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Working Paper

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WP
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AHMEDABAD**

ROLE ORIENTATION AND ROLE PERFORMANCE
OF INDIAN MANAGERS

By
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W P No. 300
Nov. 1979

WP300
INDIAN INSTITUTE OF MANAGEMENT
1979
(300)

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Role Orientation And Role Performance of Indian Managers*

Indira J Parikh**

The Indian society of to-day can best be described as a society in transition. The individual and his social and work organizations are changing simultaneously. For the Indian society change and transition is not a new phenomenon. It has always been there. However, in the present time there has been a quantum jump in the nature, the quality and the impact of change. The change has been of the nature of technological inputs and emerging of modern complex industrialization and organizations.

This encounter with the technological inputs has created a discontinuity in the processes of the traditional Indian society which is agrarian in nature. It has created conditions which has fragmented the ascriptive life space and some of the basic processes and structures of both the social and work organizations.

* This paper was presented at the Xth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences held in New Delhi in December 1978. This work is based on the research 'Emergence of Work Identity in Indian Organizations' an unpublished doctoral thesis, Gujarat University, December 1978.

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The author wishes to acknowledge and appreciate the contribution of her colleague, Prof Pulin K Garg in writing this paper.

The traditional Indian society designed the life space of an individual in the simultaneity of the two systems.

1. The affiliative system and
2. The economic system

These two systems were further integrated through birth and caste ordering that they together made one social system which defined an individual's identity. This identity was primarily social and affiliative in nature. Work was one of the elements of the social identity. Work was a constraint and a duty but not the source of the individual's meaning in life. The individual's meaning arose from the dominant aspect of his social belonging and his affiliative system. The belonging system reduced his occupational mobility, limited his standard of living and acted as a reinforcer of the social identity.

The thrust of modern education, industrial and technological development and the emergence of modern complex work organizations have created conditions which foster the growth of professionalization. It also led to work and occupation becoming independent aspects of an individual's life space and not an element of social identity which was the nature of traditional Indian society. This change in the basic structure and process of the Indian society also demands from the individual's modification in their role concept, role orientations and role processes from that of the traditional ascriptive society.

The research reported here explores the trend and differential movement of role orientations and role performances of the Indian

managers in three organizations from the processes of social identity to the emergence of work identity. The focus of social identity is maintenance of relational and affiliative belonging system while the thrust of work identity is the tasks and goals of the organization.

Organization Development work with Indian managers led Garg and Parikh (1976) to hypothesize that role orientation and role performance congruent with processes of social identity inherent in the traditional ascriptive society seem to be deeply ingrained and internalized through childhood experiences. Later exposure to education and work organization seem to have low modifying influence on the Indian managers to evolve processes of work identity which are congruent with the demands and processes of new emerging formal and task organizations.

It suggests that there is a socio-psychological continuity of the role orientation and role performance which the Indian manager brings from his primary social system to the secondary work system. His emotional orientation is anchored in the processes of the traditional Indian ethos which is agrarian in nature while his cognitive orientation is anchored in terms of the emerging technological ethos.

It further suggests that the Indian managers' internalized role concept, role model and role processes of the traditional social systems are incongruent with the role concept, role model and the role processes demanded by the intrinsic nature of task and technology of new and complex work organizations.

The Indian managers are acutely aware of the incongruence between the demands of his role in social organization and the demands

of his new role experienced in the work organizations. But he does not know how to resolve the incongruence through conscious choice. He only learns to manage it by letting a life style emerge. With the exceptions of a few, large numbers of managers find their life space fragmented into two kinds of role spaces Garg (1974) * .

1. Socio-psychological role space
2. Socio-temporal role space

Socio-psychological role space:

This space is dominantly constituted by a well defined matrix of social relationships, social tasks, and affiliative systems. This role space demands processes which give significance to the meaning and quality of the belonging system. This belonging system is governed by affiliative expectations and relational inter-dependence as formulated and defined by ascriptive and normative processes of the traditional Indian society.

Socio-temporal role space:

This space is the newly differentiated role space in the modern Indian society. It is dominantly constituted by the matrix of functional relationships and task orientations. This role space demands processes which give significance to the nature of the task, quality of work and functional inter-dependence. These processes are inherent in the emergent formal organizations.

The Indian managers experience the pull and push of these two role spaces.

* Concept by Garg taken from Social Interaction and Communication in an Indian Village by Prof V R Gaikwad and Mr B L Tripathi, 1974.

Similarly, Indian Organizations at one level seem to emphasize the importance of organizational task and technology, demand competence and efficiency at work and seek commitment to work and organizational objectives from the individuals. Their processes however, seem to promote behaviour which is more congruent with the processes of social identity. The organizations encourage personalization, foster patronage, allow non-task considerations to influence policies, seek conformity and commitment to personalized affiliations with the superior, and in general gear the individual to attach more importance to the considerations of the relational and affiliative matrix.

This led the author to hypothesize that there is a discontinuity between the demands and processes of the primary system of belonging and the secondary system of belonging. The Indian manager seems to have been caught in the middle of a major shift of societal forms and processes.

The shift can be described in two ways

1. There is a discontinuity in the role processes and role orientation between social system of belonging and work system of tasks.
2. There is an unresolved shift between the cultural expectations of the socio-psychological role space and the socio-temporal role space.

Literature focusing on the cultural shift is available from the theorists who have identified the typologies of societies and transition and change in societies. To name some of the work which are landmarks in the literature are Comte (1798; 1857), Spencer (1820; 1917), Durkheim (1947), Tonnies (1887; 1940), Weber (1947),

Park (1952; 1953), Redfield (1962; 1968), Parsons (1954), Garg and Parikh (forthcoming publication).

However, the above theories of change and transition are descriptive in nature. They emphasize group phenomenon and group trends. No empirical study to determine the shift, the nature and quality of shift from one typology to another in the role concept or in the cognitive map of the system held by the individual seems to be available.

It is assumed that the response to this shift is through the role concept, role model and role processes which the individual has internalized Linton (1936; 1945), Sarabin (1954), Nadel (1957), Mead (1963; 1964) and others have identified the concept 'role' in terms of either hierarchy, status and task expectations in an organization. While others define the concept 'role' as associated with expectations which are clearly defined structurally and understood. The behaviour of the individual in the role may display a wide variance. This variance in individual behaviour has largely been attributed to attitudes, values, and personality characteristics. This suggested that the concept role has been used as a concept of inter-phase between the social structure and the ~~personality structure~~.

Linking the theoretical and conceptual findings of the typologies of societies, the definitions and concept of role and the author's work with Indian managers and organization development work in various organizations a new dimension of role seemed to emerge.

* Cross Roads of Culture

This is the spatial dimension of the role. The role has a space of its own in a system and this role space has coordinates. The one anchor of the coordinates is in the individual while the other anchor is in the system. These coordinates are acquired by the individual through his long period of process of socialization in non-work situations i.e. the family and social setting. These coordinates also emerge from the individuals internalized cognitive map of the social system, the transactions which he carries out between the self and significant others in the system and the meaning he has given to them. The internalization of these coordinates ^{was} it/hypothesized would manifest in the interaction and behaviour of the individual in the social and work systems.

As the focus of this research is the ~~shift from the processes~~ of social identity to the emergence of processes of work identity as manifested in managers in Indian organizations, it was assumed that the role of a manager in an organization is a construct of inter-face between his internalized role concept, role model, role processes and their orientations reflected in their role performance i.e. the role acts carried out in the organization.

A content analysis of the personal data provided by the managers from various organizations led Garg and Parikh (1976) to identify four role coordinates which the manager has internalized from the primary system and five role acts which he performs in the

as part of his role space. These role coordinates are:

- Role Coordinates:
1. Responsibility
 2. Authority
 3. Equality
 4. Identity

- Role Acts
1. Decision Making
 2. Exercise of Authority
 3. Communication
 4. Evaluation
 5. Rewards and Punishments

A matrix of role coordinates and role acts evolved are given below:

Table 1

Theoretical Framework : Role Coordinates and Role Acts

Role Coordinates	Decision Making *	Exercise of Authority *	Communi- cation *	Evaluation*	Reward and Punishment *
Role Acts -					
1. Responsibility					
2. Authority					
3. Equality					
4. Identity					

* From this onwards
 Decision Making will be referred as DM
 Exercise of Authority -do- Ex.A
 Communication -do- Comm.
 Evaluation -do- Eva.
 Reward & Punishment -do- R & P

The data suggested and was reinforced by the typologies of the societies that these role coordinates are not absolute. They reflect a continuum expressing the shift from one anchor i.e. from the processes of social identity to the other anchor i.e. the emergence of the processes of work identity.

Table 2

Role Coordinates and their Orientation Continuum

Role Orientation		Orientation Continuum	
1. Responsibility	Role Boundedness	Role Orientation	Role Actualization
2. Authority	Single person	Authority Orientation	Multi Person
3. Equity	Exclusion	Peer Orientation	Inclusion
4. Relations Systems	Social	Identity Orientation	Work

Thus, the above continuum suggests that individuals operating with role boundedness, single person authority, exclusion of peers, and social relations are reflecting the processes of social identity. Similarly, individuals operating with role actualization, multi-person authority, inclusion of peers, and work relations are reflecting the processes of work identity.*

* (For the remaining of this research wherever the concept social Identity is used it will imply the orientation of role-boundedness single person authority, exclusion of peers and relational identity Similarly wherever the concept work identity is used it will imply the orientation of role actualization, multi-person authority, inclusion of peers and work relations)

Below, are brief descriptions of the role coordinates and role acts as reflecting the processes of social and work identity.

Role Coordinate responsibility

In any organization setting a manager has a position. This position defines the role space of a manager in the organization. This position has certain responsibilities with regard to organization tasks and goals. This responsibility in the position has three levels viz., job responsibility, link responsibility and corporate responsibility. When a manager focuses exclusively on his job and immediate task responsibility and either ignores or gives secondary importance to his link and corporate responsibility he is displaying processes of role boundedness and hence social identity. When the manager besides his immediate job and task responsibility, takes initiative to include in his role space the link and corporate responsibility he is actualizing his role which reflects the process of work identity. The manager thereby includes himself as the representative of the system.

Role Coordinate Authority

A manager in his role space is subject to the authority from his direct superior, his peers and his subordinates. When a manager in his role space attributes to one person at the top the legitimate control and influence and ignores the legitimacy of influence from his peers and subordinates he is reflecting the processes of one person authority and hence social identity. When the manager in his role space is open and accepts the legitimacy of the influence and processes of control from relevant task related roles in the system other than his superior he is reflecting the processes of multi-person authority and hence work identity.

Role Coordinate Equality

In the work organization relationships are hierarchical. However, the manager in his role space interacts with other roles which are lateral or equal. The manager's role space is linked by lateral interdependence while carrying out the task. When a manager denies the inter-relatedness of other roles and gets caught with processes of deprivation and denial he is reflecting the processes of exclusion and hence social identity. When a manager in his role space accepts the inter-dependence of other roles in his task and invites collaboration to optimise the resources of the system, cooperates, for task competence and achievement and accepts functional interdependence he is reflecting the processes of inclusion and hence work identity.

Role Coordinate Identity

When a manager continues to have emotional roots, sense of belonging, membership and meaning from his affiliative system alone, when he ignores the management of differences for task and goals of organization for affiliative considerations, and ignores the significance of belonging to his secondary or work system, he is reflecting the processes of relational orientation and hence social identity. When the manager includes his secondary or work system to derive meaning, sense of belonging and membership, responds with commitment to the task definitions of his role space and learns to engage and disengage with people based on the demands of the task, he is reflecting the processes of work orientation and hence work identity.

On the whole, the managers reflecting the processes of social identity focus on maintenance of relationship, social obligations and affiliative inter-dependence. They operationalise only the narrow job description and bind themselves to the givens of the system. The managers in this process work with obedience, conformity to ascriptive norms and loyalty to people. Similarly, the managers reflecting the processes of work identity focus on maintaining negotiability and inter-dependence for task considerations. They work for functionality and effectiveness of the task and are open to reviewing the emerging reality of tasks and needs of the organization. They tend to work with a developmental view point which optimise negotiability, functional inter-dependence and effectiveness of the tasks and goals of the organization.

The above orientation of the processes of social and work identity are reflected in an organization setting through the manager's role performance i.e. three role acts. As stated earlier five role acts are identified based on Likert (1961), Mintzberg (1973) and similar other work on organization. Based on the organization development work with Indian managers in various organizations, the elements reflecting the processes of Social and work identity, with each of the five role acts is described briefly.

1. Role Act Decision Making

The manager in his role space has the responsibility to make decisions about operational issues of the task of the organization. At another level he may have the responsibility of formulating the policies of an organization. He may also take decisions on allocation

of resources such as man, material and finance. This involves the interpretation of policy and utilisation of the discretionary element of the role. If the manager in his role space does not take calculated risks, will not utilise the discretionary element available in the role space, and repeatedly refers the decisions to the higher authority and seeks sanctions, affirmation and approval from the higher authority, he is reflecting the processes of social identity while performing the role act decision making. When a manager besides making the decisions of his task, attempts to acquire relevant knowledge and information of the task decisions through interaction with colleagues and subordinates, responds to the immediacy and urgency of the task, is willing to act judiciously and does not constantly refer all decisions upwards, but exercises his discretion he is reflecting the processes of work identity in performing his role act decision making.

2. Role Act Exercise of Authority

Just as decision making is an act of solving problems, exercise of authority is an act of implementing decisions and regulating the operations of an organization.

A manager in his role space exercises his authority by determining how the decisions will be implemented. He determines the nature of interaction his juniors will have with him. The manager sets and maintains boundaries of interaction with his role space and the role space of others, both below and above him. If the manager focuses on the nature of his relationship with subordinates as extensions of himself or the organization and only demands from others the fulfilment of instructions by him and converts his role space into position of

power and control he is reflecting the processes of social identity in performing the role act exercise of authority. When the manager focuses on the dominant aspect of the task and its effective achievement through keeping the boundaries of his role space flexible between superior and subordinates and attempts to define the hierarchy in a collaborative and cooperative manner for implementation of task the manager is reflecting the processes of work identity while performing the role act of exercise of authority.

• Communication and Information Dissemination

In the present theoretical framework the concept communication and information dissemination are treated as differentiated from each other. Communication deals with the strategy of the organization and their underlying attitudes and policies. Information deals with the physical facts of organization the knowledge of which will help bring awareness of internal and external reality of the organization which enhances the organization effectiveness. When a manager in his role space communicates only instructions to his subordinates, focuses on parting information alone and withholds relevant data and knowledge derived from his experience to superiors, colleagues and subordinates he is reflecting processes of social identity while performing the role act communication. When a manager initiates and shares the overall objectives and goals of the sub-system and shares his own projections and interpretation of the strategies of organizations with his colleagues and subordinates he is reflecting the processes of work identity while performing the role act communication.

4. Role Act Evaluation

A manager in his role space besides evaluating the quantitative output of production and performance also needs to focus on the processes of the individual and organization which enhances the overall functioning of the organizations. If the manager evaluates the subordinate on his conformity and obedience to the norms and goals of the superior rather than his task performance, and ignores the subordinates innovativeness and commitment, the manager is reflecting the processes of social identity while performing the role act evaluation. When the manager in his role space evaluates subordinates in terms of task achievement and goal attainment rather than on the nature of their relationship with him and other superiors evaluate the availability of organizational resources along with his own role in the achievement of the task, and realistically evaluates the strengths and limitations of his colleagues, subordinates, seniors and himself, the manager is reflecting the processes of work identity while performing the role act evaluation.

5. Role Act Reward and Punishment

Reward can be for measurable concrete output and it can also be for the employees' social skills, his personality traits and his obedience, conformity and loyalty. When a manager focuses on the personality traits, focuses on the nature of relationship with the superiors and the conformity to the rules and regulations of the organization and utilises personal biases and pre-conceived notions, and ignores the merit, competence and task performance, he is reflecting the processes of social identity while performing the role act reward.

Similarly, punishment may be meted out for behaviour which is dysfunctional to the task or may be based on the nature of personal relationships with the subordinate. When a manager discourages the behaviour which is seeking participation in the organizational task and processes such as goal setting and designing, reviewing and planning and when the manager discourages processes of equation between himself and the subordinates in task settings he is reflecting the processes of social identity while performing the role act punishment,. When the manager discourages behaviour which is dysfunctional to the attainment of tasks and goals of the organization, when he encourages collaborative and cooperative behaviour, discourages rigidity of rules and regulations, discourages withholding of information and data, and use of relationship as sources of power, he is reflecting the processes of work identity while performing the role act punishment. On the whole the process of reward and punishment is that role act which the manager and organizations perform to create and maintain organization culture heighten morale, create credibility of organization policy and create a sense of well being, certainty and security for its employees.

The above five role acts of the manager are inter-dependent and inter-related. The role acts of decision making and exercise of authority are two sides or parallel aspects of managerial role space in terms of task performance. Similarly the role acts of communication and information dissemination are two sides or parallel acts of

managerial role space in terms of enhancement of the goals and objectives of the organization. And finally the role act of reward and punishment reflect the boundary maintenance of the organizational and managerial roles.

The above described role coordinates and role performance (role acts) resolves into the following matrix.

Table 3
Matrix of Role Coordinates and Role Acts

	Role Coordinates	Decision Making	Exercise of Authority	Communication	Evaluation	Reward and Punishment	Role Coordinates	
	Role Acts							
Social Identity	1. Responsibility (RB)						Responsibility (RA)	Work Identity
	2. Authority SPA						Authority MPA	
	3. Equality Exclusion						Equality Inclusion	
	4. Identity Relational						Identity Work	

The above matrix schematically represents an affective-cognitive map of the inter-face between the manager's role coordinates and the role acts demanded by the organization in the role space of the manager. The manager may either reflect the processes of social identity or the processes of work identity in any of the cells of the matrix.

The present research utilises the above matrix to test the degree, nature and quality of the shift in the role coordinates and role acts of the Indian managers in organizations from the processes of social identity to the processes of work identity. It is expected that the process of transition in modern India will push more and more managers to actualize processes of work identity as demanded by the complex and large technological organizations. The objectives of the present research are

1. To empirically measure the shift if any of Indian managers from the processes of social identity to the emergence of work identity.
2. To what extent processes of social identity continue to operate in the managers.
3. To what extent organization culture mediate through work processes and influence to move from processes of social identity to work identity.
4. To what extent is the change toward the processes of work identity.
5. Do different organizations with distinct cultures lead to differential degree of shift in the managers.

Methodology

Development of the Instrument:

Two hundred managers in various workshops and in company training programmes over six years provided intensive personal data of their organization behaviour. The data was summarized from time to time. Later seventy five managers were interviewed. These managers represented middle and senior level of management. They belonged to public sector, private, sector, family owned and foreign equity holding organizations. The interviews were open-ended and the discussions ranged from the managers' attitudes, values, beliefs and their feeling toward their roles, their tasks, their superior, their subordinates and the organization to which they belonged. A content analysis of these statements was carried out and statements were classified in each of the different cells of the matrix of role coordinates and role acts.

These statements were then given to ten judges for conceptual clarity and congruence with the theoretical framework. 192 out of 250 statements were retained for the pilot study. The pilot study with forty managers further helped refined the questionnaire. Six items were categorized in each cell of the matrix totalling to 120. Additional 5 items in each of the role coordinates (totalling 24) were retained for internal consistency thus evolving the questionnaire to 144 items. All the items were worded such that the high score would suggest processes of social identity and low score would reflect processes of work identity. The responses was on a five point scale.

Sample of the Research: Managerial Population and Organizations

The present research has been restricted to middle and senior middle managers. The organizations included in the research sample are:

1. An organization with modern technology with foreign equity holdings and having professional management tradition. This will be referred as O1.
 2. A family owned and family managed organization representing traditional technology such as textile. This will be referred as O2.
 3. A public sector organization with professional management. This will be referred as O3.
- 30 managers from each of the above organization formed the managerial sample.

Analysis of the data *

1. The data was subjected to analysis to assess and differentiate the impact of specific organization cultures on role coordinates and role acts.
2. The data was subjected to analysis to determine whether the role managers in their orientation reflected the processes of social identity or processes of work identity.

Findings of the Research

Organization 1:

In O1, the cell of role coordinate responsibility and role act DM reflect^{ed} the processes of social identity, while the role coordinate Equality and role act Rewards and Punishment reflected the

* For detailed statistical analysis see Parikh Indira J, Emergence of Work Identity in Indian Organizations, an unpublished doctoral thesis submitted at Gujarat University, Ahmedabad 1978.

processes of work identity. As compared to the role coordinate responsibility, the role coordinates authority, equality and identity, reflect the processes of work identity. This suggests that in O1 the managers carry the burden and exclusive responsibility of their immediate task the processes of which reflect social identity, while the R & P are based on the processes of work identity. This perhaps is a reflection of the managerial remunerations in foreign equity organizations being generally high and this may be one of the source of the dynamics of the role coordinate responsibility acquiring greater significance and reflecting processes of Social Identity, while R & P acquiring significance and reflecting processes of Work Identity.

Furthermore, this particular organization from which the data was collected had undergone a serious business crisis at that point of time. The data was collected at a point when the organization had just started to recover from the crisis. This suggests that the managers in this organization had resorted overwhelmingly to the role concept responsibility in being focused exclusively on their immediate tasks while the link and corporate responsibility were left to the significant others. Added to this is the role act DM & Eva reflecting the processes of social identity. Once again this suggests that the organization because of its crisis has tended to focus and evaluate managers who display loyalty, obedience and display commitment to their immediate tasks, and do not demand participation in DM at the overall organizational level or policy level.

Thus, in the present time and perspective the O1 reflects a dual anchoring of role coordinates. The role coordinates authority,

equality and identity have high correlation with each other reflecting processes of work identity, while the role coordinate responsibility with its commitment to assigned task, its achievement, and its linking with DM and evaluation reflect in the managers the processes of social identity. It seems then, that O1 has two level of cultures. To a very large extent the organization has adopted the processes of work identity at the manifest level. However, at the latent level the processes of social identity continue to operate significantly around the role coordinate responsibility.

The processes of social identity reflected through the role coordinate responsibility in terms of immediate task responsibility seems to pre-dispose the managers to communicate, make decisions and exercise authority in such a manner as to foster a team work around his own personality rather than the tasks of the organizations. It suggests that as long as the personal security of the individual manager is not threatened he feels free to reflect the processes of work identity with his peers and subordinates. In critical situations and with his superiors the individual manager of O1 continue to display the restrictive role play in terms of his role coordinate responsibility.

Further analysis of the 20 cells of the matrix of role coordinates and role acts of the managerial data of O1 suggests, that the role act DM as associated with role coordinate responsibility is significantly different from the other six items of DM associated with role coordinates authority, equality and identity. This suggests that the role coordinates responsibility reflects the processes of social identity through the role act DM.

Within O1, the processes of social identity seem to be more dominant in the cells

Responsibility - OM, Comm, Ex. A

Authority - Comm.

Equality - Ex. A, Comm and

Identity - Ex. A and Comm.

In the remaining 12 cells there is reflection of processes of work identity.

This finding is further supported by the evidence from analysis of variance giving the 'F' values between rows and columns, and 'F' values for interaction between rows and columns. The 'F' value for rows i.e. role coordinates is significant at 10 per cent, the value being 2.93. The 'F' value for column is significant at 25 per cent the value being 1.53. However, the 'F' value at interaction level is significant at 20 per cent, the value being 1.62.

on the whole, the pull of the total organization culture of O1 reflects the processes of work identity. However, the final resolution seems to be undetermined. The managers of O1 under present condition seem to be operating with two sets of coping processes. One set of process is to maintain harmony between colleagues which reflects the processes of work identity, while the other set of process is to discharge the responsibility toward the top management which reflect the processes of social identity. This also reinforces the overall finding that task based ethos of O1 reflecting processes of work identity has been incorporated through the secondary processes of

socialization viz., the organization. However, this incorporation has been by the very nature of the organization a strategic adaptation of behaviour to suit the articulated and expected organization behaviour and culture. The deeper internalization of the agrarian ethos reflecting the processes of social identity continue to operate in terms of role coordinate responsibility.

Organization 2:

In O2 the role coordinate identity and role act Ex.A reflect clearly the processes of social identity while the role coordinate responsibility and role act R & P reflect clearly the processes of work identity. This suggests that in O2 there is a dominant focus and concern with nature of relationships within the organization than the tasks of the organization. However, at another level with role acts DM, Eva and R & P, processes of Work Identity have emerged. In terms of role acts Ex.A and Comm. the focus is on the criterion of loyalty, obedience, and conformity to the norms and goals of the organization and personalization of relationships, reflecting processes of Social Identity seem to be more dominant.

It seems to suggest that O2, the family owned organization, reflects the processes of Social Identity through the cell role coordinate identity and role act Comm., and/role act Ex. A. This indicates dominance of social relationship over task transactions. The managers social psychological role space have a more significant influence than task based functional relationships. The managers in O2 will get work done through subordinates with personal appeal

and see the subordinates as being in their protective fold. They will communicate to the subordinates only that information which they see as relevant. It implies that the nature of socio-psychological relationships will determine how managers would relate to each other at task level. If the relationships outside the task settings are good, they will relate at task level in a cooperative and collaborative manner. If they are bad, then at the inter-personal level the managers may tend to be rigid and become procedure bound in carrying out the tasks with their peers. The functional inter-dependence is relegated secondary significance and the affective loyalty reflecting the processes of Social Identity is dominant.

Further analysis of the 20 cells of the matrix of role coordinates and role acts of the managerial data of O2 indicated that role coordinate responsibility reflects the processes of Work Identity through role acts Eva & R & P. There is a mixed response of processes reflecting social and work identity through the five role acts.

On the whole the findings suggest that in O2 the exclusion of peers, inclusion of subordinates and conformity to superiors reflects processes of Social Identity though role act DM. However, the strength of this exclusion is not very dominant. This would suggest that the managers of O2 are caught between the processes of Social Identity and Work Identity, and the organization itself is not giving clear cut cues to reinforce either the processes of Social Identity or Work Identity very strongly. The managers of O2 tend to build

barriers between their peers and subordinates and extend paternalistic linkages with their subordinates, a reflection of processes of Social Identity through the role act Ex. A. Similarly, in role act Comm. the managers tend to withhold information from colleagues and subordinates and only communicate relevant information which they need to know. Again in role act Eva & R & P the focus is on their fulfilment of immediate task responsibility. Here the message from the organization is very clear. The role acts Eva & R & P clearly reflect the processes of Work Identity.

These findings suggest that in O2 the managers operate from isolation but with strength rather than through participative and cooperative processes. Though there is some awareness to include the subordinates informally, there is a persistent need to keep direct links with the superior and subordinates in a more personalized way and there is a tendency to protect these relationships against interferences from others, specifically their superiors. This would tend to foster in O2 linear hierarchical relationships and star like pattern of leadership.

This is further reinforced by the analysis of variance where the 'F' values between rows is significant at twenty per cent level, the 'F' value being 1.89. Similarly the 'F' value for columns is significant at ten per cent level the 'F' value being 2.84. However, the 'F' value of the interaction between rows and columns is significant at one per cent level, the 'F' value being 3.38. This suggests that in O2 there is a scatter of processes reflecting Social Identity and Work Identity. That processes reflecting

Work Identity are starting to emerge in area of role act Eva & R & P and partly in role act DM.

On the whole, there is a slow but steady movement toward the processes of Work Identity. The managers of O2 cognitively accept the processes of Work Identity in the role coordinate responsibility, authority and equality. This implies their wish to move toward a more participative functionally inter-dependent, collaborative and cooperative culture, but their internalization of the primary processes over-determine the boundaries of social relations and they tend to seek security in close and dependent relationship with significant people in the organization. This inhibits the managers from actualizing their cognitively incorporated aspirations congruent with the processes reflecting Work Identity.

Organization III

In O3 the role coordinates identity and authority and role act Comm., reflect the processes of social identity while the role coordinate responsibility and equality and role act DM reflect the processes of Work Identity. This suggests that in this public sector organization the dynamics of social relationships between co-workers as against the dynamics of task relations is dominant. This is similar to O2. However, an additional dimension of heirarchical authority which creates a one person authority orientation as against the multi-person authority orientation is dominant. Thus in role coordinate authority and identity, processes reflecting Social Identity dominate.

This implies that managers in O3 are status conscious, and they work through tightly knit groups of personalized and known

relationships. They invest a lot of energy in building and maintaining relationships both at the superior and subordinate level. They also emphasize exclusion of peers and protect their role boundaries very seriously against encroachment. This would lead to poor task based functional inter-dependence. Tasks which are specifically inter-linked will be carried out through rules and regulations and already laid down procedures, rather than through functional cooperation.

The movement of role coordinate responsibility and equality reflecting processes of work identity though not very significant in strength implies that the compulsiveness of the task and organization structure has forced these managers to share responsibility and behave as equals. This public sector organization is a service organization. Its employees are largely white collar workers and have a very dominant union. This particular organization works at different levels through task forces and committees, though the tradition has been of linear authority. In interviews these managers talked of their helplessness with the juniors and preferred the traditional linear authority. They felt their own authority has been undermined.

In 03, the role act Comm reflects the processes of Social Identity. Similarly, the role act Ex. A tends to lean toward processes of Social Identity. The role acts DM, Eva & R & P tend to lean toward processes reflecting Work Identity.

Further differentiated analysis suggested that role coordinates responsibility, authority and identity tend to reflect processes of Social Identity though acts DM, Eva and R & P. This is inspite of

the fact that the major dynamics of O3 is determined by the role coordinate identity and authority. The exclusivity of association of role coordinates responsibility with role act DM reflecting Social Identity suggests a very strong commitment of these managers to their assigned tasks. As long as that aspect is not challenged the managers feels free to reflect processes of Work Identity. Fear of being blamed in terms of not fulfilling one's responsibility is very severe.

The analysis of variance between rows the 'F' value being 3,38 significant at five per cent level, between columns the 'F' value being 1.28 significant at twenty five and fifty per cent. However, the 'F' value interaction between rows and columns is 2.93 significant between 1 and 2.5 per cent level. This reaffirms that in O3 the role coordinates identity and authority play a dominant role and tend to create forces which reflect the processes of Social Identity.

On the whole, the findings from the data of O3 suggests that this public sector organization reflects largely the processes of Social Identity through role coordinate identity and authority. The exigencies of the organization structure tends to push the managers to adapt and work with consultative process with peers and subordinates reflective of processes of Work Identity. This is either due to the need to defocus on exclusive accountability or is due to enforced committee work. The dominance of inter-personal relational considerations over task considerations will determine either the nature of personalized relationship which will lead to functional inter-dependence or determine the impersonal relations and lead to

role bound, rule bound and procedure based task relationships. These broad patterns suggest in O3 managers the need for personalized sense of loyalty, need to work in a star like pattern of hierarchical authority and largely deal with functional inter-dependence in terms of rules and regulations. These managers seem to carry the organization on their individual backs.

Inter-Organization Comparison and Findings:

As can be seen from the findings of each organization there seems to emerge a distinct pattern. Each organization shares communities in certain role coordinates and role acts while maintaining a distinctive pattern in others.

As an entity O1 tends to reflect greater process of Work Identity. However, the very substantive remuneration paid by O1 to their middle managers, demand task, responsibility and accountability. This tends to reflect in the managers an orientation to the process of Social Identity in the area of role coordinate responsibility and role act DM, developing a rigid role bound responsibility orientation, a Social Identity process.

O2 tends to display processes of Social Identity in role coordinate identity. The need to maintain personalized relationships and the need to use the relationships as security for mobilising the self for performing organization task comes through clearly. The middle managers are pre-disposed to maintain boundaries of their role vis-a-vis authority and are willing to extend cooperation and collaboration as long as their own security is not threatened.

O3 tends to display no clear cut pattern of distinctly displaying processes of Social Identity and Work Identity. In some sectors there is dominance of processes reflecting SI, while in other sectors there is dominance of processes reflecting Work Identity.

An analysis of variance of the matrix 5 x 4 x 3 where 5 represents the five columns of role acts, 4 represents the 4 rows of role coordinates and 3 represents the organizations was carried out. The 'F' value for the total matrix is 3.7 with 19 and 40 degrees of freedom. This 'F' value is significant at one per cent level. Second level analysis of variance showed that the 'F' values for rows i.e. role coordinates 3.1616 is not at all significant. Similarly the 'F' value for columns i.e. role acts value 3.8844 is not at all significant. However, the 'F' value for the interaction between rows i.e. role coordinates and columns i.e. role acts was found significant at one per cent level. The 'F' value being 3.26148 for twelve over forty degrees of freedom.

The analysis of variance findings indicate that there is some interactional dynamics between role coordinates and role acts in each organization that gives them distinctive cultures in terms of social and work identity.

This suggests that in these organizations, leadership styles, trade union activity or performance appraisal has a great impact. This inference can be supported by the evidence that O1 was passing through serious business performance crisis, and O3 had a dominant white collar unionism. O2 being a family owned organization had a more clear cut paternalistic nurturant leadership.

However, for further differentiated and critical understanding differences of mean significance test between pairs of organization viz. 01 to 02, 01 to 03 and 02 to 03 was carried out.

The picture that emerged was the following

01 - 03 no differences of means

01 - 02 low order differences of means

02 - 03 high order differences of means

These differences suggest that 01 and 03 have some similarity in reflecting the processes of social and work identity. As stated earlier 03 displayed deeper anchoring in role orientation identity and authority reflecting processes of Social Identity, but dominance of white collar unionism and public policy has compelled these managers to modify their behaviour in role coordinate responsibility and equality reflecting the processes of Work Identity. The 03 has evolved a complex mix. Similarly in 01 the patterns reflecting processes of Work Identity are evident in the role coordinates authority, equality and identity, though in terms of role coordinate responsibility the processes reflecting Social Identity are deeply rooted. Though this response may be due to the organization crisis the complex mix of processes reflecting Social Identity and Work Identityⁱⁿ both the Organization 1 and Organization 3 seem to bring these organization closer in approach.

Further analysis of the data suggested that 01 and 03 have a much narrower concept of responsibility. This is either due to the accountability factor in 03 i.e. public sector and accountability due to the business crisis in 01 i.e. the organization with foreign equity.

These findings suggest that the organization cultures tend to influence the manifest forms of role acts performed in organizations. The role orientations do not get deeply modified or the changes internalized through organization cultures. The organizations tend to evoke some degree of conformity at behavioural level among managers, but managers as a class tend to retain their role orientations which are deeply ingrained and internalized through experiences in the primary system.

On the whole, then, the Indian organizations with differential degrees continue to focus and reinforce the concept of 'duty' in their managers. The concept of accountability to the authority tends to play a significant role in the organization. The immediate task gains pre-dominant focus and the link and corporate responsibility is left to the immediate superior. This may be stated to be the design and structure of the organization.

Even when the flexibility exists and managers can respond with processes of work identity the managers continue to doubt the intentions of the management when confronted with this openness, fear of stepping on their colleagues and superiors toes and fear of confrontation with them inhibits the managers from actualising their role and accepting a representative role in the system. This role boundedness is directly linked to their internalization of the role concept, role

model and role processes from the larger social system which continues to reflect processes which are agrarian and traditional in nature.

As has become apparent from the findings and data that Indian managers have not fully resolved the dilemma of operating from the processes of social identity or work identity. The effective cognitive culture they articulate reflects the process of work identity and the affective connative culture which they experience reflects the processes of social identity.

It seems apparent that managers have strongly internalized the processes of primary socialization and have in effect transposed the processes of the small joint family system to the modern, complex and large organizations. Findings by Chowdhary (1970) Chowdhary and Kakkar (1971), Chattopadhyay G (1972:1974:1975), Garg and Parikh (1971) reinforce this observation. This implies that impact of industrialization has not in any significant way helped managers modify their configuration of role concept, role model and the role orientations. The findings of the present research suggests that the managerial cadre more often continues to derive meaning and a sense of security in work organization from closeness, inclusion and identification with the significant and powerful individuals of the organization. These as stated earlier are reflections and processes of the traditional agrarian society. Competance at work, and quality and maturity of task based functional relationships in the organization are new ideals but rarely practiced. This suggests that though the partitioning and fragmentation of the life space into two spaces, that of social and work, have become a

a fact, the processes that ought to have emerged in the work organizations have not emerged fully.

The changing nature of technology, increasing size of organization and growing complexity compel both organizations and managers to focus on multiple levels of task authority. Some managers tend to accept this by operational decentralization and with strong centralization at the policy level. Similarly, impact of education, urbanization and modernisation which tends to create and foster working with peers reinforces the creation and modification in the managers to re-examine the traditional differentiation of their role and hierarchy. There is a cognitive awareness and the demand from the nature of the task for the managers to manage their personal differences and work toward arriving at joint decisions and actions in task settings.

The double-bind of organization culture where at one level there is a pull toward the task in the name of performance and business criteria pushes the managers to reflect and work with processes of Work Identity, whereas the reinforcement in terms of evaluation and reward and punishment pull the managers to respond with the processes of Social Identity. The manager is caught on a see-saw, He cannot move in either direction with conviction. The see-saw will continue to operate as long as organization culture continue to foster the processes and orientations of socio-psychological role space in the sector of role and interpersonal relations. However, the nature of the task in the work organization may demand processes which are more in keeping with the processes and orientations of socio-temporal role space. This would make the emergence of work identity difficult. The individuals will then respond with only partial modifications.

The organization culture may demand and foster processes and orientations which are more in keeping with the processes and orientations of socio-temporal role space, in inter-personal relations as well as task situations. This would demand change from the individuals in their processes and orientations towards work identity. The individuals may respond to this need of change in an experimental manner. The consistency in organization messages and processes of reinforcement for such a change would be necessary for effective change. However, the change may also result in only partial modifications on part of the individual. In such a situation the managers will continue to act without conviction and have convictions without/courage, to act.

With the impact of the technological ethos organizations have adopted modern and complex, technology, the credo of professional management, and evolved new structural forms of the organization. Yet the organizations continue to encourage and foster processes which makes managers respond with their deeply internalized processes of the primary systems. This suggests that increasing adoption of modern complex technology, sets up a situation where efficiency and effectiveness of the organization rests with the processes and orientations that go with the processes of work identity. However, the administrative processes, the organization of work design and the structural forms imposed on the organizations seem to cathect with the deeply ingrained role coordinates associated with the processes of social identity. Thus it seems that while the Indian society succeeds in identifying the social tasks, goals and responsibilities realistically,

plans for these effectively and objectively and acquires proper tools and technologies, it fails to generate congruent processes in the systems for coordinating actions.

Obviously the emergence of Work Identity is partial. It can only become operationalized when there is congruence between role orientation, and demands of the organization which is reinforced by organizational cultures. Whenever their primary sense of security and belonging is threatened the manager regresses to the traditional processes of Social Identity. The processes of Work Identity may be enhanced and reinforced when the manager's role concept and role model and the organizational model to which the role concept and role model are related in the minds of the managers be simultaneously congruent. Furthermore, this process can be initiated by the education system, reinforced by the work organizations and modifications attempted through training programmes for organization and individual effectivity.

The managers if they want to keep pace with the increasing complexity need to adapt continuously to this change. The managers in such a growing system need to add not only skills and techniques but need also to add relevant attitudes and processes.

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