CHAPTER III

SOCIAL AND WORK ORGANIZATIONS:

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

This chapter explores the historical perspective, the concept, the definition, the nature and meaning of work in the life space of man. The chapter further explores the continuities and discontinuities between the nature and meaning of work and between the social organizations and work organization of man's life space. It also examines the uniqueness and differential meaning of social and work organizations both in India and Continent.
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"Man is not committed in detail by his biological constitution to any particular variety of behaviour. The human animal does not, like the bear, grow himself a polar coat in order to adapt himself, after many generations to the arctic. He learns to sew himself a coat and put up snow house. From all we can learn of the history of intelligence in prehuman as well as human societies, the plasticity has been the soil in which human progress began and in which it has maintained itself". (Ruth Benedict, 1961, p. 14).

From the days of existence in the caves to the creation of an industrial society man has been instrumental to multiple transformations of his life space. The core of the transformation has always been his transactions with the environment for the sake of physical, physiological and eventually social and psychological survival. As such, work has been an integral part of man's life space. Its definition, its concept, its nature and its meaning have changed from time to time with the change in the transactions with the environment.
Man's interaction with his environment for the sake of physical and physiological survival has involved the conversion of potential energy into kinetic energy. According to Ghiselli and Brown (1965) this energy has been directed through the intervention of mental processes to accomplish a productive operation in order to achieve the goal of physical and physiological survival. The organization of his interaction and the ensuing activity has come to be identified as the work component of his life space.

Similarly, to Mead H. (1963) man's interaction with his environment for social and psychological survival has involved the convergence of his potential feelings into directed emotions. These emotions have been directed to specific social objects in order to generate and maintain a matrix of relations. To Linton (1936) this interaction of man is to fulfill the need of belonging and of being a part of collectivity. To Parsons (1966) this aspect of man's organization of interactions and the ensuing activity has first generated and then reinforced the social order. The social order has then, in turn, defined,
ascribed and legitimized the boundaries of the life space of the individual and the collectivity.

Thus, man's life space has revolved around two components:

1. The component of work
2. The component of social relations

These components being simultaneous have constantly interacted with each other. They have influenced and modified each other and determined the emergent patterns of attitudes, values, beliefs and modes of behaviour. Man's life space, as such, is the result of the continuous interplay of these two components. Whyte L. (1949).

The exigencies of man's interaction with his environment for the sake of physical and physiological survival have forced him to innovate and develop technology and acquire differential skills. These compulsions for innovative technological breakthroughs have provided him with the forces of change in his life space. (Whyte L. 1950).

Similarly, man's interaction with his environment for social and psychological survival has generated patterns
of maintenance and permanence, for the sake of security and belonging. The former has created dynamism for breakthroughs and change while the latter has generated forces of inertia and a pull toward stability.

Thus, man has always been in the midst of dynamics of these two simultaneous components of his life space. They have acted as the two anchors of his life space. In his struggle to derive meaning in life man has often failed to resolve the struggle between these two anchors. He has shifted between work orientation and social relation orientation and created cultures which are either work centered and dominated by the spirit of the task orientation, or cultures which are relation centered and dominated by the spirit of the people orientation.

Perhaps, in order to resolve this turmoil man has tended to hypothesize a third component of his life space, that is the component of spiritual existence. The religio-philosophical orientation which has thus emerged may have helped him to absorb the stress of the dynamism of work and the inertia of social relations to some extent. However, the question of meaning he has for
himself in his life space has remained unresolved. Where does his meaning and identity lie? Does his meaning and identity arise from work? Or does his meaning and identity arise from commitment to the social relationships?

A comprehensive review of the multi-phased evolution of man and his life space, his interaction with the environment, the changing patterns of social order and forms of work suggest that four major transformations in man's life space have occurred in the last 4000 years of the known history of mankind. Each transformation has been a discontinuity in the definition, concept, nature, meaning of work and of the social relationships. As a consequence each discontinuity has initiated a new structure of work and social system. Consequently, time and again man had to struggle and contend with the change in attitudes, values, beliefs and behaviour patterns which emerged in the structural changes in both work and social system.

The four transformations in the life space of man reflect the following sequence:
I. Isolated hunting to group hunting,

II. Group hunting to the beginnings of cattle culture,

III. Cattle culture to Agriculture, and

IV. Emergence of modern industrialization.

Each transformation and the discontinuity seems to have a great impact on man's life style in terms of "abode". In the first pattern man perhaps had a fixed abode from which he foraged. With the shift to a group form of living he developed a nomadic pattern of moving over a vast territory. With further development of agricultural processes he stayed for a period of years in one place and then moved away as the resources around him depleted. Later in the same agrarian period when man developed the ability to replenish the resources he learnt to live in the same place for generations. Finally, in the industrial era he has once again become a transient who stays in a fixed abode for short duration and moves around.

All these patterns of abode and its relationships to the transformations have continuously demanded a new definition of the group and individual relationships.
Thus, the source of deriving meaning from the component of social relationships of life space has very often been changed.

I. Isolated hunting to group hunting

With the advent on the earth man began the process of interaction with the given environment to adapt, to modify, to change, and to conquer. In the pre-historic times life meant facing the odds and surviving against the odds. Man began his struggle to learn and to utilise his own resources and those of the nature to feed himself, clothe himself and shelter himself. His prime concern was survival. During this phase, work, if it could be conceptualized as work, was aimed at physical and physiological survival. Man learnt to hunt and this became his primary occupation. Gradually, this forced him to innovate. He developed techniques and tools for hunting which, over centuries, got modified. Thus according to Durant (1935) the pattern of isolated hunting led to the following consequences:

1. Development of tools and techniques needed for hunting, and

2. Differentiation and allocation of time.
   Time for hunting and time for making tools.
II. **Group hunting to beginning of cattle culture**

Over centuries, perhaps by gradual learning or by chance men learnt the art of domesticating animals. In domesticating the animal he discovered a continued supply of food and, as and when necessary, a source of energy. A group form of living together emerged. This reformulated the earlier pattern of life style to include new dimensions of interpersonal relations. It is, perhaps, in the emergence of group form of living that socio-psychological concerns of belonging, need for social order, and its stability have their roots.

Parsons (1960) suggests that societies at this level of existence began symbolizing organic life as limited by birth and death. Their concerns were with the physical environment and the values revolved around exigencies of living, including the issues of territory, social status, biological descent, and of the modes of social communication through language. In other words, a proto type of social system emerged, and for the first time man went through the process of norm setting, developing codes of conduct, and recognizing the need for functional differentiation for effective living. The long range impact of this transformation are:
1. Living in a group, and as such emergence of "group" as a co-ordinate of life space.

2. First level role differentiation across sexes and across functional division of work.

3. Emergence of a supra-individual authority to which man surrendered some of his freedom.

As such, the emergence of nomadic life style generated forces which sought for man's commitment beyond the self, loyalty to, cohesiveness with, and value for the system in order to have meaning in life. In essence this was the first giant step of man to become a social being and in the process man got caught in the eternal struggle of being and becoming. The more identifiable projection of this struggle for being and becoming is reflected in the conflict of goal setting. Should an individual choose to build monuments, seek victories and leave concrete symbols for the progeny? Should the individual choose the process of replenishing resources and seek effective living with minimal concern with concrete outcomes? Further projection of this struggle
can be experienced in the choice of being task centered or people centered. The classical struggle of "I-Thou"* thus became a basic reality in man's life space.

The world also got fragmented into strong cohesive systems of exclusion and inclusion, and thus introduced for man a new intervening identity, the parochial identity beyond the universal human identity. An unintended consequence in the life space of man was that the social order acquired greater dominance and significance in determining the meanings to live by. Man's cultural symbols, which help him give meaning and identity, were very often rooted in the culture reflecting the dominance of social order.

III. Cattle culture to agriculture

The nomadic life reinforced living in groups and fostered cohesiveness to the social group. Simultaneously, it promoted an ability to disengage from the physical environment and move to a new location. To Durant (1935) and Redfield (1962) the emergence of cattle culture started to create stable locations and as such people began settling down. This gave an opportunity for man to crystallize knowledge and norms of social order, to refine techniques and skills, to handle unpredictables

* This term is used by Martin Buber.
and uncertainties of life by developing supernatural beliefs, and developing a rudimentary form of religion.

With the group acquiring greater and greater permanence in the same physical locale, new ways of handling the environment and its resources emerged. This crystallized into a new culture of agriculture as a technology of production and a consequent emergence of the agrarian social structure as a technology of social living.

History is replete with the struggle and war between the groups that practised cattle culture and the new groups concerned with agriculture. According to Munishi (1969), in India, Lord Krishna as the representative of the cattle culture and his own elder brother Balaram as the representative of the agriculture culture, or 'Haldhar' as he is known, represents within the same community the simultaneous existence and conflict between the two cultures. In U.S. history the feuds between the cattle and the agrarian culture are still very poignantly alive in the form of books of the wild West. The essence of the conflict between the two cultures is more of a pattern of life style, often centred in the values they represent.
In Durant's (1935) words "Man began to lay roots. He invented tools and techniques, began to build his huts, schools and temples. He began to work with regularity, followed the patterns of nature and its seasons. Thus he took a quantum jump and began systematically the transmission of mental, moral and occupational heritage of his race to his progeny." p.3.

The coming together in one place of scattered people and isolated families led to security and stability. The stabilization of the agrarian pattern of living led to the emergence of a more complex social structure and its network of attitudes, values and beliefs. The family and the social living gained more significance.

Durant (1935) summarizes the process of growth in agricultural society. Besides the elements of social growth, economic and political growth emerged. Simultaneously, social and moral order developed. Art, music, dance, sculpture and architecture began to flourish and add to the social living. Other modes of economic life were invented. Besides hunting, fishing, herding and tillage, transport and building industry, commerce and finance
developed. The social life and social organization grew from the family to the clan, the tribe, the village, and the community. Through the slow magic of time the customs and processes developed and gradually became an integral part of the individual and his collectivity. Thus, customs and processes began to regulate every sphere of human existence and give continuity, security and stability to the social order. Darwin (1904) saw this issue as the most significant distinction between animal and man. According to him, in human beings the development of conscience is a social consciousness - the feeling of the individual that he belongs to a group and owes to it some measure of loyalty and consideration. This in turn adds to the reinforcement of social living.

To summarise, the transformation from the nomadic pattern to agricultural pattern of living then, triggered new demands on man and his life space.

1. Investment in the environment implying the need to replenish and rejuvenate the environment

2. Search for permanence, continuity and stability, creating the concept of individualized property
3. Further differentiation based on skills and functions with tendency to monopolise and institutionalize functional and occupational skills. This led to the first major institutionalization of work as a major anchor of life space.

4. Search for knowledge and imparting of knowledge

5. Patterns of governance and succession in the group

6. Institutionalization of authority

7. Codification of norms and values

8. Emergence of multiple sub-systems within the larger group needing coordination and regulation.

9. Finally, consolidation of all the expressive aspects of man such as art, music, dance, etc., in an abstract called "culture" which man inherited and passed on to the new generation.

Thus man for the first time acquired two institutions:

1. The institution of society implying differentiation,
stratification, patterns of governance and succession and establishment of group authority.

2. The institution of culture implying the values and all the expressive aspects of man, such as art, music, dance etc.

Kroeber and Parsons (1958) draw the distinction neatly. The term 'culture' be used to stand for "transmitted and created content and patterns of values, ideas, and other symbolic-meaningful systems while the other term society - or more generally, social system - be used to designate the specifically relational system of interaction individuals and collectivities", p.583.

Sorokin 1947; Kardiner (1939), Linton (1945), Fromm (1949), Erikson (1950), Mukherjee (1956), Redfield (1963), and Dube (1970), working on the same duality of society and culture state many other dimensions.

To Redfield (1963), "A culture is a way of life of a particular society". pp.112.

To Mukherjee (1956), "Culture is the aggregate of beliefs, values, and behaviours of the members of a
society and the aggregate of symbols which express and communicate such beliefs, values and behaviours." pp.31-32.

To Dube (1970) "Through culture man develops a conception of self, society and god. It provides him a system of meaning and motivation. It is also responsible for the maintenance of internal and external security. In its more dynamic aspects, culture provides for adaptation and adjustment to the changing natural, social and psychological environments." p.5.

The agrarian transformation continued to unfold over centuries and in the process continued to differentiate and integrate new work zones. In its differentiation and integration the work component of man showed a large degree of similarity across the world. However, the life style and the social order which Parsons (1941) and many others call 'culture' that evolved around the component of work in the life space of man, differed across world. It is this difference that gave an individual his distinct identity and the society its distinctness. The individual then, acquired basic disposition to experience and define his identity in two ways:
1. Within the bounds of his own society he experienced and defined his identity by the symbols and culture of his group. The group boundaries in many cases were determined by multiple coordinates such as, ethnic, heritage, and the occupation. In either case the individual's identity could be defined in terms of the socio-cultural sense of belonging. This is what has been identified as the 'social identity' for the purpose of this research.

2. Across the bounds of his own society he experienced and defined his identity by the abstract and broader aggregate culture of his society as a whole. In the society as a whole this concept of identity was reflected in the unique mores and modes of interpersonal transactions. In essence his identity was still organized around the socio-cultural aspects. Work, occupation or technology of production was not an integral part of his identity. As such, this process also reinforced the dynamics of identity into the rubric of social identity.
The culture as an asset gave man his meaning and his reason to live. Culture as a liability unleashed the forces of war, hate, stereotyping, and dehumanising. History is replete with evidence that culture and its linkage with ethnic identity are the greatest sources of dehumanization. For example, the white and black, the Arab and the Jew, the oriental and the occidental, the Hindu and the Muslim struggle continuously, and the examples can go on.

While the work component with some differences in technology had larger common patterns across the world, the cultural heritage differed. This process once again reinforced in man the need to centre his meaning in the anchor of social identity. Erikson (1964) and Kakar (1971) suggest that man's meaning and identity got more securely and irrevocably tied to the culture, the social system and the values.

Another process which reinforced social and cultural identity in man was the longer duration of dependent status and the gradual increase in the number of years of apprenticeship and education for becoming an adult and
a skilled worker. Many writers such as Chowdhry (1964), Ellul (1964), and Garg (1969) suggest that even to-day the lengthening of the apprentice period for secondary socialization tied man more securely to his social identity. Though the process of the culture continued to develop a thrust to experience and define identity in terms of the rubric of the social identity i.e., in terms of patterns of social relations, its mores and values etc., the component of work in the life space of man could not be completely ignored.

In the process of unfolding of the agrarian society and culture across the world, some chance factor set in motion the emergence of many variances. Two of these variances have distinct patterns of interactions and coordination between work component and social relation component of man's life space. These are:

A. European continental pattern*

B. The Indian sub-continental pattern.

* For the purpose of this research the word European continental includes the American culture as well.
It is necessary to take stock of the subtle and the significant differences in the process of the agrarian society at the European continent and the Indian subcontinent. This research contends that universalisation of culture specific theories of the European continent are only partially applicable. A culture specific theory building for the Indian context is essential to deal with the Indian reality on a larger scale.

A. **European continental pattern**

In the European continent, the agrarian culture reflected a stratification of the individuals in the society into two distinct classes:

1. The class of nobles, and
2. The class of peasants

A master-servant relation evolved between the nobles and the peasants and got perpetuated. This type of society is called the feudal society. For the historians feudal society means restricted institutional patterns of medieval Europe focusing specially on the lord-vassal relationship.
Between the peasant and the nobles fell the artisans. They originally came from the peasant class or from the class of freed slaves. Over time they specialized in crafts. Eventually they formed 'guilds' which laid down norms of entry of new members through apprenticeship.

Sjoberg (1952) and Mcnall (1968) identify feudal society as consisting of a large peasant population. Individuals live in small village settlements cultivating land for their livelihood and utilising simple technology. The elites who reside in town are the ruling stratum, the nobility and the landlords. They combine their influence together with the militarists, warriors and priest/scholar group. The significant feature of this stratification is its bifurcation - a small minority of nobles exploiting a large subservient population which passively accepts its role. Distinctive dress, speech and manners render and enhance the differentiation and visible recognition of the elites' strata of belonging. Earl and McKay (1951) have identified some of the feudal structures continuing to exercise significant influence in the industrialized structure of society even today.
The individuals from the noble class then invested in themselves the roles of authority and property holders. They owned and controlled the resources. Within the family structure some more stratification took place. In the same noble family the eldest male child became the heir to the property and profession, while the second, third and subsequent sons had professions defined for them, like joining the armed forces, joining the church and such others. The nobility thus defined the boundaries of the professions which were acceptable for its members.

Ellul (1964) indicates that the peasant class, produced, rendered service and played artisan roles. They tilled the land and produced goods. The European continental pattern has its genesis in the Greek lifestyle where labour was done by slaves and the citizens and nobles of the city democracy supposedly led an intellectual and contemplative life dealing with art, philosophy and such other higher activities. Physical effort was restricted to the art of war and or competitive sport of physical prowess.
Though the class other than the nobles, i.e., the peasants and the artisans did the service roles, their occupational choices were not so rigidly defined as in the class of nobles. In the class of artisans individuals could exercise freedom to follow their own inclinations. They could acquire competence beyond the familial occupation. This freed them from the strict bondage of following the same profession as that of their fathers. This opportunity provided an individual some discretionary space to redefine his occupation and identity. He could acquire some sense of personal meaning in work through his own investment.

Easterbrook (1949) and later Cole (1959) suggest that for the peasant class there was no security. In combination with the discretionary element stated above, the lack of security produced and facilitated the jack-of-all trades and the "tinker" approach to work. Each artisan, as the opportunity arose, could like the blacksmith turn his hand to a considerable variety of tasks. This pattern created an acceptance of mobility (occupational) and eventually created the syndrome of social climbing through the process and mythology of "rags to riches".
B. The Indian Sub-continental pattern

The Indian agrarian society designed the life space of an individual in the simultaneity of the two systems:

1. The social relations system, and
2. The economic transactional system.

The simultaneity of two systems was integrated into one system through birth. The concept of "caste" ordering linked to birth demarcated the boundaries of the role and defined the life space of the individual in the social system. It determined the individual's social identity. The social identity determined by caste ordering of the society was all comprehensive. It not only defined the nature of work and occupation and the nature of inter-group relationship, but it also defined the life style, patterns and modes of meeting life situations and even the boundaries of social aspirations.
This process of simultaneity of relational and economic system crystallized in the caste order created a more complex social stratification in the Indian society than anywhere else in the world. Each of the "caste order" had its own boundaries of identity. According to Erikson (1968), each caste, through a historical, psychological and social process comes to have a psychosocial identity which gives the individual his sense of security and solidarity with the group. This makes mobility almost impossible.

Thus, the stratification in caste system placed the individual in a social position with little scope for mobility. His personal inclination and chances of acquiring competence were channelized into the caste occupation. Work then became a sub-set of his overall social role. Work was not the source of the individual's meaning in life. His meaning arose from the dominant aspect of his relational and affiliative belonging. The stratification in 'caste' and thereby occupation reduced the individual's mobility, limited his standards of living and reinforced his social identity.
Thapar (1975) suggests that there is belief that the Indian society is unchanging. The rigid caste structure is oppressive on the individual and inhibits any change. Srinivas (1957) Sheth (1971) and many others suggest that though the link with the caste and occupation is rigid, it is not inflexible. There is evidence of social mobility. New castes are constantly being formed but the society is not open either. It is only capable of making adjustments within limits. Mobility is possible and is largely through the process of a whole group moving in the caste ranking rather than an individual climbing the social ladder.

In describing the process of mobility as a group Srinivas (1957) points out the emergence of new castes in the Indian society. These new castes, in the tradition of the Indian society, authenticated their new status by formulating religious beliefs and rites and by borrowing myths. The process of formulation of caste mythology, religious beliefs and rites performed the two basic functions through which a psycho-cultural identity can be created and maintained in a differentiated form. These are:
1. They act as a conservor of the values of the society at large and the boundaries of the new group.

2. They foster and reinforce individual and group identity. On the whole, this process successfully binds the guilt and anxiety. It helps continue the sense of security. The individual does not have to face the painful process of exile, ex-communication and social isolation which may be inherent in the individualised mobility in the society where caste ordering is so rigidly defined and occupation so securely tied to it.

The characteristics of the social structure linking work and social relations as evolved in the two continents are contrasted below:
### Table 3.1

#### Agrarian Culture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>European</th>
<th>Indian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Birth as determinant of occupation</td>
<td>1. Class membership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Noble: Resource Controller of the society</td>
<td>a) Each caste controlling the relevant resources of the society independently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Peasant: Service and labour to produce for nobles.</td>
<td>b) Reciprocal service and labour relationships and producing for self and family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Interchangeability of occupation within the class by individuals possible.</td>
<td>No interchangeability of occupation by individuals sanctioned. Whole group must move and form a new caste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Hierarchy of profession amongst nobles and peasant and artisans.</td>
<td>3. Hierarchy of profession based on caste ordering.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2.1 contd.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>European</th>
<th>Indian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II. Boundary determinant of life space</td>
<td>1. Discretion of exercise choice of occupation by personal inclination within broad boundaries of class.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Acquiring of new competence leading to master craftsman status.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Change in life style and life space through individualized effort ending in social climbing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Muzumdar (1966) both class and caste have their origin in the sociological setting and function dynamically in the social process. Both class and caste provide a horizontal reference group for the individual and define his rank and position in the social hierarchy. Both involve stratification i.e., the concept of the
higher and lower, or upper and lower. However, the spread of this higher and lower, and upper and lower in the caste system is much wider. This variance and its socio-psychological implications in terms of identity are often ignored by the attempts to systematise the broader aspects of class and caste.

Thus, in the European society birth was a context for the individual identity. Perhaps the context of birth could not be abandoned but the individual could determine his space in the available occupation, compete with others and achieve recognition for competence and skill. He could acquire a personal meaning and identity by his effort. The social distance determined by birth between the noble and the peasant class could be bridged by exceptional success and over time through heritage. His bridging could also take place through marriage or through vesting of a title.

In the Indian context birth contributed to give both the social and work meaning. The two were irrevocably tied with each other. The individual had very little opportunity to modify or change his belonging,
meaning and identity. Thapar (1975) suggests that the dynamics of Indian society was a juxtaposition of percept and practice of the organization life as it should be and the organization of life as it is. For every aspect of life, from the most mundane to the most exhilarating, there was a theory of function which necessarily did not reflect the reality. The theory was the ideal image worked out on the most careful classification of every detail and with all contingencies accounted for.

Garg (1969) describes this process of Indian society as over-structuring of experiential space whereby man learns to suspend his experiencing self from the living process of reality. In this way he surrenders himself to the automated role identity and achieves the ideal of detachment. Garg's (1969) study of United States suggests a similar process of overstructuring of experiential space emerging in the '60s. The response in the United States, however, was to drop out of the structure and seek personal integration through commitment.
Thus, it seems that another significant difference between the agrarian ethos of the European continent and India can be stated in terms of commitment. See table below:

### Table 3.2
Commitment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agrarian ethos</th>
<th>European</th>
<th>Indian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commitment coordinates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Unit of Society</td>
<td>Feudal System</td>
<td>Caste and Role</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Time</td>
<td>Here and Now: Social reality of to-day</td>
<td>Future of the self (karma for new birth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Relationship</td>
<td>To utilise and replenish the resources of the system</td>
<td>Utilisation of resources and detachment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, the forms and processes of social organization that any agrarian society evolved were all pervasive. In almost all spheres of life, including the work, the same forms and processes were reproduced with some adjustment to the situation, the task, and possibly technology.
A single model of social organization persisted over a long time. Usually, the family system as a prototype was reflected in all other sub-systems of the society.

It seems then, that with the development and crystallization of the forms and processes of an agrarian society, the work component of man's life triggered off forces which led to the development of a social order which was cohesive, all pervasive and comprehensive. It touched every sphere of life space. It overcrystallized the patterns of relationships between man and his group, man and his work, and in the final analysis many of the intra-personal and somewhat of the intra-psychic dispositions toward orientation to life.

Sumner (1907), Malinowski (1926), Mead M (1928), Benedict (1934), Kardiner (1939), Merton (1940), Whiting (1941), Sorokin (1947), Firth (1948), Mead H (1963), Goffman (1963), Smith (1976), Sarabin (1954) and Erikson (1964), among other psychologists, sociologists and anthropologists, have, through the study of child rearing practices, the study of processes of socialization and the study of norms, attitudes, values and beliefs, explained how man internalizes the elements of his culture and social system.
Regardless of the focus, which differs from author to author, these studies, as a group, show how the individual internalizes the role model of his society, internalizes and formulates role concept, and internalizes stable and enduring action dispositions. In the Indian situation the internalization of the differentiated social system was perhaps much more severe and pronounced. Thus, commitment to the role and caste reality and consequently to the rubric of the social identity was intense and strong.

Centuries of agrarian ethos crystallized the social organization, its forms and processes to a point of rigidity. The values and attitudes it promoted, the patterns of inter-personal relations it fostered, and the meaning of life it idealized became almost compulsive. One suspects that the forces of affirming the agrarian ethos, values, meanings and attitudes became sanctioned as the basic nature of man. The concept of life, action predispositions, and boundaries of aspirations to which man adapted himself, came to be treated as either
God given or essentially as inherent qualities. Man became a victim of his own adaptation which he called as his heritage, natural, social and spiritual. As such, when the fourth transformation and discontinuity came around in the man's life space he found himself caught in the dominating patterns of agrarian ethos. He struggled to come to grips with the forces of this new discontinuity. His attempts to refashion the social order and create a new ethos reflect the impact of the over-crystallization of the agrarian period.

IV. Industrialization

Historically, the source of industrialization lies in the discovery of fire. Man's need to develop extensions of self in the form of tools created an instrumental approach toward environment. From time to time, as indicated earlier, the exigencies of physical and psychological survival, and work components of his life space led him to design and redesign the technology of production. At each phase of these transformations of the technology of production, periods of stability intervened. Perhaps, the discovery
of fire has a snowball effect in the form of current industrialization and urban civilization. However, when the modern industrialization process started it was once again like a major quantum jump for the horizons and aspirations in the life of man.

Ellul (1964), in his historical review suggests "that at the end of the 18th century European society was at the cross-roads. More and more need was felt to create new means. Even the structure these new systems must take was clearly perceived. But, however, the framework of the society, the ideas in currency, the intellectual positions of the day were not favourable to their realisations". p.41.

In Europe, the philosophy of the 18th century which laid down the definition, concept, nature and meaning of social and work system was utilitarian and pragmatic. It concerned itself with the quality of human life. It attempted to bring more pleasure into it, and simplify its labour. The latter half of the 18th century brought a sense of peace as the conditions of war diminished and the emergence of renaissance
values brought into focus an increasing sense of man's responsibilities for his fellow human being. It also brought a certain delight in life which was enhanced with the improvement of living conditions of almost all classes. Europe then was at the take off stage from the agrarian ethos and ready to plunge in the discontinuity of the industrial era.

Basu (1958) and Gadgil (1959) indicate that India in the 1780s was more urbanized than Europe. However, it was also more literate, yet the socio-political and socio-cultural conditions were such that the need to manipulate the environment did not lead to any attempt toward technological breakthroughs. Thapar (1975) suggests that mechanisation and industrialization in India was associated with Western domination. It was believed that it would transfer society beyond recognition. But the impact has been not so earth-shaking.

Why India could not develop an indigenous breakthrough in technology and take steps toward industrialization and mechanisation is generally attributed to
its philosophy. According to Ellul (1964), it is very commonly believed that the technological development and the growth of industrialization has been more in the West because the western mind is oriented toward know-how and action while the eastern mind is more oriented toward the mystical and has no concrete action. However, there is evidence suggesting, and if one realistically examines the facts, the East was the cradle of all action. Very few researchers seem to have recognized other variables such as, the very nature of social design, concept of life, and the guiding principle of being and becoming that influence to give direction to human endeavour. To Garg and Parikh (1976) the attribution of lack of technological breakthrough in India to mystical pre-dispositions is a stereotype created by Christian missionary mind. This attribution also ignores the historical perspective and the sociological evidence since the 13th century onward. During these years India was in ferment and engaged in constant war.

From the discovery of the civilization of Mohen-jo-daro there is evidence of India's golden age reflected
in its cultural, social and spiritual heritage. For centuries the Dravidians and the Aryans together had organized a life style of living together, culminating in the rigid caste system with strong boundaries and laws governing interpersonal and inter-group transactions and associations. The Indic-Aryan society had developed and settled down to agrarian forms of living.

India's past, beginning with Mohen-jo-daro has been of frequent turmoils. Invaders have continued to come in fluxes. The process of their assimilation and their integration has been very pronounced. It has consumed more time and energy of the society to preserve, modify and maintain the culture, social and spiritual heritage. Preoccupation with this basic concern has led Indians to the utilisation of periods of stability and peace into activities of creation and consolidation of culture as manifested in temples, artifacts and re-affirmation of existing production systems.

This turmoil has not only been in terms of dealing with the continuous waves of ethnic invasions but also
dealing with the intellectual confrontation which took place with each exposure with the culture of the dominant ethnic groups. Early history of India till 6th century A.D. is a history of intellectual ferment at one level and political struggle between the power blocks following different religio-philosophical orientation and hence political goals at another level. As such, Indian history is replete with repeated patterns of short periods of cohesive and integrated political set up and longer periods of slow and steady disintegration.

Durant (1936) puts this process of Indian history in the following words:

"This is the secret of the political history of modern India. Weakened by division, it succumbed to invaders; impoverished by invaders, it lost all power of resistance, and took refuge in supernatural consolations; it argued that both mastery and slavery were superficial delusions; and concluded that freedom of the body or the nation was hardly worth defending in so brief a life". p. 463.
Followed by the post-moghul conquest Indian society, defeated and humiliated, adopted a policy to hold steadfast to the social and cultural heritage. The economic and political control continued to be with the Moghuls.

Since Harsha's reign, i.e., almost for thirteen hundred years, Indian society had had no consolidation of political and economic resources at her disposal. They were either divided in many hands or were in alien hands who were content with the exploitation of the wealth and resources of the land. Their energies were also directed in attacking the moral, cultural, social and spiritual heritage of ancient India. If history is any evidence, India gradually gave up the reign of political and economic controls to the aliens but held on to the spiritual heritage. One generation passed on to another the social context and the spiritual heritage which firmly held the individual in his defined role. The social task of preserving the religion, the cultural identity, and human integrity was more important than such concerns as technological breakthroughs. Yet in India technological breakthroughs, like dams and irrigation systems, did take place.
Whatever be the reasons for the lack of technological breakthrough, the fact remains that the Indian movement toward industrialization, mechanisation and automisation is not indigenous. It is dominated by Western influences.

It is necessary to examine the impact of industrialization on the life space of man in the Continent and in India. Is this impact more homogenous in quality and direction or is it divergent as was the case with the impact of agrarian transformations?

In the social science literature the phase of industrialization is treated as a single continuum which was evolved and became more complex over the last two centuries. Weiner (1961) suggests that there has been only one industrial revolution – the source of it lies in the replacement of human muscle energy by other sources of energy. Mumford (1934) elaborates and classifies stages of industrial revolution according to the source of energy used – from man or animal to hydraulic, to thermal energy of coal, and later oil, and to electrical energy. Today, it can be extended to nuclear and solar energy.
Ellul (1964) sees the sources of industrial revolution in the emergence of the concept of utilitarianism and pragmatism of the 18th century ethos and the simultaneity of the convergence of five sociological phenomena:

1. The maturation of a long technical experience.
2. Suitability of the economic environment
3. Population expansion
4. Plasticity of the social milieu, and
5. Appearance of clear technical inventions.

The resultant phenomenon of industrialization created a runaway process for change in the technology of production. But the technology of social living and techniques of co-ordination between the technology of production and social living remained largely the same. This generated stress in man's life space and created the momentum for a major change in the social order. However, after the World War II and with the invention of transistor integrated circuitary and various other aspects, the nature of industrialization has completely changed. Accordingly, Weiner's (1961) and others' viewpoint of single industrial revolution is contestable. According
to the author, there are two distinct phases of industrialization:

1. The mechanical traditional industrialization
2. Automated integrated modern industrialization

1. The mechanical traditional industrialization

In this phase three aspects changed. Ellul (1964) historically identifies a phase of systematization, unification and clarification of all the existing knowledge. The next phase, according to him, is translation of knowledge into action, of man's concern to master things by reason, to make quantitative what was then qualitative, and finally to prevent chaos and ensure order. When this translation of knowledge into action finally emerged in the form of industrialization, the following changes took place in the simplistic agrarian technology of production:

1. Human and animal muscle energy was replaced by some other source like thermal, water, electricity, etc.
2. The size and spread of the technology and tools got enlarged but the sequence and basic process remained the same.
3. The size and sources of capital changed.
The characteristic of this phase of traditional industrialization is the large scale emergence of mechanisation. It is important to note that during this phase of industrialization the technology was basically an enlarged and modified form of the earlier era. The technical principle which created it remained the same. This process is best illustrated in the textile industry where from raw cotton to the finished cloth, the sequencing of the process and the nature of the processing technology remain the same. Only the size of the machines enlarged and the nature of energy used changed.

Hetzler (1969), Braeger (1966), and others suggest that the process of mechanization created a sort of social relationship between man and machine, a relationship in which, as the technology develops, man's importance decreases and the machine's increases.

In the initial stages of this phase of growth of industrialization the culture lag between the technologies of social living and production was not very large. Hence, the congruence between the techniques of co-ordination of the earlier era to obtain and maintain harmony between
the technologies of social living and production needed no major changes. The process of adjustment was to go through the process of differentiation and reintegration in a more complex manner. Thus, the forms and processes of social organization available were seen as sufficiently capable to cope with the eventualities of work organization.

But as this phase progressed, the process of industrialization began to modify in a compulsive way many facets of society. In the West, as indicated by many writers, the great family structure vanished. The care and nature of the young, and the responsibility of the aged was handed over to formal institutions. Many traditional institutions of neighbourhood, community and of getting together, started disintegrating. There was a major upheaval in the social order. This was partly because man nostalgically believed that his concept of life space of the agrarian times expressed the intrinsic human nature. As such, he considered the impact of industrialization as the rape of human nature. He ignored the fact that 4,000 years of agrarian society has over-conditioned him to believe so, and as a consequence crippled him for the new quantum jump in man's existence.

Garg and Parikh.*

* Forthcoming publication, "Cross-Roads of Indian Culture".
A review of the continental literature suggests the following impacts of traditional industrialization on man and his social organization:

1. **Producer to wage earner identity**

   From being producers, a large part of the populace gradually began to become wage earners. As early as the times of Leonardo da Vinci and Dela Hire in 1669, and M Leirronet in 1761 who wrote about timing, production methods, tools, and what was a fair day's wage, an evidence of shift from a producer society to a wage earner society is available. Similar studies in the 19th century include Adam Smith (1776); William James (1842-1910); John Dewy (1859-1952); Charles Babbage (1832); and Charles Horton Coley (1864-1929) among others. Khandwalla (1977) suggests that these authors focused on the application of principle of specialization, division of labour, motion and time study, and the multiple aspects of the production and manufacturing. Marx (1867) finally systematized this concept in his theory of labour class.
2. Work Alienation

The impact of machine technology was that man felt separated from the product. In the work setting he also felt distantiated from the owners and consumers of his product. Sociologists like Marx, Weber, Durkheim and others who studied work alienation, suggest that man also experienced the loss of social context as man uprooted himself from his social setting and attempted to lay roots in urban industrial centers. In the process he experienced anonymity and a sense of loss of belonging.

3. Emergence of class struggle

This theme has been the focus of many writers. With the slow breaking down of the feudal system, the class struggle came to surface more openly. The process of industrialization acted as a catalyst for the development of a new social order.

The earliest proponents of combining the economic, social and political effects of the emerging industrialization, mechanisation, and its growing impact on man and society are (Fourier 1772-1837) in France, (Robert Owen 1777-1858), in England, (Karl Marx 1818-1883) and
(Frederich Engles 1820-1895), in Germany, and (Ferdinand Lasall 1825-1864). This was the beginning of laying of roots of socialism proper and had its beginnings in the latter part of the 19th century. This developed primarily in Continental Europe and in England. Each thinker focused on some dimension of the individual in relation with the group and its linkages with the society. But according to Bogardus (1964) the significant and common aspect was the break with the feudal system and the emergence of a new social, economic and political system characterized by a concept of egalitarianism.

4. Mobility and as such breakdown of old family systems

Mobility on the Continent was not so very difficult. The peasant class did have occupational mobility by turning into any kind of artisan craftsman. Mobility was also quite a practice for the persecuted groups. The whole process of empire building beginning in the 14th century by the Portuguese and Spanish to colonise the world made mobility a part of the Continental culture. However, it is only after the post-Victorian era of industrialization that major disruptions in the family
system and disruption in patterns of courtship, residential boundaries, boundaries of education, training and upbringing of children started to get diffused.

In spite of these four shifts which gained momentum over three centuries, the real process level ethos of the feudal society continued to survive till World War I. These are:

1. The syndrome of elitism: Though universal education came around the career path of the elite, for example the education in England was still considered significant from Eaton and Oxford. The old school tie and almamater provided the new identity for resource controllers of the society.

2. The syndrome of patronage: Artists, architects, poets, musicians, even scientists and scholars continued to seek, and were given, patronage by the elites. Movement toward professionalization and the evolution of professional identity were not very clear. The authority to affirm and legitimise remained with the elites and operated as if it was conferring 'knighthood' on a war hero.
Only after the World War I the trend of humanization embedded in the renaissance spirit represented by (Voltaire 1694-1778; Emerson 1803-1832; Thoreau 1817-1862) and many others started becoming major concerns. This trend led to an attempted definition of the Government and State Welfare State and thus the State became an over-increasing source of intervention in the social order and fabric of the continental cultures.

As traditional industrialization took roots and became a dominant focus in the society, the stresses on the individual's life space multiplied. The impact on the social organization and social fabric increased to create, what writers like Durkheim and others have called, social disintegration.

The confrontation with the depression and then the World War II tore the social fabric of the Continental cultures. Man adopted new patterns of behaviour inspite of moral guilt and eventually fashioned a new philosophy. Many authors, (Adam Henri Brooks, Alexander Blok, Anton Chevtrov, Joseph Conrad, Croce Benedetto, Dreiser, Ralph Emerson, Scott Fitzgerald, Anatole France, John Galsworthy, Andrew Gide,
Maxim Gorky, Thomas Hardy, Henry James, William James, James Joyce, Romain Rolland, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Bernard Shaw, Henry Thoreau, George Wells, Emile Zola)* and more recently (Steinbeck, Hemingway, William Faulkner and Katzanzakis)** reflected how the European ethos under the impact of industrialization shifted its anchors from its feudal processes, deep rooted feudal symbols, feudal role concepts, commitments and action dispositions. They indicated the change in nature from the feudal concept of man and society to the new democratised man whose social origin was insignificant as compared to what he became by his personal mobilisation through individual investment, effort and achievement. The social scientists came into picture later only in the wake of the writers.

This long process and period of traditional industrialization on the Continent created many a problem for identity. These problems can be stated in three forms of double-bind*** created in man’s life space:

* See Bibliography.

** See Bibliography

*** This term was introduced by Gregory Batesan.
1. **Enhancement versus loneliness**

This double-bind was constituted by the messages of the society and culture of increased opportunities, wider aspirations and enlarged expectations, thus inviting man to take charge of his destiny and shaping his own future. In the acceptance of this invitation, man was confronted with a sense of loneliness, loss of sense of belonging, sense of isolation along with intense anxiety and doubt about one's worth, values and meaning.

2. **Conformity versus individuation**

This double-bind was constituted by the messages of the society and culture of social worth being measured in terms of money, status, achievement and such other manifest symbols. This led man to be a part of the "rat race" and follow the rationale of "keeping up with the Joneses". The forces of conformity and anonymity became important forces of man's life space. In the acceptance of this value of the society man was confronted with the erosion of his self-respect, self-worth and dignity. Thus, the struggle to maintain a balance between dignity and quality of self on the one hand, and standard of

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* The meaning of this term is used here as is used by Kenniston (1965).

** The meaning of this term is used here as is used by Garg (1969).
living and quality of life on the other hand as reflected in consumption oriented behaviour became the theme of man's life space. (Fraser 1922; Sutcliffe 1972).

3. Spectator versus actor role

This double-bind was constituted by a peculiar process of the industrial society, i.e. that of bringing culture to the common man. It also attempted to make the common man share the expressive and instrumental opportunities earlier available only to the elite. In this attempt the development of mass media and proliferation of the recreation industry turned large number of people into spectators. Gone were the days when after a hard day's work people found recreation in group activities like dance, communal singing, and such other acts which made the individual an actor and a participant. Now he was reduced to a spectator role. In being pushed to this spectator role man sought more and more of an actor role in the work organization. He invested himself with greater technical expertise and went for over-specialization thus narrowing himself to an actor role largely in work organization.
All these shifts in the social mode and the double-binds of the psychological mode continued to:
- detach man from social identity, its processes, role concepts, and its action dispositions and move him toward work identity.
- transform the society from the mode of Gemeinschaft to Gesselschaft,* mechanical to organic solidarity** and folk to secular society.***
- modify action choices from primary mode of pattern variables to secondary mode of pattern variables.****

An overall summary of what the traditional industrialization has brought to the life space of man and some process level implications of the traditional industrialization are:

* Concept used by (Tonnies 1887)
** Concept used by (Durkheim 1947)
***Concept used by (Redfield 1941)
****Concept used by (Parsons 1953)
1. Delinking of the identity from the context of birth to the achieved adult identity.

2. Delinking of goal sets from class and caste and creation of professional sets.

3. De-emphasizing the importance of the primary systems and promoting ascendancy of secondary systems.

4. Delinking of role space from tradition of the family and designing one's role in work organization through competence.

Slowly, the content of work organizations and their processes started to dominate man's life space and its processes. Evidence suggests that after earlier bemoaning of the disintegration of the family, bemoaning of the trading class, the European ethos settled down to establish congruence between the emergent work structures and organizations with the social structure and organizations. It is in this search for congruence between the two that the success of European trend of industrialization rests.
The traditional industrialization came to India around 1850 but really gained momentum at the turn of the century. Study by Agarwal (1975) suggests that many small factories manufactured piecegoods, soaps, matches, pencils and cutlery. Since 1914 there has been slow and steady growth of the existing industries and in the establishment of new industries like tanning, oil-milling, paper, and cement.

The impact of industrialization in India initially was not so drastic. Studies in the hiring of labour in textile industries, beginning of the steel units by the Tatas in 1880 and various other family houses indicate that more often the process of the social and familial organizations got transplanted to work organizations. The change in India was slow and gradual. In fact the change was inhibited by the cherished value and need to rigidly hold on to the need of preserving Indian values. The fears of past thousand years of domination by the aliens could not be easily forgotten. It took slow and gradual acceptance of the necessity of change that initiated the momentum to change. Change in India as such, was ra
result of multiple trends, such as, Continentalized education, national struggle for freedom, resurgence of Hindu ethos in the name of Arya Samaj (Swami Dayanand) and Brahma Samaj (Raja Ram Mohan Roy) and many other reformist movements. Garg and Parikh (to be published) in the review of this phase discuss the impact of values of renaissance and the impact of traditional industrialization in India in the following words:

"To us, it seems that Indian society being caught for eight long centuries with the process of preserving its identity and coping with persistent alien ethos got caught with the impact of the ethos of renaissance and assimilating it. It ignored the technological and human impact of industrialization. It bounded these impacts by strengthening the social identity and by using the benefits of this to create houses of exiles where sons lived as extensions of rural-based families. Thus, the impact of traditional industrialization was much less dysfunctional in terms of social organization and individual life space than it was in the European Continent".
The slow and gradual impact of the values of renaissance and the traditional industrialization in the Indian sub-continent can be summarized in the following trends:

1. Mobility
2. Breakdown of role structure of authority
3. Creation of new goal-sets
4. Emergence of voluntary relations
5. Extension of internship period

An average Indian learnt to handle these impacts by developing a pattern of two faced identity. He became modern at the form level but remained Indian at the process level. The conflict became more prominent after the independence in 1947 when Indian society chose the developmental thrust as its objective and tried to compress in one or two decades a 200 year old process of the West. At the point of independence and the choice for the industrial developmental thrust, the Continental movement of industrialization had entered the phase of second revolution, that of automated integrated modern industrialization. It all began with the discovery of transistor, the integrated circuit, electronic processing, miniaturisation, and continuous process technology.
The Indian society thus found itself caught squarely in the more intense culture and process lag* at the point of this major thrust toward industrialization. The country started importing non-traditional technology, besides diversifying into new industrial sectors with which it had no earlier tradition. It also multiplied its investment many times over. This process lag is very much evident in the struggle of the Indian youth. Garg and Parikh (1976). The parents of the youth coped with this in the following way:

"The parents of the youth in the wider social system unquestionably retained their social identity and its processes. In the work system of the modern society ...... their processes were still agrarian in nature ......... The Indian society has, for a few decades, refused to evaluate the 'process reality' of its existence ........ The Indian culture has not been, for centuries, allowed regeneration and self renewal from within. No section of Indian population is free from the stress of this cultural double-bind". pp. 284-285.

* The meaning of the term 'process lag' is used here as used by Garg (1969)
This is in keeping with the Indian tradition of not resolving conflict by polarisation or by coming to a functional harmony. Indian tradition is to create pseudo compromises and maintain a semblance of continuity. The same process lag also became evident in the managerial roles and managerial acts in divergent organization cultures perceived by the author during the organizational development work in India. It is this process lag that is systematized conceptually in the Chapter 'Theoretical Framework' of this thesis.

It seems that the Continental ethos while going through the turmoil of traditional industrialization continued to struggle to resolve the process lag through institutionalization of activities and moved toward a realistic congruence between work-task organizations and social organizations. It also continuously reviewed and revitalized the techniques of co-ordination between the two organizations. Indian society with its deeply ingrained attitudes to ignore the reality and hold fast to traditional processes, and with its tradition to avoid open conflict and manage itself through pseudo compromises, transferred the burden of incongruence to the individual.
The individual in turn capitalized on the philosophy of detachment and maintained its commitment in not bringing about change at the process level. Thus, the Indian society's process lag continues and is currently reflected in massive disintegrative and dysfunctional trends in the country.

It seems then that in both the European and Indian setting the social organization continued to smoulder in the stresses and strains emerging from the transformation of work setting and growing importance of work organization in man's life. In the European Continent there was growing sense of anomie, alienation, and drift experienced by Continental man. A fundamental examination of values was necessary. But the Continent was wrapped in the flux of emerging expansion of industry and trade and relative peace after the World War I. The society on the whole got caught with the creation of a new material civilization and enjoying its benefits. The emptiness, the anomie and the drift became the concern of expression on the part of the intellectual elite. The scientific instrumentality modifying the material world masked the voice of the prophets. Thus, in a way Continental society reproduced
the psychodrama of the Judaeo-Christian heritage of falling victim to the worship of the golden calf (Ba 'al) while the prophets' voice got lost in the emptiness or got recorded only in books.

In the Indian sub-continent transformation of work setting and growing importance of work organization first created patterns of exile from the rural area, then perhaps ensured the mobile people in the syntex of progress, emancipation and such other reformist syntex and ideology. The symptoms of smouldering went unnoticed. Indian society in its own way played out the psycho-drama of its culture i.e., of going through active motions of assimilating the forms and the cognitive syntex of the new dominant culture to which it has been exposed, while simultaneously it triggered a process to reassert the fundamental societal and cultural processes of organization.

Thus, both societies and their cultures continued to move away from the primary proto-type of small organization dynamics in the life space. The Continental society and the culture, specially the North American counter-part recognized and responded to the emergent need of developing understanding of the processes of the
large systems toward which the society as a whole was moving. The Indian society also moved toward creating large organizations in the life space of man, but in its own tenacious manner continued to reinforce the dynamics of small organization at the process level in large organizations.

2. The modern industrialization

Drucker (1954) and Woodward (1965) identify the second phase of industrialization beginning with the emergence of a) transistor, b) integrated circuit, and miniaturisation, c) breakthrough in electronics and d) the new quality of technology of sequential processes of production where many processes were simultaneously integrated into one and simultaneous process and machine, leading to the evolution of continuous process of industry. Another element of this phase was designing of machines which took over many of the interactions of man with the machines. This phase can be best characterized as automation of technology of production.

This shift in the quality of industrialization generated many new impacts. However, the ideological language, the industrial idiom, and social and analytical
concepts blocked the perception of the positive gains of the second industrial revolution. How the second industrial revolution is contributing to the restoration of man to himself, freeing him for social, cultural and spiritual revival, and creating a new concept for him and his relationship with his collectivity, is yet to be assessed. Drucker (1954), in his "Age of Discontinuity" Garg (1969), in his "Berkeley: The Frontiers of Modern Society", Becker (1967) in his "Beyond Alienation", Kerr (1962) in his "Future University", and many others have attempted to visualize the positive freedom of man from the bonds of mechanical society. Yet the overwhelming mythos created by (Orwell Huxley)* and many other authors, and the potency of Marxian mythos of alienation and dehumanization which the social scientists played up has blocked a realistic evaluation of the emerging processes of mankind. The unintended consequence of the mechanical revolution in creating a giant set of problems concerning spatial redistribution of human population, vast urban areas, creating slums and the unprecedent concentration of wealth in the hands of a few continue to be focused upon.

* See Bibliography.
In the tribal and the agrarian society controls operating in the social organization could be institutionalized through informal conventions. But their success lay in shaping the individual to internalize the controls through taboo and sanctions. Freud (1960). The shift to industrialization greatly weakened this psychic mechanisms of institutionalizing social controls. The thrust of industrialization which created anonymity for an individual in the vast faceless secondary society left man to respond in isolation to the emergent situation whose parameters were more complex than ever conceived by the tribal or the agrarian society. This response very often made him experiment with new mores of behaviour. Social organizations thus grew weaker, less coherent and less integrative.

However, the work organization that emerged under the thrust of industrialization had to develop a coherent integrative and new normative patterns for their survival. Eccles (1975) suggests that what have emerged are elaborate hierarchies, graded jobs, salary structures, and job designs. Other theorists like Lockwood and Crozier (1971) suggest size, complexity and impersonalization.
Drucker (1954) suggests knowledge and skill based work rather than muscle and skill based work.

The goals of the work organizations were clear. The organizations, from time to time, continued to face up to the emerging reality and new demands and responded with attempts to align the work organizations to task and goals. Thus, man was subjected to the dynamic forces of the work component of his life space into structured, organized and highly normative approach to the work aspect of his life space. Simultaneously, the social component of his life space was confronting him with disorganization, normlessness, ambiguity and such other disintegrative aspects.

For thousands of years while the work component had provided the dynamism of living, man had derived his meaning from, and rooted his identity in the component of social organization. Man's identity in the component of social organization has been so deeply rooted that it provides him the basic cognitive map for constructing both his reality and fantasy. His world view, his future, and even his concept of heaven in terms of work free life, have been heavily anchored in his sense of
belonging to the social organization. Besides the manifest normative injunctions which guided his conscious behaviour and choices, man internalized experientially the cognitive map and its accompaniment of attitudes and predispositions. Thus, the cognitive map was doubly reinforced and became the unconscious force to mould man's behaviour.

While man identified strongly with the agrarian mode of social organization, its processes, its forms, its role boundaries and values, and held on to them, the work component of the life space changed at a much rapid rate. From small entrepreneurial activity grew giant corporations. From simple process of conversion of raw material through simple technology grew a complex, automatized conversion processes. From simple repetitive techniques grew highly complex techniques. All this growth in the work organization of man's life space brought into light the multiple insufficiencies of the traditionally anchored processes of social organization and its accompanying attitudes, role-concepts, and inter-personal relations.
The exigencies of many factors kept pushing man toward industrialization and to accept change in the setting of work organization. By trial and error people concerned with the work component of the society developed new organization theories. They became concerned with evolving and developing organization forms relevant to the task, structure, and technology. Thus, for the fifth time a major discontinuity in man's life emerged. This discontinuity was between the social organization he lived in as a social being, where he was burdened by the centuries old overwhelming values of the agrarian culture and their introjects, and the formal organization where he spent a large part of his time to generate resources for his social system.

The attitude, the action pre-disposition, the processes and the role concept that these two organizations viz., the social organization and work organization demanded were not always congruent or even similar. Sometimes, as it seems in the Indian context, they were counter-points. Man developed strong feelings of nostalgia for the loss of good old days as he found himself operating in two distinct and different kinds of organizations simultaneously.
As the forces of the emerging work organization became more dominant, man found his effectiveness, power, and status through new work organizations. In different processes, norms and values generated new meaning for him. Through internalization he started to integrate these new organizational forms and processes. He started to accept new role concepts, new boundaries and their logic. This acceptance of the values of the work organization led the individual to question the values of the social organization of his life space. Gradually man started to generalize and take the processes of role concepts, norms, and values of the work organization to the sphere of social organization.

This process obviously cannot happen unless man has consciously started to define his meaning and identity of himself in terms of his work organization rather than derive his meaning and identity from the social organization of his life space.

However, the Continental and the Indian agrarian societies once again seem to show basic differences in their coping with the shift in the sources of identity and the discontinuities in the social organization.
The western culture with its social structure, where birth was only one anchor of the social identity, responded with acceptance of mobility and flexibility in the work organization. This made it easier for the western man to redefine his role, and acquire meaning from work. Also, the transition from social identity to work identity was made easier and facilitated by the protestant ethic of the Continent.

In the Indian context birth integrated the occupation, and the social organization as a setting for identity through caste and this made the transition from social identity to work identity difficult. However, the thrust of modern education, industrial development and urbanisation continue to create conditions which fragmented the ascriptive life space and social identity. Work and occupation have gradually come to be seen as independent aspects of individual's life space.

However, as stated above, except for the rudimentary changes at the process level the real change toward the dynamics and processes of the large systems has still not taken place. This is apparent from the repeated
experiences in organization development work as well as in the statements of participants in Management Development Programme viz., Organization Conflict and Role Stress,* Managerial Leadership and Conflict Resolution,** and such similar programmes. The process seems to suggest that the individuals in the Indian society and culture can assimilate the change in the role acts and their forms. But the expectations, attitudes and the ultimate transformation of the role coordinates are difficult to change.

The present research is concerned with the exploration and assessment of the trend and movement from social identity to work identity of Indian managers. It also explores the extent of change in the managerial role coordinates and role acts. The next Chapter defines the concept of role coordinates and role acts.

A Management Development Programme offered by Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad.

** A Management Development Programme offered by Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta.