Chapter 4

Indian Personality
Chapter - 4

INDIAN PERSONALITY

4.1. Introduction

For executive selection in Indian companies we have to understand Indian personality, otherwise the selection may be ineffective. So we would like to deliberate on the concept of Indian personality and ethos.

The Indian Manager as a genre is of fairly recent origin, the history of industrialisation of Indian in itself being only of short duration. The erstwhile colonial rulers of this country established mercantile firms and required a class of native petty officials to help them in running the firm. These officials were raised in joint family and had Western education. The Indians who occupied these positions were the then existing social elites, mainly the upper class and landed gentry. (Ramachandran et. al. 1976 : 49-50).

Even after independence the Indian Managers assiduously followed Western mode of management considering it superior and panacea for solving management problems thereby ensuring organisational effectiveness.

In mid-seventies academicians launched an enquiry into effective "indigenous" modes of management. Khandwalla (1995 : Preface-V ) noted that, impulse to locate gold on our turf rather than rely excessively on imported stuff grew even stronger in the eighties and the nineties and extensive research was done in various areas including Indian management styles.

Indian managers borrow concepts from Western literature and follow or imitate them in Indian scenario without realising the differences between Indian and Western Personality and Culture. (Bharati, 1985 : 226; Roland, 1988 : Preface-IX; DeVos et. al. 1985 : 2). All human behaviour is psychological and social in nature. (Hsu, 1972 : 5) Without taking the Indian social milieu into consideration, blind adoption of Western concepts and techniques would fail to yield any positive result.

There is no universally accepted definition of the concept of personality. However in the present work, by personality we mean first, the sum-total of overt modes of behaviour of an individual, in which we discern some integration and consistence, and
by which we understand to be facets or 'traits' of that total, patterned entity. Secondly, we can mean some basic mental make-up underlying the pattern of overt behaviour and accounting for it in the sense of a "hidden machine". Some psychologists point out the 'surface traits' and 'source traits', the latter giving possible explanations of the origin of the former.

Individual psychologists deal with personality as the unique personality of the individual, while psychological anthropologists dealing with personality consider only those characteristics of the individual's mind which are shared as part of a wider fabric of human minds. Anthropological psychologists' view appears to be more relevant than individual psychologists' view for the present study.

Questions arise relating to the relative importance of genetic or hereditary factors in determining personality and behaviour. Although these factors have some implication in the determination of behaviour, many personality theorists undercut their importance and stress on environmental factors. There is no universal agreement that environment shapes personality and the nature has no role to play. However, there are some scholars who give equal importance on both the factors(Kakar; 1981 : 8-9). There are some theories which assign critical importance to the early developmental process in personality formation.

It is likely that the development of values and culture in children goes along with the development of intelligence and personality traits. Researchers when became conscious about cultural aspect of personality attempted to develop, "national personality" concept(Inkeles & Levinson; 1969 : 460-471).

Modern nations are too complex and subculturally heterogeneous for determining their national characters or modal personalities. The study of the "national characters" of modern nations has not developed very much beyond the speculative, impressionistic stage. One also wonders whether modern nations possess national characters. However modern nations do have dominant national character traits which are revealed by survey studies. (Hofstede, 1984 : 29). The concept of 'modal personality' does not assume that a certain personality structure is common to all members of a society but that it is the most frequent. (Toren, 1996 : 144)

Our attempt is to find out a modal Indian personality for the purpose of selection to managerial positions for delivering the desired results. We believe modal personality
is formed by the conscious or unconscious ideas shared by a majority of individuals in a given society. (Hsu, 1972 : 10). The sharing processes differ from culture to culture, society to society and they continue for a long period in the early part of individual life.

In the following pages we shall try to trace the consequences of them in India.

4.2 **Structure of Indian Personality**

In the preceding section it has been discussed that Indian managers borrow concepts and practice following western literature and apply in the area of executive selection without realising difference between Western and Eastern insights. The international books and journals on Behavioural Sciences contain preponderance of American Studies. So the literature is influenced by Western values which are quite different from traditional Indian values.

There is a reason for our strong inclination towards Western literature and disregard for Indian wisdom. Initially foreign invaders and later on during the colonial regime, the Britishers maintained a hostile attitude towards Indian traditions and values. The English educated elite constituting a majority of Indian executives still tend to stick to colonial legacy and neglect India's rich cultural heritage and traditional knowledge base.

Western insight and professionalism can definitely help Indian managers. But in order to assimilate western culture, Indians first need to know and assimilate their own culture. It is not possible to extend one's hand to other cultures without understanding one's own. Indian managers (mostly westernised) tend to believe that Indian culture is feudalistic and backward. Ranganathananda (1991 : 98) says that outward show is not modernism, it is a quality of mind which stresses rational, scientific and humanistic attitude to all.

To understand the structure of Indian personality we need to consider a number of factors.

4.2.1 **The Hindu World View**

This discussion deals primarily with Hindu India. It is meant to illustrate a dominant mode in the wide and variable range of Hindu behaviour. The use of 'Hindu' and 'Indian' interchangeably here reflect not a misperception of synonyms but simply the demands of readability, although in fact, other religious groups in India have been profoundly
influenced by the dominant Hindu culture. (Kakar, 1981: 8). The attitudes to things worldly is largely influenced by the world-view of the group.

The meaning of work is quite different under the Hindu ethic and the Protestant ethic. Hindu ethic emphasises salvation by faith as opposed to salvation through work under Protestant ethic.

The approach to work in India is somewhat different. Unlike the Bible, Shri Bhagavad gita preached that – both renunciation and practice of work lead to the highest bliss; of these two, practice of work is better than renunciation of work. Under Indian approach, work is not necessarily conceived as a physical activity performed for one's subsistence. It is prescribed as a duty without any concern for the outcome. However this duty is not socially neutral.

Detachment of one's duty from any desire for the outcome (nishkam Karm) suggest a one-way service without any expectation for instant reciprocity. The Hindu's views on work were diluted by the events of history but they were not replaced by the new values of the protestant ethic. (Sinha, 1990: 26-27) However the western work values imported alongwith western technology and work forms have not been internalised by the Indians.

Hierarchy pervades Hindu society and culture. Indians form cohesive group or team in the organisation. Indian teams do not consist of equals, they consist of unequals who are inter-dependent and supportive of each other in a sneh (affection) – shraddha (reverence) framework of relationship. This gives rise to a paternalistic pattern of interaction where the superior is perceived as a father-figure or role-model.

The Indian managers even today are a curious amalgam of ancient Hindu culture and Western education. While it is easy to describe Indian manager in this fashion it is far more difficult to describe his personality, his value system and how traditional is he in his outlook and how much impact his western education has on him.

The Indian managers generally belong to the urban middle and upper-middle class. So the values of Indian manager reflect the values of the urban middle class in India. Most authors regard the values of the class to be rooted in the traditional Hindu culture of the land which are ingrained in the minds of the people over a long period of time without interruption in spite of several political upheavals and foreign intrusions (Ramachandran et. al. 1976: 52)
In the traditional Hindu world-view the ultimate aim in life is defined as 'Moksha' or liberation from the cycle of birth and death. This is to be achieved by scrupulous adherence to 'Dharma', the divine – ordained law of order and justice. Under Dharma the observance of the ritual is the essence of action. The ritual itself is the repetition of a primordial act, consecrated at the very beginning. For the Dharmic man, there is no past that is final, there is no history. Everything has been and will be. Time itself is to him cyclic with no events that are unique. His social relationships are governed by Varna Dharma, which is the basic philosophy of caste. There are other legitimate and secular motives to human action like Artha (Wealth) and Kama (Desire) which can be fulfilled, but never in conflict with Dharma and only in subordination to it. (Sheth, 1991: 9) So in the Hindu philosophical tradition, Dharma is the central concept.

Another major component of the Hindu School of thought that reinforces Dharma is the doctrine of Karma. Karma is an essential ideology in the Hindu world image. It is one of the most difficult and misunderstood concepts of Hindu culture. Karma indicates the effect of one's good deeds and evil deeds. If one does good deeds, his form changes after his death, and he is reborn as a person so that he can do good deeds again. If one does evil deeds his form changes and he falls lower, till he becomes a jar (an inanimate thing). Since the full working out of Karma cannot find fruition in one life, the results determine re-birth and transmigration of the soul, an endless chain. Man's health and happiness, poverty and wealth, his caste and social status – in short everything he is, may be or will be – are the inevitable consequences of his Karma. (Ramachandran et. al. 1976: 53).

Karma influences the Hindu world image in two fundamental ways-in the Hindu's experience of time and in the formation of his cosmology. The ways in which a culture estimates and elaborates the ideas of time and destiny provides insight into the psychological orientation / organisation of its individual members.

Time, in Hindu culture is symbolised by the image of kala, worshipped as the God of death and inexorable fate who gives birth to beings, causes them to ripen and mature and then devours them. Thus human time is seen as a cycle, characterised by organisation, duration and disappearance ad infinitum.

The traditional culture that is basically the Hindu religious tradition, structures the values of the Indian manager. Although the traditional culture is basically the Hindu religious tradition, the Indian 'way of life' it has given rise to, is common to all who live in India. This value pattern is reflected in the actual work behaviour.
As a result Indian managers are not high risk takers. They are convinced that whatever they do the results are fore-ordained. However the Western social scientists have been unable to unravel the paradox that how the traditional other-worldly Indian eagerly participates in the main rush for profits and material comfort. It has been found that the Indian managers personally attach more importance to promotion and social climbing to self contentment and other non-materialistic goals.

Indians actually keep two opposing sets of habit patterns in two watertight compartments and keep flitting from one to another. Unlike in the West, which had an organised Church controlling both thought and practice, the Hindu tradition had always allowed a margin for deviation in practice, provided one was conformist in practice. The Hindu mind thus never felt the stress of the contradiction between precept and practice or even between one practice and another practice for example between public and private life. It appears that Indian managers exist with 'modern' achievement oriented values in one watertight compartment uncontaminated by the 'traditional' other worldly values in another compartment.

Indian tradition stems from the Vedas, Upanishads, Bhagwad Gita, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. These remind us the view that, Reality is only one, non-dual. Different religions and paths, all lead to the same ultimate goal. They declare divinity of man as well as that of animate and inanimate objects. They have advocated that total life is to be led so as to promote harmony between the individual, the group, the society and the whole mankind (Sheth, 1991 : 8-9).

Only ethics may not help much unless it is based on a philosophy. The essential teaching of Indian philosophy which is based on religion, as per Swami Vivekananda is - each soul is potentially divine. Indian Philosophy based on religion, does not look at human life from a narrow angle but embraces the whole life. Freedom (or mukti) is the corner stone of Indian philosophy. (Someswarananda, 1991 : 27-28).

The question of ethics or a code of conduct arises in the context of an individual's relationship with another individual or vis-a-vis a group of individuals.

The Indian ethos permeated by religion regards the individual as the expression (Vyakta) of the divine – the expression that takes different forms. We consider each person as a unique personality and an individual.
Most Indians by and large follow dharma diligently. But at work place Dharma eludes us. Indian managers view their professions merely as means of their livelihood, and look for fulfilment of life outside their profession. Indian managers follow what they understand as the values of industry at work and cultivate what they consider to be their own true values outside of work. This dichotomous understanding develops in us a cynical attitude to life. (Sheth, 1991 : 48-49).

Unlike the Christians and the Mohammedans, Hindus have personal Gods and do not subscribe to one central authority. Because of the 'religious otherworldliness', Indians believe in fate for achieving something in life.

Spirituality is one of the most important aspects of Hindu religion. One needs an anchor in one's life inspite of all pomp and glory. And this anchor has to be within oneself, not outside. Religion or spirituality helps one a lot to have such an anchor. This anchor is not a sign of dependency, but is discovering the inner self, which is the ground of all other selves/identities. (Someswarananda, 1991 : 87).

The role of myths, especially those of religious derivation in defining and integrating the traditional elements and the common features of identity and society in Hindu India – certainly in the past and in most parts of the community till today cannot be over estimated. These help us to understand the dominant psychological modalities of India i.e., the 'Indianness' of Indians.

It is a belief in Hindu society that the child is not born as a member of society until between the ages of five and ten explicitly supported by the "twice-born" practice. This belief reflects the sharp distinction between the individual human being and the social human being, a distinction which is expressed in the ancient codes of conduct, the Dharmasastras. Kakar (1981 : 12) emphasises that this view of the nature of a child - a completely innocent being who is a gift of the gods, to be welcomed and appreciated and even indulged for the first few years of life - is so deeply rooted in the Hindu world-image that it influences every aspect of adult's relationships with children. In turn the messages emanating from these transactions, shape and form the child's developing ego in rather specific ways which are characteristic of the culture. As a result the behavioural patterns of Individual Indian managers display peculiarities.

An exploration of the psychological terrain of the Indian inner world must begin with the ideas through which Hindu culture has traditionally structured the beliefs and behaviour of its members.
The Hindu world image, shared by most Hindus and enduring with remarkable continuity through the ages, whether consciously acknowledged and codified in elaborate rituals or silently pervading the 'community unconscious' has decisively influenced Indian languages as well as ways of thinking, perceiving and categorising experience. This image is so ingrained in a Hindu that he may not be aware of it. The self conscious efforts of westernised Hindus to repudiate it are by and large futile. (Kakar, 1981 : 12).

Human behaviour in India, Pedersen (1979 : 80) explains in terms of dharma (codes and rules), Karma (heritage of previous incarnations and future destiny), Maya (the illusion of real knowledge) and atman (the person as part of the universe). These four determinants of behaviour are indelible in the minds of Indian managers. So their attempt to think in Western way fails. As a result, while selecting executives the selectors tend to give less importance to aspects not in tune with Hinduism.

The Institution of caste has been one of the exclusive characteristics of the Indian society since ancient time. Despite great changes in the history of India, caste, has continued to be an important social institution (Paranjpe, 1970 : 1).

The caste system has such a pervasive influence on the Indian psyche that it has turned into a world view. Traditionally, Hindu society was divided into four segments or varnas Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras in descending hierarchial order, each varna having a particular occupation. (Sinha, 1990 : 34 ; Mayer, 1993 : 85). Both castes and occupations have greatly proliferated from the varnas. Caste-members provide their present ritual status with supernatural and traditional backing. So the caste system has got religious sanction.

In India, the social background of the present elite is based on caste and class. (Ramachandran et. al. 1976 : 70). The idea of hierarchy is omnipresent in the-caste system. Various castes and their occupations form a hierarchy. (Srinivas, 1993 : 48). Thus caste system includes inherited occupation based on caste and norms of behaviour pattern.

Babb (1996 : 272) points out that religious symbols express and support crucial features of social rank in Hindu society. The concepts of transmigration of soul and karma are sometimes treated as the determinants of one's position in the hierarchy of beings in the world of which human social hierarchy is only a part which are interpreted as an outcome of one's action in previous existences.
Castes determine not only social status, they mould the behaviour pattern of the group and its members. They regulate communications with the members of other groups and also the form and content of interpersonal relations. So each caste is a complete society within a society (Kapp. 1963 : 23).

There is a typical world for caste-people that is the position and role of different classes in the Hindu social system. The ideas of ritualistic purity and the notion of pollution by touch and proximity which pervade the caste system determine the rules of behaviour towards lower classes and vice-versa.

Caste-system gives rise to moral aloofness, (Kapp, 1963 : 52). This implies lack of sensitivity towards members of other castes. The lower-caste people affected by sense of inferiority complex develop fear and respect for high-caste people. The high-caste people on the other hand develop distrust, suspicion and a perceived superiority complex over low-caste people.

Psychologists have tried to study the influence of caste on the personality of its members. The caste system influences the individual member in a variety of ways which lead to differences in patterns of personality from caste to caste. Most people belonging to a caste develop ethnocentric view.

The potency of an ingroup decreases as the ingroup becomes wider and a more inclusive one. In the context of the caste-society, the family is the most potent ingroup, followed by sub-caste, caste, religion, nation and humanity. The theory of ethnocentrism generally regards that the ingroups are positive reference groups and outgroups are negative reference groups.

There are two inseparable aspects of intergroup relations - (a) what the members of different groups believe and feel about each other ; and (b) how they actually behave with each other. Thus there is an attitudinal or psychological aspect and there is a factual aspect. The word 'prejudice' is often used to refer to all the attitudinal or psychological aspects of intergroup relations.

The prejudice of the caste system is so strong that even Jawaharlal Nehru, the epitome of modern Hindu could not get rid of it. He confesses, "that his thoughts and approach to life are more akin to Western than Eastern but behind him lies somewhere in the subconscious racial memories of a number of generations of Brahmins. He says that he cannot get rid of either that past inheritance or his recent acquisitions". Nehru's
confession shows that caste is not going to melt like butter even when the society is encountering modernisation. During the last hundred years or more caste became more stronger in some respects. The Indian Caste-system has great strength and resilience. (Srinivas, 1993 : 54-62).

In Indian organisations sometimes informal groups or cliques are seen based on caste of the members. (Somesswarananda, 1991 : 75).

To the Indians who identified themselves with the process of modernisation, the well-educated urban elite who hold positions of power in modern social organisations the psycho-historical fact of the primacy of relationships, family loyalties, of caste connections is often a source of considerable emotional stress. Although the Indian professional intellectually agree with his Western counterpart that criterion for selection in organisations must be objective and decisions should be based on merit of the applicant, he cannot root out his own deeply held belief (however ambivalent) in the importance of honouring family and caste bond over rational criteria. Thus Indians' lifelong obligation to his kith and kin results in employing a insufficiently qualified fellow caste-member. This tendency does not appear to be negative to the true interest of the organisation because Indian psycho-social experience nurtures from childhood obligation to family and caste members. The individual experiences guilt and associated inner anxiety when individual actions go against the principles of the primacy of relationships, and not when foreign ethical standards of justice and efficiency are breached. (Kakar, 1981 : 125-26).

Many Indian organisations practice networking, that is top executives consciously cultivate many outside sources of information including that of locating trustworthy persons. For confidential and strategic managerial work, youngsters are picked up from among relatives or caste - members of the top-executives. (Khandwalla, 1995 : 6).

Since independence social change has taken place. Improved transportation system resulted in increased mobility of people. Many people started doing jobs related to or different from their traditional occupations. Educational facilities have been expanded. In addition, legislations aiming at various reforms of the Hindu social system have been enacted. Studies in urban areas indicate that many are willing to take food with persons of a lower caste and have no objection to inter-caste marriages as if they are giving up the practice of purity and pollution. These are no doubt significant verbal expressions of changing attitudes. But people may verbally oppose particular traditions when asked for their opinion but their actual behaviour may still be guided by patterns sanctioned
by religious tradition. The attitude of people to the occasional inter-caste marriages is one of tolerant indifference rather than acceptance.

From the overview of these observations the conclusion that follows is that caste has a very deep and strong influence on its members. Caste consciousness manifests itself in many ways. (Paranjpe, 1970 : 215).

4.2.2 Socialisation of Indian Child

The early experience during childhood has great influence on the rest of the life of an individual. So child rearing practices in Hindu society have a profound impact on the resulting personality of Indians. Hofstede (1984 : 11) argues that people carry mental programmes which are developed in the family during early childhood and reinforced in schools and organisations.

In the organisation, the boss-subordinate relationship is a basic relationship which bears resemblance to even more fundamental relationships earlier in life – that of parent and child.

The parent-child relationship evolves through the socialisation process. In the joint family in India, because of the pattern of diffused authority and joint responsibility, the father generally plays a distant and non-committal role in relation to his children. However, the emotional restrictiveness of the father-child relationship in the joint family does not apply to mother-child intimacy.

Hsu's (1972 : 515) Type C societies including India involve supernatural reliance which is found where the mother-child dyad tend to have more primary importance over other dyads. Studies on child-rearing practice in Indian society have repeatedly shown that in the critical years of life, the mother is the only true and close authority to which a child is exposed. It is the mother who individualises him. Being the sole immediate source of power, nurture and wrath in early childhood, it is the mother who becomes the ultimate source of authority as well as the ultimate target of defiance (Nandy, 1980 : 13-14). So the ultimate authority in the Indian mind has always been 'feminine'. This results in an adult personality who is 'God' fearing, that is, believes in an ultimate authority (feminine).

In the family the child identifies the head who directs other family members and is obeyed and respected by all. He understands the family hierarchy in terms of persons,
relationships and their behavioural patterns. The child internalises this process and tends to develop a relative superiority to some and subordination to others.

Indian child observes and learns during their childhood how to subordinate their individual needs for the well-being of the entire family. This gives rise to collectivistic personality pattern in contrast to Western Individualism (Johnson, 1985: 119) where persons are 'dividuals' rather than individuals. Marriott's (1976: 111) complex model for behaviour of South Asians suggests persons – single actors are not thought to be 'individual' that is indivisible bounded units as they are in much of the Western social and psychological theory as well as in common sense. Instead it appears that persons are generally thought to be 'dividual' or divisible unit. So they hardly make individual decisions, the decisions are made by the entire group.

The values of a person are mostly formed in the early childhood when as a child he is exposed to parental and other social influences. (Ramachandran et al. 1976: 52). From time immemorial, Indian children have been told and convinced that whatever they do, the results are pre-ordained. So they grow up as fatalists. As a result Indians are not high risk takers and have less achievement orientation.

The Indian child is constantly held and cuddled, he is not allowed to cry. At the slightest sign of distress the child is picked up and comforted. The emotional quality of nurturing in traditional Indian families serves to amplify the effects of physical gratification. An Indian mother allows total indulgence of her child's wishes and demands (Kakar, 1981: 80-81).

As a result of intense relationship of Indian child with his mother and total dependence on her, Indians rely on the support of others to go through life and to deal with the exigencies imposed by the outside world. This is interpreted as a 'weakness' of Indian personality by some social scientists, the price to be paid for indulgence enjoyed during infancy and early childhood.

On the other hand an excess of motherly affection during childhood serves to magnify the danger of losing it and renders the individual in later life to seek emotional attachment and personalised relationship in the workplace.

Kakar (1981: 103) points out that the figure of the mother is omnipresent in the psyche of Indian child. Because of excess attention of mother, minimal demands are placed on the child to master the world around him and to learn to function.
independently of his mother. This leads to dependency syndrome which persists throughout one's life-time.

The relaxed form of toilet training of Indian child contribute to the formation of specific personality traits such as a relative feeling of timeliness, a relaxed conscience about swings of mood and low key tolerance of contradictory impulses and feelings not only in oneself, but also in others.

So Indians do not operate according to fixed concepts or categories. They tend to accept ambiguity in emotions, ideas and relationships without little apparent need to compartmentalise experience into fixed categories.

Because of all the above factors there is a relative absence of social pressure on the Indian child to give up non-logical modes of thinking. He is encouraged to live in a mythical, magical world for a long time. So he is habituated to a non-rational thinking process.

The Indian tradition has always placed a high degree of emphasis on respect for authority – authority vested in elders in the family, man in relation to woman, higher castes in relation to lower castes and owners of property in relation to workers.

In fact, respect for socially ordained authority posed as divinely ordained has always been a characteristic of the pre-industrial societies. The joint family in India is still a living reality at the psycho-social level and conditions the mental attitude of Indian managers.

Even as the manager attributes superior wisdom and judgment to his elders at home, he regards his superiors at work with undue deference, addressing them reverentially, refusing to sit down unless invited, refraining from smoking in their presence and always agreeing with them. The picture that emerges generally confirms the common observation that Indian managers do respect authority that is they are submissive towards superiors. (Ramachandran et al, 1976 : 58).

Nandy (1980 : 99-101) studied the cultural sources of authoritarian personality in Indian society. The authoritarian person depends heavily on scape-goating and stereotypical thinking. The principal social factor breeding such a man seems to be early socialisation. The authoritarian comes from a family of repressive disciplinarian parents. Forced into manifest submission as a child, he learns to exclude from his consciousness his negative
feeling against his parents. This process of exclusion contributes to his rigid defenses and cognitive narrowness. In the authoritarian person, external social repression gets transformed into internal repression of impulses. As a result the Indian child grows up with a poor self-image. His reward lies in imitating persons in authority. When he starts getting authority by virtue of age, marital status and job position, he expects and enforces similar behaviour in those who have less authority than him, for example his subordinates.

Thus as a result of socialisation, the resulting Indian personality exhibits contradiction—Indians are submissive towards superiors while simultaneously they are authoritarian to subordinates. These attitudes towards superior and subordinates are not only found among Hindus but also other Indian communities because India as a Type-C society that includes both Hindus and Moslems. (Hsu, 1972: 534).  

4.2.3 **Indian Values**

Values which are derived from the broader cultural context play a vital role in structuring the personality of individuals. Indians are no exception. To understand this, one must examine the value system of Indians and which values are considered important for them.

A research study was conducted on work motivation by Jai B.P. Sinha and others. The study aimed at examining why work is believed to be the central life-interest of some managers but not of others, and why an even larger number of managers in some organisations are committed to work while their counterparts in others feel alienated from it. Two sets of factors were investigated—person based factors and organisational determinants. Among the person-based factors values seemed to be the most relevant. (Sinha, 1990: Preface 1).

Ramachandran et. al. (1976: 55) in order to test the validity of some statements of observed behaviour and beliefs of the Indian managers and to gain an insight into the value preferences of the managerial class in India conducted a study administering a questionnaire on a sample population of Indian managers.

The major lessons learned from this study are that there is no easy way of categorising the manager's overall value structure as traditional or modern.
The value system of an individual is constantly under pressure from the society, the organisation and the individual's needs. As the Indian society is neither fully traditional or modern, we guess that values of Indian managers are an amalgam of traditionality and modernity.

In their study on work values of Indian managers, Ganesh and Malhotra dared to conclude that Indian manager generally holds conformistic values. They show manipulative tendencies so long as it does not contradict conformistic concepts.

Mohandas et. al. (1976 : 104-105) opine that the Indian manager also places considerable importance on loyalty and obedience. This can be traced to a very strong family bond existing in Indian society.

Therefore the selection process should not only look for the executive's professional competence, merit and experiences but also ensure the compatibility of his value system with the organisational goals. So the selectors in Indian companies look for conformistic candidates.

For making executive selection process a success, the societal values of which the executive is a product must be congruent to the organisational values.

If the degree of congruence is high there is emotional match between the executive and the organisation which is expected to result in superior performance, adjustment in the organisation, favourable behavioural pattern and long and fruitful tenure in the company.

Evan and Damanpour (1988 : 120) in their study hypothesize that organisational effectiveness depends more on the degree of congruence between societal values and organisational values than on each one alone.

It is important to ascertain the nature of relationship between dominant societal values on the one hand and those of specific organisation on the other or to what extent the relationship between societal values and organisational values match.

One study concerning the issue of the impact of societal values on organisational values shows that employees' perceptions of organisational structure are related to the value orientations of their societies.
The organisation's structure influences to a large extent behaviour pattern of the members.

An organisation is a part of the society. A complex of social institutions such as economic, political, familial, religious, educational and legal constitute the organisation's environment. Any one or a combination of these six major institutional spheres of a society can become the axis around which an organisation's values develop.

The social structure of a society can and does influence the organisational values.

Studies on cross cultural management have generally reported that societal values influence management attitudes. The differences in attitude are reflected in terms of respect for formal authority, commitment to long-term employment, interest in teamwork and paternalism with respect to subordinates.

On the other hand management attitudes influence the internal values of the organisation. The values of an organisation reflect in part the complex interaction between (a) the values, beliefs and ideals that founders or early managers bring to the organisation initially; and (b) what the organisation learns subsequently from its own experiences.

An organisation's internal values reflect the characteristics of its larger social environment.

The executives perceive direct links between their efforts and success of the organisation which can give them benefits. The overlaps between the managers' needs and organisational goals make the executives identify themselves with the organisation and co-operate with each other for realising organisational goals.

Once that happens the social values which used to interfere with work behaviour, start facilitating work activities. The employees still form in-groups, they still provide nurturance to subordinates and maintain dependency and personalised relationships with their superiors. However, their personalised and dependency relationships serve the overarching goals of productivity. (Sinha, 1990 : 45).

In the social milieu where attitude of dependency and personalised relations were experienced as rewarding often are brought in by the Indian managers to their work place. Both the superior and subordinate managers feel happy in such a situation.
Social systems and realities give rise to societal values and these are transformed into organisational values / work-related values when executives perceive congruence between individual needs and organisational goals.

Chattopadhyay (1991 : 222) states that a number of studies today draw our attention to the curious fact that even though individual enterprises create values that seems to be different from the 'traditional' values of the society, in many fundamental ways, the new values have their roots in the greater social milieu.

In India, the processes of the traditional joint family along with associated values have been unconsciously transferred to the industrial organisation.

4.2.4 **Indian Ethos**

Indian managers are English educated elites and try to live and think in Western ways. However the same elite during the early period of their socialisation also tend to internalise maps of reality grounded in the Indian ethos. These maps of reality have an emotive content and hold the primary meanings, commitments, quality of relatedness and the direction of cathecting energy acquired during childhood socialisation. These emotive maps are not compatible with the demands of modern industry found in Western society. (Garg & Parikh, 1988 : 128).

The cognitive map of reality is formed basically on the basis of rural ethos but Indian managers can rarely escape from urban ethos which they have been exposed to.

The individual managers thus experience a double-bind of two distinct and sometimes contradictory rural and urban ethos. The role-orientation of rural ethos and self-orientation of urban/modern ethos pull them to opposite directions making them a confused lot. Though they are in search of an ethos, it seems to us that rural ethos is more powerful than the modern. During the process of selection of managers the rural ethos plays the crucial role.

4.2.5 **Modal Personality of Indians**

Indian culture was traditionally based on Hindu world view. Initially foreign invaders who came to India maintained a hostile attitude towards Indian tradition and values. This was further reinforced during the two centuries of colonial regime under the British. The
effect of colonialism however remained pervasive in Indian mind much after independence. After independence the processes of industrialisation and modernisation have started influencing Indian mind. The Indian social system had also undergone a change during this period.

Indian – Western culture encounter further influenced the Indian psyche. The Indians experience identity – conflict because of the existence of both Indian and Western values and modes of being.

On the basis of the study by social scientists of the cascading effect of social change in India due to dynamic interactions of traditional, Westernising and modernising influences, the following prominent patterns emerge.

Western social scientists have generally viewed traditional Hindu culture and society as being in intrinsic opposition to modernisation. It is therefore assumed that when modernisation does occur, it will ultimately secularise Hindu cultural traditions and social institutions. As the traditional familial self is incapable of incorporating modernising changes, it must somehow metamorphise Intself into a Western – style individualised self to enter the modern era.

A more recent perspective has challenged this proposition. In this approach the traditional Indian society is viewed as far more open to change than was originally thought, utilising foreign contributions while preserving its own essential cultural continuity through a variety of adaptive strategies. With increased urbanisation and industrialisation, classes have certainly formed, but they do not predominate over caste in the social structure (Dumont, 1970).

So both caste and class exist in India where the spirit of caste is more important than the spirit of class. The primary identity of Indians is with the caste and secondary identity with the class.

Studies on the effect of modernisation upon the Indian joint family explore the effects of change in the family and in socialisation processes on the self.

Like the effect of Western urbanisation process Indian joint families are breaking up into nuclear families, but they are not of the same kind as found in Western societies. The members of nuclear family do not live with the other members of the joint family under the same roof but maintain close relation with them. The joint families in classical
form are vanishing and have been substituted by extended families.

Individualisation and individuation are certainly occurring with modernisation. This is happening within the framework of extended family hierarchical relationships. This means allowing the child's and particularly the adolescent's wishes in different spheres to be fulfilled. Although most marriages still are arranged, there are varying degrees of liberalisation. However marriages other than arranged ones are still looked down upon in most circles unless they receive familial approval.

All of these modernising familial changes are contained within the essential structures of the extended family, but tend to generate significantly increased individualisation. To understand the incorporation of individualising tendencies within the Indian Psyche, it is crucial to see how individuation develops within the Indian familial self in contrast to the development of the individualised self in America.

In American context, it is assumed that individuation goes hand in hand with gradual psychological separation from the maternal figure.

In urban Indians today social individuation is greatly increasing. This greatly enhanced individuation still goes hand in hand with the intense emotional bonding and interdependencies of the family hierarchical relationships rather than with any Western - style autonomy or individualism. There is therefore a significantly different psychoanalytic developmental model for Indian familial self, where greater individuation can occur but still within the familial self.

The greater autonomy in shouldering the responsibilities of unitary family is not always easy or welcome. The adult urban Indians experience increasing anxiety if they are thrown too much on their own. They can function well when there is gradual individualisation. (Roland, 1988 : 102). So individualisation of Indians is without autonomy which is different from Western individualisation.

The world-view of Western educated modern Indians consists of layering of self, where in indigenous culture acquired during childhood emotional absorption through familial relationship of the mythological and other aspects of Hindu culture and religion is integrated on an earlier emotional level. The Western culture acquired through English education predominates on a later cognitive layer / level.
These two layers remain as separate entities without being synthesised. The Indians operate at the appropriate level as per the demands of the situation.

With the emergence of class, nuclear families and individuation in modern Indian society, there may be tendency to infer that Indians are becoming secular, cognitive-rational beings. But the recent contextual studies in this sphere both by Indian and Western Scholars show that in basic spirit, Indians psyche is still moulded by forces as elaborately delineated in earlier pages.

The personality expresses itself through some cultural dimensions. Hofstede in his study has identified four such dimensions. They are labeled Power Distance, Uncertainty Avoidance, Individualism and Masculinity. (Hofstede, 1984: 11).

Along with other countries he also studied Indians. The result of his study supports our view that despite modernising process Indian personality is still rooted in traditional culture.

First we take up the power-distance dimension. Hofstede suggests power distance has both psychological and sociological connotations. Dependency and impact of father on one’s personality are the two psychological connotations. Social stratification and inequality are the two sociological connotations.

Psychologically Indian adults cannot acquire autonomy because of dependency on father figure.

Indian culture is characterised by the unique Hindu world-view. The caste system is one of the most important features of Hindu world-view. The idea of hierarchy is omnipresent in the caste-system. This leads to social inequality. In the joint family, the Karta - the authoritarian but nurturant and dependable father figure is the socially acknowledged traditional power – figure. Indians through the process of socialisation internalise these and accordingly show respect to elders at home and those with authority. This is unconsciously transferred to the organisation and manifested through boss – subordinate relationship. So in Indian culture we have high power – distance. This is shown in Fig. 3.1 Power Distance Index (PDI) Values by Country. (Hofstede, 1984: 77).

The second dimension of national culture is uncertainty avoidance. Some psychological connotations of uncertainty avoidance are anxiety, aggression versus apathy and stress.
The sociological connotations of uncertainty avoidance are need for structure and formalisation.

Uncertainty results in ambiguity, so Indians are not clear in their viewpoint. This creates anxiety, as a consequence (of this) they are low risk takers.

Structure and formalisation channelise the activities and thoughts into what has been laid by authorities and consequently initiative and creativity are thwarted.

Hofstede's study also finds that Indians exhibit low to moderate uncertainty avoidance. This is shown in Fig. 4.1 Country Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI) (Hofstede, 1984 : 122).

The third dimension of national culture is individualism. It describes the relationship between the individual and the collectivity which prevails in a given society.

The psychological connotation of individualism is ego-identity while the sociological connotation is relationship among individuals, institutions and society. The central element of mental programming involved in this case is self-concept.

In the Indian society, characterised by caste-hierarchy and joint family, the roles of a person is limited to his position in the family and society. This curbs the growth of his individualism and autonomy to do things of his choice.

In Indian society, the notion of purity and pollution influence, the quality and quantity of interaction of the members of one caste with the members of others. So the social worlds of the castes are islands and caste members function in the small society and develop high group / collective feeling.

When the member of a particular caste is in distress he expects and receives help from the members of his caste. This brings the members of a particular caste closer and a sense of collectivism is developed.

In Indian society, the dominant 'Karta' of the joint family does create an environment where it is difficult on the part of the individual members to have precisely defined self-concept and hence individualism.

The child during early socialisation in Hindu joint family observes and learns how to sacrifice their individual needs for the well - being of the family. So in Indian tradition,
a person hardly thinks of himself as an individual. The person takes into consideration his immediate societal and cultural environment which makes the existence meaningful. (Hofstede, 1984 : 149-150).

The joint family destroys the process of individuation and caste system enhances collectivism. As a consequence Indians are high on collectivism and low on individualism. This is shown in Fig. 5.2 Country Individualism Index (IDV) Values. (Hofstede, 1984 : 158).

The fourth dimension of national culture is Masculinity. It’s opposite pole is femininity.

The psychological connotations of masculinity are assertiveness, gender identity and the impact of mother on one’s personality. The sociological connotation is social gender role differentiation.

In Indian families there is intense relationship of the child with the mother and total dependence on her. The figure of mother is omnipotent in the psyche of Indian child. So in traditional Hindu culture the ultimate authority is always feminine. As a result Indians generally lack assertiveness and so are weak in doggedly pursuing an idea.

This is shown in Fig 6.1 Country Masculinity Index (MAS) Hofstede, 1984; 190)

Accepting these four dimensions as the constituent of modal Indian personality we can conclude that at the time of selection of managers, Hofstede’s four cultural dimensions of personality work in the back of the mind of the selectors and selectees in varying degrees. The selectors look for conformist candidates and the selectees try to conform with the selectors’ expectations.