CHAPTER III

EVALUATION OF CRITICAL ORGANISATIONAL FACTORS

-- (2) SOCIAL FRAMEWORK

A time has come in the life of The Textile Mill when the individual and the organisation do not harmonise. Restlessness and cynicism characterize the place, the executives and the workers and lead people to articulate their feelings and either start experimenting with new modes of working or slumber into indifference and neurosis. A questioning of the organisation as represented by primitive ad-hocism in the day-to-day operations has begun. In the questioning of the organisation one can hear the concealed sounds: What is an individual executive? What is an industrial worker? What is his purpose? What is the nature of his relationship with the organisation? As one observes The Textile Mill in action, one is led to perceive the following aspects as the microcosm of industrial organisation:

(A) More and more executives are becoming aware of the fact that the structure of The Textile Mill has reached a point of growth where it dictates in vacuum not knowing what exactly it dictates. In dictating these non-specific goals the managerial structure gives emphasis to the smooth and efficient operation of its own immature processes rather than the goal of the individual. In choosing smoothness and efficiency in reaching its undefined
goals, it not only tends to stifle a meaningful work-life but also leaves almost no scope for the individual 'to be' or experience anything other than what serves the immature organisational processes in the structureless managerial framework. In this sense, the organisational ad-hocism at its primitive stage has been stifling for the individual. It has become oppressive and demands passive-conformist existence from its constituent members.

(B) In the process of reaching this point of growth, the organisation has, over a period of time, created a gulf between the existential experiences of its executives and the meaningful mode of working-experience. It has contributed to a schizoid situation for executive existence which is reflected in a feeling of separation from the physical self. The organisational life has as if become lawless, and work encounters have been created where the deepest feelings of disgust and despair are aroused.

(C) The organisation, through its immature processes, has made its members a non-entity lacking managerial identification. As such, individual members of the organisation can experience themselves only as fragments of themselves. This radarless existence raises anxiety, guilt, apprehension, doubt or disgust. A deep distrust of self and others has become its hallmark.

(D) Symbols of organisation—whether the trade mark or the Company's name, or any other object or person—Shethia or
the Master, have become drained of their ability to arouse positive sentiments and have become meaningless except as a source of fear, punishment, rejection and/or imposition. Marked and shadowed by this open conflict, however, are the growth and development of new symbols and trends toward development of new contents for the organisation—creation of new definitions and new meaning on the one hand, and of defence/coping mechanisms on the other.

The above four aspects of structureless managerial framework and the individual's interpretation thereof have created an inexorable sense of being let down resulting in the themes of the Agent-Shethia Class, Neo-Moderns, Young Textile Graduates and Semi-educated Class of textile people, which have been earlier discussed when we described the respective groups and classes in introducing The Textile Mill. To recapitulate, words like "marne do", "chalta hai", "it is not my father's property" and "it is not a charitable organisation" used by the various classes of textile people have become symbols of textile peoples' attempt to seek re-definition of the individual's relationship with the organisation as well the organisational climate.

Attempts are being made by individual executives to re-establish a sense of existential continuum with self and the mill-climate. Such efforts are qualitatively different from the defence mechanism or coping mechanism but are relevant
for our purpose. The defence mechanism is the ego's effort to withhold direct and raw gratification for the 'Id' and to transform the 'Id's demands in such a fashion as to make it acceptable to the reality defined by the formal organisation. The coping mechanism as defined by Luis B. Murphy is constituted by the non-regressive attempts of the ego to solve problems, the processes that are concerned with bringing about a fundamental change in the ego structure in order to harmonize it with existential experience, thus transforming the nature of encounter with the organisational climate. In this sense, I consider these attempts to be expressive mechanisms. In this study, I am presenting all these attempts—defence, coping and expressive—only in the context of group situations as found among the textile executives at all levels.

A cursory reading may indicate an overlap in these attempts. However, in keeping with my earlier statement that the manifest action is usually an ultimate concretization of multiple dimensions, I suggest that these attempts, in terms of their dynamics, are distinct and independent. They can be classified in terms of the action and thought dimensions of the industrial executive's expression of the self.

(A) The Action-Centred Processes consist of:
   (1) Jacquardizing, (2) Dignitizing.

(B) The Thought-Centred Processes consist of:
   (3) Centripetalizing-Centrifugalizing, (4) Romanticization, Demystification and Re-romanticization.
Jacquardizing

Participating in the affairs of The Textile Mill, one is repeatedly impressed by many fascinating attempts of various people either using defence/coping mechanisms or using certain new methods to create new reality and meaning in their dismal situation. (I have engineered the generic term “jacquardizing” for group-naming the latter). In the former phenomenon, we find the following identification marks:

(1) Indifference to organisational goals.

(2) Carrying on under-hand practices to get some material reward.

(3) Thefts in the criminal sense at all levels of the organisation.

(4) Attempts to hide malpractices or inefficiencies or inadequacies by fudging production records.

The expressive mechanisms can be identified at various levels by the following identification marks:

(1) House building craze—at all organisational levels—in spite of bad economics.

(2) Introduction of new sophisticated functions like quality control, industrial engineering, applied research, personnel development and recruitment of MBAs from the
Indian Institutes of Management at exorbitant (organisationally speaking) salaries without reference to organisational or in-felt needs.

(3) Philanthropic activities of the Agent-Shethia Class.

(4) Participation in the research activities of Ahmedabad Textile Industry's Research Association by the Agent-Shethia Class or undertaking visiting professorships at Indian Institute of Management and similar other institutions by some of the members of the Agent-Shethia Class.

(5) Active association with the founding of institutions like Ahmedabad Textile Industry's Research Association, Physical Research Laboratory, Indian Institute of Management, Chemical Technology Institute, Design Institute, Mental Health Research Institute, Community Science Centre, Satellite Station, etc.

(6) Engagement of certain executives at the middle levels in either applied research or publication of papers not directly related to their jobs.

A search for an explanation of this phenomenon of "Jacquardizing" drew the following responses from knowledgeable persons:

(1) The Ahmedabad Shethias do not grant a reward in a straight way.

(2) The Ahmedabad culture based on frugality and saving
promotes house-building.

(3) The Ahmedabad Shethias indulge in charity as a part of religious tradition or to save taxes or just for creating a good name for themselves.

My reasons for rejecting these explanations come from my discussions with people on-the-spot--on the production floor--who reflected the phenomenon of Jacquardizing. In their opinion, their assimilation and/or multi/extrafarcious activities reflected their desire to be "more than" a mere wage-hungry and/or profit-mongering machine. I had already noted the desire to be "more than" a wage-hungry man/profit-monger (WH-PM) among the textile executives at all levels including the chief executives with whom I participated in many problems-solving sessions. In perceiving this trend of thinking on the part of the executives at all levels I recognised that Jacquardizing is not just a phenomenon but is a very primary attempt of "becoming". It is a process through which the individual members of the organisation re-structure and restore the congruence between the primary-self (self-oriented thought and action) and the secondary-self (organisation-oriented thought and action), through which the elements of identity of the tertiary-self (operational personality) are enhanced beyond the boundaries prescribed by the structureless managerial structure. The process of Jacquardizing represents multi-dimensional interests beyond
the organisational foci and the action perception and thought centre around the outer foci rather than within the organisation. The needed re-organisation, extension and enhancement of the tertiary-self compels the emergence of this process. The textile people have reached a point where the dominant managerial structures/practices constituting elements for ongoing organisational identity are not sufficient and meaningful for them and where the dominant elements of managerial identity in the organisational setting come from the WH-PM constructs. Acclimatizing--implying a compulsive demand to embrace the WH-PM model and images in the day-to-day transaction--remain worthwhile with most of the members of the textile organisations so long as the associated goals and rewards are granted for putting forth the extra effort. So long as there is perception of continuous movements along the hierarchy of successes, goals and rewards the WH-PM model is pursued relentlessly.

Let us take the Agent-Shethia Class. The profits, which, during and after the Second War, were booming year after year, created a situation where the goals and rewards of the textile organisation became easily available to most of them. The ease of this accomplishment brought the Agent-Shethia Class to a socio-economic plateau. Their efforts to advance themselves in the proposed goals and rewards beyond this plateau became difficult. The dreams generated by the WH-PM
model became afflicted by the economic law of diminishing returns. While they still linger in the minds of a few lower intelligence-level Agent-Shethia Class members, they have really no validity in the young, educated, dashing and chic members of the Agent-Shethia Class in whom the understanding of having reached the stage of diminishing returns making vertical mobility more difficult for them has dawned. Consequently, if they have to continue to have advancement, success and self-worth, it becomes necessary for them to expand horizontally and counteract the slow and gradual development of their latent feelings of scepticism about the WE-MI model of identity. Gradually a peculiar situation arises. In action, the individual continues to operate so as to support the WE-MI model of identity but, at the feeling level, he does not experience joy, exhilaration or a sense of achievement. His life becomes a monotonous burden of routine existence wherein he experiences a natural feeling of self-estrangement. He takes recourse to two methods to solve the dilemma:

(A) He becomes highly conservative in his approach and talks vehemently of inept handling of economic affairs by the Government, bad financial policies of the Finance Minister, unskilled, illiterate and indifferent lazy workers. He considers himself persecuted by Trade Union leaders, Government policies, inept executives and lazy workers. (See: Appendices A and B).
(B) He becomes intensely aware of the fact that it was
the SH-PM model that led him to the optimal point of success
and seeks recourse to juxtaposition in order to restore to
himself and his organisation new burst of energy and growth.
(See: Chapter VII).

As regards The Textile Mill executives at all levels
(and even the workers), they show jaccardizing in many
spheres of their working-life. Workers, supervisors, clerks,
and executives are busy becoming members of housing coopera-
tive societies which enable them to build houses in spite of
bad economics. Their wages/salaries and the size of their
families are such that they are not in a position ever to
build a house owned by them and still maintain healthy
standard of living. House-building is bad economics; but,
still, the craze is on the increase as days pass. What is
the explanation for this phenomenon? Plausibly, it is a
process through which the textile people are trying to get a
break from the structureless experiential space in the textile
organisation. It provides them with a new sense of participa-
tion in their work-life as well as social life. It opens for
them the doors beyond the narrow and routinized perspective
of SH-PM model (which really does not operate; for, rewards
have no relationship with efforts. (See: Chapter VII). It
makes their life worth living outside The Textile Mill, which
is full of conflicts and where meaningful identity is impossible
to establish for any of them.

Jacquardizing as a process provides an action-level break from the structureless experiential space of industrial life. It provides the individual with a new sense of participation in his daily work-life patterns. It provides him with a positive alternative to the unworkable WH-FM identity. In this sense, Jacquardizing helps the textile people at all levels to experience self-actualization and helps them to support their individualism and uniqueness by creating diversity in the midst of uniformity without generating any feeling of rejection or punishment. I consider this as the beginning of the industrial culture in this country which expands the narrow boundaries of WH-FM.

Dignitizing

In its broadest sense, dignitizing is that process whereby the primary-self (self-oriented thought and action) feeling a partial or complete separation from the experience, which is stifling and/or is not the one which is prized by the incumbent, starts a new search for participation and fulfilment in the day-to-day experience of work-life. This search is expressed in the primary-self moving away from the organizationally articulated essence of experience towards a means of receiving experience directly, completely and immediately.
This process enables the individual to break through the
rationalless experiential space and less desirable work
environments and thus overcome the organisationally created
insensitivities to emotional arousal, the cynical indifference
to organisational goals and the inability to experience a
sense of pride in work accomplishment. It releases the man
to experience the mundane in a direct and raw experiential
manner instead of through organisationally set experience
in terms of modes as well as contents of experiencing.

In this sense, the process of dignitizing contributes
to the discovery of the multiple levels of the source of
experience, thus transforming the secondary-self (organisation-
ated thought and action) from "object of experience" to "source of experience". Dignitizing is the dynamics
underlying the pertinent behaviour in The Tentile Mill reflecting the search for participation and fulfilment through
starting "own business" in spare-time in preference to part-
time service or building "own house" through co-operative
finance societies in spite of bad economics of house-building.

The usual explanation that people do part-time business
in order to make money when their incomes are poor or that
they wish to amass wealth does not satisfy me on the count
that this very thing could be done more easily by taking
part-time service in some concerns. (Actually, part-time
service is much in vogue in other cities). In The Textile Mill about 50 percent of the clerical, supervisory and executive personnel are engaged in part-time business. Similarly, the common argument which I encountered during the interviews with scores of people in The Textile Mill was that the Gujarati culture demands "saving habit", "amassing wealth", "acquisition of property spirit" and that, in addition, an owned house does provide "security". I do not agree to these explanations for two reasons: (1) If it is a question of Gujarati culture, this process should be equally operative in other cities of Gujarat also. It is not so. (2) To "money-minded" people, the logic of bad economics of house construction cannot escape their attention. It is not so. Again, "security" via house-building is more mythical than real. The following figures are typically illustrative:—

(a) Cost of House (3 Rooms + 1 Kitchen) ... Rs. 40,000

(b) Co-operative finance @ 10% Interest
   (Interest Rs. 200 p.m.) ... ... Rs. 24,000

(c) Own Money ... ... Rs. 16,000
   i) From Provident Fund Rs. 6,000
   ii) From Life Insurance Corporation Rs. 2,000
   iii) Unpaid bills for building materials Rs. 2,000
   iv) Relatives & Friends Rs. 4,000
   v) Personal Savings Rs. 2,000
Now, the monthly salary of a typical textile executive varies from $2,600 to $3,1,000 gross. The carry-home salary in a typical case is $2,600 to $3,000 p.m. The man has to pay $200 p.m. as interest besides the re-payment of the principal amount of $24,000 p.m. in 20 years, the average instalment coming to $1,200 per year or an additional payment burden of $100 p.m. Thus a total of $300 p.m. has to be set aside from the salary and the man is left with only, say, 50 per cent of his salary income for current expenses. Besides, he has to make payment of unpaid bills for building materials and to relatives and friends. The personal savings having already been used up, another $100 p.m. has to be provided from out of the salary at least for 3/4 years. Add to this the possible inflationary rises of building costs during the gestation period causing a further strain and the house may remain without cupboards, almirahs and plaster on the outside walls. This may have to be completed at least within the first 3/4 years. (He may let out 2 rooms—but, then, will have to squeeze himself and his family in the rest of the limited space—to augment his earnings.)

Thus, the economics of house-building is negative but people still persist in the activity. To me, therefore, the textile executive is not building a house but, rather, is searching for participation and self-fulfilment in moving away from the mal-articulated experiences in the organisation
to a means (the house) to receive experience which he prizes directly, completely and immediately; for, during the process of the construction of the house, he is a real boss of the situation including men and materials and, no wonder, he sees self-fulfilment in it. He discovers the multiple levels of the source of experiencing, thus transforming the secondary-self in the transition from "object of experience" to "source of experience". In case he lets out two rooms—which inevitably he will do, not only the man but also his wife will get relief by feeling on "higher plinth" vis-à-vis the tenants. This is the process of dignitizing.

Centripetalizing-Centrifugalizing

In Chapter VIII titled "Evolutionary Theory of Organisation: A Model", I shall try to show the elements of managerial identity classifiable in terms of modes of action, modes of feeling, modes of perception which become exhausted in terms of their relationship with the primary-self and its modes of experiencing the self and the secondary-self.

I have discussed some processes which come into operation when the primary-self loses contact and sense of participation in the ongoing transaction of the self with secondary-self.

I should now describe a dual process of growth and manifestation, of modes of perception and thought, which contributes to a fresh construction of organisational reality, enabling the
primary-self to feel a sense of participation within the self and also with the secondary-self. I call this process "Centripetalizing-Centrifugalizing".

One working in The Textile Mill finds a wide variety of vocabularies. Our concern here is with the words which represent some of the most fundamental aspects of organisational life and with the changes in the conceptual boundaries, definitions and action-generating potential of those words. These are words like "Promotion", "Hypocrisy", "Corruption", "Honesty", "Decency", "Justice", "Authority", "Responsibility", "Policy", "Law" and "Morals".

All these words are abstract concepts. In society as well as in any organisation they get started with multiple meanings as people try to describe their phenomena. But, with the passage of time and by the consensus validation, such concepts/words become standardized as to their meanings and people start using them with those specific meanings. This does not, however, eliminate the multiple elements. They are given a secondary—or more often a derivative—importance for the purpose of explaining, rationalizing and justifying behaviour in non-normal situations of the ethos.

These concepts/words at this stage serve many purposes both in society as a whole as well as in any organisation by making the situations predictable, by facilitating communication and by regulating the day-to-day affairs.
These cardinal value concepts are then geared so as to be congruent to the usual situations of existence in organisational life and, for all practical purposes, the single central meaning and direction of each one of them holds sway. It is only when unusual situations come up and cannot be explained by the standardized words and concepts that the derivative meanings of such words/concepts are used to explain and justify the behaviours which are beyond the norms.

The ideal organisational behaviour tends to create a separation between the experiential elements of the situation and the action-alternative preferred by the formal organisation—there is the one best possible way, thus shutting out the multidimensional modes of experiencing. As the organisational value (ideal) becomes anchored to the preferred action alternatives, the individual tends to experience, on one hand, a conflict between goals and means and, on the other, a conflict between feeling and action, thus generating the feelings of hypocrisy about the self and organisation which is today the hallmark of textile organisations.

It is in this situation that the previously subservient multiple meanings and directions of the concepts like "integrity", "honesty", "hard work", "justice", "authority", "responsibility", "nepotism" and "corruption" generate fissiparous tendencies. The emergence of these fissiparous tendencies is an expression of the individual searching for
a sense of participation with his own individuality, within the organisational climate. This leads to a situation where the multiple meanings and directions re-create the processes of interaction that were operative prior to the establishment of the organisationally valid practices. The fissiparous tendencies disrupt the organised single-meaning focuses of the above-referred abstract concepts and the multiple meanings then reassert themselves in the experiential phenomena of the individual members of the organisation. The disruption indicates a change in the modes of perception of the elements of organisational experimentation.

In its broadest sense, Centripetalizing-Centrifugalizing represents the processes which attempt to re-establish a synthesis between the organisationally validated patterns of choice and the person-bound (Primary) self. The establishment of the synthesis here occurs through the process of defining organisational concepts within the realm of personal experience.

Centripetalizing-Centrifugalizing at another level accounts for many of the behaviour patterns of the new generation executives where, in inter-personal relationships, two individuals seem to have a common goal but feel something is missing because the meaning of the goal is not
the action-alternative accepted by the organisation and commonly shared.

Centripetalizing-Centrifugalizing, then, implies a search for and development of new frames of reference, meanings and modes of perception for transaction of the individual (Primary-self) with the organisational climate (Secondary-self); the Primary-self remaining the same, it is in the structural change in the perception of organisational climate that the change occurs.

To illustrate Centripetalizing-Centrifugalizing, I present two abstract concepts "Nepotism" and "Corruption", which have been subjected to this process and experienced by the textile executives especially at the senior levels.

The word nepotism originally meant the act of unduly favouring one's relatives or friends; it had a derogatory sense. But today, in The Textile Mill, it is rather considered to be one's sacred duty to help the near and dear ones; it amounts to "doing good". The process has been legitimized by the employers and employees both for two reasons: (1) It is believed that "good" persons never apply for the jobs and that people "dare" not apply elsewhere as it may be considered as disloyalty to the unit where one is working. (2) It is believed that the recommended people or people recruited through somebody are more trust-worthy and can be relied upon
for personal loyalty in future.

The logic of the reasoning and its basic emptiness will be clear to any thoughtful person working in the textile mills as well as to the psychologists dealing with "personality" in the scientific sense.

Similarly, the character of the corruption, which originally meant "bribing" and had a derogatory connotation, has also changed and to-day The Textile Mill executives do not consider it morally, culturally or socially wrong to accept money from merchants and mill store suppliers for "passing" the materials which their departments consume. The receipts have been legitimized by them through this reasoning: (1) We do not accept sub-standard materials. If the merchants still pay us, what is the harm in accepting money? It only amounts to sharing a bit of the prosperity with the merchant class which is rich because of our help and aid. (2) True, we accept the money from the suppliers. But so also is done by the Managing Directors, the Managing Agents, etc. What is wrong if, along with them, we also share the mill prosperity which is the product of our joint efforts? The word corruption has lost its old meaning; the same phenomenon is now known as "sharing the prosperity".

Centripetalizing-Centrifugalizing, then, is the underlying process through which definitions of situations get
changed. It is a process through which the individual (Primary-self) institutes a restructuring of the Tertiary-self. It is one of the most significant processes through which individuals seek the eradication of the impersonalized symbolic status of the self in organisation and the creation of a personalized and realistic pattern of transaction of the individual (self-oriented thought and action) with the organisational climate (organisation-oriented thought and action).

Romanticisation, De-mythification and Re-romanticisation

Working in an industrial organisation, the individual tends to mortgage himself to order, system, structures, methods, procedures, policies and practices—however immature they may be—as they are perceived to beneficial to the continued existence of the self and the organisation. Many of the activities which are carried on within the boundaries laid down by the concepts such as initiation, training, routine activities, duties, promotion and wielding of authority are the result of the demands of both the individual and the organisation, and most of these mundane activities are boring, back-breaking and grossly worldly. The organisation considers these activities primary and central to its existence and demands that the individual, whatever else he may do, respect them as the central meaning
of work life. We are all familiar with the slogans and glorifications like "Rest is rest", "Work is worship", etc. In order to disguise the burdensome aspects of the harsh and cruel realities of these activities, the human processes tend to draw a veil of mystery, romance and joy around them.

A study of the human affairs in an industrial organisation would indicate this tendency. Let us take jobs which require travelling or which involve frequent transfers. The organisation becomes the growing place of myths concerning the attributes of a dynamic, dashing and successful man viz., a man who can go to unknown places, who likes seeing new places and meeting strangers, and who loves travelling. The harsh reality may be that he becomes socially restless, suffers from isolation and loneliness, and has to put up with many other difficulties and anxieties every day. Consequently, he may resort to excessive drinking, smoking, gambling, etc. But organisational culture may grow further myths around such men and compliment them as play boys, dynamos, and moving spirits. Taking a second example, promotion from one rank to a higher one may not make much material difference; it may uproot the man from the strata of people he is used to and feels most convenient and adjusted with. But glories of high office, new spirit, new sophistication, new mannerisms, etc. are romanticised.
Man must live in harsh realities by mixing romance and myth with them. This is the only way to integrate the individual and the organisational climate. Without this veil much of the day-to-day existence of individuals will reduce them to organisation-bound automatic action systems. Perhaps they would become the creatures who live by bread alone or the prowling beasts in the Jungle. Weaving the veil of mystery and romance enables the individual's Primary-self to retain a sense of participation and continuity with the Tertiary-self. Its withdrawal from the mundane transactions of our existence creates apathy, lack of motivation and many of the symptoms akin to alienation.

The veil of mystery and romance makes everything THIS+X. Rewarding relationships within the individual and of the individual with the organisation depends on the individual's ability to use the THIS+X orientation to sources of experience. If everything is reduced to reality THIS, completely defined and bare, man has no choice at all and is confined to a compulsive, conforming, single pattern of action. But the human processes in the industrial organisation create the veils to create THIS+X. However, as knowledge increases, it becomes difficult to retain the veils. In course of time, a process of so-called realistic appraisal begins and, ultimately, all aspects of work modes become THIS and THIS only. This is demystification. Demystification, objectivity and increased knowledge travel together.
Demystification in its broadest sense is the process through which the sets of artificial images, which provided a cushion of mythical fondness for the absorption of the conflicts in human existence, get gradually discarded, rendering the past and the mundane phenomena of existence naked and raw again. On one hand, demystification separates men from the existential pathos and, on the other, focuses him on "the realities of existence", promoting what scientists would call rationality and reason. It precipitates in the creation of objective and secularized attitudes reaching their high marks in the philosophy of expedient pragmatism. Demystification ultimately culminates into the dynamics of reason and the appeal to reason alone. It is the death-knell of everything human and leaves man writhing in pain, a sceptic of everything that supposedly makes life worth living.

But, man cannot live in pain for long. To pull himself out of the writhe, again, he embarks upon the process of re-romanticization in new directions consistent with the current state of knowledge. Re-romanticization is an attempt to restore spontaneity and joy in the mundane activities of the organisational life. It releases man from the logically established sequentiality of events and experiences by enabling him to recognize the simultaneous and concurrent presence of a multiplicity of realms in his existence. It restores to man his dream of infinity.
Re-romanticizing contributes to the growth of an attitude of directly living an experience rather than analyzing, crystallizing and expounding the experience and making "sense" of it. Re-romanticizing allows multiple people to have simultaneously different feeling-experiences—all of them valid for each person at his own level, instead of demanding a normative consistent formulation and statement of experience.

In The Textile Mill, in the early history, the technical know-how emanating from long apprenticeship and experience was shrouded in mystery and the Masters (department managers) were romanticized in its possession. Work-life for the jobbers, the supervisors and the departmental managers anchored in the mystery, romance and awe made their life worth living and practical men held their sway for over half a century. The workers remembered those Masters long after they were deposited in their graves. But increasing education and technical knowledge eroded the romance and mystery around the practical man/Master. For a time the managerial class stood ascendant, rude and utterly uncomfortable. But the rise of the trade unions and increasing labour awareness gave them new horizons of romanticization in the tool of "Labour Control". The Masters acquired the lost mystery, romance and thrill in a different manner.
Then arrived in Ahmedabad the Training-Within-Industry trainers and the personnel development/human relations experts via the well-known research organisations. (See: Chapter VII). This expertise again tended to erode the myths and romance regarding the "Labour Control" capacity of the Masters and technician class. This nudging attempt of the human relation training meets with resistance. Now, if human relationsists fail, 'modern management' fails; if they become successful, the process will be self-defeating by its mystification and de-romanticizing effects.

The history of "doom" via the human relations movement will be analysed in Chapter VII.

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