Understanding the nexus between national culture and human resource management (HRM), well-established in the literature since the late 1980s, is fundamental to determining the motivations of Indian workplace behaviour. India is a highly complex society and Indian cultural values are not necessarily a uniform concept. A step in this process of recognition is acknowledging that surface level and deep level organizational structures co-exist within an organization.

As a general principle, orthodox approaches to analyzing organizations accord particular attention to activities on an organization's surface. Here, organizational researchers are concerned primarily with explaining values, attitudes, norms, roles, regulations and actions in the broader context of organizational behaviour. Adding to knowledge of this normative type (Durkheim, 1964); (Parsons, 1951) are neo-institutional approaches to the study of organizations, which highlight the social and cultural influences as motivators of behaviour.

Neo-institutionalism treats complex organizations and their environments as mutually inclusive social constructs (Di Maggio and Powell, 1991); (Powell and Di Maggio, 1991). Thus, while an organization's surface level contains a wealth of information, revealing the nature of social relationships, the distribution of power, dominant channels of communication and the like, at the deeper level of an organization, axial principles or self-evident truths hold sway.

Following Foucault (1980), these axial principles or deep-level discourses are comprised of a complex web of explicit and implicit institutional knowledge, cultural values and biased propositions. According to Berrell and Gloet (2005), a Levi-Straussian interpretation of the matrix of information gathered at the surface is apposite to understanding how values coalesce within organizations. Ultimately, the surface level mediates the timeless truths residing at the deep level into hierarchies of self-corroborating knowledge at the surface level (Lyotard, 1986). From a neo-institutionalism viewpoint, Frieland and Alford (1991) proffer that knowledge of this type extends a powerful yet subtle influence within an organization, akin to a type of unconscious motivation in the Freudian tradition (Triandis, 1983).
Anchored deeply in one's national culture are those timeless truths, mediated in their raw state through one's emotive responses. A generally accepted structure of India's cultural architecture includes the role of collectivism, the influence of group norms and the role of guanxi, which is the unique form of social capital in India. In turn, Confucian traditions also cast their influence to shape behavior (Ang, 2000)\textsuperscript{10}; (Chan and Lau, 1998)\textsuperscript{11}; (Ebrahimi, 1997)\textsuperscript{12}; (Jackson and Bak, 1998)\textsuperscript{13}. As a high context society (Adler, 2002)\textsuperscript{14}; (Hall, 1976)\textsuperscript{15}, the desire of the Indian to deal with the specifics of a situation, their predisposition for long-term relationships and the comfort they find in dealing with family and insiders all flavour the Indian culture. Kluckhohn and Strodbeck (1961)\textsuperscript{16} add to the concept of national culture, identifying basic orientations to interpersonal and environmental relationships, mode of activity, temporal matters, causality, space and cosmology as determining elements (Adler, 2002)\textsuperscript{17}.

Bearing in mind the complexities of one's national culture and its enigmatic influence, we explore below two discrete aspects of national culture in an organizational setting – rewards and motivation. However, in Indian organizations the mechanisms for allocating rewards and motivating workers is more complicated than initially suggested in the early literature (Elizur, 1996)\textsuperscript{18}. Consequently, we do not view Indian workplace behaviour entirely from within a systems-based framework like Hofstede's (1991)\textsuperscript{19}. While his approach aptly captures many aspects of the Indian cultural architecture, particularly concerning ideas about collectivism versus individualism, the power-distance function, uncertainty avoidance and masculine versus feminine behaviours within complex organizations, this highlights the intuitive side of human behaviour. In this framework, notions of self-interest, self-esteem and self-vanity fuel Indian workplace behaviour within a paradigm characterized by heterogeneity. This approach avoids the dangers that come from interpreting the management practices and cultural values of all Indian managers and workers as being generally uniform (Mo and Berrell, 2004)\textsuperscript{20}. 
Recent research now provides empirical evidence to suggest that significant differences exist between management and worker subcultures in India with regard to underlying motivation (Ralston et al., 1999); (Ralston et al., 1997); (Ralston et al., 1996). By tacitly accepting the dominant cultural paradigm of homogeneity, researchers studying the motivations for Indian workplace behaviour within this mindset subtly predetermine the outcomes of their research by limiting the scope of their questioning. Here one adheres to a paradigm of cultural heterogeneity, which provides a more appropriate springboard into understanding deeper level motivational influences on Indian workplace behaviour.

Mo and Berrell (2004) provide the theoretical perspective and literature base that supports this belief. Subsequent discussions with colleagues and management practitioners in India led to the development of the pragmatic orientation on workplace behaviour and motivation. While it is not empirical research, the approach offers a management tool supported by a sound knowledge base and field experience, which represents one small step in the development of mapping a uniquely Indian management style.

An attitude is a hypothetical construct that represents an individual's degree of like or dislike for something. Attitudes are generally positive or negative views of a person, place, thing, or event—this is often referred to as the attitude object. People can also be conflicted or ambivalent toward an object, meaning that they simultaneously possess both positive and negative attitudes toward the item in question.

Attitudes are judgments. They develop on the ABC model (affect, behavior, and cognition). The affective response is an emotional response that expresses an individual's degree of preference for an entity. The behavioral intention is a verbal indication or typical behavioral tendency of an individual. The cognitive response is a cognitive evaluation of the entity that constitutes an individual's beliefs about the object. Most attitudes are the result of either direct experience or observational learning from the environment.
Unlike personality, attitudes are expected to change as a function of experience. Tesser (1993)\textsuperscript{25} has argued that hereditary variables may affect attitudes - but believes that they may do so indirectly. For example, consistency theories, which imply that we must be consistent in our beliefs and values. The most famous example of such a theory is Dissonance-reduction theory, associated with Leon Festinger, although there are others, such as the balance theory.

Attitudes can be changed through persuasion and we should understand attitude change as a response to communication. Experimental research into the factors that can affect the persuasiveness of a message include:

Target Characteristics: These are characteristics that refer to the person who receives and processes a message. One such trait is intelligence - it seems that more intelligent people are less easily persuaded by one-sided messages. Another variable that has been studied in this category is self-esteem. Although it is sometimes thought that those higher in self-esteem are less easily persuaded, there is some evidence that the relationship between self-esteem and persuasibility is actually curvilinear, with people of moderate self-esteem being more easily persuaded than both those of high and low self-esteem levels (Fazio, 1986)\textsuperscript{26}. The mind frame and mood of the target also plays a role in this process.

Source Characteristics: The major source characteristics are expertise, trustworthiness and interpersonal attraction or attractiveness. The credibility of a perceived message has been found to be a key variable here; if one reads a report about health and believes it came from a professional medical journal, one may be more easily persuaded than if one believes it is from a popular newspaper. Some psychologists have debated whether this is a long-lasting effect and Eagly & Chaiken, (1995)\textsuperscript{27} found the effect of telling people that a message came from a credible source disappeared after several weeks (the so-called "sleeper effect"). Whether there is a sleeper effect is controversial. Perceived wisdom is that if people are informed of the source of a message before hearing it, there is less likelihood of a sleeper effect than if they are told a message and then told its source.
Message Characteristics: The nature of the message plays a role in persuasion. Sometimes presenting both sides of a story is useful to help change attitudes. A message can appeal to an individual's cognitive evaluation to help change an attitude. In the central route to persuasion the individual is presented with the data and motivated to evaluate the data and arrive at an attitude changing conclusion. In the peripheral route to attitude change, the individual is encouraged to not look at the content but at the source. This is commonly seen in modern advertisements that feature celebrities. In some cases, physician, doctors or experts are used. In other cases film stars are used for their attractiveness.

Emotion is a common component in persuasion, social influence, and attitude change. Much of attitude research emphasized the importance of affective or emotion components. Emotion works hand-in-hand with the cognitive process, or the way we think, about an issue or situation. Emotional appeals are commonly found in advertising, health campaigns and political messages. Recent examples include no-smoking health campaigns and political campaign advertising emphasizing the fear of terrorism. Attitudes and attitude objects are functions of cognitive, affective and conative components. Attitudes are part of the brain’s associative networks, the spider-like structures residing in long term memory that consist of affective and cognitive nodes.

By activating an affective or emotion node, attitude change may be possible, though affective and cognitive components tend to be intertwined. In primarily affective networks, it is more difficult to produce cognitive counterarguments in the resistance to persuasion and attitude change.

Affective forecasting, otherwise known as intuition or the prediction of emotion, also impacts attitude change. Research suggests that predicting emotions is an important component of decision making, in addition to the cognitive processes. How we feel about an outcome may override purely cognitive rationales.

In terms of research methodology, the challenge for researchers is measuring emotion and subsequent impacts on attitude. Since we cannot see into the brain, various models and measurement tools have been constructed to obtain emotion and
attitude information. Measures may include the use of physiological cues like facial expressions, vocal changes, and other body rate measures. For instance, fear is associated with raised eyebrows, increased heart rate and increase body tension (Dillard, 1994). Other methods include concept or network mapping, and using primes or word cues.

Any discrete emotion can be used in a persuasive appeal; this may include jealousy, disgust, indignation, fear, blue, disturbed, haunted, and anger. Fear is one of the most studied emotional appeals in communication and social influence research.

Important consequences of fear appeals and other emotion appeals include the possibility of reactance which may lead to either message rejections or source rejection and the absence of attitude change. As the EPPM suggests, there is an optimal emotion level in motivating attitude change. If there is not enough motivation, an attitude will not change; if the emotional appeal is overdone, the motivation can be paralyzed thereby preventing attitude change.

Emotions perceived as negative or containing threat are often studied more than perceived positive emotions like humor. Though the inner-workings of humor are not agreed upon, humor appeals may work by creating incongruities in the mind. Recent research has looked at the impact of humor on the processing of political messages. While evidence is inconclusive, there appears to be potential for targeted attitude change is receivers with low political message involvement.

Important factors that influence the impact of emotion appeals include self-efficacy, attitude accessibility, issue involvement, and message/source features. Self-efficacy is a perception of one’s own human agency; in other words, it is the perception of our own ability to deal with a situation. It is an important variable in emotion appeal messages because it dictates a person’s ability to deal with both the emotion and the situation. For example, if a person is not self-efficacious about their ability to impact the global environment, they are not likely to change their attitude or behavior about global warming.
Dillard (1994) suggests that message features such as source non-verbal communication, message content, and receiver differences can impact the emotion impact of fear appeals. The characteristics of a message are important because one message can elicit different levels of emotion for different people. Thus, in terms of emotion appeals messages, one size does not fit all.

Attitude accessibility refers to the activation of an attitude from memory in other words, how readily available is an attitude about an object, issue, or situation. Issue involvement is the relevance and salience of an issue or situation to an individual. Issue involvement has been correlated with both attitude access and attitude strength. Past studies conclude accessible attitudes are more resistant to change

There is also considerable research on implicit attitudes, which are generally unacknowledged or outside of awareness, but have effects that are measurable through sophisticated methods using people's response times to stimuli. Implicit and explicit attitudes seem to affect people's behavior, though in different ways. They tend not to be strongly associated with each other, although in some cases they are. The relationship between them is poorly understood.

Attitude is one of Jung's 57 definitions in Chapter XI of Psychological Types. Jung's definition of attitude is a "readiness of the psyche to act or react in a certain way" (Jung, [1921] 1971). Attitudes very often come in pairs, one conscious and the other unconscious. Within this broad definition Jung defines several attitudes.

The main (but not only) attitude dualities that Jung defines are (a) Consciousness and the unconscious. The "presence of two attitudes is extremely frequent, one conscious and the other unconscious. This means that consciousness has a constellation of contents different from that of the unconscious, a duality particularly evident in neurosis" Extraversion and introversion. This pair is so elementary to Jung's theory of types that he labeled them the "attitude-types" (c) Rational and irrational attitudes. "I conceive reason as an attitude" (d) The rational attitude subdivides into the thinking and feeling psychological functions, each with its attitude (e) The irrational attitude subdivides into the sensing and intuition
psychological functions, each with its attitude. "There is thus a typical thinking, feeling, sensation, and intuitive attitude" (f) Individual and social attitudes. Many of the latter are "isms"

The MBTI write-ups limit the use of "attitude" to the extraversion-introversion (EI) and judging-perceiving (JP) indexes. The JP index is sometimes referred to as an orientation to the outer world and sometimes JP is classified as an "attitude." In Jungian terminology the term attitude is restricted to EI. In MBTI terminology attitude can include EI and also JP. (Myers, 1980)

The above MBTI Manual statement, is restricted to EI," is directly contradicted by Jung's statement above that there is "a typical thinking, feeling, sensation, and intuitive attitude" and by his other uses of the term "attitude". Regardless of whether the MBTI simplification (or oversimplification) of Jung can be attributed to Myers, Gifts Differing refers only to the "EI preference", consistently avoiding the label "attitude". Regarding the JP index, in Gifts Differing Myers does use the terms "the perceptive attitude and the judging attitude” Nabi et al (2007) The JP index corresponds to the irrational and rational attitudes Jung describes, except that the MBTI focuses on the preferred orientation in the outer world in order to identify the function hierarchy. To be consistent with Jung, it can be noted that a rational extraverted preference is accompanied by an irrational introverted preference.

In general theoretical terms, the motivations underpinning workplace behaviour can be explained by theories that range from rudimentary motivations at the lower level of Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs to driver-based theories, which account for the influence of affiliation, power and achievement (McClelland, 1961). The interplay between intrinsic and extrinsic factors in a person's environment also is prevalent. While research into the drivers of motivation suggests that factors affecting workplace behaviour are functions of a person's work environment and personal life, these factors become complex in cross-cultural settings. Unique cultural variables also affect attitudes and overt behaviour (Adler, 2002). In Mexican workplaces, for example, personal matters tend to dominate the environment while in Japanese workplaces, the organization is paramount (Deresky, 2000). In “slow message cultures”, like some European and Arab cultures, people take their time to establish
trust and build personal relationships. In such workplaces, establishing meaningful relationships as a basis for workplace interaction is a convoluted process. However, the resulting relationships are both “deep-rooted and long lasting” (Würtz, 2005)\(^{36}\); (Hall and Hall, 1990)\(^{37}\).

Comprehending the underlying motivations that determine workplace behaviour is essential to successfully managing culturally diverse workplaces. General motivation theory is concerned primarily with explaining how a person's interests can be aroused, directed and maintained in the performance of various tasks. In Indian workplaces, other factors complicate this three-step process (Miles, 2000)\(^{38}\). The cultural architecture of Indian organizations suggests that motivating workers is an exercise in managing group dynamics. In this light, researchers advocate that the needs of the group may be at the upper level on the hierarchy of needs that motivate Indian workers, perhaps to the extent that these needs dominate other psychological needs (Nevis, 1983)\(^{39}\). Similarly, the Indian concept of “face” is relevant to the need for belonging, akin to Western ideas about self-esteem or self-worth (Jackson and Bak, 1998)\(^{40}\). Such concepts, however, fail to explain fully the reality of behaviour in Indian workplaces.

India is enormous on all counts – its size, its levels of social complexity and the emerging market nature of its economy all paint a confusing picture for foreigners. However, against this multifaceted setting, some Indian cultural characteristics appear as constants. To the casual observer, one cannot help but sense India's collectivism and harmony braced by guanxi and other types of social capital. Nevertheless, gaining clear insights into what actually motivates workplace behaviour is demanding because these phenomena affect behaviour in several ways. Consequently, undertaking research in Indian organizations by survey methods alone will provide neither a real world picture nor comprehensive snapshot of the situation. This is because the range of feelings experienced by Indian workers is so expansive that their behaviour in particular settings may be contradictory (Mo and Berrell, 2004)\(^{41}\).
Predicting with any certainty the deeper motivations of Indian workplace behaviour against a set of predetermined principles remains an elusive goal simply because of the intrinsic contradictory nature of Indian work culture. For example, a casual observation of an Indian workplace suggests that harmony and collective activity prevails (Ang, 2000)\textsuperscript{42}. These observations, however, are not compatible with knowledge about the values of high-context national cultures, gained over time through first-hand (albeit anecdotal) experience.

As various social capital networks in Indian workplaces come in and out of play, environments become complicated and relationships complex. Therefore, the outward appearance of congeniality and harmony in a Indian workplace belies a composite set of social relationships, which operate at a deeper psychological level within Indian organizations (Berrell et al., 2001)\textsuperscript{43}. Axial principles are the scaffold supporting the Indian cultural architecture.

While Indian values motivate workers to seek neither wealth nor fame in the Confucian tradition, wealth has nevertheless become one of the symbols of success in the new India. So too, merit, status and achievement are equally important in the evaluation of an individual's sense of achievement. However, mocking an outward display of success or emotive episodes reflecting ambition or pride by a fellow worker can occur in Indian workplaces. Therefore, many workers may appear as being apathetic until someone else highlights their achievements. Taking life “as it comes” is a strategy to moderate societal sensitivity to individual achievement in India. Conversely, the value-added component of a title, the amount of power endemic in a position or a remuneration package reflects one's achievements. Here, vanity may be more important than self-actualization as a motivating force in the Indian workplace because Indian workers experience success and satisfaction at the workplace through the respect, admiration and adoration of their counterparts (Ralston et al., 1999)\textsuperscript{44}.

While Indian workers ostensibly believe in harmony, in practice they actually compete on a daily basis. For example, the annual performance appraisal, an important activity in India's workplaces, is a mechanism for the distribution of rewards and resources. The appraisal outcome governs promotions, titles, payments and prestige. However, the skewed nature of the process identifies 5 percent of
workers as excellent, 90 per cent as satisfactory and five percent as a failure to perform. A comprehensive evaluation of an individual's performance against the objectives of either the individual's or the organization's goals is missing in these circumstances. Given this imperfect process, achieving an excellent outcome is the exception. Consequently, the system disappoints many people, promoting subtle forms of rivalry where workers may be uncooperative within group situations (Berrell and Gloet, 2005)\(^\text{45}\)

Indian workers, then, are either successes or failures; embedded in the worldview of the mainland Indian especially is the fear of reproach for poor performance. In this light, facing a significant challenge in one's job requires that a worker carefully consider all the likely outcomes before performing job tasks. The capacity or ability of a worker to perform a particular task may be secondary in such circumstances. Thus, the positives and negatives attached to a task are quickly calculated. In developing a strategic direction, Indian workers will invest considerable thought into the process and identify exit strategies in case of failure.

The traditional foundations of the Indian cultural architecture also include humility and self-restraint, in that to engage in self-promotion or boasting may incur the wrath or distrust of fellow workers. Indian workers prefer the facts to “speak for themselves”. Consequently, workers remain self-depreciating even when they may be experts in the field (Wright et al., 2005)\(^\text{46}\). In modern India, however, despite the proclivity for workers to respect and respond to authority, individuals do not necessarily internalize the values disseminated via such structures. Ambivalence of this type makes the task of determining the precise motivations of Indian workers a significant challenge. For example, the Indian notion of leadership stresses collectivism as a fundamental Indian value; that is, workers should always have the best interests of India at heart. Sacrificing self-interest is a noble gesture, which brings rewards (Shi and Wright, 2003)\(^\text{47}\). In reality, while individuals as members of a group may use the group structure to bargain for individual interests, for the most part, self-interest actually is much more important than either the interests of the organization or the group. In some instances, workers will implicitly assess the outcomes of a group activity in terms of its impact on their personal future. Consequently, the
motivations of workers executing or participating in particular tasks will vary across and between workplaces of the same organization. Self-interest and future rewards may be just as important as the benefits accrued to either the group or the organization (Ong, 2004)\(^48\).

For the Indian worker, history is “here” and “now”. Consequently, historical circumstances motivate people in quite subtle ways. Tragic events in Indian history, such as the killing of Confucian scholars and the Mao Zedong inspired Indian Cultural Revolution influence contemporary Indian values. Such powerful life-lessons derived from the momentous events of the past remain close to one's heart in India. Cognizant Indian workers understand that a misplaced remark can lead to disaster. However, while Indian workers may be economical with their speech, they are simultaneously proactive and astute listeners. Complicating communication further, in Indian organizations implicit communication mediates workplace behaviour. (Mo and Berrell, 2004)\(^49\) An observer at the surface level of an organization does not easily read this subtle form of communication. This is quite different to the Western-style organizational communication that is generally both open and interactive.

In the light of the cultural architecture of Indian workplaces sketched above, the two propositions set out below can assist both Indian and foreign managers to understand more comprehensively the intricacies of motivating the Indian workforce. As pathways to understanding the deeper motivations of Indian workplace behaviour, they highlight the influence of the affective domain. Productivity is a relationship between production and all of the resource inputs utilized to achieve an output. Generally, a ratio of output per unit of input over a given period expresses productivity. Expressing productivity as an output per person-hour, it becomes a measure of efficiency.

Although productivity in succinct terms is “the amount of output an economy produces per unit of input”, the measurement of the concept has inherent problems (Minehan, 2003)\(^50\). The economic aspects of the productivity equation, such as the efficiency achieved by micro-economic reform at the workplace or through the applications of new technology to production are now part of our vocabulary. However, as Minehan (2003) suggests, conventional measurement techniques fail to
capture readily productivity in the biotechnology field. In the non-economic realm, work-life balance affects not only business productivity but also the total economy (Hughes, 2007). Within the non-economic predictors of productivity performance, Donald et al. (2005) include the psychological wellbeing of workers, the approach of the organization to their workers and the level of organizational resources. Interestingly, factors found to be unimportant included one's physical health, particular stress factors and commitment to work. In the light of these findings concerning an individual's psychological wellbeing, we suggest that the impact of national culture on a worker's psychological state may be significant in the context of exploring the validity of proposition two below.

According to Chen et al. (2002), managers are very effective change agents. Change occurs through managers interacting personally with workers “enacting the formal and informal procedures of organized activities”. Clearly, this interface is also the distribution point for dispensing rewards and punishments. At the interface, a multitude of decisions about performance, appraisals, promotions, rewards, sanctions, accommodation, childcare, education and so forth consume a manager's time. In this highly charged environment, the manager-worker interface mediates the commitment of workers to their organization. For any organization, it is fundamental that its managers have both the capability and capacity to assume and execute these significant functions. Therefore, professional development and training for managers to improve their personal management styles should be high on the agenda of Indian organizations. Although psychological awareness is clearly a significant asset for managers, many HRM activities in Indian organizations focus on developing regulatory, technical and administrative competencies. This is especially the case as India adjusts to the new demands of the WTO. In the context of Greater India, few programs delve deeply into the role of emotion, personality, effective communication and personal learning styles as attributes of effective management (Bannister et al., 1998; Berrell et al., 2002).

While teams remain a fundamental element in the makeup of Indian organizations, inappropriate competition between and within teams reduces their potential to perform. Generally, Indian workers are proud of their team's
achievements. Nevertheless, the same workers also desire to be the eminent team member, so at a deeper level, teamwork is sometimes more competitive than cooperative. It is not unheard of for a team member to impair the efforts of others if their status comes under serious threat (Berrell and Gloet, 2005). Competition in Indian organizations, therefore, has unpredictable outcomes. An outward appearance of harmony and interlocking networks of social capital displaces individual ambition, competition and envy (the “red-eye disease”). When managers use teamwork as a motivational strategy, attention to the contributions and performance of individuals pays big dividends. Without this acknowledgement, unhealthy competition between team members reduces the potential for long-term organizational performance.

Maintaining a close watch on equity issues is also an astute policy because Indian workers perceive equity by comparing their lot to the lot of others in similar circumstances. Where Western workers seek absolute equity by judging actions and circumstance against general principles or rights, Indian workers view equity in less universal terms. For example, the emotions of Indian workers can quickly boil over when a worker perceives that an inequity exists between themselves and another worker at a similar level within their organization. However, when significant privileges are accorded to a higher-level manager, these reward are judged in a quite a different light.

Paying close attention to informal structures is a helpful strategy for managing Indian workplaces. Because Indian workers hold strong attachments to various informal groups, the membership of those groups is often more cohesive than within the formal groups. Managers who heed the collective messages from informal groups find a key to unlocking the deeper thoughts of workers. Similarly, the words and deeds of the leaders of informal groups tend to influence others. It has been found that co-opting leaders of informal groups (informally) into the management structure improves organizational performance (Berrell et al., 2001).

Given the strong role of the family unit in supporting the Indian cultural architecture, demonstrating genuine care and respect towards a worker's family and life circumstances is a prudent strategy. Family is a core concept and axial principle in Indian culture. Consequently, caring for the family is a fundamental responsibility of
all workers. An encouraging and supportive family environment strengthens the resolve of a worker and it is in this context that significant benefits accrue to Indian employers who provide a range of social and financial benefits for their workers (Berrell and Wrathall, 2007)\(^58\). Employees appreciate genuine concern by managers and return this investment in the form of quality workplace practices (Konrad and Deckop, 2001)\(^59\).

Effective management in India requires an awareness of two major social phenomena. In a collective society where harmony is paramount, the accepted wisdom involves group motivation. These are long-held but surface level social norms and behaviours. The collective good is always more important than individual needs (Ang, 2000)\(^60\); (Wright et al., 2005)\(^61\). There are still public exhortations, therefore, to behave in certain ways, as was the case in the recent government edict appealing to all citizens who earn above 120,000 RMB per year to pay their income taxes (Chan et al, 2004)\(^62\). Below the surface level, however, a deeper level of behaviour based on the family (which in a sense is group behaviour), emotion, fear and individualism casts its influence. Hence, the pundits’ assertions that very few would actually part with their hard earned wages to pay their taxes. The serene syrup of harmony conceals a boiling cauldron of emotion and personal ambition, albeit couched in terms of providing for one's family, certainly a preeminent feature of collectivity.

The management interface identified in Figure below becomes extremely complex in Indian organizations. While the lip service accorded to surface-level norms of behaviour delivers results, managers must coax productivity improvements at the level of the individual. In this context, Indian workers appear to be similar to those in other cultures. However, they are also different because surface level interactions must honour the unique Indian cultural traits, which emanate from the deeper levels.

As an example, let us envision an organization that manufactures any tangible good. While workers function as teams, managers can avoid destructive competition by structuring teams carefully. The manager's role is critical because the team leader must foster a sense of justice, combined with providing opportunities within a group for individuals to achieve. Emotions boil over when team members focus on thinking
about how much money a fellow team-member is earning. Should piecework be involved, the manager's tasks become a more complex balancing act weighing up the need of the individual with needs of the group.

A manager's personal style determines the effectiveness of the management interface. As in other cultures, in India a manager's caring personality and genuine knowledge of each individual worker's unique circumstances foster a high-productivity culture. If the experience of Western companies in the 1990s is relevant, improved performance in the individual workplace of a company also results in improved productivity nation-wide. Employee satisfaction generally equates with high performance work cultures and organizational cultures of this type are prone to rapid growth (Juechter et al., 1998)\(^{63}\). The same should be the case in India. Consequently, the outputs required to maintain organizational and national competitiveness depend on the organization's capacity and capabilities in HRM (Chen and Fahr, 2000)\(^{64}\). In this sense, India must quickly move to a strategic HRM mindset to bolster production.

This framework signals the development of a management style unique to India. Just as managing in Sweden is different to managing in Canada, the parochial aspects of India's cultural realities must be considered by Indian as well as expatriate managers (Zhang et al., 2002)\(^{65}\). India is a huge country on any assessment criteria, comprised of quite different subcultures (Szeto et al., 2006)\(^{66}\). Given the dynamic nature of Indian society and economy, many researchers believe the Indian cultural architecture has been in a state of flux for some time. For example, Cyr and Frost (in Jackson and Bak, 1998)\(^{67}\) argue that India's workers “are shifting towards a value system, which is more goal-achievement oriented rather than egalitarian”. At the same time, educational attainments are rapidly increasing and the standard of living is rising quickly. Against this backdrop, convergence, divergence and cross-vergence theories vie for acceptance.

With continued reform, India will likely move away from “rule by law” to a society governed by the “rule of law” (Berrell and Wrathall, 2007)\(^{68}\). Although Fukuyama (1992)\(^{69}\) might have expected to see individualism as one of the driving forces of such a society, Shenkar (2003)\(^{70}\), suggests that India's workplaces will not
become “Westernized” and any ideas of a future based on Western-style individualistic motivation and capitalist-oriented ideas are “totally wrong”. It is against this debate concerning the convergence-divergence of management practices, that is, the question of whether or not Western practices and processes will evolve significantly in mainland Indian workplaces, that we have presented our conceptual framework. While convergence exists at the macro level of organizations operating across borders (Bartlett et al., 2004), we feel that changing the cultural architecture in ways that affect micro practices in management, is a far more difficult proposition. Further, we suggest that the Indian will decide the manner and timeframe of change within Indian management styles in India. We have presented our conceptual framework as one possible step in this evolutionary journey.

The emergence of industrial capitalism in 18th century Britain was not immediately compatible with the rural and cottage labor traditions of the potential workforce. The newer profit incentives and drive for increased productivity were contrary to existing mentality among the populace, and employers searched for ways to more effectively connect workers to output (Zuboff, 1988). History has since shown that any foundation on which to base management practice will only succeed if it reflects meaning to the wider society, if it emphasizes values and impulses already accepted (Bell, 1996)
As settlers arrived in what later became the US, survival in extremely primitive conditions depended on each person working hard, believing in a vision of what could be accomplished and supporting cooperative effort while maintaining high levels of self-sufficiency (McElroy, 1999)\(^74\). The hardships of this new wilderness were given a biblical connotation, which led settlers to view their task as a religious mission – a glory and a privilege, rather than burden or bare necessity (Rodgers, 1974)\(^75\).

During the days of Ben Franklin's writings under the title of Poor Richard's Almanac, the religious connection was eliminated, but the core values survived in a more instrumental format – as a prescribed national work ethic. Hard work for future benefit, self-reliance, frugality, resolution, thrift and other related qualities were promoted as necessary for development of the new country. These ideals have, subsequently, been called a capitalist work ethic (Revolutionary Worker Online, 1996), or even an American work ethic, but they are the same foundation described by authors who have written extensively about the Protestant work ethic (Cherrington, 1980)\(^76\).

Through the 19th century, mills and factories grew rapidly and management of the workforce was based on establishing efficiency rather than craft. In the US, the average standard of living for workers improved and a large volume of goods became available for the new middle class to purchase. During this same time, employment demands fell into cycles of long hours of uninterrupted work and frenetic pace, counterbalanced by economic slumps and high unemployment (Eisenberger, 1989)\(^77\).

The rise of Taylorism and Fordism in the early twentieth century has been described by some as a managerial reinterpretation of work ethic, sometimes called managerial capitalism. Management was separated from ownership for the first time, and the prevailing management approach was to motivated workers through economic incentives (Zuboff and Maxmin, 2002)\(^78\). By the 1930s, efforts to create better working conditions appeared in the form of labor union contracts and legislation to limit work hours and work days. These changes seemed to offer new potential for leisure activities.
In spite of growing affluence, the promise of more leisure time has been illusive. Over a decade ago, Schor (1992)\(^{79}\) predicted that the present trend would soon lead to Americans spending as much time at their jobs as they did back in the 1920s, in spite of productivity gains and technological advancement. Although Schor (1998)\(^{80}\) attributed the increasing work hours to consumerism, expanded her discussion to incorporate the idea that work may have become too great a component of personal identity. People are seeking more from their work involvement than the work environment can supply.

The work ethic in the India, undoubtedly, has evolved over time. Yet, the original core values still seem strongly recognizable. It is the application of those values that leads to more hours on the job than in the recent past. The following are a few examples of pressures to work:

- **Identity**: depends on work success. The strong admiration for individual accomplishment may backfire into over-burdensome self-disappointment, when work-related success falters. (Rayman, 2001)\(^{81}\).
- **Advancement**: has become an all or nothing perspective. As the economic gap widens between the affluent and the struggling, the price of not succeeding on a particular endeavor becomes more critical. “You don't have to scale the wall, but the consequence of not doing so is harsher, and the reward for doing so is sweeter, than you have ever encountered before” (Reich, 2000)\(^{82}\).
- **Exploitation**: occurs if employees feel they do not have means to moderate external demands. Organization decision-makers are often observed as putting profits before people (Fraser, 2001)\(^{83}\); (Roddick, 2001)\(^{84}\); (Wright and Smye, 1996)\(^{85}\), operating in an overall economic system that defines value primarily through market transactions.

The above list highlights several pressures to work hard – maintaining identity/self-esteem; avoiding a drop in standard of living, and direct demands from those who control decisions on which employees will succeed, or even have continuing employment. It is unclear, at this point in time, what the balance among factors might be in the tendency toward longer hours. Recording the number of hours does not explain the underlying reason. Asking the workers is bound to elicit
complaints of pressure from their boss, even among compulsive over-workers who are simply latching onto a convenient excuse (Porter, 1996).86

Placing these pressures on a continuum ranging from internally originated to externally originated, the relative positions would be no pressure is exclusively one source or the other, but identity here is poised as primarily an internal pressure; exploitation is positioned as primarily an external factor; drive for advancement combines more equally the external nature of economic trends with the internal reaction to choices posed by those trends.

Although the history of India suggests a very distinct work ethic, there has been a great deal of variance in authors views over the past few decades as to whether that work ethic continues, has deteriorated, or has distorted into unrealistic expectations in the workplace. The work cited here is primarily focused on individual desire to achieve, whether for self-concept, for opportunity to increase consumption, or for the social standing of higher position in the organization. Others have written that the external pressures for more work are unreasonable, but these are supported through descriptions of how employees have suffered from various organizational policies and practices. No work was found in which the researcher asked managers, as individuals, what they demand of the employees who report to them. This would seem to be an important perspective to include and is the focus of this work.

This study is an exploration of expectations among managers today, in relation to their employees' work ethic. The outcome is descriptive only and assembled to formulate key issues for future research. The belief going into this research was that managers' comments would reveal not only their general expectations but also:

- How well their current definition of a “good” work ethic aligns with the cultural traditions in the India;
- Whether they observe any recent change in employees' work ethic and what likely causes might be; and
- What concerns they have about current or future business, related to employees' work ethic.
Other things occasionally mentioned included descriptors like trust, loyalty, commitment, flexibility and maturity. There were also a few references to things like putting job before family, dreaming of the job every night, and being available 24 hours a day, as expectations in today's workplace. These last comments, although not pervasive, indicate some managers are promoting a level of work involvement that interferes with other life activities. (Pearson and Chatterjee, 1999)\(^{87}\)

In contrast, a poor work ethic was most often described as people holding a feeling of entitlement – that the world owes them a job or a good living and nothing is required of them to get it. Further, people with a poor work ethic are willing to stop work, not show up, or switch jobs whenever the situation is less than perfect. They maintain a belief that the perfect job is out there and they will just keep moving around until they find it. They think the grass is always greener elsewhere so there is no need to stick with any one particular job. A weak work ethic is also demonstrated by people who are more interested in the social aspects of getting together in the workplace than in the work that needs to be accomplished. (Nederhof, 1985)\(^{88}\)

Between the strong/good work ethic and the weak/poor work ethic, managers identified two other variations, which I call the “limited but good” work ethic and the “least possible to get by” work ethic. The limited but good work ethic covers people who are in a particular situation at the moment that limits the time they can be on the job. Examples often include: parents with young children, people going to school full time, or people with exceptional circumstances such as an ill spouse or similar responsibilities. Although these individuals must heed the clock in ways that do not always match up with the involvement level of a “good” work ethic, during the time they are present they display all the other good characteristics. (Midgley, 1991)\(^{89}\) These people are well respected by their managers and peers, if they have formally made their situation known, established their exact limitations, and set this up as their expected work routine.
In the “least possible to get by” work ethic, people are under performing, but not quite badly enough to justify terminating their employment. They “go along just to get along”, or have an operational mentality of doing just what's put in front of them as today's tasks without any concern about the bigger picture. They get through the day, get up and go home. These are the people most like to be described by managers as approaching it as just a job and contrasted to the preferred, also referred to as having a career work ethic. (Mellahi, 2001)\(^90\)

The most frequent comments clustered around the topics of today's rapid pace, the different life experience of employees now entering the workforce compared to that experienced by the managers, and the impact of technology. A prevailing theme in discussing work habits was that of speed. The drive to do things rapidly and the expectation that returns should be nearly instantaneous:

People expect to have a lot and accomplish a lot in a short period of time as far as material things go. Maybe expecting too much too soon. Young people want things faster. They think they should have things earlier. Everything is instant. Everything is just add water and you have a meal for your kids. Everything is really, really fast. We just seem to be on a treadmill where we're pushing people to do more and more, and there's not as much down time for people to relax and take a break from what they're doing. It's just more, more, more. How much can we push people more?

Another perspective was the observation that the world has changed in many ways and those who wish to influence employees must do so on new terms:

The generation coming up sees things differently – they're very smart, very quick, and it all revolves around the technology era. So, for us to go back and teach them the same way we learned is wrong. I think we have to speak to where they are, and they can teach a lot. They need more opportunities for mentoring relationships where some learning can go both ways. (Lane et al, 1988)\(^91\)

Years ago we'd say you have to get an education, in order for you to make a decent living. Now days you don't really have to. You can make a lot of money and not even go to college. There are so many more opportunities out there that they don't
have to play by the old rules any more. I was always taught the older generation had
the wisdom and that you could learn from them. That's not the mind-set any more.
Some managers referenced a broader range of societal attitudes and conditions that
have led to deterioration of work ethic in some employees:

Young people who come into the workplace, for whatever reason, have not
needed to have the experience of physical labor and may not appreciate what it means
to work really hard. As parents, we've spoiled a generation of people by teaching them
to always ask, “What's in it for me?”

People wait for somebody else to take care of them, because of what society
tolerates – whether it's your family, state government, local government – rather than
a message that you need to get out there and do it, help yourself. Finally, technology
has greatly influenced not only the way people are able to do their work but the
amount of work and contact with the workplace that is expected. In many ways it has
intensified the demands for more work:

Technology has, almost in an insidious way forced us to work 24/7. It's too
easy to remain electronically connected to work. I don't know how many times this
has happened. It's Sunday afternoon, I'm doing e-mail, I'm logged in, I send out a
message and then this guy responds back to me. So, you've got two clowns on the
system who've worked 60 hours already and then are spending Sunday afternoon –
probably watching a football game or something – but they're doing e-mail.

It's a pet peeve of mine – this treadmill thing. That people don't know how to
relax; don't know how to take any down time. I think about vacations. How many of
you took vacation last year and took your laptop along? That's what happens, that's
what we do. I worked my whole vacation last summer and hardly saw my family. I
was in the beach house, but I was logged on. And then the vacation was over and I
thought, what the heck did I just do? But you can't stop yourself. You can't stop
yourself.
It's very easy, electronically, to keep that conversation going all the time. It's there; it's too easy. You can keep yourself ahead of the wave – that's, at least, how I manage it in my mind. I'm always trying to stay ahead of the wave. I don't know where it's going to stop … we're at the height of what we can do – we really are. We've got all the electronics and all the technology and they can't possibly ask us to do more or expect us to do more. There's nothing left.

One information technology manager was more optimistic about the use of technology and people's ability to manage its use. He described the way to work smarter, not harder, through technology as a system of personal outsourcing. In his view, letting the computer do the things its best at frees people to do what they are best at, which is the critical thinking and analysis that is not as programmable. However, the individual now spends all day doing that kind of work without the previous breaks in pace and intensity. Although often the tedious tasks are shifted to computers, those functions did serve to punctuate the overall work flow. More of a full day is now spent at on higher intensity work, so it feels busier and unrelenting:

It's still a 24 hour day; you still need the same amount of sleep that you always did; it's just that what your day is consumed with now is a lot different and maybe it's a little more intense than it used to be, because you have the ability to do it. (Luo and Peng, 1999), Specific to their own role in shaping the organization, a few managers talked about how their role has changed in recent years and it continues to evolve. Although they are still cautioned not to get over-involved in employees' personal problems, they feel they cannot do their jobs without becoming part counselor, part parent, and part confidant, on top of their more traditional management role:

If you're looking to the churches and the schools and the home life to create a different work ethic, I have concerns that it will happen. If you don't get involved, you can't be effective. Everyone is doing something different. The church is teaching them about God; the school is teaching them, what, history? The home is teaching them discipline, maybe. Then here we come on the job and say this is what you should be doing – this is what you will do. I deal with a broad range of issues on any given day. I've had men literally cry; I've seen them come in frustrated, angry, bitter, whatever is going on in their personal life. When the men come to me, I want to be able to help
them. I want that in the work place, because I need that working relationship with
them – all the human aspect.

They lose interest or they don't understand the consequences of walking off a
job or not showing up and not calling. And our staff has to tell them that – kind of
teach them a life lesson – it's not just for [this company] or not just for this job
assignment, it's for anywhere that you work … Every job is an opportunity … but
they don't see it that way … If they mess up this job, then they're going to have the
same mindset on their next job. They carry it through. We tried to help him – to give
him the other example, show him the other side. Well, if you do it this way, that's fine,
but this is what's going to happen. But, if you choose to maybe do it this way … you
know, you choose, this might happen.

Another theme was the belief that business can only hope to have good future
employees by trying to address social issues that impede development before
individuals arrive at their companies. Personal issues in the families are affecting
these kids. The alcoholism and getting beat up by their parents and all these things
that you just shudder to think about. It's tough enough being a teenager without all
these other influences we have. We need to definitely address that.

The schools need a lot of help in bridging that gap between what [kids are]
learning, how they grew up and what they're being moulded into versus … being
acceptable in the workplace. There's a huge disconnect, from what I've seen. There
ought to be sort of a gathering of people in the community between business partners
and teachers and educators to bridge that gap.

One trend not yet discussed is that few households today have a “stay at
home” parent. In homes with a single parent, the person has to work; where there are
two parents, both are now working. Either situation leaves children in the care of
others or, increasingly, to fend for themselves after school and other times parents are
absorbed by work. Every group discussion included some recognition of this social
change and the potential that it has contributed to differences in work ethic. However,
not a single manager suggested the solution of returning to the days when the mother
stayed home.
The consensus was that today's families need the dual income, so any problems must be resolved by dealing with that reality in other ways. Those companies that employ a high proportion of women reported much higher employee expectations now for accommodation on family concerns:

It used to be you had a job, you were happy you had a job, and you worked whatever schedule your supervisor told you was your schedule. And, now, we probably have had 10 people in the last year say, “I need my hours changed to this exact schedule or I'm going to have to quit”.

An interesting comment related to working parents and work ethic came from a marketing manager who explained. We're the first generation to have people raised both ways [two working parents versus one stay at home parent]. I need to work but I also want to make sure that my kids aren't raised in some crazy environment. We're the ones who can make it work better in the future, because we've seen the good and bad of both situations.

Although the strong, good or “career” work ethic was very often described in terms of staying to complete the job no matter what the time, or showing up on weekends and being available whenever needed, there is some recognition that face-time is not the best measure of commitment and that workaholic habits may not be the best legacy to pass along to one's direct reports:

I've heard some of our senior people say, well I know some people come in over the weekend, and … well, is that really the measure? Measuring their number of hours in the building – is that really what you're looking for?

First, there is some recognition that demands for excessive work involvement can become a problem. Second, those hours on site do not necessarily equate to improved outcomes. Third, asking for accommodation on family related concerns is becoming more common. However, the balance of managers' comments was more in the direction of expecting long hours and high-involvement from employees. This is exacerbated by increased competition. As one manager explained:
Your company can't slow down while everyone else is accelerating, or you'll be left in the dust. So nobody wants to be the first organization to back off and just slow down. It is now possible to summarize managers' comments through different pressures to work and how they relate to the traditional work ethic in the US. The idea of internal pressure toward excess work being linked to identity issues is a premise in research on workaholism (Porter, 1996)\textsuperscript{93}; (Porter 2001)\textsuperscript{94}; (Robinson, 1998)\textsuperscript{95}. Among these 57 managers, a handful of them admitted to some workaholic habits, as well as their reluctance to change even while recognizing the behavior has a distinct downside.

The Protestant work ethic first focused on self-denial or delayed gratification but, eventually, promoted the idea that worldly success was a symbol of worth or of God's approval (Handy, 2002)\textsuperscript{96}, allowing a comfortable fit with desires for acquisition of goods. This combination of asceticism and acquisitiveness has been called the foundation of early capitalism (Bell, 1996)\textsuperscript{97}. Self-denial had shifted in scope from the hope for heavenly rewards to the pursuit of well-defined future goals here on earth. According to Bell (1996) the proliferation of credit purchases destroyed a key element of this foundation, as it removed the need to delay consumption as an outcome of hard work. Now people work hard to pay for prior consumption.

As relayed by the managers in the focus groups, the rapid pace of life today has encouraged people even further to seek instant gratification. While the self-denial aspect of the Protestant work ethic has all but vanished, people seem to have retained a strong belief that work-related success is crucial for self-esteem (Ciulla, 2000)\textsuperscript{98}; (Porter, 1996)\textsuperscript{99}. In addition, the acquisition of goods – the outward sign of work-related success – does nothing to ease insecurities surrounding identity. Any weakness related to self-esteem or self-concept is retained. More hours may be invested in hope of establishing a deeper internal sense of worth, but it is a cycle of accelerated effort and repeated disappointments.

The drive for advancement is emphasized by the growing gap between the affluent and the struggling, as explained by Reich (2000)\textsuperscript{100}. The fear of coming out on the wrong side of the divide may be strongest among those who have never lived with anything but affluence – a condition noted by a high number of the managers.
Those who feel that fear might be driven to work more and more, trying to reach that point (if one exists) where they finally feel secure.

However, the theme of chronic affluence was mentioned in the focus groups most often as linked to a sense of entitlement from which employees felt they should not have to work hard for things they have come to assume are theirs by right. This was particularly noted, though, among people with no immediate needs – those who were living in their parents' homes, with few expenses and little concern about tomorrow. The positioning of drive for advancement as midway between internal pressure and external pressure recognizes both possibilities. Those with little internal sense of urgency will ignore the external pressure; those who internally fear loss of familiar lifestyle will be very susceptible to external demands.

For these drive for advancement people, the nexus of the internal and external pressures could be analyzed in terms of work ethic traditions. For example, McElroy (1999) explained the importance to early US settlers of being able to envision civilization where none existed, to sustain people through the necessary hard work and delayed gratification – the essence of the developing work ethic. One manager observed about employees who evidenced little of this inclination:

A lot of people don't know what they're working towards, don't have a goal. They don't know how to dream and have a vision. There is no doubt that external demands are still there and, probably reaching new heights in today's highly competitive business environment. In spite of some awareness that excess work is a problem, many organizations do exploit the ingrained work ethic by demanding more and more. Those people described as having a strong work ethic would often seem to be the ones most internally motivated to live by the standards of Protestant work ethic traditions. To a point this may be a very healthy and fulfilling situation for the individual and profitable for the organization. However, the managers own statements about external pressure, demands of technology, and need for increasing speed, suggest there are no real safeguards in place to avoid exhausting the human resources of the organization. In the words of one bank manager:
I come from a very type A family. They don't know how to relax; they don't know how to not work. So, you combine that with an environment you're in that's pushing, and you have this angst that's created. For someone not from that kind of background, with the same organizational influences, then maybe it's not quite as stressful. But, still, the organization is moulding the person, is sweeping them up in the culture, and pretty soon you have someone who might not have been like that who is forced to be like that to keep up with the rest of the organization.

The issues of business ethics have become increasingly important in the globalised business environment where comparative advantage and competitive edge are central to business decision-making. In a highly diverse and intensely competitive environment managers are faced with difficult situations and often have to take tough decisions, which are not only right, fair, and proper (Hosmer, 1991) but also effective (Hosmer, 2000). “Ethical problems in management are complex as they have extended consequences, multiple alternatives, mixed outcomes, uncertain occurrences and personal implications. Ethical problems in management are also pervasive because managers make decisions, and take actions that will affect other people”, says Hosmer (1991). Unethical behaviour by individuals can cost the organizations, stakeholders and society billions of dollars, not withstanding the social cost of such actions. When faced with issues that have ethical dimensions and there are ever increasing expectations to act ethically of both, the individuals and businesses (Ford and Richardson, 1994), (Trevino, 1986). In order for them to act ethically they are expected to have a well-developed moral imagination (Werhane, 1998). It is important to understand personal orientations because of their role in shaping the perception of situations, problems faced by individuals and the consequent behaviours. This study was designed to examine the ethical orientations of managers in large manufacturing enterprises in Punjab, India.
Ethics in its simplest form involves making judgments as to right and wrong, good and bad and what ought to be and perhaps what not ought to be. In such situations people may feel the need to arbitrate in a way that makes their lives feel reasonably coherent and continuous (Midgley, 1991). As Kolnai (1977) says, “We constantly choose on some ground what we would reject on some other ground, or conversely. This is precisely what choice means: our numerous and in part changing concerns clash mutually in various ways, and we cannot pursue them except by restricting and postponing them, by choosing to favour one and denounce another temporarily or perhaps definitely”. Business ethics can be understood as practices and policies in business to determine what is ethically defensible and what is not. Hartman (1998) describes business ethics as business behaviour based on standards of right or wrong rather than entirely on principles of accounting and management. It involves putting values into practice, which guide decision making in morally complex situations. It has been argued that a number of factors may influence the ethical decision making process which include situational factors (Ferrell and Gresham, 1985); (Hunt and Vitell, 1986); (Trevino, 1986) and individual differences (Jones, 1991).

The individual ethical perception of the situation is influenced by a sum of cultural, organizational and industrial environment along with personal experiences. In organizational context both the individual and situational factors affect the decision-making. One of the individual factors that is argued to influence ethical decision making is the personal moral philosophy or ethical ideology espoused by the individual (Forsyth and Nye, 1990); (Forsyth, 1982); (Fritzsche and Becker, 1984); (Fraedrich and Farrell, 1992a). It provides the framework within which individuals contemplate the issues or right or wrong and help the individual in determining the right way to behave (Fraedrich and Farrell, 1992b) and personal values are the standards of criteria used to guide individual attitudes, decisions and actions (Williams, 1968); (England, 1975); (Kluckhohn, 1951, cited in Krishna, 1999). For the purpose of discussion the set of values or personal moral philosophy/ideology are a person's guiding principles and ethics are the ways these values and principles are applied to decisions.
Ethical ideology can be explained as a set of beliefs, values and attitudes espoused by an individual and that it influences an individual's reasoning about moral issues is well accepted (Forsyth and Nye, 1990); (Forsyth, 1992); (Fritzsch and Becker, 1984). It is proposed to explain differences in individual ethical judgments (Schlenker and Forsyth, 1977); (Forsyth, 1980, 1992) and decision-making when faced with difficult situations and ethical dilemmas. This relationship between personal moral philosophy and judgments of ethical dilemmas is well supported by empirical research.

Schlenker and Forsyth (1977) suggest that individual variations in personal moral philosophies can be described by taking into account the degree to which an individual is idealistic and relativistic and that these variations are a function of: idealism in the evaluation of actions and consequences; and rejection of universal moral rules in favour of relativism (Forsyth and Berger, 1982). Idealism is defined as the extent to which an individual believes that ethically correct actions will consistently produce desirable outcomes. Relativism on the other hand, is described as the extent to which individuals accept or reject universal moral rules or principles as the basis for ethical decisions. Individuals can be high or low on both idealism and relativism.

To describe the two extremes, highly idealistic individuals idealistically assume that desirable consequences can always be obtained with the “right” action and those with less idealistic orientation admit that undesirable consequences will often be mixed with desirable ones (Forsyth, 1980). Highly idealistic individuals take the view that an ethical action must not harm others but less idealistic individuals would accept harm to be mixed with good.

According to Forsyth's typology individuals who are classified as high or low in idealism and relativism fall into one of the four ethical ideologies: situationism, absolutism, subjectivism or exceptionism. Situationists and absolutists score high in idealism and subjectivists and exceptionists being low in idealism. Situationists would have extremely high scores on both idealism and relativism because of their desire to achieve positive consequences (high idealism) combined with their rejection of moral rules (high relativitism).
Absolutists prefer actions that yield positive consequences (high idealism) through conformity to moral absolutes (low relativism). Subjectivists like situationists are skeptical of moral principles (high relativism) and believe that in many cases it is not possible to avoid negative behaviours (low idealism). They base their judgment on personal feelings about the action and the situation. Exceptionists are low both in relativism and idealism. They believe that conformity to moral absolutes in making judgments is desirable but exceptions to these principles are permissible.

Each one of the four typologies draws from a specific school of thought in philosophy. The high relativism groups, situationists and subjectivists endorse an ideology related to ethical skepticism. Skepticists believe that morality can be viewed in different ways and that all kinds of skepticism seek to criticize those who attempt to present ethical skepticism in one way or another. This typology also suggests that relativists can be either high or low in idealism, a distinction that carries over to moral philosophy as well. For example the situationists’ approach that each situation must be examined individually, is consistent with ethical egoism, a skeptical ethical philosophy that takes a pragmatic approach to evaluating action. This is also consistent with Fletcher's (1973) situational ethics according to which, morality should focus on contextual appropriateness and not the good or the right but the fitting with the actions based on agape’ or love of others. Similarly, the subjectivists reject the idea of universal ethical principles and believe moral decisions are based on individualistic judgments and negative consequences do not necessarily make any action immoral.

On the non-relativistic/low relativistic side of the typology, absolutists tend to agree with statements that are consistent with a general approach to moral philosophy known as deontology. This ethical philosophy rejects the use of consequences of an action as basis for moral evaluation and appeals to natural law or rationality to determine ethical judgments. In deontological ethical philosophy, acts are judged as moral or immoral through their comparison with some universal moral rules that are absolute. The deontological philosopher Kant argued that a moral principle allows no exceptions regardless of consequences. Although no ethical ideology adopted by individuals may possess all the characteristics of a purely deontological approach, the
absolutists emphasize on maintaining consistency with moral principles to obtain desired goals that is similar to deontological philosophy. The exceptionists’ approach is more compatible with teleological ethical philosophy. The teleological approach proposes that the morality of an action depends upon the consequences produced by it. One is ethically bound to act in a way that produces good for the greatest number, represented by the utilitarian concept of greatest good for the greatest number.

The search for literature on espoused ethical ideologies held by managers in India revealed sparse empirical research in the area. There have been a few studies on the values held by managers in India such as England's (1975)\textsuperscript{133}, in which Indian managers were a part of the larger study of personal value systems and the impact of values on behaviour, along with managers from the USA, Japan, Korea and Australia. The Indian sample in this study constituted of 623 managers from private sector enterprises in India, of which about 60 percent were employed in manufacturing companies with almost equal distribution of small, medium and large organizations.

Though England used a different typology for values, the study found that Indian managers had high degree of moralistic orientation where as managers from the USA, Japan and Korea indicated large elements of pragmatism. Moralistically oriented described as “those who characterize the concepts they view as high in importance as right. Their evaluation of importance is based on concerns of right or wrong and suggests a moral, ethical or normative value orientation”. More recently Mellahi (2001)\textsuperscript{134} conducted a comparative study of values held by MBA graduates from five different countries including India. The study found that Indian managers put more emphasis on “doing the right thing” than “doing things right”. Chatterjee and Pearson (2000)\textsuperscript{135} studied the changing work goals of senior Indian managers who were undertaking management development courses conducted by a particular management institute in India. Their data indicated a shift away from social vision in the work values of these managers.

This is an interesting finding bearing in mind that India is traditionally a collectivist society and in contradiction with the findings of studies by Krishna (1999)\textsuperscript{136} and Katiay and Rekhi (1994)\textsuperscript{137} that managers in India are increasingly adhering to traditional Indian collectivist values and practices. Chockalingam and
Deshpandé (1998) conducted a study of 150 middle level managers in two or three organizations located in South India (the study does not indicate the exact number of the organizations or the type of organizations studied) in which they examined demographic differences in perceived ethicality of various business practices on a five-point Likert scale. The study found significant gender, age and educational differences.

A number of studies in this area have focused on values and ethical behaviour of marketing managers. This can be attributed to the widespread belief that marketing managers encounter more situations that result in decisions with ethical impact (Randall and Gibson, 1990). Singhapakdi et al (1994) comparative study of Thai and US marketers found that Thai marketers were situationists with higher idealism and relativism scores as compared to the American marketers. Monappa's (1977) study of the ethical attitudes of Indian managers indicated that 73 percent of the managers tended to ignore ethics in their daily practice.

Malhotra (1985) reported “value erosion” among Indian managers. The economic liberalization has ushered in an era of unethical business practices, “An ethical depression began to break loose as an ethical cyclone with economic liberalization adopted by India in 1991”. The scores released by the Transparency International India and ORG-Marg Research Pvt. Ltd (2002) ranked India at number 69, in the list of 90 countries (www.transparency.de/documents/cpi/2000/cpi2000.html). This rank has slipped down to 71 in 2003. The perception of India being overall corrupt country, reported value erosion among managers in India, empirical evidence that personal ideologies influence ethical reasoning, that personal and business ethics coexist in the behaviour of managers within the organisations (Mauro et al., 1999) and scarce empirical research in the area prompted the idea of this study.

The emergence of India along with China, as a fast growing economy having its own comparative advantages has captured the interest of international business community in the country. At present time, this study is the largest study of personal ethical orientations of practicing managers in the manufacturing sector in Punjab, India. Manufacturing remains a significant element in transitional economies such as
India. In the practical context an understanding of the value orientations of managers is valuable information for business representatives from other cultural contexts when working with their Indian counterparts. It is also a useful input in establishing organisational strategies for management development and training for expatriate assignments and leadership roles.
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