CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores how the culture of transition in current Indian society is having a tremendous impact on both its social and work organizations. The impact is coped by behaviourally adapting to the demands of the modern and complex work organizations while retaining the processes of traditional agrarian ethos of India. This chapter further explores the impact of these coping processes on the emerging large organizations.
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

India, as a culture and as a society, has been a challenge to social scientists. The very vastness of its traditions, the complexity of its structure, the multiplicity of values, the localized differentiation in normative behaviour, ethnic varieties and customs, all singly and jointly have created challenges to research the nature of the society and the dynamics of its change. In the last three decades social scientists, of many persuasions among the sociologists, psychologists, and anthropologists, have continued to study the content and dynamics of Indian culture and society with a view to discovering perspectives for introducing planned change.

Thapar (1975) suggests that a systematic and scientific work to understand Indian culture and society in its multiplicity began about two centuries ago. A review of the last literature available on India can be classified into three broad categories.

1. **Micro-analysis of Indian ethos and culture**

   In this category are included the work of historians, philosophers, Indologists and theosophical thinkers. Some
of these writings are disciplined research while others reflect a literary flair, but deal with known and established facts about Indian ethos and its culture. In this tradition are (Max Muller*, Radha Kamal Mukherjee*, Zimmer, Jawaharlal Nehru*, Lord Basham*, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan*), and many such authors who have written in English. Then there are authors who have written in the vernacular languages. Some of the work in Hindi are (Bhagvat Sharan Upadhyay, Vasudev Sharan Agarwala*, Rahul Sankritayan*) and many others.

This trend of writing focuses on India's past. The past of India is reconstructed in terms of its spiritual depth, its meta-physical consistency, its philosophical orientation and deals with India's moral, spiritual and social integration. These studies largely focus on India's positive, cohesive and integrative humane aspect of life space. They reinforce the idealism of the Hindu ethos. They also talk of India's resources both economic, spiritual, social and moral, which determined the life space of an Indian of the past. While these studies provide a good contextual backdrop they fail to deal with the complexity of Indian life and Indian reality as it exists today.

* See Bibliography.
2. Macro-analysis of Institutions

In this category are included the studies which deal with social institutions of India such as, marriage, family and caste. Bose (1958), Ghurie (1961), Karve (1961), and many others who did depth studies of Indian social institutions. Their followers, authors like Dube (1955), Srinivas (1955, 1956, 1957, 1958), Desai I.P. (1964), Rao M.S.A. (1965) and many others who studied villages and communities as units and created landmarks in social research.

This macro-level approach deals with hard core data of Indian social institutions. They attempt to systematise and interpret the dynamics of Indian social reality. These studies then, describe in detail the Indian social institutions, evaluate the positive and the negative aspects and speculate the needs, processes and problems of renovation and change.

3. Macro-analysis of individual and unit communities

The third trend is only a few decades old. It began after the world war II with the arrival of American social scientists. The unit of study here is either an individual or a community. The trend setters in this category
of studies are Shield (1928), Cox (1945), Opler (1948), Murphy (1958), Simpson & Yinger (1953), Carstair (1958), Lewis O. (1958), Erikson (1964) and others who focused on the complexity and diversity of today's social structures and processes of India. The focus of these studies is largely comparative, if not directly so, at least by implication and by the utilization of a universal framework. Directly and indirectly being evaluative, many of these studies sound diagnostic and recommending a course of development and change for India. Following this tradition, a large number of studies have emerged. Some of these continue to follow the trend set up by foreign authors. Others using the analytical approach have tried to align themselves with the continuity of the past into the present.

It is difficult to pin down the essence of the historical unfolding of Indian society and culture. Perhaps there can be as many views as are disciplines or perspectives. An attempt to put many of the ideas in an integrated manner seems to suggest that the character of the Indian historical process can be viewed in the following manner.
The Indian society of today can best be described as the society in transition. From the hoary past till about the middle of nineteenth century Indian society has had a highly decentralized village unit structure. The communities of each village in their socio-temporal existence were self reliant in large part of their life space. Their inter-dependence was at best with a small regional town. The decentralized, largely self sufficient and autonomous unit structure of the society with regional integration at best interacted with a wide variety of ecological differentiation. This contributed to the emergence of multiple life styles.

A legend grew around India. It was reflected in the experience statement - "Diversity in unity, and unity in diversity". The diversity as indicated above was largely due to the decentralized structure and was reflected in the varieties of life styles. The unity of the Indian society was anchored in the persistent and enduring orientations and attitudes that the philosophy promoted toward social objects, goals and actions.
The coordination between the philosophical orientations to social objects, goals and attitudes and the highly decentralized self sufficient unit communities and their life styles was achieved through a functional ethos codified to define boundaries between individual and individual, institution and institution. This functional ethos was concerned with maintaining the dynamics of inter-personal relations and transactions across situations. The author in her joint work with Garg on the study of internalised cognitive maps of the Indian society identifies this ethos as the agrarian ethos.*

Since the known history the Indian society has been impinged upon by waves of aliens coming to conquer, plunder or to find refuge and settle down. Thus, at manifest level

* Forthcoming publication "Cross-Roads of Culture" Garg and Parikh.

One is the ethos of faith, of following the path; of living with doubt; living for others; living by roles and doing one's duty. This is the culture of agrarian ethos of India. It is the ethos of stability, permanence and consistency to which the youth live with, suffer, yet find difficult to move away from.

One is the ethos of closeness; of dependency; of subordinency; of limitations; of self-negation, replication and involuntary existence. It is the ethos of there-and-then and being absent. It is the ethos of past examples, precedents and continuity. It is the ethos of security, predictability and regularities. It is the ethos of burden of identity. This is the culture of the agrarian ethos of India which the youth carry on their back.
Indian society has continuously faced alien inputs both in terms of culture and civilization. This historical process has occupied much of the energy of Indian society in adopting and assimilating the alien influences. In its process of assimilation and adaptation to these dominant influences Indian society has added to its legend of 'diversity in unity'. The adaptation has been largely of the technology and the life styles. Thus it has added to the diversity. The assimilation has been of the pathos and the ethos. However, in this assimilation the Indian society has consistently reinforced the organizational processes and the overall orientation to social goals, objects and actions. Thus, it has preserved and maintained consistency and continuity which has contributed to the 'unity' aspect of the legend.

The assimilation has been both at the ideal and behavioural level. The ideal level assimilation has been expressed in cognitive statement of value. The expression has been of the nature that, "Castism is evil, it should be wiped out. There should be inter-caste marriages. The society should move toward equality. The caste was
an origin for occupational aspect and a brahmin is a brahmin by his karma and not by his birth". This has been an ideal voiced and preached by Buddha and other saint poets such as Nanak, Kabir, Gandhi, etc. It continues to be preached from the socio-political platforms even rigorously today. Yet behaviourally, except few instances the castism is still as entrenched as ever.

The behavioural level assimilation has been in those patterns of living which can be considered secondary and perhaps non-essentials of life space. Wherever an individual's real security, sense of belonging and identification are at stake, the basic structural processes, values and beliefs continue to be held with a tenacity. Thus, though the outer manifestations and surface transactions change, the real orientations, goals, and patterns of goals, means and relationships continue to remain congruent with the traditional agrarian society.

Since the beginning of nineteenth century India has had three kinds of major impacts from an alien culture viz., the European culture.
1. The religious impact of Christianity
2. The value impact of Renaissance
3. The technological impact.

The Indian society assimilated the renaissance value with the ideal level supported by historical interpretations of pre-B.C. culture of India. The elite used it to postulate the values of egalitarianism and democracy. The impact of Christianity was responded by revivalist and reformist movement of Raja Ram Mohan Roy* and Swami Dayanand. The technological impact however trickled in and traditional industrialization began at a minor scale.

The response of the Indian society and culture to the impact of Christianity and ethos of renaissance is an evidence of the characteristic mode of assimilation and adoption at cognitive ideal level and at the secondary behavioural level. However, the primary institutions through which individuals internalize the values and beliefs, role models and the social system of situations and transactions remained largely untouched and unmodified. In fact they got reinforced.

* See Bibliography.
The technological impact continued to gain momentum. The Indian society continued to acquire an industrial production base at a slow and steady pace. Till about 1947 the impact of the industrial base on life style, values and behavioural dimensions could be well managed. Individuals simply adopted a modern form but continued the processes, both organizational and social which were in keeping with the agrarian ethos. It reinforced the Indian process where adaptation changes the manifest and surface transactions but basic internalization does not take place. Thus, the orientations to goals and social objects and consequently to patterns of relationships to goals and means, and role and role are preserved and continue to be maintained.

Since 1947, a new phase began. With the achievement of independence the Indian polity made a deliberate choice, to manipulate the techno-economic, the techno-scientific and the econo-political coordinates of the Indian social reality. The polity also underplayed the psycho-cultural and psycho-philosophical coordinates at one level, and yet at another level it continued to harp on the strengths and beauties of Indian ethos. Thus, in effect the polity without realization reproduced the core processes of the
Indian society whereby forms of civilization are changed but basic structural processes, both organizational and social, continue to remain the same. The legend of 'unity in diversity and diversity in unity' continues to operate. Indian society in its traditional process continues to foster ambivalencies and preserve them at the process level while adopting form level changes through pseudo compromises.

In this process the Indian society continues to adopt techniques and technologies along with much of the cognitive materials both of the knowledge and of the ideals and values. However, it continues to attempt to build rather active and impervious barriers to internalization of the central processes, both organizational and social, congruent with the technological adaptation. On the whole, the Indian society continues to hold fast to the agrarian structure and its parameters.

However, this time the impact of the technological thrust has been massive and wide. It has not been restricted to industrial production systems alone. There has been a massive attempt to transform the agricultural sector of production also into an industrial process by
introducing multiple technological input such as machinery, hybrid seeds, chemical fertilisers, techniques of animal husbandry, etc. In fact the attempt to converge scientific knowledge to agriculture sector has been as massive as the industrial production system. Very soon a realization grew on the part of the Indian polity and the educated elite that the traditional institutions of education having deep roots in the Indian agrarian society and its ethos cannot respond and provide the infrastructure of scientific knowledge in quality and at the speed demanded by the massive technical and technological inputs. Thus began the institutes of technology, agriculture, universities and institutes of management.

With the beginning of management schools in the early sixties, another trend of work and studies of Indian society, its culture, its ethos, processes and dynamics began with the industrial organization as its unit of analysis as against the social communities which were the unit of analysis under the macro-analysis of individual and unit communities. Industrial organizations became the micro-cosms for studies where sociologists, psychologists and anthropologists under the banner of behavioural sciences,
organization behaviour, theory, and or applied behaviour sciences began studies of:

1. Individual motivation and leadership styles
2. Structures, their processes and functions
3. Role concept and role performance
4. Transactions between the individual and the system including nature of authority and organization socialization
5. Studies in change and redesign.

Much of this work was in the form of a direct scientific input for a planned strategy of intervention to improve the performance of business variables.

Their work range from studies of personality structure, organization structure, leadership style, role linkages, problems of communication, conflict resolution, team building and many others. Unfortunately, much of this work is still in oral tradition. Not very substantive work in writing is available. The author being an intern for training and a colleague to many of the post-seventy professionals, is aware of the oral tradition.

**Context of the present Research**

The genesis of the present research reported in this thesis goes back to seven years. Following in the tradition of the above applied behaviour scientists Garg and Parikh in 1971 began the in-depth study of Indian reality through,

1. the study of youth
2. psycho-existential map of Indian society
3. intensive O.D. work in traditional organizations.

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1. This research has been systematized in the book, "Profiles in Identity: Indian Youth at Cross Roads of Culture", 1976.

2. This research has been systematized in the book "Cross Roads of Indian Culture" (to be published).
These studies suggested the following:

1. There is a socio-psychological continuity between the Indian youth, and the Indian Manager. The essence of this continuity lies in the fact of their being children of two cultures. Their emotive orientation to social reality is still overwhelmingly anchored in the traditional agrarian ethos, while their cognitive orientation to social reality tends to be increasingly expressed in terms of the emergent technological culture. The individual then, has become a battle-ground between emotive commitments and cognitive rationality.

2. The internalized role concept, role model and role processes of an individual are incongruent with the role concept, role model and role processes demanded by the intrinsic nature of the task and technology of new work organizations.

3. The individual is aware of the acute dissonance between the coordinates of his role and role orientations required in the social system and the coordinates of the role and the orientation required by work and organizations.
4. The individual in his attempt to manage the incongruence stated under 2 and 3 tends to contribute to the fragmentation of life space into two kinds of role spaces. These are:

1. Socio-psychological role space
2. Socio-temporal role space

1. Socio-psychological role space

This space is exclusively constituted by a well-defined matrix of social relationships, social tasks and affiliative orientations. This role space demands processes which gave significance to the meaning and quality of social objects, meaning and quality of expectations and affiliative inter-dependence inherent in the social organization formulated and defined by ascriptive and normative processes.

2. Socio-temporal role space

This space is the newly differentiated space constituted by the matrix of functional relationships and task orientations. The role space demands processes which give significance to the nature of the task, quality of work and functional inter-dependence which are inherent
in an emergent formal organization formulated around the processes of goal-achievement.

Both the Indian youth at the threshold and entry into adult task organizations and middle managers who have also reached middle age chronologically, seem to experience the pull and push of these two role space components of their life space and struggle with the stress.

5. The individual however achieves this fragmentation cognitively. He continues to respond and act in terms of his primary internalization reflecting the attitudes of the socio-psychological role space. Thus, the organization processes in reality are identical with the processes of the primary social organization viz., the family. Thus, the processes and dynamics of the small organizations of Indian society continue to be reproduced in large organizations with different tasks. In effect, according to Garg and Parikh,* Indian elite has the

* Forthcoming Publication "Cross-Roads of Culture".
unique quality to diagnose and establish the emergent tasks of the new society. They are also capable of identifying the need of setting up innovative institutions of frontier tasks such as, institutes of technology and management and other similar organizations. However, they also have the unique habit of providing these organizations with structures that eventually regress back in their operation and functional processes to either a small patriarchal family or an open rampant acrimonious Panchayat where management of differences become such a big task that the primary task gets completely ignored and put aside.

As a result the manager in the work organization continues to derive meaning, sense of security and identity in life in experiencing closeness and inclusion with the significant individuals in the organization. Their identification with the organization is people-centered rather than task-centered. The role, in conception and performance, continues to be determined by the coordinates of the role concept congruent with the socio-psychological role space of the individual.
At the cognitive level, alternate coordinates for role concept and performance such as, competence at work, functional relationships, voluntary choices, distinction between personal, social expectations and task expectations are identified. But the identification gets clouded and often becomes the source for dilemmas, conflicts and tensions.

An individual, whether a youth or a manager in Indian society, today finds himself caught in two sets of dilemmas. One set represents the dilemma of choice between perspectives on life and the second reflects the dilemma of choice in terms of role coordinates of action.

The dilemmas of choice on perspectives on life identified by Garg and Parikh (1976) are:

1. Role-orientation versus self-orientation
2. Felt feelings versus should feelings
3. Closeness versus individuation
4. Experienced growth versus validated growth
5. Social identity versus work identity.

The individual struggles with these five dilemmas. He cannot resolve the internal fragmentation.
The dilemmas of choice of role coordinates for action identified by Garg and Parikh (1976)* are stated in five continua:

These are:

1. Responsibility
2. Authority
3. Equality
4. Identity
5. Location**

Each of the continua resolves into the following:

1. Role boundedness versus role actualization
2. Single-person authority versus coordinated multi-person authority
3. Exclusion of lateral links and inclusion of lateral links
4. Social identity versus work identity
5. Socio-psychological role space versus socio-temporal role space.

* See Appendix VIII.

** This category of role coordinate was dropped from the present research.
Garg and Parikh (1976)* put these above findings in a theoretical framework postulating coordinates. The matrix suggests a directional change on the continuum of the coordinates from — the orientation of role boundedness, single person, exclusion, social and socio-psychological to role actualization multi-person, inclusion work and socio-temporal orientation — as the ethos of agrarian culture as a whole becomes less dominant and the emergence of technological ethos begins.

With the developmental thrust since 1947, manifestly the size of the input of the western technological ethos both in terms of actual technology of production, knowledge, techniques of coordination and overall patterns of civilization have multiplied manifold. Its impact on the individuals at the cognitive level reflected in aspirations as well as in the use of kind of knowledge and its impacts on behaviour in terms of concrete expressions are obvious. The fact that the youth studied by Garg and Parikh (1976) reflect the dilemmas of both the perspective on life and action and role coordinates, is an evidence that the multiple and manifold impacts of the technological ethos are being introjected. What

* See Appendix VIII.
kind of resolution is taking place is not yet fully understood. It is also not clear what are the sources of internalization of the technological impacts.

Indian organizations as systems having adopted modern and complex technology, the credo of professional management, newer structural forms of the organization seem to still encourage and foster an ethos which makes individuals in the organization act from the deeply institutionalized and institutionalized processes of the socio-psychological role space. Explorations in this aspect led Garg and Parikh (1976)* to hypothesize that the parameters of role concept inherent in the earlier ascriptive social identity seems to be deeply ingrained and institutionalized through childhood experiences. Later exposure to education and work organizations seem to have very low modifying influence in spite of overt cognitive inputs about the desirability of changing the parameters of role concept toward work orientation of socio-temporal role space.

* See Appendix VIII.
Thus, Indian organizations at one level seem to emphasize the importance of considerations of organizational task and technology, demand competence and efficiency at work and seek commitment to work and organizational objectives from the individuals. Their processes however, seem to promote behaviour which is more congruent with the considerations of socio-psychological role space. They encourage personalization, foster patronage, allow non-task considerations to influence policies, seek conformity and commitment to personal orientations of the superiors, and in general gear the individual to attach more importance to the considerations of the affiliated and relational matrix in work organizations.

These experiences in organization development then, imply that the managerial cadre is subjected to double-bind. It creates confusion and makes it difficult for the manager to choose the parameters for the location of his role concept. The task and work considerations of complex organizations suggest one set of parameters. The relational and affiliative considerations suggest another kind of parameter for the location of the role concept.

As indicated earlier, these experiences in organization development in work organizations led Garg and
Parikh (1976) to formulate a diagnostic framework to identify the role and organization processes resulting from the conflict. The diagnostic framework can indicate the differential degree of movement from parameters of socio-psychological role space or the rubric of social identity to the parameters of the socio-temporal role space or the rubric of work identity.

Besides identifying the four role coordinates, the theoretical framework also identifies six categories of role acts of a manager:

1. Decision making
2. Exercise of Authority
3. Communication
4. Evaluation
5. Reward and Punishment
6. Scanning and Control

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1 See Appendix VIII.

2 This category of role act was dropped from the present research.
The simultaneity of role coordinates and the role acts can be systematized in the following matrix:

Table 1.1
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: MATRIX OF ROLE COORDINATES AND ROLE ACTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role Coordination</th>
<th>Decision Making</th>
<th>Exercise of Authority</th>
<th>Communication</th>
<th>Evaluation</th>
<th>Reward &amp; Punishment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single person authority</td>
<td>Responsibility Orientation</td>
<td>Authority Orientation</td>
<td>Multi-Person Authority</td>
<td>Inclusion</td>
<td>Work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The present research

As can be seen in Appendix VIII the diagnostic framework was a broad attempt to systematise the O.D. experiences by Garg and Parikh. The present research has taken steps to further elaborate and conceptually clarify some of the experientially derived findings. In the present research the author reports the further steps carried out:

1. Translated the diagnostic framework underlying the matrix of role coordinates and role acts into an objective instrument. This has been done by subjecting to content analysis the qualitative data obtained through depth interviews and discussions with two hundred managers over four years. The content analysis led to identification of some four hundred statements reflecting the mode of thought, feeling and action of the managers. Out of these four hundred statements two hundred and fifty were turned into items of a questionnaire. The questionnaire was pre-tested in the final study. The data was subjected to inter-item analysis and other correlational studies. In the final analysis an instrument containing one hundred and forty four items emerged.

2. The questionnaire so developed was utilised to generate data from three different organizations to test in a rigorous manner the patterns of shift in role coordinates.
The objectives of this research, besides developing instrument, broadly speaking are:

1. To identify and establish the trend and direction of emerging patterns of role coordinates, be that of social identity or work identity, being used in Indian organizations.

2. With the emerging patterns of role coordinates what are the implications for effective change with the individuals and the organizations.

The present research, in adopting the theoretical framework as the instrument, deals with the process of transition in the nature and meaning of work. It also uses a context of social change. To provide the coordinates of the present research in the context of scientific tradition of work in organization theories was necessary. The author reports the review of theories concerned with the social change and transition in the next chapter i.e. Chapter II titled "Theories of Transition of Societies". Special attention has been given to the basic typologies of society postulated by authors like Durkheim, Tonnies, Weber, Park, Redfield, Parsons and others.
The same chapter further explores the pattern variables of Parsons in which most of the social theories find a culmination in terms of crystallizing action choices for the individual. The author tries to establish that these action choices are second level manifestations of the role concept anchored in the role coordinates internalized by the individual during his primary socialization. The postulation of typologies classifies the change in relationship of an individual with his social objects as it emerges through the instrumentality of change in technology of production. The change in technology of production changes the nature and meaning of work.

Chapter III, "Social and Work Organizations: A Historical Perspective" explores the historical perspective, the concept, the definition, the nature and the meaning of work in the life space of man. The chapter explores continuities and discontinuities between the nature and meaning of work and between the social organizations and work organizations of man's life. It also examines the simultaneities and continuities and uniqueness and discontinuities and differences in the nature and meaning of work and nature and configuration of social and work organizations of the Continent and India.
Chapter IV (four) presents the conceptual model and description of the theoretical framework used in the research.

Chapter V (five) presents the problem, methodology and the sample of the research. The analysis of the data and the findings are reported in Chapter VI (six).

Chapter VII (seven) reports the evaluation of the findings, presents the conclusion and visualizes further research and action implication of the findings.