Chapter One:
INTRODUCTION
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Human beings do not and cannot choose the socially classified groups into which they are born. Although everyone is born equal, prevailing social practices create differences in status in terms of power relations and other advantages. Hierarchy based on age is drawn from biological factor and need not be evaded. However, when society in the form of government, judiciary or other processes such as patriarchy starts discriminating between individuals on basis of caste, class, colour or race, it becomes a matter of grave concern. It gives rise to not only a feeling of deprivation but also of discrimination and inequity.

It is well said that time once gone cannot be brought back. Mistakes committed historically in society can never be eliminated or erased; they can be corrected by some indirect measures only. The research in the present text looks at the mistake of ‘discrimination’ a majority of human race has suffered from in various parts of the world at different instance of time and at present, as a consequence of belonging to a caste, class, colour and race considered lesser in society. The research focuses on remedial measures adopted by the present governments in India for correction of this mistake. Focus is specifically on the policy of reservation in employment and education, an affirmative action, for the underprivileged community in India.

1.1 Affirmative Action

Affirmative action or preferential policies are international phenomena, a feature of societies which contain ethnic or religious groups at such varying levels of economic and social development that state intervention is required to help some of
them overcome their disadvantages. American Psychological Association (1996) has provided the following definition of affirmative action: “Affirmative action occurs whenever an organisation expends energy to make sure there is no discrimination in employment or education and, instead, equal opportunity exists.” Affirmative action and equal opportunity differ from each other in terms of the philosophies that underlie them (Crosby, 1994).

The policy of equal opportunity makes the assumption that the ways in which organisations treat and evaluate people are not normally discriminatory and that bias will result only through the intentional actions of prejudiced individuals. If a person is discriminated against by virtue of group membership, he or she would be able to identify the person or people responsible for the discrimination and seek legal remedy, because discrimination is against the law. Affirmative action, on the other hand, makes the assumption that the history of prejudice, discrimination, and group based inequalities has resulted in standard organisational structures and practices that are biased towards the people who used to hold the most powerful jobs. These practices may exert a discriminatory impact without discriminatory intent on the part of current employers and administrators. Under this assumption, victims of discrimination may not be able to identify a particular person as the source of the problem; even if they can, the same structural forces that diminish the victims’ opportunities from the start also give them unequal access to legal remedies.

South Asia and India, in particular, resorted to such policies much earlier than the US. Because of the salience of preferential systems and affirmative action programmes in US social policy since the 1960s, and the international publicity and controversies attached to them, it is often mistakenly believed that variations of these policies have spread to other parts of the world in imitation of the US prototype of such policies.

Other than India, south Asian countries such as Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Malaysia also have incorporated preferential policies at employment, education and other levels. While affirmative action or preferential policies have certain common features in all four of these countries, they all have distinctive features as well.
India’s affirmative action policies designed to benefit “backward class people” had, from the outset, a clear caste orientation, in the policies pursued to ameliorate the condition of the untouchables, referred to in the constitution as Scheduled Castes (SCs). The Scheduled Tribes (STs) were also designated as beneficiaries, as well as a very vaguely defined category called “Other Backward Classes” or OBCs, who, in effect, were also caste groups. In Pakistan, the distinctive feature of that country’s reservation policies is their regional focus. Sri Lanka’s affirmative action policies have a much more restricted scope: they were limited to university admissions only. Malaysia’s affirmative action policies are the most comprehensive of all, and more complex than anything attempted in South Asia. Besides they are specifically designed to protect the interests of the social and economically backward Malay majority against the more dynamic and much wealthier Chinese minority. There is thus an unmistakable ethnic content in Malaysia’s affirmative action policies.

1.2 Discrimination: Basis for Affirmative Action

As initially quoted, we cannot understand reservation till we understand discrimination deeply. Discrimination that had led to the various policies of inclusion in today’s world has a long history, in which Indian as well as American discourse of difference plays a major role.

Caste in India and race in the USA are often compared for their institutional similarities, and also because these categories form the social basis on which the affirmative action program in the two countries is based.

1.2.1 Caste in India

Estimated to be over 2500 years old, the caste system has undergone many transformations, from the ancient varna system to the contemporary jati system. The varna system divided the population initially into four and later into five mutually
exclusive, endogamous, hereditary and occupation specific groups: the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, Sudras and Ati-Sudras. The last two comprised all castes doing menial jobs with the latter being considered “untouchables”, in that even their presence was considered polluting and thus was to be avoided. The three higher varnas are often referred to as “caste Hindus” (upper caste Hindus) or as “twice born”, since (the men of) these castes enter an initiation ceremony (the second birth) and are allowed to wear the sacred thread. Together, the upper castes constitute 17-18 percent of the population. The Ati-Sudras are roughly 16 percent of the population. Numerically, the largest varna is Sudra, constituting nearly half of the population. Unfortunately, these are translated into a single English term, the caste system, which does not enable us to distinguish between these manifestations.

The Ati-Sudras were considered untouchables because almost the entire range of social interaction with them was to be avoided by other castes. However, the manner in which jatis interact with each other used to be according to rather complex rules of social interaction, wherein certain interactions were permitted with some castes and others weren’t.

Clearly, this division of castes corresponded to a rudimentary economy. Over the years as economy and society grew more complex, this system metamorphosed into the *jati* system, with features similar to the *varna* system, but with some differences. Firstly, the number of jatis today is estimated to be between 2 to 3000. It is a testimony to the complexity of the system that even the exact number of caste divisions cannot be determined with certainty. Secondly, most jatis are regional categories, making inter-regional comparisons of jatis less than straightforward. It must be noted that jatis are not clear subsets of the varnas, thus making the ranking of jatis an enormously complicated task, if not an impossible one. Thirdly, the jati-occupation link is not as straightforward as the varna-occupation link. However, the association between jati and varna at the topmost level (Brahmin jatis, most Kshatriya jatis) and at the bottom (Ati-Sudra or former untouchables) is clearer than it is in the middle ranks.
Being at the bottom of the caste hierarchy, the former untouchables not only are poorer, they continue to be targets of discrimination, oppression, violence and exclusion. Thus, the affirmative action program in India is targeted at these jatis, designed both to bring these groups into the mainstream and also to compensate them for centuries of discrimination. The names of these jatis are listed in a government schedule and thus in official literature these castes are referred to as Scheduled Castes, or simply as SCs. Mahatma Gandhi referred to them as Harijans, literally, as people of (close to) God, but some view this as a patronizing term. Most prefer to use the original Sanskrit, but now Marathi term Dalit, meaning the oppressed, which is seen as a term of pride. It should be noted that in independent India, untouchability is abolished by law, and caste-based discrimination is a crime, in principle. Also, in keeping with the ideal of a casteless society, an individual is not obliged to disclose his/her caste (jati) anywhere. Data are, therefore, not available by caste: the last jati based census was in 1931. Since caste is not ascriptive in the same way as race, it is not always possible to ascertain the caste status of an individual if he/she chooses not to reveal it, especially in urban areas. However, overt and covert instances of untouchability continue and caste is used as a basis of both social and economic discrimination.

While the caste system is conventionally associated with Hinduism, all religions in India, including Christianity and Islam, display inter-group disparity akin to a caste system leading to the hypothesis that perhaps caste was a system of social stratification in pre-modern India. This is also true for the so-called egalitarian religions such as Buddhism. “The term ‘Brahmana’ of the Vedas is accepted by the Buddhists as a term for a saint, one who has attained final sanctification.” (Radhakrishnan, 2004). Thus, Buddhism makes a distinction between Brahmins and others. This is ironic, since Buddhism has been embraced by low castes in large numbers with the belief that it will provide them with the equality that Hinduism denies them. Occasionally, castes with a stigmatized ethnic identity, the ‘untouchables’, have converted to other religions, including Christianity and Islam, as an escape from discrimination and exclusion. However, such conversions do not necessarily guarantee social equality; for instance, the census label ‘neo-Buddhist’
indicates an ex-untouchable who has converted to Buddhism. Since this is common knowledge, it is unlikely that the social position of this person will improve significantly.

However, only the caste divisions among the Hindus will be highlighted for a variety of reasons including the fact that these are central to the program of affirmative action in India. Low castes from other religions, such as Dalit Christians, have been demanding affirmative action, but so far it has been restricted to Hindu SCs.

In addition to the caste system, more than 50 million Indians belong to tribal communities that are often distinct from the Hindu religious fold. These are the Adivasis, (literally, original inhabitants) who have origins that precede the Aryans and even the Dravidians of the South. Many have lifestyles and religious practices that are distinct from any of the known religions in India and languages distinct from the official languages of India and their dialects. Most live on the margins of existence, excluded from the mainstream development process. These tribes are also targets of affirmative action, similarly notified in a government schedule and hence referred to as Scheduled Tribes or STs.

Very close to the social and economic position of the Dalits are the erstwhile Sudra jatis that, however, have not been targets of untouchability. The blanket term “Other Backward Classes” (OBCs) is supposed to capture these jatis that have been described in the constitution as “socially and educationally backward classes”. Up to the early 1990s, government data was available for three categories: SC, ST, ‘Others’ (everyone who is neither SC nor ST: the residual category). From the mid-1990s, ‘Others’ got divided into OBCs and ‘Others’ (non-SC/ST/OBC residual).

1.2.2 Race in the US

While race is ascriptive in that it is primarily based on skin colour (also on other phonotypical attributes such as quality and colour of hair, nasal index, type of
lips etc), and thus, is more easily identified, it needs to be emphasized that race is a social construction, in that, the presumed phonotypical similarities that unite members of a given ‘race’ are more imaginary than real. There is enough evidence to suggest that there is greater variation in each of the phonotypical characteristics within races than between races (AAA resolution, 1998). However, since disparities in colour-based societies such as the USA are crucially defined by race, it is a very real phenomenon in everyday life, particularly for those at the receiving end of racial discrimination.

History of the ethnic conflict in the US goes back to its foundation as a nation or its ‘discovery’ by white European settlers. Native Americans were subjected to violent dispossession as the settlers moved in and gained control over land, the most precious natural resource. The subsequent economic development was based on black slave labour forcibly brought from Africa. The sentiment “all men are created equal” is contained in the Declaration of Independence but not in the US Constitution (Nesiah, 1997).

The first stirrings of formal equality came only with the Civil Rights Act of 1866 that extended citizenship rights to ‘all persons in the United States’ and made it a criminal offence to deprive any citizen of these rights ‘under the cover of any law’. Until the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Fourteenth Amendment, which incorporates the Equal Protection and Due Process Clauses, was probably the most important milestone in the emancipation of Blacks. However, by the presidential election of 1876, these rights were lost as the ‘Black Codes’ evolved to please white factions and Jim Crow laws had been established in most of the South.

Under Slavery, Blacks had no rights whatsoever, but the system that replaced slavery was only marginally better and also had several features similar to the Indian caste system. For instance, segregation, denial of education, restricting Blacks to low-paid, menial jobs, social and economic discrimination, negative stereotyping and violence: arson of Black properties, including churches, murder of Black individuals: the most organized expression of this was in the formation and activities of the White supremacist racist outfit, the Ku Klux Klan.
The early parts of the 20th century in America witnessed one of the largest migrations of people in search of jobs and employment. This was the movement of African Americans from innumerable rural pockets in the American South to industrial centres such as Chicago and Boston in the North and Northeast. Being different at this point in time was a distinct disadvantage if one was in search of employment. North American hiring practices were flagrantly discriminatory, many of them with overt legal approval. In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act, legally prohibiting the entry of a certain set of immigrants based exclusively on their national origin, set the stage for a vast array of discriminatory employment practices that had the backing and approval of the majority of laws and institutions in the United States. Despite these edifices of exclusion, the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s also witnessed certain significant gains by African Americans in the urban North in the realm of employment practices. Black community leaders advocated and participated in a series of (sometimes violent) struggles, mainly located squarely within the American labour movement (Broderick, 1966). The first significant formal action recognizing the need to redress the discriminatory treatment of Black workers can be found in the UMWA1933 campaign launched by John L. Lewis, which overtly courted Black workers by demanding equal pay regardless of race (Sitkoff, 1978). Problems of exclusion faced by African Americans stemmed in part also from the unequal system of education in the United States. The quality of education provided to Blacks was very poor (cf., e.g., Takaki, 1993), resulting in a less qualified pool of potential employees. In the field of education, the major victory won by groups of different races is best represented by the celebrated Brown v. Board of Education case decision (in 1954) by the U.S. Supreme Court, which declared racially segregated schools as unconstitutional and which firmly established (on paper, at least) the principle of equality of educational opportunity for all races in America.

The 1960s and 1970s in America were dominated by the activist politics of the various social movements as well as the ideological transformations occasioned by the counterculture and the Vietnam War (Roszak, 1969). Traditionally disadvantaged identity groups such as women and Blacks began articulating a discourse of difference based almost entirely on a history of discrimination that had resulted in their
marginalized and excluded status. The most stunning outcome of this focus on the theme of discrimination was the passing, in July 1964, of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, which prohibited employers, employment agencies, and labour unions from discriminating in employment on the basis of race, colour, religion, sex, and national origin.

This was also the period during which Affirmative action was initiated in US. The actual phrase "affirmative action" was first used in President John F. Kennedy's 1961 Executive Order 10925 which requires federal contractors to "take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, colour, or national origin." The same language was later used in Lyndon Johnson's 1965 Executive Order 11246. In 1967, Johnson expanded the Executive Order to include affirmative action requirements to benefit women.

Later, for many years there were various oppositions towards affirmative action policies. Thus, in 1995 President Bill Clinton reviewed all affirmative action guidelines by federal agencies and declared his support for affirmative action programs by announcing the Administration's policy of "Mend it, don't end it."

1.3 Advent of Affirmative Action in India

The affirmative action started with Census Superintendent Herbert Risley’s decision of 1901 to list castes in the Census of India ‘by social precedence as recognised by native public opinion’ (Risley, 1912, p. 11). Census registration enhanced mobility because it meant official recognition of a caste’s ritual status, and ritual status determined occupational chances. Jobs in the higher echelons of administration, for instance, were a virtual monopoly of Brahmins. In fact, high caste status was a prerequisite for access to higher education and government jobs.

Later thus, The non-Brahmins mobilized wide support on the basis of one clear grievance - the monopoly on government jobs by Brahmins and other upper
castes. The non-Brahmins demanded affirmative action in order to break that monopoly.

The first affirmative action programs began under British rule as attempts to appease the non-Brahmin movement in the 1920s and 1930s. The Non-Brahmin Manifesto, published in 1916 to announce the Justice Party in Madras illustrates this point. The principal injustice it protests is the Brahmin monopoly on government jobs (Irshick, 1969, p. 358-362). It was around this issue that the Justice Party mobilized voters. Representation was the issue, not poverty, social backwardness, economic class or equality. On the contrary, the Justice Party demanded affirmative action for non-Brahmins precisely because they included upper-class Zamindars, landowners, and agriculturalists who, the Manifesto admits, lacked English education, but whose large material stakes, traditional and inherited interests in the soil and the social prestige that goes with it’ (Irshick, 1969, p. 362) nevertheless entitled them to government jobs (Radhakrishnan, 1996, p. 110-111).

Demands by the non-Brahmin movement led to a variety of affirmative action schemes in the South and in Bombay. In 1921, Mysore launched a programme for ‘backward communities’, defined by the Miller Committee as ‘all communities other than Brahmins who are not now adequately represented in the public service’ (Galanter, 1984, p. 156). In 1925, Bombay introduced affirmative action for all except Brahmins, Prahbus, Marwaris, Parsis, Banias and Christians (Galanter, 1984, p. 156). The 1927 Communal Government Order in Madras reserved five of every 12 government jobs for non-Brahmin Hindus, two each for Brahmins, Christians and Muslims, and one for ‘others’ (Irshick, 1969, p. 236-244; Radhakrishnan, 1996, p. 113-114). In all these programs representation was the issue.

In the early 1950s, remnants of the non-Brahmin movement joined forces with the growing Backward Classes movement in North India. The Constituent Assembly made some of its most crucial decisions about quotas.

Jawaharlal Nehru’s defence before the Constituent Assembly in 1951 of the articles that grant affirmative action to the backward classes, Nehru argued, “The essential difficulty the whole conception of the Fundamental Rights is the protection
of individual liberty and freedom. That is a basic conception ... derived from ... European history in the latter days of the 18th century: roughly speaking, you may say, from the days of the French Revolution which spread on to the 19th century. That might be said to be the dominating idea of the 19th century and it has continued [to be] a matter of fundamental importance. Nevertheless, as the 19th century marched into the 20th century and as the 20th century went ahead, other additional ideas came into the field which are represented by our Directive Principles of State Policy ... If any kind of appeal to individual liberty and freedom is construed to mean an appeal to the continuation of the existing inequality, ... then you become static, unprogressive.” (Nehru, 1994, p. 162)

Parliamentarians asked questions about the identity of the backward classes, but these questions could not be answered. For the time being the identity of the backward classes was left unclear but that does not mean that participants in the debate had no idea: Law Minister B. R. Ambedkar – himself one of the principle drafters of the Constitution - bluntly replied that’ [w]hat are called the backward classes are ... nothing else but a collection of certain castes’ (Galanter, 1984, p.166). Other participants may have shared this expectation, but most of them, not in the least Prime Minister Nehru himself were careful to avoid mention of it. Galanter writes that it is abundantly clear from the debate that Ambedkar only said what the others expected: the backward classes would be a list of castes and communities (Galanter, 1984, p. 1G6). This may be so, but caste-based affirmative action was not what the Constituent Assembly wanted, and the same is true for successive parliaments after independence.

Nehru brought amendments 15(14) and 16(4) in line with Article 340 of the Constitution, which allows the President of India to appoint a commission to develop criteria and select the backward classes. The first of these commissions was appointed in 1953, under the Chairmanship of Kalelkar. After more than two years’ research - travelling all over the country, receiving over 3,000 memoranda and holding almost 6,000 interviews (Government of India, 1956, p. 217) - the commission came up with a list of 2,399 eligible castes. Together these castes comprised roughly 40 percent of
the population of India. Just as Ambedkar predicted, the Socially and Educationally Backward Classes turned out to be a selection of castes.

In the first Backward Classes Report we find a history and sociology of the caste system (Government of India, 1956 p. 14-26 and 39-47), which concludes that in India economic backwardness is often the result and not the cause of social evils. ‘Our society was not built essentially on an economic structure but on the medieval ideas of Varna, caste and a social hierarchy’ (Government of India, 1956, p. 39). To combat this evil, therefore, affirmative action had to benefit castes. The commission reluctantly acted upon this conclusion. “We would like to make clear,” it writes, “That we are ... anxious to eradicate the evils of the caste system [and not] desirous of perpetuating a system which is operating to the detriment of common nationhood. We tried to avoid caste but we found it difficult to ignore caste in the present prevailing conditions. We wish it were easy to dissociate caste from social backwardness at the present juncture.” (Government of India, 1956, p. 41)

A second Backward Classes Commission, chaired by B. J. Mandal, was installed in 1979. Like its predecessor, this commission worked for two years to establish criteria of backwardness and to select the people who satisfied these criteria. This commission also travelled the country, received petitions and delegations, and in the end came up with a list of castes. Unlike Kalelkar, the Mandal commission expressed no clear doubts about the wisdom of using caste criteria. But elsewhere dissidents made clear that the commission faced the same problems as its predecessor, trying in vain to avoid caste (Burman, 1992). In a public debate, Mandal’s secretary, Shri S. S. Gill, defended the Mandal commission against Veena Das’s accusation that their report reinforces the caste system and reaffirms the colonial construction of caste. Gill’s reply to this criticism is interesting: the criteria used by the commission to identify the Backward Classes did not imply only caste, he said, nor did the commission assume that the outcome would be castes. ’We did not seek caste,’ he exclaimed, ‘caste pursued us’ (Gill, 1991, p. 34).

Over time the logic of affirmative action undermined the usefulness of class and aggregate caste identities for politicians and their followings. Reserved
Government jobs can be counted in the thousands, whereas the backward classes comprise hundreds of millions of people. The benefits have to be spread so thin that most people never notice the effect of quotas at all. Given the limited number of government jobs, political leaders often attempt to raise the quotas. Though such raises can be considerable - Chief Minister Solanki of Gujarat, for instance, announced an increase in the quota from 10 to 28 percent in 1985 (Wood, 1990; Rouyer, 1994 p. 84) - it hardly changes the proportion of jobs and eligibles. This situation makes it hard for any political leader to create a lasting interest in the larger collective.

Add to this that the unequal distribution of jobs is as likely to occur among the backward classes as it is among the population as a whole (Desai, 1984; Sowell, 1990; Shah, 1991, p. 603-610; Beteille, 1992, p. 36-37 and 41). Soon after the Backward Classes were granted affirmative action, spokesmen from within their ranks argued that the benefits were being cornered by the most forward sections of the backward classes, so they demanded quotas within quotas. And just as the first quotas had excluded Brahmins, the next quotas excluded the dominant castes among the non-Brahmins, and so on.

Fission of the backward classes into castes and sub castes has been especially well documented for South India by Radhakrishnan (1990a, 1990b, 1993, and 1996). For the North there are fewer details, though Srinivas (1996, p. xvii-xxii) describes a similar trend in North India (Shah, 1990; Rouyer, 1994). M. N. Panini (1996, p. 58-60) discusses developments in Bihar that evidence the process of fission there: under Chief Minister Laloo Prasad Yadav, a division emerged between the various caste clusters that supported the ruling Janata Dal (a backward classes party strongly in favour of affirmative action). In reaction to what they call the 'Yadavization' of this party and the cornering of benefits by Yadavs (a large and relatively well-off backward caste cluster), Kurmis and Koeries (subcastes that consider themselves more backward than Yadavs) split off to form the Samata party.
1.4 Present State of Affirmative Action in India

As stated above when India became an independent nation in 1947, the Constitution of India listed some erstwhile groups as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Constitution laid down that 15% and 7.5% of vacancies to government aided educational institutes and for jobs in the government/public sector, as reserved quota for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes respectively. This was initially applicable for a period of 10 years, but after discussions and suggestions has been extended periodically.

Later, reservations were introduced for other sections as well. Now the total reservation is 49.5%. For SC it is 15%, ST 7.5% and OBC 27%. The Supreme Court ruling that reservations cannot exceed 50% (which it judged would violate equal access guaranteed by the Constitution) has put a cap on reservations. However, there are state laws that exceed this 50% limit and these are under litigation in the Supreme Court. For example, the caste-based reservation fraction stands at 69% and is applicable to about 87% of the population in the state of Tamil Nadu.

Presently, the argument is going on about the need of reservation in private sector as well. Advocates of the quota system argue that the private sector in India is essentially elitist – only 3 or 4 percent of job vacancies in the sector are filled through recruitment ads, while the remaining employees are hired through referrals and word of mouth. They feel that the backward classes do not have access to these inner circles of the corporate world.

A controversial study conducted by the Indian Institute of Dalit Studies revealed that “upper caste” candidates had a higher chance of being called for an interview compared to “lower caste” candidates with similar qualifications and experience. The supporters of the quota system cite the remarkable economic growth attained by countries like Malaysia that have quotas (in this case, for the Malays) in the government and private sector. They hold that both economic and caste-based reservation should be applied to all educational institutions as well as private and public sector companies to ensure that the entire nation benefits from India’s progress towards becoming an economic superpower.
1.5 Factors of Present Research

The present study attempts to look into the possible issues related to backward clan and the basic idea is to look at the concept of ‘Reverse discrimination’ which highlights that if we give privilege to one category, we are depriving other categories of the same privilege. Whereas the humanitarian idea is ‘Everybody should get equal share’.

So keeping ideas of socialism in mind, policies should not go for equal distribution but equitable distribution in the form of Reservation, thus, giving breathing space to those who were oppressed for centuries.

Though Dr. B.R. Ambedkar prophesied that reservation policies be continued for ten years but its socio-political appeal makes it an irreversible process.

Present study is an attempt to look at the sufferings of both Reserved category as well as the General category, Gender discrimination on the basis of Perception held by the employees towards the diversity climate of the public/government sector organisations, experienced Work-family conflict and Work alienation of the same employees.

The present research proceeds by explaining the factors.

1.5.1 Diversity and its Perception

Presence of differences is inevitable, whether it’s the difference at individual level such as personality, aptitude or at the group level like race, religion and caste. No two people are the same! What matters is the way these differences are addressed and responded to. The perception of the differences and the consequent response can depict whether we are indulging into discrimination or diversity management.

When we celebrate differences rather than cursing or comparing them unnecessarily, it enhances inclusion. On the other hand passing judgements and generalising the characteristics of a person with all others similar to that person in
some respect such as gender, race, caste, class etc. lead to stereotyping and finally discrimination.

The theme of discrimination is often more contestatory and combative in its posture and forcefully questions and challenges the oppressive nature of institutionalized exclusion and those aspects of the politico-legal system that uphold (tacitly or otherwise) such exclusion. In contrast, the theme of diversity largely seems to ignore (or to underestimate) the consequences of the legal, political, and institutional dynamics of exclusion, concentrating instead on the merits of employing and admitting different identity groups into the organizational fold.

Diversity has been a much debated topic in management theory and practice in recent years, it were initially legal aspects, notably the avoidance of law suits, as well as changes in the labour market demographics (e.g. increased participation of women and minorities) that made it a subject of paramount importance for corporations.

There is growing awareness today, however, that management should go much further than just complying with existing rules or reacting to a shift in labour market resources.

The current form of the discursive theme of diversity increasingly emphasizes voluntary efforts (on the part of organizations) for enhancing inclusion as the ideal response to employee difference. Because it celebrates the economic potential of difference, this theme seems to argue that smart and visionary companies will almost automatically make serious efforts to include a wide range of difference in their workforces and that those companies that fail to do so will be disciplined by the market because their performance will inevitably suffer.

Diversity thus can be of immense help in enhancing organisational performance. But for that it should be nurtured well.

There are certain studies as well that reveal the importance of Diversity in the workplace.
Research has revealed diversity may encourage innovation, creativity, and higher quality solutions to complex problems (Ling, 1990; McLeod & Lobel, 1992; Nakui, Paulus, & Van der Zee, 2008; Watson, Kumar, & Michaelsen, 1993), multicultural groups develop more and better alternatives to a problem and criteria for evaluating those alternatives than do culturally homogeneous groups (McLeod & Lobel, 1992). In the long run, diverse groups outperform homogeneous groups. In short, it seems that the negative outcomes of diversity are associated with lower attraction among individuals from different subgroups (especially in initial phases of interaction), whereas the added value of diversity lies in superior problem-solving and higher creativity (particularly during later phases) (Watson et al. 1993).

But the above stated benefits of diversity in the organisations are not always possible. Bond and Pyle (1998) cited various problems responsible for the lack of progress in the development of organisational diversity. They state that false assumptions about equality and difference lead to the development of diversity initiatives that generate unintended consequences, such as reverse discrimination lawsuits. They also state that diversity policies are not effective unless backed up organisational culture change. In addition, faulty diversity training can lead to unmet expectations (Avery & McKay, 2006).

The dynamics and consequences of diversity are particularly salient at the group level, where individual engages in face-to-face interactions more regularly than at the organisational level. The diversity is being studied from the perceptual point of view of the employees who are working in a highly diverse environment which are expressed in terms of caste, region and gender. Caste based quota system prevalent in the public and government sectors; as per the Indian constitutional policies has brought people with large differences together. It has made the work environment even more diverse and on top of that has created a divide by giving privilege to the selected few belonging to a particular segment of the society. Thus, in today’s world where organisations are struggling to achieve harmonious relations between diverse work groups, the concept of reverse discrimination may hamper the means to the goal. The present research aims to understand both reserved and general category employees’ perception, feelings and views towards the diversity created by the
reservation policy and their perception towards the climate of their organisation; in terms of diversity management.

Diversity has to be established; otherwise the differences may take a negative turn towards Discrimination. Research has revealed that despite increased efforts to recruit and retain diverse talent, minority groups continue to face prejudice, social isolation and turnover related problems (Hom, Roberson & Ellis, 2008), whereas majority group members may feel threatened or excluded by diversity initiatives (Stevens, Plaut & Sanchez-Burks, 2008).

1.5.1.1 Organisational Climate Towards Diversity

Organisational culture plays an important role in an employee’s level of diversity openness as it both shapes the meanings and actions of its members (Ashkanasy, Wilderom & Peterson, 2000) as well as being shaped by its members, through their interpersonal relationships at work (Ancona, Kochan, Scully, Van Maanen & Westney, 1999). The learned common assumptions underlying an organisation’s culture are ‘the ultimate causal determinant of feelings, attitudes, espoused values and overt behaviour’ (Schein, 1990, p. 111). Thus, culture impacts on perception (Fisher & Härtel, 2004) and the nature of prejudice differs across cultures (Fujimoto & Härtel, 2004). Consequently, a culture where employees’ human needs for affiliation and identity are met, and it provides a sense of psychological safety, will encourage a positive, healthy organisation where the organisation and its members flourish and thrive (Pizer & Härtel, 2004). Despite this importance of organisational culture, Schein (1996) noted that previous research has acknowledged the existence of group norms but overlooked the influence of norms across the wider social units such as the organisation. Yet, behind such group norms are the underlying, taken-for-granted assumptions held by members of the culture (Schein, 1996). Culture only exists if people give power to the common assumptions and deviation is minimal.
Organisations differ in their culture including how they view dissimilarity within the organisation. Organisational stories, symbols, and practices signal to organisational members how actual dissimilarity in its membership will be viewed. Traditionally, diverse people were expected to assimilate to the existing culture. Assimilation, though, is having a pre-defined idea of what the culture should be and is thus, closed to diversity. Therefore, organisations that expect assimilation to the dominant, existing culture are not open to diversity. ‘The traditional American image of diversity has been one of assimilation… [where migrants must] sacrifice their cultural identities to get ahead’ (Bateman & Zeithaml, 1993, p. 377) In contrast, organisations whose mission statements assert their will to value diversity, whose performance appraisal systems reward managers who uphold this value, and whose top management teams appear diverse are likely to be perceived by employees and outsiders as open to perceived dissimilarity. When an organisation’s culture is perceived as diversity open, it is expected to influence the behaviour, emotions and cognitions of organisational members at the individual and group levels. High openness to perceived dissimilarity is associated with the use of the broad range of perspectives and ideas available in an organisation, which in turn, leads to higher quality decision making processes and innovative outcomes (as in Ely & Thomas’ (2001) integration and learning diversity perspective). Fujimoto, Härtel and Panipucci (2004) found that organisations with diversity oriented HR policies and procedures showed lower levels of prejudice. In contrast, low openness to perceived dissimilarity is expected to lead to the discouragement of minorities to exercise their actual abilities (as in Ely & Thomas’ (2001) access and legitimacy or discrimination and fairness perspectives).

In summary, the concept of diversity openness or dissimilarity openness describes how individuals, groups or organisations deal with dissimilarity (Härtel & Douthitt, 1999; Härtel & Fujimoto, 1999; Härtel & Trumble, 1997). At the dissimilarity openness end of the continuum, difference is viewed positively and as an opportunity for learning. People or systems low in dissimilarity openness, on the other hand, are closed to dissimilar points of view and resist alternative perspectives (Härtel & Fujimoto, 2000). One of the key contributions of this approach to the diversity
issue is the explicit message that it is not the presence of the diversity itself that determines the effects of the diversity within an organisation but, rather, the level of openness to dissimilarity characteristic of the organisation’s members, work groups and culture (Härtel & Fujimoto, 2000).

In the present research as well the perception of both general and reserved category employees towards the diversity aspect of the organisational climate is being studied in depth. It aims to gain an Indian perspective towards such observations through understanding the diversity climate of the public/govt. organisations.

Also Perception towards diversity climate can be used as an explanation for the kinds of pressure the employees experience in the work setup. This also would be related to the experience of conflict at the family level and also an experience of alienation for the employee.

Another factor under study in the present research is Work family conflict.

1.5.2 Work - Family Conflict: A Conceptual Analysis

On one hand where the composition of the workforce is changing towards being more diverse, the nature of work itself is becoming more demanding and taxing with every passing day. To be competitive in the global marketplace, companies leverage the use of technology to do business 7 days a week, 24 hours a day. To meet business needs, employees are often provided with cell phones, pagers, fax machines and wireless laptop computers to enable instant communication anywhere in the world. This technology creates dramatic new flexibility for where, when and how work is accomplished (Cascio, 2003). It is indeed a new world of work. But, this new world is more time and effort demanding, that leaves little time for the families of the employees.

Balancing the demands of work and family roles has become a daily task for many employed adults (Williams & Alliger, 1994). On one hand, occupying multiple roles provides individuals with important psychological benefits, such as status, ego
gratification and increased self esteem. On the other hand, there are potential costs associated with such role accumulation, including role strain, psychological distress, and somatic complaints (Frone, Russel & Cooper, 1992). In general the subjective quality of the experiences an individual has in both work and family roles is a critical determinant of psychological well being (Frone et.al., 1992) For example, work experienced as demanding or not rewarding may increase the chances of work-family strain, whereas work that is more rewarding may reduce the chances of strain. In addition, work and family experience may have reciprocal effects so that perceptions and behaviour in one role are affected to some degree by experiences in the other (Williams & Alliger, 1994).

Work – family conflict has been defined as a form of interrole conflict in which the role pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible and the demands of participation in one role make participation in the other role more difficult (Aryee, Luk & Stone, 1998; Bacharach, Bamberger, Conley, 1991; Thomas & Ganster, 1995). Generally as people experience more conflict between these major roles, their level of job and life satisfaction falls. For example, increased burnout may be a direct consequence of work-home conflict (Carlson & Perrewe, 1999). Work-family conflict has been shown to affect not only the psychological well being of employees, but also their work related attitudes such as absenteeism, tardiness and turnover (Aryee et al., 1998). As a result, a growing number of organisations in industrialised countries have introduced organisational family-responsive policies or benefits. The overriding objective of these policies is to assist employed parents in managing their family responsibilities while also maintaining employment (Aryee et al., 1998). However, workplace programs and organisational policies designed to help employees better integrate work and family roles do not seem to have much effect on work family conflict (Kossek & Ozeki, 1998).

The relationships among roles can be complicated. Some studies suggest that the relationship between work demands and family responsibilities is best described as correlational rather than causal, with minimum spill over from one domain to the other (Frone, Russell & Cooper, 1994). In addition, Lambert (1990) has suggested that studies of work family conflict should take into account differences in the
tendency of employees to compensate for difficulties or disappointment in one area of life, such as work, by increasing their involvement in other areas, such as family. In addition, there is evidence suggesting that work and family conflicts should be measured separately for men and women, as gender differences in customary household or domestic responsibilities may result in different relationships of role conflict with other variables (Wiersma & Van den Berg, 1991). For example, Williams & Alliger (1994) found that spillovers of distress and fatigue from work to family and from family to work were stronger for women than for men.

In the present study the understanding of diversity as a demand in the work environment that can lead to disappointment at work and thus a spill over of the negative emotions to the family role is being studied. The employees’ perception towards the diversity climate of their organisation is being analysed as being a cause of such disappointments, resulting in work-family conflict.

One of the other fallout of the poor perception towards the diversity climate of the organisation can be Work Alienation. The notion is now explained in the next few pages.

1.5.3 Work Alienation

Alienation is a much disputed concern of contemporary society in general and modern sociological inquiry in particular. There is, for instance, a division between those who consider alienation, within its variety of definitions, a phenomenon typical of mass urbanized industrial societies (Josephson & Josephson, 1962; Fromm, 1955; Pappenheim, 1959; Fischer, 1973) and those who suggest that alienation is a universal and timeless phenomenon typical of all human society (Berger & Pullberg, 1965). To further complicate the dialogue, there are also those who consider the concept too much an element of "political theology" or too generalized to be a useful tool in understanding man and society. Alienation becomes merely a metaphor for the frustration humans’ encounter in varying social situations (Feuer, 1969). Yet, the "nature of alienation" continues to intrigue scholars and to serve as a source of much
conceptual analysis and research (Lystad, 1972). The variety of perspectives associated with alienation creates a concept which is multidimensional, particularly within various contexts of study (Pearlin, 1962; McClosky & Schaar, 1965; Neal & Rettig, 1967; Holian, 1972; Neal & Groat, 1974). Specifically, a range of writers, including philosophers and sociologists, relate alienation to a variety of “human states”, including, but not limited to, powerlessness, apathy, loneliness, and a loss of values. Josephson and Josephson (1962, p. 13) note that alienation refers generally to "an individual feeling or state of dissociation." Similarly, Fischer (1976) suggests it involves separateness from something, while Holmes (1976) points out that alienation involves a contradiction in social conditions and the form of its expression. Perhaps the real importance of the concept is suggested by Kohn (1976, p. 111) when he states, "Despite its ambiguity of meaning, alienation is an appealing concept, standing as it does at the intersection of social-structural conditions and psychological orientation.

1.5.3.1 The Marxist Conception

The framework for understanding alienation was developed by Marx in the evolution of his sociological analysis, notably appearing in The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844 (Marx, 1964), continuing in the "German Ideology" (Marx, 1972), and reappearing in the discussion of the "Fetishism of Commodities" in Capital (Marx, 1967). In his Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844, alienation appears to Marx (1964, p. 106-120) as emanating from the economic infrastructure of society which in turn determines all other relationships within society, including the relationship of man to himself. For Marx, there were four basic "types" of alienation which emerged directly from the work situation, including an alienation of the worker from the process of work, from the product of work, from himself, and from others. Notably, this examination of alienation as it is linked to the worker's initial detachment from the process and the product of work suggests a relational quality of alienation and implies the existence of a process by which man becomes alienated.
Specifically, Marx views the worker's labour as becoming a commodity similar to the product of his labour, whereby the worker's identity and relatedness with "nature" merely represent an a-human form of exchange. In addition, the object created by the worker confronts him as an alien object, both in production and exchange, with a power independent of him and the human consequence of this alienation is self-estrangement. Finally, the objectified nature of the worker's relationship to his species, acknowledged as alien, separates man from others around him. Hence, alienation becomes a totally enveloping process.

The evolution of Marxist alienation theory can next be examined in "The German Ideology" (Marx, 1972; Hamilton, 1974; Ollman, 1971). In this essay, Marx presents the materialist interpretation of history as a counter argument to the ruling ideology and an explanation of the alienating and all pervasive consequences of the division of labour in capitalist society. By establishing that human existence coincides with the material conditions of society and the social relations of production, Marx indicates that the negative consequences of the division of labour are based on an increasing separation of individuals from the natural activity of labour and, ultimately, into opposing factions. This fragmentation of experience and subordination of individuals brought on by the division of labour becomes an inherent element of production, society, and consciousness while the apparent "cooperative" effort in the social relations of production is, in fact, the consequence of social forces "the origin and goal of which they are ignorant, which they cannot control ..." (Marx, 1972, p. 125). Finally, because of both the impact of productive forces and the parallel force of the ruling ideology which provides support for existing conditions, Marx clearly indicates there is a fragmentation of human existence, an estrangement which is the consequence of the capitalist division of labour and the critical link between human existence and the social relations of production in capitalist society.

The key extension of Marxist alienation theory comes finally in Capital (1967) with the discussion of commodity exchange. In fact, Marx's examination of the "fetishism of commodities" may be viewed as an analysis of specific economic conditions linked to prior theoretical work. The "fetishism" is a condition where by the traditional use-value of commodities loses its meaning to an exchange value of
commodities as the social character of the exchange process develops; hence, the emergence of "material relations between persons and social relations between things" (Marx, 1967, p. 73). Additionally important in the situation of commodity exchange is the reciprocal impact. That is, the characteristics of social relations appear as a part of the exchange process while at the same time, the process of exchange among things appears also in the reification of the social relations of production in other areas of human interaction (Lukacs, 1971; Ollman, 1971). The significance of the reification process can be seen in the pervasiveness of rationalization and standardization throughout society signifying that social institutions are broken down into segregated parts which in turn separates work from the capacities and needs of the workers, thereby, paralleling the division of labour in industry (Lukacs, 1971, p. 98-99). Furthermore, Marx (1967, p. 79-83) would maintain that the political economy and specific religious beliefs provide reciprocation by maintaining an ideology which views the alienating conditions of capitalist society as "the best of all possible worlds." Ultimately, the world of human interaction becomes the world of object exchange.

Lukacs (1971) has had a major impact on Marxist alienation theory primarily due to his emphasis on the reification process, suggesting that the structure of commodity relations interacts with ideology to distort one's understanding of the system and that only a non-positivist, dialectical conception of the totality of social relations within the historical process can provide a potential understanding and response to the contradictions inherent in a system of alienation. Lukacs's analysis has also served as a fundamental base for the theoretical work of the Frankfurt school as most notably developed in Horkheimer's Critical Theory (1972). Basically, it is the purpose of critical theory to examine the fundamental underlying relations among phenomena, thereby suggesting, for example, the tenacity of the family in the structure of social relations and the process of reification. Finally, this reification perspective leads to Fromm's (1955) analysis of alienation in the context of industrial society where instrumentalism and separation become the substance of social relations, and the extent of alienation can be appreciated only when man recognizes a
primary aspect of modern society: "its routinisation and the repression of the awareness of the basic problems of human existence" (Fromm, 1955, p. 131).

1.5.3.2 The Social-Psychological Perspective on Alienation

Basic to the social-psychological perspective on alienation is the work of Seeman (1959, 1967, 1972). Seeman (1959) proposes to examine five aspects of alienation from a social-psychological perspective in hopes of establishing a more researchable statement of meaning. The five aspects, relating to differences in situations, are powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, social isolation, and self-estrangement. Seeman's (1967, 1972) later work has focused primarily upon powerlessness and work alienation and has been directed toward examining potentially negativistic responses to work alienation suggested by Srole's (1972) study of anomia. Thus far, his studies suggest that alienation from work is not a generalizable phenomenon, while the model for analysis may limit an understanding of alienation and social context. Yet, what is clear is that Seeman's conception of alienation has had a considerable impact on alienation research (Pearlin, 1962; Holian, 1972; Neal & Groat, 1974). The social-psychological perspective focuses on the expectations of the actors, such as powerlessness, within certain social situations and attempts to determine the social consequences of the actors' alienation. The tendency of the social psychological approach is to examine the "cognitive state" of the actor and to label certain "expectations" and "perceptions" as aspects of alienation thereby emphasizing the importance of subjective evaluation while largely ignoring structural, historical, and ideological conditions (Plasek, 1974, p. 321-22). Therefore, it may be particularly worthwhile at this point to examine the works of Blauner (1964) and Kohn (1976) as a point of synthesis between the Marxist and the social-psychological perspectives through a shift in the focus of analysis.

Blauner (1964) determined that alienation was related to the impact of industrialization on the worker and that the "structural differentiation" of modern industry, particularly technology, would allow for an examination of the relational character of the phenomenon. Therefore by adopting a modified Marxian structural
perspective by emphasizing technology and shifting the focus of the conceptual analysis of Seeman, Blauner(1964, p. 15) viewed alienation as "a general syndrome made up of a number of different objective conditions and subjective feeling-states which emerge from certain relationships between workers and the sociotechnical settings of employment." Blauner( 1964, p. 199-209) found that the conditions leading toward alienation tend to differ by technologies that is, low in craft, high in machine-tending, high in assembly-line, and low in continuous process. Further, it would appear that with industrial development has come a decline in the quality of manual labour and an emphasis on its instrumental, rather than its intrinsic value. Hence, self-estrangement appears as a common characteristic of alienation among factory workers, although its intensity depends on structural conditions and the historical development of industry (Blauner, 1964, p. 182-83). Continuing the synthesis, Kohn (1976) studied the relationship between "occupational structure and alienation" with particular emphasis on the loss of control over the process of one's labour. Therefore, the study examines the alienated responses, primarily powerlessness and self-estrangement, in reference to ownership and the division of labour and to the degree of occupational self-direction.

Kohn (1976, p. 121) concludes that control over the product and the process of one's labour is related to the components of alienation and the evidence suggests that the structure of work, for example, "substantive complexity", has a causal effect on particular aspects of alienation. Furthermore, there is every indication that conditions of work and alienated responses do have an impact beyond the work-place in that" the lessons of the job are directly generalized to non-occupational realities"(Kohn, 1976, p. 127). With the work of Blauner and Kohn we find critical importance being attached to the specification of structural conditions and the Marxian variants of alienation as interpreted within the social-psychological perspective. Important to the synthesis is a critique of Seeman's (1959) paper on "the meaning of alienation" where the relational view of a process analysis is suggested. Browning et al. (1961, p. 780) have responded to a major weakness in Seeman's argument by noting a primary need for the common characteristics of alienation to be examined for their relational quality and "points of articulation" as a method for determining their contribution to the "one
theoretical dimension, i.e., alienation."Browning et al. (1961) suggest, therefore, that alienation should be viewed as a process with interrelated stages of development, including (1) the predisposing stage from powerlessness to meaningless to normlessness, (2) the stage of cultural disaffection-developing isolation, and (3) the stage of social isolation-self estrangement. A partial merging of the synthesis suggested thus far-the more abstract Marxian view implying process being blended with a social-psychological view which stresses structural referents, confined unfortunately to technological factors, and also implies a process orientation-can be seen in the evolution of alienation research by Shepard and Panko. Shepard (1971), in a study similar to Blauner's, examined the relationship between "automation and alienation" for both factory and office workers by reference to differences in technology. The dimensions of alienation were a further modification of Seeman's original work including such factors as instrumental work orientation, for example, intrinsic value of work related to self-estrangement, and self-evaluative involvement, for example, self esteem related to job (Shepard, 1971, p. 13-17). The findings relating alienation to technologies supported Blauner and indicated the relationship for office workers similar to the pattern of industrial workers (Shepard, 1971, p. 115-17). In a second study, Shepard (1972) has related to the dimensions of alienation with the suggestions of Browning et al. (1961) and Faunce (1968). Alienation was then conceived as a response to separation from some social referent, suggesting that it is the perception of the lack of status recognition within a status structure, particularly in relation to control, which causes withdrawal from structure. It was "concluded that powerlessness, meaninglessness, and normlessness contribute to variation in self-evaluation, involvement in work and instrumental work orientation" (Shepard, 1972, p. 170). The intensity of alienation in response to a problematic social referent is likely to lead to further withdrawal from that structure; hence, alienation involves" a discrepancy between the criteria for status recognition within a status structure of which one is a member and the criteria one uses for self-evaluation" (Shepard, 1972, p. 171). Paralleling this research, Shepard and Panko (1974a), utilizing a discrepancy measure of deficit power as an indicator of work alienation, found that "deficit power workers were instrumentally oriented toward work and more isolated from organizational goals than workers with balanced or surplus power"
(Shepard and Panko, 1974a, p. 259). Finally, Shepard and Panko (1974b) further examined the relationship between "alienation and social referents" to determine the distinction between alienated responses to situationally-specific and global social referents. It was found that the intensity of "work-related alienation steadily decreases from the type of alienation closest to functional specialization (powerlessness) to the most distant (self-evaluative isolation)" (Shepard & Panko, 1974b, p. 57). Hence, alienation must be examined in relation to its social referent.

1.5.3.3 Alienation as a Social Process

Alienation can now be defined as an interactional, or relational, consequence of a negative encounter of some duration which involves the degree of felt separateness from fundamental social situations in which self is being defined. The emergence of alienation from a situationally specific point of reference, such as work, involving a lack of control over activities and a demeaning definition of self is somewhat reflective of Mead's (1964, p. 119-240) discussion of the self. Essentially this perspective suggests that the individual interacts with, and thereby responds to, his environment in terms of how he sees himself in his definition of the situation, including such issues as the nature of the work, the interaction among worker, union, and management, the nature of the community and so forth. The creation of the self is related to man's activities with the objects around him and the nature of the objects is established by the meaning it has for man in his activities; hence, the examination of alienation must focus greater attention on history and social structure in an interactional sense, particularly since social structure and corresponding ideology tend to be predominant in the interaction, for example, through socialization, role performance, and limited interpretations of the situation. Therefore, if man interprets or experiences this interaction as destructive, in terms of a loss of control or an emerging negative definition of self, the alienation process is initiated and self-estrangement is the potential outcome.

An understanding of alienation as a social process can be readily grasped from an examination of the schematic overview presented in Figure 1.1. This model can be
viewed as presenting an integrated view of the alienation process through three basic phases of development. The first phase suggests the relational convergence of three primary components of a situationally-specific interactional process: the historical context, the structural conditions, and the individual participants. From an historical perspective, both specific developments and historical generalizations indicate a significant relationship between the development of capitalist industrialization and the alienation process.

Further, while the specifics of an industry may shed light on the alienation process, there are also the generalizations gleaned from an overview of history and social structure. Braverman (1974) notes that the nature of capitalist industrialization produced a system of management organization and technological change which has continually subordinated the worker to a work process based on authority relations and economic "efficiency" including not only the industrial worker but also the clerical, the retail, the service, and the middle management realm. Through increasing centralization, subdivision, specialization and routinisation, the position of the worker has been steadily diminished while trade unionism has shifted its emphasis to economic issues (see also Stone, 1975). Finally, then, individual participation in the situation may be viewed as the experiential groundwork which establishes a situational basis for attitude formation and future behaviour, particularly when combined with prior class experience in the family, the school, and the community, that is, the process of schooling, for instance, may be a key variable in the development of capitalist industrialization (Bowles & Gintis, 1976).

Emerging from this interactional process which combines both objective and subjective factors in the situation is the second phase of the alienation process. During this stage, the participants' perceived degree of control and definition of self derived interactionally leads to a definition of the situation as either positive or negative in relation to the meaningfulness, or power relations, of the situation and because of the reference to a process, these definitions will probably function as "tendencies toward" a response and potentially shift with the variation in conditions, that is, variations in
Figure 1.1. Alienation as a social process given by James E. Twining (1980)
the nature of the work and the degree of worker involvement/control. Therefore, if the situation is positively defined, there will exist a substantive integration of situationally specific relations. From this perspective, the participants' involvement with the situation is viewed as a valuable experience, a response derived both from the participants' interpretation and from the nature of the activity which stimulates and enhances the participants' involvement. Clearly this is not a situation which is understood by a simple question of satisfaction but is more complex. In addition, it is not clear to what extent the issue of false consciousness might impact the situation, although issues of authority relations, relative deprivation, ruling ideology, and perceived alternatives to the situation influence the level of involvement (Runciman, 1966; Parkins, 1971; Archibald, 1976).

If the situation is negatively defined, there are, at least, three alternative responses. One potential response is an instrumental integration where some external gain is perceived by adaptation to the situation. Essentially, the situation may be defined as intrinsically meaningless, but it produces some positive gain in reference to the larger social setting. This condition is perhaps best exemplified by industrial workers who experience the process of production as a destructive activity where they are confronted by the tensions of "subordination, competitiveness, monotony and drudgery, exploitation and economic instability" and yet remain involved with the activity to maintain a necessary economic base which allows for other, more rewarding social relations (Barbash, 1972, p. 240-248). Hence, the instrumental integration may be considered a partial alienation closely tied to the historical relations, work organization, the perception of limited alternatives, trade unionism, and social order (Goldthorpe et al., 1968; Aronowitz, 1973; Parkin, 1971). A similar, though more critical, response is one of fundamental alienation in which case the individuals experience a loss of control and meaning in the situation and acknowledge a felt separateness between themselves and their activities. This felt separateness may be viewed as a feeling of detachment from the immediate activity without the motivational purpose of the external gain found in partial alienation; the worker is merely an extension of his machine. Both the partial and the fundamental alienations have further consequences in the alienation process.
As a final aspect of phase two, there exists the strong possibility for conflict to develop as participants respond to the perceived sources of alienation. The range of conflict may include individual violence, sabotage to the production process, and organized struggles between management and labour in response to the conditions of work. The point here is that participants enter into situationally specific relations with expectations, values, and prior conceptions of self which the process of alienation tends to alter. Yet, clearly the felt separateness derived from a loss of control and meaning in a particular activity may become a source of tension which causes participants to attempt to change the structural conditions of the situation rather than to follow one of the alienated responses previously noted. Historically, this reassertion of participant interests may be somewhat exemplified by organized labour’s response to the conditions of industrial development, particularly as the conflict over working conditions was ultimately institutionalized through collective bargaining.

The third phase of the model involves a second level of response to both partial and fundamental types of alienation as emerging from the process of interpreting and experiencing a situation which has been negatively evaluated. Because instrumental integration only provides an external reward while still contributing to a partial alienation, the participants will most likely seek an alternate focus in order to re-establish a sense of control over their activities and a positive definition of self. Situations which typically exemplify this view are family, neighbourhood, and social club activities (Gans, 1962). Further, the value found in the alternate focus will probably allow the instrumental activity to serve its external purpose. This response tends to be a common one fostered largely by an ideology of social stability which focuses attention on the individual, rather than the situation, as the source of problems and solutions and promotes, in the face of relative deprivation, a resignation to the situation. Further, several indicators suggest that instrumentalism and resignation have, overtime, influenced conditions and attitudes beyond the work place in an ideological and a structural fashion which ultimately limit options for change, both real and perceived; the reification process reinforces the structure of alienation (Lukacs, 1971; Fromm, 1955; Braverman, 1974; Aronowitz, 1973; Sennet & Cobb, 1972).
Continuing the thought of interpretation and reinterpretation within the context of the situation, participants experiencing a *fundamental alienation* might well withdraw from the situation in order to establish new relations which offer the opportunity for control and meaning. This response undoubtedly is stimulated by external conditions and includes such possibilities as other conventional work situations, alternative institutions, or involvement in the formation of new meaning systems.

The second level of response is that of *total alienation*. In this case, the loss of control and meaning within situationally specific relations leads to a condition of social isolation and, ultimately, self-estrangement. This stage is synonymous with the linkages between alienating work and mental illness and its complex, yet pervasive, impact beyond the immediate situation. It would appear that the social isolation which develops encompasses the participants' relation to the immediate activity, the social relations of the activity, and the social and community relations beyond the bounds of the immediate activity. It is at this final point that the participants lose their identity as meaningful contributors to the interaction process.

The selected participants of the current research will have a well established knowledge base for historical causes of Affirmative action and consequent diversity at the work place. The aim is to explore the relationship between perception of diversity climate which is based on Organisational fairness, organisational inclusiveness and personal diversity value, Work family conflict which includes Work interference with family and family interference with work as well as experienced Work Alienation including, powerlessness, normlessness, meaninglessness, Instrumental work orientation and self-evaluative involvement. In the present study, alienation has been taken as a social process as it can be understood best with reference to man’s complex relationship to objects of his environment and in terms of the interaction process between self and social structure. A poor perception towards the diversity climate of one’s’ organisation can act as a social referent leading to an experience of partial or fundamental Work Alienation.