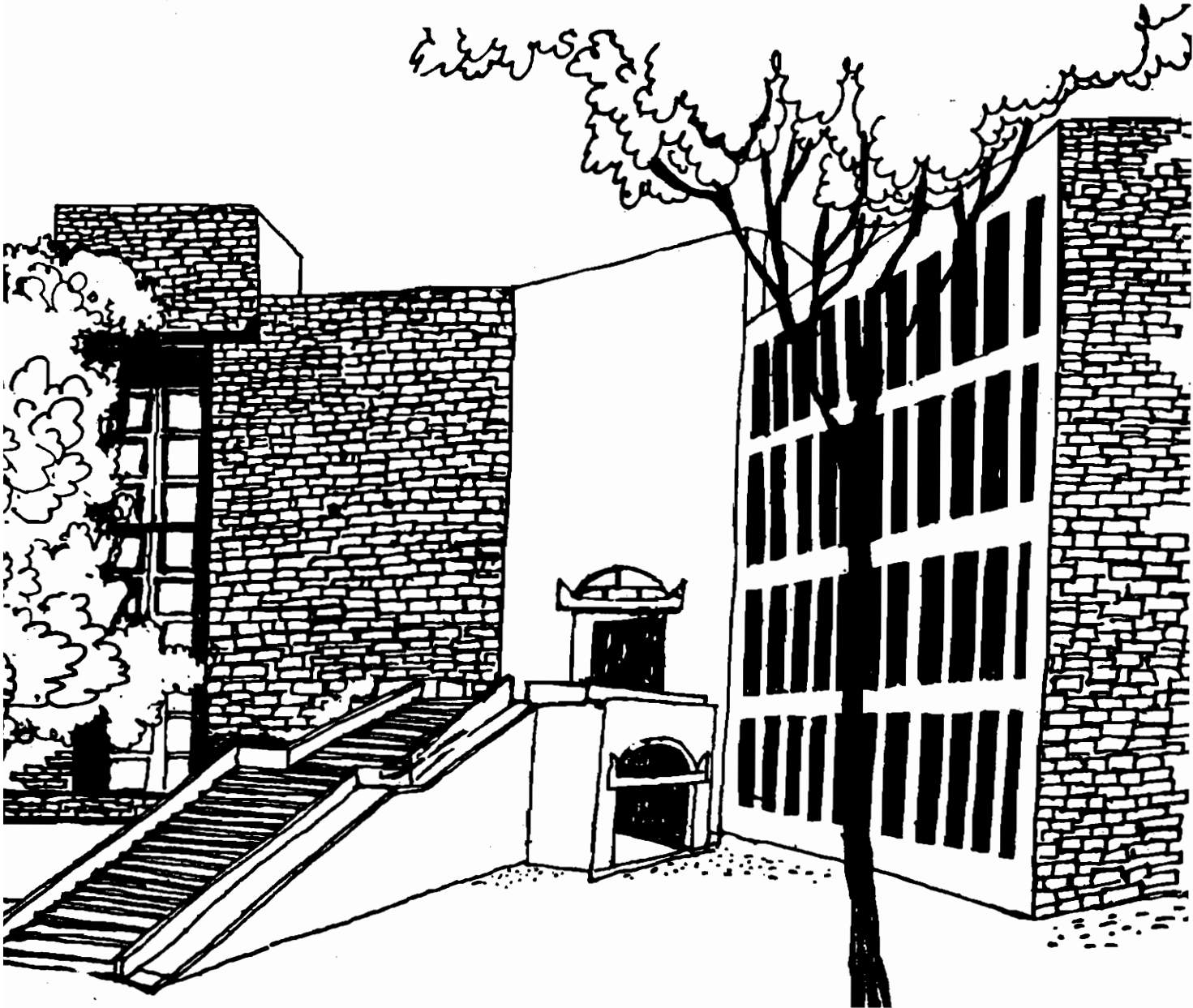





Working Paper



TRANSITION IN INDIAN SOCIETY - PART-II
CONSTITUENTS OF TECHNOLOGICAL
INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

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INDIAN REALITY : THE COGNITIVE MAPS FROM EUROPEAN ETHOS

An Indian today is a child of two cultures. He struggles with two contradictory but simultaneous world view he lives with. One as stated in the preceding chapter is the emotive map deeply anchored in the culture, tradition heritage and the social system. The emotive map demands from the individual to do ones duty the way society prescribed it, the way elders demand it and the way it is considered socially desirable. The other is the cognitive map of logic rationality and aspirations which creates a world view quite in tune with the times but contradictory to the emotive map. This pulls and pushes the individual to either conform or rebel, defy, deny or surrender and or walk away. The Indian identity in the pulls and pushes often remains elusive.

Our attempts to discover what this identity is and what are its antecedents led to the exploration of the individual's cognitive map of the socio-psychological infrastructures and their action choices. The explorations of these infrastructures provided us the data for reconstructing the cognitive map of Indian society during the last seventy years. This chapter documents the cognitive maps and its antecedents as held by the participants. It also documents their attempts to locate themselves in the current Indian society which is undergoing immense flux and transition.

The explorations of identity and the accompanying socio-psychological infrastructures of choice and action ranged over many

aspects of their lives. From lack of communication with parents, siblings and peers, to lack of communication in marriage and eventually with people in organization. The explorations ranged from conflict of personal needs versus needs of the family to conflicts of choosing a mate and a career. The dilemmas of mutuality, reciprocation, inclusion and exclusion, exploitation and deprivation in relationships continued to haunt the individuals. Issues of commitment and ideals were pitted against the issues of survival both social and economic. Problems of guilt, shame, anger and pain contended with creating space, autonomy and meaning for the self. Individuals expressed concerns about purpose and direction in life. Fears and anxieties about living mechanically and without zest were voiced. We found individuals concerned with success but holding fear of failure within themselves. Deeper explorations in the dynamics of their choice and action brought to surface their sense of inadequacy and insufficiency, fear of failure and invalidation, sense of dissatisfaction with the self and system, and finally and surprisingly the sense of poor self worth.

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Behind the explorations of identity emerged a son, a victim, a martyr, a wanderer, an exile, an orphan, and a spectator. These patterns created their choices of role taking. They varied from Hanuman, who had immense strength and resources but could not use them for himself nor for the system. Always awaiting orders from someone to use them; Parshuram, who in a rage destroyed a whole caste many times over and in reflection retreated into passivity and; Vishwamitra who could be great only in his reactivity and

in negation. In terms of Greek myths we found Hercules who continued to do the hardest jobs of the system without receiving his heritage; Atlas, who carried the burden of the world; Sisiphus, who continued to push the barriers uphill never reaching the top; and Tantalus, who created wonderful things for others but never received anything in return.

Women in their role taking reflected symbolic identities of Seeta who for her devotion to the role, was rewarded by deprivation of home, periods of exilehood, misery, separation, mistrust and having to carry the burden of being herself without support. Padmini, who in her physical beauty experienced objecthood and found herself at the centre of feuds which were fought for possessing her; of Parvati, whose husband was either self-absorbed or sensuous, but displayed no interest in her personal and social preoccupation; of Kannagi who had to fight not only for her own survival but also against the injustice done to her husband; and of Meerabai who withdrew into asceticism because no social relationship was acceptable to her. Besides these mythological and cultural identities both men and women displayed various folklore identities.*

The current generation while reflecting on their identities presented their social environment as hostile, exercising excessive control and barren of affection and love. They painted a picture of an environment which gave no space to them. Space

1.* Parikh, Indira J., and Gang, Pulin K., Indian Women: An Inner Dialogue. Sage Publications 1989.

could be created only through conformity or manipulation. They

talked of the environment where expression of any feelings of the self or action for fulfillment of inner needs elicited anger, resentment and punishment. When challenged to act with their convictions they did not wish to take the risk. Their perception of the environment and the social system was tinged with anxiety and fear. They saw themselves as powerless both at acting upon the environment and in replenishing it. The equation, self versus the environment was deeply entrenched in them. They saw themselves as having no resources to initiate new responses. They had problems and preferred solutions and prescribed choices to meet the problems. Their willingness to create solutions was frightening. In the passive mode they withheld their resources from themselves and the system and in the manipulative mode they were engaged in extracting advantages for themselves by dubious ways.

Our discussions raised many questions: What is happening to the current generation and why? Why is the process of becoming so torturous and annihilating? Our articulation of the Indian ethos and social design [as presented in the earlier chapter] made the first dent in the deep seated skepticism of Indian heritage. It also brought to surface their resentment of the current absolutism of role behaviour as the major impediment in their path of becoming. It also showed that not all the boundary conditions of the social design and infrastructures conducive to the discharge of residual feelings and taboos have been wiped out. In the light of experience of the youth, the Indian ethos and its accompanying social designs are no more what they are claimed to be. The process of transformation has vitiated them and rendered them to

the pages of glorified history.

Indian ethos and social design by their very assumptions fostered a synthesis between agrarian craft and service society within the framework of sentient and task interdependence. Over a period of time the growing distance between the ethos and social design due to the failure of cultural processes of reformulation converted the Indian society into a typical agrarian and a role bound one.

The antecedents of the current society was attributed by the participants to the introduction of education and technology. The education system was designed by Macaulay and the technological introduction was done by mercantile colonists. Their heritage seems to be still with us in many ways. However, Indian intellectuals, to begin with, did not respond to these two aspects. They responded to the two ethos of Europe implicit in the presence of the aliens. One was the Judeo-Christian belief system about life. This was responded (1820-1860) to by the social reformers like Rāja Ram Mohan Roy and Swami Dayanand. Their heritage of focusing on the lacunas of Indian society still persists. The other was the ethos of Renaissance to which the intellectuals responded (1860-1930). This ethos became the source of awakening and new actions.

The cognitive and logical content of the Vedantic thought converged with the ethos of the Renaissance. The European Renaissance was the outcome of individual's attempt to free himself from the restrictive and dogmatic Judeo-Christian ethos of the middle ages. The new ethos was more easily accepted by the indi-

viduals in India who had received a new education. The new ethos was assimilated and internalized through its re-validation from the authority of the scriptures. Thus began the tradition of validating Indian thought, ideas and expressions by establishing either direct or analogous evidence from the West. Once more India responded characteristically to the inputs of the alien ethos, as she has done over centuries. India always has rejected the religious, ritualistic and dogmatic aspect of all alien ethos, absorbing only its humanistic elements. She did the same to Islam. She extracted Sufism from the totality while rejecting its organized and dogmatic hardcore.

For a time the process of assimilation from Renaissance of the west brought about a spurt in the intellectual and social activity. It revived the hope of restoring the past glory to India, casting away the growing inertia of the absolutism of the role ethos anchored deeply in the agrarian mode. However, the hope was premature. Intellectual and social activity failed to stimulate any significant change in the processes of society. Only the contents and forms had changed and were reorganized.

The generation which entered its youth between 1880 and 1920 seemed to have woven most meaningfully the strands of European Renaissance into the fabric of the Indian value system. Giants like Tagore, Nehru, Jaykar, Vishvesharaiah, C.V. Raman, Bhulabhai Desai, to name only a few, dominated their respective fields, be it politics, literature, physics, or engineering. They held ideals of the West and integrated the emotive social cultural processes and became creative in their own fields. However, they essential-

ly reinforced the social process of India.

In order to understand the dynamics emerging from the weaving of Indian social ethos and the renaissance, it is important to identify the elements of the Indian social ethos and the renaissance. The explorations of life experience and the underlying values of the Indian social ethos anchored in idealism had a significant impact on the Indian society and the individuals of that time.

The Ethos of Renaissance

The battle-cry of the French revolution 'Equality, Fraternity and Liberty', symbolized the spirit of the Indian Renaissance. Enlightenment, emancipation and progress became the key words for action. Woman's role, the Hindu Joint family, the caste system, and in fact all the institutions of differentiation and integration of Indian social design became targets for attack. Social justice and democracy were the other two important values of the Renaissance to which the Indian elite responded strongly. The spirit of scientific enquiry was another aspect which gave birth to new cognitive maps of people and society. Rationally, logic and consistency became the anchor words.

On the whole, the elements of equality, fraternity, liberty, democracy, social justice, education and scientific enquiry became the stimuli for reconstruction of the social fabric of Indian society. Rationality, objectivity, concern for the fate of common man, and universalization of education, all following from the acceptance of the Renaissance ethos, became commitments for

action.

It is interesting to note that the ethos of Renaissance did not gain currency among the common man unless it had the backing of Indian ethos. The success of Dayanand, Gandhi and Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Tilak testify to this. Dayanand, the founder of Arya Samaj, validated the Renaissance values with the help of the ritual-free Vedantic philosophy. To promote the concept of Swaraj Gandhi invoked the image of 'Ram Rajya'. The new ideas became a base for an intellectual dialogue among the elites of the society. The forms and contents of the new ideas became the goals of social action. Actions were initiated. Even new associations and organizations were designed. Their constitution were on Western lines. However, their actual operative processes were in continuity with the Indian agrarian ethos. Thus, began another tradition of adopting western forms and borrowing contents without designing and institutionalizing infrastructural and sometimes structural processes.

One of the participants said, "It led to the new challenges and disowning of the old commitment in each of us, but our old expectations of the system continued. We imposed new demands but never recognized the new commitments that were needed for a real graft. They remained unknown". This comment gives a glimpse into what actually happened when the Renaissance ideals were promoted in practice. The participants quoted many examples of anachronistic forms and processes. They even labeled it as hypocrisy that underlines assimilation. One example reflected the exercise of

authority and decision-making, both in the familial and organizational settings. Almost no decision could be made at the task level by the role-holder. All situations were converted into problems. The process was to surrender the actual decision-making to one person. The motto was 'passing the buck upward'.

The task and sentient inter-dependence of the Indian social ethos intertwined in caste and jajmani system had been eroded. The erosion gave rise to the "exclusion-inclusion" processes among the members of the collectivity. Eventually the relationship between classes of members became governed by a kind of absolutism of prescribed role boundaries. The concept of equality and fraternity did not have much in the society or at the process level. It could only be sustained through legal code of conduct. The Indian society discovered many ways through which the traditional processes of casteism were continued. In private lives the beliefs and values of traditional ethos were lived. In public life idealism of the logical rational mode was articulated. Individuals got caught between the two modalities. Personal choices based on values and convictions became difficult. Only a few could rise beyond the pulls and pushes of the two modalities to act with convictions.

Individuation promoted by the Indian ethos in the past led some of the individuals, including Gandhi, to act with convictions. Action was inevitable in this commitment. The adoption of Renaissance ethos did not release or create new infrastructure of action, in spite the fact that in its original form it had promoted new actions. In India in its adopted form 'equality' and

'fraternity' became slogans for awakening and creating social awareness and criticisms. However, the responsibility of initiative and action was left to the external authority. The concept of equality and fraternity became instruments of mobilizing social authority through pressure. The individuals did not act by choice or with values to live by as was the case with Indian ethos.

Thus, the ideational ethos of Renaissance emphasizing equality, fraternity, liberty and social justice, became fused with cognitive orientations of the Indian ethos. However, it did not fuse with emotive or action orientation. There existed process lag between the two. Indian culture had failed to generate the required network of attitudes, values and beliefs. This mismatch between the cognitive orientation and the emotive and action orientation became one of the critical source of disintegration. Each orientation became a compulsion, pulling individuals in different directions. The question was how to integrate these three orientations. Most individuals, instead of resolving the conflict, blamed the significant roles of the system for creating the conflict. They, then, found it easy to take the next step of questioning the integrity of the system. Buffeted by unresolved and seemingly insoluble dilemmas individuals, sooner or later, turned their backs on the system and took to the self-centered ethos.

The cognitive orientations of Renaissance ethos, however, were used by the elite as an instrument to awaken the masses and

organize a struggle against political enslavement of India. It also generated a few reform movements. It helped them conceive of India as a nation, as against a psycho-cultural system. This was nothing new. Even in Europe, the ethos of Renaissance was a cognitive instrument of the elite for breaking up the feudal system. After all, the ethos of Renaissance was nothing but an embodiment of values which would free the spirit of society caught up in the morbidity of tradition and role boundedness. It was only when the technological, i.e. the applied, aspect of knowledge grew dominant in the West that the ideals of Renaissance became common currency for action.

By mid thirties, the ethos of Renaissance was 'passe' in India. It was espoused by a few individuals like Nehru. It was replaced by the Gandhian ideology for the common man. The Gandhian ideology, in its essence, was akin to the religio-philosophic ethos and social design of India. But it was supported by a bold and innovative social design in the form of constructive work. The Gandhian ideology retained its emphasis on the village as a unit with the accompanying principle of distributive authority. It retained governance by consensus and the mechanism of influencing rather than exercising authority. Gandhian ideology retained the model of a producer society and small-scale technology. It attempted to break the boundaries of the caste and profession by choice rather than by birth. In many other ways Gandhian ideology was a comprehensive and renovated model of the primary society of India. Gandhian movement in the field of social reconstruction was in the tradition of the past. Intellectuals worked through discus-

sion and consensus. They identified and diagnosed the dysfunctions of society, did a prognostic analysis, and initiated remedial action. It was surprising to discover that this significant aspect of Gandhi's approach to building a new India was either unknown or discredited in the minds of the current generation. Gandhi came to be seen as a political instrument of Nehru's dreams of building India in modern technological forms.

Another ethos, once again from European sources that took over where the ethos of renaissance became passe, was the Marxist orientation and its social design. Many young men and women took the trouble of understanding Marxism, and they wondered if it was an appropriate design for the Indian society. It is a tragic commentary on Indian education that the youth were exposed and made to explore in depth the Marxian ethos and the communist social design but were never exposed to a systematic understanding of Indian and Gandhian ethos and social design. It is one more evidence of the imprint of continentalization of education. [Gang and Parikh 1976]

The Second World War was followed by political independence of India and it put the Gandhian ethos aside. Nehru, the elite charismatic leader, eternal youth, the modern Indian Ulysses, was steeped thoroughly in the continentalism, in spite of his reflective journey in *The Discovery of India*. He chose the European society as a model for India's technological development. Goals and means for material development became almost an exclusive focus. There was no investment in, or even an attempt to build new ethos and processes. Nehru focussed on action. When

called upon he repeated the Gandhian ideals and the ethos of Renaissance. Nehru called the dams and hydroelectric power stations "the temple of new India". This shift in the emphasis brought the technological aspect of the West into the forefront. So far it had been only a slow moving companion of the ideational ethos of Renaissance. The urgency of developmental task set in 'comparativism' made Nehru and the new leadership ignore the need to build the ethos and new infrastructural processes. This neglect - 'a failure' in our opinion - has been damaging to the psyche and the identity of the current generation. This is what makes them skeptic, desperate and unbelieving on the one hand, anxious, tense and frightened on the other hand. They have no ethos to put their faith and convictions in. They have only reasons and justifications to back their choices.

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The Scientific and Technological Ethos

A large number of people representing our sample (1972-1986) were born between 1948 and 1966. A small section was born around 1940. And the third set of participants (1976-1986) was born in late fifties and early sixties. Most of them grew up during the period of the dusk of the Renaissance and Gandhian ethos and in the dawn of the technological era. They absorbed the developmental ideology of Nehru and like him put their trust in science and technology.

The exploration confronted them and us to the mortifying discovery that the current generations had been denied an exposure to the religio-philosophic ethos, an awareness of the social design

and an understanding of the heritage of the past. They were ignorant of the whole social and existential torture and torment of years of struggle to remove the British yoke. They were not sensitive to the all "native" pathos so beautifully and wonderfully portrayed in the literature of the time, in prose and in poetry in their 'native' languages. They were blissfully unaware of Indian heroes, myths and folk tales. Comics, Enid Blytons and the popular Western adventure, detective stories and spy thrillers formed their staple reading. They had not even been exposed to the classics of the West.

With this technological thrust another window to the West i.e. the USA was opened. The new opening wiped out Europe from the reference group, in India the whole syntax changed and rather suddenly. From the vast melting pot of various ethos in U.S.A., the focused perspective of guiding national development through techno-economic, econo-political and scientific coordinates of reality was brought over in totality. Input-output models became dominant. The society and individuals were then treated as the black box. When the input-output model, determined and implemented by the three coordinates of reality failed or produced only partial results the black box of culture and society was blamed. Thus, another era of inducing hate for one's belonging unfolded. The current generation looks beyond to the life styles as portrayed by the media of the west.

The parents and the education institutions emphasized acquisition of techno-informative knowledge and achievement of high grades. Absolutism of role performance and optimizing career or occupa-

tional opportunities preoccupied the current generation. This process excluded building perspective and engaging with the living processes and realities of the system. They grew tall in competence but had very poor grounding in the socio-cultural processes. They limited their action choices within occupational-education limited frames. They solved day-to-day problems and held within themselves the stress of repetitive and routine social existence. The absolutism of academic role performance demanded postponement of many other dimensions of life space. In effect the childhood was denied. The first group remained being good sons and daughters. While later generation those born around 1940 got hooked to fads, creeds and consumerism of the western pattern. Simultaneously they developed enough resentment against the dynamics of their social system and their personal lives. The new horizons and aspirations for some created by the developmental credo acted as a hope. While for others their experience reflected a lot of despair. In the statement of one of the participants, "things loom large on the horizon. They appear to be coming close, but eventually fade away".

Skepticism became the hall-mark of this generation of sixties and seventies. Perhaps skepticism was a cover hiding a universe of impatience, hurry, anxiety of being left behind, unrealistic equation of oneself with the elite, and an unreactive belief in their capabilities to deserve each and every reward the society could offer. At the level of the self many carried a suspicion of having limited abilities and consequent anxieties of deprivation, discrimination and unresolved sibling rivalries. In educational

institutions and formal work organizations it led to competition, conflict and comparison.

These feelings turned the first wave of the current generation into skeptics. They stood frozen and incapable of striking a new path. The decision makers and planners continued in their attempts to emulate the borrowed models of the West and blamed the culture and the people for the limited success of these models in Indian society. The first wave of the current generation chose the road to the right, the road of conformity to the existing social context. But the rest of the country remained frozen psychologically to the new directions introduced by the visualizers of new India. It was left to the second wave of the new generation to choose the second road to conformity, again borrowed from the West. They picked up forms, fads and creeds and indulged in self-centered living. The first wave, while being skeptical, struggled to seek a value and a meaning. The second wave disengaged itself partly from the system and sought catharsis in being modern. Some others joined ideological creeds and planted seeds of disrupting the system. Seeds of violence as means of managing non-belonging were sown. They disengaged from discovering their commitment in the system. They learnt to shout slogans which sounded hallow but found some direction, meaning and goals.

The second and third wave of the current generation found their life space dominated by techno-economic, econo-political and techno-scientific credo without any attempts to build an ethos

for, the new society. Introduction of modern technology to India then, became only a means to increase production, to introduce new products, to create resources and raise the standard of living of the masses. Like all major manifest changes in human systems, this choice also had unintended consequences. The impact of these unintended consequences began to be felt on the Indian social design, its ethos and the philosophical assumptions of man and collectivity. When these impacts began to become cumulative and apparent the Indian intellectuals influenced by western concepts picked up the Western documentation of alienation, dehumanization and isolation at the individual level. At the group level they talked of disruption of harmony, cohesion and patterns of social relationships. At the cultural context they talked of disintegration of values and institutions and rise in unhealthy conflicts. From the economic point of view the intellectuals picked up the concepts of increased imbalance in the distribution of wealth, economic buoyancy and rise in the consumer oriented economy.

These frames of western concepts became the standard explanations of the emergent social phenomenon in India. These explanations logically made sense but did not lead to any culture - sytonic attempts to deal with the cumulative unintended consequences. The urgency to catch up with the West added another dimension. Within the life time of the current generation Indian policy makers designed a thrust to shift from mechanical technology to process technology to finally high tech. The process which took several decades in the west got compressed into two decades in India. To

a certain extent in India the necessary ethos to go with the mechanical technology had evolved. The attempts to introduce and compress the newest technologies in a very short time created disruption in the context of living, social relationships, modes of meeting life situations and the existing social and work infrastructures and ethos of the society.

If we look back at the history of technology it suggests that technology of production is one of the significant parameters of life-space. It needs a congruent ethos and social design to be effective. This important link between technology of production and technology of living has often been not realized. Technology very often has been conceived as an instrument in the hands of man. The Indian social designers believed that inherent in any technology exists assumptions of man, collectivity and the relationship between man and collectivity. Technology of living and technology of production demands design of congruent infrastructures. More significantly, technology of living requires different kinds of psychological infrastructure of action and relatedness. These have to be visualized, designed, planned, built and made operative. Delay in the formulation of these infrastructures creates a culture and process lag which can increase the size, spread and intensity of the unintended consequences and eventually lead to dysfunctionalities and pathology.

The failure to build congruence between social ethos and technology and import of the western brand of techno-economic, economic-political and techno-scientific planning of development has eventually in almost all third world countries generated forces of

fragmentation, psychic uprooting, anchoring the living in consumer orientation vehement fundamentalist movements and/or military regimes. The Indian society has reacted with increasing consumer oriented behaviour. It has also continued to be fragmented across fundamentalism, religious movement and/or across parochialism and sectarianism. All these cumulative aspects tend to converge in the socio-religious processes of India and acquire a strong hold on the minds of the man.

The manifestation of these are also apparent in the social context. For example, revival of downy, massive resurgence of rituals, founding of new temples, convening of religious conferences, reemergence of inter-caste rigidities and conflicts are some of the glaring evidences. All these reflect the failure of Indian social planners to design appropriate psychological infrastructure and social institutions to counter balance the unintended consequences of technological development.

The first, and partly the second wave of the current generation attempted to manage the emerging transition and the resultant universe of feelings with a mask of skepticism and consumer oriented behaviour. But a large part of the second wave, and the entire third wave, overwhelmingly responded to and borrowed the infrastructures and institutions from the West. It led them to become hyper active, restless and rootless.

The intended or the unintended choice to follow the path of the west as witnessed from the media led to several consequences. These consequences at the individual and the society reflect

unique patterns. Let us look at some of the process level consequences.

1. Mobility

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Mobility, physical and social was the first major consequence of the technological development. It cut into the fabric of Indian community life. It brought into sharper focus the differentiation between rural-urban, agrarian-industrial, the have-haves-nots, and the illiterate-educated. With the passage of time it generated patterns of social and personal conduct which were counterpoint to the traditional Indian social code of conduct and behaviour. With the introduction of new technology and its impact the existing socio-cultural processes and strategies failed to unfold or to cope with the consequences of mobility. Each individual was left to his own devices to handle it.

The technological thrust led to a process of migration of rural to urban. In the initial stages, the migrants from rural communities to the centres of the technological systems perceived themselves as extensions of the family living in the rural setting. For them the movement was only a physical mobility. The migrants took over the role of cash and resource generators for the family. They kept alive the myth of returning home someday. Thus, they established a house in exile, and not a home. The second wave of mobility created migration patterns across state borders and eventually to western shores. Many Indians continue this process even today as they migrate abroad. This process too had

several phases. In the initial phases the migrants who went to the west also held on to the belief of returning home. As time went and they put down roots it became evident that returning home was a dream. This process denied psychological mobility. Psychological mobility and exilehood remained associated with guilt, shame and remorse. The migrants to the urban areas and abroad failed to integrate themselves with the local community. They rarely, if ever, put psychological roots. They hardly ever invested and replenished the cultural and social life space of the community. •

In the last decade a similar process has occurred with the gulf migrants. Unlike the first phase many of the dreams of building a home back home has come true for many. However, while in exile they have remained as aliens and unbelonged.

The socio-psychological symbiotic fabric of the Indian community and society began to fray at the edges. Increasingly self-oriented living and giving primary significance to one's own material needs appeared on the scene for the first time. Some grandparents and largely the parents of the current generation in the groups were the first ones to live away from home for their profession. However, emotionally they continued to be strongly tied to their patriarchal moorings. Disintegration of the symbiotic social patterns began when individuals neglected their primary families and utilized their earnings for their own immediate family. Nevertheless, they continued to make demands on the family heritage and resources and thought that they had a natural right to it. Mobility, as such, created a split in the mutuality of expectations.

The individuals began to consider the familial expectations as a burden, but he continued to have expectations from the familial system and felt upset if they were not fulfilled.

The effects of mobility on the current generation are deep and widespread. They dreamt of independence from familial control and wanted freedom through economic viability. Their concept of freedom was freedom without responsibility and independence without commitment. They neither wanted controls from people or systems nor they wanted to contribute and be accountable in systems or with people. Yet, their emotional dependence remained unexamined and unresolved. Their mode of relatedness to the system was characterized by reactive independence and feelings of being exploited when the primary or secondary systems made demands on them. The impact of mobility leading to distantiation led to the change in quality of relatedness. Eventually, it reflected in their fear of closeness and intimacy. Emotional

relationships brought out anxieties and apprehensions of being controlled and possessed. Basic trust in normal role relationships was shaken. Their emphasis in most relationships shifted to taking, receiving, and extracting. Eventually, it became focussed as hyper action socially but leaving them isolated. Giving of themselves in relationships became difficult. Giving justifiable rational reasons for making or breaking relationships became a mode of life. Mobility generated patterns of resource related relationships and to use relationships for personal needs.

Thus, mobility resulted in the individual carving out his economic and social boundaries away from the family. Yet, the process remained incomplete because he only disowned the demands of the system but continued to make demands on the family system. This process reflects only manifest mobility. That is the current generation had brought with them deeply buried models of rural and semi-rural society. They carried emotive maps of exploitation and the anxieties around it. As such, only social mobility took roots. Psychological mobility did not emerge. Individuals got blocked and could not initiate effective voluntary relationships. Most difficult was building healthy peer relations and most man-woman relationships. Consequently, most socio-psychological relationships became space for intense projection of ambivalence on the one hand and search for action and evidence for security on the other. Most relationships then, became double-binds. Holding on to them was painful, but letting them go was frightening. Eventually, among the third wave of current generation it

created processes of psychological isolation and loneliness. The individual acquired the image of being a cactus.

2. Breakdown of structure of authority

Technological development fragmented the space of work and social living and thus disturbed the structure of authority of the agrarian Indian society. In the work space the existing and operative authority of social relationship and conduct began to erode in the technological system. A new phenomenon emerged. An individual in the formal work system could exercise authority over those who were his superiors in caste and age. The explicit social authority and status traditionally assigned by age or caste rank, became formally inoperative. Individuals coped with this disruption of traditional authority pattern by fragmenting the organization and social situation. In the organization setting they accommodated themselves to the operational authority. They suppressed the resentment and expressed it in a passive rebellion such as delaying action, not following instructions fully, and obeying the letter rather than the spirit of the order. The traditional authority structure continued to operate in social situations.

The technological system created a new level of social status, i.e. the peers or lateral collegiate roles. Such a structure of collegiate roles had not existed in Indian agrarian society - where community and task inter-dependence were harmonized through congruence of caste and jajmani system. In formal work organiza-

tions managing relationships across peer roles needed an orientation of relatedness and a mode of exercising of authority different from the past. No models existed in the Indian society for anchoring the newly needed behaviour. Even after one hundred years of mechanical technology and three decades of continuous process technology, the issue of relatedness and dealing with authority and systems are critical issues in most organizations. Models of behaviour and skills borrowed from the West have not succeeded, as the supportive network of attitudes do not exist. The building of such a network anchored in the western models has been difficult as there was no cultural base for it. In the traditional agrarian Indian society technology was either small-scale or simple. Acquisition of technical competence could be acquired easily by a large number of people. In such a set-up no concept of technical authority ever existed. The introduction of new technology from the West also introduced a new concept of technical authority which further eroded the existing mode of social authority.

Indian society, whose major concerns were social tasks, had legitimized only social authority. With the introduction of technological systems, the task of legitimizing technical authority confronted Indian organizations. The newly emerging formal work organizations required simultaneous function of technical and administrative (social) authority. In operationalizing, however, the administrative (social) authority tended to ignore, overrule or by-pass the technical authority because technical authority did not exist earlier. In most Indian organizations the

issue of technocrats versus generalists still prevails. Lack of resolution of the issue of legitimacy of technical authority is classically displayed in civil services. The IAS officer, a generalist, is once again gaining ascendancy. A bureaucrat occupies the role of the executive in some of the most complex technological systems of production and service. He has also started to take over important roles in the education system. He governs himself and the systems exclusively through his perceptions of administrative reality and not task reality. He does not have attitudes and organization processes appropriate to complex technological systems. In our assessment exclusive focus on the administrative reality without converging the technology with congruent attitudes leads to large scale invisible waste of national resources and organization resources.

The technocrats who are convinced that technical authority is necessary for success seem to have adopted the same modality as the administrative heads. They want to be chief executives of technical systems and take over the administrative (social) authority roles as well. Once they become chief executives they claim authority in all other technical fields also, eroding the authority of other technocrats. With the passage of time and increasing focus on technological growth and complexity the ascendancy of technical authority and professional leadership in task situations began to be consolidated. On the other hand the same technocrats began to claim authority and leadership in social situations. To illustrate, natural scientists who have technical authority in task situations acquire significance

through roles of chief executives, directors etc. They then assign to themselves a natural right of leadership and authority in social situations. The process was one person system.

Society as well as formal work organizations failed to recognize that both technical and social authority have their place, and they need to be tied in a tandem process for the functioning of the society as a whole. This failure created issues of role clarity and boundaries both in task and social systems. To avoid these problems some role holders started to shirk their roles, became defensive in their role performance, or learned to ignore both kinds of authorities. Sometimes they indulged in creating a conflict between the two kinds of authorities to the detriment of the system. Most of the roles, specially in management system, became subjected to dual controls. This created problems of inertia in decision making and implementation of policies. The role receiver was trapped with double-bind messages. A large part of the organization energy got directed to dealing with the problems arising out of dual control.

3. Creation of new goal sets

The third contribution, creation of new goal sets, disturbed the fabric of Indian agrarian social patterns. In the agrarian society successive generations followed the occupation as well as the goal sets of the family or the caste at large. Even when other occupations were more economic people followed the goal sets of the family or the caste. This provided for the stability of social structure of relatedness between the castes and the fami-

The infrastructure of jajmani system reinforced the family or caste goal sets. Few individuals made clear breaks. And when they did it was only by migration away from their home and community. As migrant individuals they could accept other occupations and not incur the disapproval from either the family or community.

Following the thrust of technology, new professions, and consequently new goal sets, emerged. However, for a long time the cognitive and emotive orientation of each generation remained agrarian. The first generation parents or grandparents at the cross-roads of transition opted for new goal-sets. They in the processes of the agrarian society imposed their new choices on their own children. For example, doctors wanted their sons to become doctors. A bureaucrat wanted his son to enter the civil service.

This became the pattern across all new professions. A little later, the pattern changed. Now each generation was destined to follow one of the goals of the new goal sets. A doctor having three sons wanted that one of them should become a doctor, others could become scientists, engineers, or lawyers. This pattern continues even today with newer professions emerging on the Indian scene.

As the monetary significance of these emerging goal sets was realized a channelization creating intense competition towards the same goals began. It left no choice for the growing individual to scan the environment, to weigh the alternatives, to weigh

congruence between the new goal set, role-taking processes, and the accompanying network of attitudes. Their struggle to achieve this congruence is still unresolved. Indian organizations continue to adopt new forms but do not adopt the essential processes of new forms. This results in difficulties in communication between the current generation and the authorities on issues of expectations, values, nature of relationship between roles and systems and quality of belonging and membership in the system.

4. Emergence of voluntary relations.

The fourth direct contribution of the technological thrust introduced another dynamism of conflict in the agrarian base of India. The primary system consisting of the family and its extensions, the caste and the village community could no more function as an all-inclusive system of belonging. Coming into contact with individuals with whom they had no primary kinship created an opportunity to develop voluntary relationships in educational and work organizations. With time they matured and took the form of kinship relationship. The new goal sets created secondary sources of identification, i.e. with the profession. As a consequence, associations to foster professional brotherhood emerged. These two types of kinships now jointly competed with the primary kinship for emotional investment. Examples are plenty where the natural uncle has less importance as compared to the "adopted" uncle from the voluntary, social, or professional kinship. For the first time in India, a new system of belonging started to gain significance.

This indirect impact of the technological thrust was once again reckoned with the Indian society in its own characteristic way. The old cognitive and emotive orientations were transferred to the new system of belonging. The first transfer of emotive and cognitive orientation was in the use of familial terms of address such as "uncle" and "aunty" for the people in the voluntary system of belonging. These new relationships reflected the interplay of expectations and the pattern of role-taking similar to those in the primary kinship. Thus, the voluntary social kinship developed during education and later at work. The process of secondary voluntary systems as distinct from primary systems did not develop. As in other aspects of change, here also the forms and content changed, but the old processes continued. The professional kinship developed because of cognitive need rather than an emotional need.

The growth of second level systems of professional and voluntary social kinships generated yet another culture and process lag. The traditional primary systems of India fostered involuntary relationships. These relationships could be maintained simply by holding on to a network of attitudes and processes of role-taking. Whereas, inherent in the voluntary relationships reflect processes of a negotiative base where expectations could be bound and limited to the reality of the relationship. Understanding boundaries of transactions needed to be defined. In essence, a process of redefining and redesigning relationship was an inherent dimension of these relationships. The parents of the current generation successfully coped with the new demands in relation-

ships by converting the voluntary social kinship into an extension of the primary family and the professional kinship into a power-game of sibling cliques. The current generation is still busy discovering the processes of role-making on the one hand and difference between the quality of relatedness between the primary and the secondary systems on the other. Mere extension of the emotive and cognitive orientations, which are viable for primary systems and the secondary systems make these relationship non-negotiable and somewhat oppressive. The difficulty of resolving this issue left them feeling incompetent in managing inter-personal relationships. The fear of not finding mutuality, trust and acceptance continued to haunt them.

Handling diverse, voluntary and involuntary relationships, making a role and operating from different attitudes and relatedness to the two systems is the most difficult dilemma for the individuals. Examples abound depicting how formal systems in spite of many conflicts, tensions, and wastes, continue to be operational and produce relevant results. On the other hand evidence also abound showing how most voluntary organizations cooperatives, professional associations, Rotary clubs and other service organizations fail, dissolve or end up being ritualistic in nature. Involving members in activities and increasing their participation and even getting them to attend meetings have always been a problem with such organizations.

Establishing dialogues in the social system is also another task. In political parties, educational institutions and professional

associations cliques are formed. The cliques undermine legitimate authority and task coherence. They flood the system with dissension and such other processes of fragmentation and disruption. Decisions in such organizations is either a pseudo-compromise or an empty statement of policy or agreement which is not implemented. The members having found a pseudo compromise or an imposed agreement, go back with a strong reservation and therefore activate processes to undermine the implementation of decisions.

Ability to manage differences, concern with the primary task, and investment in the well-being of the organization rarely emerge in these voluntary organizations. Every year, in the name of democracy, elections are held to elect roles to manage organizations. Having elected a new team or installed the old team back, the membership sit back to let those elected perform the tasks. Members then evaluate performance and find faults. Their roles as representatives is to state how they could do it better and how inefficient the current role holders are. In many of these associations, like the political parties, even elections are suspended for years together. Ad hoc committees are setup. People are appointed, and the executive body remains an ad hoc assemblage of people chosen to balance the power equation.

In the emerging society and formal work organizations discovering and experimenting with new modalities of relationships is very significant. The Indian social design made no distinction between the primary and secondary systems. It located the individual in a series of concentric systems from family to caste and, finally to the endogamous community. There was no base for development of

differentiated qualities of relatedness between the primary and the secondary systems. Without discovering this differentiation and designing role taking processes India cannot develop negotiable, effective and optimally performing formal systems. Organizations as well as every public spaces would continue to be contaminated with the dynamics of personalization and familial processes and indifference to collective spaces.

5. Extension of internship period

The Second World War brought the second revolution in technology. Technology moved from the mechanical base to a more integrated and complex base of continuous processes. This development introduced new fields of application of technology. An entire field of space, atomic energy and computer-managed robots opened up. All these had a major impact on the nature and meaning of education. Earlier, in India, education was largely service-oriented. For a large number of people education meant merely advanced literacy. It implied acculturation in the continental ethos, [Garg and Parikh 1976]. It had also been a source of emancipation and enlightenment. With the developmental thrust, education opened up not only opportunities for employment, it also became potential investment for creative application of talents and individualistic achievement.

The widened scope of education encouraged students to go beyond graduation to the doctorate level. It made foreign education more desirable and consequently not only the cost of education went up, but the duration necessary to complete satisfactory level of

education increased. Independently certain legal and reformist Movements raised the age of marriage. As a result, the young people were required to spend a longer period of internship - social and educational - in order to enter the adult society. Thus, for all practical purposes the period of adolescence was extended.

The current generation felt that they were physically, psychologically, and socially mature by the time they had their first degree, but the academic community and society at large still treated them as children(kids). This created a gap between experienced and socially legitimized maturity. Hence there was no space planned in the educational system from their level of maturity. The only space for acting from this maturity was sought by young people either in a rebellion or by indulgence in what they believed adult activities.

A number of individuals in their explorations stated how the families made educational achievement to be their sole goal, and now they restrained them from participating in the wider life space. It was only later that they realized how this exclusive focus linked with the extension of the internship period, deprived them of owning up their maturity. It denied them of opportunities and of time and space to recognize and come to terms with their fragile, raw, intense and adolescent emotions, leaving them immature in terms of deeper and affective inter-personal relationships.

The Indian society, responded to these changes by allocating in

its collective fantasy the role of brahmachari to the students. Having done this, the elite forget that the brahmacharis of the traditional agrarian society lived in isolated and well-protected social communities. These communities were modeled on the familial patterns and processes within which well-established infrastructure supported the individual in the role of brahmachari. Modern India's failure in this sphere is another example of introducing merely newer forms without making any efforts to introduce relevant infrastructure to help individuals make their new roles. Confronted with the prolonged period of internship and the assignment of an unrealistic role, the young men and women coped with their adolescent impulses and the felt maturity by developing their own culture for exploring and experimenting. They were then, blamed for moral degeneration.

This, then, became another cross-road in the process of transition of an agrarian society into a technological society. Most individuals were caught up with the issues of boundary and maturity. What they felt at one level about themselves they doubted at the other. They were confident and anxious simultaneously. They doubted their being and admired their becoming. They were unable to internalize their success and trust their strength. Self-evaluation and self-affirmation were suspect, and external affirmation and evaluation were sought. Thus, they were caught on a see-saw of assertion and doubt, unable to put in continued and sustained effort for long range involvement in tasks. They learnt to cherish short term tasks where results of their efforts could be assessed quickly undermining the quality of commitment and

involvement they could bring to the self and system.

6. The nature of work design

Another input of the technological thrust was the introduction of work setting where people worked in groups. The design of new dimension of work was that each element of role and function was dependent on others' function and role. The nature of new work demanded inter-linkages, cooperation with others, understanding constraints and sharing responsibilities, and accepting the fact of one's contribution to the product as being partial. These characteristics were in contrast with the work design of the agrarian society where simplicity and sequentiality of the technology meant that individuals in isolation could complete the entire work. The larger work requiring collectivity was designed around rituals and linked with festivals and agrarian seasons.

In the modern formal work organizations for the first time peer groups and a collegiate systems appeared on the Indian work scene. These demanded that individuals learn to work in groups, exercise and influence task authority over each other and manage similarities and differences. It required that individuals remain related to the task and system reality. It meant establishing of face-to-face relationships with peers and accepting their evaluation without feeling condemned.

Parents of those individuals who grew up when the technological threat was just making its appearance, needed only to accommodate

themselves to the forms of technology and to learn to handle the techniques and machines. The profession remained a work role and did not become the core of personal identity which gave meaning. They continued to derive their meaning from their social relatedness.

Once again the Indian society adopted the same coping strategy. The new form was accepted but the need to redesign the process of transaction at the peer level was ignored. Most individuals continue to operate through their seniors. Face-to-face relationships were governed by sophisticated behaviour. These transactions portrayed socially acceptable behaviour. Behind the socially desirable behaviour there was ruthless aggression. Healthy, mutually respecting, and trusting relationships at task level were difficult. Individuals in organization often formed informal social groups on parochial basis.

As participants explored and processed their experiences of growing up it became clear, that they lived a divided life between a cognitive world rooted in the West and an emotional familial world rooted in the traditional Indian society, and an action world which was not rooted anywhere. In their emotional world there always was a conflict between the shoulds of the agrarian society and their feelings that arose in response to the changes. They oscillated between the desire to take risk and need for dependency and control, submission and autonomy, and assertion and equality. They were confronted with the absolutism of role and the desire to burst through it. They could not trust

anybody, could not share, understand, explore, and process the surging emotions of their being. It was a lonely existence. The family, work organization as well as the society had failed to create space or systems to design new social infrastructures. Preoccupations with management of complex life space left little time and space for parents to share and explore the changing context of the society. This further reinforced the current generation to follow the socially desirable path.

What kind of societal field emerged for the current generation through the blending of their cognitive, emotive and action worlds described above? Our explorations with them led us to identify the following characteristics:

The societal field was an amorphous but dynamic collage- a Kaleidoscope mix, where elements of two distinct ethos acquired rhythm and ended up as counter-points. The significant people in the societal field were anchored in the agrarian ethos and its accompanying network of attitudes. They accepted new forms but ignored or rejected the processes congruent with them. Thus the world of the current generation became anchored in ambivalence. In cognitive terms they held the values of Renaissance anchored in Aristotelization of knowledge, continentalization of thought and missionarisation of belief [Garg 1969] in perspective and techno-economic, techno-scientific and econo-political vectors of society. For these they had rational appreciation. They also had strong reservations of the social milieu of the West. The roots from the Indian ethos and cognitive perspectives had been cut and they held a negative appraisal of operative reality of India.

Individuals, thus, were faced with a struggle. Although they existentially sensed the subtle and indistinct ethos underlying the scientific and technological development, they could not clearly state it. They experienced a demand for action in the context of this ethos from within. The environment and its power elite located in the agrarian shoulds displayed a willingness to accept new forms. However, they discouraged new processes, allowing very little scope for action from the ethos of scientific and technological development. These individuals then, took to the soft options of imitating the Western modes of social behaviour, and got involved in consumer sense-based behaviour patterns.

The tendency of society to treat science and technology as a means and an instrument of material civilization, coupled with the failure of the intellectuals to articulate the concept of man and collectivity inherent in the new science and technology, has left the current generation in confusion. They experimented with the ethos of science and technology. The societal field was denuded of forces which could challenge the individuals to fashion a new psycho-cultural identity. The ideals of Renaissance lost their credibility as the very preachers of those ideals stood exposed as hypocrites in the post-independence era by doing everything to prevent the ideals from being realized. The cause and idealism of national freedom and participation in nation-building and managing natural catastrophes, which provided significant opportunities for identification and fashioning of cultural identity, were no longer operative. India was already

politically independent. Whenever a natural catastrophe occurred, the government considered it its monopoly to manage it. It appealed only for money and discouraged direct and voluntary involvement of people.

The new goal sets lost their potency because of unemployment or underemployment. Except for the challenge to excel in academic performance, there was no physical, intellectual, social or moral challenge left to mobilize individuals to fashion their identity. Even the challenge of academic performance from an education system, which was devoid of idealism and values did not inspire the student collectivity. The education remained largely techno-informative in nature involving no perspective building. Education did not provide intellectual challenges. Thus, there were neither forces nor support systems to challenge them to fashion their identity to contribute either to nation building or ~~create~~ belonging systems.

The current generation is perceived by the larger society as goal-less, and rootless. It also appears resentful and ambiguous in its attitude. Society's attempts to understand the current generations are hampered by the centuries old traditional agrarian perspective. Likewise, the amorphous feelings of the current generation prevent it from understanding the traditional society and the people. Failure of both to address themselves to the inevitable transition, need for process changes holding the agrarian social values, and reconstitution of ethos for the current era - is the source of poignancy in feelings and the increasing disenchantment with each other and systems.

This failure has left the current generation alone to carry the burden of its emotional world which is a cauldron simmering with the guilt of belonging, unprocessed emotions and impulses of adolescence, reactive feelings, and genuine questions about the nature of reality. The systematic, and almost deliberate, neglect of emotional world sows the seeds of skepticism, self-orientation, and disowning the responsibility to replenish the system.

What happens to the current generation when a lack of idealism is juxtaposed with the over-focalized and crystallized aspirations of material success and well-being, egoistic goal-sets with diffused horizons and uncertain future, and extended internship with the absence of socio-emotional processing?

The dynamics of this setting of growth has subjected them to two contrary and almost contradictory forces. The individuals were left in the nowhere land of no responses or wrong responses. They lived in the nowhere-land of becoming without being. They struggled in a world of achievement without affiliation, and in the word of affiliation without achievement. They acted without feelings and felt without action. They floated into a shadowy world.

Our attempts to listen and empathize with the current generation in the setting of their growth have led us to identify some of the distinct patterns of agrarian and technological ethos which, in a tug of war fashion, create the torturous and almost annih-

lating process of becoming. The impact of transition is felt by the individuals, formal work organizations and all aspects of structures, systems and society. In order to discover perspectives, values and action alternatives it becomes essential to identify and understand the elements of the two distinct ethos. The next two chapters explores the elements of each ethos and their implications for the Indian society and the people of the society.

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