



Working Paper



INDIAN ORGANIZATIONS: VALUE DILEMMAS IN
MANAGERIAL ROLE TAKING

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INDIAN ORGANIZATIONS: VALUE DILEMMAS IN MANAGERIAL ROLE TAKING

ABSTRACT

Indian organizations being part of the context of Indian society and culture reflect the juxtaposition of divergent, multiple and heterogenous elements of two diverse cultures. One is the traditional agrarian culture of India and the other is the logical rational and technological culture of the west. This paper explores a historical perspective of shifts in Indian culture as well its impact on organizations. The shifts are results of adoption and enforced implementation of organization structures, management systems and managerial role definitions from western models. These are 1) shifts in relatedness between self and system, 2) shift in role locations, 3) shift in technology, and 4) shift in size and processes of relatedness. These four shifts contributed to the resultant value dilemmas for Indian organizations as well as managerial role taking. These value dilemmas are in terms of actualization of managerial role in the area of responsibility, authority, exercise of authority and leadership and the relationship between men and technology. The paper identifies the unique characteristics of Indian organization and managers and suggests that the juxtaposition of these two cultures where the forms of one and the processes of the other operate in the same space and people leads to the value

dilemmas of role taking. As such the new response and direction of both Indian organization and managers lie in the identification and understanding of the contribution of psycho-cultural context as well as the changing nature of the industrial environment. This process will lead to redefinition and redesigning of both individual roles and organization sets to design new frames and action choices to manage the flux of the two cultures and the resultant value dilemmas. Similarly, this process will contribute to the growth of shared values and perspectives which can mobilise commitment and involvement of organizations and managers for a relevant work ethos in India.

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Introduction

Indian society today holds two distinct ethos. One comes from the traditional culture of India and the other has been internalized from the west. The first is introjected in childhood. It is rooted in emotional associations of growth and operates in an all pervasive subconscious manner. The second is held in rationality of knowledge and operates from a logic base. The choices of action and the quality of relatedness with situations and other persons are invariably influenced by these two ethos. Depending on the involvements with the situation and the distance experienced between the self and the situation either of these ethos becomes the major determinant of choices. For example, the longer the distance experienced between the self and the situation greater is the possibility of the individual postulating a rational choice for himself and for the other individuals. Lesser the distance experienced between the self and the situation greater is the possibility of the individual making a choice from the emotive ethos. Cognitively most individuals respond to the logic and rationality of the western ethos but when it comes to translating those beliefs into action choices within the social settings they respond with the emotive maps anchored in the traditional culture.

This is the crux of value dilemmas in role taking in Indian society. The processes of these value dilemmas operate in the micro organizations also. This paper discusses the universe of these value dilemmas encountered by Indian managers.

Indian organizations being part of Indian society and culture reflect the same scenario of juxtaposition of divergent, multiple and heterogenous elements of two diverse cultures. In India one can find organizations which operate with technologies of 1890s along with the most computerised one. Similarly organizations hold a managerial population which is diverse and heterogenous as well as highly parochial. There are organizations which are assemblages of small units and organizations which are mammoth in size, technology and workforce. Indian corporations can range from being private, public, and joint sector units or strictly international units. At another level the same organizations display different structural forms, variety of management systems, variations in leadership styles and processes of managerial role taking. In a way each Indian organization is a micro-unit but its organization phenomenology reflects and represents a macro-cosmic aspect of Indian society today.

The authors found the Indian organization scenario a rich and a fertile context both as applied behavioural scientists and organization theorists to engage for deciphering as to what constitutes an Indian organization? What are their unique characteristics and how such a vast divergence is managed for results? The authors believed that Indian organizations must be

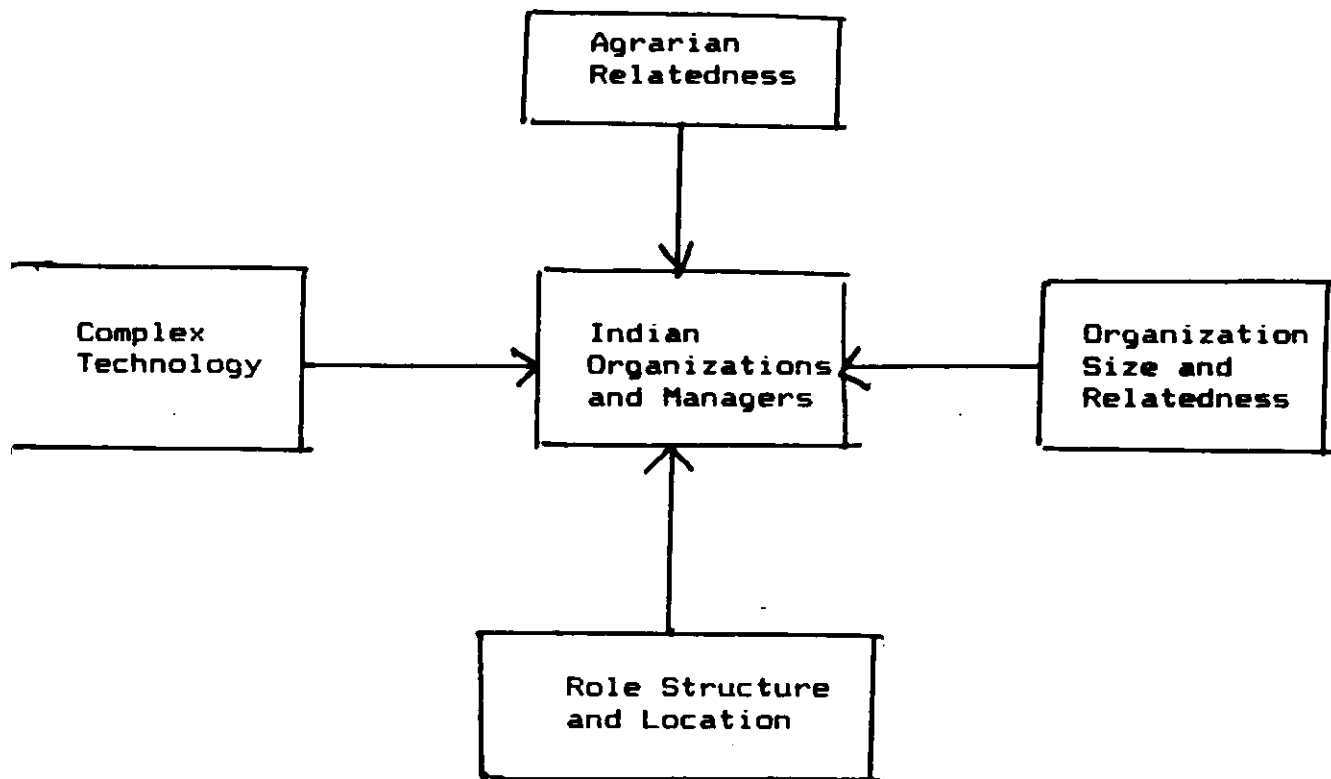
holding a coherent pattern of assumptions, values and processes which operate behind the manifest diversity of forms.

The authors experience and research suggests that in order to understand Indian organizations of today a historical perspective of shifts in Indian culture and society during the twentieth century is necessary. There are four basic shifts. These shifts are results of adoption and enforced implementation of organization structures, management systems, and managerial role definition from western models. Initially, these inductions were dominantly from Britain, and later from North American Continent. The interplay of these four shifts create some of the major value, role and structural dilemmas of Indian management and organizations. These are in order of their appearance

1. Shift in relatedness between self & system
2. Shift in role locations
3. Shift in technology
4. Shift in size, and processes of relatedness

Figure I

Cultural Interfaces with Elements of Western Technology
and Formal Organizations



1. Shift in relatedness between self & system

For centuries Indian agrarian society had an integrative design of social and work components woven into a dynamic system to provide a sense of meaning and belonging to the individual. The design promoted continuity between processes of primary system and secondary systems such as work and education.

The introduction of industrialization created in the Indian society a large stream of wage earners. It introduced the concept of secondary systems as distinct from primary systems. The goals and objectives of these new work organizations were unique. People had to respond to highly structured, organized and routine expectations of the tasks. In this shift the value dilemmas of relationship that the individual confronted were due to the fact that for the first time in the history of India the relationships of primary system anchored in the social and cultural structures and relationships of work anchored in secondary system got delinked from each other and became two separate systems with distinct relationships.

Indian agrarian society was basically a producer trading society. As long as Indian organizations remained finance and trade oriented, traditional structures, systems and relationships continued effectively. Beginning of manufacturing units specially medium and large units introduced mechanical technology and with it India borrowed

structures and systems from the early industrial era of the west. Their introduction created a movement towards a wage-earning society. This led to two major discontinuities in the agrarian relatedness.

1.1 For the first time work became separated from the socio-cultural identity of the individual and became a matter of economic exchange. This in itself became a major point of distress for the individual. He responded to it with the feelings of shame. He remembered the saying - "serving as employee is menial" whether employment was white collar or blue collar it did not matter.

1.2 For the first time a discontinuity of membership quality in the primary and secondary systems got introduced. In the traditional society, the family, neighbourhood, village community, caste, and even the region could be related through the same role processes, attitudes and relational modes. Here everybody was a relative with ensured quality of emotional cathexis and expectations.

The introduction of work systems designed on western systems and structures created seniority and subordinancy and a different kind of hierarchy. The framework of expectations got changed. However, the processes remained the same. The most intriguing part of this shift was that the employers continued to as they do even today, demand

loyalty, commitment and hard work as their expectations from the employees. In return they were willing to offer patronage or punishment but not the mutuality or the reciprocity of the agrarian society. This created the major source of value and role taking dilemmas for both individuals and systems.

2. Shift in role locations

In the agrarian society the roles were highly bounded and well defined. Each individual knew the location of his role and his role field. He had a clear idea of expectations and counter expectations. To a large extent, the modalities of interpersonal transactions were available to him through conventions and through the ingrained 'samskars'. Furthermore, there was a clear distinction in role locations of men and women and children and adults. To a large extent the world view, the nature of aspirations and expected consequences were also clearly articulated. Individuals mobility -- geographical, social and psychological -- was also heavily bounded and as such limited.

Induction of newer work systems designed around western technology and organization structures created major upheaval. It separated the individual from social role structures, role processes and action modalities of the primary system and demanded from him to act in the structure, processes and action modalities of the new kind of secondary system. It also delinked him from the goal sets traditionally defined by the primary systems based on

class, caste and community and introduced him to the goal sets of formal work and profession. Over last eighty years these upheavals are reflected in all areas of role relatedness. All these upheavals can be crystalized in three major shifts.

2.1 The individual in the new organizations was required to make his role and not merely play his role. This created uncertainties, ambiguities and diffidence. He got called upon either to assert, be functional and disown his basic ethos of interpersonal relationships vis a vis other roles and his geographical location. He acquired the status of a migrant, a transient or an exile. He became the representative of his family to earn for cash flow. Many individuals in Indian industries and cities even after four generations retain part of this pattern. Their entry and membership as full individuals in work systems is still dubious. They remain in the employee status and also do not claim membership either in the organization or in the community and neighbourhood.

2.2 The second shift was in the location of men and women and children's role. In the agrarian society, women lived and worked in groups. Men worked in isolation and very often lived in public places. Emergence of employment as a way of life led to a shift of people into towns and cities. It created the pattern where

men worked in groups and women lived in isolation. The deeply embedded role attitude of men to work in isolation and live in public places led him to recreate a life style of over engagement with the work details and spending large part of his time at work place or with people at work. Women were left bereft and had no place to feel as members of community. They felt uncertain, rootless and transient. This pattern still persists and has become the cause of many dilemmas of integrating the work and home for both men and women. Men inspite of being forced to work together continue to cherish the lone performer's role. This has created a major dilemma in organizations in terms of lack of lateral cooperation, negotiation, collaboration and neglect of task inter-dependencies. This has also loaded the organization hierarchy with the task of constant arbitration rather than delegation.

2.3 This shift undermined the children's life space of growing up as mature adults. They either get pushed into achievements or are left onto their own resources. They loose the opportunity of maturing emotionally. Their relationships with any system as well as adult role holders becomes uncertain and nebulous.

In essence, this shift created value dilemmas in organizations as well as individuals. This shift deemphasized the significance of primary social system and highlighted the individual's meaning in work and as such

secondary systems. Individuals began to encounter dilemmas of relationships and their expectations from both the primary and secondary systems. Most of the time the expectations and demands were in contradiction with each other. Similarly, this shift also discouraged values and expectations of the agrarian culture. It emphasized a new role space designed around new aspirations of work space. Faced with the struggle individuals demanded from organizations sentient role support, role processes and social interdependencies which could provide them a sense of meaning and belonging. Organizations designed on formal work structures emphasized task space, formal relationships and task interdependencies. They failed to respond for sentient interdependencies. This led to the breakdown of systems and individuals were left bereft of any feelings of enduring systemic belonging.

3. Shift in technology

Large part of the agrarian society depended upon physiological energy of men and animals to carry out work. Machines were simple and so were their instruments. The shift to the new work systems brought them to a situation where energy was replaced by heat or electricity. Besides changing their relatedness with instruments, machines and products as postulated by Marx, the shift created a strong sense of invalidation. A review of many of the responses suggest that this shift made a person limit himself in his

skills and make him resistant to learning of new skills. It also created an attitude where something new either in knowledge or skill was seen as a threat. Sticking with the old and well tested became a motto for many. The consequences of this are very clear. Indian managers can successfully define frontier tasks, choose complex technology, new structures of management and set up a new organisation. But in time the structures of management its processes tend to regress back to the old traditional processes. This creates lot of conflict in performing the tasks of the organization on the one hand and control processes on the other.

Primarily this shift created two attitudes.

3.1 Sense of invalidation in confrontation with new technology and new knowledge, consequently resistance and regression to older traditional styles of management.

3.2 An inability to internalise success. Most managers either seek victories or try to become indispensable to the management.

The history of technology in terms of continued innovations leading to growth and complexity created a process lag. By the time Indian organization and managers adapted and settled down with one kind of technology and began to feel secure, the next onslaught flooded the markets with greater momentum. New structures and managerial role

processes developed to contain the impact became inadequate for the next wave that came along. Some organizations redesigned their structures. Others continued old ones. Managerial designations and role contents were defined and redefined but the role processes and relatedness to the systems remained entrenched in older modalities.

Indian managers and organizations found it difficult to cope with the constant flux and transition. The only way they could cope was to hold onto the enduring role processes of the primary system and to keep redeploying them in newer modes in formal work systems. The environmental conditions of business kept pushing the organizations to adopt newer and newer technology. The resultant phenomenon was the emergence of the culture of transience which initiated the managers into cognitive understanding of the role structures and processes of secondary systems. However, the role processes of the primary system determined the quality of role taking and relatedness to systems.

The primary dilemma that has remained operative for the last fifty years is how to generate role taking processes which are a good fit with the technologically determined structures and systems for achieving best results and smoothness of interphases between roles, departments, and corporate structures.

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4. Shift in size and processes of relatedness

Traditionally in the agrarian society all production systems were small and revolved around persons rather than technology. There was interchangeability of roles in those systems. Different functions at different times could be performed by the same individual. The main characteristics of this system was that the individual simultaneously belonged to both social and work systems. There was visibility of operations, exchange of skills and approachivity across ranks so that direct and immediate interventions could be made. In effect, the owner/manager was the central figure. The approach to the controller of resources or the significant individual who was also the evaluator of his performance was direct and face to face.

Initially as organizations grew from small to medium, some of these traditional patterns of role taking remained operative. Once the organizations became large and mammoth the quality of relatedness with the system and its significant people underwent major change. Social as well as psychological role distances increased. All the potentials of direct, immediate and face to face transactions which ensured the involvement and security got eroded. It increased the insecurity and uncertainty about the individuals own role locations and links with people and systems. Formalisation which is the hallmark of western models became difficult to tolerate. Organization processes based on new modes of systems and structures became a

constraint. Individuals then sought to reduce this uncertainty and insecurity by restoring personalisation and familialization of relationships in large organizations. The process gave rise to clique which governed themselves by affiliative interdependencies rather than by task interdependencies. The politics of the organization got retranslated to affiliative politics rather than the politics of task, performance and merit.

This shift in technology and consequently the size of organizations reinforced the fragmentation between the two kinds of role process, one determined by agrarian ethos and the other by cognitive ideas. Initially it created confusion. Subsequently the individual became subjected to the pulls and pushes of these two systems, viz., the small entrepreneurial model and the model of large and mammoth organizations anchored in competitive business, complex structures and tasks.

The first impact of these pulls and pushes of both the systems converged on the structures. Indian managers socialized through joint family and community structures carried over their emotive maps of systems to work organizations. This reduced all organizations into two significant roles that is those of a male and a female authority in the family. The owner manager or the managing agent became the symbol of the father figure who managed the finance and all other tasks in the interface with the

environment. The technocrat who was in charge of production became the mother symbol who ruled the home viz. the internal environment.

The rest of the role holders became extensions or proxies. This direct transferrance of family structures to formal work structures made the managers compete for direct visibility with the top. It also made them struggle to secure resources from them. This entrenched peer relations at task level into well defined conflict, exclusion and undermining of each other. Psychologically, the individuals then got caught up with seeking personal recognition through bestowal and affirmation from the significant roles. The ethos of loyalty, obedience and conformity acquired greater importance than competence and merit. One of the consequences was the emergence of fragmentation between policy roles and performer roles. Indian managers dedicated themselves to be implementors and performers on the one hand and on the other hand, to become grumblers against the unrealities of the policies designed by the patriarch. Eventually, the patriarch was put in the role of controller of all resources and policies as well as the arbitrator in all task situations. It did not allow to develop the culture of negotiability at either role or task levels. To a certain extent the process also contributed towards creating low accountability, resistance to develop and invest in ones own capabilities as well as a general pattern of apathy and non-sharing of responsibilities.

It seems then that the introduction of business organizations, specially the manufacturing systems anchored around borrowed technology, structures, and management systems of the west added and speeded forces of movement away from the agrarian social design. The direct inputs of this introduction had the impact on the quality of social relatedness, role locations, quality of technology and size of work organizations. In each of these four sectors, the impact of the introduction of formal organizations created departures both psychological and social. The primary departure in the agrarian relatedness was the separation of work into an exchange commodity rather than an integral part of personal identity. Secondly, the departure created discontinuity in the modes of relating to relationships in primary systems and secondary systems.

Thirdly, the departure created discontinuity in terms of role location of individuals with structure and systems. It transferred the the burden on the individual of defining and designing his role from time to time as against the traditional bounded role which once learnt was forever. This departure also changed the very context in which bounded roles of men, women and children could operate. In fact in terms of gender dimensions the contexts were reversed. And in case of children and adolescents the context got diffused. These departures and discontinuities seem dominantly sociological in nature. At the role taking and performance level these discontinuities reflect deep

psychological patterns manifested in organizational behaviour such as motivation, commitment, security, adequacy, belonging and exclusion or inclusion with people and systems.

In the field of technology the impact created sense of invalidation about ones own abilities and increased dependence on tools and techniques outside the self. It also made it difficult for people to internalise success. Put together these two discontinuities from the traditional agrarian ethos anchored in integrative social design increased the sense of insecurity, poor self worth, and the concept of the self as medium rather than an agent. Though primarily psychological in nature these shifts and resultant dilemmas have long range sociological impact in terms of organization growth, persistence in mobilisation of self as a resource, change and consolidation of new role definitions and systemic designs.

The impact of the new organizations on the quality of size of work organizations created a discontinuity in the psychological distances of an individual with the location and controller of resources. It also changed the nature of the norms and regulations from personalized reviews to formalised reviews. Both of these discontinuities essentially made an individual experience a loss of his contextual relatedness with the system and made him struggle to accept his role as a performer. It left him with a great deal of loss of status and well-being.

Besides the individual contribution each of the above departures and discontinuities converged to create turbulence and ferment in the contextual field of both social and work spheres. In this process they continue to create and add potential of value dilemmas which crystalize in a variety of forms in the role taking processes of managers and Indian organizations.

In order to understand how value dilemmas finally crystalize in certain repetitive modes, we need to look at another historical perspective. Business organizations engaged in manufacturing emerged in India through the initiative of two groups. The first group was the European investors who had already come as traders to India. They brought two basic orientations. The first one was related to the process of organizing work and designing structures and role allocations. They created the result oriented and finance dominated orientations in organizations. They were also concerned with mechanisms of control and coordination. To them every person in the organization other than their own class was an employee, a serf, a hand. The local employees were excluded from policy formulation. They could be trusted for implementation but needed vigilant supervision and monitoring.

The second orientation was related to their own role location in an enslaved country and economy. Independent of the level of social hierarchy of their own society they put themselves in India in the class of nobles or feudal lords

of their own systems. As such they acted from patronage and compulsions of what is termed 'noblesse oblige'. This mode of relating to the employees reinforced some of the processes of agrarian relatedness in Indian organizations. As such, no clean break between the newer organization and their processes and the culturally pre existing processes was ever made in the Indian society.

The second group was the Indian entrepreneurs who to begin with were traders themselves. When they entered the business of manufacturing, they borrowed the structural forms from the western models. However, they continued to operate with the cultural roles. They also did not provide a clean break from the traditional social agrarian ethos. Thus, for a long time the cognitively determined and understood forms of organization structure and role allocations from the west continued to be reproduced in the organization design. But behind these forms the essential processes such as decision making, exercise of authority, communication, evaluation, reward and punishment continued to remain anchored in the emotive map of the agrarian cultural processes. It is obvious that these two sets of value parameters belong to two distinct universes. It is also clear that these two cannot be integrated into their totality. Some kinds of convergence needs to be attempted.

Let us now look at the resultant value dilemmas in Indian organizations in various managerial roles.

Figure II

Value Dilemmas of Impact of Western Business Modalities
on Indian Managers and Organizations

	Sociological	Psychological	Organization Behaviour
Agrarian Relatedness			
Role Structure and Location			
Complex Technology			
Organization Size and Work Relatedness			

Value Dilemmas in Actualization of Managerial Roles:
The Responsibility Aspect

In the traditional agrarian society of India the role of individual was a location in the network of social relations with certain well defined expectations and modes of conduct. It had clear cut task boundaries in overall socio-economic tasks. While there was a hierarchy of elders and juniors the system also legitimized opportunities, and tasks for experiencing a psychological equation with elders. This reinforced the sense of being a member of the system as against being only a dependent or an obedient junior. The role location was also coded with unilateral commitment of carrying out ones duties. It provided both censor and censure processes. It rarely carried out any punishments. Evaluation was not of the individual and his actions but generally included the context of his membership, the situation of action, his intentions and resources available to him. This modality of role construct tied the individual's responsibility to commitment on the one hand and to his identity on the other hand. In between these two boundaries the system expected an individual to define the boundaries between the self authority, role authority and system authority.

As Indian organizations grew towards large complex structures managers discovered the difficulties in role making. They started to experience the responses of the task as being devoid of the support which was available to them for role play in the social systems. As such, in the formal business

organization, the individual found his role as very constricted. He becomes a performer only. He experienced loss of psychological membership, opportunities of psychological equation as well as his social identity. For example, an individual experiences value dilemmas when he may have to report to superiors who are either juniors in age or belong to a much lower social hierarchy than his own. The loss of the traditional contextual support system for the role made it difficult for the managers to locate themselves in the organization as members. A quality of relatedness determined by the rules and regulations, job description and reporting relationships did not provide him a sense of trust in his location. As such he found it difficult to act from his convictions.

The individual's entry in the formal business organizations, begins with an induction process where the entire language is based on the logic of a formal role construct coded in his being an employee, a performer and as a receiver of compensations. His job responsibilities and performance criteria are laid down. Rules and regulations are explained. He is entering a contract. As the individual begins working he experiences the admixture of organization processes where the impact of the western models as well as the history of managerial tradition operates along with deeply embedded cultural modes of relatedness. This juxtaposition of formal and psychological expectations leading to contradictions in what is expected and given makes the individual confused. He then takes a defensive stance. The individual then searches for that psychological and social

relatedness which can provide him with a sense of belonging and membership. The value dilemma faced by the individual is in terms of his inability to converge and concretise in action his concept of role as a member in formal organization. The emotional roots of his own role construct lie in having a contextual support system of belonging, psychological equation and negotiability. Cognitive roots of his new concept of role lie in the logic of the task and not in the quality of relatedness available in the system.

All this tends to shrink the individual's formal role construct. Consequently he only addresses himself to the job responsibilities. He finds it difficult to accept the lateral link responsibilities as well as the contextual corporate responsibilities. For example, the largest part of organizational conflict in current Indian scene revolves around interpretation of how the job has been described. Association of workers and staff constantly seem to be refusing many role actions which were once taken for granted as accompaniments or as subsumed in the job description. There is a strong demand for role clarity and laying down detailed job charts. The slogan -- this is not my job -- this is not my work -- has become increasingly louder. Refusal to take corporate responsibility can be illustrated by general proneness of Indian managers not to train and develop their juniors. A manager only invests in his subordinates as long as he can ensure loyalty and commitment to himself. He personally believes in making himself indispensable to the system. Similarly, a manager treats all developmental

efforts of the organization such as being sent for training either as a punishment or as a legitimised reward for holiday.

The logic of modern organizations as reflected in the designs of performance appraisal seeks evidence of initiative, creativity, interpersonal relations and many other kinds of organization behaviour which are integral part of a manager's role. However, the operational process discourages him from mobilising himself to produce this evidence. Infact today in India, performance appraisal processes have either become a matter of mockery or are seriously contested. Large number of managers do not have trust in the appraisal processes. They have not only turned skeptics but use the appraisal processes to bargain and undermine many other organization processes. At the time of yearly promotions, the talk in the galleries of the organization is always about individuals' relationships with power elites rather than merit. There is a general belief in Indian organizations that only the less competent but good manipulators of politics of relationships of the organization get promotions.

There are also a set of people in each organization who continue to abide by the traditional agrarian role construct. They continue to work hard, sustain their feeling of membership in the system, and do the hardest routine parts of task. They mobilise themselves to meet crises of any kinds. They are often called 'the pillars of the organization'. However, these individuals find it difficult to make a demands on the system. Their movement upward or across is slow and limited. There is

lot of research evidence which suggests that these set of managers feel undignified in making demands. They expect appreciation, recognition and bestowal of status based on the perception, assessment and initiative of resource controller himself.

In summary, the value dilemmas of the responsibility aspect of the managerial role gets expressed in several ways. They determine the quality of commitment, sense of membership, feelings of self worth, and finally the determinants of the overall stance in role taking. Most often the stance is that of a performer who is either reactive or defensive or actively aggressive to register victories. At another level this value dilemmas in role taking often create inertia, disengagement from the system, disenchantment and partly disaffiliation. Our work in organization development suggests that most organizations hire highly talented people who in their presentation fit with the logic of the new organizations. They have initiative, creativity, achievement via independence, spirit of challenge, high degree of self acceptance and an ability to deploy their resources for purposive action. In ten years time the same people convert themselves in achievers through conformity, withholders of initiative, poor acceptance of self, low responsiveness to challenges and in general low responsiveness to people. They display poor tolerance for differences with colleagues and increased deference to authority.

This transformation of once vibrant people into the people who are tamed down is a telling evidence of how the Indian organizations are still caught in the flux of two distinct cultures.

Value Dilemmas in Actualization of Managerial Role Construct:
The Authority Aspect

The individual in the agrarian society grows up internalising a strong belief that a membership in a system rests in the simultaneity of both the task and sentient interdependence. The second belief he grows up with is about resource location. He learns that there are a number of resource holders and controllers in the system instead of just one. Similarly, he also holds and controls resources with himself. He can claim resources from others. The third belief that the authority of the system manifestly rests with the elders but this authority can be mediated through the actively available consensus making processes. As such, he also holds a certain amount of authority as an individual. In spite of many transformations over hundred years, the authors found these beliefs about the authority and location of the resource in the system is still deeply embedded in Indian managers. However, the entry of individuals in formal business organizations confronts him with a different scenario.

One message the organization gives - you are a resource, bring your best and the system would render unto you the authority, membership and power. Simultaneously, the message is

- you have to earn it by initiative, commitment etc. On the other hand, there is also the message - that you are a performer and implementor of policies and tasks as laid down by the top. As such the individual is supposed to do the assigned task and often within the desired mode by the boss. The expectation is that the superior has to be kept pleased. In formal organizations the concept of authority gets further confused. Young, highly trained individuals cognitively have a professional orientation. When they enter organizations for their professional skills they are expected directly and indirectly to leave their training and knowledge behind. They are expected largely to learn from the experiences of the superiors. In effect they are expected to bring only their performance devoid of functional and professional authority and give up any possibility of equating with the superiors. In this process their membership in the system is also denied. Most individuals experience a sense of marginality.

A further experience with the operational processes of the formal organization confronts the individual with a very destructive message -- 'all resources of the organization are controlled by one or at least by a very few people. All the resources the individual receives for the task are gifts of patronage'. The individual's personal psychological resources are the only ones that belong to him. And they are under scrutiny and subject to evaluation. The individual then learns to use his personal resources for engaging in politics, to control the systems resources and getting into good appraisal

with the authority. The goal is to seek and establish centrality.

Behaviourally, this creates various kinds of value dilemmas in the managers. One of the central dilemma of role taking is whether the individual can be himself or be a proxy, an echo or a shadow of somebody else in the system. This conflict is compounded by the restrictive role of being a performer and work remaining an economic exchange but not an integral part of the individual's identity. It also creates an ever present core of anxiety and insecurity about the quality of individual's membership and as such, relatedness with the organization. The individual either conforms or rebels but finds it difficult to assert. Many managers turn the conformist face to the superiors in the organization and the aggressor face to the subordinates and colleagues in the organization. Thus the whole organization gets coded with processes of isolation and lack of communication. Most managers learn to operate with principle of half disclosure.

The second value dilemma that managers encounter relates to the difficulty of separating the systemic equation and personal equation. In the agrarian society the simultaneity of task and sentient interdependence allowed individuals to operate with both the systemic and personal equations. The flux which Indian organization reflect today seems to create the situation where systemic equations is neither trusted nor evolved. Individuals while operating with systemic processes (functional relatedness) tend to seek personalization in a very acute and intense manner.

The focus on personalized equation creates an interesting but dysfunctional process. Operationally, a practice emerges whereby all rules and regulations are manipulated for the benefit of people with whom the individual has built up personal equations. However, rules and regulations are strictly adhered to when individuals concerned do not have personalized equation with another functional role. One of the most glaring manifestation of this process is reflected in delays in meeting legitimate role contributions to the tasks of each other. Very often the legitimate role contribution is perceived as a demand and the individual talks about his constraints in rendering them. The process has been institutionalized in Indian organizations under the label "follow up:" A large part of time and energy of Indian managers is spent in the game of 'follow-up' within the role network in organizations. Individuals then regress back into a basic belief of being the lone performer and as such, restricting themselves to a limited interpretation of job responsibility. When the follow-up fails, most managers turn to authority figures for intervention. This reinforces the role of arbitrator patron as the primary role of superiors.

Value Dilemmas in Actualization of Managerial Role: System Identity Aspect

While the first two value dilemmas and role taking relate to the performance and inter role relationships in an organization, this value dilemma relates to the quality of membership with the system as a whole. The agrarian ethos encouraged the

simultaneity of task and sentient interdependencies. This created institutions, locations and occasions where the individuals of an organization or a system could express their pent up emotions, i.e., have catharsis, absolve themselves from shame of their acts of omission and commission, reinforce their emotional sense of belonging through joint rejoicing and reviving, and fostering hopes for a new ambience in the organization. In fact, the agrarian society created various institutions of catharsis, rejoicing, togetherness, absolving of shame and replenishment. This process was all year around and was linked to seasons and agrarian modes of living. In the adopted western models of organisations the designers either excluded these institutions, or recommend western forms such as picnics, clubs, cocktail parties, and joint lunch rooms. These, however have failed to evoke the same ambience and response as the institutions of agrarian society did. Very often these new introductions remained formal occasions in which participation did not lead to unfolding of personal psychological equations. They became more of perquisite of social membership rather than builders of psychological membership in the organisation.

Behaviourally, this has created dilemma of integration of membership and mobilisation of work ethics in the organization. Lack of these institutions has made the individuals to carry the negative experiences with the organization within themselves or into their families. Traditional spaces which were once available independent of the institutions of catharsis, rejoicing, togetherness and replenishment have also been eroded.

In the traditional agrarian society there were community and family spaces where both men and women in their respective groups could share the stress of the system and pains of relationships. In today's formal organization and living such spaces are not available. As such the stress accumulates and the individuals ends up responding in following three ways.

1. Abdication of role. Most individuals become apathetic to the routine tasks. They feel demotivated and do not engage in their role transactions with enthusiasm and initiative. They disengage psychologically from the system. They, then, seek further monetary incentives to cathect with the organization.
2. Fragmentation of role space. They learn to keep silent in formal situations and then create what the authors call "Organizational galleries or corridors". These are used by most managers to express their grumblings and dis-satisfactions. Managers use these galleries to reflect negatively on the policies of the system, the behaviour of the superiors and their sub ordinates. This allows the individual to hold himself and his experience of people and system in a separate boxes. What he does and states is not in tune with what he feels and experiences. As such, most managers seem to lack the ability to act from their convictions. It also reinforces them in their employee and performer role.

3. As this stress accumulates the individual becomes entrenched in three kinds of reactive feelings. These are the feelings of being discriminated, deprived and denied. The individual gets caught in a comparative frame. This triggers in people a struggle to seek fair, equitable and fail-safe systems. They search for objectivity and elimination of so called personal and subjective element of evaluation. Every individual then postulates a system to ensure justice. However, no convergence emerges. Whatever the management with their sensitivities try to modify or change becomes a matter of contest and further grumblings. The organizations and managers remain caught in this entrenchment and eventually it is the workers or labour who then becomes the spokesman of this universe. They precipitate a crisis and in these moments of crisis all the pent up feelings held in the organisations get voiced and shouted aloud. They are heavily dramatised Industrial strike and labour unrest has become institutionalised due to the lack of culturally relevant institutions of membership in the system.

In the assessment of the authors pure economic or trade union ideology has not yet become an integral part of Indian scene. Only their metaphor gets used. The real problems lie in the inability, perhaps an unwillingness to create institutions to strengthen membership of employees.

The cognitive models of western organization structures and systems have however created a new setting where individuals can aspire beyond the social hierarchy of their own origin. They can also change their life style and create new opportunities for their children. These cognitive models then offer the individual a promise and a potential to rise beyond the prescriptive aspirations of achievement. They have created opportunities for social as well as psychological mobility. The social mobility is reflected in being able to transcend the caste and other hierarchies. They have helped to create opportunities to improve ones status, life style, the quality of consumption etc. In terms of psychological mobility it has created opportunities to develop new world views as well as investment in the self for being a better and wholesome person.

Behind the creation of these opportunities the message is that by hard work, application and deployment of effort and commitment an individual can improve his location, status and quality of life. However, the juxtaposition of the two ethos reflected in the organization processes has created an unrealistic expectations in the individuals. Furthermore, he has learnt to load the organization with the responsibility to provide him this status and mobility without giving evidence. Today, the individuals expect organizations to promote them, give increments and take them to the highest levels with the assumption that their performance is as good as any other person. They expect bestowal of these prizes without too much of

investment. When these do not come through feelings of discrimination, deprivation and denial get reactivated and the whole cycle is repeated.

Value Dilemmas in Managerial Role Taking:

Exercise of Authority and Leadership Aspect

The interweaving of sentient and task interdependencies in a single social design created a contextual universe for anybody to be a leader. In Indian agrarian society leaders were those who held the ethos in clarity of its application in day to day transactions. The leaders emerged through a social process of convergence and consensus about the person who has been experienced as holding of the 'samskaras' and definer of appropriate modes of behaviour in conflict and crisis situations. In a way they were recognised for their social and psychological wisdom. The leaders did not have to give evidence of either generating wealth or being better in economic activities. As such the leaders held a social authority which provided their leadership the quality of a sustainer and regulator of transactions. This construct of leadership did not include the element of monitoring, scanning, directing and ensuring performance through assuming the position of resource controller on the one hand and dispenser of reward and punishment on the other hand.

The introduction of formal business organization modalities necessiated a formal task leadership role. As the processes of agrarian society persisted in the emotive map, individuals who

were designated as functional leaders were loaded with the expectations of maintaining a harmonious ambience and social climate. As long as this aspect was fulfilled their leadership in functional task was responded to. However, whenever the individual displayed an inability to provide fulfillment of expectations from the social leader tensions and sometimes open conflict surfaced in the transactions between the so called leader and his followers.

The interplay of cognitive demands of the task systems and emotive demands of the cultural systems left very few option with the leaders. These are

1. Become a task owner and act as the master of a set of serfs. This process was supported by the authority model of the European class in India.
2. Become a benign master who by ensuring patronage and personalized relationships creates commitment and loyalty. His followers then pick up two basic metaphors of relationships: a) we cannot let down our master. So do whatever is required. b) stake even your life for the sake of the benign master.
3. Combine both and become the so called charismatic leader who inspires and evokes on the one hand and controls and hounds on the other.

The last forty years reflect an increasing demand on all leaders either of the nation or of large organizations to become charismatic leaders. These leaders are then put on the pedestal and then distantiated from the collegiate framework. The entire burden of holding the vision of the task, direction and achievement is put on their shoulders. His followers then enact the very deeply seated existential drama of the sibling rivalry between themselves in order to claim closeness and exclusive patronage of the charismatic leader. He, then, becomes the proverbial monkey who sits with a weighing scale to weigh out the bread between two fighting cats but finally eating all of it himself. He becomes the sole holder of power and the system becomes mortgaged to his maturity or immaturity.

Value Dilemmas in Managerial Role Taking

Men-Technology Aspect

With the adoption of western technology of production the major shift was in the kind of energy used in operating it. In the agrarian society the technology had been kept at a simple and minimum level. It could only be operated by either human or animal energy. The adopted technology is more complex and complicated. The traditional energy is substituted by thermal or electrical power. This changed the role relatedness of men with the technology. Due to the persistence of task and sentient interdependence in the agrarian society this shift in relatedness of man with the technology did not create the marxian postulate of alienation of man from his product. Work being part of the

social identity and not an economic output only did not allow the dynamics of alienation emerge in behaviour or feelings.

What it however did in India was to postulate an independent identity to technology. And this identity was attributed a mystic quality. The technology got personified. Instead of technology being extension of the self, the personification triggered a concept of machine as having its own motivation and self renewal powers. It ended up being a black box. It could be used but treated with respect or neglect. One current example of this process is the introduction of new Maruti cars with fast pick up and speed. People who drive it are often heard saying -- what can we do, car runs fast. They see themselves being controlled by the quality of the machines rather than controlling its quality for effective and efficient driving.

In terms of organizations of production this has created major dilemmas of maintenance function. Organizations in general seem to make poor investment in maintenance both regular and preventive. Maintenance as a function has neither become a psychological value nor an institution in the society. As such, problems of underutilization or over utilization are a frequent phenomenon. There is also enough evidence that technology gets exhausted before its optimal years of usability. Even when it gets exhausted replacement of technology is done under market compulsions. In our assessment replenishment of technology is not seen as part of organization responsibility or role. Due to the attribution of mystic quality the technology is supposed to

replenish itself. In many public sector organizations most expensive technology lies around in a broken down condition or very often is kept under lock and key and rarely used. This is frequent in research laboratories, educational institutions and also in earlier times in households. The value dilemma in the relatedness with technology often gets reflected in organizations having a technology but not deploying it effectively for efficient performance.

The second aspect of the introduction of technology deals with the size of the organization. Most organizations went far beyond the small and medium size to large and mammoth organizations. Shift in the sizes also made many organizations adopt organization structures from the earlier era of western models of organizations. Till 1960-65 most organizations were designed on departmental structures. It is only after the introduction of management education that designing along the line of divisionalization and corporate structures emerged. However, these structures rarely come alive. Operationally, the organization and roles continued to operate with departmental process. It is not surprising that it is only in the last decade that organizations started talking about introducing corporate planning. The experience of the authors in their consulting assignments with many large and mammoth organizations suggests that most organizations are mere assemblages of various structures. Corporate processes have rarely emerged. In fact our work of institution building in organizations has focussed on building of corporate processes, ethos and culture and bridging

the lag between introduction of structures and designing of processes. Our work has revealed that psychologically the two aspects of agrarian society in terms of construct of system and role taking continue to persist in the managers. The primary map of the system is that of family. In keeping with the agrarian tradition all other systems such as caste, schools, neighbourhoods are mere replicas of the families. The quality of relatedness with the network of roles is assumed to be the same as the family. Managers after managers in organizations display a direct transposition of the model of their familial systems in large and mammoth organizations. In fact organisations promote the metaphor of being "one, big large family".

Cognitively, the managers understand the corporate structure and the nature of the new organizations. But in actual role taking they continue to work with the attitudes and orientations of familial structures and systems. This creates many dysfunctionalities. And when these dysfunctionalities acquire large proportions managers and organizations do a diagnosis and identify problems based on the logic of modern structures and systems. Some of these repetetively identified problems and solution have become well defined slogans and sets among managers. Two of the most frequent sets are:

There is too much of centralization. However, when structural decentralization is introduced, managers themselves refuse to operate in decentralized structures.

Sufficient delegation is lacking. And when delegation is introduced, most managers refuse to take autonomous and relevant decisions.

There are many other 'problem-solution' sets. On the whole, inspite of design and structural changes integrative and negotiative corporate processes do not emerge. Managers continue to operate in the role of sons, cousins and uncles and continue to hold the chief executive in the role of a patriarch and expect him to be charismatic.

Unique Characteristics of Indian Organizations and Managers

In the above exploration of the Indian agrarian society and its influences on the emergent industrial scene and Indian organizations let us look at some of the unique characteristics which reflect the Indianness and as such, the resultant value dilemmas which are specific to Indian culture, society and organizations.

The unique dimension of Indian organization which the managers hold is the design of life space in the agrarian society which included both the social and work setting. Fragmenting and differentiating the two in two distinct sectors like the west creates and generates value dilemmas in both the social and work settings as well as role taking in both the systems.

The second unique characteristic of Indian organizations and managers is that the social processes of relatedness coded by the caste, community and neighbourhood are an integral part of living. As such any design for organizations and managers have to integrate these with the new inputs of formal, functional and task based relationships. In the absence of integrating processes leads to dysfunctionalities.

The third unique characteristics of Indian organizations and managers is that the concept of authority at one level remains anchored in the social authority. As such formal and functional authority anchored in knowledge and skills in complex technology have to be aligned with the processes of social authority in a complex weave to design a coherent whole.

The fourth unique characteristic of Indian organizations and managers is that both hold contradictory emotive and cognitive maps of people and system. Organisation designs have to be evolved where by these can be recalibrated and aligned in a good rhythm. Without such an integrating designs organisation will continue to manage people by crisis, anxiety or fear.

And finally, the fifth unique characteristics of Indian organizations and managers is that the psycho-cultural assumptions and philosophy of living are deeply embedded in the Indian psyche. As such, any new ethos anchored either in the western organization models or in the assumption of living can only create fragmentation. Planners have to understand and bring forward the positive and relevant aspect of the embedded psycho-

cultural assumption in order to design relevant modalities so that new energy is released to create synergy in the organizations.

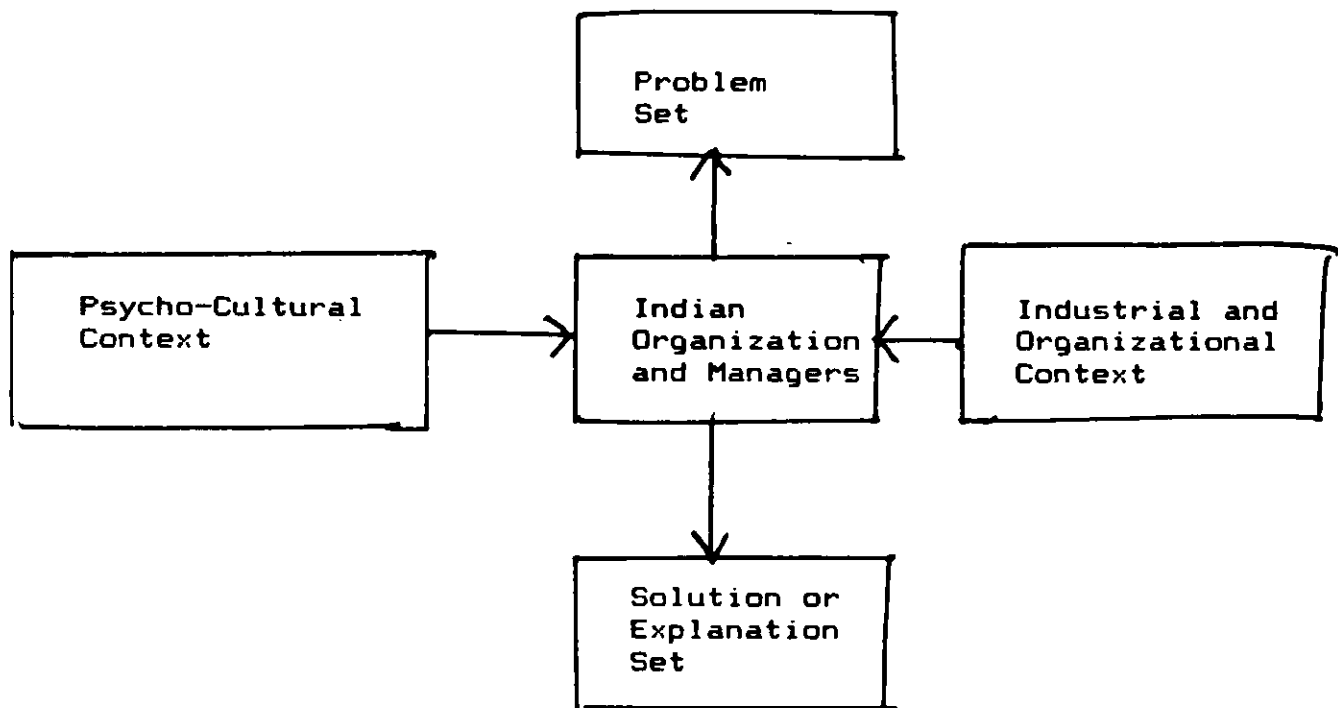
Summary

Juxtaposition of the two dominant cultures where the forms from one and the processes of the other operate in the same organization has created the ultimate dilemma of role taking for Indian managers. The managers focus exclusively on the problems and seek for techniques to solve these problems. The managers fail to recognize that problems specially of men management as well as organization structures and processes are symptoms of the ever fermenting flux of the two cultures they hold. The managers look at the manifest aspects of the problems which are then translated into universal analogous phenomenon anywhere in the organization world. This mode of problem orientation then makes them say "-- let the problem be. Let us get along with our task." As such, performance in the organization becomes stressful for the individuals who then function through sustaining a climate of crisis. The second alternative is to develop explanations and possible solutions where some of the technologies of behavioural scientist from the west could be adopted. Even today depending upon the level of orientations Indian organizations continue to seek from west the introduction of behavioural science inputs in the field of motivation, leadership training, communication, conflict resolution and team building. They experiment with methodologies of T groups,

Transactional Analysis, Managerial grid and many such approaches. Most of these are selected by organizations in a cafeteria approach.

Figure III

Context Interface between Psycho-Cultural and Organizational



In our experience none of these inputs have led to long range enduring effects. Some manifest changes have occurred Indian organization and manager fight shy of looking at psycho-cultural dimensions of Indian reality. They consider these as purely theoretical and not practical for problem solving.

Indian organizations anchored in the context of psycho-culture processes on the one hand and the complex and turbulent industrial environment on the other end up getting caught with two kinds of responses. They identify the emerging problems arising out of juxtaposition of the Indian and western. They attribute these structural problem and then seek behavioural solutions. And sometimes they identify behavioural problems and then indulge in structural solutions. Similarly, most organizations end up explaining the whys of the manifest problems and give a diagnostic psycho-social implications. Indian organizations get caught or polarised with either the problem set or the explanation set. In this polarisation negative meanings are given to the psycho-cultural context.

Sometimes the organizations search for various models. For example, the biological model gets translated into a medical model. The medical model identifies the symptoms and then prescribes medication. Sometimes radical surgery is advised like change of chief executive followed by retrenchment and a leadership style which ruthlessly turnaround the organization. This model is applied to Indian organisations. However, many organisations in the Indian public-sector and to a large extent in organizations in any sector this strategy of hiring and firing is not possible.

As such, given the realities of juxtaposition of the two dominant cultures and the focus on problem and explanation set the authors have focused on what is called the constitutional

diagnoses or evolution of a frame which would provide an integration between the two juxtaposition to evolve redefinitions of the context as well as role modalities.

Perspicitive building or evolving a new frame implies a realistic appraisal and understanding of the psycho-cultural context as well as the changing nature of the industrial environment. It is the simultaneous understanding of the above which can shift the focus from problem and explanation set to redefinition and redesigning of both individual roles and organization sets to design new frames and action choices to manage the flux of the two cultures and the resultant value dilemmas. It is only in the development of these new frames and perspectives that the residues of past value dilemmas can be contained and new responses can emerge.

The authors in their work with Indian organizations and managers have designed inputs which have taken into consideration the psycho-cultural context of the Indian society. From the psycho-cultural context relevant and meaningful perspective has been explored to make possible redesigning of systems and redefinitions of roles which are congruent with the emotive maps of people as well as cognitive realities of formal organizations, their structures and tasks. Similarly, the socio-cultural modalities of role taking are explored to design coherent and congruent processes for the formal work organizations so that action choices can be made.

The reality of Indian organizations -- which are large and mammoth in size, which have introduced complex technology and which have contributed to the emergence of a collage of relationships anchored in both social and work modality -- is such that any approach or input have to design processes which can lead to a shared perspective of both the social and work structures. Similarly, a shared value by the Indian managers need to be evolved so that mobilisation of commitment and involvement can emerge. Heterogeneity and diversity, juxtapositions and collage of the agrarian and the western, and intertwining of the traditional and the modern is going to be simultaneously the reality of Indian organizations as well as the society. As such, management of the emergent which is structures, systems and role taking is not only critical but also essential. Similarly, designing of integrative processes which can facilitate a coherence in both the social as well as work structures is equally important. It is only in these processes that value dilemmas may lead to relevant organization processes, organisation identity and managerial role taking in India.

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