In order to get a little in-depth information as to why some employees feel alienated from work, it was decided to interview a few people from both the banks. As it has been seen so far, the causes of alienation are many, and it is not merely the factors in the organisational setting that cause one to feel estranged from work. An individual's involvement in his job can be the result of a wide variety of factors, of which the influence of the family is no less important. In fact the family impact on the occupational choice itself becomes even more critical when an individual is faced with actual occupational entry. Moreover, in an urbanised achieved-status-oriented society, the wives may contribute to their husband's occupational roles and identify with them or they may be introverted bystanders who may contribute to the deterioration of their husband's occupation.

One of the key questions that one needs to understand is to find out whether satisfaction and dissatisfaction in the job carries over into non-work life. To answer
questions like these, it is necessary to probe a little deeper into the employees' minds. In view of this, it was decided to interview at length a few employees from each of the high, medium and low alienated groups in order to get a more detailed and a realistic idea of the possible causes of alienation. From amongst those who were administered the questionnaire a sample of 50 in all from both the banks was selected for the in-depth interview. On the basis of the responses to the questionnaire filled in by all the employees earlier, a few "interesting cases" were selected for interview. This was purely a matter of judgement. Attempts were then made to trace out these people wherever they were located (Head Office or a branch). Once they were traced to a specific branch or the head-office, appointments were taken at a mutually suitable and convenient time for purposes of gaining additional information in a face-to-face interview. In all 18 people from the highly alienated group, 20 from the medium alienated group and 12 from the low alienated group were interviewed. Both the banks were represented in the sample.
A brief profile of the high and the low alienated groups amongst those interviewed is given below.

In the select interviews, I have concentrated mainly on getting more in-depth information on the employees' work background, educational and personal background in an attempt to throw further light on the reasons as to why they feel alienated or otherwise from their work. I will begin this chapter by giving a brief profile of the people in the high and low alienated groups. Next, a few interviews of the respondents in the high alienated group will be described, followed by a description of some interviews in the medium and the low alienated groups.

Profile of the Employees Interviewed in the High and Low Alienated Groups

A close look at the background of the people in both the groups indicates that most of them hail from Maharashtra and have an urban background, having spent the maximum amount of time up to the age of 16 years in places with a population of 1,00,000 or more. Moreover,
the majority of these people were not only born in nuclear families but also live in nuclear families at present, where the father is the head of the family. The data on the size of the family shows that a little over half of the employees interviewed have 3-5 people in their families, while the remaining have families consisting of more than 5 people. The per-capita monthly income is quite high - the majority fall in the Rs.500 and above per month bracket.

The majority of those in the highly alienated group have joined the bank in the seventeens. They are relatively younger in age as compared to those in the low alienated group - most of them are less than 30 years of age. In contrast to this, a vast proportion of the low alienated people have joined the bank prior to the seventeens and are relatively older. Since a large number of the highly alienated employees are young, it is expected that they will be in the lower rungs of the bank's hierarchy. The findings indicate that they are mostly at the clerical level and in the salary range of Rs.500 to Rs.1,000/- month, as compared to those in the low alienated group who are mainly at the
officer's level earning Rs.1,000 to Rs.2,000/- month. The length of time in the present post varies from two to five years for both the groups.

The educational background of these employees reveals that a majority of these highly alienated younger age-group of employees are graduates, specialising in Arts, Science or Commerce. Quite a few have a post-graduate degree too. This is in contrast to a majority of the people in the low alienated group who are matriculates. The few who have a graduate degree have a Commerce background, and most of them have found their educational background to be very useful for their jobs. It is interesting to note, on the other hand, that not a single person in the highly alienated group finds his educational background to be very useful for his present job. A large number of these employees are those whose perception of the usefulness of the educational background ranges from 'Not so useful' to 'Not at all useful'.

The data on the prior work experience of the employees in the highly alienated group indicates that most of them have not worked before, which is quite unlike those in the low alienated group, the majority of whom have had more than one job before joining the bank. The few who have worked in both the groups have done so for a period of two years, and have earned a maximum of up to ₹3,500/- per month.

**Interviews of Some Highly Alienated Employees**

Once having joined the bank, the employees' perception of the kind of climate prevalent in the bank has its own origin and history. The employees have slowly developed this perception from the day they have entered the organization (Prakasam, 1979). The first day's experience in the bank plays a crucial role in forming their opinions which affect their attitudes towards work. Unfortunately, many of the people interviewed did not seem to have had any particularly pleasant experience on their first day at work. The individuals who join the bank after having successfully
passed the competitive examinations and who possessed a high potential, and who wanted to strive to excel in their work, did not get any warm welcome nor hear words of encouragement. Thus their image of themselves as persons who are very success-oriented, underwent a drastic change. For example, a junior officer from Bank N narrates his first day's experience as follows:

Mr Ajay Kumar:

--- th October, 19.. is a significant day in my life. This is the day when I first ventured into the world of work. I had come with great expectations that I would be specially welcomed to the bank by the Manager of the branch where I reported on my first day at work. However, to my utter disappointment, I was given a far from warm reception by the Branch Manager on the very first day. I had not expected any red carpet treatment but I had not expected to be greeted in a rough and uncouth way as I was by the Branch Manager. I was interviewed in a brusque manner, and all that I was looking forward to on the first
day seemed now very remote and far-fetched. Even my
colleagues took advantage of my position as a newcomer
and relaxed by palming off all their work on me...."

Mr Mohan Sharma

Mr Sharma is a clerk from Bank C. He is forty
years of age and has four children aged between three and
twelve. He was born in a village in Maharashtra, but has
lived for the greater part of his life in Bombay.

Mr Sharma is at present living in one of the very
distant suburbs located on the Central railway. The house
has been rented and other than the fact that it is far away
from his place of work, he seems to be quite happy with his
surroundings. The people in the neighbourhood though belonging
to the lower strata of the society, are all very affectionate and helpful, especially in times of need.

Due to the poor financial conditions, Mr Sharma had
to start working at an early age. At first, he intended to
make his career in the Air Force. However, he had to abandon
this idea because of bad eyesight and financial difficulties.
He then took up a series of jobs - all temporary - working chiefly as a storekeeper, office assistant or despatch clerk. This unsettled period ended with Mr Sharma's marriage, when he decided he should take a 'steady job'. He ultimately found this job, through the influence of someone in the bank. He has a lot of responsibilities to shoulder for he has to support his widowed mother and a younger brother who is studying for his Bachelor's degree in Commerce.

Mr Sharma dislikes most aspects of the work he does in the bank; he finds it 'very boring', yet stressful, both physically and psychologically: 'It gets on your nerves the way it tires you down'. He is working in one of the departments in the Head Office, where he is solely involved in the checking of vouchers and that is all that he is required to do. He has a Bachelor's degree in Law but finds that it has no relevance for the kind of work he is doing. He has tried several times to get himself moved off the 'assembly line', so to say, but without success. Another reason why
he is unhappy is that he feels that no consideration is
given to merit at all in the bank. According to him,
sometimes one finds persons with less qualifications and
no merit either, rising in the bank due to 'influence'.
Seniority counts little, if at all, in matters of promotion
which is why he feels dissatisfied with the bank's promo-
tional policy. However, he has never seriously thought of
leaving the bank. "I brought my family down here and the
money is quite good; I have got to make a go of it". He
has no close ties with any of his work mates and although
he joined the Drama Club when he first joined the bank, he
has never participated in any of its' functions. He has
been to 'one or two' union meetings - the last one eighteen
months ago. He sees the bank as 'the place where I work -
that is all'.

In the present position, he no longer has any real
hopes for promotion. He believes that the best he can look
forward to is to have 'still a bit more money coming in -
winning a lottery perhaps so that I could put something
in the bank'.
Mr Rajan Kapoor

Mr Kapoor is a junior officer in Bank N. He is in his late twenties and has two small children. He was brought up in one of the Western suburbs of Bombay. His father was employed for some time in an insurance broker's office in the city, and then became manager of a small commercial concern. He is presently helping to manage a trading firm in which he has an ownership interest.

Mr Kapoor was the eldest of four children, having two younger brothers and a sister. All the children were educated. He had hoped to become a Commercial Artist but decided after a year that he would not make the grade: 'I am a bit slow really'. He graduated with a Bachelor's degree in Arts and then looked around for clerical work and eventually found a job in a large city bank. Meanwhile both of his brothers had launched on successful careers, one as a shipping executive, and the other as a chartered accountant.

At first, Mr Kapoor found his new job quite attractive: 'some responsibility and plenty of freedom', but
promotion prospects were slight. Moreover, by this time he was envisaging marriage and felt that he should try to find work of a better paying kind. He is presently working in the personnel department in the bank's Head Office. However, he has not been so lucky in finding a better paying job and so has had to continue with his present bank job. He got married eventually but he and his wife had great difficulty in finding suitable accommodation that they could afford.

While appreciating the good industrial relations policy of the bank, Mr Kapoor makes no secret of the fact that it is first and foremost 'the money' that keeps him in the bank's employment. He finds that he can 'tolerate' the routine 'assembly line type of work' but is often bored and irritated by the restrictions it imposes. He misses the variety of work and the social contacts which he had in his earlier temporary job as a salesman in a Pharmaceutical firm. Nevertheless, he would only think of leaving the bank if he could accumulate enough capital to start up a business of his own. Mr Kapoor is very conscious of the fact that, as
he puts it, 'I have done worse than the rest of the family'; and he would one day like to 'make good' himself. But at least until he is in a position to make his bid, his main concern remains that of getting the best paying work which is available to him.

Apart from the salary, Mr Kapoor's ties with his work and work place are virtually non-existent. He 'gets on alright' with his workmates but 'they are not friends'. He never sees them outside work other than casually 'even though some of them live almost next door'. He does not belong to any recreation club, and although a Union member, he has never been to a union meeting of any kind - "I joined for the friendly benefits, that is all".

The Kapoor's social life in Bombay is in general very restricted. There is only one couple - met through their children - whom they visit or go out with. Mr Kapoor's dream for the future is to start his own business; to reassure one would feel, his position in middle-class society.
It is quite apparent that in the case of Mr Kapoor, it is mainly his feelings of inferiority when he compares himself to his brothers that is causing the estrangement from work. The very fact that he has not done well for himself and does not command as much respect in society as his brothers who have been successful in their careers, is the main cause of his dis-satisfaction.

**Mr Anthony Lobo**

Mr Lobo had been brought up in a nuclear family where the atmosphere was such that everyone had complete freedom to voice their opinions. He is the eldest and has two younger brothers. None of them are married. His parents are quite liberal and have allowed the children to think for themselves. "In fact, training to be independent in one's thinking and to stand up on one's feet was emphasised from my very childhood. Even when we erred at times, we were not taken to task. Rather we were encouraged not to be put off by our mistakes but to try again. Since I was brought up in this kind of atmosphere I find it extremely difficult to work under my boss who just cannot see any
one's point of view and who likes his subordinates to work according to his whims and fancies and follow his instructions explicitly".

The very fact that the work at the clerical level is routine produces frustration. Mr Lobo is presently working in the cash department, where all that he has to do is to carefully handle the cash which is received by the clients or which has to be dispersed to them. As he puts it, "I am mainly involved in dealing with money transactions with the banks' customers. There is a great deal of risk connected with this kind of work - as in the case of overpayment - and this is the single factor which I dislike most about my work. Added to this is the fact that I have a boss who has an absolutely 'closed mind'. Not only does he discourage people from thinking for themselves but he also disregards any one's helpful suggestion. In fact, it is to our discredit if we do not behave in strict accordance with his wishes. I have to work on my own and the absence of any social contact while on the job produces boredom and monotony.
Moreover, the promotional policy of the bank, in my opinion, is not fair either because 'influence' counts a lot in getting promotion".

His Bachelor's degree is in Commerce but he finds that his educational background is not at all relevant for the kind of work that he is doing. "The only reason I took up this job was that I could pursue my studies by attending morning college which was convenient. Even now I am treating this job more as a stop-gap arrangement because I have applied for a purser's job in one of the Airlines and am waiting to get the results".

At present he is living with his parents in Sion. It is an ownership flat where they are residing, and there are mostly people from their Christian community who are living in the building. "Though I am not friendly with any one in particular, the kind of people living in this average-middle-class neighbourhood are quite the friendly sort. We have a recreation club and some activity or the other is always going on - like a dance, or some fair etc".
Mr Shyam Agnihotri

Mr Agnihotri, a clerk from Bank C, lives in one of the very distant suburbs of Bombay and his main cause of dissatisfaction at work is the long distance he has to cover to reach his work-setting.

"I have to leave home at 8.30a.m. to catch the local train at 9.15a.m.. Since my house is far away from the station, I have to wait for the bus. If the bus is late, I walk down to the station and this takes half an hour. At the other end, I have to walk again from the station to the bank. By the time I finish work and leave the bank in the evening, it is 6p.m. and the entire morning's procedure of travel gets repeated in the evening, so that by the time I reach my house it is 8.15p.m. or so. I am completely exhausted and can think of little else to do.

The lack of free time once I have reached home prevents me from spending any time with my wife and children. Moreover, the strain of commuting long distances
to work and the resulting fatigue kills any enthusiasm to go out in the evening or indulge in any extra-curricular activities. Life just passes by - one day following the other”.

At present, Mr Agnihotri is working in the bank’s Head Office. The department in which he is working renders valuable services to the cooperative industrial ventures coming up in the State by providing them guidance on technical and other matters. However, all that he has to do is to keep the records of the projects in the file and see that the file is kept updated. The job thus, is very routine. “My ambition in life had been to become a lawyer but my financial circumstances did not permit me to fulfill my ambition. I studied for my Bachelor degree in Arts instead. The monotony of my present job which provides little change in the day-to-day work and the inability to take any decision is the main reason why I do not enjoy my work. In fact, I hate the job at times. It is like playing a record over and over again, I go for work on Monday and wait for Saturday”.
Mr Agnihotri is living in a one-room tenement in Kandivli - one of the distant suburbs on the Western railway. The lack of suitable accommodation is also troubling him. He has invested money in a cooperative society formed by some of the bank's employees but the builder is giving them trouble for he is trying to increase the rate even after the agreement has been signed. This is delaying their taking the possession of the flat. Added to this, is the fact that he has married a completely uneducated girl, much against his will, but only at his parents' insistence. Moreover, he has also the responsibility of supporting two younger brothers in addition to his parents. He is thus steeped in financial responsibilities which is another main cause of his dissatisfaction from work.

**Mr Ralph Braganza**

Mr Braganza is a clerk in Bank N. He is in his early thirties and has three children all under the age of six. He and his wife are devout Catholic. Both were born and bred in the rural districts of Maharashtra. Mr Braganza's
father, who is now retired, worked throughout his life in
the family business - a small cloth shop. Mr Braganza
describes the living his family made as being "a very
poor one", and he now regularly sends money back to his
parents to "help out".

After leaving school at the age of sixteen years,
Mr Braganza came to Bombay to study in college. While in
Bombay, he stayed with some distant relatives. He had to
share in quite a bit of the housework while attending
college. The years passed somehow and after obtaining his
graduate degree in Arts, he started applying to various
places and eventually joined the bank since this job-offer
materialised first.

Mr Braganza finds his work irksome because of its
lack of variety. He is working at present in one of the
bank's local branches. By and large his work involves
entering all kinds of cash transactions that have taken
place during the day in the day-book. Though he finds
his work monotonous and dull, he has never thought of
leaving the bank. "The pay is very good here; there are not many places where one could do better". He readily admits that where work is concerned, he gives pay priority, and he stresses in this respect the responsibility he has to his wife and children. Although he would not like to move away from the men he now works with, he rarely sees them outside the bank other than by chance. He belongs to the Sports club but has only played very occasional games of table-tennis there. During the time at the bank, he has attended only one union branch meeting. "The family comes first; I like to spend all the time I can with them. The time taken to travel home from work makes it difficult enough as it is".

The emphasis on the family is in fact the dominant feature of Mr Braganza's social life in general. He and his wife have two or three 'good friends', but apart from these ties and the more limited acquaintances they make at monthly meetings of the Catholic Association they are more or less isolated. He is at present living in Sion, a
suburb on the Central railway, but he regards many of the people living in the neighbourhood as being 'rowdy and cheap'. Both he and his wife find the neighbors hard to get along with. Both have experienced difficulties in trying to become more integrated into the local community. Mr Braganza for example, wanted to join the Drama club but had not done so since this would mean being away from his family at weekends.

**Mr Arum Kolhatkar**

Mr Kolhatkar is a young clerk from Bank N who wanted to become an engineer in the Indian Air Force, but could not pursue his career because of his parents' unwillingness to let him follow this profession. In their minds, the high degree of risk associated with this kind of a job was an important factor in preventing their son from joining the Air Force. This problem of dependency on one's parents is more intense for men than for women who are permitted to remain more "emotional", "dependent" and "clinging" than men. In the case of this young clerk, the response of his parents alienated him very much. He
could not reconcile himself to joining the bank but ultimately he had to give in to his parents' wishes. He applied to various banks and eventually got selected in Bank N. His mind, however, was not in his work. Since he is working in the Clearing Department of one of the local branches, his work largely involves preparing a list of all the cheques, drafts etc. to be sent for clearing and then making the appropriate entries in the ledgers.

Prior to joining the bank, his years in college where he was studying for a B.Com. degree were far from useful. Since he was not particularly inclined towards Commerce, he became an outsider to his studies. Working in fits and starts and using all the current tactics of the peer group to beat the system, he managed to get through the four years of college studying Commerce for a B.Com. degree. The final grades, however, were nothing to boast about. His parents could not understand his lack of interest in his studies. To them, it was a fact that
"Commerce is the in-thing" and any intelligent man 'should' like it and should do well.

Mr Kolhatkar experienced a lot of confusion and anxiety towards the end of his college education. He was not sure of his career. He did not want to be banker for the rest of his life. He felt confused, bewildered and became a victim of frequent depression. He felt a very strong urge to sort himself out. For this he decided to extend his period of education for another two years. Along with some of his peers, he applied for post-graduate studies and luckily got accepted. Besides his need to sort himself out, he also felt that at the end of his studies he would obtain a socially desirable job providing status, and as such, satisfaction to his parents. Unfortunately, even after obtaining his Master’s degree in Commerce, he did not find any suitable openings and so continued to work in the bank.

Mr Kolhatkar is living in a distant suburb which is near Vikhroli on the Central railway. It is a low-middle
class locality, where he has no close friends at all. The neighbourhood itself is very dull — nothing ever happens.

**Mr Ashok Kamat**

Mr Kamat is a clerk from Bank N whose main cause of estrangement from work is the fact that he was made to join the bank even though he had always set his mind on working in a private sector organisation. As he puts it, "I had applied to various firms on my graduation and had even managed to get two job offers. Both the selection interviews had gone off well and I was in the process of reflecting upon the relative merits of the two jobs so as to decide which one to accept. I wanted to be in the Accounts department of any firm in the private sector but not in the bank, which is the reason why I had applied to various private sector organisations. However, my parents intervened in the middle as usual. They forced me not to accept any of the two job offers and apply instead to a bank primarily for reasons of job security, which was the factor that was uppermost in their minds. I really did
not want to take my parents' advice but could not summon up enough courage to oppose them either. So much against my will, I had to send two letters of regret saying I could not accept their offer and send in a fresh application to a bank instead. Unfortunately for me, though fortunately for my parents, because this is what they had always wanted, I managed to pass the written test and ultimately get the much 'coveted' job in a bank. It was not long before I realised what a dreadful mistake I had made by accepting my parents' suggestion of joining the bank. The routine nature of the work literally disgusts me now. There is no challenge in the job and all you see is scores of figures which have to be totalled endlessly. It is just routine work and that is all. One cannot use one's brains for there is no head work at all. In fact, I am just putting in time. There is nothing to look forward to".

Mr Kamath is presently working in the Personnel Department at the bank's Head Office. However, he finds
that his B.Com. degree is not at all useful for the kind of work that he is doing. As he puts it, "I am working in the Leave Section, which is in charge of sanctioning leave of various kinds (for example, casual leave, privilege leave, sick leave etc.) It is purely routine work which everyone - even a non-matriculate - can easily do. However, I get a chance to talk to all sorts of people from various departments of the branch because all have to come to me to submit their applications for leave, and I assist them in respect of leave matters."

He is not too happy with the promotional policy of the bank. He feels that the three years is far too long time to wait to appear for a test for promotion to the higher grade.

Mr. Kamath comes from a small family. He has two older sisters besides him who are both married. Right now his parents are living with him and they are all staying in a three-room ownership flat in Andheri, a suburb on the Western railway. It is a middle-class cosmopolitan
locality. The neighbours are not the friendly type as all are very busy and preoccupied in their own work. He has only one close friend who stays in the neighbourhood.

Mr Rajiv Mahendale

Mr Mahendale is a clerk in Bank N. He comes from a large family - there are four brothers and sisters in all. According to him, "My father died when I was still young. I was then in the final year of school and my ambition had been to go to college to pursue higher studies. However, the untimely death of my father cut short all my dreams. Being the oldest child, I could not afford to pursue my ambition and had to give up all my cherished dreams of taking a Master's degree. Instead, the entire burden of supporting the family fell on me and I had to immediately take up a job to do this. The only saving grace was that with my job in the bank, I could after a few years, go to a morning college. I was also fortunate in getting a scholarship such that my term fees were waived and thus I studied while working. I got a bachelor's
degree. The years meanwhile slowly rolled by. I gradually got all my four sisters married. I had to take loans from the bank to raise money for their marriages and till today I have not yet completely finished repaying the loans.

There is no end to my responsibilities. Now that I am married and have children of my own, my responsibilities, if anything, have doubly increased. Added to this is the continually increasing prices of all the essential commodities which makes it difficult for a common man like me to make both ends meet. In fact, I don't think I will ever get to be completely free of all the mental tension and responsibilities.

In addition to all this, the nature of my work in the bank too is very routine and it does not provide even the minimum satisfaction. At present I am working in the Account department of one of the local branches of the bank. Since I have to deal with figures all the time, I have to be extra careful I do not make a mistake. After a time it becomes very monotonous, and frankly, I do my work more to fulfill my duty and to earn a living than anything else."
Mr Anil Korgeonkar

Mr Korgeonkar is an officer in Bank N. He was brought up in a small family where he lived with his parents and a sister who was far younger than him. As he puts it, "I have very faint recollections of my father because he died at an early age when I was still a kid in the fourth standard in school. My mother is a career woman, being a doctor and so from the very beginning could not devote too much time to me. I saw very little of her at home and since there was a great deal of difference in age between me and my sister, she could not provide me with any companionship either. I yearned for the company of other children of my age whom I could play with. Quite often, I used to disappear from the house for hours and when the servant would search for me, I would invariably be found playing in someone's house or hiding up on a tree so that it would be a long time before I was finally found and taken back to the house reluctantly. The walls of the house seemed to devour me almost.
These feelings of loneliness experienced at home prompted me to join the Union. Since I am the Organising Secretary, the Union activities keep me very busy and quite often I feel I am devoting more time to Union work than to my own work in the bank. Another reason why I spend so much time in doing the Union work is that I do not really enjoy the kind of work that I am doing in the bank. Actually I have a Bachelor's degree in Commerce and have also obtained a degree in Law but both these subjects have no relevance for the kind of work I am at present engaged in. (He is working in the Head Office in one of the administrative departments under the Deputy General Manager). This is because the work is a 'steady grind' - the same thing has to be done over and over again. One does not need brains, as such, for it. Moreover, the fact that even a non-matriculate can easily do what I as a graduate officer is doing, makes me seeth with anger at times.

My aim in life was to become an engineer but the
lack of proper guidance is responsible for my joining the bank instead. Since I had lost my father early and my mother being a career woman could not spare too much time for me, I was unable to get the proper direction from either of the two. In fact, my very first day in the bank proved to be quite unpleasant. I was not welcomed nor made to feel at home. Rather, the other clerks made me do their share of the work too. Being a newcomer, I could not very well refuse them either.”

Mr Korgaonkar seems to be unhappy with the promotional policy of the bank too, because he feels it "does not do justice to one's abilities. According to him, if say 130 people are declared to have been successful in the selection test and there are only 30 vacancies, the first 30 are absorbed and the rest are made to reappear for the test. Quite a lot of influence is exerted by some people with the interview board members. All in all, he considers the selection procedure leaves much to be desired. He even went so far as to declare that he would not like his
children to join the bank because "a person with real merit cannot rise".

At present, Mr Korgaonkar is living in one of the very good localities of a Western suburb in Bombay. As he puts it, "the neighborhood is quite posh really but the people are not what I would exactly call 'friendly'. They all seem to be busy in their work and I have no close friend living in my locality".

Mr Hari Gandhat

Mr Gandhat is a clerk from Bank N who related the story of how though he is the only child of his parents, feels that his parents do not love him. He comes from a family whose roots are in the village. In fact as he put it, "I spent the early years of my childhood in the village. I was living with my uncle during my early years in school. After passing my matriculation examination, I was recalled to Bombay by my father who wanted me to start earning. My parents have always spoiled me and never
allowed me to think for myself. But I thought that it was high time I put my foot down because this was not what I had in mind nor what I had set out for myself. My plans were to go to college and study as a regular full-time student. However, this was not to be. I managed to get a job in the bank and the bank timings were such that it facilitated my attending morning college. The four years in college and the two years in the University from where I eventually got my Master's degree in Economics were difficult years, in the sense that I had to literally slog in the few leisure hours that I got. Fortunately, the hard work paid off and I managed to get a Master's degree by sheer dint of hard labour. However, I felt that somehow my parents did not share in my glory. This seems strange since the parents were not educated themselves and Mr. Gandhat was their only child too.

The apparently "uncaring" attitude of his parents seems to have left a deep impression in his mind - "I get no response of pleasure from my parents. I feel they are indifferent towards me. My father, in particular, has never
tried to understand me. Take a simple instance, like this. On retirement, when my father indicated his desire to take up a job, I persuaded him to give up the idea, as the strain would prove too much for him. He got angry with me and one day when I was in the office, he attempted to commit suicide. I felt extremely humiliated when one of our neighbours came to give me the news while I was in the bank, because quite a few people from my section came to know of this. When my father recovered, I told him in a plain and outright fashion that I did not want to interfere in any decision that he wished to take from henceforward.

Mr Gandhat was also unduly pressurised by his parents to apply for a housing loan from the bank to buy a decent flat. As he put it, "my parents fail to understand that I have to put in a certain minimum period of service to be eligible for the loan".

All these factors coupled with the fact that his parents are uneducated and of the interfering type, have
created deep feelings of dissatisfaction which have been carried by him in the work setting. The very fact that his parents pressurised him to start earning at an early age resented him. Moreover, he had wanted to become a doctor but had to abandon this idea due to the poor financial conditions of his family. Later on, though he had applied to many organisations, he joined the bank primarily for reasons of job-security. However, the very first day in the bank proved to be very disappointing as all that he had to do was some routine filing of papers. "All my high expectations of a career in the bank were dashed to the ground on the very first day."

Mr Gandhat lives in a one-room chawl in Khar - a Western suburb of Bombay. It is a low-class neighbourhood and people from all communities - mainly illiterate though hard-working - are staying in the neighbourhood.

**Miss Pushpa Nayyar**

Miss Nayyar is a young clerk working in the Savings department of one of the local branches of Bank N. She
feels estranged not only from her work but from her entire family as such and especially from her mother. She has a Bachelor's degree in Arts but this has no relevance for the kind of work that she is doing. According to her, "I come from a small family - we are two sisters and a brother. Both are older to me and married. I have always yearned for my mother's attention but somehow never got it. It is now exactly a month (that is a month prior to the time she was interviewed) since I lost my father and my brother-in-law within a day of each other. Subsequently my widowed sister returned to live with us - a thing which I very much resented deep down in my heart. This is because my sister had been a weakling since her childhood and thus had always been singled out for my mother's undivided care and attention. Ever since I could remember, I had been jealous of her and when in fact she got married and left the house I was delighted to get her out of the way so that I could claim the lion's share of my mother's affection.

The return of my sister barely five years after
her marriage and with two young children to support, made
me feel uneasy and I once again began to experience pangs
of jealousy. I would feel lonely and depressed and would
hanker for affection. I was left with a deep sense of
rejection from the family and intense jealousy for my
sister. At times, these feelings overpower me so much
that they deprive me of my ability to think. I cannot
concentrate on my work at times because my mind is else-
where. It sets me thinking at times whether there is any
way out of this. So long as my sister remains with us and
my mother pays more attention to her than to me which she
is bound to, there is no way I can escape feeling jealous.
I guess the only way out is to get married and thus leave
the house but the idea seems very remote to me. There is
no one whom I have in mind and with this kind of family
background it may be a long time before someone takes the
initiative to get me settled”.

The nagging feelings persist in her mind and thus
the dissatisfaction arising at home is carried over into
the work setting. Moreover, the fact that they are staying
in an outhouse of one of the top officials of the Central railway in an extremely posh locality (Malbar Hill) in South Bombay, only serves to increase her frustration. In his lifetime, her father had worked as a tailor and so was able to secure this present accommodation. She has no friends in that locality and naturally therefore cannot take any part in any social events of the neighbourhood.

Interviews of Some Moderately Alienated Employees

Mr Victor D'Souza

Mr D'Souza is an officer in Bank N. He joined in 1970. Prior to this, he was working in a private co-operative bank as a clerk. He applied for a job in the bank of his own accord, mainly because he felt that the bank job would be more secure than a job in any private firm and moreover, he could continue his studies along with his job.

He has a Bachelor's degree both in Economics and Law which he finds has no relevance for the kind of work that he is presently doing. According to him, if he had
specialised in Commerce, it would have been more useful. In any case, work is 'fun' to him. He enjoys working and has no specific complaints about his job. He is working in the Head Office in the department of the Deputy General Manager, Administration. The promotional policy of the bank, however, is not very fair according to him, because it lays undue emphasis on 'seniority' without giving due consideration to merit. He would not mind changing his job and going over to any private or even a non-nationalised bank but only on a higher salary, of course.

Mr D'Souza still remembers his first day's experience in the bank. He had started his work in one of the small branches of the bank. The Branch Manager there was very rude and "even a small error on my part caused him to lose his temper on me. I was quite taken aback and frightened since I expected him to be considerate and bear with me at least during my first day at work. My colleagues in the branch, however, were kind towards
me and tried to soothe me by saying that the branch manager was short-tempered anyway. He had dealt in a similar fashion with many other people and there was little one could do about it. This insight into his nature made me feel a little better for I was beginning to think that I must be quite below average in my performance.

Mr D'Souza is eldest in his family which consists of two brothers and two sisters. Though he has no children of his own at present, he is quite firm in his thinking that he would not like his son/daughter to work in a bank. According to him, there is no scope for exercising one's initiative. He would prefer instead if his son started a business of his own and worked independently. He and his wife are staying in Tardeo, a locality in South Bombay. The building in which they are living is full of people from the Saraswat Brahmin community and since he is a Christian, he feels quite left out. As a result, he has no close friends in the building.
Mr Prabhu is an officer in Bank N which he joined in 1971. This is his first job. In fact as soon as he saw the advertisement in the newspaper, he applied to the bank. He was called and he joined almost immediately within a fortnight of having heard from the bank. His educational background is helpful but not relevant as such. He has obtained a Bachelor of Science degree specialising in Statistics and Economics and has also a Bachelor's degree in Law. In fact, there is no specialisation which is particularly useful for his present job for 'anyone can pick it up in no time'. He is working in the department of Personnel at the bank's Head Office.

Mr Prabhu's main choice of occupation was the medical profession. He had always wanted to become a doctor but had to give up this idea because the financial condition of his family did not permit him to join the medical line. So he joined the bank instead. It was relatively easy in the early seventies to get a job in the bank. He has
neither pleasant or unpleasant memories of his first day in the bank. He had gone to the bank's Central Office where all that he was required to do was to fill up a lengthy questionnaire prepared by some student of a management institute. It was quite a 'wasteful' day, as he put it. However, what he misses most in his present job is a 'chance to express his views'. Work to him, is just a means to earn a living. Even the promotional policy of the bank does not satisfy him because he feels that 'seniority' is the main criteria for promotion, and merit is not given the due consideration it deserves. Moreover, he finds that there has been no change in the work environment of the bank in the last five years.

Mr Prabhu is living in a 'single' family. He has two sisters besides him, out of whom one is married. His father has retired and so he has to shoulder the family responsibilities now. The members of the family are very attached to each other. They are living in a distant suburb (Thana) on the Central railway line. There are mainly people from his own Saraswat Brahmin community
living in the average middle-class neighborhood. He has no close friends in the building where he lives and in fact, as he puts it, the neighbourhood is 'quite dead – nothing ever happens'.

Mr Sanjay Land

Mr Land, a clerk, joined Bank N in 1974, after working on a temporary job in a small private organisation for three and a half years. The job was of a clerical nature. There has been no break in his employment ever since he started to work. He joined the bank because this is what he had always wanted to do – primarily because he could apply for a housing loan and also because the job is secure. Though he is just a matriculate, he finds that he has no difficulty in learning what has to be done. In fact, no particular subject is relevant for the kind of work that he is doing. He is presently working in the Deposits Section. The acceptance of deposits is one of the primary functions of a commercial bank, and these deposits are received by the bank on three types of accounts – Current, Savings and Fixed Deposits Accounts. Mr Land is presently
working in the Savings Account Section.

Though Mr Laad would not like to work in any private or non-nationalised bank because "there is less job-security there as compared to nationalised banks", he is not happy with the bank's promotional policy. He feels that 'influence' counts a lot in getting a promotion for he finds that there are many senior people who are not very competent.

Mr Laad is an active member of the Union. He is the Union representative from his department. Though he gets along with his boss in matters of work, he cannot see eye to eye in many union matters.

Mr Laad's family consists of four brothers and one sister who is married. Besides them, his parents too live with him. He himself is married and has a son. However, only one of his brothers is working. They live near Kasturba hospital in a single room rented chawl. There are more of the labour class people living in the locality who are uneducated. However, a lot of functions are organised especially during festival times and every month to there
are 'bhajan meetings'.

Mr Mangesh Pai

Mr Pai is an officer in Bank N. This is his first job and there has been no break ever since he started working. There was no occupation in mind which he wanted to pursue. He got this job through his father's influence with the then Deputy General Manager. At first, he joined the branch which is now the bank's former Head Office. He worked in the Salary Section. The first day's experience was 'neutral' as he put it, and in fact, he put in half a day's work only. He is reasonably happy with his work. His good grasp of English helps him to converse with the bank's customers. He is presently working in the Advances Department and his work largely involves keeping account of all the advances (or bank credit) given by the bank which appear under the heading 'loans and advances' and 'bills discounted and purchased'. These are the important sources of the bank's income.

According to Mr Pai there is no particular subject which is relevant as such for the kind of work that he
is doing. He is happy with the bank's promotional policy because he feels that qualified people can get a chance to rise. Therefore, he would not like to work in any non-nationalised or even a private bank because he feels that his job would not be as secure as it is now.

Mr Pai is happy in his home life. He is married and has two children. They are living independently in a flat which he bought at Chembur - a distant suburb on the Central railway. There are mostly people from Tamil Nadu who live there, though there are a few Goud Saraswat Brahmins like him too. He is friendly with one neighbour only. There is no life in the neighbourhood, as such, but this does not appear to bother him. He seems to be quite content with his family which is very close knit. All in all, he is a reasonably happy kind of a person.

Mr Ramesh Salvi

Mr Salvi is a clerk in Bank C. He joined the bank in 1972 and this is his first job. He readily admits that he got the job through the influence of someone in the bank.
He has a Bachelor's degree in Law and he finds that his work in the Public Relations Department at the bank's Head Office has nothing to do with Law. As he puts it, "even a matriculate can do the kind of ordinary clerical work that I am doing". Moreover, he is unhappy with the bank's promotional policy. Besides 'influence' which matters most, 'seniority' is the only factor that is given top consideration. Merit is least important, and there are no tests for promotion to the higher level.

Mr Salvi's main aim is to set up a factory to manufacture plastic goods. According to him, there is more challenge in this kind of a job. Therefore, he regards his bank job as a 'stop-gap' or a 'temporary' measure, which is necessary so that he can save enough capital before venturing on his own to set up an independent business. He would not like to change his present job under any circumstances because in any event, he is not interested in banking per se. He seems to be quite happy with his salary and doubts whether he would have done better elsewhere given his background and educational
qualifications. However, he feels dissatisfied with his immediate boss because the latter is very dictatorial. Moreover, according to him, his appearance too is not what a Public Relations Officer should have.

Mr Salvi is a bachelor and is staying with his parents. He also has an older brother and a sister, none of whom are married. They live in a rented three room flat at Bandra. It is both a posh and a cosmopolitan locality. There are only three other families besides them living in the same building and he has not very friendly relations with anyone living there. "I have no time to mix with anyone for I feel too tired to socialise once I have returned from my work".

Interviews of Some Low Alienated Employees

Mr Percy Daruwalla

Mr Daruwalla is at present working as a Branch Manager of one of the local branches of Bank N, having joined the bank twenty-two years ago. He has risen gradually
from the level of a bank clerk to his present position. Though he is only a matriculate, he has successfully picked up the fundamentals of a bank job as can be easily seen in the way he has climbed up the bank's hierarchy by sheer dint of hard labour. Actually he initially joined the bank more at the suggestion of a close relative than anything else, but he seems to have liked the kind of work and so has continued to work in the bank. To him 'work is pleasure - without work, one cannot do anything'.

Mr Daruwalla is very happy and feels highly identified with Bank N, and would not like to switch over to any other nationalised bank. In fact, the very first day in the bank too was very pleasant for him, and he has fond memories of that day. He had gone for work to one of the larger branches where the Branch Manager welcomed him. He was made to feel at home and the rudiments of the work that he was required to do was explained to him. He has now come a long way since that first day. He dislikes his present designation as a Branch Manager because he feels
he is "sandwiched" between the staff and the top management. He gets no support from either of them. This is the reason why he does not expect to rise any further in the bank because of the lack of cooperation he gets from those above him and those below him. He is happy because there is job security in the bank and though he did not have this factor in mind when he joined the bank, he feels sure that this may have been indirectly responsible for his having selected the banking industry.

Mr Daruwalla is a bachelor today, even at the age of 40 years. He is living with his parents and a sister who is married and whose family also lives with them. His sister's family consists of her husband and two young children. He is living in a very distant suburb of Bombay (Versova) which has a direct link with Andheri, located on the Western railway line. It is an average middle-class cosmopolitan neighbourhood. Though he has no close friends as such living in the immediate locality where he resides, he is friendly with all. This is not difficult to imagine because he has a very outgoing personality and
seems an extrovert. Actually, they have shifted very recently to this locality and hence are not very involved in the 'goings-on' of the neighbourhood. In addition to this, since his branch works from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. and it takes a minimum of two hours to reach his house, he cannot socialise at all during the evenings.

**Mr Puroshottam Damke**

Mr Damke is a young clerk who joined Bank N only two years ago. Prior to this, he worked on a temporary job for a month in the Sanchivalaya. Since he has a Bachelor's degree in Economics and his educational background is very relevant for the kind of work that he is doing, he seems to be "very happy" with his work. In addition to this, he gets a lot of cooperation from the Branch Manager, which makes work a lot more easy and enjoyable. He joined the bank primarily at his own initiative though a friend's suggestion also strengthened his resolve to work in the banking industry. His first day in one of the departments in the Head Office has very pleasant memories for him as the Head of that department went out of his
way to put him at ease. He would not like to work in a private bank though, because he feels he can serve his nation better by working for a nationalised bank. However, he does not seem to be particularly happy with the promotional policy of the bank which he considers as 'slightly unfair'. According to him, the internal examination which is held after every three years for their assessment, is too long a time for management to take to assess their capabilities. As he puts it, "the management can easily judge us after two years".

Mr Damke is the only child of his parents. His parents are residing in Kolhapur in Maharashtra. As a result, he is currently staying with some friends at Bandra - a 'decent suburb' as he puts it. The particular area where he is living is an average middle-class locality. It is only during festival times that the people get together and organise some functions like a variety entertainment programme for instance. Otherwise during normal weekdays, everyone is busy with his own work. Since he is
very fond of playing badminton, he has joined the Sports Club which is in the neighborhood and goes there daily for half-an-hour of badminton. He can easily afford to do this since he is still a bachelor.

The low degree of alienation in the case of Mr Damke is not difficult to understand since he belongs to the Scheduled caste and as compared to the rest of his family and friends, he seems to have done very well for himself. His parents too - who are uneducated themselves - think very highly of him because according to them he has been successful in life. The opinion of his parents matters very much to him. He seems grateful to them and sends money every month for their maintenance.

**Mr Amit Rege**

Mr Rege is an officer in one of the local branches of Bank N. He started his career in the bank sixteen years ago. There seems to be no particular reason why he joined the bank - 'he just happened to get the job'. Though his Bachelor's degree is in Economics, he finds that it is only the particular subject on Banking which he had in the
curriculum, that is particularly relevant for the work which he is presently doing. He is working in the Advances department, where the department is involved in making advances to the customers either in the form of loans, overdrafts or through discounting the bills of exchange. His work, though, is largely of the supervising kind.

Though he is reasonably happy with his work, he seems to be dissatisfied with his salary. He is working primarily to earn his livelihood and to build up a brighter future for himself and for his children.

The bank's promotional policy, according to Mr Regal is not exactly what one would call 'fair'. 'Influence' matters a lot and people in the Central Office appear to get promotions at a much more rapid rate than those in the branches. In spite of this, he would not like to switch over, say, to any non-nationalised bank because he feels there would be less job-security than in a nationalised bank. Not only this, he also feels that the bank job provides
higher respect in society as compared to jobs in the private sector.

There are no opportunities for social interaction in the job itself. Other than the 'get-together' which is organised during closing-time in June and December of every year, when everyone from the department/branch has an opportunity to mix with the others, nothing ever happens.

Mr Rege is living in a joint family which consists of his mother, his wife and two children and his brother and his wife. They live in a distant suburb - Jogeshwari located on the Western railway line. Mr Rege owns the flat which is in a cooperative society formed by some of the bank employees. The neighbourhood is quite cosmopolitan as people from various states of India are to be found residing there. The locality itself is not 'convenient' as he terms it, for there are no doctors nor vegetable-vendors to be found and one has to go to the next suburb to avail of these facilities.
Mr Milind Narkar

Mr Narkar is an officer in Bank N. Prior to joining the bank ten years ago he had worked on two temporary jobs - both during the summer vacation in the same bank. He holds a Bachelor's degree in Commerce and especially the two subjects - Business Organisation and Accountancy - which he studied for his B.A., are very relevant for this kind of work that he is doing. He applied for this job at his own initiative, because according to him, a job in the bank is considered to be very prestigious. His own choice of occupation had always been to become a banker because he has a flair for Accountancy. Moreover, he seems very happy to be working in a nationalised bank and would not like to switch over to any non-nationalised bank or even a foreign bank because he feels that there are less prospects and lots of restrictions in these banks.

At present Mr Narkar is in charge of supervising the work of the people in the day-book department. Though the people in the day-book department are concerned with entering all kinds of cash transactions which have taken place during the day before transferring the respective
entries to the concerned Heads of Accounts, he is concerned only with supervising them. Thus he is moderately happy and would not mind even if his son decided to work for a bank when he grew up.

Mr Narkar is living in a joint family where there are besides his mother, two brothers, one sister-in-law, his wife and son. Everyone is very attached to each other. The family lives in a rented flat in Girgaum - an old and very congested locality in South Bombay. There are predominantly people from his own Saraswat community living in the building.

Mr Narkar keeps himself busy because he has a lot of interesting hobbies that he pursues to fill up his leisure time. He is active in Sports and takes part in a lot of Sports competitions. Besides this, he is an avid stamp-collector and very fond of travelling. He has travelled with his wife and son to many parts of India.

Mr Homi Billimoria

Mr Billimoria, an officer from Bank N, hails from a very small family. He is the only child of his parents.
According to him, "My father has retired from service and my mother wears the pants in the family. She is affectionate in her own way but very nagging. In fact, even today when I have got married and have a child of my own, my mother continues to treat me as a child who is immature and has no mind of his own. I still have to take her permission before going out.

Discipline was very rigorously imposed at home. For reasons unknown to me, sport was discouraged as a waste of time. Also a strong belief, without questioning the reasoning in whatever the elders imposed on me, made me considerable dependent on others (especially my mother) for decision-making.

As far as my work in this bank is concerned, I do not dislike it as such, because with my educational qualifications (I am only a matriculate) there is nothing better I could have expected. My work is more like that of a Public Relations Officer. There is a lot of scope for social interaction. My work activities include such
things as attending to customers requiring different types of information, listening to their complaints and queries, scrutinising various documents and verifying the correctness of the information contained in them, providing the necessary information about the party to the Branch manager for decision making, acting as a liaison between the customers, branch manager and the Head Office etc.

It is, however, the atmosphere of complete dependence at home and my mother's persistent nagging in even the simplest of matters, that causes me at times to feel estranged from my work. Not only do I have to bear the brunt of my mother's nagging but my poor old father is not spared either. The atmosphere at home is thus one of constant discord. Though neither my father nor I protest outwardly at mother's behaviour, our personalities have become submissive, as a result. We have learnt to obey her orders implicitly but this loss of freedom to think for myself sometimes results in my feeling dis-satisfied with my work too". 
Mr Billimoria lives with his family at Grant Road, where they own the flat where they are residing. Only people from his own Parsi community live there. However, he has no real close friends living in the locality. It is an average middle-class neighbourhood where there is not very much of interaction that goes on except once a year when there is a social gathering of all the people living in the community.

Analysis:

An analysis of these cases reveals that there are various factors that have caused people to experience feelings of alienation from work. These factors have ranged from purely work-oriented factors to factors in the home and personal background of the employees which have resulted in their becoming estranged from work.

Among the work-oriented factors, it is mainly the routineness of the work especially at the clerical level and even at the level of the junior officers, that has
caused this estrangement. The situation is akin to that of the blue collar employees on the assembly-line for whom "mass production and other forms of routinised work, together with the position of the worker at the bottom of the organisational hierarchy, combine to offer little opportunity for interesting work or advancement" (Hall, 1975). Additional support for this finding can be derived from Kornhauser's (1965) study of the mental health of the industrial worker, in which he reports that workers on repetitive jobs feel so deprived and stultified by the endless, dull routine that many of them poignantly wish for more interesting and challenging work in which they could use their abilities and derive a sense of worth and self respect.

There are strong indications that the younger generation is increasingly disenchanted with work that they define as meaningless. This has been amply demonstrated in our sample where it is clear that it is the younger lot who is the frustrated lot. One of the main
reasons for this is that these people come to the job with very high expectations and these unrealistic expectations can be very important in causing dissatisfaction as Wancous (1975) and other have found. According to a report prepared by the International Labour Organisation in 1977 on 'Young People in their Working Environment'.

"A look at the labour supply and demand sector by sector in most countries shows a disturbing confusion in young people's ambitions and, more or less everywhere, the inadequacies of vocational guidance. An increasing number of young people every year choose their trade haphazardly as local openings or fashions and pressures in advertising dictate, and very often, according to their family background, which may well have a decisive influence on them than vocational guidance".

The lack of vocational guidance at the school and college level is mainly responsible for the rapid disillusionment which most young people face once they take up a job. There appears to be a gap between their aspirations and what they are actually offered in the job, because the conditions of work do not inspire enthusiasm in the youngsters who come unprepared to face the harsh realities of
the world. The conflict between the educational and the occupational systems is thus an important source of alienation. Thus, for instance, "although advanced education is highly specialised, it rarely adequately prepares an individual for the workworld. In fact, the educational system makes it difficult for the graduate to adjust to his occupation, for since it focusses on skills and knowledge, it ignores the realities of occupational life. Thus the graduate is frequently confronted with "reality shock" when he enters the workworld" (Ritzer, 1972).

Other causes for frustration or dissatisfaction in the economic sphere lies in the fact that the ambitions of several interviewers have been thwarted because of the lack of money to continue their studies.

One of the shortcomings of the functioning of many public sector organisations is the lack of appreciation for good work. This is mainly due to impersonalisation. The absence of due praise and credit and the 'closed mind' of many of the superiors who do not welcome any suggestions given by their juniors is an important
cause of work alienation. Even the first day's experience in the bank plays a vital role in shaping the attitudes of the employees towards various work related factors in the bank. Those who have had an unpleasant experience on the first day or had not been made to feel welcome carry this feeling for long afterwards. Many a time such feelings of the first day's experience cause estrangement from work.

The vastness of the organisation and there being relatively few promotional opportunities produces feelings of alienation among it's employees. Many a time the employees have voiced their discontent over the way tests have been conducted for promotion. The fact that there are far less vacancies than the number of candidates who successfully pass the promotional tests every year and the fact that such people who qualify for promotion but do not get it have to reappear for the test in the following year with no higher probability of passing, has been responsible for producing increasing feelings of disenchantment from work.
The discrepancy between what the individuals strive for and what they get is akin to what Merton (1957) formulated in his theory of anomie. His theory comprises three main elements. According to him, in the first place, there exists in all societies certain cultural goals which individuals are encouraged to regard as worth striving for; secondly, there are various prescribed ways in which such goals may be obtained, which can be termed institutionalised means. In some circumstances, there may be a very considerable stress on goals and little concern with the prescribed means to attain them; the motivation to obtain certain goals may be so strong that the most effective rather than the prescribed means may be adopted including the use of illegitimate means. There occurs a disequilibrium between goals and means which is close to the meaning Durkheim attached to anomie. A third element in the situation derives from the social structure; whilst cultural goals and institutionalised means exist in any society, there also exists a pattern of social or group relationships in which individuals are involved, e.g.
of a class or ethnic kind. This social structure implies differences between groups in the extent to which access to means is legitimately possible e.g., different groups have different educational experiences and therefore different chances of obtaining access to means and goals. Therefore, in some circumstances, there is a conflict between what is expected by the culture and what is possible under the existing social arrangements for access to cultural goals and means.

It is not merely the work related factors that are conducive to alienation, for very often the dissatisfaction caused due to various factors in the home and personal background of the individual are carried over in the work setting. It is said that a person is often oriented towards his family because it can fulfill some of his primary psychic needs. That is, a person is often relatively happy, comfortable and at ease in the company of the members of the family. Increased family responsibilities can, however, cause a great deal of strain which is likely to affect an employee's attitudes.
of his work. Thus the anger which is so often displayed in the work setting is but an instance of some deep underlying tension at home. Very often parents are not educated and therefore are not familiar with the process and problems involved in formal education/work. Very often parents set goals which may be beyond the abilities of their children to accomplish, and this often leads to conflict and disappointment. We have seen in some of the cases listed above how parents have played a crucial role in determining the occupations for their children much against their aptitude and inclination. In the case of the bank job, it is the "security" aspect that has prompted many parents from dissuading their children from applying for better paying jobs in the private sector, which are perhaps less stable. This is understandable in the context of the low economy of the country.

In India, not only do parents play a crucial role in influencing the occupational choice of their children but also have a significant, if not the final say, in the choice of their marriage partners. The case of the unhappy
young clerk from Bank C who was forced by his parents
to marry an uneducated girl much against his will, is
but a clear instance of parents exercising their domi-
nance over their children. In fact, the possessiveness
and dominance of the parents has often been discussed
in many of the cases.

As Gore (1968) puts it, the materials available
in Kapadia's (1959) writings for Bombay and Gujerat and
in the writings of Srinives and of Ross for Mysore and
Bangalore, all indicate that a certain amount of change
is noticed in the Hindu family in other parts of India
and for other caste groups too. The pattern of arranged
marriage is still common, though marriage after courtship
now exists side by side with this older pattern in the
urban areas. One finds, however, that such arranged
marriages if unsuccessful, become a contributory factor
for producing alienation.

The kind of family - single versus joint - one is
born in, as well as the kind of family one is at present
living in, also influences the feelings of alienation. In our group of employees who were interviewed, it appears that the majority live in single families at present and were also born in single families. This is not surprising in view of the urban location of the bank from which the sample was drawn. The feelings of loneliness which people born in single families often experience and more so when the mothers too have been career-women, ultimately leads them to become alienated.

The lack of any spare time after work, has also been responsible for producing feelings of alienation. The time taken to go and return from the place of work leaves the person with hardly any time he can call his own. This is because the distance being very great in a city like Bombay, it takes a minimum of 1½ to 2 hours for commuting these long distances. The time taken and the accompanying fatigue which results due to travelling in the overcrowded buses and trains, which are the common man's means of transport, leave little scope or energy
for indulging in any leisure time pursuits, be it socialising with the neighbours or taking part in any extracurricular activities.

Thus we see that there is a gamut of factors leading to estrangement from work ranging all the way from the inherent routineness of the work itself which contributes to monotony and boredom, to the possessiveness and dominance of parents who are responsible for their children pursuing a career in the bank much against their will or inclination. The findings obtained from the select interviews substantiate the results obtained from the questionnaire. First of all, if the job provides the employee a sense of meaning and control over the work process, he is likely to feel committed to his work. On the other hand, jobs involving routine and repetitive operations and providing no meaning, control or discretion to the employee are likely to cause lack of commitment. Other factors that are important and which promote alienation are the over-qualifications of the employees for the kind of work which they are doing, the higher
expectations among the younger group of employees as compared to their older counterparts, and the urban location of the bank in a city like Bombay, where nearly every aspect of one's life is being continuously governed by forces which are outside the control of the individual. Under such conditions of daily existence, it is but natural that an individual is bound to experience feelings of social isolation and powerlessness which are likely to be carried over to the work setting too.

It is evident that alienation seems to be more a result of the structural factors that are operating rather than being individually oriented. Thus the nature of the work, the bureaucratic setting of the bank, the urban housing problems are factors that are not individually created but operate on a social level and apply equally well to all the employees of the bank alike. The causes of alienation therefore, and especially as is seen through an analysis of the various interviews, suggests that the roots of the work alienation are to be found in the total social structure. Thus it is the entire impersonality of
the bank setting itself that contributes to alienation.

By and large, these interviews have pointed out that there are four main factors leading to work alienation — those arising from the social structure, those arising from the design of the organisation, those arising from the nature of the task and those arising from the employees' personalities.

The select interviews thus have provided an insight into the causes of work alienation among the bank employees in the sample. It has also given us an understanding of the differences in the profiles and the background of the highly alienated and the low alienated. This is particularly important because alienation is a complex outcome of various factors influencing man's behaviour. Looking at the information provided by the people in the three groups will therefore give us a fresh view into the complex environment giving rise to alienation.