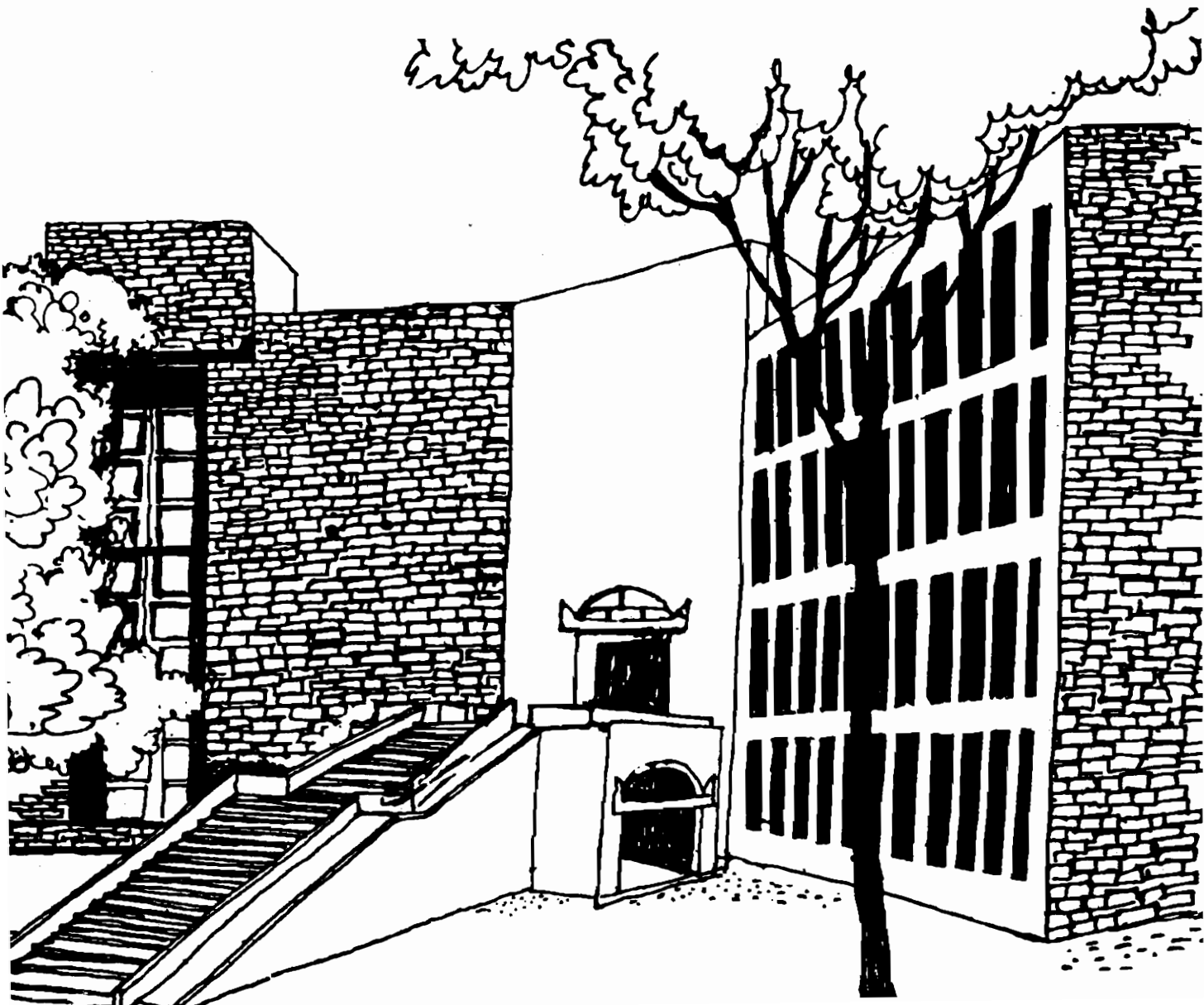




# Working Paper



APPROACHES TO INSTITUTION BUILDING

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## APPROACHES TO INSTITUTION BUILDING

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### Abstract

This paper traces the history of Behavioural Science approaches in India. The paper examines the task centered, and identity centered approach to organization development. It differentiates between the institutional and structural modalities of organizations. The institutional modality has philosophy, mission, aim, direction and resource energy, while the organization has concept of business, policy, strategy, tasks/targets, roles and performance and evaluation and rewards. These two are integrated with management control systems and sentient systems. If these are well integrated then wholesome organizations emerge with processes of coordination and control, autonomy and discretion, organizational learning, renewal and regeneration and finally for individual a sense of belonging, mobilization of their resources and commitment. This further leads to organization processes of correspondence, convergence, coherence and congruence for task efficiencies. Indian organizations require IB processes so that organizations and individuals become dynamic and wholesome.

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## **APPROACHES TO INSTITUTION BUILDING**

### **Part-I: The Organizational Scenario : The Beginners**

In 1978 a set of professionals - Scholars and Managers got together to share and review their experiences of designing and implementing behavioural science programmes ranging from Motivational training, Conflict Resolution, Team Building, Leadership, and many others generally grouped under the rubric of Organization Development. After 10-20 years of experimentations in the above kind of programmes, they have come to hold some doubts about relevance and efficacy of these approaches in the Indian setting. The feedback from organizations has also been characterized with certain degree of reserve and ambivalence.

These Scholars and Managers represented several traditions of theoretical approaches to the design and implementation of the above kind of programmes. Their approaches varied from T-Group, Transactional Analysis and to the group relations of Tavistock. These Scholars and Managers were trained in Sociology, Anthropology, Psychology and Management and Organizational Theory. They were also dissatisfied by the framework for action provided by these disciplines. Discussions and analysis of their own experience led these Scholars and Managers to state:-

- (a) Adaptation and adoption of western social scientific theory and behavioural science models are adequate for manifest problems in Indian organizations. However, a large part of contextual and cultural reality of Indian organizations seem to remain unexplored.

- (b) A search for perspectives, designs and theory which takes into account the historical canvas of Indian culture and its convergence into current reality. The current Indian organization reality is characterized by the interplay of several streams of ethos and pathos in the Indian psyche. It is necessary to understand the dynamics of living organizations in India.
  
- (c) Currently both technologies - Production and Management have been borrowed from the west. Moreover, actual management processes and practices display orientations, attitudes and modes of defining situations which are deeply rooted in the historic canvas of Indian culture.
  
- (d) This creates a fragmentation between the designed organization structure and processes and the emergent organization structure and processes. Cognitively stated organization structure, rules and regulations, and other management systems do not match with the operational practices.
  
- (e) In spite of various kinds of inputs through organization development the organizations continue to confront the same set of problems. Their history reveals that these problems are recurrent and persistent. This is one reason why many managements believe that man rarely changes. The recurrent problems also confirm their beliefs and theory X. They see cohesion and use of management prerogatives as the best way to manage organizations.

During the review the assembled members found that organizations in India as well as in other ex-colonial countries, reflect certain

characteristics. These are:

*1. Between the Formal Structure and the Operational Structure*

The distribution of power and authority in the organization according to the formal structure were at variance with the location of power and authority in the operational structure. (We rejected the label informal structure because it has acquired a special meaning in social science terminology. We prefer to call it either operational structure or the emergent structure).

*2. Between the Formulated Organization Processes and Culturally Determined Organization Processes*

The organization processes of policy, strategy and structure logically inherent in the statements are spelled out in various documents, manuals and formal settings. They are available cognitively and logically. But the organization processes which operate in the actual governance and management remain rooted in the cultural and historical context. Consequently, in the midst of cognitive clarity there is a lot of confusion in making choices for actions. Managers often tend to guide themselves by expediency or sensing the mind of their bosses. The sources of the above two fragmentations could be traced to two dynamisms.

- a. The dynamism which is alive in operation, are the emotive and cognitive maps and the world view brought from the agrarian, dairy and craft cultures. Those cultures were geared to survival with clusters of ethnic groups.

- b. The dynamism of the cognitive maps internalized through the induction of Western world view and anchored in the new technology. The accompanying emotive maps of this world view were neither available nor clear. Most often they were also rejected as they were felt as threats to the values of Indian society.

## **Part II : Review of Organization Development**

The scope of organization development is quite broad. At one end it is concerned with individual, his role and its linkages, leadership style, his values, expectations, perception of the organization and his personal attitudes and feelings. At the other end it is concerned with the structure, distribution of power, patterns of authority, managerial styles, task systems, work flows, distribution of authority, boundaries and territories. In the middle somewhere, it deals with the nature of dyads, inter-groups and intra-group dynamics. It deals with issues of task performance, integration of the individual in the organization, and organization values and culture. It draws upon several disciplines of behavioural science as well as several technologies. Almost all behavioural science inputs, sometimes drastically different and even incongruent are treated as organization development. Truly speaking organization development is a magician's hat from which anything and everything that is needed for performance can be pulled out. However, there is a historical sequence that suggests evolution as organizations have grown and matured. Large part of the theoretical constructs as well as the technologies of organizational development were evolved and tested in the West. They have been transposed to India and the third world countries often in their direct forms. Occasionally the so called



attempts to adapt and adopt to Indian conditions have been made but the basic metaphor and assumptions have remained the same. Our attempts to classify and order in the vast canvas led us to evolve in the matrix given in the Table-1.

Figure-1

Matrix of Organization Development

Task	1 -Theories of need and motivation -Herzberg, -McClelland and others -Industrial Hygiene -Motivational Training	2 -Role clarity, -locus of control, responsibility and accountability -Burns & Stalker, Lawrence & Lorsch -Blake & Mouton, MBO -Managerial Grid	6 -Socio-technical systems/contingency theories -A.K.Rice, Lorsch & Lawrence -Differentiation Integration -Redesigning Structures
Organization	3 -Human Relations Mao Lickert, Argyris, Bennis -Leadership style, -Management style -Integrating individual with organizations	5 -Management of Intergroup differences -Beckhard Conflict Resolution, Team Building	7
Culture	4 -Clarifying tasks processes and values -Several approaches ranging from systems to group relations -Building collaboration/cooperation	8	9

Adapted from Garg, Pulin K., and Parikh, Indira J., Value Centred Approaches to Organization Development Mimeo. IIM, Ahmedabad, 1981.

The contents of cell 1,2,3 can be grouped together under one rubric. We labeled it as task-centered OD. Similarly the contents of cell 4,5,6 can be grouped together. We labeled it system/interaction-centred OD. The contents of the cell 7,8,9 do not have any clear cut approach available in the Western theoretical systems. Statements about value building and bringing about change in culture are often made. However, the technology and theoretical constructs deployed for it are only extensions of the system-interaction-centered OD. Of late the focus has shifted to study of the symbols, cognitive maps and organization identity. However, no distinct theories have emerged.

#### *The Task-Centered OD*

The task-centered OD treats the organization as a system of tasks which have to be carried out by people. The tasks are assumed to be comparatively stable though they may change with growth in size and technology. The tasks are organized in terms of functions and departments. Strategies and business variables may change but the internal tasks continue to be held as stable. Organizations address themselves to two kinds of recurrent problems. One set of recurrent problems is stated in terms of 'apathy-motivation'; 'supervision-control' 'initiative-leadership' and 'performance-job satisfaction'. The second set of recurring problems is stated in terms of 'job description-role clarity'; 'responsibility-authority'; 'job evaluation-performance appraisal' and finally 'issues of work design-hygiene conditions'.

Over-all task-centered OD can be identified with the assumptions of classical and scientific management theory as modified and extended by theory of Management by Objectives and initial constructs of human relations movement.

### *Interaction/System-Centered OD*

Interaction/system-centered OD treats the organization as a network of interacting and interdependent roles. It has two streams.

The first stream focuses on the feeling structure of the individuals. The basic assumption is that the structures and the managerial policies of the organization create inevitable constraints. These constraints create stress which generate reactive feelings in the role holders in interaction with each other. The reactive feelings precipitate dysfunctional role attitudes and stances.

Organizations, then, become arenas of interpersonal and inter-departmental conflicts. The number of inter-departmental memos increase. Communication processes become inadequate and diffused. Many role holders of the organization get caught in struggles for power to control larger portions of organization resources. Problems tend to get referred upward. Organization cooperation and collaboration decrease. Management by crisis becomes a major trend.

The thrust of OD in this stream is to help individuals process their reactive feelings in order to understand their sources within themselves and their impact in their interactions with other roles. The assumption is that the individual through his earlier socialization brings the organization modes of perception, feelings and action. These influence his role stances. The objective of OD is to help the individual to examine these feelings in the context of role, task and interaction and to discover new congruences within himself to modify his role stances.

Here the OD could be called a process of resocializing the individuals in the organization and its culture. It emphasizes the construct of empathy, listening values of trust, autonomy, authenticity and internality.

The second stream focuses on the group processes and not on the reactive feelings of the individual. In fact, management of these feelings is left to the individual. The group process highlights the issue of role taking in terms of technology, task and territory of their boundaries. The primary concern is to make the individual understand how his internal structures unwittingly and compulsively continue to distort the reality of the task, territory and boundaries. The focus is to let the individual discover modalities of operating with the authority given within the boundary and modes of negotiating across boundaries.

Both streams of interactional OD use 'here and now' data of behaviour as available in the learning situations created by OD programmes. The technology is called the process work and the OD expert makes interventions on the on-going transactions in the learning situations. The idea is to create for the individual a choice to re-calibrate his feeling structure and to discover management of his self in his role.

In our attempts to explore the nature and sources of various fragmentations operating in the organization we found that the above two kinds of OD was of very little help. We found ourselves grappling with beliefs, values, definitions and concepts of and about the organization held by people at different levels of management. Many of these beliefs, values and definitions appeared near echoes of beliefs, values,

definitions and concepts as available in the wider culture of Indian society. They were being deployed in experiencing the realities of the organizations and the behaviour of the management. This was being done even when direct evidence contrary to the beliefs was available to the role holders. When pushed to examine these contradictions the role holders often countered by saying that appearances are not really true. Management says and behaves in one way but its policies and decisions are governed by other set of motives. According to them management always held cards up their sleeves and operates with the principle of half disclosure. This configuration of data seems to belong to cell 7,8 and 9. We struggled with the configuration of this data over a few years and gradually developed a new approach of OD. We called it the value-centered OD.

The value-centered OD was developed by professionals of Indian Society for Individual and Social Development (ISISD). It treats the organizations as a complex network of beliefs, definitions of situations and value-assumptions. These are anchored in the living interfaces between the elements of the organization and its internal as well as external environment. The study of these interfaces covered three configurations of data.

*a. The Organization History and its Imprint*

This included many beliefs and definitions as to what is the reality and what is possible and not possible in the organization. It included proverbial wisdom of how things happen. Many of these were in the nature of living myths of the organization. We grouped these as the content of

the cell no. 7 where the organization and structure interface. We labeled it the cell of Definitions of Organizations. Eventually this cell crystallizes into a network of belief, some idealistic, some normative but mostly historic. These beliefs then define and determine the boundaries of the framework within which meanings of what is happening in organization are arrived at. This framework also operates in making critical choices. All these put together create forces for continuity and consistency in the organization identity. These forces then become conditions to resist changes. Causal Maps of success and failure get grounded in these definitions. It blocks the management i.e. the senior and top role holders from utilizing a large and wide variety of organization learning available at lower levels. Their thinking becomes 'technocratic' i.e. a tendency to apply through generalization of old modes of success as techniques to all situations without critical appraisal of their reality. A whole set of preferred solutions become indexed and manualized in the minds of these people. The logic of the preferred solutions get embedded in the techniques of doing things. Eventually, organizations block the ability to sense and intuit and fail to innovate.

*b. The Formal Structure, Business Policy and Practices*

Here we found ourselves confronting the differences of concept of organization, definition of situations, meanings of work and concept of roles as held by role holders and the concept of organization, definitions of situations, meanings of work and concept of roles as defined by the formal structures, policies and practices. In their interfacing most of the fragmentations mentioned earlier become

activated. The interfaces eventually acquired the quality of conflict either within the individual role holders or across role holders. Consequently, the organization became a network of recurrent problems that remained unresolved and persisted in spite of all kinds of inputs by the management. We grouped these interfaces in the cell no. 8 and called the cell - 'Perspectives'. These perspectives define the quality of social distances, hierarchies, job boundaries and meaning of work for the employee in the organization. Furthermore, they determined the quality of transactions between role holders, between departments and between functions. The nature of transactions often became frozen into pre-determined sets of expectations and demands and counter-expectations and demands. A general tendency to fight over resource allocation begins. Departmental goals tend to over-ride super-ordinate and corporate goals. Individualized or departmental power became more important than corporate success and shared achievements. Fight over ownership of organization task became frequent. Generally the production and the marketing claim the ownership of the task and relegate all other departments into a category called - 'Services' who are then threatened by deprivation of authority and feel marginalized. The response of the role holders in these departments is then to exercise their authority through rigidity of manuals and rules and regulations. Eventually, the organizations get into modes of working through one crisis after another. The situation in the organization can be best depicted by the following scheme.

Figure-II

Relationship between the Administrative and Technical Departments under Arbitration Model

		Service Department		
		Organization condition	Routine	Crisis
Production or Technical Department	Routine		Apathy	Conflict
	Crisis		Conflict	Forced cooperation

Adapted from Garg, Pulin K. and Parikh, Indira J.,  
Corporate Culture of India

*c. The Culture of the Organization*

Here we found ourselves concerned with the macro culture of the Indian society with its various strands. The Indian culture operated with great potency through the role holders in the micro culture of the organization as defined by the formal structures, policy and practices. The difference between the two created another kind of interface conflict: The emotive maps of the wider culture triggered organizational behaviour which was different from the behaviour that the cognitive maps of the structure and work realities demanded. When role holders were confronted with difference they often provided rationalizations for the



choice. Quite a few also acted as if the observed difference is just a fig of imagination of the other person whose real motivation was to discredit and accuse the role holder. The diversity of configuration of macro culture among the role holders were not always convergent. This created a flux which made it difficult for the management to cope by a unified policy. Hence, the management through its persistence tended to impose some kind of boundaries. Within these boundaries the management tried to create what they called the organization culture.

The organization culture was often stated in value assumptions of leadership styles, desired managerial qualities, issues of loyalty, commitment, belonging and finally in one big grand statement of intentions of being a 'Big Happy Family'. We grouped this data in the cell no. 9 and called it the 'Meanings'. It dealt with the organization ethos, value assumptions and beliefs in being a single organization. In actual operation the meanings of the organization differed widely at different levels of management and in different functions of management. However, a semblance of one single culture and one single family was often created by setting up the top person as a charismatic leader. He, then, through his foresight, multi-directional vision and acute vigilance was expected to keep the organization together. The organization scenario was often like a herd of goats running helter-skelter in every direction and the shepherd, the charismatic leader struggling to make them a herd and to move them into the desired direction for the organization.

Matrix of Organization Development

Task	<p>1</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Theories of need and motivation</li> <li>-Herzberg,</li> <li>-McClelland and others</li> <li>-Industrial Hygiene</li> <li>-Motivational Training</li> </ul>	<p>2</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Role clarity,</li> <li>-locus of control, responsibility and accountability</li> <li>-Burns &amp; Stalker, Lawrence &amp; Lorsch</li> <li>-Blake &amp; Mouton, MBO</li> <li>-Managerial Grid</li> </ul>	<p>6</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Socio-technical systems/contingency theories</li> <li>-A.K.Rice, Lorsch &amp; Lawrence</li> <li>-Differentiation</li> <li>-Integration</li> <li>-Redesigning Structures</li> </ul>
Organization	<p>3</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Human Relations</li> <li>Mao Lickert, Argyris, Bennis</li> <li>-Leadership style,</li> <li>-Management style</li> <li>-Integrating individual with organizations</li> </ul>	<p>5</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Management of Intergroup differences</li> <li>-Beckhard</li> <li>Conflict Resolution, Team Building</li> </ul>	<p>7</p> <p>Definitions and Maps of Organization and Institution</p>
Culture	<p>4</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Clarifying tasks processes and values</li> <li>-Several approaches ranging from systems to group relations</li> <li>-Building collaboration/cooperation</li> </ul>	<p>8</p> <p>Perspectives and Philosophy of Institution</p>	<p>9</p> <p>Meanings and Value of Institution</p>

In the area of definitions, perspectives and meanings, the value-centered approach of OD addresses itself to two issues:

1. To initiate the processes to discover and to bring to surface the degree of congruence and incongruence and convergence and divergence between the 'Definitions of Situation' held by the individuals at

different levels of organization. The lack of congruence and convergences then could be processed towards search of alternatives so that the 'Definitions of the Situation' could converge 'across level in terms of the operational realities of the organization.

2. To promote, evolve and stabilize in organizations processes of review and re-alignment of definitions, perspectives and meanings. The objective is to create convergence and coherence in different elements of the organization so that the embedded recurrent problems can be dealt at the source rather than be managed from outside. Furthermore, the approach attempts to free the organization from excessive dependency on a charismatic leader and move towards corporate leadership of individuals who are geared to foster the organization into another era of prosperity, diversification and growth.

The three kinds of OD approaches can be called as attempts to build organization climate and culture within their own limited assumptions. All the three approaches diagnose organization health, identity and state of the organization and design strategies of inputs to create fresh synergy and dynamism so that organization can meet the demands of the internal and the external environment. Our experiences with all the three modalities led us to believe that these approaches lead only to partial management of the cumulative, unintended consequences of the primary fragmentations. These fragmentations, however, persist because no new primary definition emerges. In our experiences these approaches create re-calibrations, re-orientations and some re-alignments but the contextual framework and its constituents remain unprocessed and forever

alive. A primary change is rarely achieved.

At the end of all this search, we were convinced that the primary definitions and fragmentations are located in the identity of the individual and the organization. We also recognized that the identity is not a structural concept but a process concept. It is constituted by the four processes, namely, the meaning making, choice making, role taking and replenishing of the context of Being and Becoming of the individual and the organization. The access to these processes has to be discovered. Furthermore, the constituents that determine the quality of these processes have to be identified. This led us to explore into the nature of emotive and cognitive maps and their interplay in the identity.

### **Part III : The Emotive and Cognitive Maps - A Cultural Perspective**

Our processing of experiential data and our study of the available literature suggested that the core processes of individual and organization identity in the third world countries are deeply rooted in the meaning making, choice making, role taking and replenishing processes defined by the world view of the agrarian, dairy and craft modalities of organizing life-space. The dominant world view defines the concept of relatedness, meanings of work, the concept of social and business tasks, concept of systems and organizations, values, aspirations and future visions of Being and Becoming. All these grounded in the ethos and form a distinct collage which holds a certain degree of convergence, congruence and coherence. The collage overtime crystallizes in what we call the emotive maps.

In these cultures geo-physical and ethnic societies flourished where the level of technology was of moderate level. All the produce - agricultural, were sequential conversion processes determined by simplistic technology. The production centres were usually one person or a family operations. The operation of the society was heavily located in the context of the geo-physical resources and ethno-cultural beliefs on the one hand and family context (samskaras) on the other hand. Both of these defined the community structure and the individual's locations in it. As such the role taking processes of the members - men, women and children were clearly delineated. Boundaries of economic transactions, boundaries of relatedness and belonging were well-defined. Expectations from the systems and organizations as well as from individuals were clear. So were the responses one could make to frustration, anxiety, stress, failure, shame and such other experiences in life. All these were then woven into beliefs, myths, values, rituals and customs.

This process eventually culminated into a super-structure defined by certain cognitive maps and logic. The emotive maps and the cognitive maps operated in tandem. Certain primary assumptions about the nature of man, nature of collectivity and the nature relationship helped maintain a congruence and convergence between the emotive and the cognitive maps. This process sustained the societies and the culture without serious fragmentations. Of course, from time to time, new strands of emotive and cognitive maps entered from outside. The forces of the tandem of cultural emotive and cognitive maps provided a quality of reserve and resilience which allowed both the individuals and the systems to re-calibrate emergent diversities of inputs into convergence and

congruence.

Our study suggests the following four kinds of basic assumptions linking the emotive and cognitive maps of the agrarian society of India. These are:

1. The collectivity has to be a 'culture-state. A 'nation-state' is nothing to do with the structure of the community or the processes of day-to-day living. It is at best a distant governance where multiple 'culture-states' are held together by the political power. This power can claim resources and support but does not intervene in the culture-state of the communities and the day-to-day living processes.
2. The community structure is to be grounded in the processes and metaphor of interdependence of social and task relationships, work and social identity, system and self and finally of individual roles and community roles. This assumption called for an active effort to evolve and maintain psychological equations across social distances and work hierarchies constituting the community.
3. The individual has to manage primary and secondary ambivalences of experiences with individuals and systems through an active struggle to establish his personal location in the network of community and family relationships. He has to struggle with discovering of his 'oughts' in the face of many 'shoulds' and 'musts'. His choices have to be active. He has to continuously define what is his 'kartavya' and 'akartavya'.

4. Systemic authority can never be created, usurped and extended. It can only be inherited. Individuals are allocated role authority. They share in the membership of the system but systemic authority is also allocated to second order roles, i.e. community roles. The community roles are never fixed. Depending upon the nature of interfaces of the community with the environment as well as within newer roles could emerge. These community roles may not be occupied by the same people or their progeny forever.

Somewhere in the late nineteenth century a new induction from the West began. This induction was centered around the cognitive maps of econo-political ideology - a new technology. The world view underlying these cognitive maps was drastically different. To begin with it could be contained within the emotive and cognitive maps and the 'super-structure' carried from the agrarian era. However, with the actualization of political independence after the World War II, the new induction gathered rapid momentum. In its wake began the thrust for technical education, mass education, heavy industrialization and the dominance of the metaphor of techno-economic development. All these invoked new aspirations and new meanings of work. The cognitive maps provide new models of super-structures for social behaviour. The metaphor of this super-structure was independence. The anchor of this independence was the individual himself and not his group any more. It was a counter point of the metaphor of interdependence. This induction also substituted the culture-state by nation-state as the focal point of all governance. The nation-state introduced the concept of federal integration of economic entities competing for limited resource of the nation.

The new induction brought about various kinds of basic changes in the community structure and relationships between people. Some of these are important.

1. By replacing human energy in the use of technology and substituting it with steam, thermal and hydro-electric energy, the basic relationship of a man with machine and production processes were changed. Man became a mere operator of machines and manager of production processes.
2. Introduction of distinct and separate structural formats and processes for each sub-system of the society i.e. family, neighbourhood and community disturbed the pattern of interdependence between the individual and his systems. The individual could not carry his socialization from one system to others. He needed re-socialization in each sub-system. His expectations in relationship with individuals, the group, the system and the collectivity got separately bounded. In each setting the nature of expectations had to be negotiated.
3. The togetherness of task and social systems got fragmented into private and public and into formal and informal. The dynamics of both these systems was entirely different. The formal and the public got governed by the cognitive maps and the logic of the new inductions. The private and the informal which were anchored in emotive maps remained untouched because the emotive maps of the new induction were neither clearly available nor acceptable. The



individual got fragmented. He became - "A Janus" - i.e. a two faced person. This sowed the seeds of suspicion and distrust in relationships, made people prone to do motivational analysis of other people's behaviour. Most relationships became insecure.

4. The quality of membership in the system also got fragmented. The individual became an employee in the task system. His membership in the social system continued to be governed by the emotive maps of traditional culture. These very often did not match. Consequently, the individual learned to feel helpless in both the systems.
  
5. Individual became the anchor of his own life-space and as such faced the conflict of goals and choices. As against using ambivalence constructively for discovering the 'oughts' and acting from convictions the individual became the battle ground of choices to establish his relevance and location in multiple communities simultaneously. For the first time loneliness and isolationism became a living quality of life. One of the most dysfunctional product of this process has been the disowning of responsibility and partnership of managing the community requirements. All community resources have to be created and managed by the nation-state. Individuals became victims of expediency and got geared to extract from the system. They disowned the responsibility of replenishing the context of living.

Consequently, most individuals who could not even sense the quality of the emotive maps of the new ethos picked up the slogans of independence, freedom of choice, equality of all people in society and

many other similar aspects. In their search for these they very often acted from the processes of their emotive maps. Eventually, the societies became saturated with a very peculiar admixture' and juxtapositions of emotive and cognitive maps of the two ethos.

The two metaphors - the metaphor of 'INTERDEPENDENCE' and the metaphor of 'INDEPENDENCE' - sustained by different kinds of emotive and cognitive maps and the world views created a flux. The societies not only lost coherence and convergence but developed a tendency to set up a whole set of new goals and to pursue them relentlessly by borrowing of technology and resources from outside. The sense of direction got diffused; processes of priority setting were put aside and processes of integration of the national community never evolved. Consequently, the parochial and ethnic processes of culture state continue to operate only to precipitate dis-integrative processes in the national community.

In retrospect, we realized that the lack of availability of emotive maps of the new inductions and the inherent conflict between the two sets of cognitive maps are the major sources of most of the problems offered by the organizations for behavioural solutions. Our attempts to deal with these issues led us to explore some other aspects of cultural canvas. The first discovery was that of the difference between the task and sentient systems of the traditional culture.

#### **Part IV : Discovery of Task and Sentience Systems**

Data from our personal experiences, experiences in the groups and from the vast literature and social history led us to realize that these

agrarian cultures in societies operated with another quality of inter-dependence between task systems and sentient systems. The super-structure defined the Task Systems of the Society. The task-system was governed by well-designed structure and rules and regulations. It operated with the quality of shoulds and musts. It defined the 'givens' and generated certain compulsions in the role holders. Deviations could be censored or punished. However, behind the task systems defined by the super-structure, the community as a whole fostered sentient systems which nurtured the primary relatedness, interdependences and sense of belonging between people of diverse locations in the super-structure. The sentient systems supported the individuals in managing the inevitable ambivalences of experiences so that they could use it constructively to find their convictions to act from. These sentient systems covered a wide spectrum of universe of feelings and values. They also provided management of feelings that were inevitable responses to the rigidity of the super-structure. Our study of these systems suggested that they were essential for sustaining the inter-dependences of the community structure and the over-all life-space. We identified several of them. Here we describe two significant sentient systems in detail:

- a. *Sentient Systems of Catharsis*: These systems allowed individuals an opportunity and a place in the yearly life-cycle to discharge in public the negative reactive feelings of anguish, pain and anger. Some of these opportunities and places acquired the status of festivals where individuals could break their role boundaries and act with some license towards some other roles. The system was well-bounded and almost ritualized. For example, Holi, the Hindu festival is one such system. In the rural society of India and other

countries of the third world we have identified several such systems of catharsis.

- b. *Systems of Absolving Shame:* The process of living in any society may cause failures. Sometimes individuals infringe some strongly held belief or value of the community. They may act in a manner which may bring shame as well as some guilt. We identified several sentient systems through which the individual who has infringed a cardinal value and has become victim of guilt and shame could absolve himself and rehabilitate himself primarily in his own eyes and secondarily in the eyes of others. A whole host of ritual 'prayashchit' are available in Indian society. This is true of Hindus, Muslims, Christians and others equally. For example, the Christian confession is a system of absolving shame and atoning guilt. The only difference is that in most societies other than Christian the 'prayashchit' may have to be carried out in public forums.

Besides these two which needed some elaboration there were also systems to foster belonging, togetherness, surrender of role and its authority, establishing of psychological equations across social distances and hierarchies and sharing of resources. Some of the most interesting sentient systems dealt with induction and inclusion of individuals from other systems into the community and family systems.

As we studied these systems of sentience we realized that these systems reinforce the philosophy, the ethos and the mission underlying the world view. They also re-set aims and directions of the society. But their primary thrust was to sustain and reinforce the synergy of the

society. These sentient systems were the major elements to create congruence, convergence and coherence of the emotive and cognitive maps.

As we looked at the sentient systems and the task systems we realized that the concept of an organization and society needs to be reviewed. According to our understandings all societies and organizations have two modalities.

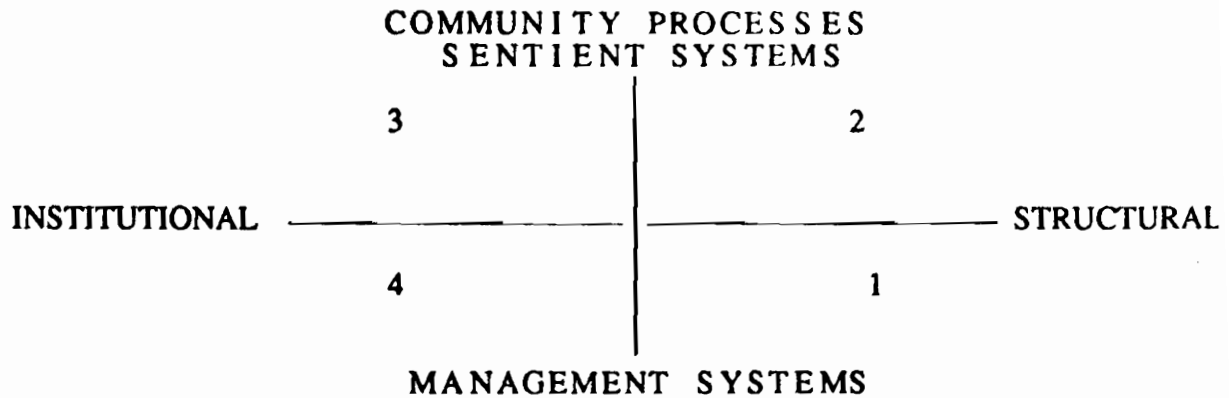
1. Institutional
2. Structural

The institutional modality is constituted by the philosophy, the mission, the direction, the aim and finally by the resource energy. The structural modality is constituted by the concept of business task, strategy and objectives, tasks and targets, roles and performance and finally evaluation and rewards.

The structural modality needs management system to support its operations. The institutional modality needs sentient system for its unfolding. These two modalities and their systems can be put into a scheme to represent the universe of an organization or society:

Figure-III

Model of Institutional Organization



In the light of the new concept of society and organization as being constituted by two different modalities operating in tandem we looked at the state of Indian organizations and the society at large. It was obvious that induction in the western technology, econo-political ideology and cognitive maps has largely eroded the institutional modality of the agrarian society on the one hand and failed to develop an institutional modality for the inducted ethos.

In actual operations in the organization we found that the management focuses entirely on the structural modality and its accompaniment - the management systems. The philosophy, mission, the direction, aim and synergy are articulated at induction forums and in policy statements by the Chairmen and MDs at public forums. But they are rarely activated as processes in organizations because no sentient systems are initiated in the work organizations. The statement of philosophy, mission, aims and directions often end up as sermons, slogans and occasionally as injunctions by which people can be rallied in crisis.

As such, most Indian organizations operate only as "Structures of Work" and not as wholesome organizations. When we looked at our data we found that in most of the organizations only the quadrant 1 is ever actualized. The other three quadrants are left in the lap of the top man from whom their actualization can only flow as patronage.

To spell out the matrix of the wholesome organization, we tend to realize that the quadrant 1 is the focus of co-ordination and control. It is one of the essential aspects of any organization. However, it cannot be an exclusive focus of the organization. In Indian organizations which we call the structures of work this quadrant gets greatest and almost exclusive attention of management and the other three are neglected.

In a wholesome organization quadrant 3 directly opposite the 1 is the locus where the processes of belonging, mobilization and commitment operate. In the neglect of this quadrant Indian organizations often fail to invoke either commitment or belonging. They very often bemoan the lack of commitment, belonging, loyalty and such aspects in the newer generations of professionals. They often talk of how commitment, belonging and loyalty were the hallmark of people in organization in olden days. They do not recognize the contextual processes which were operative during those days in organizations. As such they feel lost and seek training in motivating people. Finally, their only recourse is to buy people's motivation by perquisites or by threats of firing. Indian organizations today face issues of apathy, lack of commitment and belonging as well as lack of initiative. In our understanding this is because the contextual processes of institutional modality have largely

become eroded.

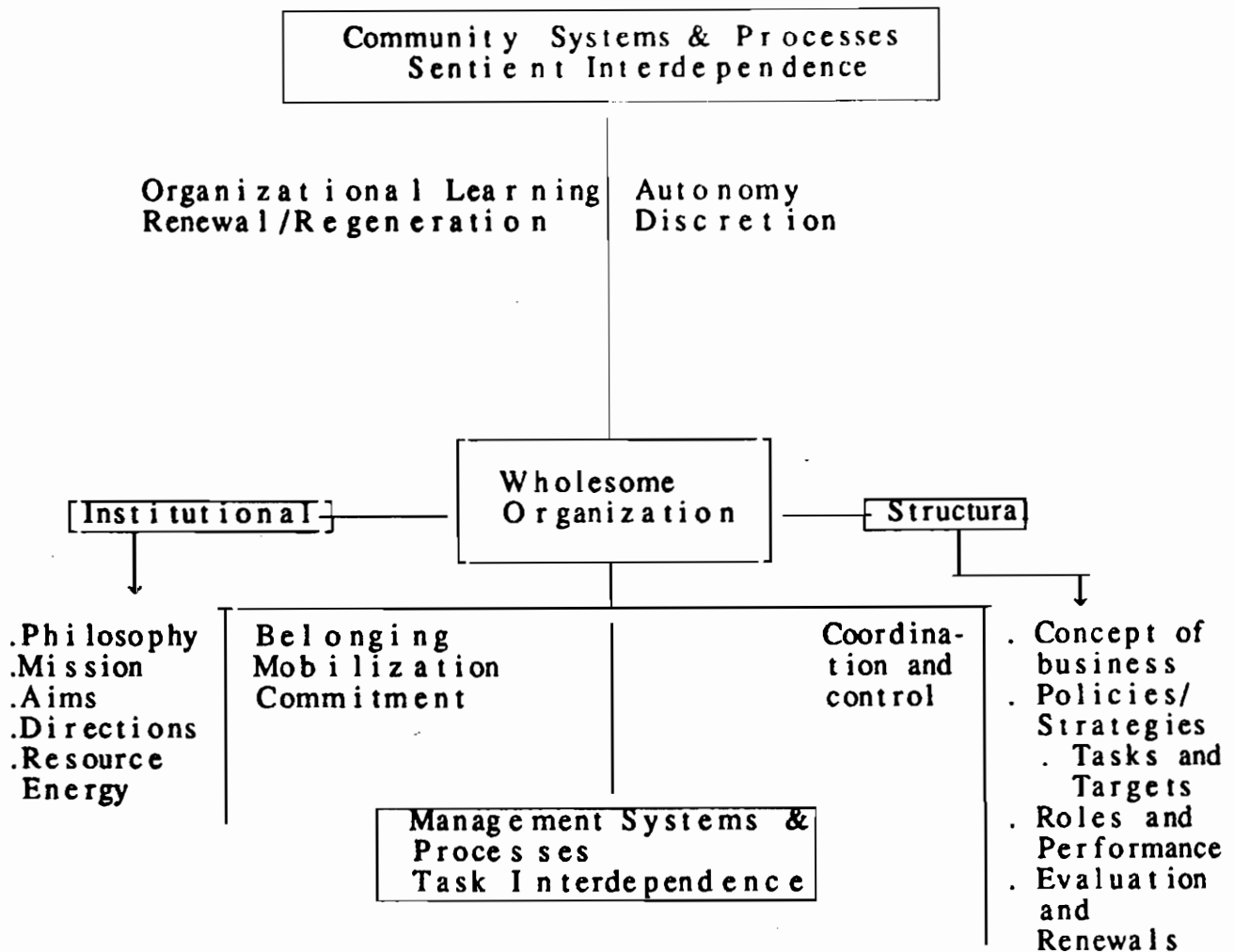
In a wholesome organization quadrant 2 provides the locus of autonomy and discretions of role holders at different levels of task. Actualization of this quadrant in organization provides the role holders choice to take into consideration the changed conditions of their interface and make decisions as well as take autonomous and appropriate actions within the constraints of the policy rather than become mechanical and stick to rules and regulations. In most organizations discretion often gets located in a few power positions and the rest of the people feel helpless. They become mechanical, learn to quote rules and regulations and eventually push all critical issues upward. This reinforces the processes of coordination and control on the one hand and the centralization of power in some positions on the other hand.

In a wholesome organization quadrant 4 directly opposite the 2nd is the space where organization learning from all levels can be mobilized for growth. This learning can help the organizations to shed the victimhood of the history. It can help them remain responsive and open to the environment. It allows for creative options and dynamic reconstruction of the interfaces of the organizations with the environment. In most Indian organizations this quadrant is neglected. As such they get stagnant and rigid. It is difficult to introduce change. In fact many organizations which operate through the fallacies of structure and system changes find that nothing changes in spite of heavy cost of re-designing systems and structures. As such most of the work of the consultants becomes useless. Often their reports become show-pieces and normally gather dust.



Figure - IV

Model of Wholesome Organization



**Part V : Identification of Premises of Institution Building**

The three canvasses discussed above are very condensed versions of our explorations. We realized that Indian organizations, the educated elites of Indian society and newer professionals have developed a disdain for traditional sentient systems. They are seen as primitive residues of a culture bound with superstitions and ignorance. There is no scope for these in an enlightened and emancipated society. This orientation has

systematically eroded the institutional modalities of the society, the organizations and the individuals. Consequently, the society, the organizations and the individual are trying to operate purely in the structural modality where purposiveness, results, performance and all the qualities are highlighted. The structure has become fragile and has to be maintained through cohesion and control. The final results are much below the level of investment of resources. There is a great deal of visible and invisible waste in the functioning of our organizations. The institutional modality which has been wiped out by the over-emphasis of the structural concerns need to be re-built. It cannot be reproduced on the lines of old emotive maps. Obviously the emotive maps grounded in the traditional culture have to be critically appraised and some of them have to be surrendered and others re-deployed in different formats. It also implies that the emotive maps underlying the cognitive maps of the West need to be articulated and converted into such sentient systems which can take roots in the soil where the emotive maps of the past continuity still survive. It implies a search for new integrative processes.

While all this search was going on we have been experimenting with new designs of group work. We labeled our group work as EXPLORATIONS IN IDENTITY and called the technology as the technology of 'I-Group'. Our focus was to create learning situations where the individual could get in touch with his processes of meaning making, choice making, role taking and finally replenishes himself and the system. These four processes are the link processes between identity, culture and the structure of the organization. Work with group after group convinced us that in ultimate analysis the objective of Institution Building is to forge task roots.

Task roots anchored in secondary systems do not get internalized or introjected so easily. The objective of Institution Building is to forge new psychological infra-structures for relevant action. These infra-structures alone can establish a link between the identity of the individual and the organization. Organization Development attempts to modify role actions so that the tasks of the organization can be done more efficiently and effectively. But these modifications do not take roots. As such, under stress most learnings get eroded. And the individual and the organization regress back to old modalities.

We also realized that the cognitive maps from the West with their logic have taken deep roots in our thinking. The emotive maps of Indian tradition may have acquired a fuzziness but are inherent in our psyche through incipient introjection. They still operate with all their potency. As such, the primary fragmentation that has to be processed and worked with is not only between emotive and cognitive maps between structures and institutions but has to be processed at the identity level itself. Based on these understandings we developed four basic premises for institution building at ISISD.

- 1) There is a primary fragmentation in the identity, both of the individual and the organization. The cognitive orientation of the identity is largely Western and the emotive orientation of identity is heavily anchored in the agrarian culture of India.
- 2) Because of this fragmentation most transactions between individual and the organization may be governed by the logic of the cognitive

orientation from the West, but often the final choices of organization get modified by the emotive orientation.

As such, individuals in the organization live in a peculiar situation best described by the Indian Proverb "the elephant has one set of teeth for display and another set for chewing". Behaviourally one hears the logical aspects of policies and practices. Their formulation and modes of implementation are logically stated in documents. This is the organization which is presented to the outsider. Behind all these, the organization is different in action. This can be experienced as you walk through the organization trying to trace the dynamics of any event in the organization. It is revealed in talks held in the galleries, discussed in private conversations where bosses or superiors are absent. This fragmentation then becomes the primary source of ambivalence in the individual. It creates strong doubts and reservations. In crises situations all these latent aspects of the organization come to surface.

The fragmentation then creates problems of convergence and coherence of culture i.e. convergence and coherence in the areas between values and actions; leadership statement and actual style of leadership; self-image and the image held by others; and finally in the interpretation of roles. There are many other dysfunctionalities that flow from this fragmentation.

One of the central and significant steps of Institution Building is to evolve processes in the organization which will make the two kinds

of ethos which will articulate the two kinds of ethos so that they can be available for critical appraisal. Choices then can be made to evolve processes by which relevant and necessary aspects of the two ethos can be linked and made operative with a certain degree of convergence and coherence. Such choices would create new integrations and release a synergy in the organization and create a climate of security and trust between the individual and organization.

The next two premises about institution building reflect the following:

- 3) Independent of the set of people involved, an organization, in its own processes of developing and becoming, acquires an identity of its own. The organization identity is then a result of the history of the organization and particularly the history of choices that the organization has made in order to manage its developmental needs and its interfaces with the environment.

Consequently, organizations get entrenched in the historicity of their own success. In the process the organization tends to interpret situations in over-determined and narrow perspectives. Evaluation of organization and environmental resources become constricted. Preferred solutions begin to be applied to varying situations and problems without relevance to the changed environmental interfaces today. The organization identity and historical entrenchment leads to over-definitions of situations. It also over-determines modes of meeting organization situations, modes of giving meaning to organization events,

and modes of making choices and finally modes of investment in the development of organization.

4) The 4th premise states that due to the various fragmentations and entrenchment in history, organization identity is differently held by successive generations of managers. They learn it cognitively and talk about it. They hardly ever internalize it. Consequently, they continue to operate with the role identity which they have evolved through their earlier social socialization in personal and professional life. In fact, the fragmentations and entrenchment create a set of dynamics which makes it difficult for the individual to experience security as well as negotiability with the organization processes. This becomes the source of inhibiting the individuals identification with the organization. Hence his role play continues to be governed by his past pre-dispositions. The dynamics of fragmentation, historic entrenchment, over-definition of organization identity and lack of integration of individual identity with the organization identity create a scenario where organizations are pushed into the first quadrant of the wholesome organization. So the whole cycle begins again. The processes of control and coordination take over the management of tasks leading back to creation of power centres. Management systems become rigid and the organization processes get entangled with too many versions of rules and regulations. Eventually, a cry goes up in the organization that systems are either not adequate or not applied fairly and equitably. All systems and the superiors become suspects. Large number of people suffer from a sense of discrimination, deprivation and that of being denied their due. Once again another cry goes up in the

Lack of awareness of these premises and therefore incapability to work with these fragmentations has very often set Indian organizations to search for removal of symptoms that are created by a central problem - the problem of primary fragmentation. Organization Development as borrowed from the West got deployed to manage and re-manage the resurgence of symptoms without tackling the problem at the roots. Our review of much of the work in India including our own in the initial years was that organization and behavioural scientist have joined hands to deal with four kinds of fallacies revolving around the symptoms of fragmentation of identity. These are:

- 1) *Structural Fallacy* : This fallacy leads the management to believe that organization problems can be solved by change in the structure. However, while the structure is changed, people who are placed in the roles are the same. As such a structural change really becomes a kind of game of musical chairs, where the forms change but the organization processes remain the same.
  
- 2) *System Fallacy* : Like the above fallacy this leads management to believe that the management systems need to be revised and a new one deployed. The choice of the system is very often not examined in the light of the problems and needs experienced within the transactions. The choice is often made on the logic of the system, its modernity and often upon the basis of its effective utilization by another organization.

3) *People Fallacy* : The third fallacy makes the management feel that some people should be removed or changed. It can be done by either firing, or by pushing them upward through creating designations which are meaningless and have no real work. Such a change, they believe, can solve the problems. In private sector it is easy to fire but in public sector additional designations are often created. However, even after the firing or relocation similar processes tend to reappear in the organization.

4) *Behavioural Training Fallacy* : When all these attempts fail, organizations fall back upon the fourth fallacy i.e. of behavioural training for its people. However, the training programmes are often designed on a cafeteria basis. A little bit of everything is offered to its Managers. The most common programme designs are:

- 1) Motivational Training, 2) Communication, 3) Conflict Resolution,
- 4) Team Building, 5) Leadership Training

Most of these programmes contribute toward an increase in awareness and sensitivity but the actual translation of the training into organization behaviour is rarely achieved. Learning from these programmes becomes another set of cognitive ideas to talk about without doing anything to one's role processes.

## **Part VI : Towards the Theory of Institution Building**



The primary objective of institution building at ISISD then was to help organizations move towards a quality of wholesomeness. Our explorations led us to believe that the search for the quality of wholesomeness will involve the following:

- 1) Understanding the nature of emergent organization.
- 2) Understanding the historic canvas of each organization in the context of the historic canvas of evolution of modern organization in India.
- 3) Understanding the quality of organization processes that really operate with the energy of emotive maps and their distance and difference from the cognitively determined structure and processes.
- 4) Understanding the proverbial wisdom, myths and sagas of each organization.
- 5) Understanding the world view of the organization as held at different levels of management of establishing the differences clearly.
- 6) Understanding the definitions and concepts of organization embedded in the beliefs, proverbial wisdom, myths, sagas and stereotypes of their own organization.
- 7) Understanding of the historic canvas of the organization as constructed by each level of management and clearly establishing the differences in their interpretation.

- 8) Understanding the transaction of management systems with roles and discovering the nature and quality of sentient systems which are transposed from the social systems into the organizations. As an illustration we realized that "Personalization" and "Follow-up" processes are the transpositions of sentient systems from the tradition. In terms of the task system and its logic these are not only illogical but wasteful of lot of energy of the organization.
- 9) Understanding recurrent problems i.e. problems which in spite of repeated efforts of organization persist over five to fifteen years. It also involved understanding how these recurrent problems shift in their linkages with roles and departments as per the change of interface.

We believe that understanding the above can help us to develop a map and the identity of the organization i.e. identify the universe of each of the processes of meaning making, choice making, role taking and replenishment.

In terms of implementation the primary objective of institution building was to help organizations to discover new correspondences, congruences, convergences and coherence between a contextual element of the organization and the figure element. It implied exploration of the task system on the one hand and identification of necessary sentient systems which can mediate and manage effectively the pathos of recurrent problems.

Parikh (1989) developed a schematic representation to conceptualize