

ORGANISATIONAL DYNAMICS

(DBUS39)

(MBA 3 YEARS)



ACHARYA NAGARJUNA UNIVERSITY

CENTRE FOR DISTANCE EDUCATION

NAGARJUNA NAGAR,

GUNTUR

ANDHRA PRADESH

BLOCK 1

GROUP DYNAMICS

This block comprises four units. The first unit dwells upon various aspects of group, and its influences. This unit basically deals with the characteristics of various kinds of groups and develops rationale for studying groups enumerating the important aspects of organizational life in day to day operations. This unit clearly brings about the difference between 'collective' and the 'group', qualitative and quantitative both. Influencing is a common phenomenon in a group. This unit clearly explains the dynamics of influencing.

The second unit of this block is on phases of group development. The core focus of this unit is to explain the reasons for formation of groups, the processes involved in the group formation and the cohesiveness of the group. Extending the discussion further this unit describes the stages of group development explaining all the stages thoroughly and comparing the same with work organization. Other related problems discussed in this unit pertain to development of teams and the effect of various group processes on the performance of the team. Towards the end this unit also discusses the influence of group processes on committees.

The third unit is one Group cohesion and Alienation. Starting with introduction to the topic the unit explains in detail the characteristics of sociological approach to alienation and the contemporary sociological treatment of alienation. Having explained thoroughly this approach the focus shifts to the psychological approach, like job involvement and motivational approach to alienation. Taking an overall view the unit further goes on explaining the integration of the sociological approach. Towards the end the unit highlights the difference between the motivational approach and the other approaches to alienation.

The last unit in this block is on conformity and obedience. This unit basically tries to clarify, define and explain the theme of the title and its conflict with freedom and empowerment. Having defined and explained the key words this unit explains the dynamics of the influence on individual's response to group conformity pressures in the form of compliance and identification. Further, in this unit the dynamics of obedience to authority has been explained through Milgram's study. This unit also highlights the need for the use of power to instill conformity and obedience by the managers and also explains all the five sources of power. Towards the end this unit hints at the empowerment to cope with the loss of power as a result of the power dynamics in the organization.

UNIT 1

UNDERSTANDING GROUPS

Objectives

After going through this unit, you should be able to :

- understand what is a group and why study groups
- appreciate the characteristic features of primary and secondary groups
- appreciate the complementarity of group and the individual
- understand the nature of group influences.

Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Why study groups
- 1.3 The Description and Nature of Groups
- 1.4 The Nature of Constraints
- 1.5 Group Processes
- 1.6 Group Processes as a Function of Interaction
- 1.7 Theoretical Approaches to Groups
- 1.8 The Group and The Individual
- 1.9 Summary
- 1.10 Self – Assessment Questions
- 1.11 Further Readings

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Man is a social animal. The early origin and development of social life among *homo sapiens* was within the context of collectives where the sustained human group was a social invention of critical evolutionary importance. The human group originated presumably through mutual interaction among factors such as partial care, the growth of larger brain, development of language, extended childhood, exchange behaviour, and play. Once the sustainable group emerged, it became a valuable social form. First, it became a means to accomplish tasks and reach goals that were simply impossible for the individual alone, including the care of the young after the death of the mother, hunting large animals, the spanning of wide charms, building complex structures, conducting communal ceremonies, defending effectively against attack and so on. Second, groups became a source not only of physical sustenance but also of warmth and affection, of tenderness and support, and of a sense of identity and collective security. Third, the group became both a creator and a transmitter of culture, language and technical know –how beliefs and art forms, games and ceremonies, and in general a set of meanings for interpreting existence including life in the group itself. Fourth, human groups each bound

together by mutual trust, became building blocks to be joined together to form larger social units, ranging from small outfit or band, to the clan, the tribe, the city, the society and eventually to the highly complex political and economic organizations which now span the globe. Quite naturally in the face of the new possibilities of, and demands on, these superstructure, the forms and sustenance of the original groups gave way to radically new forms that have led to today's wide variety of *primary* and *secondary* groups.

Before proceeding further. Let us understand what is meant by primary and secondary groups. According to Dunphy the *primary group* –is “ a group which persists long enough to develop strong emotional attachment between members, at least a set of rudimentary, functionality differentiated roles , and a sub –culture of its own which includes an image of the group as an entity and informal normative system which controls group – relevant action as members”. To understand the distinctive processes of primary groups, we need to look not only within these groups but outside them. Consequently one may identify the roles these primary groups play in life . Whether life in such groups is easy going and pleasant or turbulent and disturbing, members tend to be attached one another, to be significant” to one another, as it would be indicated by sense of personal loss . When a member is separated from the group like in a family such primary groups are at one end of a scale . At the other, , impersonal end of the scale indicated by sense of personal loss. When a member is separated from the group like in a family such primary groups are at one end of a scale: At one other , impersonal end of the scale are *secondary groups* whose values is largely extrinsic. They are organized chiefly to get a job done, to produce object or services that have exchanged value, usually for outsiders. Performance according to standard of effectiveness or excellence taken precedence over personal feelings and attachments. Often members are considered replaceable in the service of high quality group performance, as in surgical team. Beyond their variation in “primaryness” the billions of groups that exist vary in other respects including size, duration or existence, reward to members, usefulness to the community, and the degree to which their structure and activities are governed by custom or law.

1.2 WHY STUDY GROUPS ?

Groups may be numerous and various, but why study them ? One reason is curiosity about the human condition . The billions of groups that exist are settings in which the men, woman and children of the world pursue their daily activities of work and play. Whatever form they take, one can assume that their structure and internal dynamics make difference not only to the lives of their members but also to the character and history of the communities of which they are a part. As we all know, the new born infant cannot become human without “a mothering group” and reciprocally groups can neither maintain themselves nor accomplish collective goals without having gained commitment from individuals. This interdependence between group and individual is elemental, both in origin and development of group life among humans and individual lives–elemental enough to raise further questions, such as, how do these groups tend to shape personalities ? What part do they play throughout the life cycle of individuals? What do groups give to and require from individuals ? What is actually require from individuals to live, work and play together? What are the dynamics of these small centers of human existence? On another level, how do networks of such groups contribute to the life of communities? What groups influence the course of history and in what ways? How do these relations - among persons and the group, among groups and the community-differ from one region to another, or from one culture to another? Are there general laws that tend to govern such relations? One can see that the interest in human conditions can lead quite naturally to question about human groups whether one is a historian, psychologist, anthropologist, sociologist or scholar in related fields.

One of the most important reasons for studying groups, apart its role in helping individuals in reaching difficult goals, is to better understand the psychology of the individuals. Cooley wrote, "human nature is developed and expressed in those simple face – to – face groups that some how are alike in all societies , groups of the family, the play ground and the neighbourhood, _____in these every where human nature comes into existence". The humanizing processes that occur between the new born and the family are often so intricately interwoven that the boundaries between person and group are not clear. Consequently those who are trying to advance our knowledge about personality development are finding it enormously helpful, if not essential, to comprehend the interpersonal dynamics in the formative groups.

Another reason to study the groups is to better understand larger social units, such as organization, institutions. communities and societies. Ordinarily, these larger units are composed of overlapping smaller groups, connected through various types of obligations and responsibilities . Because of the interdependencies in a given network, groups small in themselves may nonetheless have may have important even critical effects on the rest of the system . We are familiar with the general tendencies of decision making to migrate to the top of power network where often a small group of executives and advisors makes to the final decisions. In so far as the internal relations (loyalties, jealousies, coalitions) of the small group a fact its decision, then its dynamics have an impact on the larger system both at the top and at the grass root level, the dynamics of small units can be a major source of variance in determining changes in the larger system. The more important they are at source of variance, the more essential it becomes for these who want to understand change in the larger systems to study dynamics of the smaller groups. For example, if the top executives are not well coordinated interpersonally, the entire organization will suffer as most of the important decision will either be shelved due to internal bickering or will be watered down in the name of collective compromise .

1.3 THE DESCRIPTION AND NATURE OF GROUPS

'a group should be conceived of as a system whose parts interrelate'.

(Gahagan, 1975)

Much has been written about groups, especially over the last thirty years when all the pervading nature of 'group' influence on human behaviour has been increasingly recognized . The number of words in the English language that have arisen to number of describe form of collectivity, both in animals and men, is legion. This is a fair indication of the need to distinguish these groupings and is also a clear mark of the acceptance of their universal nature.

The very *general* nature of human groupings poses a problem for those who wish to examine group phenomena in more detail. Manifestly ubiquitous group pressures producing some form of conformity, and therefore acceptable behaviour, are as little thought about as breathing. In turn this tends to relegate such group pressures to a level below conscious awareness unless, circumstances change and unfamiliarity break the habitual patterns. This process allows individuals to assume that they make decisions about the trivia of everyday life in ways that are both personal to them and not subject to outside influence whereas the opposite is more nearly the reality. Whatever choices the individual makes, these are already circumscribed by group influences; the less awareness there is of these influences, the more circumscribed the choice and the greater the lack of awareness.

In a very real sense, then, attempting to describe what actually happens when people are gathered together is an effort to delineate more aspects of human interaction, because even actions that are essentially private can, with little effort, be shown to be influenced by group behaviour and, in particular, to be the expected responses of others. It is not too difficult to present an argument for the 'learned' nature of most of human behaviour, nor to argue that it was learned because it produced relatively satisfactory results somewhere in our past experience. In other words, it was behaviour that found acceptance by those who were perceived as important, to us in some way and that thereby brought some degree of satisfaction to us as producers of such behaviour.

Nothing seems more important in the understanding of group influence than the enormous effort that all human beings seem to make to offset any perception they may have of their essentially isolated state. However such human beings involve themselves with others, each is still basically a self-contained unit with no direct, unimpeded link with any other human being (unless he or she is one of a set of Siamese twins). An individual cannot communicate thoughts and feelings without translating them into some form of arbitrary and systematic code, nor can the feelings and thoughts of another be appreciated without the same translation process taking place at both transmitting and receiving ends.

Furthermore, it would seem that not only is the human being isolated in this way but in other ways also. For example, there is the problem of identity, and the constant need for stimulation from other similar beings. Both these factors seem essential to the maintenance of a mentally healthy individual. Our perception of the kind of people we are rests largely on our recognizing the responses we evoke in others. We cannot evoke such responses if our behaviour is so unacceptable that we are excluded from the company of others. Similarly, unless we receive sufficient response from others, we cannot be socially competent individuals.

While there are other factors involved, we are concerned here, to make explicit only the functions of group influence in everyday life. The reasons for so doing are simple enough and reside in the concept of a human being as a thinking animal. By 'thinking' I mean a process of conscious 'assessment of the factors involved in any situation and also an assessment of the nature of the equipment we possess for making such assessments. Choices can only be made if an awareness of alternatives and their value exists at the moment of decision making. Some choice almost always exists. But in many circumstances the hidden influences that over-or under-value a choice, or even obscure a possible alternative, limit any selection and thus affect the outcome.

Such hidden influences, which stem mainly from group pressures, can be made more explicit by the expedient of acquiring some understanding of the way in which groups operate. By increasing understanding of the function of group influence, erstwhile hidden influences become manifest and any decision can be more widely and accurately based.

Definitions of dynamic entities such as groups present many difficulties but it is hoped that the description offered here will provide a reasonable basis for the widening of understanding about groups in general.

THE ARBITRARY NATURE OF THE 'GROUP' CONCEPT

'A group is . . . the largest of two or more individuals who are jointly characterized by a network of relevant communications, a shared sense of collective identity and one or more shared goal dispositions with associated normative strengths.'

(Smith-1967)

In one clear sense a group is a purely arbitrary distinction, the nature of which may be very important when certain kinds of groups are studied. All groups are collections of human beings. What determines the degree of 'groupness' must be at a very basic level, for example, the amount of time they spend in each Other's company. Thus, if people congregate for noticeable periods of time then they lose some of the fluidity of a haphazard gathering. The observer can say they are an elementary or rudimentary group. Social life is composed of just such groups.

The arbitrary nature of such a definition is marked by the fluctuations of perception of observers. For example, observers may disagree about the sufficient minimum time needed for a rudimentary group to be established. Thus, some researchers set purely arbitrary levels about how much of any given defining factor (e.g. time spent in each other's presence) constitutes an acceptable criterion. Other defining factors such as awareness of the presence of others and interaction, are equally important, but all are dependent for their existence upon the factor of time.

One zoologist (Jones 1967) has even suggested that the group state may be the real existence of which individuals are no more than parts, as cells are constituents of a body. Jones was in fact writing about social insects such as bees, his argument is applicable to human beings, too. Thus, it is possible to argue that all social life is group life and that the individual is a more or less responsive constituent part.

Whyte (1960) proposes that we tend to be confusing an abstraction with reality. He goes on to say that because a collection of individuals can be called 'a group' it does not imply that they *function* as 'a group'. (This is an interesting example of the arbitrary way in which the term 'group' is used.) By saying that a collection of people does not function as a group. Whyte is suggesting that in his definition certain clear conditions must be present before the collection becomes a group. In his terms those conditions are those that facilitate a collection's ability to function as a group, that is, to act as an integrated unit with some cognizance of the interdependence of the constituent parts.

In general, one would not quarrel with this outlook. However, one do question the assumption that there is *qualitative* difference between the 'collective' and the 'group'. As one see it, the difference is *quantitative*; the two systems are the same system at different stages in its development. All the factors that eventually create the group are in existence in the collectivity. They are less intensively and extensively developed but they are there intensively and extensively developed, but they are there. Even this concept has an element of arbitrariness about it but I think it begs fewer questions, and is broader and more elegant than approaches that insist that the obvious difference between groups crowds, and collectivities are differences of kind. No one would suggest that eggs, caterpillars, pupae, and moths are not part of the same life cycle despite – heir apparent differences.

Golembiewski (1962) asserts that he can find no evidence for the assumption that all human aggregates are groups. But it is equally clear from the definition he gives of a 'group' that once more he has made an arbitrary choice about what he will accept as falling within his criteria.

This leads to a search for the factors that distinguish what one will and will not accept under the rubric of 'group'. Hence all the concern with the awareness of purpose on the part of the members, the sense of belonging, and the myriad of focusing factors. In turn, this has led to semantic problems and to problems of infinite consequence in terms of the impossibility of comparing research projects ostensibly concerned with the same social situation, i.e. a group. Ultimately this has led to a hardening of the differences and possessive claims that only the writer is talking about 'real' groups.

Most particular and precise formulations about actual occurrences can be embedded in larger concepts and this stochastic process may be infinite. But there must be some stage at which the apparently separate theoretical entities can be embedded without harm or loss in the next larger stage of concept. If this is not done with the concept of group then the arbitrary nature remains paramount and conflict prevents maximum use being made of the available data.

WHAT ARE GROUPS?

'Our aim, therefore, is to enunciate general principles of the following form:., "If any device is to perform function X, then that device is subject to or limited by the principles Y which must hold for all possible devices performing this function".

(Miller 1969a: 107)

George Miller was writing about a way of comparing computers and human beings, machines and organisms, that sees them 'insofar as they performed the same function . . . as particular instances of theoretical systems of far greater generality' (Miller 1969a : 106).

The obvious difficulty of comparing groups which arises from the apparent widely different uses to which they are put, has always tended towards a differentiation of groups. The functions have been seen to be different. Therefore Miller's general principle would not apply. But it seems that 'function' in these instances is often confused with 'outcome'. For example, if a group is used as a method of treating people with particular kinds of emotional problems, then its outcome is therapeutic. Some would say that this was also its 'function' and that this function would be different from that of a group – set up to enhance learning.

The point is that the functions of all groups, defined as the way they operate, are identical and that it is not so much the absolute difference of function that creates apparent difference in groups, but the intensity, duration, and selective use of the recognizably limited number of functions that produce different outcomes. In terms of Miller's general principles, all groups fit into a theoretical system of greater generality and are governed by the same general principles. In other words, these can be defined as a stochastic theory of groups that points to the similarities of groups rather than their differences.

Given a stochastic theory in which the different 'kinds' of groups (I would prefer to use the word 'manifestations' than kinds) can be embedded, we are immediately presented with the possibility of direct comparison of identifiable components. We are in fact faced with the possibility of examining the interactive behaviour of human beings in certain set pieces. The use of the word 'set' here indicates that the element of time has to be considered as one of the most important factors involved.

Human beings are separate entities but in their movements through space and time they gather together to produce groupings that last for different spans of time. Some like families and friendships exist over long periods of time; others, like acquaintanceships or crowds, last only a short time. People also move from one of these gatherings to others in relatively short periods of time.

All this is very obvious but it has to be said because the collectivities themselves, especially if they are not particularly transient, have come to be regarded as entities so much in their own right that the obvious fact that they are collecting points in a never – ending stream of interaction tends to get lost, and with it the essential similarities that exist among them.

Shaw (1974) argues that group behaviour is the behaviour of the individuals who compose the group. Their behaviour in one group will be different from their solitary behaviour because the stimuli they receive from the presence of others are significantly different in different social situations. This is another way of asserting the same point I made earlier.

The constellations of individuals that a person enters are composed of different individuals and occur at different stages of the life cycle both of the individual members and of the gatherings they compose. Thus, the stimuli to which any one member is exposed are different- not in kind but in intensity and duration - and indeed perception of those stimuli also changes with experience and the degree of familiarity.

Once more, we are forced back to the fact that group behaviour in the presence of others, the response to, the ordinary stimuli of human social meeting. How long the gatherings stay together and thus increase the chance of adding to the experience of their members (which in turn modifies their perceptions not only of this collectivity but of all others of which they are a member) is crucial. Thus, although the terms 'natural' and 'created' groups are in widespread use to distinguish between what are often seen as the two major categories of grouping, it will be shown that the distinction relates only to the nature of their origin and not to the behaviour patterns of which they are composed.

So-called 'natural' groups

If it were possible for the overworked hypothetical man from Mars to take a fresh view of the people of Earth, he would probably be impressed by the amount of time they spend doing things in groups.

(Cartwright and Zander 1953)

'Natural' groups tend to be those that were in existence long before the person who so describes them saw them as such. 'natural', in this sense, has little or nothing to do with nature but with a sense of rightness, a feeling that such groups are 'real', that they grew out of ordinary human needs and that there is no immediate evidence that they were consciously and deliberately brought into existence by one or more human beings as an act of policy.

'Natural' also implies acceptance. The 'normal' state of affairs has not been interfered with. People may not like families, particularly their own, but a family is described as a 'natural' group. It grows out of several very basic needs of all human beings, all of which can only be met by some long-term contact with, and support from, other people. It is real; it is accepted.

Employing the dichotomy of 'natural' and 'created' forms of groups leads to the difficulty of actually seeing 'natural' groups as groups. To many people the word 'group' means a collection of individuals gathered together in one place at the same time often for at least one common purpose. It is quite acceptable that a study could be made of how such groups form and function, and die, but it is quite another matter to want to apply similar techniques to 'natural' groups such as families, friendship groups, and gangs. This is one of the major reasons why information about the ways in which groups behave is so heavily weighted in favour of that obtained from 'artificial' groups (Argyle 1969).

There are other reasons, of course. For instance, the invasion of an investigator into a 'natural' group throws into sharp relief the fact that his or her reason for being there is significantly different from that of all the other members. What the investigator sees may well be biased by the fact of his or her presence. He or she can hardly ever become a true member of the group unless their motives for being there change or are never made explicit.

Using Whyte's (1960) terminology, 'natural groups would be called 'incidental' in contradistinction to 'created' groups, would be called, 'functional'. So Whyte's distinction lies in whether a group form arose to meet or accommodate the exigencies of an 'in-process' situation and in that sense is a spontaneous growth from that situation, or whether a conscious effort, is directed to the establishment of a group form 'deigned' to cope with a situation and to facilitate a predicated outcome.

Activity 1

Look for residential societies around you and the office environment and try to assess what kind of ground get formed and how. Describe any two instances in details. Prepare a note and discuss with your colleagues .

.....

.....

.....

.....

A somewhat similar formulation is put forward by Heap (1977) in which the factors of spontaneity, chance, propinquity, Shared interests, and needs are regarded as prime elements in the gestation of 'natural' groups. There is strong emphasis on the chance element of people being in the same place at the same time and a sense of the benefits this brings that reinforces the desire to maintain the source. (Heap uses the phrase 'members simply come together'.)

It is precisely this chance element and the desire to maintain a group as a source of satisfaction that offers the possibility of discovering what factors in these groups, then they endure, meet the needs of their members so well. In other words, if a grouping arises from the chance factors listed above, stays in existence for a considerable period of time, and creates behaviour patterns that can not only be recognized but emulated, then that group effectively serves the needs of its members. Moreover, the shape or form it has developed should be the embodiment of the elements that generate effective need –satisfaction in this kind of situation. In a sense it is 'organic' in that it has grown into the shape it finally assumes.

To be more sure of this point it is necessary to look at groups that do not originate in this way and to identify the major differences and the likely effects.

So – called 'Created' groups

The group is artificial, a form created by design'

1. Artificial things are synthesized (though not always or usually with full forethought) by man .
2. Artificial things may imitate appearances in natural things while lacking, in one or more respects, the reality of the latter .
3. Artificial things can be characterised in terms of functions, goals, adaptations.
4. Artificial things are often discussed, particularly when they are being designed, in terms of imperatives as well as descriptives'. (Simon in Rosenthal 1973 :61)

One major problem in the world of groups is that of gaining acceptance for the idea of the similarity of all groups. The terms natural and 'created' groups embody this problem'. There is something alien

about groups that are created as a specific effort of will. In teaching people to see the dynamics of groups, for instance, a very common comment is that any group studied for this purpose is 'artificial'. By this is meant that a very strong resistance to the groups, 'realness' has been generated, despite the fact that the group is constituted of real people in real surroundings. The element of being conscious of its generation and purpose, of being in on its birth rather than just finding it already in existence, seems to cause problems in accepting its reality.

The major distinctions between 'natural' and 'created' groups would seem to be first that natural groups arise out of the everyday needs of human beings (they are of spontaneous generation and arise from circumstances that occur as an integral part of human existence) and, second, that for the individual member the sense of 'naturalness' is greater the further away he or she is from the actual creation of the group.

Activity 2.

Have you ever been a part of either a natural group or a created group? If not, assess why? If yes, prepare a write-up about your experience, objectives and functioning of the group. Discuss among your peer group.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

In a very arbitrary way the terms 'natural' and 'created' groups define not so much different kinds of animal but different ways of looking at members of the same species. The use of the word 'natural' gives the clue to the kind of thinking that lies behind it as does the use of the word 'artificial' for groups that are specifically and consciously generated. Matters have often been made worse by attempts to prove what happens in all groups by creating experimental groups and performing controlled experiments with carefully delineated areas of group behavior. This lays open the possibility of direct refusal to accept any results from such groups, which are quite rightly seen as artificial, to real' groups, which by definition are natural.

There is a problem with experimental group data but it is not their absolute distinction from real groups. It is the fact that experimental groups are created for the purpose of being experimental groups their purpose is to perform an experimental function. Thus, all the factors that attend their creation, function, constitution, and performance, affect the outcome. To transfer an analysis of such outcomes directly to the understanding of groups where the factors are different in some major way is not to be wholly wrong (that would contravene the essential similarity of all groups), but to have an instrument 'that is woefully out of balance'.

The question of the created group and its difference is not one of kind but of quantity and quality of the major influencing factors. Looked at in this way, it is possible to say that the so-called 'natural' group has some considerable elements of artificiality' in it, that is, elements deliberately brought into existence or modified in some way by conscious effort, but that mainly its structure has come about by 'chance' elements.

A large number of so-called 'natural' groups are transient by nature. They come into being to meet a given situation and break up when that situation no longer obtains. It is only when the group

deliberately seeks other similar situations to – work at, becomes consciously interested in its own performance, and' deliberately attempts to improve its methods that the group has begun to involve from its chance origin to a rationally constructed performing unit. This kind of change concerns time and the changed perceptions of members about their achievement, satisfactions, and functions .

Processes take some time to become established and to produce outcomes, and so although the so-called 'natural' groups should give us clear indications of the factors that allow the group to stay in business, not all 'natural' groups are germane to our purpose. Essentially the natural groups that should prove most valuable in providing the evidence required should not be transient and should be successful in the performance of their function .For these reasons I have chosen to look at groups that have a permanence beyond one initial function. It is their successful forms that I want to scrutinize. Groups modify their members' experience of group behaviour and this modification, or learning process, is often referred to as the influence that a group can exert.

THE NATURE OF GROUP INFLUENCE

'a great deal of behaviour which has been supposed to emanate from within the individual, to be based on his fixed character traits, is, in fact, a function of the individual within his group.

(Brown 1954: 283)

'Influence is neither good nor bad in an absolute manner, but only in relation to the one who experiences it.

(Gide :1903)

Without doubt , groups possess the ability to influence the behaviour of their members. Indeed , it is the nature of this ability, and the methods employed that are fundamental to this study . If a group is not able by its very nature to influence its members and to moderate their – behaviour then any attempt to use a group for this kind of purpose is certain to fail.

First we must clarify what is meant by *influence*, looking at group influence in general terms here but in more detail in the subsequent sections. To begin with, it is necessary to recognize the two most important elements, that is, the actual influence or pressure that a groups exerts and the perception that each member has of the pressure being exerted. The necessity to behave in specific acceptable ways can be spelled out clearly by the group through its representatives, or it can be left to be discovered by newly acquired members who are helped by hint, suggestion, modeling, and sanction. In any case, each member's perception of what the group requires of him or her will be somewhat idiosyncratic. The possibility for error and partial success is enormous and tends to increase, the more specific the required behaviours become.

One fact, substantially backed by practical experience , emerges fairly clearly from a consideration of the material about group influence. This concerns the relationship between influence, the need for a particular group, and the availability of alternative groups. Given that a group must satisfy some of the needs of its members better, in their opinion, than any available alternatives, there must come a point where any increase in the demands of a group on its members could make previously unattractive substitutes a better base of satisfaction. Thus, if freedom to change exists, change will take place. Group influence can only operate as an acceptable – pressure up to the point at which the satisfactions derived from being a member of the group are greater than the dissatisfactions generated by the group pressure. If alternatives or substitutes are available then the 'cost' rate may well tilt in their favour and if the pressure is great enough then opting out altogether may become viable.

Thus, the nature of group influence can be described in terms of an exchange. In so far as any group meets the needs of an individual, the costs will be the demands the group makes on that individual. If, in the opinion of the individual, the costs exceed the rewards, alternative and cheaper ways of meeting needs will be sought. As the needs of human beings are many and varied, it must suffice to say that the most basic needs reside in the constant requirements for reassurance of the accepting presence of others, confirmation of our existence, and the dispelling of fear " of rejection and isolation. As human contact is an essential ingredient in all these needs, then a –group must be an ideal medium for meeting them.

Group pressure is exerted upon individuals through the groups perceived ability to meet the needs of these individuals. The nature, extent and intensity of those needs form the upward *limits* of the pressure that a group can exert.

Activity 3

Being a member of any type of group, have you noticed any influenced or pressure on you. If yes, how did you feel about influencing or being influenced.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

1.4 THE NATURE OF CONSTRAINTS

It becomes necessary to see any group, artificial or natural, as existing within a milieu which places upon the group limitations and boundaries.

(Douglas 1979: 78)

In the analysis of what goes on in groups, it is often forgotten that the object of analysis exists in relation to a myriad surroundings. This forgetfulness 'can promote neglect and ignorance of the effects that these surrounding factors can have. One of the difficulty of defining what these possible reasons may be the constraining influences are and isolating and measuring their effects. Nevertheless, to acknowledge their presence is a step in the right direction no matter how crude the defining entities may be.

A second problem relating to constraints is that once more we are dealing not with a direct cause\effect situation but one that is monitored and modified by the nature of individual perception and response. For instance, the passing of time is a fact. The way it affects members of a group depends largely how each perceives the time factor in relation to their own needs and priorities .

While this perceptual factor complicates the assessment of the way in which existing constraints affect the influence processes in a group, all outcome in group situations are influenced by them because the nature of constraint is present in every constituent factor of the group and its surroundings. It needs to be said here that the term constraint may be misleading in that it appears to have a restrictive connotation. While this is true, the positive side is the security that a defining

structure, boundary limit can give. I have found that the most useful way of thinking about the constraints is that when they are recognized and their constraining function assessed in relation to the particular group under consideration, they define what is possible .

This way of looking at constraints has then to have an extra dimension, summed up in the dichotomy modifiable/nonmodifiable. Modifiable, that is, from the point of view of the group (in reality whether the group possesses the power to effect change). Constraints that are non- modifiable immediately set the parameters within which the group can function, while admitting that the assessment of their nature as unmodifiable may be incorrect and prove to be so at some later stage

Second and third factors enter into this debate under the rubrics of duration and intensity. In the first case (duration), constraints that at one point in time are assessed as nonmodifiable may not continue their existence in that form for the duration of the group's existence. Factors totally separate from the group and its immediate milieu can materially affect the operating constraints (administrative decisions, changes in the power structure, and financial change, for example). These changes can obviously work in either direction, tightening or loosening the constraints' effect.

The third factor (intensity) is inherent in the factor of change also. Some constraints have little effect upon a group despite being non –modifiable, others have a great deal. This level of intensity of effect can of course, change during the life of a group either from the effect of outside influence or from a change in the group's need of, or response to, the constraint in question. What matters is that all constraints are constantly monitored in order to assess the effects they are producing.

A list of the constraints is given in Douglas (1979:78 –106) where a discussion of their nature is pursued at some length. In one sense everything that comprises a group and the milieu in which it is embedded can have some effect on its outcome .Group members clearly react to things as intangible as the atmosphere of the place where they meet just as much as they may do to the constrictions of material resources, such as space, equipment, and finance . So it is only realistic that the recognition and assessment of constraints, and the continuous monitoring of their effect, should be restricted to those that are considered to create the most important positive and negative effects .

Groups that have arisen to meet specific ends and that assume a traditional form, take on this structure and design largely, though not wholly, because experience has shown which constraints have the power to affect outcomes and which design elements can enhance, use or reduce those effects to the benefit of the group. It becomes important, therefore, not only to recognize these traditional, empirically developed structures for the design elements they are, but also to be aware of constraints that are not part of the basic traditional pattern but which are present in a current situation in which it is proposed to embed a group.

A part from the environment and the element of time, mentioned earlier, the acts of leadership, made by group members, from a very large part of a group's constraint system. The element of choice, which is a characteristic of leadership acts, is always selective . Thus, choosing to go in one direction and to behave according to this norm always constrains the group, if the choice is accepted, by cutting off the possibility of doing something else.

Leadership acts as a specific form of constraint

'No man is great enough or wise enough for any of us to surrender our destiny to. The only way in which any one can lead us is to restore to us the belief in our own guidance'.

(Miller 1941)

The issue of leadership has always been one of the major areas of debate in the study of groups. The concepts of democracy and equality have tended to produce a suspicion of the exercise of power and to inhibit the movement of individuals into leadership roles. Theories of leadership have tended to be concerned with the kind of people who make good leaders or with the kind of situations that pushed people into being a leader. The difference between a public profession of leadership as autocratic and undemocratic, and the private ambitions to power and dominion over others are well noted in our society.

But members of a group do seek to achieve something from their membership and there is never any guarantee that the group will provide even the bare minimum of satisfaction for the individual without some guidance from him or her of the way he or she would wish it to go. Of course the dissatisfaction to be incurred by attempting to change the rewards produced by group membership in line with increasing them may balance out or even be too great so that greater actual reward can accrue to the individual by not interfering with the status quo. Even this situation can be shown to carry with it some aspect of a leadership act in that a decision not to intervene in the group process does affect the outcome; it produces an apparent agreement with the current, movement that can enhance the belief of other members that the group is fulfilling its purpose.

In all these perceptions there is the chance that they do not, and will not, coincide with the way others see the situation. Thus, one basic risk is always present in any leadership act, that is the individual's perception is idiosyncratic and may not be congruent with the perception of others. His or her individual perception may be more prescient than theirs, but many factors (status, for example) might be involved in any attempt to convince. There are many instances of individuals 'going along' with decisions against their better judgement, often for reasons of personal security, and where subsequent events have demonstrated the correctness or appropriateness of their withheld perception (see, for example, Steiner 1974; Torrance 1954; Kelman 1950; and Hochbaum 1954).

Whatever the origin of leadership acts, whether from designated leader or not, their nature is influential and their effect constraining. Such acts can be directed to many parts of group behaviour, to all the group processes, to individuals, sub-groups, to the whole group, and to the constraints both within and without. They can be aimed at the task performance of the group or at its internal or external relationships, to factors external to the group that affect its outcomes, and so on the list in endless.

Given that leadership is such an important constraining factor, the way it is built into the design of any group will have far-reaching consequences for the degree of success or failure that group will have in achieving its proximate and long-range goals.

Activity 4

You would have come across various leaders in your career. Describe what you could understand as constraint.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

1.5 GROUP PROCESSES

'It is indisputable that our universe is not chaos. We perceive beings, objects, things to which we give names. "These beings or things are forms or structures endowed with a degree of stability, they take up some part of space and last for some period of time'.

(Thom in Postle 1980 : 29)

In writing about the nature of groups, psychologists and group workers of all kinds have tended to talk about 'group processes'. Groups, being dynamic entities, must have process, that is, chains of events with a beginning, middle, and end sequentially linked. But although it is one thing to say this, and another to know that such processes exist from experience, it is much more complex to define and distinguish these events. Most writers mention one or more group processes, and few define even those they mention clearly. However, all accept that some understanding of group processes is essential in any analysis of what happens in group situations.

Here we are faced with a very old dilemma. Do group processes actually exist as entities in their own right or are the words we use about the functions we call group processes merely imposed names, labels that help us to make some sense of what appears to be happening? I am not sure that an answer to this question is very relevant. A considerable amount of psychological theory is abstract in that it relates to ways of formalizing and systematizing thoughts, it is not dealing with concrete quantifiable factors. What does matter is that the analysis of group processes should lead to the development of an increased understanding of group functioning and to the development of techniques for modifying it deliberately and purposefully based on that understanding.

In essence, whatever the nature of group processes, any analysis of them should be usable. The main reason for requiring explanations of why things happen must be to gain assurance that some measure of control (in terms of understanding and of response to such happenings) is possible in the future. From the start, then, it is irrelevant whether these so-called 'process' are artificial in the sense that they are descriptive labels. What does matter is that it can be demonstrated that their use actually facilitates our understanding of the complex multi-dimensional dynamics of a group in action.

It is interesting in this respect to find that people who work with, and write about, groups seem often to be describing similar things. There are at least two reasons why this might be. First, they are looking at the same things, i.e. processes. Second, because of a similar background and a shared vocabulary, they are imposing the same interpretive labels on what are possibly discrepant events. A third approach might be to say that all such descriptions have elements of both sources in them.

However, the main purposes of describing anything are to make possible recognition of future occurrences and to make experience of such occurrences indirectly available to others. In a word, to create instruments whereby events not previously experienced become recognizable and their nature and possible consequences become known. Most importantly this confers the possibility of action to support, enhance, deflect, change or eradicate those consequences, that is, a calculated response based upon knowledge and not a response that is at best a change event.

In this process of the development of probable control we must not lose sight of another fact that arises from the use of such instruments, which- is the post hoc analysis that reveals why certain events occurred and why they took the paths' that were actually followed. In order to do this the instruments do not need to be very precisely refined. Indeed, the concept of group process is fairly

crude. The described processes are not orthogonal, some are remarkably vague, expressing very wide spread and accept ideas that are yet very amorphous. Yet they provide an instrument of analysis that is applicable to all forms of human collectivity and is therefore a basis for logical comparisons.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF GROUP PROCESSES

The selection of facts demands some way of determining relevance.

(Russell in de Mare 1972:85)

Perhaps the most efficient method of identifying group processes is that of analyzing what descriptive material exists, looking for points of similarity and difference. Different witnesses may well give different labels to similar things, but their descriptions should, by the collation of similarities, quite quickly expose such naming problems. Descriptions may be made at many different levels, may cover vastly different areas of a situation, be parts rather than wholes, and be subjectively determined by strong held beliefs about what should exist. Most of these problems are familiar enough to students of the skills of observation.

It has been customary to analyze what goes on in a group in terms of the individual relationships that are produced within it. This is natural enough. In psychology there has always been a very strong emphasis on the individual and until recently, an almost equal lack of consideration of the effect of the individual's social milieu. Individual psychology were paramount when the early investigations with group behaviour began. It was inevitable that the instruments of analysis that were readily available should have been used. Much valuable work arose from this situation and it still forms a basic layer of possible understanding. However, what soon presented itself was the possibility of a different kind of understanding related not so much to individual interaction but to the patterns of behaviour of the group as unit.

Over time, the individual interactions of members performed within the context and boundary of the group produce outcomes for the group as a whole. Probably the first perception of patterns of this nature related to the observation that the historical sequence of group life showed a developmental pattern that was often likened to the maturational process of the human infant. In like manner, this maturational or developmental pattern was often represented as occurring in stages and there was a growing realization that these stages carried with them significantly different potentialities for the group as a whole. Of course, the patterns were and are, too simple even when they stopped being linear and became cyclic, spiral, or regressive. But they demonstrated that it was possible to define a process larger than individual interactions because it was composed of a number of them executed over a period of time.

Other patterns could be discovered that were also mainly located in incidents that occurred in groups with sufficient frequency to become first expected and later predictable. Social structure was one such pattern, the ways a group developed to handle the making of decisions was another. A secondary level of analysis was now possible that related directly to time and the successful performance of the group tasks. This in turn gave the possibility of influencing such group outcomes by inhibiting the processes that might be counterproductive and, equally, by promoting those that moved the group towards achievement. In other words, it gave the possibility of a larger approach to the understanding and control of group behaviour.

Of course, these large patterns are formed by constellations of different kinds of individual interaction that thus form the basic and universal component of all the patterns. Indeed, the methods of influencing the larger patterns often lies in intervention significant individual interactions that in turn modify the larger patterns develop from them.

In effect, therefore, the identification of individual group processes constitutes a recognition of those patterns that are sufficiently different to warrant a separate existence. Often enough this identification has been made by group practitioners without full understanding of what they are describing and the terminology used to describe them does not always facilitate recognition and easy categorization.

However, there is more than ample evidence that those who work with groups can and do recognize behaviours that cluster in particular ways not only in terms of the nature of such behaviours, but in the frequency of their occurrence and their intensity, and in their spread or diffusion through the group, which, in time, actually create either a structure, a movement, some more amorphous though readily recognizable ambience. It is these creations and the means by which they are created and maintained that form the group processes.

The non-orthogonal nature of group processes

The descriptive nature of the information on which identification is based, must of necessity lead to many similar factors being included in each of the apparently discrete elements defined. This may cause some confusion but it is not necessarily a stumbling block. For instance, it is possible to say that unless the members of a group interact with each other then not only is there no group but there no group processes either. This does not mean that there is no point in looking beyond interaction to establish an understanding of group behaviour, nor that interaction is all that such behaviour comprises. It does mean that interaction is a fundamental process and as such is a constituent or generative factor in all other processes that may be discerned.

One way of describing the group processes is to say that they are not orthogonal. They overlap parts of some are identical to parts of others- they are not mutually exclusive. In short, we are able to identify clearly the peaks of mountains in arrange that at some lower and more basic level are interconnected. This is not a good analogy because mountain ranges are fixed and what one sees in a group in action is fluid and dynamic. A better analogy might be a large area of fluid where the shapes of waves are recognizable but where each wave is just as likely to be composed of a large part of fluid we have seen in another wave form a few moments ago as to be completely new material.

The most important features of recognition here are found first in past experience, and, second, in frequency of occurrence.

Past experience : All groups show striking similarities that are recognizable by people who have never heard of group processes or group dynamics. What they recognize is behaviour that has a degree of familiarity; it has a pattern. The pattern is not precisely the same (it could not be) but it is sufficiently similar to spark off recognition.

Frequency of occurrence : In dynamic situations any sense of structure, of component parts, is established on the basis of patterns forming in roughly the same way. The constituents coalesce, break, and reform but with sufficient frequency to develop an expectation that a given situation will generate a given pattern. This has at least two major implications.

First, prediction, recognition of a situation associated with the usual development of a given pattern will spark off an expectation that such a pattern will develop,). This is the element of prediction and

therefore looks to the future. Second, the past: if a pattern develops then it is more likely that it arose from a particular constellation of events that, from past experience, one knows produce this form. Even though this constellation was not actually witnessed, its existence can be predicated on the basis of what followed it, in much the same way that the one time existence of galactic bodies can be asserted from the patterns of disturbance they created although the original body is no longer a concrete reality.

What this amounts to is that group processes are not exact. It is impossible to use them to quantify the dynamics of a group with mathematical precision. In effect, precision of that nature would be valueless. Even counting the number of times a given interaction behaviour takes place over a period of time adds little of value to a group operator's understanding when he or she already has some idea of the frequency of such a behaviour pattern in terms of many or few interactions.

DESCRIPTION OF GROUP PROCESSES

Historically one of the main arguments for the study of groups has been that groups are not mere summations of individuals but a different system level, with properties arising from the pattern of member characteristics in interaction with the situation.'

(McGrath and Altman 1966:60)

The problem of describing group processes is highlighted by Collins and Guetzkow (1964) in *Social Psychology of Group Processes for Decision-making*. There are the words 'Group Processes in the title and there are several references throughout the text to the ma' or part such processes play, for example, 'But the extensive data contrasting an individual working alone the same individual *working in a group* give us an insight into the unique properties of group processes, but these processes are never defined. There is no reference to them as such in the otherwise very comprehensive index. Is the assumption that group processes are so obvious that no one needs even to be reminded what they are ?

But the same neglect is true of most other texts. No matter whether one looks for the processes under the heading of group dynamics or elsewhere, the basic assumption seems to be that such commonly known factors only require to be mentioned for us to know precisely what is meant. We are left with the basic tasks of defining first what is meant by a group process and, second trying to isolate as many group processes as possible.

The lexical definition of a process combines the notions of action, operation, or change, natural or involuntary, that occur over a period of time. A problem immediately arises when we try to talk about the processes that occur in a group in fact not one but several problems occur. First, and importantly, human groups cannot be regarded as amalgams of constituents that affect one another in prescribed ways, as for instance occurs in the combination or mixture of chemical substances. Human beings are conscious of their involvement and can rationally (or otherwise) take action based upon their perception of what is happening to modify it. How can we say, therefore, that the people who compose a group at some stage become the constituents of that group which then can be analyzed in terms of the processes it (that is, the group) produces?

The main evidence that can be adduced for following this apparently ambiguous procedure is historical. Even taking into account the psychological or other orientation of the observer, which inevitably would introduce some element of seeing what he or she expected to see, people who observe groups have recorded remarkable similarities in the way they behave. Thus, historically we find descriptions of group behaviour in terms of individual interaction in the presence of others turning

to statements of the linear sequence a group pursues during its life, to cyclic sequences and spirals through to the presentation of observable patterns that relate to the group as an identifiable entity and not to the behaviour as individuals of its constituent members.

There are no clearly defined edges to these patterns and some are more easily and readily identifiable than others, but the fact remains that they can be noticed. If they relate to the group as an existing entity, then attempts to change, support, or modify the group should prove much more effective when directed at the groups own patterns than when directed solely at the behaviour of its constituent members.

Table : Classification of group processes

Category 1	Basic	Interaction
Category 2	Structural	Group development Social Structure Sub-group formation
Category 3	Locomotive	Decision making Purpose and goal formation
Category 4	Molar	Formation of norms, standards and values Development of Cohesion Development of group pressure(influence) Development of climate

1.6 GROUP PROCESSES AS A FUNCTION OF INTERACTION

If human beings are aware of others then interaction begins. Even ignoring others is a form of interaction in the sense that it is a conscious behaviour motivated by recognition of the presence of another. Being ignored also generates a response, thus fulfilling the basic two-part nature of interaction as action and reaction. The nature of interaction is so basic that it apparently underlies all the group process that have been identified.

Where human beings gather together interact and it is not difficult to see that by interacting, the larger patterns of behaviour, existing after time, which we have called group processes, emerge. Even when we look at the processes as functions of other factors like influence or communication, interaction between persons is the medium of exchange that carries the influence or communication. Often enough the basic nature of the interactive process has led to attempts –to say that the whole of the life of a group is a sequence of interactions between individuals taking place in the context of the group and that nothing remotely like a *group* process actually occurs.

Such an argument leads to one of the most interesting continua in the area of group dynamics, the range from contextual use of the group to instrumental use, behind which lies fundamental concepts of human nature. Briefly at the-contextual end is the belief that human influence situations occur as interaction between two people, one as influencer and one as influenced, and that the setting in which this interaction is embedded has only a contrary and peripheral value. At the instrumental end

is the belief that the major change agent is a group in its 'formed' state. This implies that change comes from recognition and an understanding of the need and possibility for change. Changes in perception are much more readily brought about in a group situation than by individual persuasion. There is little possibility of reconciling these poles although the use of techniques that draw from both sources tend to be more efficient in coping with a wider range of need than approaches that are based on one or the other alone.

Attempts to measure interaction are fairly widespread and well known (see Bales : 1950, for example). What tends to occur, however, is that some aspect of interaction that is readily available and quantifiable, such as number and nature of vocal interchanges, is used to represent the whole. The possibility of measuring factors such as gesture, posture or facial expression, all forms of non-verbal communication, is not any greater. The judgement of meaning is liable to much greater error even than the ascription of general meanings to the spoken word.

But it is indisputable that without interaction of some sort it would not be possible to say that a group exists, except in a purely numerical or categorizing sense. Do a number of widely separated individuals who write or phone each other regularly but never meet in person constitute a group? In a vague and uneasy way the answer must be 'no' as the interaction between them cannot easily encompass more than two people at any one time. If each person was available to the others at the same time on video monitors then a more positive interaction would ensue because each member of the group would know that his or her behaviour was immediately visible to the others and they, and everyone else, could see the responses to it directly.

For all practical purposes, group = interaction. Out of interaction grows the awareness of feedback; feedback is the prime stimulus to knowledge of the existence of self, and thus the endeavour to control the elements of the feedback situation to generate the degree of security commensurate with benefit arises, and gives birth to the processes of familiarization, constellation formation, alliances, the development of the rules of this particular game, and the pursuit of given ends.

In producing these effects, others develop. Some factors arise that are special or specific forms of more general processes, others are more diffuse processes arising from some that were originally more precise. Thus, the purpose of the group and its rules of behaviour arise from the more general decision-making that are tacitly agreed upon. A sense of belonging, however, which is a rather non-specific feeling, a rise out of the practice together over a period of time of more precise forms of behaviour.

Accepting that interaction fundamental and basic to the group process cannot absolve us from the necessary of noting how group processes may be seen to arise from factors such as influence and communication that lie at a less basic level of human behaviour than interaction. In truth some confusion appears in the literature concerning any distinction between interaction and communication. For instance, Bales's observation categories, called an Interaction Process Analysis, are defined as a procedure to 'classify the pattern and content of communication in a group' regardless of its history function or composition.' (Raven and Rubin 1976:508). But interaction is more than the patterns of communication and it is therefore to examine in more detail the claim that it is the necessary generator of processes.

Group processes as a Function of Group Influence

'The key phrase in the preceding paragraph is "social influence". And this becomes our working definition of social psychology; the influence that people have upon the beliefs or behaviour of others.'

(Aronson 1976:6)

Psychologists such as Aronson believe that all human interaction constitutes an influence situation. That is, in any relationship between people each is trying to influence the behaviour of some or all of the others by using many different methods and techniques, and each is subject to the influence attempts of others. If this is true then all group processes arise because of attempts to influence the behaviour of others, and interaction is the medium of these attempts.

Once again interaction is the basic factor, but if what every individual attempts to do in any social situation is to maximize his or her satisfaction, then interaction becomes the medium through which satisfactions are obtained. This is not a simple process if only because the needs of individuals, and what, for them, comprises satisfaction of those needs, is not only complex but also not readily available to scrutiny. Later we shall consider the important concept of equilibrium but it is sufficient to say at this point that satisfaction for individual member in a group situation is dependent upon how much satisfaction they can mediate for others.

Thus, both the individual goals of members and of the group as a unit have to be maintained in some sort of harmonious relationship to each other. The pressure and influence that the group can exert on members therefore have to be balanced by the individual's perception that the costs of submitting to that pressure are less than the rewards to be obtained. If there are alternatives that offer equal satisfaction at less cost, then the member will almost certainly seriously consider changing his or her allegiance. So we have a partially overt bargaining situation in which members trade conformity and service for satisfactions awarded by group membership. All the 'factors-affecting' can then be seen as moves in the complex game of maximization for the simple reason that at many different levels of operation the group can be seen to provide satisfaction for its members.

Let us take one or two examples. A group exists to perform some kind of task. As we have seen, that task, or tasks, must not be one that is better performed by individuals except in very special circumstances. If individuals can perform the task for which the group ostensibly exists, then the prime function of the group is something other than the avowed task. It may be that, this prime function is social (pleasure in each others company for example) where the avowed task is a kind of payment that the group offers to those who may not remain members if socializing were the sole purpose of the group and yet whose presence socially is a reward for other members.

As members become aware that direct attempts to create satisfactions for themselves in the group are not the sole means of doing so, and may not even be the most important, influence changes towards generating the group as a system that will be more efficient in producing satisfaction for most if not all members. Thus, in the process of development groups demonstrate a movement away from the individuality of members towards acceptance of unity, the discrete elements becoming fused as the realization of the increased benefits available grows. Equally there is a movement away from caution towards other members to open liking and thus to a level of trust.

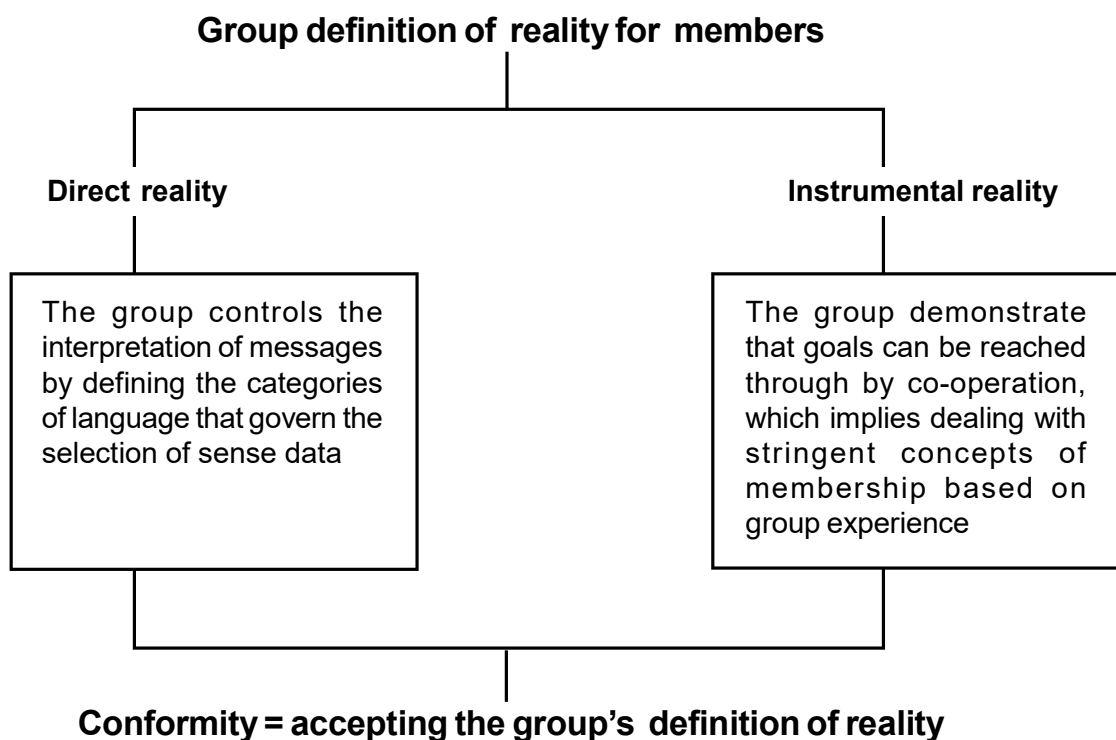
Sub-group formation is a matter of alliance either to further influence attempts or in order to generate increased security in the company of like-minded members. Constraints are a problem in so far as they facilitate or place limitations on what the, group can achieve. In other words, they are factors that influence the exercise of group power of course, they can be balanced by group processes that increase satisfactions in other directions.

All other 'factors-affecting' can equally be seen as manifestations of attempts to influence both individual and group. Group processes are the behaviours that are brought into being by attempts to influence the group and its members in the direction of increasing, stabilizing, or continuing satisfactions. The constraints are preexisting or developing conditions that surround groups and

enable or restrict these attempts and thus create boundaries. The sum total of these 'factors-affecting' adds up to the kind, quality, and intensity of the influence that the group can exert, and is the product of them all as interacting, enhancing, or countervailing factors.

Group processes as a function of Communication 'A group mediates any communication.'
(Litvak 1967 :107)

In order to interact with others or influence their behaviour it is necessary to open some form of communication system with them. Litvak's quotation given above indicates that he believes that communication is the central control system of the group. In a very real sense any group defines 'reality' for its members thus (Figure):



Figure

As conformity offers perhaps the best chance an individual has for maximizing personal goals within the group, this procedure is supported by very powerful motivation. Thus, if a major source of power resides in the group's ability to mediate communication for its members, it is not surprising to discover that the 'group processes can all be seen to arise as functions of this communication control. In *Group Processes* (Douglas 1979), an analysis of the generative factors of the group processes showed that some form of communication occurred in virtually every one.

Leadership styles can be seen as the ways in which the communication net is controlled. In fact, the more centralized that network is, the more likely it is that a leader will emerge.

Access to the communication network enhances members' attraction to the group; decision making in respect of complex problems is both served by a communication system that is decentralized and accessible where simple problems are better dealt with by a centralized system. The communication system reflects the social structure of a group; free communication facilitates sub-group formations

and is directly related to the climate under which the group functions; proximity of members tends to increase communication between them so there is a reciprocal relationship between kinds of communication and the size of the groups.

The interdependency between group processes and communication is extensive, in fact overwhelming, and the relationship to group influence is equally powerful. In fact, this latter relationship seems often to have been subsumed under the general rubric of group influence in conformity. However, Deutsch and Gerard (1955) draw a clear distinction between 'normative social influence' which Tajfel (1978) suggested is what most people are referring to when they speak of 'conformity', and 'informational social influence'. The similarity between Deutsch's and Gerard's definition of the latter as the 'influence to accept information obtained from another as evidence about 'reality' and the starting point of this discussion would seem to indicate that communication effects on group processes are essentially a definable part of the group influence situation.

A more profitable approach is in the argument that the dyadic relationship is fundamentally the basis of all group formation. Smith (1978) argues that the pair is the basic form of communication and that when two people, are interacting they necessarily exclude others apart from being aware of their presence. In this way, group are seen as a kaleidoscope of dyadic communications with a more or less imposed order derived from the way they change and in the emphasis given to their being maintained and repeated.

Indeed, it is possible to argue that all group processes are the outcome of dyadic communications. For instance, the development of a group can be seen to be related directly to the number, frequency, and results of dyadic relationships that have occurred. If all group members have communicated reciprocally with each other, then, if those communications have been rewarding, an increased knowledge and familiarity will have arisen and the shared nature of the group's experience will have increased.

Smith says, 'it is axiomatic and empirically demonstrable that the individual is capable of engaging no more than one person in genuine dialogue-total reciprocity-in an existential moment. This universally inherited human limitation renders the dyadic interactional network indispensable to group process' (Smith 1978 :302).

THE TOTAL 'FACTORS AFFECTING' (PROCESSES, CONSTRAINTS, LEADERSHIP ACTS)

The group we study is not only interactive it is also dynamic. It is a group whose members are continuously changing and adjusting relationships with reference to one another.'

(Bonner 1959:4)

The immediate facts that face an observer of any group are the direct behavioural interactions of its members. However, it soon becomes clear that a large number of factors that are not at first sight obvious are affecting the here-and-now behaviour, the current patterns of interaction. The presence of an individual member in any group constitutes a series of more or less short periods of time in the ongoing line of his or her life. He or she reacts to the perceptions of these transient milieux and the people they contain with behavioural insights gained from other such transient occupations of a group - member role. In time the current experience will be data added to the repertoire of experience and may or may not have become the occasion for a modification of perceptions and responses in group situations.

Group processes have been described as the larger patterns of behaviour that a group of such pre-programmed individuals will produce. The group has some possibility of generating new experience and thus of presenting members with opportunities for change; it has also the possibility of confirming members in their existing behaviour. But in any case, group processes as defined here relate to the group as a functioning unit and not to the individual behaviour patterns of which the processes are composed.

Reference has also been made to leadership acts and constraints as important elements of the dynamics of a group. Leadership acts are only a special variety of ordinary membership behaviour. The special nature derives from two particular attributes. First, there is a larger than ordinary awareness of the nature of leadership acts on the part of the performer and of their possible consequences. Second, there is a conscious use of intervention skills based on a desire to influence the group in known ways.

There is nothing fundamentally different in this kind of behaviour from that of the most ignorant (of group dynamics, that is) member of a group. It is a question of degree, of knowledge, and skill. From our experiences, we are all endowed with the knowledge of the consequences of our behaviour inputs, but that knowledge is most usually personal, restricted and limited to our own stored memories. Also, it tends to be unsystematic. The growth of effective leadership for all members of a group stems from a widening knowledge of causal relationships, an increase in the certainty of being able to influence desired outcomes, and a more structured knowledge system. However leadership acts are performed within a group, they constitute one of the major determinants of the nature of that group and of its life and performance.

Virtually anything that exists has the potential to influence human behaviour and by no means always at the level of consciousness. There is no way in which all the possible influence systems and objects can be given adequate consideration, not only because of the large number involved but also because the possible effects change as the group changes. For example, an atmosphere set up by a cold and unwelcoming building may have an overwhelming effect in the beginning stage of a group when member commitment is low. It may be totally ignored later when members have become immersed in the group activity. The constraint is the same but the perception of it, and thus its effect are, different.

However, to ignore major constraining factors as sources of influence on a group is by no means equal to disposing of them. On the contrary, whatever effect they are likely to produce will [still occur at some level of intensity but it will tend to be masked by being regarded as the outcome of some factor to which the group is paying attention.

Thus, group processes, leadership acts, and the constraints are seen as 'factors affecting' the establishment, development, and outcome of group behaviour. This introduces a kind of double bind in several ways. In a sense, group processes, that is, the constituents of group processes, pre-exist any given group in the programming that any individual has received. But any group is a unique situation and the processes it develops are a growth out of, and different from, the programming that created them. Group processes are chickens and eggs. The same kind of before and after nature exists for leadership acts. Constraints have a more than double nature in that they may or may not be immutable. Also, their effect can be positive - supportive or negative- restrictive. In any case, apart from the actual material of some constraints, the way they are perceived at any given moment in the life of a group may have substantially disparate consequences.

Nevertheless, the assumption made here is that groups that arise as matter of every day life, the so-called 'natural' groups, must be affected by these factors in the ways outlined above. Given that human beings continue to congregate in groups in order to achieve certain reasonably well-defined ends the nature of the groups that arise should provide ample evidence of how the 'factors- affecting' have been dealt with, and, in turn, should provide methods or rules by which groups that are deliberately created to achieve limited purposes can be designed to maximize the chances of successful outcomes. Some of the so-called 'natural' groups are of course, 'created'. But the point is that they were not created as 'groups' in the sense of a knowledge of what the dynamics of groups could achieve, but as traditional instruments having a historical precedent of a given success rate.

1.7 THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO GROUPS

A theory as the social scientists use the term, is a set of logically related concepts or propositions that describe relationship among aspects of phenomena being studied. Theories are extremely useful because they suggest an outline for the forest as a whole rather than for just the trees. They provide a framework that people can use to begin to see past the overwhelming detail of group life. The concepts defined in the theory focus attention on essential details considered most important in understanding the group, allowing others to be disregarded. Of course, the best theory will be the one that simply, neatly, and most accurately describe what goes on in the group. However, it is not always that the theory proves entirely correct as context and people vary in their composition and perspectives. A theory can start people asking the right questions, even if it fails to answer them itself. Theories suggest a particular view of the way groups work, they invite the reader to compare the groups with careful observations of group processes themselves. Some of the important theories of groups are being outlived now.

The Field Theory

Kurt Lewin gave impetus for the study of groups. His program and approach were twofold : Research should lead to social action; action should serve research. Human behaviour, no matter how idiosyncratic, was lawful. The laws were to be discovered through the knowledge of the field of psychological and sociological process serving at any moment as causes of action. The science of group depended upon locating and measuring these process. One technique Lewin and associates used was to create different groups with known characteristics, then observe their operations. For instance, they setup groups under different styles of leaders, observed how the leaders acted and how the members responded, compared the results, and then drew empirically based conclusions about the dynamic effects of leadership. Through these and other simple, yet scientifically sound procedures, they demonstrated that theoretically relevant hypothesis could be tested in the experimental setup.

There are three basic reasons for the tremendous impact Lewin had on the study of groups . *First*, he took a *phenomenological position* toward behaviour. This is, he felt that to understand a person's behaviour, it must be analyzed in terms of what that person subjectively perceived, rather than in terms of what an outside observer thinks is "objective reality" . *Second*, he showed a great *ingenuity in research design*. He pioneered the use of laboratory settings and experimental design to study group phenomena. He was particularly talented at combining experimental control with the creation of a realistic, meaningful context in which to study important group processes such as leadership climate and decision making. *Third*, Lewin was influential because of *his theoretical system* which has its route in the school of psychology called Gestalt. A central notion of Gestalt psychology is that

people do not experience the world in terms of bits and pieces, but rather organize their perceptions into holistic systems, or fields of experience. According to this view, the way we react to a particular event will vary depending on the context or field in which you perceive it to have occurred.

Lewin applied the concept of field to groups as a whole, rather than just to individuals. The psychological field or life space, of a group consists of all the things and people in the immediate environment that have positive or negative emotional importance (called valence) to the group. Groups are oriented towards goals. These goals generally involved approaching positively valence objects in the life space and away from others. In response to these forces and in pursuit of group goals, members are continually changing their position (locomoting) within the group field. In this locomotion overtime that constitutes the dynamic development of the groups. The direction of a particular locomotion will be a grand result (vector) of all the conflicting forces in group's field at that time.

Exchange Theory

Exchange theory is one of the most influential of contemporary approaches to interpersonal relations and by extension group behaviour. This theory focuses on the individual dealings among the people who happen to make up the group. The holistic aspect of the group, as emphasized by the field theory is less important. Exchange theory's primary concern is to analyze the way individuals control one another's behaviour by exchanging rewards and costs. It tackles the problem by assuming from the start that people in relationship as well in the economic market try to maximize the rewards they receive, and minimize the costs they incur, by seeking rewarding experiences and avoiding painful ones.

Rewarding others usually requires that you give up something (time, effort or whatever). George C. Homans, the originator of exchange theory, labels what you give up as *costs* on interaction. He then assumes that people are *profit-seekers* in interaction, in that they will seek out and maintain high profit interaction, while letting low-profit ones lapse. However, as exchange theorists Thibaut and Kelley (1954) have pointed out how a high profit rate must be in order to motivate to maintain to maintain a relationship with a very low profit rate if it is nevertheless better than any one of your alternative possibilities.

Obviously, for a group to emerge, the members will have to have repeated interactions with one another, and the means they must develop and maintain mutually satisfactory patterns of reward/cost exchange. From the point of view of exchange theory, this is not easy, since each member is assumed to be maximizing his/her own gain. However, it is assumed that once the group emerges, the members if they stay in it, find the group rewarding (or at least more rewarding than the available alternatives). Therefore, they are willing to develop some norms to regulate exchanges in the interest of preserving the common goal.

Among the norms developed will be rules of distributive justice that define what is a fair exchange between members. An exchange is fair, says Homans, when the rewards are in proportion to each member's contribution. According to Homans, if you put more into an interaction than someone else, you feel you should get more out of it than they do. If you get less than "is fair", you are likely to feel angry and seek some redress. Exchange theorists who have pushed the notion of distributive justice norms (called equity theorists) argue that you may get some help in seeking redress since groups actively attempt to enforce distributive justice norms by rewarding members who abide by them and

pressuring and punishing members who don't. However, both Homans and the equity theorists recognize that difficulty may still arise because members may not be in complete agreement about the value of varying rewards and contributions.

Using these basic concepts, exchange theorists have attempted to account for a wide variety of group phenomena, including the emergence of status hierarchies, the problems of states inconsistency, the exercise of leadership, and the problem of social control.

Social Systems Theory

Systems theorists argue that the key to understanding groups is to focus on them as networks of people who function together as holistic entity, a system. A *system*, as it is defined in these theory, has five basic characteristics. First, it is composed of members who are independent with one another. This is a point shared with field theory. Second, For a collection of people to form a system, there must be interaction among the members. If takes interaction for one person 's behaviour to affect another's, Thus, it is only through interaction that interdependence can have its effect. When people interact with one another under conditions of interdependence, they create third characteristic of systems: *emergent properties*. Emergent properties characterize the group as a whole rather than the members as individuals. These new group qualities *emerge* from interaction among the members. For instance, they may create a distinctive group identity, or a sense of oneness of unity with their fellow members. They also create norms, roles, pallets of behaviour, all of which system theorists a view as emergent qualities of groups. The fourth major characteristics of a system follows from the first three, Because members forge themselves through interaction into a district, united entity, systems develop a sense of *boundary* between themselves and the outside world. This boundary may be somewhat vague may change frequently. But it serves to distinguish members of the group from these who are clearly not members. It makes the distinction between the "we" of the group and the "they" of outsiders. Finally, systems are *dynamic* in that they are constantly changing and evolving, Even when relatively stable patterns of behaviour develop a leadership pattern in a group, for instance, these patters are static. They are maintained by a continued balancing and rebalancing of opposing forces in the group. From a systems point of view, groups are like waves in the ocean; the patterns only appear through continual motion of the component parts.

1.8 THE GROUP AND THE INDIVIDUAL

There is no single unifying theory explaining of group on individuals. What is common in all these attempts of theorizing, is the view that groups as powerful determinant of individual behaviour. As we already know, that among human species, the young do not grow up alone: they are raised as members of a group, a family. The child is *effect dependent* on the group for assistance in achieving desired outcomes (or effects), for instance, getting food. Second, the child is *information dependent* on the group as well. This means that the child relies on the group for basic information about the world in which it lives. Group has a particular power over its members. Alone with the power to extend outcomes (effects) and information, the group also has another type of power, and that is the groups have the ability to influence ourselves of what we are and what we think ourselves. There is a confirmed relationship between groups and the individuals sense of self an identity.

People come together in groups primarily to deal with shared problem and to benefit from one another's company. To satisfy these need, the members of a prospective group must learn to

coordinate their action, at least minimally, with one another. the first problem faced by all members of a group is socio-emotional. The second is the task itself; to maintained the commitment of the members, group must minimally accomplish shared goals. Socio-emotional problems in groups are interdependent, the task problems cannot always be separated from socio-emotional: they may also be competing too.

Some Related Mechanisms

In an effort to manage these competing problems, groups gradually develop two mechanisms: a *social structure* and a *group culture*. Each represents a technique or tool for distributing the efforts of group members among task and socio-emotional issues. Social structure is a familiar concept representing a set of specific relationships among the group members. The concept of social structure include leadership patterns, status hierarchy, role differentiation, and communication and friendship networks. Group culture in the other hand consists of its collective representation of itself, shared past experiences and habits of collective behaviour. Both social structure and culture of groups are never static. However, both structural and cultural changes can be thought of as moving equilibrium, representing an interesting mixture both stability and change.

1.9 SUMMARY

In this unit we have come across the inputs relating to understanding various aspects of group. Why study group and its importance. Primary and secondary groups and their characteristic features. One of the main reason to study group is to understand the psychology of the individuals, understand larger social units such as organizations, institutions, countries and societies.

All groups are collection of human beings but there is a qualitative difference between the 'collective' and the 'group'. In this unit we have tried to see various views about looking at a group from various angels, talking about natural and created groups, spontaneous and interest groups.

Influence is a very common phenomenon when more than one person interact with each other. In this unit we have tried to assess the level and types of influence the group creates on an individual and the factors operating in this. Towards the end the unit dwells upon various aspects of group processes.

1.10 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

1. How would you describe a group ? Cite your own experience in becoming a group member.
2. Discuss the different theoretical perspectives regarding the groups.
3. Why do you call a group dynamic? State your reasons.
4. How do group influence a member ?
5. Group is a means to accomplish tasks/goals. Elaborate and explain.

1.11 FURTHER READINGS

- Axelrod, R. *The Evolution of Cooperation*, New York, Basic Books. (1984)
- Billing, M.G. *Social Psychology and Intergroup Relations*, London. Academic Press (1976).
- Mills, P.M. *The Social Psychology of Small Groups*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice Hall. (1967)
- Cecilia, L. Ridgeway, *The Dynamics of Small Groups*, St. Martins (1983).
- Napier, R.W. and Gershenfeld, M.K. *Groups: Theory and Experience*, 3rd Ed. Boston; Houghton, Mifflin and Co. (1985).
- Blake, R. R. and Mouton, J.S. "Overcoming Group Warfare", *Harvard Business Review*, Nov.-Dec. No.6, 98-108, (1984).
- Douglas, T. *GROUPS : Understanding People Gathered Together*. Tavistock pup., London (1983)
- Aronson, E. *The Social Animal*, San Francisco: Freeman (1976).
- Smith, P.B. (Ed.). *Small Groups and Personal Change*. Methuen, N.Y. (1980).

UNIT 2

PHASES OF GROUP DEVELOPMENT

Objectives

After going through this unit you should be able to:

- understand why do groups form
- appreciate the important process and stages of group development
- ascertain the effect of group processes on team development
- examine the dynamics of group development vs. work organization

Structure

2.1 Introduction

2.2 Why groups form

2.3 Important Process for Group Development and Communication Cohesiveness

2.4 Stages of Group Development

2.5 Group Development vis-à-vis work Organization

2.6 Development of Teams

2.7 The Probable Effects of Group Processes on Team Performance

2.8 Groups and Committees

2.9 Group Processes of Committees and a consideration of their Influence on Committee

2.10 Summary

2.11 Self Assessment Questions

2.12 Further Readings

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Group are essential features of the modern civilization. There is an interface between the individual and the group which is a continuous process and decides the nature and processes affecting both the group as well as its members. In the organizational context, we have various types of groups but from a general point of view and for the sake of convenience in understanding the groups have divided into two categories - *formal* and *informal*. When groups are established by the organization/society (at a broader level) to set achieve organizational goals, they are known as *formal* groups like command groups, task force, project groups, standing committee and the like. On the other hand, *informal* groups, emerge naturally in response to the common interests and shared values of individuals, such as interest groups, friendship group, reference groups etc.

2.2 WHY GROUPS FORM

When individuals join a group, they voluntarily surrender part of their personal freedom, since they are willing to accept the standards of the group and behave in prescribed ways that are sometimes very restrictive. For instance the cricket or hockey teams put heavy demands on members regarding regularity in practice and performance, and use various ways to ensure that group members behave in the prescribed fashion. Although the loss of freedom varies from group to group, every individual voluntarily relinquishes at least some personal freedom as a member of a group. Why then do individuals want to join a group and sacrifice part of their personal freedom?

According to the reinforcement theorists, people join groups because of the positive reinforcement that comes from group membership, such as friendly interaction and being able to achieve something they cannot obtain acting alone. *Cooperate behaviour* refers to the behaviour that group members perform to obtain reinforcement accompanying cooperative behaviour is goal accomplishment, affiliation, emotional support and social validation. Let us look into them before proceeding further :

Goal Accomplishment : People work together in groups because they need the help of others to achieve important goals. In some situations, groups members contribute to group success by suggesting new ideas and helping others to evaluate them. Sometimes the groups help in creating a power structure like unions and use it collectively in pressuring others for the sake of economic or social gains. Achieving group goals is a reinforcing event that allows successful groups to reward their members and improve its own status by attracting and maintaining its membership. A winning team is in a better position than a losing team to recruit new members and poster a sense a pride in membership.

Affiliation : Group members enjoy associating with other group members particularly if they like them and have something in common with the mere presence of others provide friendship, social stimulation and personal acceptance. College students and factory workers both form informal peer groups simply to avoid the discomfort of being alone.

Membership in a group often results in *ego extension*. By being a part of something beyond our physical self, we achieve a sense of belongingness and participate in accomplishments beyond our individual powers. The members of a winning cricket team participate equally in the glory of the success even the twelfth man and other team players who did not play game in the series.

Research suggests that individuals tend to get attracted to others of similar age, sex, religion, this rule does not always hold for people who have high achievement orientation. Such people choose their friends/coworkers based on competence rather other reasons. The complementary skills and efficiency of others form the basis for such choice. People with low achievement orientation, however, tend to choose co-workers the people they like and who are like them.

Emotional Support: When situations are threatening and uncertain, individuals rely on others for emotional support. Research indicates that people facing a stressful situation are comforted by physical presence of another person facing same stress. During times of natural disasters, people join together to talk about their misfortune and express sympathy.

Social Validation: People join group for the purpose of self-identity. We want to know who we are and learn about ourselves from the feedback we receive from others. The comments that we receive

from others help us to evaluate our personalities and behaviours. Such comments generally have great impact on our self-esteem because they come from people we respect. But one must be able to distinguish between friendly sarcasm and services criticism. Others comments are also more credible because we assume that they know us better and are concerned about our well-being.

Physical Factors: Proximity or physical distance, is an important physical factor influencing the formation of groups. Individuals who are physically close together for an extended period of time tend develop mutual attraction for each other and form a group. Barriers that prevent face-to-face interaction, such as movable partition or a row of file cabinets, can effectively disrupt or alter the formation of groups.

Activity 1

Study at least 4-5 groups you know and find out the reasons why are they formed. Plot these reasons in a matrix form and examine how much it matches with what you have read by now.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

2.3 IMPORTANT PROCESS FOR GROUP DEVELOPMENT AND COMMUNICATION COHESIVENESS

Communication is the process out which small groups emerge. It is the immediate mechanism by which a group evolves a social structure and culture. And it is through communications that groups maintain their habitual pattern of behaviour. In fact, communication is one of the most critical aspects of interaction among group members, the way they influence each other's behaviour and the way the group is brought to life.

Communication arising from either the pressure to accomplish some goals that requires the assistance of others, on the requirement of satisfying personal needs through interaction with others, will gradually cause group members' relationship with one another to become in some ways more united and their opinions and behaviour to become more standardized. But at the same time communication alerts group members to their differences in needs, abilities, behaviour opinions. In the process of communication, members may begin to emphasize certain of their differences, particularly those that point out their distinctive skills and characteristics. These in turn, become the foundation for division of labour, for a status hierarchy, and for varying degrees of friendship. So, communication leads to differentiation among the group members as well as the unity and standardization and differentiation are the means by which groups become unified wholes with, one hand, should behaviours and opinions and yet, on the other, individual members who can play distinct roles and have different relationships with one another.

Because communication is the vehicle for both standardization and differentiation, the nature of communication patterns in a group affects the type of social structure a group develops and how it

evolves and changes overtime. There are two aspects of a groups communication patterns that we will consider: First is the question who talk to everybody on a regular basis, and others who talk only to one or two members most of the time? This is the question of group's communication network as the lines between groups members along which communication most frequently flows. The second aspect of communication patterns concerns with the content of communication and how this is related to the way the group changes and develops overtime. This is the problem of group development.

Communication Network: When people first come in a group what do they do? They greet each other-they began communicating. In a polite way they begin to investigate each other; they ask questions; they reveal information about themselves; they try to form a general outline of each other that will help them decide how each member fits in with their goals and needs. In short, they try to decide how they wish to relate to each other. A distinct pattern of communication develops as people talk more to some members than to others. Clear channels of communication develop between some members but not others. Over time, this network of channels will become a stable, habitual aspect of group life. There is a close association between the flow of communication and the group's status structure on the one hand, and its sociometric (friendship) structure on the other hand. In addition, communication networks affect certain aspects of the group, such as its degree of cohesiveness and its ability to accomplish differing types of goals. When a small group develops within a large formal organization – a business or government bureaucracy, for instance – or in a single physical location, its communication network is often restructured by this environment. In that case, the group's pattern of status, friendship, cohesiveness, and task success usually develop around the skeleton provided by the rather inflexible communication pattern.

Activity 2

Talk to ten group members who are at the key points in the groups and prepare a small document on the importance of communication its pros and cons in a group.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Cohesiveness

Of all the aspects that arise out of the process of communication, cohesiveness is one of the most fundamental. The strength of solidarity with which a group is bound together is a basic dimension that defines the degree of "groupness" or unity that a set of people achieve. At the extreme low end of cohesiveness scale are collection of people so tenuously linked together in their behaviour that they can hardly be considered a group. At the other end are close-knit, unified sets of people that seem to embody what we mean by "group".

Defining Cohesiveness: Festinger defined cohesiveness as the "total field of forces which acts on the members to remain in the group". He measured cohesiveness on the basis of number and strength of friendship ties group members have with one another, compared to those they have with outsiders.

A more complex conception of cohesiveness may include the features of group which bind the members to it. One way to understand this may be from the *structural-functional* integration point of view, where in the members are bound to the group through the nature and effectiveness of its organizational structure. It refers to the success with which a groups social structure coordinated with the members behaviour in a way that both allows an effective pursuit of group goals and the maintenance of goal working relations among the members.

Another way a group can bind its members to it is through a set of shared beliefs, rules or practices. This aspect of cohesiveness is known as normative integration. It refers to the cohesiveness group members achieve about what the group is , how it should operate and what its rules are. It reflects the extent to which the members have developed, shared, agreed-upon norms for governing group life.

Consequences of Cohesiveness

Since a highly cohesive group is one that binds the members tightly together; it naturally is one which the members actually care about, one to which they feel committed. Because they value the group, members put more energy into group activities in a cohesive group. The differences between high and low cohesiveness can be observed in (1) the amount and quality of communication in the group, (2) the group's ability to maintain the loyalty and satisfaction of its members, (3) the power of the group over the opinions and behaviour of its members, (4) the group's ability to achieve its goals, and (5) the extent to which group culture is elaborated.

Activity 3

Examine 4-5 groups you know in various walks of life. Talk to its members and prepare a report based on the above five points, critically assessing the response. Discuss this in your peer group.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Sources of Cohesiveness

1. Special norms and practices designed to build members' commitment to the group
2. Interpersonal attraction among the members
3. Social structure and leadership style of the group
4. Type of interdependence among the group members
5. Group's relationship to its outside environment
6. Attractiveness of the group's goals and activities

CONFORMITY, DEVIANCE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

One of the most important striking aspects of group development and functioning is the apparent control the groups wield over their member's behaviour, it introduces conformity in behaviour. However, in the cultures where individualism is very much prized, it is often difficult to use the word conformity without evoking images of mindless, sheep like behaviour. But the fact is, conformity to

social norms makes social groups as well as society as a whole. If people did not agree to some basic rules of behaviour, they could not coordinate their actions with others, because no one would have any idea what anyone was going to do next. As a result, no collective goals could be achieved. Conformity, a necessary part of social life, is sometimes even as aspect of enlightened self-interest. In fact, most of us willingly conform to the rules of our social groups throughout most of our daily behaviour.

Conforming most of the time does not mean conforming all the time however. Because we all occasionally break the rules of our social groups, deviance is a persistent aspect of social organizations of all kinds. Both conformity and deviance have negative accommodations- it highlights a basic conflict between the interest of the group and the interest of the individual. Actually, since groups are made of individuals, this is better viewed as a conflict between that part of ourselves whose needs are met by the group and that part which wants to be independent.

In some ways deviance is also a necessary part of social life. When a group members breaks a rule, he or she offers the group an alternative to the way things have always been done. This makes deviance a driving force for change in groups. Since the ability to adapt to changing circumstances is a prerequisite for group survival, deviance can actually help the group in some situations. But group members are seldom aware of this aspect of deviance. For the most deviance is an attract on the group and its belief. Of course, high levels of deviance can truly destroy a group. As a result, the most common reaction will be an effort to pressure the deviate to bring his or her behaviour back in line with group's norms. Efforts on the part of the group majority to reduce on eliminate deviance are what is called the *social control* process.

Groups Norms

One of the most fascinating aspects of people, when they come together in groups, is that after only a few minutes of interaction they settle on rules to coordinate and govern their behaviour. The shared agreed upon rules of behaviour that group members establish among themselves are what we call norms. Some are societal *norms* that members apply to their group. An example might be the use of majority vote to decide issues. Others are idiosyncratic norms evolved by group itself. Norms define the kind of behaviour that is expected from a group member. They do this by specifying not only what members should do, but also what they should not do. For instance, in a group of friends, norms may require a willingness to listen to each others problems but may also prohibit excessive demands for help and attention. So norms not only prescribe-they proscribe.

It is difficult to discuss norms without using words like "should" that carry a sense of moral judgement and obligation. Norms are for the most part derived from the goals the group values and wishes to attain. They define the kinds of behaviour the group members think is necessary for or consistent with the realization of those goals. This gives norms an evaluative quality. Since the behaviour specified by the norm has consequences for the achievement of group's goals, that behaviour takes on a sense of being either acceptable or unacceptable to the group. Norms also get associated with sanctions-that is rewards and punishment – which are associated with conformity to, or deviance from, norms.

Status Differentiation

The most important aspect of group, especially the small group structure is the status hierarchy. A members status in a group refers to the degree of deference, esteem, and power to influence others that he or she acquires. Status is something that emerges from the relationship between a members and the rest of the group.

If we map out the patterns of power and deference among all the member, we have a picture of the groups *status structure*, which are almost always characterized by the difference in power and prestige among the group members with the exception of few members who may share approximately equal standing in the group.

The location of a member in this hierarchy in his or her *status rank*. Each rank in the hierarchy carries with it a set of normatively defined obligations to the group, as well as privileges. The highest status members of course have the greatest power and prestige, but also the greatest obligation. The difference between highest and lowest rank reflects the degree of status differentiation. There are flat structures (friendship groups) in groups which do not carry high level of status differences. But dramatic status differences (tall hierarchies) are common also. Groups evolve their status systems out of two rather different types of pressures: (1) the need to organize in pursuit groups goals, (2) the need to avoid destructive competition over the rewards to be gained from activities. First refers to fundamental agreement from efficient goal achievements and the second reflects the fundamental conflict of interests among group members. Status differentiation, hence, is an expression of both group unity as well as a mechanism to regulate political disagreements.

2.4 STAGES OF GROUP DEVELOPMENT

After a group is initially formed, it does not immediately function a highly effective team until it has gone through various stages of development and addressed the kinds of issues that separates effective from non-effective groups. There is no prescriptive guideline for stages of group development, however, there appears a basic model that applies to most groups. This model contains four stages-orientation, confrontation, differentiation and collaboration. Groups do not always pass through each of these four stages, in fact some groups never advance to the later stages because of the internal conflicts.

Orientation

Here the group members learn about the purposes of the group and the roles of each member. Individual members decide how the group will be structured and how much they are willing to commit themselves to the group. The leader has a very important role to play in structuring the group and shaping member expectations. Members need to get acquainted with each others and share their expectations about group's goals and objectives. Trust and openness is a necessary precondition at this stage.

Confrontation

Although conflict is not a necessary phase of group development, the purposes of the group and the expectations of the group members are eventually challenged in most groups. Struggles for individual power and influences are common. Challenging the group's goal can be a healthy process if the conflict results in greater cohesiveness and acceptance. But intense conflict may damage or dissolve the group.

Differentiation

The major issues of this stage of development are how the tasks and responsibilities will be divided among members and how members will evaluate each other's performance. Individual differences are recognized and task assignments are based on skills and abilities. If the group can resolve its

authority conflicts and create shared expectations regarding its goals and task assignments, it can become cohesive group and achieve its goals. The long term effectiveness of the group will require additional maturity in resolving conflicts and reestablishing shared expectations.

Collaboration

The highest level of group maturity is the stage of collaboration, where there is a feeling of cohesiveness and commitment to the group. Individual differences are acceptable without being labelled as good or bad. Conflict is neither eliminated nor squelched but is identified and resolved through group discussion. Conflict is real and concerns substantive issues relevant to the group task rather than emotional issues regarding group processes. Decisions are made through rational group discussion.

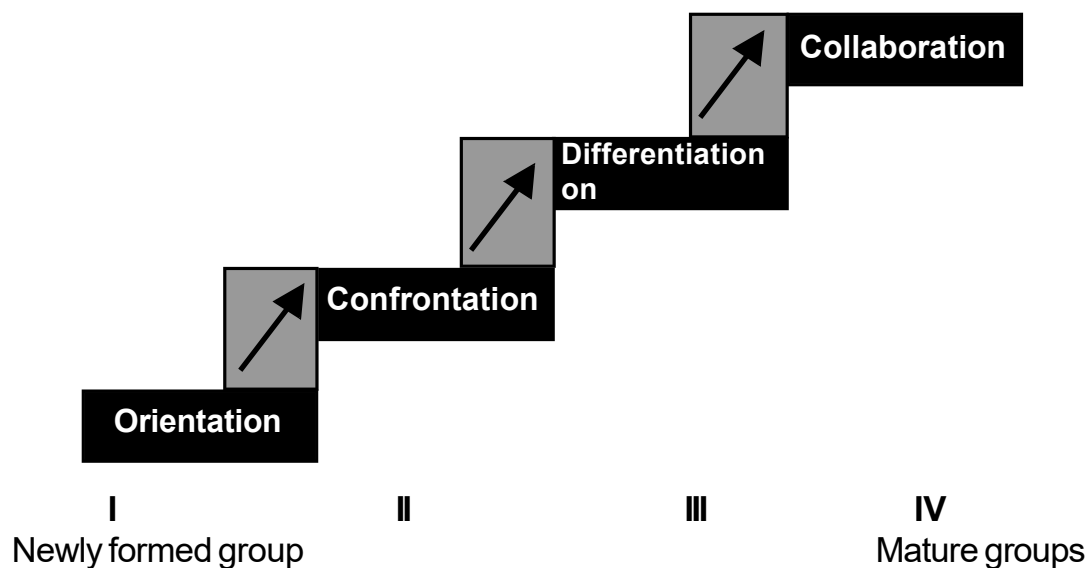


Fig – I Stages of Group Development

2.5 GROUP DEVELOPMENT VIS-À-VIS WORK ORGANIZATIONS WORK ORGANIZATION

The last hundred years have seen not only the dehumanizing of manual work, with the introduction of mass- production methods and “scientific management”, and a consequent reduction in the satisfaction which an individual can derive from the performance of a skilled craft, but also universal acceptance of the idea that everyone ought to work even though they may have no absolute economic necessity to do so.’

(Nicholson – 1977:75)

The whole area of study of work organizations is fraught with complications. Economists have often been accused of simplifying their analysis by ignoring any psychological concepts of the human beings

involved in favour of consideration of the workforce as a cost or a productive unit. Management techniques tend to have been concerned with efficiency, production figures, and the development of methods that can coax and persuade the workforce to achieve the kind of targets required.

The rational economic man of the economists does not exist and, in fact, never has existed. Moreover, the concept of a work organization as a complex machine for turning out goods and services that just happens to contain human beings as an essential ingredient is equally fallacious. However, the analysis of work organizations is a valid procedure whatever the basis upon which the organizations are founded. It is possible that such an analysis would reveal strengths and weaknesses in any organization but the crunch point is that given the objectives of the organization, how can the facts of the analysis be used? Should they be used to prove the performance of the existing organization in some way, or should they be used to restructure the whole process, or parts of the process, or should they be ignored?

While it has long been recognized that boring and repetitive jobs give little or no job satisfaction to the people who work at them, the only alternative satisfaction that has received more serious consideration has been the money-reward. Cash-in-hand to buy the materials and services outside the place of work, that industry to be one of the balancing factors, although provide a level of satisfaction, has been agreed by all sides of industries to be one of the balancing factors, although some attention has been paid to work conditions and the kind of facilities available to workers.

The 1939 Hawthorne Experiment (Roethlisberger and Dickson 1939), and others since, have called into question the absolute value of changes in conditions and have shown that other factors often enough unheeded at the time tended to influence how the changes were accepted by the work-force. Two of the main factors in this sphere of influence seem to have been the cohesive nature of the work groups and whether that cohesion was a bond against management decisions or was in tune with them. Of course, other outside factors are involved, such as the level of unemployment, states of war, recession, and boom.

What adds up to 'satisfaction' in work organizations is a complex of factors. One thing is certain, however. Members of any organization are a great deal more influenced in the decisions they make and the actions they take by what they perceive as satisfaction than by the large-scale objectives of the organization itself.

The amount of investigation of the effect that groups within an organizational structure can have on its performance is quite small. What is presented here is a synthesis of some of the available material.

WORK ORGANIZATIONS AS STRUCTURES CONTAINING GROUPS

'One of the central features of work is that it is usually done in groups, groups of individuals cooperating under the direction of a leader or leaders.'
(Argyle: 1972: 104)

All large organizations tend to have grown from small groups and recognition of the fact that within any such organizations, small groups exist, has long been with us. Indeed, recognition of the discrepancies between the formal and informal structure of an organization has also been clear for a long time. But recognition of the informal system has not been accompanied by the realization that for many people within an organization the informal group is more 'real' than the formal system, that it often has different goals and thus works in significantly different directions to the avowed and official aims of the organization.

Activity 4

Are you a member of an informal and formal group in your organization. Write down your experience of being a member of both. Compare and contrast reasons.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Due to the development of Organizational Development programmes, we have become much more aware that any large organization, and smaller ones to a lesser degree, can contain individuals and small groups who, while believing that what they are doing is largely compatible with the formal aims of the organization, are, in fact, moving in more or less contrary directions to those aims. Moreover, individual or small group perceptions of the organizational behaviour of other individuals and small groups is often grossly at odds with the way in which those same individuals and small groups would describe what they were doing and how they believed they were perceived by others.

There are limits to the number of relationships of more than a casual nature any one person can have, or wishes to make, in a period of time. All large groups must therefore be constellations of smaller groupings, some of which are more or less permanent and some of which are essentially transient, supplying momentary and changing needs. No one seems to be sure about the limits of relationship making and difficulties lie in the fact that number and intensity may be exchangeable values so that a smaller number of intense contacts may equate in terms of satisfaction with a much larger number of more superficial contacts.

One thing is certain, however. The immediacy and supportive nature of these small group contacts must make them much more a reality than the socially distant organization of which they are a part. It must allow for a very clear appreciation of the inclusive/exclusive nature of group membership. All the factors that generate acceptance of some people as members of any particular group are exactly the factors that exclude others.

The simple fact of contact carries with it the possibility of balancing liking and appreciation of others. Liking a salient factor both in group formation and in the acceptance of a standard or normative behaviour supported by group pressure. Shared experience, that is, experience which is common, not just similar, is also a bonding factor and tends to generate a sense of common understanding. With such shared experience individuals have evidence that others have similar knowledge of 'what it is like' and thus a knowledgeable and experiential understanding that is not shared by those who have not gone through the experience.

Where the tasks in an organization are diverse then the basis for a number of 'shared experience' groupings is equally large. What is more, the interests of such groupings may well be not entirely consonant with the formal aims of the organization as a whole and often enough may be in direct conflict with them. For example, there may be a primary desire to see that no *one is* put upon rather than to ensure the highest possible standard of production.

Given that large organizations have increasing problems in communication, the formation and enduring existence of many small groupings must often ensure that communication problems are further exacerbated. Different groupings within a large organization seldom realize the extent to which their group identity tends to preclude any common understanding. Indeed, it is the function of group norms not only to ensure conformity within the group but also to highlight the difference of behaviour and belief in other groups. Often enough belonging to one group endows members with acceptable attitudes towards other groups with sanctions imposed for those who show any inclination to attempt increased understanding of members of the out group. The obvious common factors seem to be easily obliterated by group – supported differences.

Interestingly enough, the strength of such conditioned perceptions is resistive to rational argument but not so impregnable to experience. However, most organizational structures created round division of labour and specialization do not offer the opportunity for experiencing the roles of others, and thus the much less effective fool, of rational argument is all that is left to bridge some very wide gaps in understanding .

THE PROBABLE EFFECTS OF GROUP PROCESSES IN WORK GROUPS IN THE LIGHT OF THE DECLARED OBJECTIVES OF THE CONTAINING ORGANIZATION

'C.I. Barnard has pointed out that all large organizations may be thought of as having been built up from a number of smaller groups. These small groups vary in size but average about eight or ten people, the number being determined by the fact that problems of communication become greater as the size of the group increases.

(Brown 1954 : 124)

The dynamics of the small groups within a large organization are an enduring function of that organization, affecting its performance in one way or another. While all the processes and constraints are constantly operating, information is available on the effects of only some of them . But even in this partial state of knowledge it is obvious what powerful affecting factors they can be.

Cohesiveness

Cohesiveness, which has been defined as the attractiveness of the group for its members, the liking, and the sense of belonging, and the bond that creates the sense of being a unit, has some very powerful effects in the work group situation. As most work groups are dependent upon a degree of cooperation from their members it is not surprising to find that cohesive groups are somewhat more productive than non – cohesive groups. Basically this is because interaction between members is maintained at a high level with the consequences of smoother and more effective communication, making work a more pleasurable experience for those engaged in it. Of course, the interaction levels can become so high that the main objective of the group becomes social and production is relegated to a secondary role. The spin – offs from the increase of satisfaction in the work situation may include a reduction in days lost through absenteeism, a reduction in tension and friction between workers in the group, and an increase in group – approved behaviour.

Of course, cohesiveness in a work group can produce effects that are not positively related to the organizational aims. New members to such: a group find their position dependent upon a acceptance. If they cannot get this acceptance this usually means that they are stressed to the point of leaving. A further factor lies in the way in which cohesiveness enhances exclusivity of membership

to the obvious detriment of other groups and their members, which will often result in competitive attitudes and sometimes in lack of cooperation .

Cohesion

Cohesion cannot develop well where members of group are separated by physical space and have only a limited opportunity to interact . Such workers are more likely to belong to groups outside the isolating influence of the workplace . Cohesion is strengthened by time spent together, by group members being similar in status, age, background, and ideas , by shared incentive in which each member realizes that he or she is of great value to the group in achieving its aims, and by groups that are small enough for members to know and appreciate each other as members . Other factors which tend to develop cohesion are the social skills and integrating force of leadership acts . The role models set by influential group members and any threat that menaces the whole group, providing they have been long enough together to operate as a unit in response to it , also tend to develop cohesion.

Norms

The norms of a group are the often unwritten rules by which the group operates and which serve to maintain its unique identity. In work situations norms create standards . So , for example, how hard a person works is not gauged by what he or she wants to earn, nor by the demands set by the organization , but by the agreement of the work group as to what is fair and equitable considering the abilities, skills , and needs of the total group membership. Safety regulations are often ignored because the work group' s attitude to them is derisory . Group pressure can ensure that all members conform to that attitude even though their individual response would have been to abide by the regulations . Tradition has often ignored and rejected innovation because of just such a need to be accepted by a work group.

The approved way of doing things covers output , attitudes to others in the organization , social activities , language, the way people dress, even the jokes they tell , and almost every other actor of the work scene. These tend to make groups that stay together for long periods rather conservative in attitude and behaviour and somewhat resistant to change .

Norms do not have to be restrictive and where they set high levels of achievement they may well square with the aims of the organization . So much is this so, that groups are now often formed around experienced people whose routine behaviour enshrines organizationally acceptable norms. Thus, a group forms around a role model and develops the standards help by the nuclear person. This is not an easy situation because lower standards are often easier to maintain and less demanding of effort. In any case, there is a tendency for systems to run down without the injection of new energy, so increases in organizationally acceptable normative behaviour tend to be hard to maintain.

Something has already been said about the process of decision making from the point of view of the individual who participates in it. It is worth repeating that decisions that affect an individual's existence, and that are made where the individual has no influence, constitute one of the clearest indications of the power relationships that exist in that situation. Individuals often seek to alleviate their powerlessness by action in combination and by large – scale actions that are often out of proportion to the presenting cause because the action is compounded of thousands of different cases of individual grievances .Action in combination allows the feeling of overwhelming power, the

exercise of which certainly gives some compensation for the powerlessness experienced in other situations.

All the group processes are fundamentally based on interaction, without interaction there can be no group. Thus isolation brought about by physical distance or overwhelming noise inhibits interaction in the workplace. While the work units are made up of individuals in the place of work, conditions in the canteen or recreation facilities may be more conducive to group formation .

Interaction

Interaction by members of a group develops a supportive structure over time. Members gain acceptance for their views, receive emotional and physical support when work is exhausting, dangerous, or productive of stress, and also acquire a sense of belonging. It is indicative of the power assigned to interaction and group acceptance that the universal sanction for misbehaviour is exclusion and isolation. A total verbal barrier inhibiting interaction is a mark of high disapproval.

A factor that greatly affects interaction levels is the size of the group. Large groups tend to split into smaller groups but all the evidence points to the fact that small groups produce more satisfying working conditions, judged on the bases of production and the figures of absenteeism.

No work group is composed of totally disengaged human beings. But often enough work schedules seem to be planned as if this were so. An appreciation of the dynamics of any group situation offers the possibility of choice between various methods of change and between more and less acceptable demands. The nature of any particular work group has already set some boundaries to, what it can be expected to achieve. This does not imply that it cannot achieve other levels of operation; it does mean that the current state of its operational dynamics has to be an important factor in the change approach. It may well be that changes in level of operation can only be achieved as and when changes in the dynamic structure have been brought about.

A common industrial complaint has often been lack of consultation. As we have seen, members, involvement in decisions that affect the group tends to increase their commitment to the decisions that they arrive at. But involvement means involvement, an active participation resulting in a sense of being part of the decision- making process. Having some influence on the outcome is what actually generates commitment and not some superficial request for agreement to a scheme that is already fully contrived. Such consultation gives the strongest on non-verbal communications about where the source of power lies in spite of what may be said to the contrary. The feeling such situations generate is one of powerlessness to influence outcomes that directly concern the individual's existence.

More attention to the design factors that enhance the group dynamics positively related to the organization's aims would ensure increases in productivity. Too often changes are created because fashions change, because new ideas for saving this or that are abroad, or because change in aims or organizational structure are necessitated by administrative factors. None of this can be ignored. But what is seen as necessity in one part of an organization may well be seen as totally destructive of a method of existence in another, and the response may be overtly aggressive and defensive.

Thus, while positive use has been made of group dynamics from the management's view of the organization (that is, to increase productivity), little use has been made by either side of such knowledge to increase the possibility of working together at all levels of an organization.

Management are often enough concerned that management levels shall not waste valuable time, energy and creativeness by pulling in opposite directions. Consequently an understanding of group

dynamics and of human relationships has generated a multi- million dollar personal –growth industry in the United States.

In this country the growth of such learning – and experiential opportunities has neither been so great nor so fast. But it has been even more one-sided in work-forces in industry and business have tended to see their best interest being guarded by traditional trade union activities and this has resulted in the continued development of entrenched positions. Only few courses in group and committee skills and negotiating patterns have ever been provided for workers. The organization of industry and commerce is again held to be political and related to the class system. In fact, so much is this true that knowledge of group dynamics is often rejected on the basis that it is an apolitical approach and thus does not get to the root cause of the conflict. In one sense this accusation is true because the history of group dynamic knowledge in organizations, short though it is, has almost always come from the management levels. It is seen, therefore, as a tool of management in much the same way as the early time and motion studies were regarded. What we are faced with here is the rejection of group dynamic analysis on the basis of its possible use. Of course, this does not preclude understanding of work groups in the terms of group dynamics, but it does clearly indicate why the most prominently available data about such groups clusters so heavily around all the processes that are closely connected with ingroup protective behaviour such as cohesion, norms, standards, values, climate and all the constraints that clearly signal the need for such protective behaviour.

So successful this behavioural balance that new approaches stand little change of success as the difference of such situations is regarded with suspicion from either side, and inevitably the existing attitudes predispose the perception of all to overlook the possible advantages. At a guess, I would say that only chance of almost tragic proportions will tend to break this kind of stalemate, and even the few examples where change has been brought about by rational means are not sufficient evidence that this has become widespread practice.

2.6 DEVELOPMENT OF TEAMS

'Team – set of players forming a side in a football match or other game or sport; set of persons working together.'
(Concise Oxford Dictionary)

Perhaps the most interesting word in the dictionary definition of 'team' is the word 'set.' By implication a 'set' of people or pieces suggests a definite number, each member or part of which bears a clear and observable relationship to each other and to the set as a whole. In this way the pieces of a chess 'set' have defined roles within the overall aim of beating an opposing set. However skillful the set-director (in this case the player) may be, the moves of the pieces conform to an exact pattern and it is within the limits imposed by these patterns that the director must work. All teams partake of this rather structured nature and it is this that largely distinguishes teams from any other form of grouping.

Teams are co-operative groups in that they are called into being to perform a task or tasks that cannot be attempted by an individual. In this sense all groups are teams but the organization that constitutes a team is not one generally found in other forms of group. Thus, if a team is a particular kind of group organization that has arisen in order to meet certain kinds of social requirement, then an analysis of what a team does and the organization it has developed to do it should reveal the dynamics relevant to this kind of task. Not only should this indicate methods of creating more effective teams, but it should also show the clear –cut cause/effect ratio of assembling in one grouping of certain group processes at given intensities.

Given the fact that teams must have occurred very early in our history as a method of dealing with certain situations, it is somewhat surprising to discover that judging by the amount of literature it has produced, the analysis of teams as a specific kind of social group does not seem to have aroused much interest. Most writers seem to indicate that the dynamics of teams are the dynamics of groups in general, which is true, and that the different emphases are not sufficiently different to warrant special mention, which is not true, atleast in my estimation.

In a situation such as the formation of a national 'team' in some sport, it is interesting to note the reactions of selected members of the processes of selection and formation. Generally speaking, players are selected on the basis of their performance in a team of which they are a more or less permanent members; others are selected on their individual performance and become members of a loose collectivity, which is a team in name only. The former then have to perform in a group whose members are often unused to one another and who may have frequently been on opposing sides. The concept of team formation in use here is that a team comprises a series of specialists controlled by a leader, and that because the specialist roles are well understood, the parts should fit together in a functional whole.

That this does not get with the personal experience of some of the special units involved can be gleaned from comments they make about 'settling down' over time and about having played together often enough to realize the complementary nature of the roles. In a word, they have practiced not only their individual expertise but also their function as part of a unit containing discrete but dependent entities. Alternatively, a team leader has to know the units in his or her control so well that he or she can devise patterns for their deployment to meet most of the contingencies they will meet in play. The team response is then dependent upon the leader's recognition of the opportunity and instigation of the appropriate pattern and of the individual member's performing their ascribed role within that pattern more or less irrespective of individual assessment of the situation.

In either case, the team functions effectively only when its members operate as smoothly interlocking and complementary parts of the larger whole, eschewing much independent choice in favour of predictable behaviour. Familiarity would seem to lend added weight in that it would allow individuals the independence to take advantage of changes in the pattern of play by instigating sudden changes in their contribution to the team pattern. Familiarity would allow other members to recognize the change and adopt the new pattern based on their expectations from previous experience. This kind of behaviour contains all the essentials of a leadership act.

A team is a task-oriented group, its behaviour is constrained to eliminate actions that are not essential to task achievement. Its code of practice demands a high level of conformity and may even be condemnatory of successful independent actions unless they are 'Planned in' to the team pattern. Some teams can, and do, develop 'star' pattern that specialize even further the functions of one or more player/members thereby creating an elite but dependent sub - group. Whatever why the pattern emerges, it has the essential nature of a disciplined package with strong sanctions available for contraventions of its overall unity of strategy.

THE NATURE OF A TEAM AND ITS PURPOSE

'Teams are groups of people who co-operate to carry out a joint task. They may be assigned to different work roles, or be allowed to sort them out between themselves and change jobs when they feel like it, for example the crews of ships and aircraft, research teams, maintenance gangs and groups of miners.'

(Argyle: 1972:110)

The co-operative and interpretive function of a team generates what has been called 'interdependent relationships' (Allen 1965), and all the available evidence points to the fact that interdependent relationships in a group allow greater pressure to be applied than in groups with a greater degree of independence among members. There is sufficient evidence from team sports that personal dislike is often set aside during a team performance because a greater level of satisfaction is accessible for all the team members in their combined achievement than can be gained in the expression of personal feelings.

The whole issue of competition enters here, as does the effect upon group cohesion of perception of being attacked by outsiders. As we shall see, the processes and factors affecting team behaviour demonstrate a clear recognition of the major purposes for which teams are created and serve to enhance functional effectiveness.

Interaction

As in all groups, interaction is fundamental to a team's existence, but again, as in all other groups, the level and nature of the interaction in a team has distinctive qualities. The nature of a team's identity in fact is dependent upon a high level of interaction being demonstrated. In other words, the appearance of interaction at a good level indicates to observers the cohesive team like quality of the group in its public performance. In actual fact, interaction in an effective team is usually devoted to establishing and maintaining reciprocal dependence and familiarity among members in areas associated with the team's performance. Dependence is almost a *sine quo non* for the existence of a team although it is often enough restricted to the actual public performance of the team, while familiarity is necessary to facilitate prediction and to enhance the sense of being a functional unit.

The meshing together of the functions of the different team members depends upon a clear act of subordination of rivalries with other members and of any egocentric behaviour. Take a team of trapeze artists, for example. Their lives rest on the absolute dependability of each other, and many exciting stories have been concocted around the intrusion of private aims into this essentially secure unit.

Development

This is not an essential feature of teams except in one highly specialized area, prediction. Given an amount of shared experience of operating as a team, the members may not, and often not develop an overall trust in each other that continues to exist the team performance as members of personal group will. But in order to perform efficiently they must develop a reasonable level of security based on the ability to predict with higher than chance levels of accuracy the responses of other team members. Co-ordination, which is basic in team performance, tends to rely heavily on each member doing what is expected of him or her so that the whole effort blends and moves in the direction of the team's overall purpose.

Structure

The structure of teams is not primarily a constellation of persons but a fairly tightly knit, relationship of roles. This structure has a large formal element; newcomers who are able to fill a particular team role elsewhere can slot into the structure immediately on arrival, though their team performance will tend to be more efficient once they have more shared experience and have been able to adjust expectations to the minimal idiosyncracies of the new team. In this way, status differences may not be

too important, although particular team approaches can create a particular role, that of star performer, because this appears to be the best use of available resources, to achieve the group's aims. The interdependency (mentioned above) is, however, still maintained and still reciprocal. A 'star' system is clearly part of the role structure and as long as it obtains results will be accepted even to the glorification of the individual playing the 'star' role.

Sub-group formation

As would be expected, sub-group formation does not occur spontaneously but only as part of team design and must always remain subject to the overall pattern. A sub-group can only have a life of its own in so far as it enables the team to achieve its objectives.

Groups goals

In most teams, group goals are very clear. In fact, teams are not only task or goal-oriented, but the design and co-operative nature of a team also arises from a perception that such a structure is the most efficient way to achieve desired outcomes.

Decision making

Decision-making processes are thus rational and open to performance feedback that can then be used to modify design, tactics, and, ultimately, performance. Efficient teams have a self-reviewing mechanism built into their design that allows monitoring and review of performance with the aim of enhancing standards. Access to this reviewing system is democratic and often actively encouraged.

Norms, standards, and values

The norms, standards, and values of a team are of great importance. They embody the essential system, the ways in which members are permitted to behave during team performance. Knowledge of the rules ensures that standards are maintained, and the dependent state of the members is generated and used for team ends only and not exploited for individual gain. Differences are minimized, a party line is maintained and consensus and solidarity buttressed by a kind of professional etiquette. Behaviour, for the time of the group's performance, must conform to strict rules so that no individual member has to think of his or her security or support needs to the detriment of devotion of the team task.

Cohesion

As mentioned earlier, cohesion is essential. A reciprocal dependence and familiarity are needed to generate security, because performance without such security becomes not only individualistic but haphazard and uncertain. Even when mistakes are made by team members, other members have to suppress the desire to punish or chide in the public eye. If they do not, the team's unified image is clearly seen to be falling apart and, in the eyes of possible competitors, much of its strength has thus been lost and its weaknesses can be exploited.

Influence

The influence of the team on its members is quite a simple one. Conformity is more likely to produce rewards for all, and the failure of one ensures the failure of all. Thus, the pressure to conform is enhanced by a unanimously strong desire to succeed on the part of all team members. It is also

maintained by a system of sanctions, not least of which is well nigh complete disapproval.

Climate

Teams generate a climate of loyalty, which stems from the acceptance of dependence on others to achieve a desired outcome. There is something of the secret society about all successful teams. Members accept the skills and knowledge of other members as a common resource and the sense of sharing and shared experience, which distinguishes members from non-members, is high.

Environment

The control of its environment is important to a team. For sports teams the home ground with its familiarity and increased sense of place and of ease can often inspire a better performance than strange grounds. The acceptance of a base is common to all members of a team and is one of the features that distinguishes members from non-members.

Membership

Membership is a constraint with powerful implications. The factors that comprise this constraint, namely the qualities, abilities, background, experience, attitudes, and ambitions, of *members* are all extremely relevant. Each member of a team is assumed to have special knowledge and competence and their selection and continuing membership of the team is dependent upon such special skills and abilities, these being a necessary ingredient of the team as a whole. If the membership changes, say in order to produce a team designed to meet a perceived, difference of task, then only members whose abilities conform to the new requirements will be retained. Conversely, the performance of a team is significantly related to the ability of the members to produce only those activities that are in the interests of team efficiency. Thus, the ability to limit nonessential behaviours is almost as important as being able to produce those behaviours that brought about selection in the first place.

Along with functional roles, members of a team also perform ceremonial and ritual roles that act as a form of window-dressing and create a public image that enhances or attracts public support for their performance, whether this be as audience or as financial backers.

Time

Time is not unduly important as a constraint upon a team. It may be crucially important for individual members in the development of their personal skills and techniques, but if the design of a team has been well served by the selection of its members for their contribution, then only minimal time is required for such a team to be functionally effective. Time spent working together obviously increases the familiarity with response patterns, and without doubt, as all of each member's potential cannot be known in advance, nor are their performances necessarily stable in terms of quality, more time can bring an increased knowledge and a more realistic level of expectation.

Resources

Such a concept leads straight into a consideration of resources. The skills members possess, their knowledge and abilities are the main resources a team possesses. This lays great emphasis on selection so that the total team is neither short of human resources nor forced to carry relatively

unproductive components. Other resources of the material kind have obviously varying degrees of importance. In some cases they are essential. If the team is operating complex equipment, then the team's performance is largely dependent upon the efficiency of that equipment. Where a team's function is the exploitation of human abilities with only minimal equipment then the major resource is the human potential.

Size

Size is an important factor. Most teams are essentially small groups. Beyond twelve to fifteen members, the kind of structure I have been describing, is very hard to maintain. The multiplying of roles, the increased potential of relationships and ideas, and the increased possibility of individuals opting out, bring about diminishing returns unless an increase in rigidity and regulatory procedures accompanies the increase in size. This may also bring about a decrease in achievement levels because performance will necessarily be restricted in a creative sense by the growth of restrictive discipline. This is an area where the degree and nature of discipline has to be appropriate to the task the team was created to perform. It is noteworthy that essentially creative functions seem to be mainly related to individual performance and not to the work of teams.

Teams are essentially *open groups* but with a strong tendency for the membership to remain in static for long periods of time. Most teams are formed from a collection of possible members and the nature of the team as a group of selected human components performing a well-defined task implies that modification, reselection, disbandment, and substitution are all possible in order to meet changed conditions. Thus, any team tends to be embedded in a larger group, all the members of which have the potential and possibility of being members of the team at any time. Sometimes this larger group may be just a list of names in the designer's records and the members may have little or no knowledge of each other's existence. Often the supply group is a very apparent reserve, clearly involved with the current team and often considered to be not only reservoir but also a training group and an essential part of the team.

Activity

The activity of a team is always clearly defined. The team's task not only delineates the selection of team members but also the activities they will pursue in achieving group goals. As most teams are in competition with other similar teams, or with their recorded performance, agreement about activity is very necessary as efficiency in performance is a high-level, proximate goal of any team.

Leadership acts

Leadership acts in teams possess some very interesting qualities. Conflict often arises between the team leader in his or her leadership function and the team leader as a member, so much so, that many teams prefer to keep the two functions quite separate. Where these separate roles occur, the team leader has some very distinctive functions. He or she:

1. May be responsible for selection.
2. Is responsible for ensuring that the discipline of the team produces the high level of performance and interdependence team needs.

3. Is responsible for the allocation of roles and the use of resources.
4. Decides upon the team strategy and plans its policies.
5. Assumes a greater degree of responsibility to the team's audience or others concerned with its performance.
6. Makes considerable demands upon team members.

A team leader bears a responsibility to ensure success and thus leadership always has a strong directive element. This is true when the team leader is also a participating member of the team and this highlights an essential role conflict between directive leader and the co-operative normative behaviour of a member. This conflict has often been demonstrated where members of high performance have been given the role of leader and their performance has declined as they find that occupying two very dissimilar roles simultaneously is too demanding.

Selection

Selection has already been mentioned as a crucial factor in a team and all that needs to be said here is that once level of skill has been taken into account, selection must create team members who can trust each other to perform correctly and who will not be indiscreet in their team-related behaviour. Such behaviour is stipulated in their *contract*, an agreement to which team members subscribe. It is an agreement to behave scrupulously within team norms and to maintain the team standards.

The analogy of a team with a machine composed of smoothly interlocking parts is sometimes made for obvious reason. Team design is the most efficient way that human beings have discovered of providing a short-or limited –duration performance at high levels of intensity with maximum effectiveness. This implies that (a) the level of design and selection is of a very high order; (b) the human occupant of the team role is less significant qua human being than his or her ability to perform his or her allotted role; (c) in lieu of normal social interaction the relationship of the role occupants will be strictly governed by a unanimously accepted set of rules, and finally, (d) leadership will be precisely located and directive in nature.

These are all factors that eliminate much of the time needed for growing together; development is assured by providing guidelines based on the assumption that such high levels of satisfaction will accrue from conformity and the huge amount of control needed by the members to achieve it will be seen as a worthwhile cost. Sometimes this assumption is incorrect. Other satisfactions appear more rewarding and the essential nature of 'teamness' is destroyed or reduced.

Activity 5

Identify a team which is created for a specific purpose, and asses it on all the variables explained above and rate it on all counts out of 10 marks and see how effective and efficient the team is. Discuss the results in your peer group.

.....

.....

.....

.....

2.7 THE PROBABLE EFFECTS OF GROUP PROCESSES ON TEAM PERFORMANCE

'Whether the members of a team stage similar individual performances or stage dissimilar performances which fit together into a whole, an emergent team impression arises which can be conveniently treated as a fact located between the individual performance on one hand and the total interaction of participants on the other.'
(Goffman 1969b:85)

Steiner (1974), quoting the work of Torrance, showed that status differences in air crews presented with a problem affected the solutions produced in that whether right or wrong, the answers proffered by the high-status members were accepted by the low status members of the crew. Low –status members with the right solution were unable to convince their fellow crew members of the rightness of their opinion in the fact of the different opinions held by the high-status members. When men from different aircrews were formed into a problem-solving group, then whoever had the correct solution, whether of high or low status, was much more able to convince others and affect the group outcome. Steiner comments that deviant opinions could be visited with reprisal in the whole crew groups whereas this was not likely to occur in the groups composed of members of several different crews. Steiner is suggesting that fear for their future well-being made low-status crew members accept what they may have known to be wrong.

There is another possibility. Crews are teams in which the safety of all is dependent upon each and every member exercising their allotted function in harmony with all the others and without fear or favour. Most team members are well aware that disagreement, even on matters with no direct reference to the team's existence, can impair their ability to function effectively within it. This interdependent state makes those involved very vulnerable to any decrease in loyalty on the part of any one of them. Thus, the relationship among Torrance's aircrews, which was an essential factor in the performance of their task, spilled over into a task that was unrelated to their professional duties.

Many exciting stories have been written on this theme where disagreement between members of a team performing a dangerous task (e.g. trapeze artists) has destroyed the necessary loyalty of the members to each other because strong motives of vengeance have occurred.

This highlights the fact that the operating strength of a team is based upon a dependent trust and that this can easily become the source of its easy destruction by a sufficient change of attitude on the part of one or more members, especially when this change is successfully hidden from the others.

However, what appears to be a more important element in team design is the need to build in success. As mentioned earlier, the analysis of the factors affecting team design shows a heavy concentration on elements that first ensure as far as possible the smooth functioning of the team, second, eliminate unnecessary, delaying, or obstructive behaviour patterns and, third, maximize the potential of the group over a given period of time and allow for changes to meet changed circumstances. Thus competition, which seems to be the milieu in which most teams exist, ensures a concentration on factors producing maximum effectiveness with the resources available. In this sense what is missing from effective teams is as instructive in any analysis of group design as what is included.

The maintenance of solidarity comes about through constant self-reviewing. Feedback to and from all team members constantly ensures that their construing of the situation is similar at all times (or at least their agreed acceptance of a particular construction) so that experience that is not universally shared in actual fact is shared by discussion and consideration, a sharing by proxy. The unanimity and uniformity, which can be so handicapping in decision-making groups by smothering alternatives, is a basic essential of the loyalty, respect, and support that a team system uses. The sheer effect of numbers of people of reasonably high status all behaving in the same way and speaking with one voice is very impressive.

In a word, the element of successful team functioning is a contract, an agreement to behave in a preordained way for a given period of time. The contract is founded upon the belief that this is the most effective method of achieving certain desired outcomes. It tends to be shattered by frequent experience of failure. Sometimes it is obfuscated by the satisfaction gained from other outcomes not clearly or originally included in the contract (e.g. just being together).

2.8 GROUPS AND COMMITTEES

'The organizational requirement for group problem-solving rests primarily on two assumptions: 1. Information needed for most management decisions must come from a variety of sources whose functional interdependence requires its simultaneous consideration and evaluation by all concerned; and 2. the acceptance of such decisions by the persons affected is often more important than the objective quality of the decision, and acceptance is promoted by participation in decision-making.'

(Hoffman 1965:100)

When Hoffman made the statement quoted above, he was engaged in trying to isolate the factors that inhibit group problem solving and those that facilitate it. He was concerned with this problem because large organizations often require that a great part of their work is done by committees. Thus, the question of group problem solving in an effective manner is of paramount importance.

Hoffman put forward the idea that the information available at the time seemed to indicate that the removal of the inhibiting factors in group problem solving did not of itself promote effective action and that facilitating factors had to be brought into the action before a committee's resources could be effectively utilized. It could be expected that effective committees should therefore not only eliminate as many inhibiting factors as possible but should also demonstrate a very positive use of facilitating factors. Generally speaking, inhibiting factors are conditions that prevent, or significantly reduce, the groups ability to express ideas freely. Conversely, promoting factors are conditions that facilitate or maximize the existing resources of the group.

Committees are decision-making groups. They are formed to solve problems and to take advantage of the supposed benefit of using groups rather than individuals in the process of decision making. If solutions to problems, that is, decisions, are required we could expect that committees would tend to be groups that would be designed to use the resources of members, produce more solutions than individuals, eliminate inferior ideas, make more risky decisions, allocate tasks, and roles, and minimize the sense of responsibility for individual members, and so on. Does the evidence of committee procedure show that these group-effect elements are built into committees or not?

Committees are decision-making and problem-solving groups. Thus, the factors that inhibit the process of problem solving should be excluded in committee design and those that promote problem

solving should be essential features of such design. Inhibiting factors as defined by Hoffman are as follows:

1. Too ready agreement –this is detrimental to the solution of complex problems.
2. Over dominance by the majority – this suppresses minority expression and may thus never allow correct solutions to surface. These two factors are promoted by a lack of confidence in the members of the committee, by the fact that deviant viewpoints are held, by dependence upon those members seen as able, or knowledgeable, or experienced and by generalizations from previous experience.
3. The feedback to the group is not rewarding enough to increase participation.
4. There is undue importance attached to certain members, usually those who talk most, and their choice of solution is often accepted whatever its merits. The charisma and status of such influential members is often related to the perception that they are highly motivated.
5. The structure of the decision-making group may be an important inhibiting factor. For example the larger the group the more restrained its inhibited members tend to become and the influence of the confident members increase disproportionately. Or, if the structure is informal, this increases the influence of personality factors; power structures enhance the inhibiting effects of authority figures.
6. No organizational structure exists that can help to free the committee to search for problems or facilitate its process of formulating them.

Opposed to these are the enhancing factors:

1. Members are selected in a way that utilizes their known abilities. (A great problem here lies in being able to identify the abilities that will be a potential resource.) This reinforces their motivation and provides a diversity of viewpoints with the tolerance to allow their expression.
2. The stimulation of group processes that promote the generation of ideas; the rigorous assessment of data and ideas, methods of identifying the problem, of exploiting conflict, and of exploring alternatives.
3. Leadership acts that improve the use of information and encourage the flow and exchange of ideas that stimulate rather than arbitrate.
4. Acts that engender participation on the thesis that involvement with the decision making enhances the commitment of the members to what is decided.

Steiner (1974) states that 'decision-making groups are almost always required to perform divisible tasks.' That is, a process comprising several separate actions in which information is offered and discussed, background and impinging material considered, and the whole evaluated and the available alternatives examined is set up. Because the problem that confronts a group is seldom exactly like the last one, there are few reusable formulae for procedure, except in the broadest sense,

so a large element of improvisation is necessary. Such flexibility often produces failure because the programme, recipe, or procedure eventually used is not appropriate or suitable to the problem confronted.

Activity 6

You must be familiar with any Committee (finance, executive, grievance) that might have been formed in your organization to fulfil certain objectives. Assess and explain:

- 1) What is the size of the committee
- 2) How many times did the chairman and the members met
- 3) Did they arrive at a decision soon
- 4) How did people in the organization feel about it.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

2.9 GROUP PROCESSES OF COMMITTEES AND A CONSIDERATION OF THEIR INFLUENCE ON COMMITTEE EFFECTIVENESS

'Committees are primarily concerned with coming to agreements over issues where individuals or groups may disagree.'

(Argyle 1972:130)

Committees are formally organized talking groups designed to take decisions and solve problems. Membership varies enormously from three upwards. A committee has a formal structure of officers, chairperson, secretary, and treasurer; it is usually set up within an existing organization and is assigned its task by that organization.

Committees as groups, show marked differences to others groups. The main differences are as follows:

1. Interpersonal bonds between members are weak compared with other groups.
2. Interaction is mainly verbal.
3. Main tasks are problem solving and decision taking through verbal exchange.
4. Meetings are formal, conform to a present agenda, and follow fairly elaborate and explicit rules of procedure.
5. Relationships arise as the result of the work of the group and are constituted as rapidly

changing coalitions based on interest. There may be no social contact of members outside the group.

Interaction

Interaction between members is mainly verbal and governed by rules. For example, all communications have to be addressed to the chair, no member may speak for more than a specified length of time or more frequently than the rules allow, nor may any member bring up material irrelevant to the issue under discussion. A great deal of interaction takes place at the non-verbal level, e.g. eye-contact, gesture, nods, and winks, even written messages passed around among the members. The ability to use these non-verbal communications to ensure expression of one's views, to marshal aid, and to give support, is a very vital skill for the committee member.

Group development

Because of its formal structure and lack of concern about interpersonal relationships, the development of a committee is not a significant feature. Long –lasting committees with stable membership do develop expectations related to past experience, but trust is still based upon predictability. Unless some outside force threatens the committee as a whole, there is little sense of cohesion, often quite the reverse. Development in a slightly different sense does tend to occur in that a committee with produce procedures for dealing with its problems and show an increase in operational skill; however small, over its initial performance. It develops a level of expertise.

Structure

The structure is formal, though, overtime, informal groupings come into existence to meet given exigencies (see sub-groups). Status within a committee is often directly related to the status of the members within the encompassing organization or to that held in other organizations represented on the committee. It is also related to the committee's perception of personality, expertise, and security of tenure of the individual member.

Sub-groups

As already noticed, committees have a flexible, informal subgroup structure of coalitions. These transient groupings are often the result of bargaining before a meeting takes place and are frequently the determining factor in the committee's decision when opposition is small due to apathy or disorganization, and the cause of conflict when competing elements have also made their bargains. Because committees are composed of people representing different interests, the formation of sub-groups and the consequent lack of overall cohesion is a salient factor of committee dynamics.

Group goals

Group goals are two fold: first to produce solutions to problems presented to the committee, and, second, to come to an agreement about what should be done. The process of problem solving requires that information about the problem and its context should be fed into the committee. This information may be first complementary, second conflicting, or third heterogeneous, but the committee's purpose is to discover as far as possible the hard facts. Remarkably enough, there is evidence to show that members are often more prepared to consider information that is not in line with their own understanding than they would as separate individuals.

The second purpose requires that the committee should examine these facts, hypothesize about them, and reach agreement.

Decision making

On each agenda item the need to reach agreement produces strong conformity pressure; the norms of behaviour are asserted at each decision point. It is here that committees show that they are prepared to take riskier decisions than individuals, probably for the following reasons:

1. Responsibility is diffused through the group.
2. Cultural norms are in favour of risk taking.
3. Some members are high risk-takers anyway.
4. The group climate favours risk taking.

Norms, standards, and values

There are the procedural norms, e.g. in voting behaviour, but there are also special rules individually created for each committee concerning timing, and what is allowed. There are norms about the general policy of the committee and about conduct and behaviour.

Cohesion

Committees are rarely cohesive because of the manner of their formation.

Influence

Conformity pressures have already been noted. However, it necessary to point out certain influence situations not yet covered. Committees are expected by the creating organization to reach agreement about the issues submitted to them. Thus, pressures to conform come from outside as well as within the group. If the task is not being achieved, or is regarded as not being achieved by the creating organization then members can be removed or substituted, or the whole committee abolished. Members who are representatives of other bodies are obligated to present and defend certain views and to press for other members to accept them, as they stand to gain or lose personally by the outcome.

Climate

Good leadership can induce a co-operative, hard-working climate. Differences in status, the obvious exercise of power, can inhibit it.

Environment

Environment factors are important in that adequate access, room, and facilities are important in any group activity.

Membership

Members have varied reasons for being in the committee, They may be concerned about the task or they may have been appointed. What ever promoted their joining the group will affect the degree of their commitment to it success. If they are expertise and power, and are thus high-status members, the committee will spend more time discussing their ideas than those they will have more influence on the final agreement of others, whether good or bad. Good committee members need certain skills, e.g. the ability to collect, study, and assess information; the ability to persuade, to appear emotionally uninvolved with the issues before the committee; to be concerned with what is acceptable to others; and to be able to get themselves noticed when they wish to speak.

Time

Time is an essential ingredient as many agreements are founded on the lack of it, and many decisions based on poor information because, there was no time available to seek out better.

Resources

A committee's resources are twofold: first, those of its creating organization, and, second, those of or accessible to its members.

Size

Size is often outside the control of either the committee or its creators due to the need to cover many interests. Thus, the most effective and efficient size for the task in hand is not often available.

Open/closed nature

Most committees have the power to co-opt and are therefore open groups, a factor that tends to enhance the weak relationship structure, noted earlier, and create great reliance on the formal organization.

Activity

Committee activity is made up of mainly verbal exchange and the collection and consideration of data.

Leadership acts

The leader is the chairperson and his or her role is crucially significant in relation to the performance of the committee. The continuum of leadership style is available to the chairperson but most tend to gravitate to the directional end though with democratic overtones. The chairperson is empowered either by election or appointment to control the discussion, to influence decisions in various ways, and to try to reach conclusions that are universally acceptable. The kind of skills they need may be listed as follows:

1. Being able to recognize the problem asses the available data and require members to give their opinions and contributions on the central issues.
2. Concentrating on differences of opinion and trying to reach agreement.

3. Assessing the value of the available contributions and solutions in the light of any agreed policy.
4. Stimulating the committee to consider what it is proposing and to look at alternatives.
5. Ensuring that large problems are broken into manageable pieces and dealt with systematically.
6. Ensuring that the committee considers all possible solutions not just one.
7. Being custodian of the rules of procedure.

This kind of chairperson produces better results in matched groups than passive leaders can.

Contract

A contract is formed in a committee on the basis of accepting the formal procedural rules and on deciding to work for the outcomes outlined in the committee's remit.

It now remains only to look at the conditions that tend to make committees effective and those that render them ineffective.

Committee effectiveness is enhanced when:

1. Members are able and possess different relevant skills, abilities and resources.
2. Members are co-operative, are able to develop high commitment to the committee's aims, are able to consult freely, and feel responsible for the outcomes.
3. Members stimulate each other in the production of new, creative ideas.
4. Leadership is skilled in co-ordination, in preventing conformity pressure producing inferior and premature decisions, and in producing a solution acceptable to all members.
5. The size of the committee is appropriate to the task in hand.
6. The aims of the committee are clearly understood.
7. Minorities are encouraged to participate actively.
8. Available resources are allocated to different components of the overall task.
9. Ideas are explored in an environment that does not produce immediate critical response.
10. Participation is democratic and not dominated by one or two powerful individuals.
11. The committee is aware that it has the power to enact the decisions it makes or to see that others do so.
12. Communication channels are known and kept open.
13. Sufficient time is available for discussion but not too much so that motivations flag.
14. Solutions can be tested and their possible effects gauged.
15. The committee knows that it is accountable for its decisions.

Retarding conditions

Apart from the normal inference that the reverse of enhancing conditions produce retarding effects, the factors listed here seem of major importance.

1. The decision-making procedures of the committee are imposed from outside and are based on traditional practice rather than on what would be more useful in the given circumstances.
2. The members of a committee are there for a wide variety of reasons, often having been appointed to represent sectional interests so that common ground is not readily discoverable.
3. Committees are often aware of their powerlessness to implement any decisions they make and impotency reduces motivation.
4. Interpersonal relationships that can cause rejection of excellent proposals on the basis of personal feeling are seldom subject to being processed by the committee; infrequent meetings enhance this situation.
5. Not only are many committee members arbitrarily drafted, but they are also not necessarily those best equipped to deal with the issues facing their group.

Lowenstein (1971) indicated that in his opinion size was the constraint that produced major deficiencies in committees. It had one or two positive factors, such as increasing the resources available, but the following bad effects:

1. It decreases member participation leading to domination by a few.
2. It increases the formal nature of the interaction and the formation of sub-groups.
3. Because of 1 and 2, the committee becomes less able to use its resources. Disagreement among members increases and there is greater difficulty in following through any decisions that are made.
4. Most demands are made to meet the social and emotional needs of the members while the possibility of satisfying relationships being established decreases.
5. In general, frustration leads to dissatisfaction which, in turn, reduces member's commitment to the work of the committee.

Given these factors, it is of paramount importance that any committee should be carefully regulated as to its membership to produce maximum efficiency, while avoiding the penalties attendant upon being over large.

Activity -7

The life cycle of a team comprise of Forming, Storming, Norming, Performing and adjourning. Write down your experience about any team and discuss with your peers.

2.10 SUMMARY

Work organizations are structures that contain groups, but those groups are much less salient to the organization than the 'group' concept is to the family or the collection of friends. One major reason for this is that in any large organization identifiable groups proliferate, and thus each is likely to be rather less essential to the continuance of the whole. Work groups have more of the characteristics of sub-groups than of groups in their own right. Yet this may be a false analogy as all groups are embedded in a supra – structure and contain component entities within themselves.

Certain elements of group dynamics can be shown to facilitate production work and equally others can be shown to inhibit it. The whole analysis of group behaviour is inextricably bound up in the business of goals. Work and management groups within the same organization may have diametrically opposed goals. This may be so despite an almost total lack of recognition on either side that such a situation exists. Organization Development analysis often reveals disparate groups in one-organization operating in counterproductive ways while implicitly believing that they are working to achieve the same ends.

Much of this kind of conflict is due to other groups, reference groups that have generated standards of judgement of situations *based on* different criteria. Thus, while it is possible to show that work groups use selected group dynamics to become efficiently functioning units, and while aims within the larger organization are overtly or covertly disparate, it is equally true that selective dynamics ensure conflict by the efficient following of aims and equally efficient rejection of the assumed aims of other groups. Some may argue that such conflict is inevitable in a society already full of conflict, but the fact remains that where aims overlap, where a consensus of aims is possible, then the reduction in the use of conflict dynamics releases considerable energy for mutually agreed productive ends.

Team behaviour is analyzed and shown to be of a contractual nature. This implies that the overall goal of the team as a performing group is a reed beforehand, that the methods of reaching that goal are also agreed upon, and each member undertakes to fulfil their allotted role. The team outcome is held to be more important than the personal goals of members for the duration of the team's performance.

It is noteworthy that T-groups and personal growth groups also develop this kind of contract but not by contractual agreement, more by monitored and guided experience over a period of time. Both have in common the element of success. Appropriate behaviour is imprinted because it produces adequate rewards in the team, which is a special form of work group.

Because they do not function together for long periods of time, appropriate behaviour has to be worked out, allocated, and adhered to. The cardinal sin for any team member is to individualize performance, and gain success at the expenses of team mates.

Unlike work groups in general, teams are often isolated units, even if attached to larger organizations. Their aims, because of their own need for contractual agreement, are usually specific and seen as such by the supra-system. A team is a unique example of a collection of individuals held in dynamic and functional relationship over brief periods of time by agreement to their mutual and combined benefit.

'Suppose that you and I are members of a six-member committee to raise funds for underprivileged children. Suppose that you are intelligent, creative, athletic, wealthy and personable. I'm feeling competitive with you. Because of these feelings if you propose an idea for raising funds, I will be prone to find fault with it, to ridicule it, to argue it down, even if it's a good idea especially if it's a good idea.'
(Aronson 1976 : 299)

Aronson's statement demonstrates the havoc to committee efficiency that unexposed member rivalries can wreak. He also believes that the decisions arrived at by committees are limited by cognitive dissonance so that in the early stages of decision making members will reject information that is not consonant with the data, convictions, and beliefs that they already hold. On balance, Aronson sees group decision making as of limited efficiency. Given that limited efficiency exists, why do organizations continue to set up committees? I think the answer must lie in the fact that they deliver a major part of the expected goods.

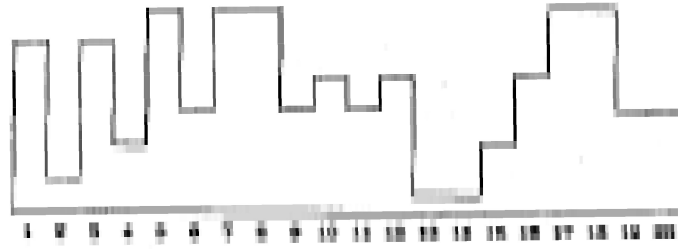
Committees are time-limited groups and so need expert coordination to avoid wasting time on unproductive maneuvers. That means a directive, controlling leadership pattern is exploited. They contain members with diffuse aims, often enough irreconcilable, so an imposed structure is necessary that creates artificial but agreed boundaries within which even conflicting interest groups can work if not together exactly, at least not in open confrontation. This kind of ritual structure of necessity inhibits the open expression of personal antagonisms and pays the cost of hidden agendas and probable sabotage. Committees have clearly defined functions, shared responsibilities, and access to more human resources than any individual. They can, and do, exert pressure on their members and, because personal factors are seldom at stake, they can produce answers.

For all these reasons (and others stated earlier), committees seem to develop the group processes and constraints that facilitate a particular kind of limited group operation. It is not dependent upon the time and contact, the shared experience necessary to develop an awareness in each member of belonging to a caring, trusting, and supportive unit. It uses just the processes that enable it to function in the absence of such factors by creating an agreed and accepted system.

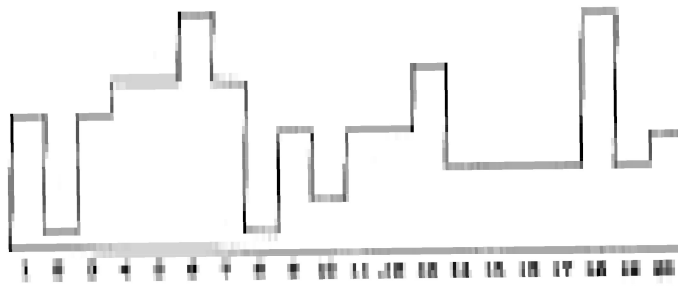
Committees, then, can deal with information, in fact with huge complexities of information, but they cannot deal with emotional problems very well because their own emotional stability is not, and cannot be, built into their formal procedural structure.

Problems in committee functioning may be reduced if the personal characteristics of members, their ability, and their prior experience do not develop a unanimity that precludes any discussion nor even a

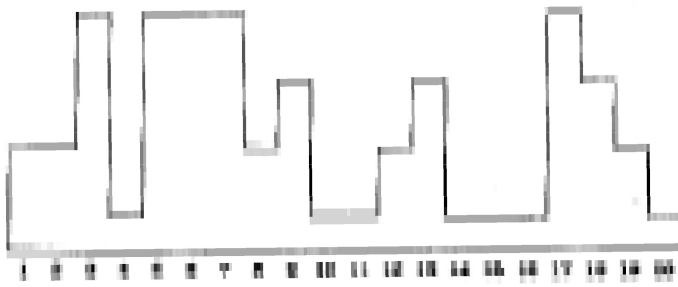
(a) Team



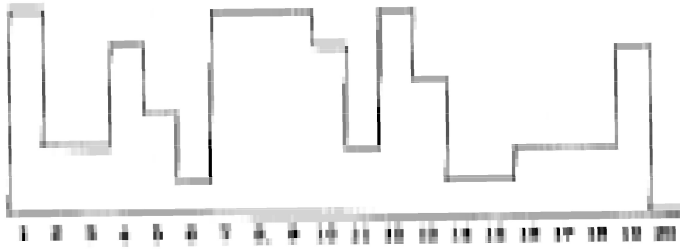
(b) Commission



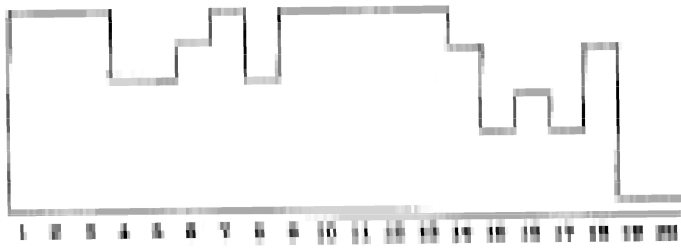
(c) Workinggroup



(d) Friendship group



(e) Family



powerful clique to enforce a majority role. The influence of bias can be avoided by a reasonable selection procedure, by keeping the size of the committee smaller rather than larger, and by creating a clear and unequivocal formal structure to reduce the effect of personal characteristics. Efficiency may also be improved by the production of an organization for problems and that develops a technique of scanning more possibilities than usual by not focussing too early.

A comparison of the profiles of intensity of involvement of the factors affecting group outcome in five 'natural' groupings.

The height of the column shows a rough estimate of the intensity of use of that 'factor-affecting' in that particular group.

Key 'Factors-affecting'

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Interaction | 11. Environment |
| 2. Group development | 12. Membership |
| 3. Social structure | 13. Time |
| 4. Sub-group formation | 14. Resources |
| 5. Group goals | 15. Size |
| 6. Decision-making process | 16. Open/closed state |
| 7. Norms, standards, and values | 17. Activity |
| 8. Cohesion | 18. Leadership acts |
| 9. Group influence | 19. Selection |
| 10. Group climate | 20. Contract |

These profiles, which show roughly the levels of the "factors affecting" outcome that to generate efficiency in each of five natural groups, are a visible reminder of designed difference. The components are the same but they are combined in different quantities producing a unique custom-built model in each case. That such design difference comes about in groups with long histories of use should serve to indicate that the general features built into each model equate with successful functioning.

Committee performance can be enhanced by utilization of resources in terms of ability, of motivation, and diversity of experience related to the freedom to generate ideas to examine facts and material rigorously, and to exploit conflict. Most of this kind of activity comes under the rubric of skilled leadership, which should create an improved flow of information and encourage a better use of it.

A committee functioning effectively has most of the factors just discussed operating positively and, in such a situation, demonstrates as clearly as possible the element of design that allows such a

performance.

It remains to be seen whether groups created to meet equally specific circumstances but without, in most cases, such a long history of adaptation and modification, show such clear design differences.

2.11 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

1. How would you identify the important aspects in group development ?
2. How are norms of the group, conformity and cohesiveness related ?
3. What will make group development ineffective ?
4. Explain the stages of group development. Explain with examples.

2.12 FURTHER READINGS

Bales, R.F. *Interaction Process Analysis Reading Mass* : Addison – Wesley (1950).

Blake, R.R. and Mouton, J.S. “Reactions to Intergroup Competition Under Win-Lose Conditions”, *Mgt.Sc.*, 7, 420-435.

Schien, E.H. and Bennis, W.G. : *Personal and Organizational Change Through Group Methods*, New York, Wiley (1965).

Rosenthal, W.A. *Social Group Theory. Social Work*, 18 (50 : 60-6) (1973).

Shaw, M.E. *An Overview of Small Group Behaviour*, Morristown, N.J.General Learning Press.

Sprott, W.J. *Human Groups*, Harmondsworth; Penguin (1958).

Whyte, W.H. *The Organizational Man*, Harmondsworth: Penguin (1960).

Doise, W. *Distributive Justice : A Social Psychological Perspective*. New Haven, Yale University Press (1978).

Taylor, D.M. and Dube L. “The Two Faces of Identity: The ‘I’ and the ‘We’”. *Journal of Social Issues*, 42 : 81-98. (1986).

Cecilia, L.Ridgeway, *The Dynamics of Small Groups*, St. Martins (1983).

UNIT 3

GROUP COHESION AND ALIENATION

Objectives

After going through this unit, you should be able to :

- define group cohesiveness and alienation
- appreciate the contribution of sociologists in explaining the nature of alienation
- understand the sociological and psychological approach to alienation
- appreciate the motivational approach to alienation and how is it different from other approaches

Structure

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Sociological Approach to Alienation

3.3 Contemporary Sociological Treatment of Alienation

3.4 The Psychological Approach

3.5 Integration of the Sociological Approach

3.6 Some Major Differences Between the Present and Earlier Approach

3.7 Summary

3.8 Self Assessment Questions

3.9 Further Readings.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

From times immemorial, man has been a gregarious animal. He was moved, worked and lived in a collective for the state of security, seeking affiliation from others and recognizing others as well as self. This requires that people deal with a few members in a face-to-face situation and relate to each other. People meet and share and identify as purpose. The human being is born in a group (family) and throughout his life he/she remains a part of the group either directly or indirectly. The groups create an identity of their own and the members share that identity. It is a recognizable social equality to its members and to outsiders. This is what distinguishes a group from a simple collection of people. The groups also develop an additional quality of sharing some common ways of doing things and a set of others informal rules by which the group operates.

Groups are the basic units of study in any organization. Without stable and optimally functional groups, the existence of the organization becomes shaky. The study of groups and its dynamics became very important for a few basic reasons like.

- a. Group exert an enormous influence on the individual. Our attitudes, values and behaviour are greatly influenced by our interaction with other group to members. One relies on the group to teach how to behave and also help in self understanding.
- b. Groups have very powerful influence on each other in the organizational context. Much of the work that goes on in the organization is done by the groups, and the success of an organization is limited by the effectiveness of its groups. The collective action of a group of individuals is much greater than the sum of individual acting alone.
- c. Groups help explain the unique behaviour of the individual that occur within the group. Groups members perform specialized functions that can be explained best by knowing the kind of roles and norms found in groups. It becomes important that we understand the dynamics of human behaviour within a group and diagnose problems.
- d. Groups lend to develop norms, or accepted forms of behaviour, or standards of conduct. These norms may affect the output of works, or other ways in which they operate. Again such norms may affect who can be a member of a group and on what terms, or they may affect the willingness of a group to initiate or accept change.
- e. Sociologist use the term sole to refer particular to positions in society associated with particular responsibilities, and from which certain 'performances' are expected. Hence there are citizen roles, various family roles, and occupational roles, With reference to the last, many of these work roles are acted out wholly or partly in groups. So the study groups may be the real way to find out what it means to be, say, a change hand in manufacturing or R&D project leader in an electronics company or whatever. Further more, within groups individuals may take on some purely group related role such as counsellor, peacemaker or comedian.
- f. Groups take decisions or atleast an important part of the context in which decisions are taken. This is atleast residually true for blue-collar work groups, and is obviously true for management groups. With regard to the latter conventional wisdom is that many management decisions are taken in committees as meetings, so that study of groups, and their dynamics become the study of the process of decision making.

Group Cohesiveness

Till now we have involved in understanding the necessity of studying groups especially in the organizational context. In groups there are certain vital processes through which a group evolves a social structure and culture communication, conformity are some of such processes. Communication, maintaining the interaction among group members and influences the way they put their impact each other of all the aspects of groups that arise out of the process of communication, cohesiveness is one of the most fundamental. The strength or solidarity with which a group is bound together is a basic dimension that defines the degree of "groupness" or unity that a set of people achieve. At the extreme low end of the cohesiveness scale are collection of people so tenuously linked together in their behaviour that they can hardly be considered a group. At the other hand are close knit unified sets of people that seem to embody what we mean by "group".

Defining Cohesiveness

According to Festinger (1950) cohesive is the "total field of forces which acts on the members to remain in the group". This has been the most influential, if controversial, definition of the concept ever

offered. At the level of abstract understanding, at least. After all, if cohesiveness refers to the strength with which a group is glued together, then to refer to that “glue” as field of social forces holding members together make sense. The controversy develops in deciding exactly what is meant by a field of forces. It has not been clear what exactly can be ascribed to the field of forces – the glue.

Cohesiveness as Interpersonal Attraction

In practice, Festinger measured cohesiveness as the number and strength of friendship ties group members have with one another compared to those they have with outsiders. In other words cohesiveness was measured sociometrically in terms of interpersonal attraction among members. In most groups it seems reasonable to assume that the links between members will be based on interpersonal attraction, and the interdependence among the members is largely social rather than instrumental, meaning that the members rely on one another for company rather than for accomplishing specific tasks.

A Broader View

A more complex conception of cohesiveness is needed. One can begin by defining cohesiveness as the extent to which features of group bind the members to it this definition is more specific. Feldman (1968) has pointed out that there are at least three different ways in which groups bind their members to them. First, members can of course be bound to the group through links of friendship and mutual liking Feldman calls this aspect of cohesiveness –inter personal integration.

However, members can also be bound to the group of its organizational structure. This is what one can call as a group’s structural-functional integration, a second aspect of cohesiveness. It refers to the success with which a group’s social structure coordinates the member’s behaviour in such a way that both allows an effective pursuit of group goals and the maintenance of good working relations among the members. The terrorist groups have often been successful following the structural functional integration. Think of an efficiently organized committee that was its members’ time and talents effectively and smoothly. Compare that to any one of those ineffective committees to which we all have belonged. In those your efforts seem to be wasted because they are not properly coordinated with those of others, the meetings go on in circles, nothing gets done and as a result frustration builds and temper flare. How cohesive can the inefficient committee ever be? Although structural-functional integration arises from the way the group is organized-how well its parts fit together-rather than from the affection of the members, it is as fundamental to cohesiveness as is friendship.

The third way a group can bind its members to it is through a set of shared beliefs, rules or practices. Feldman calls this third aspects of cohesiveness-normative integration. It refers to the degree of consensus group members achieve about what the group is, how it should operate, and what its rules are. It reflects the extent to which the members have developed, shared agreed-upon norms for governing group life.

Cohesiveness captures at best that sense of a group that fits happily together works smoothly, and creates a sense of satisfaction for its members.

Although all three types of integration contributes to the groups’ overall cohesiveness, they are each somewhat independent of the others. Feldman (1968) used friendship groups among campus to study the relationship among the three types of integration interpersonal integration, he found, was

related to both structural-functional and normative integration, but the later to were unrelated to each other. So the nature and effectiveness of the groups' organization is linked to development of shared norms by the pattern of personal relationships among the members. It is out of the members' reactions and dealings with one another the structural –functional and normative integration are created.

A groups purpose or type will determine the relative importance of each type of integration in determining its overall cohesiveness. In primary oriented groups (like campus residence of a colony) interpersonal attraction will clearly be the most important. Specialized roles, the development of a status system and the mutual influence out of which norms are created, all grow out of the initial friendship bonds established among the members. If the members stop liking one another, groups like this usually dissolve. Without friendship, the cohesiveness of socio-emotionally oriented groups is almost impossible to maintain.

If we compare family and task groups the differences emerged distinctly. Family is mostly operation on socio-emotional terms but when the groups' main aim is to achieve a task, the story is different. For test group, it is structural-functional integration that will be the most important for overall cohesiveness. What matters to such groups is efficiency and success at the task. Think of a managing directors advisors. When problems develop among them it si not because they don't like each other. This is often irrelevant. Usually, dissension is over who reports to whom, who is in charge of what and who gets to see the chief and when. The source of bickering and disunity is the groups' organizational structure. It is the viability of this structure that is most important to task groups' cohesiveness.

Interpersonal integration is less important in task groups than structural functional integration - and probably less important than normative integration as well. Members need only maintain cordial working relationships; actual friendship is unrequired. It is indeed possible for a group of people who actually dislike one another to hold together as a group in order to accomplish some goal that is very important to them. However, such achieve hostility certainly does weaken the group lowering its overall cohesiveness.

Normative integration is most important in groups whose members have come together to express a shared interest or ideology. Religious groups or political action groups are examples. In groups like this, share commitment to a specific set of beliefs and norms is what hold the group together. If conflicts develop over core beliefs, the group usually cannot maintain sufficient cohesiveness to survive.

Activity 1

Have you ever experienced the downfall of a group in achieving its goals because of a few individuals. Study the motive of these individuals and examine whether the means adopted was weakening the cohesiveness and strengthening the feeling of alienation.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

The Consequences of Cohesiveness

Since a highly cohesive group is the one that binds the members tightly together, it naturally is one when the members actually care about one to which they feel committed. Because they value the group, members put more energy into group activities in a cohesive group. With more effort coming from each member, cohesive groups have more collective resources to apply toward group goals and activities. And can see the difference between high cohesive and low cohesiveness in terms of:

1. The amount and quality of communication in the group;
2. The groups ability to maintain the loyalty and satisfaction of its members;
3. The power of the group over the opinions and behaviour of its members;
4. The groups ability to achieve its goal; and
5. The extent to which group culture is elaborated.

Activity 2

Identify two groups and rate them on all the five factors explained above; giving reason for each one of them and explain it in your peer group.

Please also define and explain little bit about the group and prepare a report based on the discussion and present the write-up again to another group of peers and take the feedback.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

From Cohesiveness to Alienation

The two terms cohesiveness and alienation are opposed to each in their meanings as expressed by many researchers. However, in the work context there can be collective alienation and that is the people's involvement in making and strengthening the membership in a group increases as they are alienated, and alienation becomes a base for collective solidarity as one can find in the striking employees of any organization where workers have slopped relating to their work.

The Definition to Alienation

The study of work alienation is important for three reason. The first is a theoretical one: lack of conceptual quality with respect to use the term alienation suggests the need for Theoretical refinement of the concept. The other two reasons have a more pragmatic flavour. The study of alienation is important because it will provide a better understanding of how to improve the quality of life of the individual on one hand and organizational effectiveness on the others Kanungo, (1982)]. The term alienation can be defined as an atrocious word. In its use a general concept, scientific term, popular expression, and cultural motif, alienation has acquired a semantic richness (and confusion). Seeman (1971) pointed out that the concept of alienation has been popularly adopted as the signature of the present epoch.

It has become routine to define our troubles in the language of alienation and to see solution to those terms. But signatures are sometimes hard to read, sometimes spurious and sometimes to casually or prematurely used. They ought to be examined with care.

Some of the explanations offered by different social scientists may be of interest at this point. Following Marx, most social scientists have viewed work alienation as resulting from the lack of opportunity within organizations to satisfy workers need for personal control, autonomy and self actualization. The modern organization with its bureaucratic structure, its formal rules and regulation, its impersonal climates and mechanized routine operation, is accused of creating conditions for the loss of individuality that results in a state of alienation in the worker. Besides the influences of the working environment in a post industrial society, work alienation is often considered as an absence of the protestant work ethic as advocated by Max Weber (1930). The critical elements of the protestant work ethic are the qualities of individualism and a form of asceticism. The reason for the emphasis on the individual stems from the protestant faith that "God helps those who helps themselves". The emphasis gets further expressed through the felt needs of work being a reward by itself or the intrinsic aspects of the work –taking work as the best use of one's time and intrinsic satisfaction. Thus if Protestant ethic is missing, it is going to generate alienation.

However, such a Westernized approach has a limited value in other contexts due to cultural, sociological and such other differences. In the east for example one may raise such a question – Is it necessary to promote individualism to prevent alienation? Is it reasonable to argue that societies which do not subscribe to the protestant ethic, and therefore, do not value individualism and work asceticism harbour only alienated workers? The Protestant ethic is the product of western religious doctrines which dominated the intellectual traditions. Can such standard developed in specific cultures be applied universally? One needs to examine such issues before deciding on the specific meaning to the attached to the term alienation.

There have been many researches who have been busy examining the concept of alienation and produce an explanatory note. For instance the experience of alienation from work has been described by Jenkins (1973) as a Schizoid conditions. Jenkins considers an alienated workers as one who when "subjected to the stress of 'are Threatening experience, from which there is no physical escape', develops and elaborate protective mechanism; 'he becomes mental observer who looks on, detached as impassionate at what his body is doing or what is being done to his body'. For that person the world is a prison without bars, a concentration camp without barbed wire.' Instead of experiencing reality directly, he develops a 'falls' self as a buffer for the real world, while real self retires to an 'inner' position of unexposed safety. All of that life seems full of 'futility, meaninglessness and purposelessness', since it is not, in fact, being directly experienced".

The work alienation as the theory and research show, is a product of mental, physical and contextual and ill adaptation. It is not to be treated as stemming from one particular region but is multifaceted and multi directional. One needs a close examination of the notion especially in the organizational context because the very threat of alienated worker destroys the fabric of work life and society as well. In the area of human resource management, the persistent problems faced by the managers is how to improve organizational effectiveness through the proper utilization of human resources. The major hurdle in proper utilization of human resources stems from alienating attitudes of employees. Employee alienation manifests itself in various forms and at all levels within an organization. Instances of blue – collar blues and salaried dropouts are quite common. Worker apathy deliberate sabotage, high rates of absenteeism among all categories of employees, union strikes and work to order campaigns are

all too numerous. The major hurdles in optimizing human resources in the organizational context seem to be wide spread alienation among the workers. One needs to follow the Principal – “Prevention is better than cure” and try prevent (or atleast reduce the possibility) of alienation. It is not an easy job – no ready made answer are available. Dealing with job enrichment, quality of working life, job involvement and such prevalent and popular domains might help in tackling such a problem.

Activity 3

Prepare a write up about the group where you have experienced alienation form the cohesiveness. Explain the group and the reasons for alienation. Following up and report back as to what happened/ happens after alienation.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

3.2 THE SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO ALIENATION

In the nineteenth century the problem was that God is dead, in the twentieth century the problem is that man is dead.

Erich Fromm, 1955

The contributions of sociologists in explaining the nature of alienation have been the most extensive. Armed with the intellectual background provided by Marx, sociologists have sought to explain the maladies of contemporary industrial society in terms of the alienation of workers. Through numerous theoretical and empirical research, sociologists have not only put the concept of alienation on a scientific footing but have also given it a central place in contemporary social science (Nisbet 1953). The richness of sociological literature on alienation can be easily estimated from a casual look at three recent bibliographies (Geyer 1972, 1974; Lystad 1969). The Geyer bibliography of 1972 contains 1189 entries. A later supplement by Geyer in 1974 added another 636 entries. The Lystad bibliography of 1969 contains 225 annotated references. It would not be possible to adequately review such an enormous amount of material in the sociological literature in a single chapter. However, in the following pages, some major trends in the sociological literature will be out listed.

Historically speaking, Rousseau was the first person to Provide a sociological treatment of the concept of alienation. Later, Marx put the concept on firmer analytic ground by providing a link between the essential nature of workers (realization of individuality) and their labour, worker alienation, according to Marx, results when one’s labour does not lead to the realization of one’s individuality. Most sociological writings on the subject of alienation draw their inspiration from the conceptualization of Marx. While building their thesis on Marxian notions, contemporary sociologists differed from Marx in one important respect. Marx took the position that very often workers may not be aware of their

state of alienation. For example, individuals who are working under supervision in order to achieve financial security for themselves and their families are by definition alienated, whether they realize it or not. They are alienated, according to Marx, because their labor is not free and autonomous and, hence, does not result in establishing their individuality. Contemporary sociologists, on the other hand, consider work alienation as a conscious psychological state of workers that can be measured empirically by assessing workers' beliefs and attitudes toward work. Besides Marx, the work of two other social philosophers, Weber and Durkheim, has significantly influenced the thinking of contemporary sociologists.

Weber's Treatment of Alienation

Weber's treatment of the concept of alienation is very similar to that of Marx. As Gerth and Mills (1946) put it. "Marx's emphasis upon the wage worker as being 'separated' from the means of production becomes, in Weber's perspective, merely one special case of a universal trend. The modern soldier is equally 'separated' from the means of violence, the scientist from the means of enquiry, and the civil servant from the means of administration". Thus, Weber treated alienation as a much more widespread social phenomenon than did Marx. With respect to the causes of work alienation, Weber's ideas were similar to those of Marx. Both believed that the individuality or personal worth of workers is determined by their labor and that alienation results from working conditions that deny an expression of individuality.

But Weber went a step further in asserting the historical antecedents of work alienation. Study of the protestant religion convinced Weber (1930) that the ethical system of Protestantism trains individuals to be individualists and to believe in the goodness of work. The principles preached in the Protestant faith, such as "God helps those who help themselves" or "work is its own reward", promoted in people a high degree of individualism and a craving for intrinsic rewards and industriousness. "The job was regarded as a sacred calling, and success at work was evidence that one had been chosen for salvation" (Faunce 1968, p.22). Such were the beliefs that resulted from protestant training, and therefore, Weber argued that the Protestant work ethic is the major source of increased work involvement. For Weber, Protestantism laid the foundation for capitalism by increasing the work involvement of entrepreneurs. But for Marx, Protestantism was an ideological justification for capitalism, Marx felt the capitalistic economy to be the cause of worker alienation.

Weber's exposure to the "American way of life" (political democracy and economic capitalism) and his study of the Protestant religion convinced him that the spirit of the Protestant work ethic is the key to the realization of man's potentialities to the fullest extent. Gerth and Mills (1946) felt that Weber was impressed by the "grandiose efficiency of a type of man, bred by free associations in which the individual had to prove himself before his equals where no authoritative commands, but autonomous decisions, good sense, and responsible conduct train for citizenship". Such is the image Weber had of an involved worker. Like Marx's Weber also placed emphasis on the freedom to make one's own decisions, on assuming personal responsibility, and on proving one's worth through achievement at work. Although both Marx and Weber saw loss of individuality as the necessary condition for work alienation, they differed in their views on the role of a capitalist: economy in producing alienation at work. The reason for the difference in their views lies in the fact that Marx was looking at the jobs of the rank and file, whereas Weber was looking at the jobs of the capitalist entrepreneurs. Translated into motivational terms, Weber's emphasis on the individuality of the entrepreneurs would imply that if the work setup cannot provide an environment that satisfies the needs of entrepreneurs for individual

autonomy, responsibility, and achievement, it will create a state of alienation in them.

Durkheim's Concepts of Anomie And Alienation

Unlike Marx and Weber, who viewed alienation as resulting primarily from a perceived lack of freedom and control at work, Emile Durkheim, the French sociologist, saw it as the consequence of a condition of anomie, or the perceived lack of socially approved means and norms to guide one's behaviour for the purpose of achieving culturally prescribed goals (Blauner 1964; Durkheim 1893; Shepard 1971). Robert Merton (1957), who made the concept of anomie more popular in contemporary sociology, defined it as "a breakdown in the social structure, occurring particularly when there is an acute disjunction between the cultural... goals and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them". Thus, alienation as the consequence of a state of anomie exists when people believe that there is a breakdown of societal behavioural norms (a state of normlessness) and that cultural goals are achieved primarily through deviant behaviour. It is such beliefs, rather than actual socially deviant behaviour, that define the state of alienation among people.

The condition of anomie is often considered a post- industrial phenomenon. As Blauner (1964) observed, industrialization and urbanization of modern society have "destroyed the normative structure of a more traditional society and uprooted people from the local groups and institutions which had provided stability and security. No longer able to feel a sense of security and belonging, modern men and women find themselves isolated from others. This form of social alienation often results in normlessness and in its collective form manifests itself in various types of urban unrest. In social psychological terms, this variant of alienation seems to stem from the frustration of social and security need, the need to belong to groups for social approval and social comparison (Festinger 1954; Maslow 1954). The social-psychological processes that explain how this form of alienation comes about are discussed later in the chapter.

3.3 CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGICAL TREATMENT OF ALIENATION

The strong impact of Marx, Weber and Durkheim is quite evident in contemporary sociological writings on the subject of alienation and involvement. For instance, Dubin (1956) defined involvement as a central life interest. According to him, a job-involved person is one who considers work to be the most important part of his or her life and engages in it as an end in itself. A job-alienated person, on the other hand, engages in work in a purely instrumental fashion and perceives work as providing financial resources for more important off-the-job activities. Faunce (1959) also considered job involvement as a commitment to a job in which successful performance is regarded as an end in itself, rather than as a means to some other end. For both Dubin and Faunce, the concepts of involvement and alienation are intimately related to the Protestant work ethic, the moral value of work, and personal responsibility, as conceived by Weber. In fact, most contemporary sociologists view work alienation as a form of dissatisfaction or a feeling of disappointment with jobs, occupations, or work in general, which do not provide intrinsic-need satisfaction or opportunities for self-direction and self-expression. For instance, Seeman (1967) considered alienation to result from work that is not intrinsically satisfying and engaging. According to Seeman (1971), "work alienation is something very close to what Marx meant-namely, engagement in work which is not intrinsically rewarding". Likewise,

Miller (1967) conceived of alienation in terms of the lack of intrinsic pride or meaning in work. Blauner (1964) followed Marx and Weber very closely by suggesting that “alienation exists when workers are unable to control their immediate work processes, to develop a sense of purpose and function which connects their jobs to the overall organization of production, to belong to integrated industrial communities, and when they fail to become involved in the activity of work as a mode of personal self-expression”. The four major dimensions of work alienation conceived by Blauner in the above quotation are lack of personal control over the work process, a sense of social isolation, meaninglessness (or lack of task significance), and lack of self-expression. Out of the four dimensions, the sense of social isolation is considered by Blauner as the least descriptive of work alienation. According to Blauner, “a worker may be integrated in the plant community and loyal to the company and still fail to achieve a sense of involvement and self-expression in his work activity itself”.

Causes and Correlates of Alienation

Sociological literature dealing with the identification of causes and correlates of work alienation can be divided into three broad categories. First, some sociologists (Goldthorpe, Lockwood, Bechhofer, and Platt 1968) have argued that the attitude of alienation from work depends on prior orientation, which workers develop in their cultural, subcultural, or social class settings. Such work orientations or values are learned through primary-and reference-group influences and are brought by workers to the work situations. For examples several studies (Kohn and Schooler 1969; Morse and Weiss 1955; Sykes 1965) have shown social class and occupational differences with respect to values attached to intrinsic and extrinsic work outcomes. The studies have suggested that white-collar workers tend to hold middle-class work values stressing the importance of intrinsic outcomes, such as personal autonomy, achievement and control in the job. Blue-collar workers, on the other hand, seem to emphasize extrinsic job outcomes, such as pay and security, and consider work as a means to other ends in their lives. The blue-collar workers, therefore, have been considered by the researchers as being more alienated than the white - collar workers. Such differences were explained by Kohn and Schooler (1969) in terms of social-structural factors. According to Kohn and Schooler, “Conditions of occupational life at higher social class levels facilitate interest in the intrinsic qualities of the job, foster a view of self and society that is conducive to believing in the possibilities of rational action toward purposive goals, and promote self-direction. The conditions of occupational life at lower social class levels limit man’s view of the job primarily to the extrinsic benefits it provides (and) foster a narrowly circumscribed conception of self and society”. It is the social structure and reference-group influence that determine workers’ general outlook and expectations toward the degree of work involvement or alienation.

The second category of explanation advanced by sociologists is in terms of the nature of technology and social organization used at work. For instance, Blauner (1964) argues that worker alienation results from segmented workflow, repetitive jobs carried out at a constant pace, and mechanical control of work operations. All these technological features at work frustrate intrinsic needs of workers, satisfaction of which is essential for worker involvement. In his book, *Alienation and freedom*, Blauner compared workers from four different industries: printing, chemical, textile, and automobile. These industries differ in terms of degree of mechanization of technology, division of labour, concentration of economic structure and bureaucratization of social organization. Blauner reported that workers in the automobile and textile industries were more alienated than workers in the printing and chemical industries. Craft technology of the printing industry and the continuous-process

technology of the chemical industry provided the workers with a greater degree of freedom and integration at work than the mechanized assembly-line technology of the textile industry. Providing a historical perspective to his study, Blauner noted that “in the early period, dominated by craft industry, alienation is at its lowest level and worker’s freedom at a maximum. Freedom declines and the curve of alienation ... rises sharply in the period of machine industry”.

Changes in technology within a single industry can also affect worker alienation. Trist and Bamforth (1951) studied the effects of mechanization among British coalminers. Traditionally, the collaring operation was carried out in small, cohesive, self-chosen groups. Members of the groups worked in close proximity to one another and experienced strong interpersonal bonds. With the introduction of mechanical coal-cutting and transporting equipment, however, the traditional teams were broken up and were replaced by large shift of workers distributed over long distances. The change caused a loss of meaning in the work assigned to individual workers. The workers experienced a sense of anomie and isolation resulting in low productivity.

The third category of explanation of work alienation proposed by sociologists is very similar to the social-psychological explanation in terms of frustration of workers’ needs and expectations on the job. Etzioni (1968) emphasizes the importance of satisfying the workers’ need for control and Power on the job to attain greater job involvement. It is quite evident that the three categories of sociological explanations are related. It seems that alienation of workers, according to sociologists, is the result of intrinsic-need dissatisfaction or disconfirmation of expectancies regarding intrinsic work outcomes, which in turn is influenced by social-structural and technological factors.

The thesis that intrinsic-need deprivation owing to social and technological influences is a necessary condition for worker alienation is not gone unchallenged. Several studies in recent years (Hulin, 1972; Inkson and Simpson 1975; Mckinney, Wernimont and Galitz 1962) have shown that many workers do not show higher alienation either because they belong to a lower occupational class or because their work is subjected to mechanical control and routinization. In Walker and Guest’s study (1952), automobile assembly workers were reported to be showing low levels of aggression, absenteeism, and Turnover, often considered expressions of work alienation. Similar results were reported by Goldthorpe and his associates (Goldthorpe 1966; Goldthorpe et al.1968) in a study of workers employed on the automobile mass-production lines. The study demonstrated that the workers were satisfied with the material rewards they received from their jobs and were not bothered by the repetitive work they had to do. The Vauxhall organization in Luton, England, where the study was conducted, reported low rates of absenteeism and turnover and a very healthy industrial relations record. These findings were interpreted by Goldthorpe as an indication of the workers’ contractual and coercive involvement, rather than moral involvement, in work. Goldthorpe’s interpretation is obviously influenced by the Marxian distinction between “forced” and “free” labour.

Variants of Alienation

Sociologists have used the term alienation in varied contexts, such as urban alienation and cultural alienation. Such usage of the concept in multiple contexts has given rise to a number of meanings attributed to the concept. In an attempt to integrate the various meanings of the concept in the sociological literature, Seeman (1959,1971) has proposed five major variants of the concept: powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, and self-estrangement. According to Seeman, each variant refers to a different, subjectively felt psychological state of the individual caused by different environmental conditions. Several other researchers, particularly Blauner (1964) and Shepard (1971), have used Seeman’s classification and have tried to provide operational measures

of the different categories of alienation at work. They have also suggested the antecedent physical and social conditions that produce each state of alienation.

Alienation in form of the powerlessness in the most general sense refers to a perceived lack of control over important events that affect one's life. This type of alienation was the primary concern of Marx while dealing with labour alienation. Seeman (1959), however, provided a social-psychological perspective and defined the sense of powerlessness as "the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behaviour cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes or reinforcements he seeks". It may be noticed that Seeman's definition of powerlessness resembles Rotter's (1966) conception of people with an external locus of control. Rotter distinguishes two types of people, internal and external, on basis of their differential learning history. Early socialization experiences condition the externals to perceive themselves as pawns controlled by external forces. Internals, on the other hand, are conditioned to perceive themselves as capable of controlling their own environment. Thus, externals would very much resemble people experiencing the powerlessness variant of alienation. Seeman (1959) recognized this possibility and suggested that "the congruence in these formulations leaves the way open for the development of a closer bond between two languages of analysis-that of learning theory and that of alienation that have long histories in psychology and sociology".

Activity 4

Have you ever seen/experienced the alienation in the sense of powerlessness. Interview few people who have similar experiences and compare their responses.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Although Seeman (1959) conceived of powerlessness to represent an individual's inability to determine the occurrence of any outcome, most sociologists (Levin1960; Middleton1963; Neal and Rettig1963) restrict to the individual's sense of control over sociopolitical events. Seeman himself used this variant of alienation to explain and describe men's and women's alienation from the larger social order. An individual's inability to control and influence political systems, industrial economies, or international affairs may create a sense of powerlessness. Alienation in the sense of powerlessness has also been observed in job situations. For instance, Shepard (1971) described powerlessness at work as "the perceived lack of freedom and control on the job". Blauner (1964) expressed similar views when he stated that "the non-alienated pole of the powerlessness dimension is freedom and control". According to Blauner, the powerlessness variant of alienation at work results from the mechanization process that controls the pace of work and thus limits workers' free movements. If one analyzes the sociological concept of powerlessness in motivational terms, it becomes obvious that if a situation constantly frustrates an individual's need for autonomy and control, it will create a state of alienation of this type.

The second type of alienation is identified as a cognitive state of meaninglessness in the individual. According to Seeman (1959), a state meaninglessness exists when "the individual is unclear as to what he ought to believe-when the individual's minimal standards for clarity in decision making are not met". In such a state the individuals are unable to predict social situations and the outcomes of their own and others' behaviour. Other sociologists have characterized the state of meaninglessness

as individual's failure to understand "the very events upon which life and happiness are known to depend" (Dean 1961, p. 754) or what is going on in the world today (Middleton 1963). In a sense, the meaninglessness type of alienation should be characterized in terms of incomprehensibility or inability to understand one's complex environment. In the work setup, the meaninglessness variant of alienation may result when workers are not able to understand the complex system of goals in the organization and its relation to their own work (Blauner 1964; Shepard 1971).

Meaninglessness can also be viewed in another sense. It may represent purposelessness or the lack of any goal or goal clarity (not because of goal complexity, but because of an unstructured goal or the simple absence of any goal). Thus, in work situations meaninglessness could result from an increasing specialization and division of labour. When the work process is broken down into simple minuscule tasks, and when such simple tasks involve no real responsibility and decision making, the work situation robs the worker of any sense of purpose. The job becomes meaningless for the worker. Translated into motivational terms, this implies that the continued frustration of an individual's need for assuming personal responsibility and for gaining greater competence on the job (by being more knowledgeable about the environment for the sake of influencing it) causes this type of alienation. It may be noted that both the powerlessness and the meaninglessness interpretations of work alienation bear the mark of the Marxian belief that lack of control and freedom over the work process is the main cause of alienation.

The two other forms of alienations suggested by Seeman (1959) have their roots in Durkheim's (1893) description of anomie. Anomie refers to the perceived conditions of one's social environment, such as the perception of the breakdown of social norms regulating individual conduct in modern societies. Merton (1957) argued that a state of anomie exists when institutionally prescribed conducts fail to achieve culturally prescribed goals, following Merton, Seeman (1959) denied the anomie situation for an individual as "one in which there is a high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviours are required to achieve given goals". The two forms of alienation that result from such perceived conditions of one's social environment are normlessness and isolation.

Individuals may develop a sense of normlessness when they find that previously approved social norms are no longer effective in guiding behaviour for the attainment of personal goals. In other words, individuals find that to achieve given goals it is necessary to use socially unapproved behaviour. Finding that they can no longer share the normative system because of its ineffectiveness, the individuals may develop norms of their own to guide behaviour. Because their norms are different from those of others, the individuals may eventually perceive themselves as being separate from society and its normative system. The dissociation of oneself from others results in a perception of social isolation. The dissociation of oneself from social norms result in normlessness or cultural estrangement. Alienation, in the sense of social isolation and cultural estrangement, refer to the perceived states of loneliness and rootlessness, respectively (Seeman 1971). It may be noticed that these two variants of alienation are related, because they stem from the same basic condition of anomie.

States of loneliness and rootlessness have also been identified in work environments. Blauner (1964), for instance, suggested that these forms of social alienation may be manifested on the job owing to the task of social integration of the worker. When an organization does not provide the worker any opportunity for developing a sense of membership or belonging in the social system, the worker is bound to show a sense of isolation from the system and its goals. From a motivational point of view, the two variants of social alienation, isolation and normlessness, seem to be based on two different social needs of the individual. Continuous frustration of the membership or the belonging need of the

individual may be the crucial determinant of the isolation form of alienation. The normlessness form of alienation, however, is determined by continuous frustration of another social need, the need to evaluate oneself through social comparison (Festinger 1954).

In the context of social-influence theories, social psychologists (Jones and Genard 1967) have postulated two major kinds of influences that groups exert on the individual. They are referred to as the normative and the informational social influences. By being a member of the group and by adhering to the group norms, individuals fulfill their need to belong, to love, and to be loved by others. When, however, the group norms are perceived to be too restrictive and in conflict with the individuals personal goals, these norms cease to influence the individual. The group loses its normative influence on the individual. The individual becomes isolated in relation to the group, perceived as one who no longer belongs to the group and no longer is loved by others in the group. Such a psychological state can be identified as the isolation form of alienation.

Individuals also depend on the group norms for self-evaluation and for evaluating their abilities and opinions (Festinger 1954). Group norms generally provide people with information on how to behave, (what is right and what is wrong). When individuals find that group norms do not provide useful information for self evaluation, they may separate themselves from these norms and experience a state of normlessness. Thus, in terms of social-influence theory, the two variants of social alienation result from the failure of the groups to exercise the two forms of social influence, normative and informational.

The final variant of alienation proposed by sociologists is self-estrangement. In many ways the characterization of this category of alienation has posed problems for sociological thinkers. Seeman (1971) admits that it is an "elusive idea" but then goes on to operationalize it. According to Seeman, a person is self-estranged when engaged in an activity that is not rewarding in itself but is instrumental in satisfying extrinsic needs, such as the need for money and security. Following, Seeman, Shepard (1971) considers instrumental work orientation, (the degree to which one works for extrinsic-need satisfaction) to be an index of the self-estrangement kind of alienation in the work setup. Blauner (1964) suggests that a job encourages self-estrangement if it does not provide the opportunity for expressing "unique abilities, potentialities, or personality of the worker". In motivational terms, Blauner's observation means that whenever workers find their environment (job or work) lacking in opportunities for the satisfaction of self-actualization needs (Maslow 1954) through the expression of their potentialities, they experience a state of self-estrangement. Following Marx, many contemporary sociologists believe that self-estrangement is the heart of the alienation concept as if all other forms of alienation eventually result in self-estrangement. Blauner (1964) attests to this belief when he says "when work activity does not permit control (powerlessness), evoke a sense of purpose (meaninglessness), or encourage larger identification (isolation), employment becomes simply a means to the end of making a living". Faunce (1968) also considers self-estrangement to be the final form of alienation in a causal chain. According to Faunce, the powerlessness, meaninglessness, and normlessness variants of alienation are, predisposing conditions for both social and self-estrangement. In his words, "the worker who feels powerless and who sees the work place as meaningless and normlessness unlikely to be very concerned with the goals of the work organization and is therefore isolated or alienated from it A person who is isolated ... in any social situation is necessarily self-estranged in that situation".

Characteristics of the Sociological Approach

At this point it may be helpful to identify some dominant conditions that have guided most

sociological treatments of the concept of work alienation. First, one notices a stronger emphasis in sociological writings on the analysis and measurement of the state of worker alienation than on the analysis and measurement of the state of worker involvement. In a sense, sociologists have focused their attention on the negative side of the issue, with a clinical perspective on work organizations. Thus, they have been more concerned with the diagnosis of worker alienation in organizations and consequent organizational maladies than with the identification of conditions of work involvement and organizational growth. Like Freudian psychologist who attempt to explain human nature through an analysis of pathological psychological states, sociologists, taking the lead from Marx, have emphasized the analysis of labour alienation and resulting pathological states to explain the nature of sociotechnical systems. In the same way as the Freudian influence in psychology delayed the formulation of growth theories of personality and motivation (Allport 1901; Maslow 1954; the Marxian influence in sociology may have retarded the progress of sociological theories in better understanding the nature of healthy and growing social systems. As is discussed later unlike the sociological approaches outlined above, the current psychological approaches to the issue are trying to attack the problem from the positive side through the study of the conditions of work involvement.

The second consideration that has dominated various sociological treatments of alienation is their emphasis on studying work alienation in groups and social systems. The level of analysis of the concept in most sociological approaches has been at the social-system level rather than at the individual level. This has created measurement problems. Although sociologists often talk of the frequency of worker hostility and volatile activism, of absenteeism and turnover, of crime rates, and so on as index of alienation in work organizations, they find it hard to establish and theoretically justify the validity and the reliability of these measures. The records on such organizational maladies are notoriously unreliable. Very often incidents of activism, crime, and absenteeism go unreported. Even if the incidents are recorded accurately, it is often difficult to infer from these data the state of alienation in individual workers. For instance, an activist employee desiring to bring about changes in the organization may be showing signs of greater involvement in the work environment than would an apathetic, conformist employee.

Third, sociological approaches generally describe the state of work alienation not in specific behavioural terms, but in terms of epiphenomenal categories. As Johnson pointed out, alienation is seen as "an epiphenomenal abstraction, collectively summarizing a series of specific behaviours and categorizing them as 'loneliness,' 'normlessness', 'isolation', etc." Such epiphenomenal descriptions of the concept may have the flavour of intellectual romanticism, but they have very little scientific value because they pose problems of empirical verification. Different sociologists have used the same epiphenomenal category to describe different psychological and physical conditions. As Schacht (1970) pointed out, the "powerlessness" variant of alienation has been used in many ways, such as the feeling of powerlessness and reactions to the feeling of powerlessness. The concept of alienation as an epiphenomenal abstraction tends to carry excess meaning and, therefore, eludes precise measurement. Besides, such an abstraction merely describes worker alienation; it does not explain it.

Finally, most sociological approaches consider the presence of individual autonomy, control, and power over the work environment as basic preconditions for removing the state of alienation at work. Work alienation involves engaging in work activities that are not intrinsically rewarding in themselves. Work alienation in contemporary sociological literature is measured only by determining the presence or absence of intrinsic factors (autonomy, responsibility, and so on) on the job. Extrinsic job factors are totally excluded from such measures. For instance, Seeman (1971) uses an index of

work alienation that consists of seven items which ask, in a variety of ways, whether the individual's job is engaging and rewarding in itself- for example, Does the respondent find the job too simple to bring but his best abilities? Does the job really provide a chance to try out one's own ideas? Are there opportunities to make independent decisions, or is it pretty routine work? All of this tells nothing, of course, about other potential satisfactions (all extrinsic) like pay, promotions, fringe benefits, security of employment, working conditions and the social rewards on the job (which is why work alienation and job satisfaction are not the same thing).

Notice that Seeman distinguishes job satisfaction from work involvement on the basis of whether the worker is satisfied with extrinsic job factors, as opposed to intrinsic job factors. This is reminiscent of the Marxian distinction between "imposed forced labor" and "free self-directed labor."

3.4 THE PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH

Life without estrangement is scarcely worth living; what matters is to increase men's capacity to cope with alienation.

Walter Kaufmann, 1970

A review of the psychological literature on work alienation reveals that the interest in the scientific study of the phenomenon among psychologists is very recent. Only during the last two decades have psychologists interested in organizational behaviour developed a serious concern for the study of the phenomena of work alienation and involvement. Thus, the treatment of the concepts of work alienation and involvement in the psychological literature does not have as long and as rich a tradition as the sociological literature described in the previous chapter. However, research during the last two decades provides ample evidence of an upsurge of interest in the phenomena among psychologists. An increasing popularity for studies on work alienation and involvement has been recorded in a recent literature survey conducted by Baba (1979).

Although psychological studies on the concepts of alienation and involvement are on the increase, this has not resulted in any systematic theorizing, about the concepts. In a sense, the psychological approach to the study of alienation and involvement has been of a more exploratory and empirical nature. Very little attempt has been made toward development of theories or systematic conceptualizing conceptualization. In the constructs of alienation and involvement at work, the psychological literature provides somewhat sketchy description when compared with the sociological approach. Development of systematic psychological theories that can explain the phenomena of work alteration and involvement and that can have broad generality across culture are simply absent from the literature.

The sketchy treatment of the subject by psychologists is indicated by the use of many different terms in the psychological literature that describe the psychological states of alienation and involvement at work. Some of the terms listed by Rabinowitz and Hall (1977) are job involvement, job satisfaction, intrinsic motivation, morale, ego involvement, occupational involvement, work-role involvement, and central life interests. These terms have been used by different researchers to describe what is thought to be a single construct, and very little effort has been put forth by the researchers (the notable exception being Rabinowitz and Hall 1977) to strive for some conceptual integration.

In the previous chapter it was pointed out that the sociological approach to the study of work alienation emphasizes the analysis and measurement of the state of alienation from work rather than of the state of involvement at work. In contrast to the sociological approach, psychologists have attempted to analyze the problem of alienation from the point of view of job involvement and have attempted to define and measure involvement at work rather than alienation at work. In a sense the two approaches to alienation the sociological and the psychological-are not as far apart as is commonly believed, but are in fact dealing with two poles of the same continuum.

In trying to explain the nature of job involvement, psychological studies have attempted to answer four major questions. "The questions are: What is job involvement ? How does it originate ? What factors are associated with it and, therefore, can act as its predictors ? and What are its effects ? The above questions deal, respectively, with the problems of definition of the construct of job involvement, its origin or causes, its correlates, and its effects: The following paragraphs will address these problems.

Job Involvement

The concept of job involvement has been defined in various ways by different psychologists. After an exhaustive review of all definitions of job involvement in psychological literature, Rabinowitz and Hall (1977) concluded that the definitions of job involvement should be grouped into two categories, each representing a distinct way of conceptualizing the construct. One category of definitions views job involvement as a "performance-self-esteem contingency". According to these definitions, job involvement is the extent to which the self – esteem of individuals is affected by their level of performance at work. Thus, higher or lower job involvement means higher or lower self-esteem derived from work behaviour. The other category of definitions views job involvement as a "component of self-image. "According to this category of definitions, job involvement refers to the degree to which individuals identify psychologically with their jobs.

The idea of viewing job involvement as a performance-self-esteem contingency can be traced back to the work of Allport (1947) on the psychology of participation and ego involvement.

The Motivational Approach to Alienation

Simple statements, if knowledge is our object, are to be prized more highly than less simple ones because they tell us more; because their empirical content is greater.

K. Popper, 1959

Empirical research on worker alienation and involvement in both sociological and psychological literature is fraught with conceptual ambiguities. In addition, instruments developed to measure work alienation and involvement often contain inherent methodological inadequacies, since they are based on constructs that are conceptually ambiguous. Results of studies dealing with these phenomena, therefore, are difficult to interpret. The identification of some major conceptual and methodological problems and the discussion of the difficulty in interpretation of empirical results in the previous chapter make it clear that in the future any meaningful and systematic progress in our understanding of the phenomena must come from a theoretical reformulation of the issue. Such a formulation, called the motivational approach, is presented.

It would not be overstatement to suggest that in the area of work alienation there is an urgent need for

a revised conceptual framework that should have the ability to integrate, in a parsimonious way, diverse thinking on the subject. In addition to the dualities of integration and parsimony, the framework should also have a greater cross-cultural generality. The motivational approach described in this chapter offers such a framework. As a conceptual framework, the major objectives of the motivational approach are to integrate the two parallel streams of psychological and sociological thought on work alienation and involvement; to describe, explain, measure, and predict the phenomena in the most simple and parsimonious way using existing psychological theories of human motivation, attitudes, and behaviour; and to provide a cross-cultural perspective to the study and measurement of work-alienation phenomena without any cultural bias. By providing an integrative model, the motivational approach aims at helping researchers in the fields of psychology and sociology to speak a common language while dealing with problems of work alienation and involvement and to benefit from each other's work in the area. By providing a parsimonious model, the motivational approach aims at getting rid of the excess meaning attached to the concepts themselves (alienation and involvement) and to their explanations (psychological and sociological). By providing a model with a broader cross-cultural generality, the approach aims at removing the culturally contaminated and myopic view of alienation (that intrinsic motivation and the Protestant ethic are necessary conditions for involvement) and at encouraging the development of measurement techniques free of cultural bias.

The Motivational Approach

The conceptual framework suggested here for future studies of work alienation and involvement is called the motivational approach for the simple reason that it uses the existing motivational language in psychology to explain the phenomena. There are two main reasons for using the existing motivational language over other forms of sociological (powerlessness, meaninglessness, and so on) and psychological (person – or situation – specific correlates) descriptions first, theories of human motivation at work (Maslow 1954; Lawler 1973) are generally advanced to explain all work behaviour, and alienation and involvement at work should not be considered exceptions: Second, the fact that the existing motivational constructs can adequately and parsimoniously explain work-alienation phenomena lies hidden in many of the sociological and psychological formulations discussed earlier. Thus, a clearer motivational formulation of the phenomena is needed to bring this fact to the surface. In addition to the use of motivational language, the motivational approach is characterized by an emphasis on seven other considerations described in the following paragraphs.

In the motivational approach, the concepts of involvement and alienation are viewed as opposite sides of the same phenomenon. Sociologists have consistently used the term alienation, and psychologists have consistently used the term involvement while studying work behaviour. On the surface they seem to have ignored each other's thinking that they are dealing with two distinct types of behaviour phenomena. On closer examination, however, it is quite evident that both psychologists and sociologists are dealing with the same psychological states of individual workers. Psychologists clearly consider work involvement as a psychological state of the worker. Sociologists, on the other hand, describe the phenomenon of alienation at the collective level (alienation of labour) and sometimes interpret the phenomenon as a psychological state of workers and at other times as objective social conditions (such as social disorganization or anomie). The empirically oriented sociologists have found it difficult to measure and interpret objective social conditions as an index of work alienation. Recently, therefore, many sociologists (Seeman 1959, 1971; Shepard 1971) have come to recognize the fact that the phenomenon of work alienation can best be described and measured as the

psychological state of workers. If both alienation and involvement refer to psychological states of the individual, it would be more parsimonious and appropriate to consider the concepts as representing opposite ends of a single psychological dimension rather than to consider them as independent dimensions. Thus, alienation and involvement may be considered as unidimensional and bipolar constructs. Since the motivational approach views work alienation in terms of psychological states of individual workers. It limits itself to the analysis, of the behavioural phenomenon at the individual level. Many sociologists have described work alienation at a collective level. They have followed Marx, who popularized the notion that capitalism produces mass labour alienation. Closer scrutiny of the recent empirical work of sociologists (Blauner 1964; Clark 1959; Shepard 1971) shows, however, that they limit themselves to the analysis of the work related behaviour of individual workers. The Marxian notion of labour alienation cannot be studied at an empirical level without the observation and analysis of the individual worker's behaviour. Therefore, for empirical analysis and operationalization of the constructs, an individual level of analysis is preferable to a collective level of analysis.

The motivational approach identifies the states of alienation and involvement with the cognitive belief states of the workers. As a cognitive state, alienation or involvement of workers becomes conceptually distinct from many associated covert feelings or affective states expressed in terms of satisfactions or dissatisfactions experienced by the workers in work or job contexts. Thus, job satisfaction as an affective state is clearly distinguished from alienation or involvement, which represents a belief state. Many social scientists (Seeman 1959; Weissenberg and Gruenfeld 1968) equate job involvement with intrinsic-need satisfaction on the job. They consider job satisfaction to be distinct from job involvement only when job satisfaction represents extrinsic need satisfaction. The present formulation, however, considers job satisfaction to include the affective states of both intrinsic and extrinsic-need satisfaction. It distinguishes job involvement from job satisfaction only on the basis that the former is a cognitive belief state and the latter is an affective state of the workers. In this sense, the motivational approach adheres to the Hegelian notion of alienation as a Purely cognitive state of separation and, thus avoids the confusion created by the Alarxian notion, which equates intrinsic-job satisfaction with job involvement.

By considering involvement –alienation as a cognitive belief state, the motivational approach not only distinguishes it from other associated affective states but also distinguishes it from other associated overt behaviour, such as worker participation, assumption of additional responsibilities, or acceptance of working overtime without financial rewards. While such overt behaviours may represent states of involvement for some workers (those belonging to cultures that place a high value on work behaviour directed at satisfying intrinsic needs), they may not represent states of involvement for others workers (those belonging to cultures that do not value such behaviour). The motivational approach emphasize that involvement –alienation as a cognitive belief state of workers must be clearly distinguished from its causes (antecedent conditions) and its effects (consequent conditions). It considers the phenomenon to be caused by both historical and contemporary events. In order to determine the historical causes of alienation, one has to look for causal factors in the early socialization process of workers. To discover the contemporary causes of the phenomenon, one needs to look into the immediate social and work-related contexts. Besides identifying the two types of causes of the cognitive belief state of alienation, the motivational approach also stress that the state of alienation has significant effects on subsequent job and work behaviour and attitudes. In fact, according, to the motivational approach, no specific behavioural act or attitude can be assumed to necessarily follow from the state of alienation. Therefore, it is important that future research in the area of work alienation establishes contingencies of relationship between the state of alienation and a specific behaviour or attitude of workers. For

instance, future research may find that the state of job involvement of workers results in increased participation or overtime work without pay only under certain conditions. Under other conditions such behavioural effects may not be noticed among job-involved workers. Unlike most sociologists and psychologists who often view involvement-alienation in work contexts as equivalent to intrinsic motivation of workers, the motivational approach argues for maintaining a conceptual distinction between the two. In the sociological literature, such a distinction was hinted at by Becker and Carper (1956). These authors distinguished two sources of occupational identification: through job title and through growth and development at work. Workers' identification through job title represents their cognitive state of job involvement, whereas their sense of job commitment resulting from growth and development at work represents their intrinsic motivation. In psychological literature, Lawler and Hall (1970) advocated a distinction between job involvement and intrinsic motivation. According to Lawler & Hall, "Job involvement may be thought of as the degree to which the job situation is central to the person and his identity. Intrinsic motivation can be thought of as the degree to which attaining higher order need satisfaction depends upon performance". The usefulness of such a distinction for job and work-flow design has been demonstrated recently by Moch (1980). On the basis of his study covering 522 employees of an assembly and packaging plant, Moch concluded that "it seems clear that job involvement is distinctly different from internal motivation. Variables which seems to lead to internal motivation do not appear to facilitate job involvement ; some of them actually inhibit it". Along the same line, the motivational approach argues that the cognitive state of involvement or alienation is not exclusively dependent on intrinsic-need satisfaction at work. Sometimes satisfaction of intrinsic needs of the workers through job performance might increase the likelihood of their job involvement, but it does not define job involvement itself. Such a distinction between the two constructs-involvement and intrinsic motivation is essential in view of the fact that one may cause the other.

In the empirical research literature, the concepts of "job" and "work" have been used widely and interchangeably. The motivational approach specifically deals with these two concepts as two separate components, each with distinct characteristics of its own. For instance, job as an object of alienation refers to the present job that a worker holds in a specific organization as described by the worker's job title (for example, assistant to the president of a given organization). On the other hand, work as an object of alienation refers to a much broader and more abstract concept. Alienation from work implies that the work role in general is considered of little importance to an individual when compared with other roles in his or her life, such as in family, community, and leisure contexts. In a sense, alienation from the present job refers to a cognitive belief that is descriptive of workers' relations with their present jobs. Hence, job alienation to a large extent is determined by existing perceived job characteristics. Alienation from work, on the other hand, refers to a normative belief. It is a cognitive belief of the individual regarding how much importance one should attach to work roles in one's life. Such a value-oriented normative beliefs is generally determined by one's past and present socialization experience and reference-group influences.

Finally, the motivational approach has the potential to integrate and explain adequately the different types of alienation proposed by sociologists. Using simple motivational constructs, the motivational approach provides a parsimonious model that integrates both sociological and psychological interpretations of work alienation.

As the preceding discussion indicate the framework provides by the motivational approach tries to overcome most of the problems identified in the previous chapter and, at the same time, to provide a parsimonious and unified theoretical formulation by integrating the psychological and sociological approaches.

Definitions of the Concepts

Within the framework of the motivational approach, the concepts of involvement and alienation are viewed as opposite sides of the same phenomenon. The phenomenon refers to psychological states of an individual worker and is conceived as cognitive and tri-dimensional in nature.

In the motivational approach, a distinction is made between involvement with or alienation from work in general and involvement with or alienation from a specific job. Involvement with work in general is viewed as a generalized cognitive (or beliefs state of psychological identification with work, in so far as work is perceived to have the potential to satisfy one's salient needs and expectations. Likewise, work alienation can be viewed as a generalized cognitive (or belief) state of psychological separation from work, in so far as work is perceived to lack the potential for satisfying one's salient needs and expectations. Worker involvement with or alienation from a given job is defined as a specific cognitive belief state of psychological identification with or separation from that job. Here again, the state of involvement or alienation depends on two things: the saliency of the worker's needs (both extrinsic and intrinsic) and the expectations the worker has about the need-satisfying potential of the job. Thus, for both objects of alienation, specific job and work in general, the degree of involvement – alienation should be measured by the workers' cognitions about their identification with or separation from the objects.

Job – and work – involvement beliefs differ in two ways. First, job involvement refers to a specific belief regarding the present job, whereas work involvement refers to a general belief. The two beliefs also operate at different levels. The job –involvement belief operates at a descriptive level. It describes workers' job identifications as they are, the work – involvement belief, on the other hand, operates at a normative level. It describes workers' views of their relationship with work as it should be. Since the objects of the two beliefs belong to the same universe (in which a job represents a specific category of work in general), some degree of positive relationship between the two beliefs is expected. A person who shows a high degree of work involvement is expected to show a high degree of job involvement. However, since the two beliefs operate at two different levels, the relationship between the two beliefs may not be strong. A person who links work should be considered very important in one's life may not necessarily find a specific job, very involving.

The distinction between job and work involvement has several implications for future research. First, there is a need to develop separate measures of job and work involvement, the former representing a specific belief about a particular job, and the latter representing a general belief about work roles in general (as opposed to other in life, such as in family, community, and other leisure contexts. Second, it is important to discover how the two types of beliefs are related. It is quite conceivable that a person who is highly involved in work because of a Protestant – ethic upbringing may not feel involved with a particular job, since the job does not meet salient needs. Likewise, a person who is highly involved with a job because the salient-need satisfaction on the job may not consider work roles as being as central to life as other social roles. Because the two types of beliefs are conceptually different, it is necessary to identify conditions under which they do or do not covary. One such condition has recently been identified (Gorn and Kanungo 1980) and will be discussed in detail later. It has been suggested that for extrinsically motivated workers job and work involvement would tend to covary (with job satisfaction acting as a moderator variable), whereas for intrinsically motivated workers job and work involvement tend not to covary. Third, there is also a need for determining how job and work involvement influence involvement in other aspects of one's life, such as family involvement or community involvement. The Marxian dictum that work alienation is the root of all other forms of

alienation in life has yet to be tested. It is quite conceivable that too much involvement in a particular job may alienate one from other activities, such as those in the family or community. On the other hand, an attitude of involvement with work roles in general may transfer positive effects to other aspects of life, as Marx predicted.

The motivational framework treats the concepts of involvement and alienation as cognitive states of an individual. Viewed in this manner, job and work involvement of job and work alienation cannot be measured with existing instruments (Blauner 1964; Lodahl and Rejner 1965 ; Saleh and Hosek 1967; Shepard 1971). Most of these instruments combine measures of the cognitive state of alienation with measures of its presumed causes and effects. For example, the widely used instrument developed by Lodahl and Kejner (1965) contains items that reflect the cognitive state of involvement (“I live, eat, and breathe my Job”) and also items that both antecedent and consequent feeling states and behavioral tendencies (“I feel depressed when I fail at something connected with my job” or “I will stay overtime to finish a job, even if I am not paid for it”). Because of such built-in ambiguities in existing instruments; the data provided by these instruments are often hard to interpret. Future research should develop less ambiguous measures of job and work involvement’ (that is, measures reflecting only the cognitive state of psychological identification with job and work). For instance, items such as “I live, eat, and breathe my job, “I am very much involved in my job “The most important thing that happened to me involved my job, and so on tend to reflect workers awareness of job identification without measuring their need states (antecedent conditions), covert feelings and overt behavioural tendencies (consequent conditions). These kinds of items have construct validity and, therefore, are more desirable measures of the cognitive state of job involvement .Similar items reflecting the cognitive state of identification with work in general can be used to measure work involvement.

One can also use graphic techniques or the semantic-differential format (Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum 1957) to measure job or work involvement on dimensions such as involved- noninvolved, important –unimportant, identified –separated, and central –peripheral. Besides being less confusing with regard to assessing the cognitive states of involvement and alienation, measures of job of work involvement that have construct validity seem to be better suited for cross- cultural and comparative research than are the existing measures. The existing measures are inappropriate for cross-cultural and comparative research primarily because they include many items that heavily emphasize intrinsic-need satisfaction. For groups of people who do not consider intrinsic needs (autonomy, control, and so on) to be the guiding forces in their lives, the existing measures cannot truly reflect their job or work involvement.

In defining involvement or alienation as cognitive beliefs of workers, the motivational approach emphasizes the fact that such beliefs are central to and have a major impact on workers’ lives. The potential importance of beliefs regarding job and work involvement is quite obvious from the fact that people devote considerable time and effort to jobs and what they consider work roles (as opposed to other social roles). In a sense, as Saleh (1981) suggests, such beliefs are self-involving, “implying that they are not peripheral but central or core beliefs representing an individual’s self. They define one’s self-concept in a major way. Popularly we talk of an “organization man”, “family man”, “religious man” and so on depending on the individual’s identification with an organization, family, religion, and so on. Likewise we talk of “hard-working persons” (persons who believe in the value of hard work in their lives) or “persons married to their jobs”. Such descriptions reflect our definitions of a personal self. As an individual, one defines personal self as an entity or develops a personal self-concept (an

answer to the question, who am I?) Through identification with or alienation from major environmental objects, such as job, work, family, and religion. Such a self-concept (or underlying belief) has a regulating influence on individuals' behaviours and attitudes.

Conditions of Job Involvement

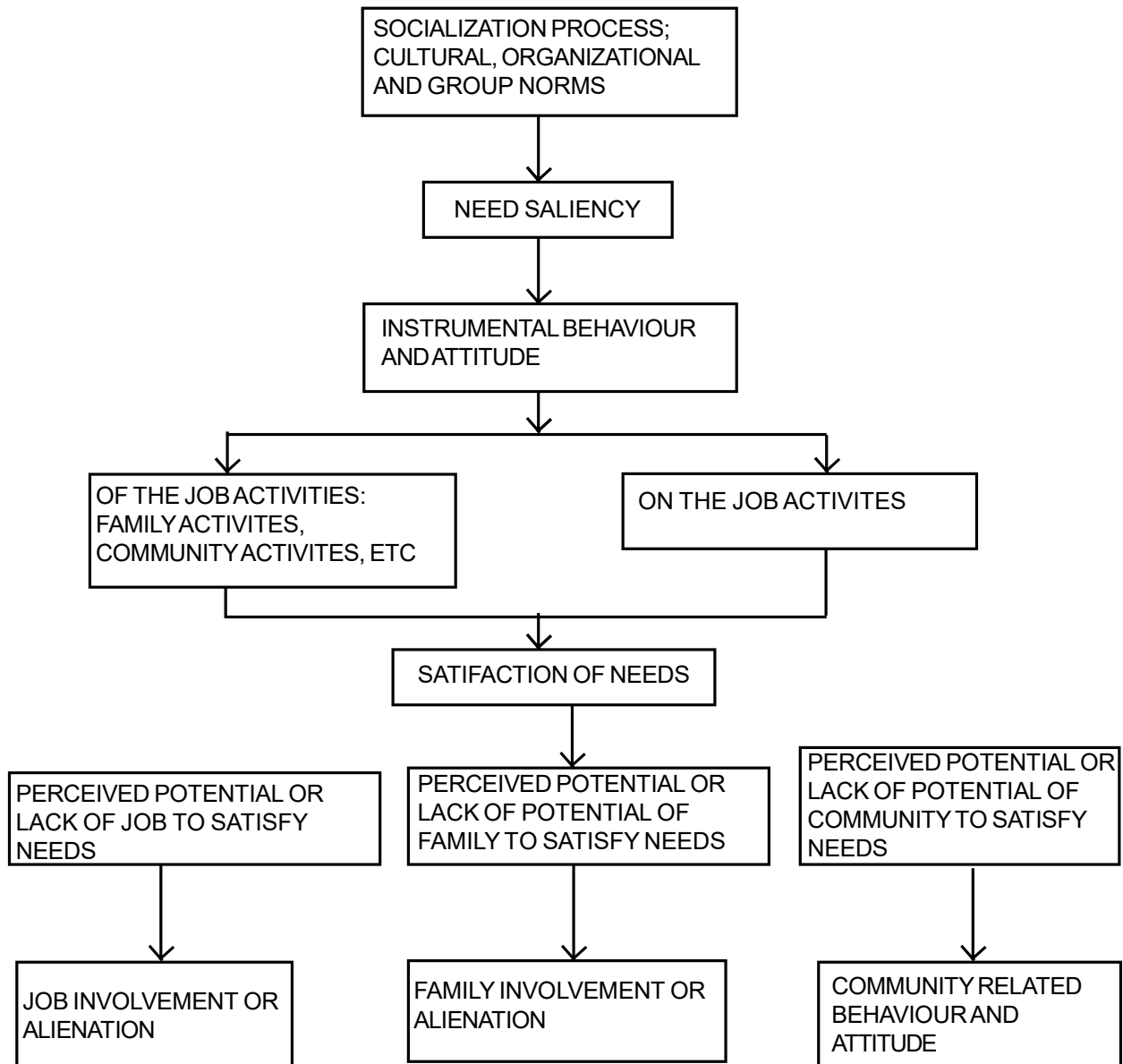
A layout of the present motivational approach to job involvement, its causes, and its effects is presented in Figure. As can be seen, individuals' behaviours and attitudes exhibited both on and off the job are a function of the saliency of need states within them. At any given moment, the need saliency within individuals depends on the prior socialization process (historical causation) and on the perceived potential of the environment (job, family, and so on) to satisfy the needs (contemporary causation). The cognitive state of involvement as a by-product of need saliency also depends on the nature of need saliency as historically determined through the socialization process and on the perceived potential of the environment to satisfy the needs.

In the context of job involvement, individual's beliefs that they are job involved or alienated depends on whether the job is perceived to have the potential for satisfying their salient needs. The saliency or the importance of different needs for individuals is determined by individuals' past experiences with groups of which they were members (socialization process) and with jobs that they have held. Different groups of people are influenced by different cultural, group, and organizational norms, and thus, they tend to develop different need structures or to set different goals and objectives for their lives.

For example, the work-motivation literature suggests that the source of job involvement for managers within any organization may be very different from those for unskilled labourers because of differences in need saliencies of the two groups. Managers may value more autonomy and control in their jobs, whereas the unskilled labourers may attach greater importance to security and a sense of belonging in their jobs. Such value differences stem essentially from past socialization, process and from the influence of the norms of the groups to which workers belong.

Some recent cross-cultural studies have demonstrated that because of the differences in the socialization process, workers belonging to different cultures differ with respect to the importance they attach to various job outcomes. The importance attached to various job outcomes reflects the saliency of the needs of workers. For instance, studies of Francophone and Anglophone managers in Canada (Kanungo 1977, 1980; Kanungo, Gorn, and Dauderis 1996) revealed that security and affiliation needs seem to have greater saliency for Francophone managers, whereas autonomy and achievement needs tend to have greater saliency for Anglophone managers. Similar results were reported in an international study (Kanungo and Wright 1981) that compared French managers in France with British managers in the United Kingdom. The salient needs tend to determine the central life interests of the individuals. On the job, the saliency of a need in individuals may be reinforced when they find that through job behaviour they are capable of meeting their needs. Their perception that the job is capable of satisfying their important needs will make the individuals devote most of their available energy to the job. The workers will immerse themselves in the job, and the feedbacks from their job behavior will lead the workers to believe that the job is an essential part of themselves. They thus become job involved. If, however, the job is perceived by the individuals as lacking in opportunities for satisfying salient needs, they will develop a

tendency to withdraw effort from the job and thus, become alienated from it. For the satisfaction of their salient needs, the workers will redirect their energy elsewhere by engaging in various off-the-job activities or undesirable on-the-job activities.



FIGURE

THE MOTIVATIONAL APPROACH TO INVOLVEMENT AND ALIENATION

Some recent comparative studies (Kanungo 1980) of job involvement among Francophone and Anglophone workers have provided indirect evidence in support of this motivational approach to job involvement. On the premise that Anglophone workers are a product of the Protestant-ethic socialization

process and that they value job autonomy and achievement to a greater extent than Francophone workers, they are expected to show a greater psychological identification with their jobs than Francophone workers. Such a prediction is based on previous approaches to alienation that emphasize the importance of autonomy and control in the worker's self-concept. This prediction, however, was not confirmed by these studies. If anything, the revealed of these studies related stronger psychological job identification among Francophone workers than among Anglophone workers. The reason for greater job involvement among the Francophone workers may lie in the fact that they perceive their salient needs, such as security and affiliation tendencies, to be met to a greater extent on the job than do the Anglophone workers. Further empirical research is necessary, however, to test directly the implication of the motivational formulation in job situations.

Conditions of Work Involvement

Involvement of individuals with work in general refers to the normative belief regarding how important work should be in their lives. It is the value or significance people attach to having work or performing work in general. It is the issue of how central working in one's life when compared with other life roles such as maintaining and raising a family or participating in the community. Viewed in this way, development of a cognitive belief state of identification with work in general would depend very much upon past and present socialization experiences. Individuals are trained through the influence of their culture and reference-group norms to believe in the centrality of work roles in life. Once formed, such beliefs are maintained through constant social support from reference groups and other forms of environmental reinforcements. Individuals learn to value work (or the goodness and morality of work) because of past parental, school, and religious training. They maintain their normative beliefs because of present socialization through reference-group support and favourable environmental conditions.

Training in the protestant ethic in one's formative years can produce a normative belief in the goodness and centrality of work involvement. However, in later life, the normative belief state can weaken because of lack of opportunity for employment, easy access to unemployment benefits, war, and so on. For instance, during the era of the "flower children" in the 1960s, there was a decline in the work involvement among U.S. middle-class youth and young adults. The decline in the work ethic resulted from the hostile environment created by the prospect of being killed in the Vietnam War and a lack of support from the social environment for the work ethic. The work ethic, which requires some degree of asceticism and self-discipline, could not thrive in a social environment that provided affluency and encouraged indulgence in total freedom.

It must be pointed out that socialization of the protestant-ethic variety is not the only type of training that increases work involvement. Any type of training through which individuals realize that the centrality of the work role in life can fulfill their salient needs should increase work involvement. For instance, socialization in many Western cultures emphasizes individualism and promotes in its members greater saliency for autonomy and personal achievement needs. The Protestant work ethic in such cultures trains people to believe that work can satisfy these salient needs and can bring about a sense of individualism. Therefore, work should be valued as being good and central to one's life.

Socialization in many Eastern cultures, however, promotes in its members a sense of collectivism and saliency for social and security needs. In these cultures, religious preachings about achieving a universal brotherhood of mankind and religious practices advocating the value of sacrificing self-interest for the benefit of others have a different socializing influence. People in these cultures

develop beliefs in the centrality of work not because work can promote personal achievement, but because work can fulfill the collectivistic goals of brotherhood and sharing in life. The Hindu religion, for example, encourages a form of work ethic that considers work as central to one's life, but it must be performed as a duty in the service of others (family members, friends, relatives, even strangers) and not for one's own personal achievement. Believing that work can bring about a sense of collectivism and also fulfill the salient social and security needs in one's life, a Hindu perhaps might show the same level of work involvement as a protestant.

The case of Japan provides another example of a work ethic that can result from socialization training of a non-protestant variety. The behavioral patterns and customs of the Japanese people have been deeply influenced by Confucianism, which stresses a rigid, hierarchically arranged collective society. Members of each collectivity are expected to maintain absolute loyalty and obedience to authority and to the group in the fulfillment of their obligations. In her classic work, Nakane (1970) distinguishes between the concepts of "frame" and "attribute", concluding that the Japanese tend to attach more importance to the frame (or the organizational situation within which the individual operates) than to the attributes or personal characteristics of the individual. Similarly, England and Lee (1974) concluded that "in view of this cultural background, it is not surprising that more successful Japanese managers place relatively greater emphasis upon loyalty and relatively less emphasis upon 'me' than do managers in other countries". The influence of cultural and reference-group norms in Japan trains the Japanese to view world as a kind of sacred duty to be performed for a collective interest and not for a personal interest. As Aonuma (1931) explains, "The Japanese equivalent of the protestant Ethic lies in the concept of sacrificing personal interest for organizational good Out of this ethic grew a sense of purpose regarding work a concept of work not as drudgery, but as a kind of sacred duty. Work fulfills this duty, and thereby establishes a sense of purpose". The above examples demonstrate that people belonging to different cultures tend to develop different salient needs influenced by different cultural and group norms. However, the socialization training in any given culture that emphasizes the instrumentality of work roles in satisfying peoples culturally determined salient needs is primarily responsible for the development of work involvement.

3.5 INTEGRATION OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH

The sociological approach to work alienation can be adequately interpreted within the framework of the motivational approach. According to this framework, alienation result primarily from a perceived lack of potential (in a job or in work in general) to satisfy the salient needs of the individual. The link between this framework and the sociological description of alienation is summarized in Table.

Sociologists (Blauner 1964; Seeman 1959) have described five different variants of work alienation: powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, and self-estrangement. Each variant refers to a different, subjectively felt psychological state of an individual caused by different environmental conditions. If one describes these states of an individual caused by different environmental conditions. If one describes these states motivational terms, each variant represents a work situation that frustrates some salient needs of the individual. The isolation variant of job alienation will be experienced by individuals whose social and belonging needs are most salient and who find that their work situation does not have the potential to satisfy these needs. Blauner (1964) seems to concur with this position when he states that the state of isolation "implies the absence of a sense of membership in an industrial community".

In Canada, the isolation type of job alienation has been reported more often among French Canadian workers than among English Canadian workers, perhaps because in the former case the necessary conditions for a state of isolation are present to a greater extent. Studies on the motivational orientation (Auclair and Read 1966) of French Canadian workers reveal that their affiliative needs (desire to belong to the industrial community) are salient, and yet such needs are frustrated because of the Anglophone ownership of industry. For very similar reasons, female workers may often experience a greater degree of isolation at work than male workers.

Integration of Sociological Approaches

Sociological Approach		Motivational Approach	
Types of Work Alienation	Environmental Conditions Responsible for Alienation	Personal Need Saliency of Worker	Perceive Work-Job Potential to Satisfy Salient Need
Isolation	Lack of social integration of worker	Affiliative-need saliency	Lack of sense of membership
Normlessness norms need saliency	Breakdown of social (Social comparison) behaviour	Self-evaluation (norms) to guide	Lack of information -
Meaninglessness	Work simplification	Ego-need saliency	Lack of sense of responsibility
Powerlessness	Mechanization	Ego-need saliency	Lack of sense of responsibility
Self-estrangement abilities or potential need saliency lack of a sense of achievement	Lack of utilization of or achievement potentialities and	Self-actualization- to utilize one's	Lack of opportunity

The normlessness variant of job alienation can be observed in persons who have a salient need for information to predict their physical and social job environment so that they can evaluate their present job behaviour and plan future courses of action. For instance, workers with a salient need for feedback on how well they are doing may develop a feeling of normlessness in their jobs if the organization does-not provide, information on how performance is appraised and how rewards (merit pay, promotion, and so on) are administered: Workers may develop beliefs about the normlessness of work in general when they find that work organizations do not provide the necessary information about work. Workers with a high need for achievement (Mc Clelland 1967) may have a stronger need for information than workers with a low need for achievement. Hence, the former type of worker may have a stronger tendency to develop beliefs about the normlessness of job or work than the latter group.

The meaninglessness variant of job alienation results from situations where the work process is broken down into simple minuscule tasks. Such job situations represent a high degree of job simplification, and for the worker they involve no real responsibility. Faced with such situations, the worker loses all sense of purpose and the job becomes meaningless. Translated into motivational terms, this implies that workers with a salient need for assuming a high degree personal responsibility experience meaninglessness in their jobs when the need is frustrated because of job simplification or fragmentation. Workers with a high education, skill level, and need for achievement may have a stronger need for assuming personal responsibility than less-educated, unskilled, and low-needed-for-achievement workers. Thus, the former categories of workers may be more acceptable to the meaninglessness variant of alienation when the job is not provide greater responsibility. Perhaps for similar reasons, the alienation fo intellectuals toward work in general tends to the meaninglessness variety (Seeman 1959; Mills 1951)

Job alienation in the form of powerlessness refers to a perceived lack of control over one's work situation. According to Blauner (1964), the feeling of powerlessness on the job results from the mechanization process that controls the pace of work and limits workers' free movements. In motivational terms, the such the need powerlessness type of alienation may be experienced by individuals who have salient ego needs for autonomy, control, or self-esteem, but find the job environment incapable of satisfying them.

The final variant of alienation proposed by sociologists is self –estrangement at work . Blauner (1964) suggest that a job encourages self-estrangement if it does not provide an opportunity for expressing "unique abilities, potentialities, or personality of the worker". In motivational terms, such a state of alienation is experienced by people who have high self-actualization needs (Maslow1954), such as the need for achievement, and find the job situation limiting the realization of their potential. Thus, frnm a motivational standpoint, the different types of job or work alienation suggested by sociologists represent the same cognitive belief of separation from job or work and are different from one another only in the sense that they are caused by a different saliency structure of needs in the individuals. The motivational reinterpretation of the sociological approach needs to be validated through empirical studies designed to test several predictions discussed above.

3.6 SOME MAJOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PRESENT AND EARLIER APPROACHES

At this point, it may be useful to compare and to highlight a few important differences between the motivational approach and earlier ones. Although the definitions of job involvement and alienation as cognitive states of identification with or separation for a job resemble the way the concepts were defined by Lawler and Hall (1970), the former are different from the latter in one important respect. As discussed earlier, Lawler and Hall put exclusive emphasis on the job opportunities that meet a worker's need for control and autonomy as necessary preconditions to the state of job involvement. In fact all earlier formulations (both sociological and psychological) seem to have followed this line of thinking.

The motivational approach, however, suggests that job involvement does not necessarily depend on job characteristics that allow for control and autonomy need satisfaction. It emphasizes that workers

have a variety of needs, some more salient than others. The saliency of the needs in any given individual is determined by past socialization in a given culture (historical causes) and is constantly modified by present job conditions (contemporary causes). Different groups of individuals because of their different socialization training or different cultural background may develop different need saliency patterns. They may value extrinsic and intrinsic job outcomes (Lawler 1973) very differently. One set of needs (for example, growth needs, such as self-esteem and autonomy) may be salient in one group of workers, but the same needs may not be salient in another group. This may result in different self-images in the two groups and, consequently, in different job expectations in the two groups. One group of workers that considers control and autonomy to be the core of their self image may get involved in jobs that are perceived as offering an opportunity for exercising control and autonomy, and they may become alienated from jobs that are perceived as providing little freedom and control. Such job characteristics, however, may not be the crucial considerations for another group (who may view security and social needs to be the core of their self-image) in the determination of their job involvement or alienation. That people do differ with respect to what constitutes the core of their self-concepts should not be overlooked. The developed societies of the West may make their citizens believe that all that counts in one's life is to have a individual liberty and freedom. Workers belonging to these societies may feel, therefore, that a working life is of little worth without freedom and control. However, in the developing societies of the East, economic and social security often are considered more important to life than are freedom and control. Thus, workers in Eastern societies may find work very involving if it guarantees such security, but may not care very much for freedom and control in their jobs. In these societies, people may value equality and sharing more than liberty and control as the guiding principle of a working life. Rabinowitz and Hall (1977) alluded to this possibility but found no available research that examined "this lower need based form of job involvement".

Earlier conceptualizations of work alienation and involvement a confused alienation from a specific job with alienation from work in general. Such confusion primarily resulted from the emphasis on intrinsic motivation and the Protestant work ethic as the main source of work involvement. The present conceptualization, however, considers the work ethic as a normative belief in the goodness of work and distinguishes it from job involvement. A work ethic can result from socialization training of both Protestant and non-Protestant varieties. In the socialization process, any religious or cultural (value that considers work as instrumental in satisfying culturally determined salient needs is capable of developing a work ethic in people. In individualistic societies, religious values, such as those found in Protestantism, characterize work as an important source of salient ego-need satisfaction and provide work with the moral character of being "good" and "desirable". In collectivistic societies, work also is characterized as "good" and "desirable" through the influence of religious values. However, in this case work is viewed as a source of satisfaction in life because it has the potentiality of fulfilling salient affiliative and security needs.

In their attempts to increase job involvement among workers, the sociological (Blauner 1964) and the psychological (Lawler and Hall 1970) approaches have analyzed the work situation from the standpoint of job design or the nature of the job. They have emphasized job characteristics, such as

the lack of variety in a job, mechanized and routine operations, strict supervision, and so on, and their effects on the involvement of workers without any attempt to understand the nature and the saliency of needs in the workers. In presenting such a position, these authors have argued in favour of a universal prescription for increasing job involvement by designing jobs to provide greater autonomy and control to the workers. The prescription is of course, based on the assumption that the needs for control and autonomy are the most salient needs in workers.

This position can be contrasted with the approach that Taylor (1911) advocated in his principles of scientific management. In his pig-iron-loading experiment, he selected as his subject a physically strong individual who had a salient monetary need. In selecting the right man for the job, he looked into the past training and abilities, the need saliency, and the job perceptions of the worker. Presumably, Taylor must have thought that these characteristics have a significant influence on a worker's job involvement. The approach advocated in the motivational formulation does not make the assumption that the needs for control and autonomy are the most salient needs in all workers. Unlike previous approaches, the present approach suggests that job involvement can be best be understood if we find out the nature and the saliency of needs in workers as determined by prior socialization and present job conditions. The design of jobs and the determination of their extrinsic and intrinsic outcomes for the sake of increasing job involvement should be based on an understanding of workers needs and perceptions. The findings of Lawler and Hackman (1971) seem to support this position. According to them, "there is no reason to expect job changes to affect the motivation and satisfaction of employees who do not value the rewards that their jobs have to offer".

Previous approaches emphasized the distinction between work as an instrumental activity and work as consummatory activity (the means to an end versus the end in itself). The present approach considers work to be a set of job-related behaviours and attitudes, and alike all behaviours and attitudes, work is considered to be instrumental in satisfying a variety of needs that a worker may have. All human behaviours stem from need stem from need states, and all human behaviours tend to be purposive and instrumental in obtaining goals or outcomes for the satisfaction of needs. Work behaviours and job attitudes should not be an exception to this rule.

In summary, the motivational approach to the study of alienation and involvement advocated provides an integrate framework for future psychological and sociological research. Future research in the area should attempt not only to measure job and work alienation or involvement as cognitive states but should also attempt to relate such cognitive states to the antecedent conditions of need saliency in individuals and their job perceptions. Attempts should also be made to relate the cognitive states of alienation and involvement to the various affective states that accompany them and to their behavioural consequences. Using the motivational approach, future studies should explore the phenomena of alienation and involvement in areas other than job and work, such as in the family, in the community, and in other forms of leisure-time pursuits as suggested. It would be of considerable interest to find out the reasons for alienation and involvement in these areas for different groups of people with different socialization training. It would also be of interest to see how involvement and alienation in one area influence the nature of such states in other areas. For instance, how does job involvement affect family involvement and vice versa? The widely accepted Marxian dictum that work alienation is

the cause of all social maladies is something that clearly needs empirical verification. These are some of the general issues that need exploration in the future, and it is hoped that the framework proposed here will help in such exploration.

3.7 SUMMARY

This unit on Group Cohesion and Alienation. In this unit we have tried to define and describe group cohesion and alienation, enumerating the reasons why the study of group dynamics became very important. Having defined group cohesion it goes on explaining the consequences of cohesiveness. Having defined cohesion, this unit explains what is alienation and enumerates the sociological approach to alienation. Under this subhead the Weber's treatment to alienation and Durkheim's concept of Anomie and Alienation have been thoroughly explained. Contemporary sociological treatment of alienation logically follows, highlighting the cause and correlates the various on alienation as perceived and proposed by various behavioural scientists.

Having dwelled thoroughly upon sociological approach the unit moves ahead explaining the psychological approach to alienation mainly based on job involvement and motivational approach by various psychologists. In the empirical research literature, the concepts of job and work have been used widely and interchangeably. The motivational approach specifically deals with these two concepts as two separate components, each with distinct characteristics of its own. Towards the end it has been explained as to how sociological approach to work alienation can be interpreted within the framework of the motivational approach, resulting into integration of both.

3.8 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

1. Have you ever felt alienated from your own self or others? If so try chartering those feelings and analyze them in the theoretical framework.
2. Is there a member in your group who is trying to destroy the cohesiveness of the group? Describe him and discuss the measures you would adopt in dealing with.
3. Explain what is motivational approach to alienation.
4. What is the difference between the sociological and psychological approach to alienation?
5. What are the consequences of group cohesion? Explain with example.
6. Explain the causes and correlates of alienation.

3.9 FURTHER READINGS

Taylor, D.M. and Simard, L.M. "*Ethnic Identify and Intergroup Relations*" in *Emerging Ethnic Boundaries* by D.J.Lee (Ed.) Ottawa Univ. Press (1979).

Triandrs, H.C. *Attitude and Attitude Change*, New York, Wiley.(1971).

Tejfel H. *Social Identify and Intergroup Relations*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press (1982).

Tejfel H. *The Social Dimensions*, 2 Vols. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press (1984).

Shaw, M.E. *Group Dynamics : The Psychology of Small Group Behaviour*, 2nd Ed., Tata McGraw Hill (1976)

Sherif, M. *Group Conflict and Cooperation: Their Social Psychology*. London, Roiutledge & Kegan Paul (1966).

Ashby, W.T. "*Downward Comparison Principles in Social Psychology*", *Psychological Bulletin*, 90, (1983).

Doise, W. *Groups and Individuals: Explanations in Social Psychology*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. (1978)

Kanungo, R.N. *Work Alienation : An Integrative Approach*, New York, Praeger (1982).

Cecilia, L. Ridgeway, *The Dynamics of Small Groups*, St. Martins (1983).