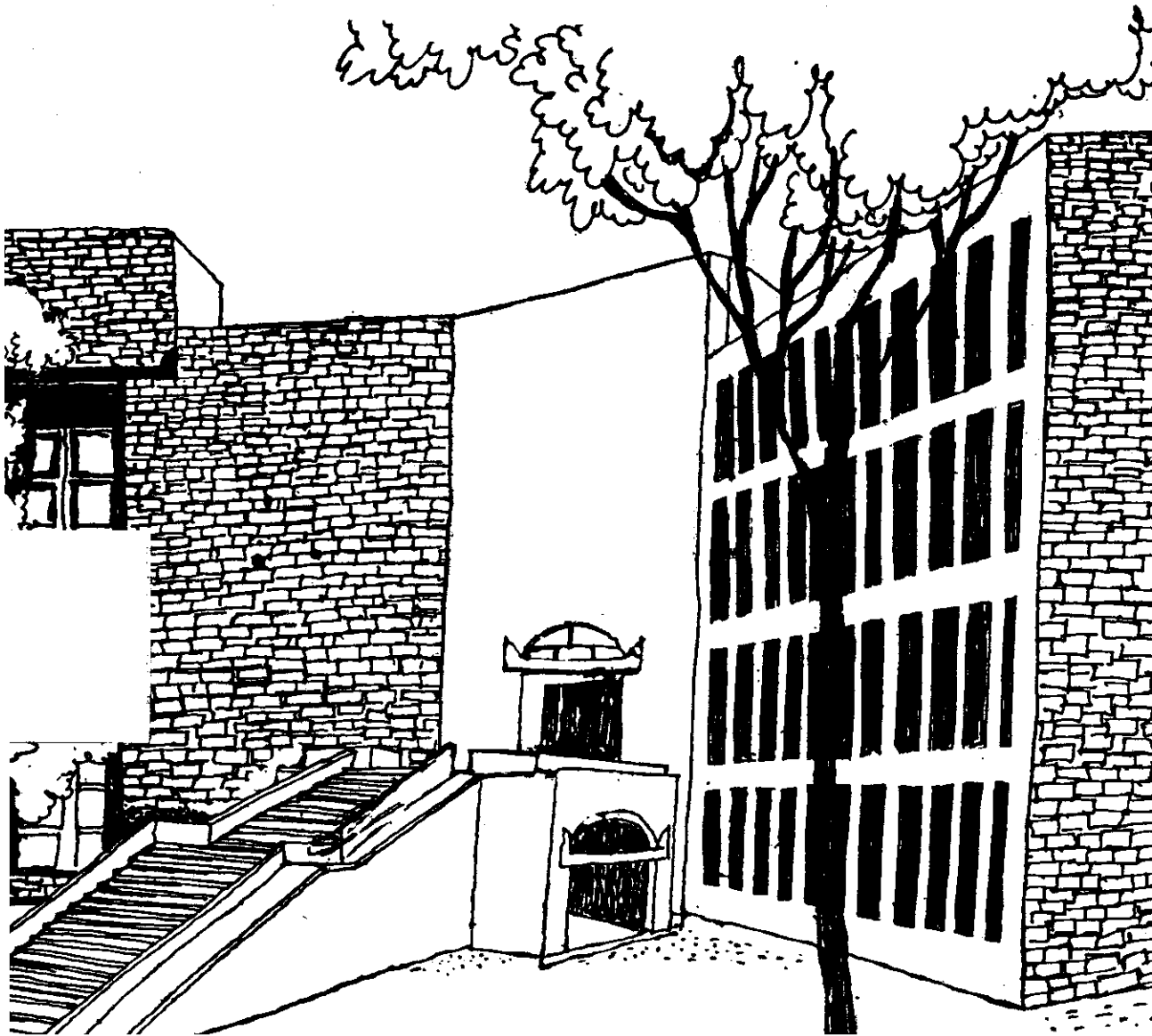


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SOCIOLOGY FOR INDIAN ORGANIZATIONS

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Sociology for Indian Organizations

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I intend in this essay to advocate the need for a sociology of organizations in the Indian context. A search through the appropriate literature has led me to conclude that there has so far been little effort towards developing comprehensive sociological understanding about Indian organizations, although there is ironically, considerable awareness and concern regarding the significance of social and cultural forces in influencing organizational structures, processes and effectiveness. Studies in the conventional branches of sociology (such as urban, industrial, educational, political, often include analysis of the socio-cultural aspects of various types of organizations. While these studies enlighten us on some sociological aspects of organizations, they provide an inadequate and partial sociological perspective, as I shall argue on the basis of a brief review of Indian literature on the subject. I shall then examine the theoretical perspectives in the discipline of sociology which has so far guided the sociology of organizations and suggest an alternative perspective for a more meaningful understanding of social phenomena. Finally, I shall illustrate the issues which, in my view, should be regarded as central to the sociology of organizations.

There are a few important reasons why we need to pursue the development of a sociology of organizations within the Indian cultural framework.

In the first place, formal organizations are increasingly occupying a central position in contemporary society. Perhaps there is a sense in which organizations can be regarded as the microcosm of the society just as the village community was regarded as the microcosm of the traditional society. Progressively more and more services - employment, housing, health, education, recreation, processing of agricultural inputs and outputs etc.- are rendered to people through formal organizations. Even religious missions are conducted with the help of formal organizations. The use of well-oiled organization machines for clandestine business, which occupies a significant place in contemporary society, is well-known. Thus, as Collins reminds us, "... most of the other things sociologists study-stratification, politics, education, deviance, social change-are based on organizations or take place within them". (Collins : 1975 : 286). The experiences gained by people in terms of their links with organizations - as owners, as managers, as clients, as members, as beneficiaries or simply as neighbours - are likely to spill over to the rest of their social existence. The sociology of organizations may therefore constitute a key factor in any attempt to understand the social order encompassing them.

Second, the sociological awareness in relation to organizations, as I mentioned earlier, is growing among scholars, practitioners and others concerned with practical problems of management and administration. Some sociological and social psychological theories on organizations developed in the western culture (for instance, theories

pertaining to human relations, participative management, bureaucracy, alienation and commitment of employees, have been fondly incorporated by some in their managerial thinking and organizational practices and adapted by others to suit their intellectual or ideological predispositions. Some are concerned with the obstructive influence of Indian institutions and values on the rational designs of organizations, while others are interested in evolving organizational designs to match Indian tradition. Also, the conceptual tools and approaches employed by management experts engaged in organizational interventions (such as organization development, human resources development, humanization of work environment) include sociological concepts in the areas of group dynamics, role analysis, culture, socialization and conflict resolution. Such practical use of sociology in understanding and resolving management problems is likely to attract sociologists to devote more attention to pragmatic theorizing and obscure effort towards developing proper understanding of social behaviour of men and women in organizations. The sociology of organizations will provide a more realistic and concrete perspective to practitioners and change-agents to deal with organizational issues.

Third, Indian sociologists seem to be progressively concerned about the role of the sociologist in achievement of social goals and successful implementation of social plans and programmes in various spheres of social life. Veteran sociologists during recent years have expressed such concern. For instance, Srinivas (1966 : 163) states :

"The sociologist's commitment to democratic processes is fundamental - - - commitment to democratic processes results in the sociologist having a deep concern in national development - - - Development which makes the rich richer and leaves the conditions of the masses of the poor unchanged is likely to produce chronic political instability - - - - commitment to development is therefore also a commitment to the reduction of economic and social inequalities". Similarly, Dube (1977:12) wants Indian sociology to "address itself to the living concerns of today and tomorrow. For this we shall have to identify critical problems, pose the right questions and devise appropriate procedures of investigation in respect of them". Mukherjee, on his part, (1973:49) stresses that "... at this crossroad of its development, sociology in India must have a role of its own to play in order to answer the 'Indian question' in its present context. This role lies in assuming the responsibility to identify the soft spots in the social organism, viz., those vulnerable regions of the social structure through which change in the society is, or can be effected". Organizations, which serve as the dominant carriers of societal aspirations, policies and plans provide to the sociologist an important base for testing the value of sociological theory and concepts in promoting socially desirable plans for change.

The Existing Literature

The current literature on social behaviour in Indian organizations includes studies pertaining to social relations within organizations as well as the social and cultural forces outside organizations which may impinge upon these relations. The following brief overview

of literature covers the relevant contributions made by sociologists and other social scientists (especially social psychologists and management scientists) interested in organizational phenomena across traditional academic disciplines.

Social organizations as units of sociological analysis have at best drawn modest attention from Indian social scientists. Apparently, the scarce intellectual resources in Indian sociology have been employed largely in the study of some traditional, institutional and cultural forces (such as caste, extended kinship, village community, peasant culture, ritualism, economic and political segmentation) in their myriad manifestations in rural and urban communities in the country. Over the last two decades or so, however, the proportion of scholars interested in relatively "modern" social phenomena such as education, industry, administration, government and health-care institutions has steadily increased. These scholars, in one form or another, deal with the social relations characterizing organizations in their respective fields of interest. This constitutes the source of the sociology of organizations. The observations that follow are based on the material covered in the various surveys of research¹ and an attempt at scanning through the relevant literature in a well-equipped library.

The point of departure for the sociologist's interest in organizations was provided by the assumption that modern industrial, educational and other formal organizations were a product of the industrial culture of the west which was believed to be incompatible with the traditional culture of India. Hence the conflicting pressures exerted by the

organizational goals on the one hand and the traditional culture on the other was believed to produce incompatibility in the social behaviour of people within such organizations. Accordingly, the main subject of the sociologist's interest in organizations was to examine the ways in which the traditional bonds of caste, kinship, village, agriculture, religion etc. were carried over to the formal organization and influenced people's behaviour and performance at work. This concern led the sociologists to devote their attention to the social and cultural characteristics of the people manning organizations (for instance, Lambert : 1963; Subramaniam : 1971; Niehoff : 1955; ^{Prabhu;1956}). Some scholars were concerned with the behaviour and attitudes of people in relation to work and the work-organization (Lambert : 1963; Sharma : 1974; Vaid : 1968) and the interaction between work-roles and social roles (Oomen : 1978).

A significant proportion of studies of behaviour and attitudes were related to industrial work and dealt with concrete problems of performance such as productivity, absenteeism, discipline and shift-work (Sreenivasan 1964; Sharma : 1970; Shri Ram Centre for Industrial Relations : 1970; Vaid : 1967). Another stream of organizational studies covered important socio-psychological processes such as leadership, communication, decision-making and motivation (Sinha : 1979; De Souza : 1976; Bhat : 1978; Basu and Patel : 1972; Chaudhary : 1978; Pestonjee and Basu : 1972; Chowdhry : 1970). These studies are usually designed on practical considerations, mainly with a view to identifying leadership styles, communication patterns and motivational strategies conducive to the performance-related objectives of the organization.

The various types of organizational studies illustrated above have taken into account specific segments of social relations within organizations. A few studies, on the other hand, have sought to make sociological analysis of whole organizations. The well-known Tavistock studies of the Calico Mills (Rice : 1958 and 1963) constitute the most systematic and comprehensive attempt in this direction. Rice and his colleagues examined the division of work and authority at various levels of the organization in the context of the technological as well as the human and social environment within which the organization existed. They introduced changes in the work organization and authority structures in response to the constraints generated by the socio-cultural bonds among workers and managers. Such reorganization, in the researchers' view, led to the optimization of the organization's effectiveness in terms of the primary task for which it was established. These studies, along with others in Britain and elsewhere, contributed to the sociological view of an organization as a system consisting of interactive social and technological factors. Sheth's study (1968) of an industrial organization analysed the formal division of labour and the hierarchy of status and authority in the formal organization in relation to the structure of social relationships in the community around the organization as well as the network of social bonds informally developed by workers and managers as a result of shared work-experience. Similarly Baviskar (1980) examined the social relationships within a cooperative enterprise in the context of the social

and political divisions among workers and managers as well as among the political leaders and trade unionists associated with the enterprise.

Most studies of organizations—whether holistic or partial—share a common premise of sociological theory. They are based on the assumption of an organization as a rational—legal system of tasks, authority and rules in the Weberian sense. The rationality of the system is usually conceived in terms of the goals of the organization as set by its founders, owners and managers. Those who are recruited into the organization for specific tasks are explicitly or implicitly expected to contribute to the managerial goals. Any behaviour among individuals or groups which is incompatible with organizational rationality is examined in terms of its dysfunctional consequences for the organization. At the same time, the satisfaction of human needs and aspirations based on psychological and cultural factors is assumed to be a major determinant of rational behaviour. Hence, sociological research in organizations is essentially geared to the task of identifying the various cultural and organizational forces impinging on human behaviour and performance at work. Such research is then used to pave the way to adapt management styles, communication patterns and reward systems to human social needs towards achievement of the organization's rational goals. The people manning an organization are thus regarded as integral parts of its rational system. This theoretical perspective provides the main foundation to the academic and managerial approach labelled as "human relations" which has become an important part of

organizational thinking in modern industrial civilization in the west as well as in India.

The systems approach to the study of organizations as summarized above serves to highlight the integrative and collaborative aspects of organizations as a going concern in society. It stresses the function of collaboration among the various sections of people involved in organizational activities for the effective performance of assigned tasks. Such an approach has considerable academic and pragmatic value in terms of its emphasis on the forces of consonance, consensus, harmony and integration within the social reality of organizations. However, this approach has resulted in an unwillingness among social scientists to take cognizance of another aspect of this social reality : the forces of dissonance, dissensus and conflict among social groups, classes and categories. A few studies of organizations which focus on evidence of overt conflict deal with the most unambiguous and well-known form of conflict—the strike. However, the basic assumption about the organization as a harmonious, collaborative and integrative system leads the social scientist to explain conflict as a product of interpersonal and intergroup dynamics - the assumptions made by managers and workers about each other, the patterns of communication between them, the feelings of alienation experienced by people under mass production technology, and such other human and social factors (Dayal : 1972 ; Dayal and Sharma : 1970). Conflict is thus regarded as a manifestation of pathology in the social system of the organization. It is believed

that such pathological disturbances can be removed by making suitable changes in the behaviour patterns, communication strategies and leadership styles of the various groups, especially the top management which is responsible for directing the system towards its rational goals. Ramaswamy's study (1977) of trade unions and workers in Coimbatore and Mamkoottam's study (1982) of trade unionism in Tata Iron and Steel Company are perhaps the only serious attempts to deal with power and conflict within organizations with adequate objectivity.

This is a partial and truncated view of organizations. It is based on a specific conventional theoretical perspective underlying the discipline of sociology. Let us briefly review this perspective and examine the need and availability of an alternative perspective for an adequate sociological understanding of organizations.

Sociological Perspectives

Sociology should be regarded as a scientific discipline concerned with human social behaviour. The term 'scientific discipline' is used here to stress that sociology, as well as other comparable disciplines of knowledge, implies a continuous search for consistencies and continuities in its chosen field of social reality, regardless of the probability of discovering general laws as defined in natural sciences. The main task of sociology is to analyse the various normative and factual aspects of social interrelations among people and examine them in relation to one another with a view to explaining the social conditions under which specific forms of social behaviour and

interactions occur. While such explanations would be primarily based on observations of concrete situations of social behaviour, the sociologist should look for explanations which can be generalized beyond specific events and situations. Such generalized explanations should eventually help in predicting human behaviour under given social conditions.

The sociologist should develop or choose an appropriate perspective to achieve this goal. Obviously, a significant part of social behaviour subsists in terms of patterned interactions reflected in the relatively durable parts of society such as groups, norms, institutions, ^{and} values. This has lent the facility to sociologists to look upon the social order as an integrated system with functionally interrelated parts. This integration theory (also known as functionalist theory) which, as Dahrendorf states, has clearly dominated sociological thinking, stresses the normative order in society assuming a state of stable equilibrium among its components. Evidence of deviance from or challenge to the normative order is regarded as pathological, resulting in temporary states of disequilibrium. The dynamic and changing forces encountered in social reality are subordinated to the normative order.

This dominant perspective in sociology has of course contributed a great deal to the understanding of the normative aspect of society. However, it suffers from severe limitations, as several critiques (for instance, Lockwood : 1956; Dahrendorf : 1959; Rex : 1961; Giddens : 1968) have pointed out. The most significant drawback of the integration

theory is that it neglects the factual order of society which reflects conflicts of interests and objectives among groups, classes and categories. These conflicts arise from unequal distribution of scarce resources, including wealth, status and power. Another important argument against the functionalist perspective relates to its neglect of the historical forces underlying the contemporary normative order in any society. Moreover, the integrationist view of the society has the effect of hypostatization of the existing normative order and an implicit acceptance of its superiority over alternative models of social structures. Functionalist sociology thus tends to be partisan on the side of the existing social arrangement.

On the Indian scene, some scholars have recently questioned the, integrationist-functional perspective. Those who have dealt with this subject share the view that Indian sociology is predominantly functionalist in its perspective, although a large number of sociologists have moved away from classical functionalism and combined it with historicism and also paid some attention to power and conflict. The predominance of the functionalist approach is ascribed to the professional and intellectual dependence of Indian sociologists on their British and American counterparts, a dependence which is condemned with romantic anger by expressions such as "thoughtways and workways of the colonial virus"(Dube, : 1977 : 11), "Conceptual and methodological baggage of the western social science"(Singh : 1973 : 15) and "implanted by the colonial rulers as an administrative appendage"(Nomin : 1978 : 160).

The awareness among Indian sociologists about the inadequacy of the functionalist approach has led some sociologists to plead for alternative approaches. A clear alternative perspective is developed and articulated by the Marxist sociologists. Desai (1981), has stated the value of the Marxist perspective vis-a-vis functionalism in a forthright manner.

"Indian society is subjected to a conscious transformation and change in a specific direction by policy makers. The social scientists pursue their researches of this changing social reality on the basis of accepting ahistoric, static, synchronic, structural-functional model based on an equilibrium assumption. Sociology has been more at home in the equilibrium system and stability models It is my submission that the paradigm evolved by Marx, if adopted consciously, even as a heuristic device, would provide (an) alternative approach for conducting fruitful and relevant researches about the Indian society. The Marxist approach adopting the criteria of taking property relations to define the nature of society, will help the Indian scholars to designate the type of society, the class character of the State and the specificness of the path of development with all the implications." (Desai : 1981 : 8-13).

The message sought to be conveyed by the Marxist sociologists is clear : sociology should be regarded as a part of the Marxist theory and philosophy. All social relations and group processes should be examined analysed and explained in the framework of property relations

and ownership of the means of production. As the key concepts in functionalist sociology centre around the assumption of the normative order in a state of equilibrium, the key concepts in Marxist sociology centre around property and class relations. Both approaches contain an element of dogmatism and are therefore useless for scientific sociology as I have defined earlier.

Sociology, in my view,² needs to draw upon all aspects of social reality in crystallizing a perspective if it has to move towards generalized explanations of social behaviour. The normative order (institutions, values, culture) constitutes undoubtedly an important part of sociological studies as it provides valuable information about the social superstructure. However, the major concern of the sociologist should be to understand the relationship between the normative order and the factual order, "the whole of man's experience as a member of society in this world, here and now" (Beteille : 1974 : 100). This latter aspect of the field of sociological inquiry inevitably draws the sociologist into the various social, economic and political interests which divide and unite people into interest groups. One of the basic fact characterizing interest groups is the unequal distribution of status, wealth and power in society. This unequal distribution of material and non-material resources gives rise to relations of authority and power whereby groups with greater command over resources tend to actually or potentially coerce those with less command over the resources. The factual order of society underneath the normative order is thus characterized by relations of power and conflict which should

constitute the major focus of sociological attention.

The balance of power is not fixed for ever in modern society. Those who have more power usually strive to retain or enhance their power. Those who have less power, on the other hand, often try to clinch power from those who have less. Human beings, individually and collectively, resist coercion in various degrees and in different forms. The resistance may vary from passive submission through non-cooperation, bargaining and open hostility to physical violence. The balance of power may therefore shift according to the dynamics of interaction among various interest-groups.

Power and conflict are endemic in human society and should therefore form the central theme of sociological research. The normative order in many ways (through rules, rituals and superordinate agencies for conflict resolution such as courts and arbitrators) provides means for resolution of conflicting interests among groups and help them to collaborate. However, these normative devices largely serve to contain or reduce conflicts; they cannot ever abolish conflicts. As Lockwood emphasizes, "The very existence of a normative order mirrors the continual potentiality of conflict" (Lockwood : 1956 : 137).

Perspective for Sociology of Organizations

In the background of the preceding discussion on sociological perspectives, I shall briefly suggest an approach to studying organizational phenomena. Any sociological inquiry into an organization should include its normative aspects. It should take into account the

stated goals, the division of work, the hierarchy of roles and statuses, the structure of authority and responsibility, the rules, procedures and conventions, the informal relations among people and the technological, social, economic and political environment of the organization. One should study the processes of boundary-maintenance, socialization, institutionalization and conflict resolution within the organization. One should examine how the various internal and external forces interact with and influence each other and influence the avowed goals of efficiency, productivity, profitability etc. As I have indicated earlier, there are few holistic studies of Indian organizations dealing with the interrelations among the various structural and environmental forces. However, such studies should avoid the common tendency of researchers on organizations to analyse organizational behaviour essentially in terms of managerial rationality. The reality in organizations should be examined as experienced by the various sets of actors participating in it.

The experience of actors participating in organizational reality would vary, to a considerable extent, according to their relative positions in the power structure in the organization. It should therefore be recognized that a sociological analysis of interconnectedness among the various normative aspects is a necessary but not sufficient step in sociological understanding. Adequate attention needs to be paid to the distribution of power within the organization, the implications of the power structure for the various categories, groups and classes of participants and their behaviour in response to the distribution of power.

The first major question regarding power in an organization is to define it contextually. The relative significance of power over fellow-human beings and control over material resources, knowledge and information may vary among types of organization. For instance, control over a disposable fund of a million rupees with a few people at one's command (as against, say, a large contingent of subordinates under one's supervision but no control over liquid capital) is likely to have quite different values in a political party, a university, a consumers' cooperative agency, a small family business and a large industrial complex. In sociological terms, power over the behaviour of other people who may react in many different ways constitutes the crucial aspect of an organization's overall control structure. The phenomenon of power therefore needs to be comprehended in relation to the people involved in it.

The second question regarding organizational power relates to the organizational and cultural forces which act as its determinants. The most obvious determinant of power is the normative order governing formal distribution of authority and responsibility. Another is ownership of wealth which often facilitates the individual or group (e.g. a financial corporation or government) owning such wealth to dictate terms and actions to those who formally control the organization. A third source of power consists of knowledge and experience relevant to the objectives, tasks and technology characterizing the organization. Technocrats and experts are known to wield considerable control over people in organizations across the formal authority structure. Yet

another source of power is the possession of information about the crucial elements and situations in the organization. Thus, relatively junior officials handling financial or market information often enjoy power not only in relation to other groups within the organization but also in relation to outsiders such as clients and trade unions. Another determinant of power is the status occupied by a person in the social hierarchy outside the organization. For instance, those who belong to higher castes, more "respectable" families and prestigious educational institutions often secure obedience and conformity from colleagues and subordinates more easily than others. Another important source of power is the ability to articulate the needs, aspirations, concerns and frustrations of significant groups within the organization and lead them towards challenge to official power. Workers' leaders who hold positions in legitimized trade unions wield this power by virtue of the formal authority vested in them by law. However, this type of power is often derived more from a leader's ability to deal with critical problems than from the formal authority conferred upon him by law or agreement. In many cases, people who wield real power over workers and managers in the trade union context possess little or no formal authority.

The sociologist concerned with power in organizations thus needs to grapple with the multifarious forces generating power as illustrated in the preceding paragraph. A detailed understanding of these forces is essential in the analysis of distribution of power in the organization. For instance, the balance of power among the chief executive, the board of directors, the various layers of management, workers and

union leaders in a business organization can be meaningfully comprehended only if the power derived from the formal, informal and environmental (cultural, political) sources is taken into account. Power understood and explored narrowly in relation to control over the performance of the main task is likely to provide partial understanding of the reality.

Another important sociological issues regarding organizational power pertains to how it is used by those who possess it. Under what organizational, economic, political and social conditions do people in power subordinate their personal and sectional interests to the interests of others including superiors, colleagues, other groups and the organization as a whole? Under what conditions do they pursue personal and sectional interests at the cost of the interests of all others? For instance, it is widely believed that an important reason for the decay and virtual disintegration of many textile mills in India was the tendency on the part of the dominant entrepreneurs-cum-managers to manipulate organizational resources to serve their family interests to the exclusion of the interests of employees, consumers and other groups associated with the industry. Similarly, politicians, bureaucrats, trade unionists and other power-holders are believed to use their power to maintain and enhance it by manipulating, exploiting, coercing others into conformity. This type of behaviour is usually explained in terms of Michel's well-known iron law of oligarchy. However, as Ramaswamy (1977) has demonstrated with reference to a trade union, oligarchic tendencies among organizational leaders may be controlled by a membership with adequate political socialization

and economic and social interest in the organization. At present, we know very little about the ways in which people in power use it in different conditions in the organization and in the larger society.

A question related to the issue of the use of power concerns the way in which power is made acceptable to those over whom it is used. In the western cultural context, Etzioni (1961) has suggested a threefold distinction of methods of rewards by which conformity to power can be secured. Economic rewards induce the urge for maximization of economic gains and results in calculative commitment. Coercion induces alienation and results in the tendency to escape or attack the source of power. Normative rewards (e.g. appeal to larger social interests, ethical values etc.) induces identification with the organization and hence moral commitment. These modes of reward and conformity constitute ideal types. The concrete behaviour of those in power and those who are controlled would combine these modes in varying proportions. Studies of the reward systems used by people in power and the conformity patterns among subordinates in the Indian context should therefore constitute an important part of the sociology of organizations.

The reward and conformity dimension of power in organizations merge into a larger sociological issue. Insofar as the distribution of power in an organization involves groups of people (departments, categories of managers and workers, top management vs. middle management, technocrats vs. administrators, supervisors vs. union leaders etc.), how do the groups at the two ends of power distribution interact? Under what conditions do the groups at the receiving end of power crystallize

into interest groups and eventually into conflict groups ? Under what conditions do conflict groups manifest loyalty to the organization inspite of coercion by groups in power ? Under what conditions do they show indifference to assigned tasks ? When do they manoeuvre for clinching power from others ? When do they challenge power openly and resort to subversive methods to wrest power from others ? These questions need to be answered in relation to specific organizational, social, economic and political situations. Also, we should consider these issues not only with regards to the power possessed by those in authority but also with regard to the power possessed informally by certain work groups, status groups, groups of workers possessing special skills, younger generations of employees, informal cliques of strong men, informal cliques of union bosses and such others.

All these issues in the sociology of organizations need first to be examined in specific organizational and cultural situations. The findings in diverse situations should then be compared to lead to generalized explanations pertaining to power and conflict in organizations in the Indian culture. This will also help in making predictions regarding the behaviour of various persons and groups in conflict situations in organizations. In this connection, it is interesting to note that Collins (1975 : Ch.6) has made a remarkable attempt to formulate a set of generalized sociological propositions on power and conflict in western organizations. In doing so, he has interwoven the various strands of conclusions and generalizations from a wide variety of researches on the subject. Fortunately, in the

western context, "If there is one area of sociology where serious cumulative development has taken place, it is in organizations" (Collins : 1975 : 286). Unfortunately, the performance of sociology on this score in the Indian context is depressingly poor. Generalized propositions regarding organizational power and conflict will therefore be modelled on western experience and theories until we acquire a sufficient research fund based on Indian experience. Reassuringly, organizations do not constitute the only field of sociological or other knowledge which has to depend on alien experience and thought.

It is obviously not easy to study power and conflict in organizations. Researchers in this field are, first, likely to be greeted by a "not welcome" response from people involved in power relations, as discussion on power and conflict usually touches some of the most sensitive spots in their psychological and social existence. People who use power in relation to normative authority may not suffer from insecurity. However, those who enjoy power apart from or against formal authority usually feel insecure and threatened by inquiry relating to power and conflict. Also, studies of power and conflict relate to organizational phenomena which are incongruent with the current social values which eulogize cooperation, harmony, order and stability. Intellectually, any academic reference to conflict and power invokes the bogey of Marxism or anarchism which is widely identified with disorder, revolution, subversion and such other activities popularly bracketed as anti-social. The sociologist interested in power and conflict therefore needs to devise appropriate methods and techniques to study such phenomena in specific situational

contexts. It should, however, be reiterated in conclusion that a viable sociology of organizations can begin to develop only if power and conflict are treated as the focal points of sociological inquiry.

Notes

1. I have depended for this purpose on the surveys sponsored by the Indian Council of Social Science Research (1972-74; 1973), Sheth and Patel (1979) and Ganesh (1981).
2. This view is based on the theoretical contributions made by scholars such as Lockwood (1956), Rex (1961), Giddens (1968) and Collins (1975).

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