Spanish labor disputes involving foreign owned enterprise became highly politicalized under Generalissimo Francisco Franco as a result of labor's militancy in seeking social and political reforms. Companies engaging in collective bargaining had to come in terms not only with the 'sindicatos', or government controlled unions, but also the underground unions - 'comisiones o breras' - that were active in virtually every large plant in Spain. The government aiming to attract and retain foreign investment, kept the wage demands of the 'sindicatos' to a minimum. But the management also had to deal with powerful underground unions whose demands were more costly and whose methods of putting pressure on companies were somewhat less orthodox.  

Thus in the final analysis, we have to understand that business firm is not only a profit-making machine, but in itself a social group that must respond both internally to the needs of its employees and externally to the demands made by various groups. Only by responding to society's needs, will the firm be able to ensure its long-run survival.

In other words, the groups exist to satisfy needs, and the international manager must be aware that groups, both internal and external to the firm will continually be making demands on the firm in order to satisfy their needs. Since these demands will, to some extent, be in conflict, it is not to say that everyone's needs can be satisfied. All an international manager can do is to identify (1) the relevant groups (2) their needs and demands made on the firm, and (3) their power to affect the firm's ability to do business.

Esteem Needs According to Maslow

When physiological, safety and social needs are essentially satisfied, esteem needs become dominant. Every individual has a desire for a stable, firmly based, usually high evaluation of himself, for self-respect or self esteem. Thus these needs are two fold: first is the desire for strength, for achievement, for adequacy, for mastery and competence, for confidence in the face of the world, and for independence and freedom.

Second is the desire for reputation or prestige (defining it as respect or esteem from other people), status, dominance, recognition, attention, importance or appreciation. Recognition is invaluable. Without it many people would conclude that they are greatly overrating themselves. When those around them, however, make it clear that they are indeed important, feeling
of self-esteem, self-confidence, prestige and power are produced.

Full satisfaction of these needs, however, must finally rest with the individual. For instance, some people believe that they are overrated, that the world would be shocked to learn of their basic inadequacies. No external force can entirely remove that belief. The individual must somehow gain self-confidence in order to value the respect and support of those who offer it.

Joining the right country club, earning a reputation as a hard worker, and earning advanced degrees are some ways of securing prestige.

Power is another esteem-related need. It is measured by the degree of an individual's desires to control the means of influencing other people.

The power drive begins in early life, when babies realize that their own crying influences their parents' behavior. Renowned psychiatrist Alfred Adler has said that this ability to manipulate others is inherently pleasurable to the child.¹¹¹ Later in life, when people can fend for themselves, this physical motive for

power changes to one of winning respect and recognition from others.

Adler also felt that drive for power would be healthier, if it was used to control the environment, rather than human beings. Lord Acton believed that power corrupts. According to Niebuhr, the desire for power may reflect man's inherent weakness or basic sinfulness. To him, power emphasizes the "I" at the expense of "Thou".

Nietzsche contended that all that life desires above all, is to express its power. Life is itself will to power. According to Russel, power and glory are chief among infinite desires of man.

Historically, work has been used as a form of rehabilitation for a long time. But many times, however, its very purpose has been defeated, especially when meaningless work is provided. Meaningless work has lowered the self-esteem of mental patients, welfare recipients, prisoners, physically handicapped persons, etc. For example, prisoners have made license plates and prison garb, which only reinforces the view that society sees the prisoners as useless. Mental patients do low-status meaningless work for no pay or pittance. The patient's sense of worthlessness is thus reinforced in this way; his self-esteem is further eroded.

The typical industrial organization offers few
opportunities for the satisfaction of the egoistic needs of people in the lower level of hierarchy. "The conventional methods of organizing work particularly in mass production industries, give little need to these aspects of human motivation. If the practices of the scientific management were deliberately calculated to thwart these needs - which of course they are not - they could hardly accomplish this purpose better than do."\(^{112}\)

In many work organizations, there is a reluctance to consider ideas from below. "Perhaps the most consistent complaint reported to our task force has been the failure of the bosses to listen to workers who wish to propose better ways of doing their jobs. Workers feel that their bosses demonstrate little respect for their intelligence."\(^{113}\)

Even today, much of the work women do outside their homes erodes their self-esteem. The majority of the worst white-collar jobs are held by women, for example, the jobs of keypunch operators, telephone company operators, clerical workers and assembly line-workers.

Finally, work is very important in shaping one's sense of identity. Work enhances the self-esteem in two ways. First when a person becomes aware of his competence in dealing with objects of work, the person acquires a


\(^{113}\) Special Task Force, on Work in America, p. 37.
sense of mastery both over himself or the environment. Secondly, his self-esteem is further nourished when he finds that he is engaging in activities that are valued by other people.

Thus success or failure at work leads to the feelings of being valuable or worthless. "Since modern man experiences himself both as the seller and as the commodity to be sold on market, his self-esteem depends on conditions beyond his control. If he is successful, he is valuable; if he is not, he is worthless."\textsuperscript{114}

Elliot Jacques comments, "...working for a living is one of the basic activities in a man's life. By forcing him to come to grips with his environment, with his livelihood at stake; it confronts him with the actuality of his personal capacity - to exercise judgment, to achieve concrete and specific results. It gives him a continuous account of his correspondence between outside reality and inner perception of that reality, as well as an account of the accuracy of his appraisal of himself...In short, a man's work does not satisfy his material needs alone. In a very deep sense, it gives him a measure of his sanity."\textsuperscript{115}

Esteem Needs In Different Cultures

In International context, to leave a company in

\textsuperscript{114}Erich Fromm, The Revolution of Hope, cited by Special Task Force, on Work in America, p. 5.

\textsuperscript{115}Elliot Jacques, Equitable Payment, cited by Special Task Force, on Work in America, p. 6.
Japan would be very difficult for most Japanese employees, because it would mean a certain loss of identity, social recognition, and thereby would also lower their self-esteem. As a result, Japanese workers and managers have very few alternatives to change companies, and therefore, are generally highly motivated to contribute to the organization's success because an individual's own success is very much related to the success of the organization of which he is a (large) part. In this way, the organization becomes an entity, or personality, and satisfaction of the esteem needs of the organization is also the satisfaction of the self-esteem needs of the individual within it.

Quality Circle, for example, in one of the ways, the Japanese workers satisfy their esteem needs. "At Matsushita Electric, the country's second largest electrical company (1980 sales: $13.7 billion), workers are instilled with the notion that each one of them is a quality-control inspector."116 Quality Circles generally have 3-4 to a maximum of 12 members who work in the same shop or same production line. The circle members meet regularly to exchange ideas for improving their job performance and results, and the circle leader takes the proposal to the meeting attended by the managerial supervisors, who

accept, modify or reject these ideas. "...in Japan in 1979, Samuel Electrics, a leading home appliance manufacturer reported that it saved $180 million through company wide management improvement campaigns. One third of this saving was directly due to suggestions by blue collar workers."  

American managers on the other hand are somewhat reluctant to involve their employees in the working of the company. "...although General Motors actively recruits productivity suggestions from employees and offers up to $10,000 for a proposal that is adopted, the company receives an average of less than one suggestion per employee per year and adopts one third of the ideas. At Toyota's main plant near Nagoya, on the other hand, the officials receive more than nine suggestions per worker, per year and adopt vast majority of them."  

The Japan's Ringi (consensus) system of decision making as discussed earlier, is yet another channel for the satisfaction of their ego needs, in which everyone affected by the decision in the organization has a say in it. Traditionally, German firms have had a distinct hierarchy of managers and personnel. The autocratic and rigid structure of many German firms is accentuated by

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117 Moran and Harris, Managing Cultural Synergy, p. 39.
a centralized authority, which results in an "ultimate authority", whereby a manager expects obedience from his subordinates. With regard to participation in decision making by subordinates, German managers do not play as great a role as the American managers.

Loyalty and hard work are important factors determining the success of a manager in a German firm. The road to senior management can be described as a pyramid, with each level defined by a precise title, salary scale and fringe benefits. This system works well because of the sense of order it instills in its members. Respect for one's superiors is demonstrated by a strong sense of formality, both on the job and off the job. Even managers who have worked together for many years, but are of different status levels use the formal address form "sie" (you) rather than the informal "du".

The male in a traditional German family maintains an unchallenged dominant position in the home. His wife is expected to obey him and his children expected to respect and submit to his authority.

German people are very status conscious and often have relationships that are based on social status rather than on personal and emotional ties. Formality and aloofness is characteristically German. Only if the relationship is close, it is considered socially correct
to use first names, and then also by mutual consent only. It is regarded presumptuous to inquire about another's personal affairs or to neglect to use one's title, wherever applicable.

The two very important characteristics and values of German people are order and discipline. An orderly life is accomplished by striving for discipline.

British have smaller "power distance" than Germans, power distance meaning the degree to which a society accepts the fact that power is unequally distributed within it. Thus British as compared to Germans, have less centralization of decision making. Strategic administrative decisions are made by top management in both countries. Operational and personnel decisions, however, are made at higher hierarchial level in German companies than in the British companies.

British are also likely to welcome ideas regardless of their formal origin, than their German counterparts. In fact, the Germans tend to expect subordinate managers to "know their place" when it comes to decision making. Thus British managers enjoy a greater use of delegation than the West-Germans, whose use of delegation is so rare that middle and lower level managers suffer incompetence in many areas, due to lack of experience.

Centralization is also less in Britain, in matters
of controls. German companies however, are found to place greater reliance on procedures, routines and rules to maintain controls, again supporting the value of collective conformity and the parallel value of uncertainty avoidance. Their control also seems to be more stringent and focused on corrective action.

Americans do not want too much of power distance between superiors and the subordinates; therefore supervision and management should be consulting, rather than ordering and telling. Blake and Mouton argue convincingly that American managers need not be concerned about a contingency approach because there is one better way. A highly task-oriented and people-oriented management works best here.

French on the other hand pay lesser importance to autonomy and achievement. Most of the strategic decisions are concentrated at the top of the managerial hierarchy and there is also a tendency, not to communicate the reasoning behind these decisions to those at the lower levels of management. As a result, the initiative of the subordinates is often stifled, talents of the middle managers, often wasted.

The technique of "Brain-storming" which is a form

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of collective thinking widely used in American management circles, has not been very well accepted within French industry, even in corporations that have sought greater decentralization of authority and participative management. In countries with higher power-distances, individual subordinates as a rule do not want to participate. It is part of their expectations that leaders lead autocratically. Such subordinates will in fact, by their own behavior make it difficult for leaders to lead in any other way. There is very little participative leadership in France and Belgium.

However in Denmark, Sweden or Israel, subordinates will not necessarily wait until their boss takes the initiative to let them participate. They will, for example, support forms of employee co-determination in which either individuals or groups can take initiatives towards management. In these cultures, there are no management prerogatives that are automatically accepted; anything a boss does may be challenged by the subordinates. "The Phillipines, Venezuela, India, others show large power-distance index scores, but also France and Belgium score fairly high. Denmark, Israel and Austria score low. We see that there is a global relationship between power-distance and collectivism: collectivist countries always show large power-distances, but individualist countries do not always show small power-distances. The Latin
European countries - France, Belgium, Italy and Spain, plus marginally South Africa - show a combination of large power-distances plus Individualism. The other wealthy western countries all combine smaller power distances with Individualism. All poor countries are collectivists with large power-distances.\textsuperscript{120}  

Interestingly, industrial democracy and co-determination is a style that does not find much sympathy in United States. However, in Germany, co-determination is a revolutionary concept. "The German co-determination Act of May 4, 1976 requires companies with more than 2000 employees to include workers on the supervisory board (similar to the Board of Directors in the United States), with the extent of worker representation on the supervisory boards depending on the number of employees in the corporation. If there are more than 2000 employees, there are 20 members on the board, of whom 10 are representatives of the workers. Of these 10 six must come from the shop floor, three are elected by the unions, and one is to be a senior executive."\textsuperscript{121}  

Therefore it is important for American companies who are considering investment in Germany to realize that it is expected and required that there be substantial

\textsuperscript{120} Hofstede, "The Cultural Relativity of Organizational Practices and Theories", p. 81.  
\textsuperscript{121} Moran and Harris, \textit{Managing Cultural Synergy}, pp. 59-60.
employee representation on the policy making board. This representation is involved in major plant openings and closings, hiring and lay-offs and day to day plant operation. The effect of the worker representation on the decision making advisory board has other implications also, in the long range management planning.

In Britain, as periods of unemployment have shown, a man's sense of worth in the working classes, and increasingly in the middle classes, derives in large part from his work. Hence unemployment, and to a lesser extent retirement, can rob a man of a part of his feeling of self-esteem.

American managers on the whole feel that human relations in Europe have an authoritarian and paternalistic flavor, and consider the social distance between the individuals a remnant of feudal times. Europeans in turn, believe Americans to be guilty of promoting excessive egalitarianism and status-stripping, which in their eyes is not only naive and unrealistic, but must inevitably destroy management effectiveness in the long run. 122

As a result, human relations in European business lack the outer nonchalance and friendliness found in America and they do not seem to share the inner tensions

which are often apparent on the other side of the Atlantic. American tensions stem, it seems, largely from trying to adhere to the overly idealistic point of view that one must like everybody or, if that cannot be done, at least pretend to do so. Though the former is impossible, except those approaching sainthood, the latter—because of the pretense involved—creates all kinds of nervous tensions, feelings of guilt and frustration.

Finally Nowotny comments: "...between the extremes of bullying and loving people there is ample room for less spectacular but more effective way of simply 'respecting' them. It will always depend on the maturity of the individual top executive how good a balance he can finally strike between convention and informality. However, no progress will be possible unless the top executives give up the idea that only the American or the European brand of human relations is correct, and will admit that both have severely suffered from inbreeding the same ideas for many decades. Success will come only to extent top executives learn to live with open minds."  

An American generally respects a very aggressive person who demonstrates that he can get what he wants.

The Malay on the other hand respects a compromising person who shows that he is willing to give and take. In U.S. organizations and institutions, status is usually attributed to someone demonstrating leadership capabilities. In Malaysia however, the process is somewhat reversed. Malays are born into certain social position or status, and if the status is very high or important, then they are expected to demonstrate leadership capabilities.

As also mentioned earlier, "Hiya" or shame is important social force for Filipinos. To accuse a person of not having this "hiya" trait is a gross insult because it indicates that a person is unable to feel shame, as well as other emotions. Filipinos make every effort to maintain their reputation as being hospitable people. In return, foreign business people have to be polite and respectful towards them.

In Korea, relationships tend to be almost entirely vertical rather than horizontal, and each person is in a relatively higher or lower position. In relationships, it is often necessary to appear to lower oneself in selfless humility and give honor to other people. A well respected Korean often assumes an attitude of self-negation and self-effacement in social and business contacts. To put oneself forward is considered proud arrogance and worthy of scorn.
Elders in Korean society are always honored, respected, pampered and appeased. Their age allows them to influence the opinion of others, regardless of the right or wrong of the situation. Like children, elders must be given special delicacies at meals, and their every wish and desire is catered to whenever possible.

The custom and manner in which elderly people are sometimes sent to old persons' homes in the U.S. is extremely barbarous and shocking to the Koreans. Every home in Korea, no matter how poor, allocates the best room in the house to the honored grandfather or grandmother.

Arabs are generally very status and rank conscious. Therefore, one has to acknowledge and pay respect to the senior man first. Also one should not show signs of condescension towards others; mutual respect and worthiness is expected at all times.

In some countries, according to Hall, working with hands is considered as an indication of low status, for example, in Latin America. However in United States, there is no such stigma attached to manual work.\footnote{Hall, The Silent Language, p. 42.}

Firms operating in strongly formal or authori-
tarian societies may encounter problems if they attempt to transfer informal management styles into inappropriate settings, such as the following example illustrates: "The managers of one American firm tried to export the 'company picnic' idea into their Spanish subsidiary. On the day of the picnic, U.S. executives turned up, dressed as cooks, and proceeded to serve the food to their Spanish employees. Far from creating a relaxed atmosphere, this merely embarrassed the Spanish workers. Instead of socializing with their superiors, the employees clung together uneasily and whenever an executive approached their table, everyone stood up."^{125}

The patriarchal style of many managers in countries where the family business is predominant, is difficult to change because of the traditional dependency on the top management shown by the employees themselves. Also the bureaucratic delays of many government agencies in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, result in part from an extreme unwillingness to delegate authority. In Indian firms for example, "There is a strong tendency for the head of the family to maintain virtually complete authority on all major issues, even when there are other well-educated and potentially effective family members in the managerial hierarchy. There is also typically a high degree of cen-

tralization accompanied by autocratic direction in the larger public enterprises, since they are staffed largely by managers with a civil service background who are accustomed to this type of administration."

Societies also differ in their attitudes toward the appropriate sources of income. Some ways of earning an income is considered more desirable and respectful than others. Frequently, business and especially commercial activities rate rather low as a way of earning a living. In the middle ages, Christians could not be in a money lending business, so it was left for the Jews, who did pretty well in it. Similarly in many parts of the world, non-native groups (Chinese, Indian, Greek, etc.) have been allowed to take over necessary business activities, which were disapproved by the society. Generally, these entrepreneurs were very successful and eventually suffered from the envy and resentment of the nationals. In some cases, they have been expelled by the nationals, who have taken over their business without necessarily having their business skills.

In America however, business is an accepted way to gain wealth. "Sources of Income" which is one criterion used by sociologists in determining social status, business

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income is rated very high.

In some industrialized societies, money is valued for itself as a symbol of achievement. A survey in 1973, of high school graduates in United States, showed that 80 percent considered money important and equated it with success.\textsuperscript{127}

As discussed earlier, this concept has come out of Protestant ethic. In fact, in America, many earn more money than they can spend, but they are still concerned both about their total wealth and their annual income. It is for them, a sign of achievement. Mary Wells Lawrence, who heads an advertising agency, earns $385,000 a year. She says, "The money isn't really what I work for. For one thing, I don't have time to spend it."\textsuperscript{128}

\textbf{Self-Actualization Needs According to Maslow}

Even if all other needs are satisfied, a new discontent and restlessness will soon develop. "Once a person has obtained a satisfying amount of food, the opportunity to obtain more food is not motivating. The one exception of this conclusion is the need for self-actualization or growth. This seems to be insatiable."\textsuperscript{129}

\textsuperscript{127} \textit{Time}, 18 June 1973, p. 69.

\textsuperscript{128} \textit{Ann Arbor News}, 19 April 1973.

Maslow's studies on self-actualization began as the effort of a young intellectual, trying to understand two of his teachers whom he loved, adored and admired. They were Ruth Benedict and Max Wertheimer. He wanted to know why these two people were so different from the run-of-the-mill people in the world. "When I tried to understand them, think about them, and write about them in my journal and my notes, I realized in one wonderful moment that their two patterns could be generalized. I was talking about a kind of person, not about two non-comparable individuals. There was wonderful excitement in that, I tried to see whether this pattern could be found elsewhere, and I did find it elsewhere in one person after another."\textsuperscript{130}

Self-actualization is the desire to become everything that one is capable of becoming. "It refers to man's desire for self-fulfillment, namely to the tendency for him to become actualized in what he is potentially. This tendency might be phrased as the desire to become more and more of what one is, to become everything one is capable of becoming."\textsuperscript{131}


\textsuperscript{131}Idem, Motivation and Personality, pp. 91-92.
However according to Maslow, only from those people who are satisfied in their physiological, security, social and esteem needs, can we expect the fullest and healthiest creativeness.

Competence and achievement are closely related to self-actualization. Competence provides people with a form of control over their environment. Intellectual adults pit themselves against their work as a goal that is challenging but not beyond attainment.

Some individuals will accomplish more because their need to achieve is greater. McClelland and his associates at Harvard have found that high achievers are neither low nor high risk takers. Rather they set moderately difficult but potentially achievable goals for themselves. They like a challenge, but they want some influence over the outcome. High achievers also have a strong desire for feedback on how well they are doing.132

Of all the needs Maslow has identified, least is known about self-actualization. "Self-actualization is a term used rather loosely by some psychologists to explain that an individual will 'realize his full potential'. It is a fuzzy term, drenched in value connotations, both of what people are like and of what they can become. I have

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132 David C. McClelland and David H. Burnham, Power is the Great Motivator, quoted in Hodgetts, Management: Theory, Process and Practice, p. 318.
as much difficulty in seeing a self-actualized man as I do the typical bureaucrat...and when I ask for examples of the self-actualized person, the proponents suggest people like Einstein, Goethe, Spinoza, William James, Schweitzer, Beethoven, and Thoreau."133

Of course, if individual growth is a goal equated with each organizational member's becoming a Goethe or Einstein, then it is an impossible goal. But notion here is, as to how jobs and career lines can be redesigned to tap more of the individual's present capabilities and bring about increases in these capacities that are reasonably within reach. Organizations have typically underestimated these capacities and have not focussed sufficiently on utilizing them and enhancing them. It is an increasing necessity for most organizations, especially those desiring long-run survival through adaptability, innovation and change, to promote individual growth and greater utilization of available talents. For instance, there is evidence that "...meeting the higher needs of workers can, perhaps, increase productivity from 5% to 40%, the latter figure including the 'latent' productivity of workers that is currently untapped."134


134 Richard Walton, "Workplace Alienation and the Need for Major Innovation", cited in Special Task Force, on Work in America, p. 27.
"One safe prediction for future is that it will be a future of very tough competition. Only companies willing to look at every aspect of operation, to make sure they are lean and competitive, will survive tomorrow. It is time to take advantage of ideas and strengths of every employee, to use all of their resources creatively and well. It is, simply, a time for hard headed realism."\(^{135}\)

It is important to note that today's youths are expecting a great deal of intrinsic reward from work. "A 1960 survey of over 400,000 high school students was repeated for a representative sample in 1970, and findings showed a marked shift from the students valuing job security and promotion in 1960 to value 'freedom to make my own decisions', and 'work that seems important to me'.\(^{136}\)"

It is worth remembering that both human goals (for example autonomy) and economic goals (for example, increased productivity) can be achieved if the workers are allowed to share, both the responsibility of production and the profits earned through production. Most workers will willingly assume responsibility for a wider range of decisions (thereby increasing productivity and thus profits) if they


are also allowed to share in the results.

However, "neither profit-sharing arrangements alone nor responsibility sharing arrangements alone are likely to make significant differences in themselves. Profit sharing without responsibility sharing does not increase the size of the profit to be distributed. Responsibility sharing without profit sharing is basically exploitative and is usually rejected by workers." 137

Self-Actualization Needs in Different Cultures

In international context, British are likely to be influenced by "Protestant ethic", which places high value on work for the sake of it. During their socialization in family, in school, British are trained to view work as a central core of their life and as a major vehicle for realizing their capabilities. Intrinsic job outcomes such as autonomy, independence and achievement are thus likely to be valued highly by British managers. Also British family and school training tend to be liberal in orientation and encourages development of personal initiative and achievement, competitiveness, responsibility and independence. A manager coming from such a background may be expected to value and seek out such self-actualizing outcomes in his job as are compatible with these values.

137 Special Task Force, on Work in America, p. 110.
The French on the other hand come largely from more authoritarian families and are likely to be products of "Catholic ethic". Such a background de-emphasizes work ethic and places more emphasis on family. McClelland cites a number of studies showing that need for achievement is still higher among Protestants in general than among traditional Catholics. The most striking example he gives is that of a Mexican village which converted to Protestantism. After ten years passed, tests were given that showed the children in the Protestant village had a distinctly higher need for achievement than the children in the neighboring Catholic village.

However, the Catholics in other mixed Protestant-Catholic societies such as Germany, Netherlands and the United States, tend to have an achievement orientation much more like their fellow Protestant countrymen.

On Hinduism and Buddhism, as it relates to achievement orientation, McClelland comments as follows: "In similar fashion, it may be argued that other worldly religions like Hinduism and Buddhism stress values that would hardly be expected to lead parents to behave in ways that would induce high n-achievement in their sons. For

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example, Hinduism explicitly teaches that concern with earthly achievements is a snare and a delusion. The ultimate goal is to become 'non attached', to act without a concern for consequences of action. If all parents were devout Hindus, it is hard to see how they would set high standards of excellence for their son's performance, or show great pleasure over his achievements or displeasure at his failure. Furthermore, for the traditional Hindu, the world is not moving toward some ultimate Messianic goal as in Judaism or Christianity, so that the individual's achievements can have little long-range significance anyway.\textsuperscript{139}

In Japan, the rise of the business class is associated with a special kind of Buddhism, Zen Buddhism. This is a form of mysticism which is individualistic. Zen discipline is direct, self-reliant, and self-denying. As is known, in Japan it was Samurai or the warrior class which provided the economic leadership and McClelland relates the achievement orientation of the Samurai to their Zen Buddhism.\textsuperscript{140} It should be noted, nevertheless, that in Japan, the achievement motivation of the people seems to be more of a collective than an individualistic phenomenon.

With regard to Judaism, various studies have


\textsuperscript{140} Ibid, pp. 369-370.
shown that Jews in America are high in achievement orientation. Judaism provides the religious basis for this. It is a Messianic religion that stresses perfection in conduct (following God's commandments). Judaism further involves an attitude towards time, that is characteristic of people with a high need for achievement.  

Of course, one does not have to be Protestant to have a work ethic or achievement motivation. Many of the recently independent, less developed countries are trying to use nationalism to raise the achievement orientation of their people. In theory, nationalism could be an instiller of a desire for achievement. In practice, it has not proven to be nearly as effective as religion in producing work ethic. It seems to have its greatest impact in arousing the people against a real or imagined enemy, rather than in changing their attitude towards sustained economic achievements.

The non religious ideology that has been the most successful in implanting an achievement motivation is Communism. Party literature both in Russia and China is loaded with achievement imagery. Though the same kind of research on need for achievement has not

\[141\] Ibid., pp. 364-365.
been possible in Russia or China as in other countries, there are indications that the achievement drive in Russia rose substantially under the communists. 142

Russia's economic performance under the first 50 years of Communism has certainly been very impressive. It is very probable that Russian people's attitude toward achievement and work have played a role in that performance. Fear alone cannot motivate such a long-run effort.

Some ask the question as to why do British managers, who tend to be more motivated intrinsically, consider factors of salary, promotion, and recognition from others, which are extrinsic, to be so important? Answer may lie in McClelland's theory that achievement oriented people have a strong need for feedback.

On the list of American values are the virtues of liberty, morality and hard work. Added to this are pragmatism, need for achievement, individualism, and the pioneer spirit.

The Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights boldly announce the ideals of this nation: liberty, justice, free speech and press, one-man-one-vote, and the freedom of association. In the private sector, the deeply rooted beliefs in individualism and work ethic

142 Ibid., pp. 412-413.
came together in the industrial revolution. Industrial organizations were not egalitarian.

Prof. (Dr.) Anthony Kahng has listed the positive and negative aspects of American values. Some of these are:

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<tr>
<th>Positive Aspects</th>
<th>Negative Aspects</th>
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<td>Self-confidence</td>
<td>Selfish</td>
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<td>Competitive</td>
<td>Uncompassionate</td>
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<td>Goal oriented</td>
<td>Unprincipled</td>
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<td>Winner is right</td>
<td>Lack of empathy</td>
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<td>Aggressive</td>
<td>Lack of self-doubt</td>
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<td>Creative</td>
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<td>Specialization</td>
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<td>Self-interest</td>
<td>Lack of harmony</td>
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<td>Open-minded</td>
<td>Inconsistent</td>
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<td>Short-term success</td>
<td>Long term damage</td>
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<td>Scientific rationality</td>
<td>Lack of philosophy</td>
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<td>Litigious</td>
<td>Animosity</td>
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<td>Dynamic</td>
<td>Lack of perspective</td>
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<td>Pragmatic</td>
<td>Hodgepodge</td>
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<td>Self-control</td>
<td>Isolation and loneliness</td>
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<td>Profit-oriented</td>
<td>Debassed society</td>
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<td>Good-natured</td>
<td>Naive</td>
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<td>Patriotic</td>
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Entrepreneurs were strong willed. Loyalty and hard work were two qualities expected of anyone who worked with them and reaped their profits. A labor movement,

therefore, was not welcomed, but had to fight for its voice to be heard, if not respected. However, today, even the most conservative will grudgingly admit that labor movement provided the necessary block to unbridled exploitation at the height of the Industrial revolution.

During '80s, what many call post-industrial revolution, there has been a shift from the traditional values, "Americans are increasingly concerned about personal values, about their physical and mental well being. We have just experienced 'me decade" of health food, jogging, and slimnastics on the one hand and human potential movement with its sensitivity training, encounter groups, and est on the other. Central life interest for most members of the work force is not in the work place. Leisure activities and self-fulfillment come first. An American workforce weened on television, and schooled in affluence, better educated than at any time in history, wants more leisure and does not like routine work."144

Externalized achievement is the dominant motivation for the typical American. In a way, the pursuit thereof, has produced in the United States an unparalleled economic abundance. "Since achievement has to be visible

144Gorden, "Organizational Imperatives and Cultural Modifiers", p. 80.
and measurable, Americans become very sensitive to praise or blame...They depend on feedback from associates and particularly on the visibility of their achievements. Both of these factors are somewhat missing in the overseas situations: achievements are usually few and reactions of one's associates are likely to be both delayed and diffuse.\textsuperscript{145}

Again the cultural map of the United States says that Americans are most individualistic of all peoples. "Therefore wise managers should attend to individual identity, to role making more than role taking, to protection of employees' private lives, to autonomy, to their pleasure and to providing meaningful work...The map tells us, Americans value achievements, aggressive performance, money and things. The carrot is more motivating than the stick, both the intrinsic pull of wanting to achieve and extrinsic pull of needing the tangible pay-off from work to purchase 'the good life'.\textsuperscript{146}"

In Japan, however, self-actualization is seen in terms of the company, or the organization, or the group. They try to become everything they are capable of be-


\textsuperscript{146} Gorden, "Organizational Imperatives and Cultural Modifiers", p. 80.
coming in terms of group and not in terms of one individual. "For all their cross cultural borrowing, the Japanese have remained astonishingly unchanged. One of the most important of their native characteristics is a willingness to achieve consensus by compromising. Asian scholar Edwin Lee of Hamilton College suggests that a clue to this might be found in the Japanese word i.e., a concept that can be interchangeably applied to everything from self to home to family. A person is an extension of his immediate family members, his company, his community and his nation as a whole. All are bound together in an encompassing common purpose."147

Japanese feel that they as an individual can benefit only through elevation of group as a whole. The bonus system in Japan, for instance, depends to a great extent on the success of the organization during that time. If the company had a successful year, a bonus of six or eight times the monthly salary can be provided. On the other hand, if the company performed poorly, a bonus might not even be paid. In addition to bonuses, numerous fringe benefits are provided to the employees. As a result, the individual employee thinks that, since the company has given him everything, he is going to work very hard for the success of the company. So for him, the success of the

147 Byron, "How Japan Does It", p. 57.
company becomes his own individual success.

Thus for a Japanese employee, achievement of the company becomes his or her own achievement. Self-fulfillment becomes, the fulfillment of the group or the organization. "The greatest similarity among the countries is with regard to the satisfaction of the need for self-actualization. In all countries except Japan, it is considered as least satisfied of all the five needs. (The results for Japan show a peculiar pattern similar to no other country in that all needs, self-actualization included, are regarded as equally satisfied)."¹⁴⁸

In contrast as discussed earlier, Americans are committed to individualism and thus individual self-actualization. Interestingly however, "Western thinkers from John Locke to Oliver Wendell Holmes believe that individuality at some point has to give ground to group needs. It has taken a successful country on the rim of Asia to remind the U.S. that team-work, however it is organized, is still the pre-requisite for a prosperous society."¹⁴⁹

Prince Shotoku sheds some light on Japanese Self-Actualization - "Concord is to be honored and discord to


¹⁴⁹ Byron, "How Japan Does It", p. 60.
be averted. Everyone has his bias and few are farsighted. But when concord and union are maintained between those above and below and harmony rules in the discussion of affairs, the right reason of things will prevail by itself. Then what could not be accomplished."150

Mexicans believe that money is not the primary objective for an employee or the management. As one Mexican executive commented, "In the first place, one must understand perfectly that the function of the executive is not to supply to the capitalist a rather high yield, and that the index of his success is not measured exactly by the rising curve of the economic indices of the enterprise. The executive has a goal and a cause. His goal is to get ahead of himself as a result of integration of his own personality...The real asset of the enterprise is the human element. This is precisely the cause for which the executive works: human betterment and social justice; human betterment to be achieved through economic effort, work designed to raise the standard of living through greater productivity, effort for systematic organization of economic resources in order to achieve the last aim of prosperity, abundance for everybody.

150 John Vidovich, "Japan: The Exporting Attitude" (Term paper submitted to Dr. Anthony Kahug, New Jersey Institute of Technology, Newark, New Jersey, May 1981).
The executive in order to perform, must love. He cannot limit himself to the sharing of benefits without knowing how to share joy of life and work. To love is to give, to give of oneself, and wealth does not consist in what one has got but in what one gives. Wealth is not to be found in capital but in service.\textsuperscript{151}

Americans believe that they should work hard to accomplish their goals, whereas Latin-Americans in general believe that hard work is not the only prerequisite for success; wisdom, luck and time are also required. Again Latin Americans believe that competition leads to unbalances and disharmony whereas Americans believe that competition stimulates high performance.

In United States, ambition generally means to strive for worldly success, financial and social. There is a general lack of such ambition in Malaysia. Motivation for worldly success is replaced by motivation to develop deep and lasting relationships with friends and relatives. Malays have traditionally felt that in receiving material success, they might lose the highly valued respect of their family and friends.

Hence to them, self-actualization is achieving

\textsuperscript{151}Interview with Ivan Lansberg Henriquez, President of Association Venezolana de Ejecutivos, cited in Weber, Culture and Management, p. 376.
in terms of interpersonal relations, not in terms of visible, material achievement or accomplishment. The same is true for Indonesians. Through their family or group, they become actualized in what they potentially are.

Finally as discussed earlier too, in the United States, United Kingdom and some other countries, managers tend to over-estimate the importance of monetary satisfaction of work for their workers, and to under-estimate the importance of social satisfaction. However when they have to manage people from other cultures, they have to understand why people may prefer leisure and interpersonal relationships to a better standard of living,—something that many managers in the western world, imbued with notions about the advantage of material goods and moral value of work, find difficult to do.

McClelland suggests that a society's attitude toward work or achievement are the major determinants of its economic performance. While this is undoubtedly an over simplification of a complex reality, most development economists today are beginning to agree that attitudes related to work are more important than any other single variable that affects performance. In support of his hypothesis, McClelland conducted a number of studies. These studies were not only cross-sectional, such as the one of American, Italian, Polish and Turkish managers, but also were historical, going back to Pre-Incan Peru, and covering Greece, Spain and England during their centuries of Prominence. The level of achievement drive was determined from the drawings on vases and
pottery and from literature. McClelland found consistent support of his hypothesis. A high level of achievement orientation in one period meant a high level of performance in the following period. Generally, a high or low concern for achievement was followed some 50 years later by a high or low rate of economic growth.

McClelland concluded in his own words, "In conclusion, if we look back over the diverse findings reported in this chapter, they confirm our general hypothesis to a surprising extent, considering the many sources of error that could affect our measures. A concern for achievement as expressed in imaginative literature—folk tales and stories for children—is associated in modern times with a more rapid rate of economic development. The generalization is confirmed not only for Western, free enterprise democracies like England and the United States, but also for communist countries like Russia, Bulgaria or Hungary, or primitive tribes that are just beginning to make contact with modern technological society. It holds in the main, whether a country is developed or underdeveloped, poor or rich, industrial or agricultural, free or totalitarian. In other words, there is a strong suggestion here that men with high achievement motives will find a way to economic achievement given fairly wide variations in opportunity and social structure. What people want, they somehow manage to get, in the main
and on the average, though as we shall see later, other factors can modify the speed with which they get it". 152

We are all grateful to McClelland and others, who helped us to recognize the nature and the role of the need for achievement. However, this does not mean that we now have a simple explanation of a society's economic performance. In addition to the achievement drive, there are other attitudes and cultural factors that influence economy, even though we may now give them less weight.

It should be noted that even if one accepts the importance of the achievement drive in the economy, there remain very difficult and practical problems. A society that is short on financial capital or the tools and equipments for industrialization, can borrow or import them. Even managerial skills can be imported through the multinational firm. If however, the problem is a low achievement drive in the society, the remedy is much more complex and long range. Religion, education and child rearing practices are three of the principal sources of achievement drive. Changing these is not only difficult but a very slow process. Correct diagnosis is an important first step, but if no prescriptions or remedies are in sight, it can also be somewhat discouraging.

The Preconditions for Basic Need Satisfaction

According to Maslow, there are certain conditions that are immediate prerequisites for the basic need satisfaction.153 Danger to these is reacted to as if it were direct danger to the basic needs themselves. Such conditions as the freedom to speak, freedom to do what one wishes as long as no harm is done to others, freedom to express oneself, freedom to investigate and seek for information, freedom to defend oneself, justice, fairness, honesty, orderliness in the group, are the examples of such preconditions for basic need satisfactions. Thwarting of these freedoms will be reacted to with a threat or emergency response.

In spite of these needs not being the ends in themselves (only the basic needs are ends in themselves), they are nearly so because of their closeness with the basic needs. The reason these conditions are so important is that without them, the satisfaction of the basic needs are severely threatened, if not quite impossible.

Thus any conscious desires (partial goals) are more or less important as they are more or less close to basic needs. The same holds true for various behavior acts. An act is psychologically important if it contributes

directly to the satisfaction of the basic needs. The less directly it contributes, or weaker this contribution is, the less important this act is.

Again same is true for various defense mechanisms. Some are very directly related to the protection or the attainment of the basic needs, others are only weakly and distantly related. So there is more basic and less basic defense mechanisms and danger to more basic defenses in more threatening than danger to less basic defenses. To sum up in a sentence, all these are determined on the basis of their relationship to the basic needs.
CHAPTER IV

CRITICISMS AND CONTRAST

Criticisms of Maslow's Need Theory

One very popular criticism of Maslow has been that the specific order of needs suggested by Maslow does not apply to everyone. On one hand the critics give the example of a hungry mother who deprives herself of her food in order to feed her needy children, effectively letting her love needs operate prior to the satisfaction of her own physiological needs. On the other hand, the example is given of "the artist who apparently devotes virtually all his energy to creativity at the expense of his social, prestige, status, and perhaps even love and physiological satisfaction." Very significant is the fact that the order of needs varies when one moves from one culture to another. "...cultural factors especially influence child training practices, and the values and standards held by the family is transmitted to the child. As a person grows, he learns the values, attitudes and assumptions about life that are characteristic of the culture he was born to. He is taught


155 Weber, Culture and Management, p. 22.
the traditions of his society, its religious concepts, ethical doctrines, and metaphysical assumptions. These may vary a great deal from one society to another. ....The sharpest differences among managers in the more industrialized countries are: (1) the high importance attached to social needs in Japan versus the low importance by the Nordic - Europeans and even the Anglo-Americans: (2) the relatively low importance of esteem needs by Anglo-Americans and Nordic-Europeans compared with the Japanese and the Latin-Europeans.\(^{156}\)

As has been discussed earlier in this paper also, Indonesians, Malaysians, Filipinos pay more attention to social needs. For them, self-actualization is in terms of family. Same is true for Japanese who accomplish self-actualization collectively. Religion plays yet another important role with regard to the order of needs, for example, the differences between Catholic and Protestant beliefs, which was discussed in detail earlier. Germans are more motivated by security. French pay lesser importance to autonomy and achievement as compared to Americans.

Hence Maslow's belief that differences between cultures, with regard to the need system of the people, are only superficial, like just the style of hair or dress or taste of food, does not seem to be valid.

\(^{156}\)Ibid., pp. 23-26.
There is thus flexibility in Maslow's need hierarchy. It also varies from one individual to another. "Furthermore, the movement of needs from one level to another is only a tendency, not a certainty. In fact, there are a number of studies which have failed to support the hierarchical arrangement of needs, as proposed by Maslow. Instead these findings seem to suggest that when an individual relatively satisfies a given need, he may move to satisfy higher level needs (not necessarily the next higher level need alone), and he may also move back down the scale to better satisfy lower level needs by upgrading the means of satisfying them (the multidirectional movements of needs in the holistic need system makes it possible to construct a matrix of multi-dimensional transition probabilities). Furthermore, as an individual's goals are modified, changed or added, the next structure may take a new hierarchal order. This flexibility in the hierarchy underlies the concept of interchangeability among needs. Thus, when direct achievement of a particular need is blocked, a person may develop a substitute goal or seek to gratify other alternative needs." 157

Again according to Schlesinger, Eccles and Gabarro, ... very little evidence exists to support the view that a hierarchy exists once one moves above the security level.

For example, studies do not indicate that social need must be satisfied before people are concerned with the need for self-realization."^{158}

In 1968, Goodman conducted a study to find out the relative dominance of three needs of Maslow's hierarchy—security, social and esteem. "His study was conducted in a middle-sized electronics firm where non-supervisory engineers and assembly line workers served as subjects. From the fourteen assembly line workers, only two showed a dominant motivation. Only seven of the twenty-four engineers showed a dominant motivation. For these cases of domination, six showed ego needs dominating social needs, and three showed security needs dominating social needs. From these results, Goodman said that there is a tendency for the security motive to be somewhere between the social and ego motives. He concludes that the Maslow hierarchy should not be considered a hierarchy in the particular situation."^{159}

In 1963, Lyman W. Porter came to the following conclusion on the basis of his study: "By means of a questionnaire, 1916 managers indicated the degree of importance

^{158}Schlesinger, Eccles, and Gabaro, Managing Behavior in Organizations, p. 229.

they attached to 13 items representing 5 areas of psychological needs.... The five need areas studied were security, social, esteem, autonomy and self-actualization. Result showed that there was some relationship between vertical level of position within management and degree of perceived importance of needs. Higher level managers placed relatively more emphasis on self-actualization and autonomy needs than did lower level managers."\textsuperscript{160}

Also in 1963, Porter on a basis of separate study found that it was necessary to consider the horizontal aspect of organizational structure, that is, line versus Staff type of job, as one of the factors influencing job attitudes in management.\textsuperscript{161} Autonomy items were considered more important by Line managers. This is only logical since individuals in line jobs are supposed to be concerned with the main operations of the organization and function within the direct chain of command, while those in staff positions are concerned with auxiliary services that provide advice and assistance to the line and function outside of direct chain of command.

In yet another study in 1963, Porter found that at the lower levels of management, small company managers were

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\textsuperscript{160} Lyman W. Porter, "Job Attitudes in Management: II. Perceived Importance of Needs as a Function of Job Level," \textit{Journal of Applied Psychology} 47 (1963): 141

\textsuperscript{161} Lyman W. Porter, "Job Attitudes in Management: III. Perceived Deficiencies in Need Fulfillment as a Function of Line versus Staff Type of Job" \textit{Journal of Applied Psychology} 47 (1963): 267-275.
\end{flushleft}
more satisfied than large company managers. However, at the higher levels of management, large company managers were more satisfied than small company managers.

Another conclusion they reached in the same study was with regard to social needs area. Those in large companies, consistently regarded these needs as more important than the individuals in the smaller sized companies, regardless of the management level. This finding may also suggest that either more socially oriented individuals tend to join larger companies, rather than small ones, or the size of the organization has some influence on an individual's perception of the importance of social needs after he has joined a company.

Some criticize Maslow on the ground that the levels of his hierarchy are unclear and they tend to overlap. For example, Roberts, Walter and Miles on the basis of their study found that items supposedly tapping Esteem and Self-actualization needs of Maslow's theory, tend to cluster and are not differentiated from one another. "It is possible that the items employed here do not accurately reflect the Maslow category domains. For example, items regularly forming what we termed a 'growth and recognition' factor may, in fact, reflect aspects of esteem, and in no

instance tap the rather elusive domain of self-actualization. On the other hand, it may be that the development and the use of one's abilities (one aspect, presumably, of self-actualization) and the receipt of recognition and prestige for such efforts are inseparably linked in the minds of many managers. 163

Again Alderfer comments: "This writer's conclusion would be that Maslow's theory is strongest conceptually and has received some empirical support in the area of self-actualization, but it is unclear and has little direct empirical support in other need areas." 164

Maslow's theory also does not account for the possibility that an individual may respond to one level of needs at home and to another in his occupational setting.

Weber raises a good point when he says, "Marriage... has a way of dramatically lowering the need structure of an individual, or at least of motivating him to act on some lower level needs—'realism' to middle aged adults, and 'compromise' to youths." 165

Another question which arises is that how can the role of a person's neighbors or his peers affect the need


164 Alderfer, Existence, Relatedness and Growth, p. 52.

165 Weber, Culture and Management, p. 23.
system of the person. For example, according to the Equity theory, a person does not only concern himself with what he is getting from the company in return for his performance but also what others are getting. "Roger feels that he is entitled to a raise of $1,000 for the upcoming year. His superior calls him and tells him he is going to get $1,750. Roger is elated. However, later in the day he discovers that Linz, his arch rival, has received $2,300. Now Roger is angry because he feels he is giving as much to the company as Linz, but he is receiving less. Initially, he was happy with the 'extra' $750 but now he is not, because social comparison has shown that Linz is getting a bigger award than he."\(^{166}\)

Finally, one aspect of Maslow's theory deserves attention here. Some scholars point to the fact that some individuals remain at certain levels of hierarchy. For example, according to Hodgetts, "...some individuals remain primarily at the lower levels of hierarchy, continually concerned with physiological and safety needs. This often occurs among people in underdeveloped areas. Conversely, others may spend a great deal of their time at upper levels of the hierarchy... Americans probably spend a good deal of their time trying to satisfy social, esteem, and self-actualization needs."\(^{167}\)


\[^{167}\]Ibid., pp. 318-319.
if there is continued, long-lasting deprivation of lower-level need satisfaction, behavior will continue to be motivated by these lower level needs; the individual will not move on to higher needs.168

Weber writes about a report which was issued in 1965 when Daniel Moynihan was the assistant secretary of Labor. According to that report, "...the need hierarchy of some Negro youths is permanently truncated. Inability to satisfy needs for status, prestige, love, safety, or security, and in many cases even physiological needs, means that future behavior of these Negro youths is mainly to satisfy the lower-level drives. Consequently, the needs for self-esteem, competence and achievement never become motivating. Apparently, aspiration level becomes permanently low because of these early experiences.

The opposite of the dominance by lower level needs is also possible. When lower needs have been satisfied without effort for a long time, they may become undervalued. The upper middle-class white youth who has always enjoyed the satisfaction of his needs—physiological, security, affiliation, and status—may be motivated only by higher needs."169

The above arguments are probably made in response to Maslow's contention that human beings are perpetually want-

169 Weber, Culture and Management, p. 23.
ing animals and once a need is satisfied, other higher needs emerge and when these in turn are satisfied, again new (higher) needs emerge and so on and so forth.

However, (as has been discussed in detail in Chapter II of this paper), Maslow has himself pointed out that the hierarchy is not as rigid as it looks and he has made room for many exceptions. For example, he writes about innately creative people in whom the drive for creativity might appear despite the lack of basic satisfaction. Furthermore, for some people, the level of aspiration becomes permanently lowered, like for one who has experienced chronic unemployment. On the other hand, according to Maslow, lower needs may be under evaluated by a person who has never experienced chronic hunger. Again with regard to ideals, high values and social standards, Maslow has written that people become martyrs: they are ready to sacrifice everything for their ideals or values.

**Maslow's Need Theory in Relation to Some Other Motivational Theories**

**Herzberg's Motivator—Hygiene Theory—**

During late 1950's; Professor Frederick Herzberg and his research associates at Pittsburgh conducted extensive interviews with two hundred engineers and accountants who worked for eleven different companies in the Pittsburgh area. His theory is primarily in context of work

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organization and is, therefore, a theory of work motivation, rather than a more general theory of human motivation.

On the basis of his study, Herzberg came up with two-factor theory of motivation. He labelled the factors that prevent dissatisfaction as hygiene factors because its influence on the worker was similar to that of physical hygiene on the body. The function of the hygiene is to prevent deterioration of the original condition or in other words, dissatisfaction. These include salary, policies and administration, supervision, security, working conditions, status and interpersonal relations. These factors do not increase worker productivity. Rather they ensure that productivity does not decline.

The factors which bring about job satisfaction are called motivators. These are positive factors which can motivate upwards, past one's "neutral position". These include work itself, recognition, advancement, or the possibility of growth, achievement, responsibility, etc. These factors are effective in motivating an individual to superior performance.

Comparing this theory with Maslow's need hierarchy, Maslow's lower needs are similar to Herzberg's hygiene factors and Maslow's higher needs are similar to Herzberg's motivators. Specifically, Maslow's physiological, security social and the factor of "status" from the category of esteem needs, are similar to Herzberg's hygiene and the rest of esteem needs and self-actualization needs are
covered by Herzberg's motivators.

McGregor's Theory X and Theory Y–

According to McGregor, in order to motivate its human resources, management holds certain assumptions with regard to human nature and human behavior. These are Theory X and Theory Y, based on the nature of the assumptions.

Theory X is based on external control of behavior. These are:

a) The average human being has an inherent dislike of work and will avoid it if possible.

b) As a result, he must be coerced, controlled, directed, threatened with punishment, in order to achieve organizational goals.

c) The average person himself likes to be led, dislikes responsibility, has very little ambition, is resistant to change and therefore likes security, more than anything else.

Theory Y on the other hand is based on a dynamic view of man, who is self-controlled and self-directed. This theory has following assumptions regarding human nature—

a) Average human being does not dislike work and if he is passive, he has so become as a result of his experience in the organization.

b) The management has the responsibility to make

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provisions so that the employee can achieve his own goals best by directing his own efforts towards organizational objectives.

c) The potential for growth, creativity, the capacity to assume responsibility are all present in an individual. It is for the management to tap the latent potentiality of the worker concerned.

Comparing McGregor's theory with Maslow's need hierarchy, it can be said that if management holds Theory X assumptions, it will give prime consideration to the satisfaction of physiological and security needs. On the other hand, if it has Theory Y assumptions, it will give emphasis on social, esteem and self-actualization needs of the workers.

Argyris's Immaturity—Maturity Theory—

Christ Argyris, while on the Yale faculty, studied industrial organizations to determine the effect of management practices on individual behavior and personal growth within the organization.\footnote{Chris Argyris, \textit{Personality and Organization} (New York: Harper and Bros., 1957); \textit{Interpersonal Competence and Organizational Effectiveness} (Homewood, Ill: Dorsey Press, 1962); and \textit{Integrating the Individual and the Organization} (New York: Wiley, 1964).}

According to his theory, as an individual moves from infancy (immaturity) to adulthood (maturity), seven changes take place. In other words, he passes through seven stages, which can be viewed as stages in a continuum: Immaturity — Maturity.
Comparing this theory with that of Maslow, it can be said that if an organization wants to keep its employees in a state of immaturity, it will cater to lower levels of Maslow's hierarchy. On the other hand, if an organization wants to develop its workers into a state of maturity, it will provide for fulfillment of higher levels of Maslow's need hierarchy.

Behavior Modification—

B.F. Skinner, a leading Harvard psychologist, contends that behavior is caused primarily by externally induced stimuli. "Skinner and his disciples say that all behavior is shaped and maintained by its consequences. A man does something because of the reinforcement he received from similar behavior in the past. If the outcome of his action is pleasing to him, the likelihood of his repeating the same action is high. A reinforcer is something that increases the probability of a behavior occurring again. We can look upon a reinforcer as a reward or incentive to behave in a certain way. Reinforcers may be tangible like food or money and they can be intangible like praise and approval." 173

According to Skinner, there are three kinds of reinforcements: (i) punishment or negative reinforcement;
(ii) Extinction or neutral reinforcement, (iii) Positive reinforcement.

Punishment can be used in two ways. First can be by inflicting physical or emotional pain and second by withdrawal of desired stimulus like food or water. The objective is to stop or decrease the occurrence of certain behavior. However, Skinner does not favor this kind of reinforcement.

Extinction can be used by applying a neutral stimulus after the behavior occurs. The behavior is neither rewarded, nor punished.

Skinner recommends the positive reinforcement the most, because it increases the likelihood of a desired response. The individual tends to develop favorable attitudes.

Furthermore, reinforcement can be used according to three different schedules: (1) continuous, (2) fixed ratio but not continuous or (3) variable ratio. A continuous schedule rewards a person everytime he exhibits the desired behavior. A fixed ratio schedule might reward the person, for instance, every third time he exhibits the desired behavior and with variable ratio, behavior is reinforced randomly.

Also according to Skinner, reinforcement should be very prompt or immediate. Not much time should be allowed to elapse between behavior and reinforcement.

In contrast to Maslow's theory, Skinner's theory denies
the existence of free will and the autonomous, inner-motivated man. The emphasis is on the relation between the man and his environment.

Expectancy Theory of Motivation—

This theory says that an individual will be motivated to perform highly if he: (1) sees a high probability that his efforts will lead to high performance, (2) sees a high probability that high performance will lead to outcomes, and (3) views these outcomes to be positively attractive to him.

Comparing this theory with Maslow's concept of need, we find that, "...there are two ways of studying motivational intensity. One can examine need deficiencies, as in Maslow's hierarchy, which promote a particular form of behavior; or one can examine the goals an individual has chosen, in which case motivation is seen as a force pulling the person toward the desired objective. Furthermore, in the case of need deprivation, the emphasis is on internal deficiencies; in the case of expectancy, the focus is on external goals that help alleviate these deficiencies. In essence, although the two ideas are different, they are related." 174

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174 Hodgetts, Management: Theory, Process and Practice, p. 327.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Inducing an employee to expend energy on a productive activity by applying the correct incentives requires an understanding of the employee's need structure at a given moment. The task of identifying a dominant need or a set of needs at a given moment nevertheless, is a difficult one. Specific needs of an individual rarely exist in isolation, but usually occur in a complex structure which has a highly dynamic make up. The dynamic structure of human needs and its relationship to motivation is a multi-dimensional phenomenon.

Maslow's scheme offers one wide system for structuring human needs. For those who favor the notion that the dimensions of job satisfaction are related to the need system of the job holder, it offers a likely starting point for instrument development.

Only by increasing the job satisfaction can there be an increase in both quality and quantity of work. This way, the society will avoid some of the very large costs it has to pay, which is not fully tallied in the annual reports of the corporations and bureaucracies. Rather they are the costs of such job related pathologies as political alienation, violent aggression against others, alcoholism, drug abuse, mental depression, an assortment
of physical illness, inadequate performance in schools, and a large number of welfare families than there is need.

When a manager has to motivate a person who is influenced only by lower level needs, he has to provide opportunity to satisfy such needs as pay, working conditions, etc. On the other hand, if he has to deal with an employee who is influenced by higher levels of Maslow's need structure, and if the manager fails to provide for the satisfaction of these higher level needs, the employee will react with behavior which is detrimental both to himself and the organization. However, if the manager provides the opportunity to satisfy these higher level needs, the individual will respond with behavior which is constructive both to himself and the organization.

In order to motivate workers, the manager must know which needs require satisfaction at which times. Whatever approach the manager takes, it will be based on assumptions about individual workers and their need satisfaction.

The types of outcome sought by managers differ significantly from one culture to another, with consequent implications, for the design of effective motivational and reward systems in international companies. We have to understand how the culture in which we grew up and which is dear to us affects our thinking differently from other peoples' thinking, and what this means for transfer of management practices and theories.
"It is perfectly right and legitimate that we should consider as "good" the manners which our parents have taught us, that we should hold sacred social norms and rites handed down to us by tradition and culture. What we must guard against, with all the power of rational responsibility, is our natural inclination to regard the social rites and norms of other cultures as inferior. The dark side of pseudo-speciation is that it makes us consider, the numbers of pseudo-species other than our own as not human, as many primitive tribes are demonstrably doing, in whose language the word for their own particular tribe is synonymous with 'man'.... The moral of natural history of pseudo-speciation is that we must learn to tolerate other cultures, to shed entirely our own cultural and national arrogance, and to realize that the social norms and rites of other cultures, to which their members keep faith as we do to our own, have the same right to be respected and to be regarded as sacred."\textsuperscript{175}

A widely profounded fallacy in the advanced industrial countries holds that all nations evolve in a series of evolutionary steps, in an unilinear path. The American, British and French are likely to place their own respective countries at the pinnacle of this path, and look upon all

\textsuperscript{175} Konrad Lorenz, \textit{On Aggression}, pp. 79-80.
other peoples' cultures as backward and inferior to theirs. Cultural maturity, thus, is rationalization to be a correlate of economic progress. The claim for cultural superiority by members of subindustrial societies, who regard the relatively greater reliance on materialistic considerations in industrial societies as evidence of moral and spiritual degeneration, is similarly irrational.

It is clear that the nature of motivation may be quite different in non-western countries with centralized governments from what it usually is in the United States. Especially significant is the fact that the definite acceptance of a personal bond between subordinate and superior makes the authority figure an acceptable source of motivation. Direct orders, explicit instructions, and demands for personal conformity may be much more acceptable and even desired in non-western world, than in the United States. American preference for persuasion may be seen in those countries as weakness and self-determination may become egotism and a threat to others.

Cultural forms have meaning only in relation to their particular historical context. Societies are relative to one another, not higher or lower on some absolute scale. Even primitive cultures, although technologically backward, have values that are useful to people in highly industrialized countries. Also by no means are all of the norms and practices of modern societies more beneficial than those of
others. "There are elements in what we consider the modernity that have wrought havoc both in rich and poor countries. Nor is modernity free from purely cultural bound behavior. Its taboos are more sophisticated, its votive offerings and sacrifices ritualized on a higher level, than primitive man's, but they are real nonetheless. The modernized countries have translated the tribal idiom into modern behavioral terms, but they have not removed the cultural and psychological bases for human action." 176

A cultural approach to winning employee commitment should not be cosmetic. New orientation programs and fanfare announcement of corporate philosophy will not be enough. Corporate cultural sensitivity means being caught up in the web of corporate ethos, getting to know the heroes, customs, and rituals which make a corporate culture tangible, even understanding the story tellers and informal guardians of the culture.

History tells us that cultural values cannot be easily changed, or waived aside. "Even the Muslim Moors, who ruled much of Spain from eighth to fifteenth century, could not pursue these deeply Christian people to renounce their faith. In more modern times, we see this same truth illustrated by the Tibetan people who although subjected to the horrible destruction of the Chinese communists, will

not renounce their national and religious identity. And we see it again in persistent Poles."177

Cultural synergy builds upon similarities, and fuses differences resulting in more effective human activities and systems. The very diversity of people can be utilized to enhance problem solving by combined action. Those in International Management have unique opportunity to foster synergy on a global basis. Also cultural borrowing, that is transferring ideas among groups, has occurred throughout the history of humanity. However, in contemporary times, because of vast advancements made in communication technologies, inputs are transferring from one culture to another very rapidly. As a result, frames of reference and needs throughout the world are changing very fast.

Thus an organization might profit from a close look into what are the work-related values of both its administrative personnel and workforce. How, in fact, do the various subcultures find their values satisfied or frustrated? These are the phenomena we all too frequently fail to unearth when we seek to motivate or manage people. Leaders have the responsibility to conceive and articulate goals that lift people out of their petty pre-occupations, carry them above the conflicts that tear society apart, and unite them in pursuit of objectives worthy of their best efforts.

177 Gorden, "Organizational Imperatives and Cultural Modifiers," p. 83.
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