

“Management Profession in India : A Sociological Examination.”

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DECLARATION

Certified that the dissertation titled "Management Profession in India: A Sociological Examination", submitted by Mr. SHAKEEL AHMAD KHAN is in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of this University. This dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or anywhere else and is his own work.

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.


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(SHAKEEL A. KHAN)

PROLOGUE

Sometimes the over-dramatisation of the concept of management science tends to give the erroneous impression that success is achieved in management profession in proportion to one's rejection of what was previously regarded as intuitively obvious. The truth is, however, that the great social philosophers and management scholars of the modern era have not rejected the obvious but have forced us to redefine the obvious after taking a closer look at the available evidence. This dissertation is a modest attempt of analysing the obvious and delving a bit deeper into the consequent ramifications.

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CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE NO.</u>
Acknowledgement	
Prologue	
Chapter - I	
Introduction	0 - 3
Chapter - II	
Review of Literature	4 - 33
Chapter - III	
Evolution of Management	34 - 48
Chapter - IV	
Professional Organisations	49 - 95
Chapter - V	
Structure and Composition of Management Profession	96 - 121
Chapter - VI	
Conclusion	122 - 128
 EPILOGUE	
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	

Chapter - 1.

INTRODUCTION

Topic of Study ; Techniques of Inquiry and the Scheme
of Chapterisation.

The study of the sociology of professions has been one of the most fascinating areas of research for Sociologists. The professions have long been prominent in the comments of social theorists, but it is only recently that a sociology of profession has emerged as a distinct sub-field in the discipline. Much of the Sociological writing of recent years on professions and professionalisation has been concerned with three major themes; the characteristics of the 'true profession'; the process whereby an occupation develops into and achieves the status of a profession, and the conflict between two principal trends of all industrial societies - bureaucratization and professionalisation.¹

The present work was an attempt at trying to understand some aspects of the management profession in the country today.

There is, no doubt, paucity of empirical data on this topic and because of this I felt difficulty in arriving at some meaningful generalisations. Despite this, some plausible inferences can be arrived at.

1. T. Leggatt, 'Teaching as a Profession in Professions and Professionalisation (ed.)'. J.A. Jackson, Cambridge University Press, London 1970.

I have studied four aspects of management profession, viz. the theoretical issues involved in the study of sociology of professions; evolution of management profession; the professional organisations in the case of management profession in India and the structure and composition of the management profession.

The present work is a survey of existing literature on the above mentioned areas. It organises, systematises, and re-discusses the findings of various studies already completed in these areas. Organisation aspects of the managerial profession has received little attention from the social scientists in India. Most of the ^{studies} in India that has been done on the management profession has been on the theme of managers as professionals. A lot of work is required to be done on various other aspects of the management profession in India. In the chapter of this dissertation, entitled 'Review of Literature', I have tried to deal with the various theoretical issues involved with the study of Sociology of Professions. Apart from the discussion as to what are the social attributes of a profession, the various approaches to the study of profession have also been discussed.

The next chapter discusses the evolution of management profession at the global level and also in India in particular.

The evolution, growth and developmental activities of professional organisations in India have also been delineated in the following chapter.

Goal formulation or norms-formulation by these professional organisation in order to make the management profession in India achieve the attributes of a true profession has also been examined.

In the last but one chapter I have discussed the Structure and Composition of the Management Profession in India. Its social attributes have been analysed.

The last chapter includes the analysis and conclusions based upon empirical information available on the management profession in India. This chapter also tries to examine if management in India can be called a profession in the true sense of the term in the light of theoretical construct of professions.

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Chapter - 2.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE.

The concept of 'profession' has a variety of meanings attached to it. Different authors have defined the term differently. Even the arbiter of most difinitional disputes, the dictionary fails to provide a definition which may be unanimously accepted. The main reason is that in vernacular, profession is frequently a synonym for 'occupation', meaning thereby any socially patterned means of earning livelihood. But, then, there is little consensus about which occupations are profession.¹ While we speak of surgeons, lawyers, and chemists as professionals we also speak of professional criminals, gamblers, and prostitutes. But, in the latter case, we are ordinarily referring to finesse with which tasks are accomplished. Even if there could emerge an agreement that only socially approved occupations are prefessions, it would be difficult to obtain consensus upon the status of different professionals, viz, engineers, teachers, and pharmacists. Socially approved occupations means that practitioners possess a sense of responsibility. This implies not only pride in their craft, but also a moral obligation to perform their occupational tasks at maximum efficiency. The term 'professional' in fact, differentiates not one but several dimensions, such as amount and kind of training, committment, and working conditions. Secondly, the group of occupations called profession has been assigned contradictory missions and

1. T. Leggatt, 'teaching as a Profession in Professions and Professionalisation (ed). J.A. Jackson, Cambridge University Press, London 1970.

cultural outlooks. Naturally, therefore, professionals have been diversely labelled, viz, 'new class' 'lackeys of capital', 'leader of service society', and 'misleaders of a dismal bureaucratic future', to cite a few.² Finally, the historical background of professions can be traced to the hoary past, other occupational titles subsumed under profession appeared (literally) only Yesterday.

Despite these and other difficulties in defining 'profession', one can come across various definitions in the literature. For example, Oxford English Dictionary defines a profession as "a vocation in which professed knowledge of some department of learning or science is used in its application to affairs of others or in the practice of an art founded on it". This definition emphasises the intellectualistic dimension of profession, but, it ignores many others, such as ethical and authority aspects. In sociological terms, 'professionalism is one that views a profession as an organized group which is constantly interacting with society that forms its matrix, which performs its social function through a network of formal and informal relationships and which creates its own sub-culture requiring adjustment to it as a pre-requisite for career success or, professions are those occupations which involve the use of knowledge and techniques by a

2. Galbraith, John Kennelt, *American Capitalism*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1952.

practitioner directly upon, or on behalf of, a client in order to maintain, or induce in the client a culturally determined and socially approved state of well-being.³

It may be noted here that sociological definitions do lay stress on the social aspect of professions but they do so at the cost of ignorance of the individual aspect. Marshall holds that the "essence of professionalism is the individual qualities of the professional" which makes for individual judgement and assumption of individual responsibility not concerned with self-interest; but with the welfare of the client.⁴ It is clear, then, that none of these definitions singularly convey the complete view of the concept.

The Marxist definition of profession may also be discussed here. Oppenheimer and his associate write: until recently, 'professional' meant work involving discretion and judgement so that it is difficult or impossible to standardize or mechanize; work in which the worker produces an entire product, be it a painting, a surgical operation, a book, a bridge, or, an idea; where the worker's pace, work place conditions, product, its use (even to a degree its price) are largely determined by the worker; where, ideally the

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3. Oppenheimer, Martin, et.al. Professions and Middle Class Professionalisation/Deprofessionalisation, Sage Publications, Beverly Hills, 1982.
 4. Marshall, T.N. "Professionalism and Social Policy", William, H. Form. Men, Work and Society : A Reader in the Sociology of Occupations, Basic Books, N.Y. 1962.

source of income is an individually regulated sale of product or service under fairly loose market conditions established by face-to-face bargaining rather than sale of labour time in advance of the creation of anything; and where the bulk of income goes to the worker without any bureaucratic intermediary except perhaps an agent (as in the case of an artist). Finally, by implication professional activity is work involving high levels of training, apprenticeship, or other forms of formalized education. Professionalisation is a process by which persons in an occupational category struggle to gain the advantages of being professional.

By profession we mean here those occupations which are based on practice and ideology of people who call their occupation a profession and claim certain prerogatives, and, in exchange, they offer or claim to offer certain services due to expertise they possess by way of specialized training which, in turn, results in creation and control of a protected, or institutionalised market.

Modern Professionalization.

Because of the difficulties inherent in accepting any one definition of profession, scholars have chosen a different path; they define professions by criteria. And, various attempts have been made to itemize the traits of profession which emerged in response to new market opportunities, created by industrialization and urbanisation

and to the decline of communal warrants of professional probability.⁵ From a careful examination of the sociological literature on professions, there appears to be consensus on the following attributes of a profession :

- (1) a body of abstract knowledge, (2) service-orientation,
- (3) professional authority, (4) community sanction,
- (5) professional-client relationship, (6) code of ethics,
- and (7) a professional culture. These organisational strategies were adopted by professional leaders for the creation of a protected or institutional market and for collective occupational and social ascension.

The constitution and control of a protected market requires the creation of a standardized and uniform system of training of professional producers. This was achieved by specific bodies of theoretical - technical knowledge. The first fundamental feature of profession thus is the abstract body of knowledge. "It is this characteristic, the possession of an intellectual technique acquired by special training, which can be applied to some spheres of everyday life that forms the distinguishing mark of a profession."⁶

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5. Goode, William J. "Encroachment, Charlatanism and the Emerging Professions : Psychology, Sociology and Medicine". American Sociological Review, Vol.25, 1960, pp. 902-914.
 6. Carr-Saunders A.M., and P.A. Wilson, "The Emergence of Professions", Sigmund Nosow and William H. Form(eds), Occupations, Basic Books, N.Y. 1962.

A body of knowledge is concerned with the basic fields of inquiry : Scientific institutional, or aesthetic. Employment of the scientific method is nurtured by, and, in turn, reinforces the element of, what Parsons, following Weber, calls, rationality. This could only be achieved in the modern type of university, a training institution which culminates in the production of knowledge (the research function) with the standardized production of professional producers (the teaching function)⁷. In the evolution of every profession, therefore, there emerges the research and teaching functions. In technological profession a division of labour between theory-oriented and practice-oriented person evolves. The higher education is thus, a key variable in professionalisation. As this occurs in more and more professions, it becomes a generalised social assumption that all educated people - university trained and certified - are per se professionals so that anything they do is professional.

The second core characteristic of profession is strong service orientation. The assumption is that the members of the occupational group called 'professions' utilize their knowledge and superior skills on the behalf of other members of the society. The professionals are

7. Talcott Parsons, "Professions" in David and Shils (ed). The International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, Vol. 12. New Delhi : Macmillan 1968 pp. 536-46.

assumed to be altruistic; for them, their own particular interest is secondary and the interest of other members of the society primary.

The third distinctive quality of profession is professional authority. The prolonged specialised training in a body of abstract knowledge imparts the professional a type of knowledge that highlights the common man's comparative ignorance. The concept of professionalism involves the sense of becoming expert in something recondite and unusual available only to guild members. This creates a sense of uniqueness, of having claim to a special territory forbidden to outsiders. This fact serves as the bastion of professional authority. It is easy to understand it by drawing a distinction between a 'customer' and a 'client'.

A professional occupation has a client, while a non-professional occupation a customer. Whereas customer exercises his own judgement about his own welfare in non-professional occupations, the professional dictates the client in professional occupation about what is good or bad for him. For, the client is supposed to be lacking the requisite theoretical knowledge. So the client can know neither his own needs nor can evaluate the calibre of the professional service. The client's sub-ordination to professional authority invests the professional with a 'monopoly of judgement'. However, professional's authority is confined to those specific spheres within which professional has been educated; it is not limitless. To this parsons calls "functional specificity".

The practical goal of 'professionalization' movements was not only to establish a system of training, but to make it the mandatory point of entry into professional practice - the monopolistic source of legitimate professional producers. It is here that one comes across the label of 'profession' and associated powers and prerogatives are not given; they are struggled for and gained through self - interested assertions. Every profession seeks community sanctions, (in Italian) so its authority. In doing so, every profession gradually comes to enjoy a series of powers and privileges - formal and informal.

The formal authority of professions is enforced by the community's State power. Every profession succeeds in taking control over training centres, achieved through an accrediting process exercised by one of the associations within it. It, then, regulates its schools to their number, location, curriculum content, and prerequisites for entry. This is justified by seemingly objective and universalistic criteria of recruitment and achievement - a meritocratic appeal to expertise. Every profession, in this process, succeeds in declaring others as imposters to those not having been conferred a professional title by an accredited professional school and institutes a licensing system for screening those qualified to practice professional skill. Important privileges enjoyed by professionals is privileged communication, shared solely between client and professional, and relative immunity from community judgement. On technical matters, ^{the} ~~poorers~~ ^{powers} and

privileges enjoyed by a profession give it monopoly. It, then, becomes easier for a profession to establish that this profession depends on superior skill obtained by specialised training that it delivers a superior service, and that it serves the human needs of sufficient social significance. This monopolization of expertise insured and justified the monopoly of opportunities in a market of services or labour and monopoly of status and privileges. Mechanisms are instituted to regulate control over the supply of both expertise and experts at the point of production. Thus, scarcity of personnel is created and high income and privileged working conditions remain assured.⁸

The fifth quality of profession is the professional - client relationship. Their relationship revolves around three types of interaction which exists between professional and their clients; characteristics of the participants in the interaction; characteristics determining initiation and termination of the interaction; and characteristics of interaction itself. First of all, the professional - client relationship hinges on the belief that professional possesses expertise and the client is in need of that expertise. Secondly, the professional - client relationship

8. Davis Kingsley, and Willbert E. Hoore, "Some Principles Stratification", American Sociological Review, Vol. 10, No. 2, (April, 1945), pp. 242-49.

is governed by norms which require that the interaction he initiated by the client and the termination of interaction be initiated by the professional, though the client is generally at liberty to leave the professional at any time and thus terminate the relationship is either when the client's problem has been solved, or the professional has reached the limits of his capability in aiding the client.⁹ Finally, the interaction between client and professional consists of four substantive content :

(1) privileged communication; (2) professional alone capable of interpreting and the client must return to the professional for additional help; (3) decisions of professionals limited to the specific interaction period, confined both th 'here and now' situation and to the particular client; and (4) unaccountability, that is dicisions rendered by the professional not ordinary appealable to an outside authority.

The sixth attribute of profession is the 'professional ethics'. The monopoly acquired by a profession vis-a-vis clients and community can be abused in a number of ways. And, if the abuses become widespread and permanent, the community will revoke the profession's monopoly. "The strong is never strong enough," wrote

9. Wilensky, Haroldl., "The Professionalisation of Everyone?" American Journal of Sociology. Vol. 70, 1964.

Rousseau, "to be always the master, unless he transforms strength into right, and obedience into duty".¹⁰ Therefore, every profession has a built-in professional regulative codes which compels ethical behaviour on the parts of its members. The professions' ethical code is partly formal (written) and partly informal (unwritten). Every profession, through its ethical code, makes the profession's commitment to social service a matter of public record, as these codes carry more altruistic overtones and are public-service oriented. While specifics of the ethical code vary among profession's, the essentials are uniform. The ethics of professions are usually described in terms of client - professional and colleague - colleague relationship. Ethics governing client - professional relations assume cosmopolitanism, emotional neutrality, universalism, and disinterestedness.¹¹ Ethics governing colleague - colleague relations demand behaviour that is co-operative, equalitarian, and supportive. The consultation - referral custom involves professional colleagues in a system of reciprocity. Members of a profession share technical knowledge with each other and support each other vis-a-vis

10. Rousseau, Jean - Jacques, *The Social Contract and Discourses*, E.P. Dutton and Co., New York 1950
11. Reissman, Leonard, "A Study of Role Conception in Bureaucracy," *Social Forces*, Vol. 77, 1949.

clientele and community.

The seventh fruit of professions is that there emerges a professional culture, consisting of values, norms and symbols.¹² Every profession operates through a network of formal and informal groups. Among the formal groups are organisations which serve as a meeting ground for client and professional educational and research congress which replenish professionals and expand the fund of knowledge, and professional associations which promote group interest and aims. Within and around these formal groups, there are a number of informal groups. This creates cultural configuration for professionals to operate. One of the central concepts of professional culture is career concept. The term 'career' is, as a rule, employed only with reference to a professional occupation. At the heart of the career concept is certain attitude towards work which is peculiarly professional. A career is essentially a calling, a life devoted a good work. Professional work is never seen solely as a means to an end, it is seen as an end in itself. It is devotion to duty itself which imparts the professional activity the service orientation and the element of disinterestedness. To the professional person his work becomes his life.

12. Bledstein, B.J., The Culture of Professionalism, Norton, New York, 1976.

These, then, are some of the characteristics of professions. However, these criteria do not succeed fully in distinguishing professions from other occupations. True difference between a professional and non-professional occupation is not a qualitative but quantitative one. Strictly speaking, these attributes are not the exclusive monopoly of the profession; non-professional occupations also possess them, but to a lesser degree. Greenwood seems to us to be right when he says that the occupations in a society he thought as distributing themselves along a continuum. At one end of this continuum are bunched the well-organised and undisputed professions (e.g., physician, professor, scientist); at the opposite end are bunched the least skilled and least attractive occupations (e.g., watchmen, truckloader, farm labourer). The remaining occupations, less skilled and less pretigious than the former, but more so than the latter, are distributed between these two poles. The occupations bunched at the professional pole of the continuum possess to a maximum degree the characteristics succinctly described in the preceding paragraphs. "Endless debate is available on such attributes as distinguish a profession from an occupation even though both may exist within the same occupational structure in a society".¹³

13. J.S. Gandhi. "Sociology of Professions in India : Towards a Profile of relevance" in Sociological Bulletin Vol. 32, 32, 1983 pp. (14-34)

The Professions : Approaches to their Study.

Three major approaches to the area have emerged. The first was led by Everelt C. Hughes at the University of Chicago known as the Chicago School or the symbolic interactionist approach - its theorists emphasise the generative nature of social interaction. Occupations are viewed as role performances that must be constantly re-examined because of the changing nature of the situational environment of social interaction. The conflict orientation predominates internal conflicts, self-interests, and competition come under the scrutiny of the participant observer's eye.¹⁴

The second major approach, the Ivy League School or Structuralist approach of occupational sociology (also frequently referred to as the functionalist school), followed the development of the Chicago School in time by about two decades. The advent of this competing school dates from the publication of Talcolt Persons'. The Structure of Social Action in 1937. Highly abstract and theoretical, this approach is much different from the descriptive ethnographic approach of the Chicago School. Professions are viewed as essentially stable institutions that reflect community values and goals. As such, they are considered most important to the occupational and social structure of

14. Hugles The Sociological Eye, Vols. 2 (Chicago : Aldine - Atherton, 1971).

society. The professions are emphasized as functioning units that perform certain needed tasks for society. The focus is on social structure, and occupations are important social institutions that provide underlying support for the society. Professions have certain unique characteristics or attributes that are a measure of professionalisation. In contrast, the interactionist approach views a profession as a social control system that is supported by its own ideology and mystique. The emphasis is on social processes and change.

The third approach, the social class approach, is based on the Marxist definition of class as a nationally organised group with its own ideology and willingness to act. Theorists of this approach predict that the contradictions of capitalism will lead certain occupations to class formation and class action to transform the capitalist mode of production.

The Structuralist Approach.

Most structuralists have approached the study of professions by either explicitly or implicitly constructing a continuum of the degree of professionalisation of occupations. The characteristics commonly attributed to a profession are : a body of knowledge and a developed intellectual technique with a formulated systematic theory or set of theories. This knowledge is transmitted by a formalized educational process and testing procedure set up by members of the profession. A code of ethics governs

relations with colleagues, clients, and the public. This formally established the set of values of the profession, in which a service orientation is emphasized. There is the idea of a career, a 'calling' in the service of the public which, through authority in its sphere of knowledge monopoly in all matters related to its service, and objectivity in its theory and techniques will advance social progress. On the basis of this the public will grant the profession its mandate, the formal recognition of status by means of state and federal licensing. The more of these attributes an occupation has and the more developed each of these attributes is, the more professionalized the occupation is.

Some Problems of the Structuralist Approach.

Examining this "attributes" or "traits" model of professionalisation presents many problems to the user. Can one assume that occupations are unidimensional; that is, can they be placed on a single continuum on the basis of the attributes of a profession? There are some high - prestige occupations that do not aspire to develop many of the characteristics of professionalisation. The occupation of mathematician, for example, does not emphasise several of the attributes of a profession, such as the service motive and a code of ethics. So, where does it fit on the continuum? For example, what weight do we give to a code of ethics as compared to the body of knowledge?

The validity of each of the attributes has been questioned repeatedly by critics of this model. One points to the problem of overemphasis on the rate of scientific knowledge resulting from the reliance on the medical profession as the model for a knowledge base. For example, the law profession's body of knowledge is not scientific. It comprises a body of social norms and the procedures for their application.¹⁵ It is not an internally consistent system of abstract propositions that describe in general forms the classes of phenomena comprising the profession's focus of interest.¹⁶ Under this definition, law is not a profession and neither is sociology. As Phillips points out, even if sociological data could be collected with little respondent bias, as it rarely is, sociologists have not been able to explain their data adequately. In empirical research they have explained only about 10 per cent of the variance in dependent variables as caused by independent variables - not a reliable figure.¹⁷ Yet both law and sociology are considered professions by the public.

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15. Dietrich Reuschmeyer, "Doctors and Lawyers : A Comments on the Theory of the Professions", *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 1 (February, 1964), 21.
 16. Greenwood, "Attributes of a Profession". P.46.
 17. Derek L. Phillips, "Sociologists and their knowledge : Some Critical Remarks on a Profession", *American Behavioral Scientist*, 14 (March-April 1971) pp. 563-82.

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The question of professional ethics remains a serious problem in the measurement of professionalisation. Do ethical codes protect the client or are they really only a mask for greater professional control of the market for the client's services ? For example, restrictions on advertising are found in the codes of many of the established professions.

Another problem is the lack of comprehensiveness of the list of attributes. One attribute that is rarely included in the list, effective interpersonal relations, is very important in some professions. This is especially true in university teaching, in which personal traits such as congeniality, cooperativeness, and general likeability are extremely important. In a content analysis of a sample of 110 letters of recommendation for faculty candidates to departments of chemistry and English; Lionel Lewis found these personal factors to be the capital concern of the employing professionals.

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To summarise the structural model of professions, professions are service occupations that : (1) "apply a systematic body of knowledge to problems which (2) are highly relevant to control values of society".¹⁸ This enacts special problems of social control, because lay persons cannot judge professional performance. The two most common forms of social control, bureaucratic supervision and customer judgement are useless in this situation. The emphasis is instead on the professional's self-control, as developed in a long socialisation process

18. Reuschmeyer, "Doctors and Lawyers", P-17.

into the ethics of the profession and supplemented by colleague pressures. In return for the selflessness of the professional, society grants privileges such as high income and prestige and protects the professionals autonomy from lay interference and control. This is accomplished by norms that restrict certain forms of competition, laws against quacks (non-licensed practitioners) and the like.

Structuralists have also indicated that the development of professions is affected by attitudes and beliefs. Following the work of Hall, Ritzer has suggested that the six characteristics of a profession have both structural and attitudinal (individual) components. Professionalisation represents or measurement of the six characteristics of an occupation, whereas professionalism represents a measurement of six individuals characteristics within an occupation.¹⁹ The latter are the same as the six sub-continue a measuring professionalisation, except that they refer to individuals' attitudes regarding the profession. A particularly good example of professionalism is the phenomenon of professional socialisation, where students are taught the skills, norms, and values needed for them to view themselves and to be viewed by others as professionals an occupation. These

19. George Ritzer, Gale Miller, Richard Bell, and Virginia Mekefery, "The Current Status of Occupational Sociology," paper presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Sociological Society, Omaha, Nebraska, 1974.

attitudes really do not have much effect on professionalisation unless the occupation "continually fail(s) to adequately socialise its new members."

Thus, professionalisation is affected very little by attitudes and beliefs. More important, professionalism is limited to know persons in their occupation perceive themselves. There is no reference to how others perceive the occupation - a key explanatory factor of Chicago School Theorists.

The Interactionist Approach.

Interactionists view a profession as a set of role relationships between expert and client. The expert provides an esoteric skill in a service given to a client. The client in turn gives trust and payment of an equitable fee. The key factors, as set forth by Everett Hughes in numerous essays, are (1) autonomy, of the professional in the work setting (i.e., autonomy, or freedom from control over one's work), and (2) trust of the client that the professional is working in the best interests of the client. "A profession (as a type of occupation) is a social role defined by the nature of the relationship between the professional and his client."²⁰ Professing to know certain skills better than clients and professing to use them for

20. Everett C. Hughes, "Twenty Thousand Nurses Fell Their Story. (Philadelphia : J.B. Lippencolt, 1958), p. 236.

their clients' benefit and having clients believe this is the basic for the claim for the exclusive right to practice in a given area. The motto is not caveat emptor (let the buyer beware), but credet emptor (let the buyer believe in us). This gives the professional the authority over this area of knowledge - the most important characteristics of a profession.²¹

Professions, Professionalisation, and Professionalism.

Interactionists define professionalisation as a process involving three basic activities :

1. The founding, proliferation, or transformation of an institution in which a new profession and other interested occupations struggle over their respective rates in the new areas of work.
2. The development and strengthening of a training school, first outside and then inside the university.
3. The standardisation of schooling, which acts as a basis for licensing to work in the occupation.²²

A profession is not a structure, nor is it a state of mind. It is not rules, but the activity that gives the profession its social reality. People agree to its

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21. Everett C. Hughes, "Education for a Profession", The Library Quarterly, 31 (October, 1981).
 22. Anselm Strauss, "Profession, Work and Careers" (San Francisco : The Sociology Press, 1971, pp. 69-70.

legitimacy and then act accordingly.²³

Professionalism, on the other hand, is a state of mind.²⁴ Professionalisation is what actually exists; professionalism is what is legitimated by society or its representatives, regardless of what exists. It is an ideology, a system of shared belief, and values that legitimate the collective claims of the profession and of those outside the profession.²⁵ Professionalism is an advocacy, not a behavioral fact. As such, it serves as a political force to protect and enhance the position of the profession in society. As one view states ; "Professionalism is a label used by occupations to win power and prestige.

Professionalism is what is thought about a profession. But because what is thought about it in large part defines what it is and what it gets in terms of power and prestige, professionalism greatly affects an occupation's ability to professionalise (to become licensed, set up a

23. Ralf L. Blankenship, "Professions, Colleagues, and organisations," in Ralf L. Blankenship (ed.), *Colleagues in Organisation* (New York : John Wiley & Sons, in Press).
24. F.J.C.Seymour, "What is Professionalism," in Howard M.Vollmer and Donald L. Mills (eds.), Professionalisation (Englewood Cliffs, N.J. : Prentice - Hall, 1966), p-129.
25. The definition of ideology is from Burkhardt Holzner, *Reality Construction in Society*, Rev. ed. (Cambridge, Mass : Schenckman Publishing Co., 1972), Chapter-10.

code of ethics. Professionalisation is the measure of depth and adherence to the code. Professionalism is what practitioners say about their honesty. Professionalisation is a measure of how honest they are.

Professionalisation is also a process. As the result of professionalism, it "represents the efforts of some members of a vocation to control and to monopolize their work. They will seek to wrest power from those groups that traditionally have controlled the vocation."²⁶ The objective is to attain collective mobility of members of an occupation. Those who are unwilling or unable to be mobile are turned out of the occupation. Those in control do not give up the right to maintain the social movement. Thus, professionalisation often is a militant process.

The professional ideology is important to all aspects of the maintenance and development of an occupation. The range and diffusion of the public stereotype will determine to a considerable degree the number and variety of persons an occupation can recruit.²⁷ A profession's belief in its autonomy will determine what actions it will take as a group in order to

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26. Ronald G. Corwin, *Militant Professionalism : A Study of Organisational Conflict in High Schools* (New York : Appluton - century - crofts, 1970) p-8.
27. Howard & Becker and Anselm L. Stranss, "Career, Personality, and Adult Socialisation", *American Journal of Sociology*, 62 (Nov. 1956), 255.

professionalize. Autonomy, the key variable in measuring professionalisation, is itself an important ideology.²⁸

A good example of professionalism exists in the medical profession. Physicians have obtained direct control over the development and maintenance of the body of knowledge and the specialised expertise resulting from it. There is a high degree of autonomy. In a comprehensive analysis of the American, medical profession, Eliot Friedson concludes that physicians receive autonomy when state officials believe that their profession has attached certain attributes, whether in fact they have, they then confer on it a mandate and licence to control its work.²⁹

Control of knowledge also can lead to attempts to mystify knowledge in order to keep it away from the public and other professions. Freedom describes how medicine began to compete strongly with religion and law in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. With areas such as hysteria, neurosis, and depression being defined as illness instead of sin or crime, medicine has narrowed the limits if not weakened "the jurisdiction of the traditional control institutions of religion and law.

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28. Phyllis L. Stewart and Huriel G. Cantor, *Varieties of Work Experience* (New York : John Wiley & Sons, 1974), pp. 356-59.
29. Eliot Friedson, *Profession of Medicine* (New York : Bood, Wead, 1970), pp. 186-87.

Like control of knowledge, control over training in imparting that, that knowledge is an important aspect of professionalism. The amount and duration of training is secondary in importance to control of the training process. "power and persuasive rhetoric are of greater importance than the objective character of knowledge, training and work".

Also, there is no reliable information to indicate that the service orientation is a strong and indispread attribute among professionals. "It too, like training, can be deliberately created so as to attempt to persuade politically important figures of the virtues of the occupation".³⁰

Interactionists emphasise the centrality of power as an explanatory variable in examining professions. As such, a historical and comparative analysis of occupations is emphasised. Professions are classified into three major "streams" of professionalisation ; (1) those of medieval origin (law, ministry, medicine); (2) those that developed later from lower, order occupations to professional occupations (accounting, psychiatry, architecture); and (3) the recent emergence of scientific occupations to professions (chemistry, physics, Engineering). Conflict often occurs between occupations in these three categories.

30. Freidson, Profession of Medicine, pp. 81-82.

THE SOCIAL CLASS APPROACH.

In analysing professions as social classes, the Marxian definition of social class may be used as the basis for measurement. A social class is a group of people with basically the same economic life chances, organized society-wide, and who have their own ideology, cultural configuration, and propensity to act. Conventional American definitions include only the first of these characteristics. Occupational prestige, as measured by the NORC scale and Duncan Socio-Economic Index, is taken to be the measure of social class, since social class becomes synonymous with social status. In the major analyses of U.S. class structure by Warner, Hollingshead, the Lynds, and Centers, the economic base of stratification is measured by occupation.³¹ Duncan's objective measure of social status, obtained by measuring the income and education of those in a given occupation, is highly correlated to the findings of the NORC study. These occupational ratings are easily translated into social class categories of upper class, middle class, working class, and the like researcher (the objective technique of stratification). Or, less commonly, the social class categories obtained by techniques used in the earlier community studies

31. W.Lloyd Warner and Paul S.Lunt, the Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1941) P. 81.

(i.e., the subjective and reputational techniques) are assigned occupations on the basis of occupational prestige scales or even the U.S. Bureau of the Census occupational classification system.

Most recent studies of the U.S. Class structure continue in this tradition, which means that income and education are accorded primary importance. One of the best known analyses is by Peter Blau, and Otis Dudley Duncan.^{32.}

A large number of these status group studies support the human capital theory that ability plus education lead directly to class (i.e., occupational) mobility. However, Blau and Duncan do point to variables by race. A few sociologists (e.g., E.Wright Mills and G.William Donhoff) have attempted to uncover the weakness of this approach by examining what they consider to be the basis for a national upper class by utilizing the Marxist definition of social class. However, it is not until the limited and selective effects of education are documented by recent empirical studies that the dominance of the "status group" emphasis has begun to decline and the "social class" emphasis has gained momentum.

The large majority of adherents of both emphases do not view the professions per se as a social class.

32. The American Occupational Structure (New York : John Wiley R. Sons, 1967).

They are not considered to be united in belief and action. The emphasis in the profession in the professions is on separation, autonomy, and the individual career. Talcott Parsons argued that professions are not groups that put business men, primarily in their self-interest.³³ Or, as Robert Merton has declared, professionals do not have to feel altruistic but only must act altruistic because the professional community has institutionalised altruistic behaviour.³⁴

The most fully developed argument that occupations, and especially professions, are not the basis for social classes is given by Joseph Bensman and Robert Lilienfeld. They say that occupational perspectives do not necessarily had to class perspectives. Occupations at similar status levels may have entirely different rates of growth, expansion, and decline and thereby differentially color the perspective of the worker. Workers do not develop a similar consciousness from similar experiences because they perceive the same experience (social relations) in different ways. A prime example is the ability of an artist, psychoanalyst; or intellectual to serve either the

33. Talcott Parsons, "The Professions and Social Structure," *Social Forces*, 17 (May 1939), pp. 457-67.

34. Robert K. Merton, *Some Thoughts on the Professions in American Society*, Brown University, University Papers No. 37 (July 8, 1960) P.13. Also, Bon - Daved's review of the functionalist position in his "Professions in the Class System of Present-Day Societies," *Current Sociology*, 12 (1964), p-248.

elite or the masses. There is no consciousness of a common fate to pull workers together because the conditions of true exploitation do not exist. Nor does the ideology, usually developed by the intellectuals, help them unite.³⁵

Social class is a phenomenon of collective action. A bureaucracy, on the other hand, attempts to have its members identify their ideas and interests with the organisation instead of engaging in collective action. As Partial bureaucrats the professions are not organised as social class. No do most writers think they will be. Their view as that not only the interests of bureaucracy but also self-interests prevent their organisation. The most that can be hoped for is sets of conflicting interest groups.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

There are three basic approaches in the study of the professions : interactionist, structuralist, and based upon Social class, they are also known as the Chicago School, the Ivy League School, and the Marxist approaches, respectively. The interactionist approach follows symbolic interaction thereby quite closely, whereas the structuralist is based on functionalism. The social class approach relies mostly on conflict

35. Bensman and Lilienfeld, Craft and Consciousness : pp. 171-72.

theory. The primary basis for explaining occupational stratification for each approach is social power (interactionist), social status (structuralist), and social class (social class). These three bases are the major elements for grading people socially.

Structuralists generally view the professions as containing attributes not present in other occupations or present only to a minor degree. In its emphasis on structure and stability, this approach has ignored the ideological component of professional occupations, that is professionalism. Interactionist have shown clearly how professionals are often able to use professionalism, that is, to obtain legitimation of their work without necessarily possessing the tributes required for such legitimation. Because of this, there quite often is conflict within and between professions.

Adherents to the social class approach perceive in this conflict the ultimate disenchantment of some professionals and intellectuals, who will then become part of the growing working class.

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Chapter - 3.

Evolution of Management.

Perhaps there is no more important area of human activity than managing, for it is the basic task of all managers at all levels and in all kinds of enterprises to design and maintain an environment in which individuals working together in groups can accomplish preselected missions and objectives. In other words, managers are supposed to have the responsibility of taking actions that will make it possible for individuals to make their best contributions to group objectives. Managers can not perform their task well unless they have an understanding of, and are responsive to, the many elements of the economic, technological, social, political, and ethical environments that affect their areas of operations.¹

The science of management can be traced back to the days when people first attempted to accomplish goals by working together in groups. It has gradually evolved with the growth of trade, commerce, and industry. Prior to the Industrial Revolution which took place sometime in the middle of the eighteenth century, production of goods was undertaken on a small scale. It was the

1. Harold Koontz and CRYIL O' DONNELL, Management, Mc.Graw-Hill KOGAKUSHI, LTD, JAPAN, 1976.

stage of self-sufficient economy, when the human needs were limited; whatever production was undertaken, it was primarily for self-consumption and not for exchange. Production was carried on within the family, by the family.

In the middle ages, the producers gradually bound themselves together into compact organisation known as guilds and crafts. There were two kinds of guilds, viz, merchant guilds and craft guilds. Merchant guilds were association of traders and their principal objectives were to protect the interest of their members, look after their safety and security, discourage unfair competition and encourage mutual help. They also carried on foreign trade for which they were granted royal characters. Craft guilds developed with the growth of handicraft system. These were, in fact, associations of the artisans who were engaged in the same occupation. Their main functions were (i) to help in the standardisation of production, (ii) to regulate the sale of products; (iii) to fix the wages of the artisans; and (iv) to frame rules regarding workers working conditions, hours of work etc. As the craft guilds grew in strength, the importance of merchant guilds diminished considerably and ultimately they disappeared. In course of time, the craft guilds too were replaced by 'domestic system' of production. The essence of this system lies in the birth of a new factor

of production - the entrepreneur. During the guild age, the craftsmen used to purchase their own land and material and transform the same into finished goods in their workshops. But in the domestic system of production, the entrepreneur used to purchase the essential raw-material and handed them over to the workers, who used to process them in their own homes. Thus the workers were not required to make any investment in land, tools or materials. The risks of production and sale was undertaken by the entrepreneurs and retain the surplus in the form of profits.

Again, the commercial revolution of the 15th & 16th centuries, the Industrial Revolution of the 18th century and the doctrine of Laissez-fair, which predominated the entire world in the 18th & 19th century, had led to far-reaching and revolutionary changes. The modern factory system of production is the natural outcome of those consequences. Under the factory system, the capitalist employer not only provides the raw-materials and dispose of finished products, but also controls the intermediate process. The machinery is so costly that it is beyond the reach of work man. The labour is not his own material. All that a labour does is to provide the human labour force which is applied through machines in work-sites owned by the capitalist employer. Besides, there were the forces at work which helped in the development of the modern business system. Accounting was developed in Italy

in the 15th century. Insurance was extensively used by Dutch business enterprises in the 16th century. In England, the Goldsmiths of London indulged in banking operations in the middle of the 17th century and the Bank of England was established in 1694.

Now, let us have a glance at the characteristics of the modern factory system of production which have necessitated the use of art and science of Management. The first and the foremost is the large-scale production. Secondly, a new capitalist class has been created in industry, which, on the basis of amassed wealth, can purchase all the essential M's of Industry i.e., men, machines and materials. Thirdly, the possibilities of international trade have opened up new markets in the different parts of the world. Inventions of all kinds and wider markets have led to greater, better, and cheaper production. Thus, there has been an expansion in the size of industries and consequently the task of management became a matter of concern. The form of business has also changed from the sole proprietorship to joint stock company. The momentum caused by legislation of the full privileges of limited liability in joint stock ownership.

As wealth, luxury and ease grew, the leadership of industry began to lack force and determination. Ownership became inclined to rest upon its cars, it

became decreasingly a driving force. Joint ownership followed, and with it came management in modern sense. This change in the ownership of industry led to three significant developments. First, increased capital, bigger plants and bigger staff made possible large scale production. Secondly, democratic industrial ownership implied a definite divorce between labour, capital and management. Thirdly, combinations and big business movements became inevitable which, in turn, required that each concern should be directed by a permanent and expert body of men, so that policy might be coordinated throughout the business organisation. Thus at the beginning of the 20th century management evolved and stood in a more clearly defined position than ever before. It has gradually drifted away from capital & assumed an entity of its own as a definite function in the industrial organisation, distinguishable alike from capital on the one hand and labour on the other. Today, management is emerging as the directing force of industry and is gradually becoming a profession:

Early Contributions to Management.

Having discussed the evolution of management with the growth of trade and commerce, let us now briefly look at the early contributions to management. Many records and ideas relating to management date from antiquity.

Among these are the records of the Egyptians, the early Greeks, and the ancient Romans. In addition, there have been the experience and administrative practices of the catholic church, military organisations and the cameralists of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.

Management in Antiquity.

Interpretations of early Egyptian Papyri; extending as far back as 1300 B.C., indicate the recognition of the importance of organisation and administration in the bureaucratic systems of antiquity.² Similar records exist in ancient China, Confucius's parables include practical suggestions for proper public administration and admonitions to choose honest, unselfish, and capable public officers.³

Although, the records of early Greek do not give much insight into the principles of management employed, the very existence of the Athenian commonwealth, with its councils, popular courts, administration officials, and board of generals indicates an apprehension of the managerial function. Socarate's definition of management as a skill separate from technical knowledge and experience is remarkably close to our current understanding of functions.

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2. A Lepawsky, Administration, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. New York, 1949, pp. 78-81.
 3. L.S.HSU, The Political Philosophy of Confucianism E.P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1932, pp. 124.

The records of management in Ancient Rome are incomplete, although it is well-known that the complexity of the administration job evoked considerable development of managerial techniques. The importance of Rome magistrates, with their functional areas of authority and degree of importance, indicates a scalar relationship characteristic of organisation. Indeed, it is thought that the real genius of the Romans and the secret of success of the Roman Empire lay in the ability of these people to organise. Through the use of the scalar principle and the delegation of authority, the city of Rome was expanded to an empire with an efficiency of organisation that had never before been observed.

The Roman Catholic Church.

If one is to judge by age, the most effective formal organisation in the history of western civilization has been the Roman catholic church. Its long organisational life has been due not only to the appeal of its objectives but also to the effectiveness of the organisation and management techniques. Striking example of these techniques are the development of the hierarchy of authority with its scalar territorial organisation, the specialisation of activities along functional lines, and the early, intelligent use of the staff device. It is remarkable that, for centuries, their successful employment by the church had virtually no influence on other organisations. In his study of this, Mooney expresses the belief that "nothing but the

general neglect of the study of organisation" can explain why the staff principle so important to the organisation of the Catholic Church, did not take root in other organisations until fair recently.

Military Organisations :

Some of the more important principles and practices of modern management may be traced to military organisations. Except for the Church, no other organisation in the history of Western civilization has been forced, by the problems of managing large groups, to develop organisation principles. Yet, despite the need, military organisation failed to put much theory to use before the past two centuries.

Although military organisations remained fairly simple until recent times, being limited largely to refinements of authority relationships, they have, over the centuries, gradually improved their techniques of leadership. Early armies, even though composed of mercenaries, were often characterised by adequate morale and the complimentary relationship of individuals and group objectives. History is replete with examples of military leaders who communicated their plans and objectives to their followers, thereby developing what Mooney calls a "unity of doctrine" in the organisation. Even as autocratic a commander as Napoleon supplemented his power to command with a careful explanation of the purpose of his orders.

The Cameralists.

The cameralists were a group of German and Austrian public administrators and intellectuals who generally held, from sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, the same tenets as the British mercantilist and the French Physiocratic schools of political economy. They all believed that to enhance the position of a state, it was necessary to maximise material wealth. But the cameralist school alone emphasised systematic administration as a source of strength and was one of the earliest groups to do so.

The cameralists believed as well in the universality of management techniques, nothing that the same qualities which increased an individual's wealth were called for in the proper administration of the state and its departments. In developing management principles, they emphasised specialisation of function, care in selection and training of sub-ordinates for administrative positions, establishment of the office of controller in the government, expedition of legal processes, and simplification of administrative procedures.

Considering the pressing need for the best possible management practice, it seems surprising that most of the development of management theory has been confined to the past few decades and others generally have been awakening to the need only since world war II. This, however, does not mean that there was no concern, no theory, no attempt to develop a science of management until this time. Indeed, many persons - most practitioners - attempted to bring some

orderly thinking to management. But in a field of such importance, there should have been a stronger interest in, and a much faster growth of, management thought many years ago.

It is worthwhile discussing some of the reasons for the slowness in the development of management profession. Although, business institutions of insurance, credit, and marketing were developed in the Middle Ages and although these and still others were formed by the time of Industrial Revolution in the 19th century, business was long regarded as a degrading profession/occupation. Aristotle's characterisation of buying and selling as "unnatural" moneymaking, Adam Smith's⁴ disparaging remarks concerning business and Napoleon's⁵ castigation of England as a "nation of shopkeepers" are evidences of this fact. Even in the past century, business was often regarded by the educated as a somewhat inglorious occupation. Indeed, one can say that only in the past half century has the businessmen begun to hold a place of respect.

Another reason for the delay has been the preoccupation of economists with political economy and the non-managerial aspects of business. In their analysis of business enterprise and the development of philosophical

4. Aristotle, Politics and Ethics.

5. Adam Smith, Wealth of Nations, Modern Library, Inc., New York, 1917.

precepts concerning business, the early economists generally followed the lead of Adam Smith whose concern was for the measures to increase the wealth of nation; of Ricardo, whose emphasis was upon the distribution of wealth to the factors of production, and of Alfred Marshall & others, who refined some of the marginal analysis in competitive and monopolistic marketing. The modern treatment of the economics of the individual firm is largely a development of the past fifty years. Even the work of Champerlin and Robinson, which has so changed the course of economic theory since 1933, assumes the existence of an effective business management. These pre-occupations kept economists from examining the theoretical implications of the significant job of management until recent years.

One might expect that political science would have been the father of a theory of management, since the administration of programmes is one of the major tasks of government itself is the oldest comprehensive form of social organisation. Yet, despite its obvious importance, early political theorists were slow to turn their attention to the problem of administration. They, like the early economists, were too occupied with policy making at a national and international level. Therefore, they largely overlooked the executive forces, at least until recent years. Some of the early contributions to the management, nevertheless, came from scholars in the field of public administration and important contributions have continued to come from this source at an accelerated pace.

To some extent, the delay has also been due to the tendency to compartmentalise the discussion within the broader field of social sciences, as in the failure to apply the research of sociologists to the area of management. The theories of sociology concerning formal and informal organisations have only recently been applied to the functions of the manager. Likewise, with the exception of certain individual psychologists, research of psychologists in the field of individual motivation, reactions to authority, and the meaning and analysis of leadership has extended to the area of management only in recent years.

In addition to these reasons, there was for many years a widespread belief among managers in business, government, and other organisations that management is not susceptible to theory - that management is totally an art, not a science.

Moreover, business owners and managers themselves have in the past discouraged the development of a theory of management. Too often their pre-occupation has been with the technology, price, and to the balance sheet - an orientation hardly conducive to an understanding of, and inquiry into, the nature of management profession.

It is interesting to note that the opening wedge to the study of management as a science was driven by the so-called scientific-management school, founded by Frederick W. Taylor.

Development of the Sociological Approach to Management.

Concurrent with the development of scientific management by Taylor and administrative management by Fayol, a considerable amount of thinking and research were being devoted to looking at people as products of group behaviour. This is sometimes called the 'Social man' approach to management. Generally regarded as fathers of organisation theory, or the Social systems approach to management, were three outstanding scholars who wrote books and essays at the close of the nineteenth century and during the early years of the 20th century.

One of these was the German intellectual Max Weber, whose empirical analyses of church, government, the military, and business led him to the belief that hierarchy, authority, and bureaucracy (including clear rules, definition of tasks, and discipline) lie at the foundation of all social organisations. Another was the French scholar Emile Durkheim, whose doctoral dissertation, published in 1893,⁶ i.e. (The Division of Labour) and subsequent writings emphasised the idea that groups, through establishing their values and norms, control human conduct in any social organisation.

Vilfredo Pareto, the French Italian, was the third one, who in a series of lectures and books between 1896

6. De La Division du Travail Social (The Division of Labour) F.-Alcan, Paris, 1893.

and 1917 earned the right to be called the father of the "social systems" approach to organisation and management. Society, in Pareto's view, is an intricate cluster of interdependent units, or elements - that is, as a social system with many sub-systems.⁷ Social system, he argues, has the tendency of seeking equilibrium upon being disturbed by outside or inside influence. Social attitudes, or sentiments, function to cause the system to seek an equilibrium when disturbed by these forces. He saw also that the task of the elite ('the ruling class') in any society is to provide the leadership to maintain the social system.

Although these few words give inadequate expression to the views of the 'social man' or 'social system' pioneers, there is no question that they did have considerable influence on Elton Mayo, F.J. Roethlisberger, and others who undertook the famous experiments at the Hawthorne Plant of the West Electric Company between 1927 and 1932.⁸

What Mayo and his colleagues found, based partly on the earlier thinking of Pareto, was to have a dramatic effect on management thought. Changing illumination for the test groups, modifying test periods, shortening work

7. Vilfreds Pareto, *The Mind and Society : A Treatise in General Sociology*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., New York, 1935.

8. Elton Mayo, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, The Macmillan Company, N.Y. 1933.

days, and varying incentive pay system did not seem to explain changes in productivity. Mayo and his researchers then came to the conclusion that other factors were responsible. They found them in the social attitudes and relationships of work groups. They found in general, that the improvement in productivity was due to social factors as morale, satisfactory interrelationships between members of a work group (a "sense of belongingness"), and effective management - a kind of management that would understand human behaviour, especially group behaviour, and serve it through such interpersonal skills as motivating, counselling, leading and communicating.

What the Hawthorne studies dramatised was that man is "social man" - that business operations are a matter not merely of machinery and methods but also of gearing these with the social system to develop a complete socio-technical system. These experiments led to increased emphasis in the behavioural sciences as applied to management and to recognition that managers operate in a social system. It should not be inferred from this that prior to Hawthorne studies successful managers did not recognise the importance of the human factor or that management theorists overlooked it. This is simply not true. What the work of Mayo and his associates did underscore was need for a greater and deeper understanding of the social and behavioural aspects of management.

Chapter - 4.

PROFESSIONAL ORGANISATIONS.

A mass of information pertaining to Chambers, associations and central bodies representing business both in India and abroad is available. Careful historical work has also been done in order to place contemporary issues in perspective. The comparative approach is used because of its potential for new ideas but the basic Indian background provides the framework for discussions.

In the rapidly evolving policy environment institutions representing business have to develop new activities. Through these new activities, they can acquire a new image. To plan these on a national basis a comprehensive view of these institutions and of their setting is essential. Chambers of Commerce, associations and central bodies representing business have a special role in a developing countries and in any mixed economy. They have to attempt professionalisation, specialisation, and effective provision of common services. It is essential that our enterprises in all sectors are provided with support that can compare favourably with that obtainable abroad.

Time has come for the Chambers of Commerce, trade and industry associations and Central bodies of business to take a fresh look at the functions they are performing and role they would like to play in the changing circumstances. These bodies have played a very useful role in the independence movement of our country and many of them are rendering very valuable services to business and

industry in a variety of ways. In fact the imagination with which many of these bodies have organised their functions and built up their resources is astonishing. But at the same time it is also true that barring a few organisations, many of them lack adequate representing character, have extremely poor finances and their activities are limited to a few routine functions. The stress is more on ventilating the grievances of business than performing common services. The negative attitude has also resulted in gulf between these bodies on the one side and the government, the consumer and the labour on the other.

To voice the grievances of sector of industrial or business activity which the chamber is serving, anybody would agree, to the primary function of these bodies. However, taking this to be the sole function is a mistake which most of these bodies have been organisation have cut themselves off from the social milieu.

Protest notes against any government action irrespective of the harm or burden the government measure has imposed in the business activity; and an inadequate appreciation of the government's economic measure, have, over a time, reduced the rapport between these organisations and the government.

This needs to be corrected and these bodies must take an independent view of the government actions and give some concrete suggestions for action to the government.

They may also accept certain responsibilities in implementing certain social policies on behalf of the government. More stress should be given to provide necessary expert advice and common services to their members.

The Concept.

Chambers of Commerce are essentially modern organisations of modern enterprises. However, they do have certain historical forerunners both in Europe and in India. The regional organisations of guilds in Europe and India, the Livery Companies in English cities and even the Hanseatic League on the continent of Europe performed certain functions now performed by modern chambers of commerce in greater or lesser degree. The first modern chamber of commerce was established at Marseilles in France in 1599. Modern Chamber of Commerce are ^{of} four broad types. First, there is the Anglo - American or voluntary type characterised by voluntary membership and the voluntary undertaking of services. Second, is the continental types, originally developed by Napoleon Bonaparte, characterised by a compulsory membership and an obligatory list of minimum functions. Both the first and the second type are today, essentially representative institutions providing common services to the members and to the community at large. Thirdly, there is the communist type of chamber of commerce

functioning more like a decentralised department of government which emphasises export promotion and foreign private business contacts. In this sub-class the consultative function is performed not only in Yugoslavia but, to varying degrees in other countries also. Even here there are developments, e.g., in Hungary, where the Chambers of Commerce have become bodies consulted by government on both external and internal matters. There is also a 'derivative' 'mixed' or 'eclectic' class of chambers of commerce which combines characteristics drawn from two or more of the above three sub-types constituting a fourth type.

Broadly, the chambers in India, Britain and the USA belong the first type; those in France, Germany, Sweden, etc., to the second type and those in Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc., to the third type. Norway represents a mixed type. The chambers of commerce have been organised in each country as per the needs of the country. The historical traditions and the political, industrial and social set - up of each country have influenced the organisation of chambers. Each national type has peculiarities, but broadly, they can be classified into the four categories mentioned above.

Chambers of commerce, are voluntary organisations embracing firms, public officials, professional men and

public spirited citizens of a locality or area. They are not only interested in publishing, promoting and developing commercial, industrial and civic opportunities but also seek to improve community schools, street parks, playground, housing, public works, recreation and tourist facilities.¹

In order to make matter more clear let us have a look at the another definition. A chamber of commerce implies a voluntary and a co-operative organisation of the business community established to promote commercial, industrial and civic interests. A chamber of commerce, therefore, serves as a central agency for individuals, firms and companies and trade associations for promoting and protecting business interests. It is through this central agency that various interest groups deal with common problems and evolve and project collective thought.²

It is worth mentioning here that there is a formal distinction between chamber of commerce and trade associations organised on a national and/or regional basis such as for example, the Institute of Chartered Accountants, and the Institute of Costs, and Works Accountants, and the Institute of Industrial Engineers, etc., The distinction lies in the fact

2. M.R. Dhekney, Chambers of Commerce and Business Associations in India, IMC Economic Research and Training Foundations, 1971, p.2.

that the chambers, interest themselves in representing the business community, providing it with services and negotiating on their behalf which the professional associations usually confine themselves to a single profession and tend to project a technical view derived from a body of knowledge rather than the views of an interest group or lobby.

Chambers of commerce must be understood in the total context of chambers, associations and central organisations representing enterprises in a particular country. A concept of an ideal chamber of commerce is also ~~an~~ an ideal central organisation and ideal industry wise association must be derived from some conception of the total role of these bodies in a given economy. The functions of a chamber divide broadly into three categories, (1) Service to members; (2) the formulation of view on matters of policy, and the communication of these views to the appropriate authorities; and (3) representation of the business or enterprise community on outside bodies.

Origins of Modern Chambers and Associations : 1835-1905.

The emergence and development of chambers and associations have to be understood in historical perspective. It is of interest of pause at this stage and discuss traditional Indian guilds and community associations. The study of Indian guilds helps to show that

there was a strong tradition of spontaneous organisation. It becomes possible to show that while the caste factor was basic there were many cases in which these limits were easily transcended. Organisations on a more comprehensive basis was possible in all stages of Indian history.

Vera Anstey says, "there is no doubt, however, that even in the remote past Indian industry and trade assumed a form and were conducted by methods closely resembling these under which the guild systems developed in the West, and that persons following the same trade or industry grouped themselves into associations which, amongst other social or religious functions, regulated the economic life of their members. These associations which recurred social and legal recognition of their status, rights, and activities, and possess a true corporate status, may conveniently and appropriately be called guilds.³ These bodies have been divided by Mr. Manilal Nanavati,⁴ into two types, i.e., "general town Mahajans" and the "special trade Mahajans", owing to different functions performed by each. "Mahajan" in this case is interchangeable with guild; in other context 'Mahajan' means "an influential trader". The "special trade Mahajan" were also called "Panch".

3. Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, London.

4. Manilal Balabhai Nanavati, then Director of Commerce and Industry, Baroda State, Guilds and Labour Unions in Europe and India, a chapter on the revival of guilds and arts & handicrafts, Baroda State, Nov. 1917, (unpublished).

The words "Mahajan" and "Panchayat" are used as synonymous terms to describe trade guilds. However, it is important to draw a distinction between the two. An association composed of the higher classes is referred to in many vernaculars as "Mahajan". On the other hand, an association of the lower classes, if it happens to be co-extension with caste, is called a "Panchayat".

The term "Mahajan" which occurs commonly in the literature of the middle ages identified a guild of merchants. They were like modern chambers of commerce or trade association formed to represent the interests of an economic group. The Panch or artisans' guild had a "Patel" as its headman, and the Mahajan or the guild of merchants bankers and large leaders was headed by a leader called "Seth". Seth was title of honour given to the headman of the city, and hence, called Nagarseth or city chief.⁵ Many times, so long as the Nagarseth and his family remained in trade, they held their position by hereditary right. Gumastha was the other office-bearer of the guild who used to collect fees, call meetings, keep accounts, etc.

The Mahajans and Panchayats were essentially products of their own times, and in Modern times they have now been replaced by chamber of commerce and trade association. However, these two institutions differ from each other in several respects. In the first instance, guilds were, to a substantial extent, associated with

5. E.W. Hopkins, India : Old and New, London, 1902
P.169.

castes in India and therefore their membership was restricted. These guilds had the power to ^{publish} publich their members. Both these aspects are now absent. The guilds were responsible in some cases lay down guidelines for fixing prices and for restricting output. But the modern business associations, at least in India, do not have, except in special cases, any mechanism or power to dictate prices and restrict output of the products manufactured by their members.

The Central Organisation of Indian Business : FICCI.

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry is the apex central body of Indian business. The Federation imbraces within its organisation all types of trade and industry interests and as compared with any other central body, it has the largest membership. Like all representative consti-tutions the Federation has its own history and structure.

In 1926 the Indian Industrial and Commercial Congress passed a resolution to dissolve itself and create a nation - wide central organisation ro represent Indian business. The name finally chosen for this organisation was the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry which came into being in 1927.

Sir Purshotam Das Thakurda, a cotten trader from Bombay, who had considerable public standing, and Shri G.D. Birla were the prime figures in the new development. The idea to start a federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry as an indigeneous counterpart to the European - dominated Associated Chambers of Commerce grew principally out of the discussions between these two men.⁶ Lala Shri Ram of Delhi and Fakirji of Karachi as well as D.P. Khaitan who drew up the constitution of the body subscribed the initial expenses of the Federation; two of them paying Rs. 15,000 each while Mr. Khaitan paid Rs, 2,500. The new apex chamber had 24 member bodies drawn from Bombay, Culcutta, Madras, Lahore, Karachi, Delhi and Ahmedabad, and became the most representative organisation in the country despite the absence of powerful interests in Western India.

Since its inception, the activities of the Federation in the field of Indian trade and industry in the first 20 years before independence, ran parallel to those of the national movement for political independence for the country under the leadership of the Indian National Congress. From its inception till independence, the federation constantly felt that Indian enterprise cannot flourish without political freedom for the country and it pleaded in most unequivocal terms its support to Gandhiji's demand

6. Frank Moraes, Sir Purushotamdas Thakurda, Asias, 1957, p.42.

for PURANA SWARAJ. This meant both economic and political SWARAJ. Many leaders of the FICCI like G.D. Birla felt that swaraj was beneficial to (businessman) as much as to anyone else. Even in the rupee-sterling ratio controversy, leaders like Purushotamdas Thakurdas felt that it was a great national dispute between the government of India, backed by the India office, on the one side, and the people of India, or more correctly the Indian Commercial Community as representing the masses of India on the other.⁷ Throughout the twenties and thirties, the federation continuously strove for securing protection for Indian industries. Thus, it pleaded for the protection of Indian industries like cotton textile, steel, match, shipping, etc., and if even advocated giving business to Indian coal industry, Indian insurance companies, etc., in preference to foreign interests.

The FICCI also tried to become a body that could formulate the economic policy and demands of the congress, and at times it also felt that it could not tight foreign interest without the weight of the congress. In 1931, Mahatma Gandhi addressed the 4th Annual Session of the Federation. He expressed his grateful thanks to the commercial community for the services rendered and said, "I want to make the Congress your own and we would

7. Proceedings of the 3rd Annual General Meeting, 1930, p.60.

willingly surrender the reins to you. The work can better be done by you. You should regard yourselves as trustees and servants of the poor. I don't for a moment believe that commercial prosperity is incompatible with strict honesty.⁸

During the post - war period, the federation expressed, on more than one occasion, that the economic problems of India could only be solved by a nationalistic government. In 1942, Churchill had charged that manufacturing and business interests were behind the congress. Mr. G.L. Mehta, the then President of the FICCI, felt that Indian Commercial Organisations need not feel apologetic about the fact that they were an integral part of the national movement and that they were fully in accord with the essentials of the congress demand for freedom and transfer of power.⁹

After Independence.

After independence, the federation faced new challenges. Though the federation had supported the idea of a nationalist government for almost 20 years, some of the members were soon disappointed by the attitudes of

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8. Speech by Mahatma Gandhi before 4th Annual Session of the FICCI on 7th April, 1931. Proceeding of the 4th Annual General Meeting, 1931.
 9. H. Venkatsubbiah, Enterprise and Economic Change - 50 years of FICCI, VIKAS, 1977, p.33.

some of the members of the new government, their ideas, their initial policies and their first budget which they believed to be restrictive of business enterprise. Subsequently, because of the expansion of the public sector, nationalisation of insurance business growing taxation, reform in company law, introduction of state trading etc., the Federation got alienated from the government. The paramount need was to protect the private sector from the onslaught of legislation and government intervention in every aspect of business. Thus the foreign Vs. Indian business debate of the last 20 years made way for a new debate, viz, 'State Vs. Private enterprise' in which the FICCI has been engaged now for almost 30 years.

All the talk of free competition and private enterprise has not prevented the government from introducing legislation preventing monopolies and restrictive trade practices. In spite of loud protest, the government has nationalised banks and insurance companies and has acquired control over management and a share in their capital. Even after arguing year after year the presentation of the budget, very high personal as well as corporate taxation has become a part of the tax system, and excise duties have not brought all commodities within their net.

Does this mean that Federations has all along been fighting only losing battle? Has it only opposed the

government and only increased the distance between itself and the government.

Even in the Federation many did not like this sterile public-private-sector controversy. As long as in 1956, Lala Shri Ram had advised the Federation to keep away from such controversy. He said, "I think it would indeed be a good thing if the Federation passed a resolution requesting their member bodies & members not to make too much noises or have a body like the Forum of Free Enterprise which unnecessarily, in my opinion, antagonises even good friends". In 1965 while addressing the luncheon session, Shri H.V.R. Lyengar also advised the Federation not to take this controversy too far. It was in fact necessary to advocate the necessity of a public sector in order to help ensure that the govt. followed more pragmatic economic policies towards the private sector. But the Federation persisted with its criticism year after year.

The reason why it had to lose in this fight was while the government had political commitments and the constitutional background to take such steps; the current public attitudes in India have always been traditionally anti-business criticism of private business, however, irrational or ill-informed evoked public approval. Thus the Federation's views tended to become too much stereotyped, propagandistic and far too one-sided. Moreover, though the Federation kept talking of demoralisation and frustration of entrepreneurs in the private sector, the facts were different. Under each plan, the private

sector expanded, new entrepreneurs came into business and a number of new projects were undertaken by existing houses. The experience of the consumer regarding fair play by the private sector in times of scarcity was far from satisfactory. There was much to be desired in the quality of goods and the prices charged. The Federation could do precious little in bringing to book the erring members or to engorge a code of fair trade practice among them.

One can only say that the Federation only performed the job of a good commercial attorney and did not either take a dispassionate view or attempt to reform and consolidate the private sector in the changed context.

FICCI : Analysis of Activities.

Though the FICCI has been losing on the private-public-sector front and on the front of controlling business, it has a number of things to its credit. Its work in the field of export promotion, arbitration, international activities, infrastructural movement, research, etc., has been outstanding and unique.

The Federation is represented on over 100 advisory Boards and Committees set up by the Central government and leading institutions : The Board of Trade, Control Advisory Council of Industries, Direct Taxes Advisory Committees, Customs and Central Excise Advisory Council Committee on Capital Issues, Coal Transport Advisory Committee, National Shipping Board, etc. The problems

of industries are taken up by these committees, then there are meetings arranged with the Minister's and secretaries of different departments and sometimes special studies are made and seminars and conferences are also convened.

The Federation organises a number of workshops and conferences on such subjects as transport, power, energy, distribution and production of coal, industrial licensing etc., in which experts from the respective fields participate. The agreed recommendations are then submitted to the concerned authorities for consideration and action.

The Federation operates not only on its own account but through a number of associate bodies. These include two bodies concerned with international trade, namely, the Indian National Committee of the International Chamber of Commerce and the All-India Shippers' Council. The Indian Council of Arbitration, another associate body, conducts training programmes in arbitration, helps various bodies to have proper set of rules of arbitration and arbitration facilities. Undertakes publication and offers arbitration facilities in international disputes. The All-India Organisation of Employers is another body promoted by the Federation as back as in 1932 in order to deal with all matters pertaining to industrial relation. The Federation has also promoted the Economic

and Scientific Research Foundation which undertakes applied economic research. So far, more than 55 such studies have been completed and published by this Foundation.

The Federation has done very good work in the field of exports. It has sent a number of delegations abroad to study markets, helped to promote joint ventures between Indian and foreign firms, and has also organised joint business councils. In all these fields there is a very close co-operation between government and the Federation and, a fact, the latter is helping the government to promote its foreign economic policy in these fields.

So far the Federation has been able to organise the Business Co-operation Committee of India and Japan, the Indo-U.S. Business Council and help the Indo-British joint committee on Economic Co-operation and Trade to function. The Federation has also helped in organising binational chambers like the Indo-French chamber of Commerce and is engaged in promoting an Indo-Arab Chamber of Commerce with a view to increasing mutual trade and industrial collaboration.

The Federation also undertakes many publications both of informative types on different licensing procedures etc., and of a research type in which certain findings have been presented. All these publications

are the result of careful preparation and analysis of economic data.

As an apex body of Indian business, the FICCI is a member of the Afro-Asian Organisation for Economic Co-operation and the Confederation of Asian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. It takes active part in both the organisations. It is also closely connected with international organisations such as GATT, the UNCTAD, the EEC etc., and participates in the deliberations of International Conference including the International Congress of the ICC.

In recognition of merits in different fields, the Federation gives, every year, awards for outstanding achievements by individuals and co-operation in the fields of family planning, agriculture, research in science and technology, export promotion and industrial relations.

During all these years, the Federation has built a very solid organisation and its growth has been impressive from every angle - membership, finance, activities, etc.

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There are two types of specialised central organisations. There are bodies that perform (1) a particular function for all business firms, e.g., handling labour problems; and (2) there are bodies that perform all functions for special categories of firms, such as those engaging in foreign trade or those falling in a certain size-class.

The Federation of Indian Export Organisations is a body dealing with export matters alone. The AIMO was originally intended as a reformed central organisation of business. However, it did not succeed either in expanding its membership or in effectively representing small business. The FASII is purely an organisation representing small business. The National Association of Young Entrepreneurs is an organisation representing business associated with the Indian National Congress. However, its functions are still very limited. The Fair Trade Practices Association is a central organisation with interesting objectives. It has shown considerable concern with the image of the private sector.

Apart from these organisations belonging to private sector, we can also discuss the standing conference of public enterprises which is a central body having large public sectors units as its members, the National Co-operative Union of India which is the

central representative body of the co-operative sector and the National Productivity Council which is a tripartite body representing employers, employees and government and created for the purpose of productivity consciousness in our country.

The National Alliance of Young Enterprises (NAYE).

This is a body closely associated with the Indian National Congress. It was formed in 1969, when there was a split in the Congress. However, it does not have the standing or the traditions that is associated, for example, with the INTUC, the trade union body associated with the Indian National Congress. The activities of the NAYE have been sporadic - organising national conventions of entrepreneurs, exhibitions, seminars, etc., from time to time. But little work involving continuous study and secretarial work is done so far in 1976, it had organised a national convention at Delhi, an exhibition of products manufactured in the small scale sector and it is surprising to note that government channels were used to circulate information about these activities. Even the few publications that are released are under the joint auspices of the NAYE and the Development Commission of Small Scale Industries, government of India. The NAYE has tried to an image of young entrepreneurs in contrast with big business and especially those managed by large industrial houses belonging to family groups.

The National Productivity Council (NPC).

The NPC was constituted in 1959, as a result of the recommendations made by the Productivity Team sent to Japan. This is a tripartite body with equal representation to employers, employees and government. The finances to the NPC are provided by the central government and usually either the Minister for Industry or the Secretary is the President of the NPC. The Chairman is elected by the general councils, on which persons representing different interests are nominated by the govt. and some are elected by local productivity councils, the local counterparts of the NPC at different centres in the country. The NPC has regional directorates at Bombay, Madras, Bangalore, Ahmedabad, Calcutta and Kanpur. At these directorates, specialist staff is appointed and they guide the local productivity councils (LPC) to organise their activities. They also take consultancy work in the field of industrial engineering and fuel efficiency. The NPC also awards fellowships for training in West Germany, France and Japan in production engineering, industrial engineering and plant engineering. Every year, around fifteen fellowships are awarded. The selection to these fellowships is on all-India basis.

There are at present 47 local productivity councils all over the country. Their membership is open to industrial enterprises, trade unions, individuals, and research and management institutions. All these interests

are represented on the governing bodies of these councils. The NPC had earlier prepared a model constitution and it is more or less accepted by these LPCs with little modifications to suit their local requirements.

These LPCs conduct short term training programmes, organise in country and circuit teams, arrange seminars, and conferences, and provide library service, to their members. Some of them have also appointed industrial engineers on their staff and they provide technical consultancy services to their members. The NPC and LPCs together have done a very good work in this field and have brought all the varied interests in their fold. This activity also presents a very useful area of government and private bodies' active cooperation in the vital area of productivity.

The Central Bodies and Associations in the Co-operative Sector.

The National Co-operative Union of India (NCUI) was established in July 1962. Centralised activity for the Co-operative had begun earlier. The All-India Co-operative Institutes' Association was established in October, 1929. Thereafter, the All-India Co-operation Banks' Association came up. Then came the All-India Co-operative Conference held at Bangalore in May, 1949. All these bodies were superseded by the National Co-operative Union of India. The membership of the All-India Co-operative Conference was open to all Co-operative

societies, institutions and federations while the NCUI is mainly a body of federations.

The objective of the NCUI include co-operative education and training, production of literature, convening of the National Co-operative Congress and representing the movement as a whole. It is intended to be a body initiating between government and the co-operation sector. It combines the advantages of autonomy with access to government resources and guidance.

The membership of the union is open to national co-operative federations and societies state co-operative in the different co-operative sub-sectors, state tribal development co-operative corporation registered under co-operative law and multi-unit-co-operative societies not regarded as national societies.

The governing council is constituted partly by direct election and partly by representatives of the different member - bodies who constitute the membership. Thus there is a sectionalisation of representation and it is not possible for one dominant party to override the constitution of the FICCI. It is perhaps less suited to a body which has ambitions to shape the co-operative movement as a whole.

We can understand the effectiveness of co-operative bodies like the NCUI and other federations if one considers them as a total complex. In this complex, one should perhaps include the National Co-operative Development

Corporation (NCDC) which is a composite organisation representing non-official co-operative opinion as well as a cross-section of institutions interested in the development of the co-operative movement. On the NCDC are represented not only the co-operatives but also the Ministry of Cooperation and Community Development, the Ministry of Finance, the Planning Commission, the Central Social Welfare Board and other Ministries having some interest in the co-operative movement. The NCDC is partly a financing and consultancy agency. It is also directly interested in playing a positive role in promoting and assisting national and inter-state co-operative federation. It hopes to influence the co-operative movement by developing schemes of finance which enable it to balance and supplement the policies adopted by state government.

The All-India Federation of Co-operative spinning Mills Ltd., established in 1964, to coordinate and facilitate the working of the member - Co-operative spinning mills, is actively assisted by the NCDC.

The National Co-operative Sugar Mills' Federation, the All-India Handloom Fabrics' Co-operative Marketing Society Ltd. (national apex body sponsored by the All-India Handloom Board), the National Co-operative Customers' Federation, the National Agricultural Co-operative Marketing Federation Ltd. (which undertakes marketing & trading activities on its own as well as governments' account), are some of the pioneer co-operative organisations which are promoting the co-operative movement in this country.

The NCDS provides finance for bodies like Cotton Spinning Mills' Federation. The amendments incorporated in the NCDC Act, 1962, by the NCDC (amendment) Act, 1974, provides for encouraging the development of national level co-operative federations. With the extension of the jurisdiction of the NCDC to core dairies fisheries, poultry and minor forest produce, further assistance will be given either to support or form national federations in these sectors.

The National Co-operative Agricultural Marketing Federation (NEFED) had a total business turnover of Rs. 12.36 crores in 1973-74. The National Co-operative Customers' Federation (NCCF) established in 1965-66, which has 14 state co-operative consumer federations, had a total sales turnover of Rs. 28.66 crores in 1973-74.

The Standing Conference of Public Enterprises.

The Standing Conference of Public Enterprises (SCOPE) was created by certain pioneer politicians and administrator and is in a way paralleled to the FICCI and the NCUI. It is registered society with voluntary membership but has been set up on the initiative of the Bureau of Public Enterprises. The Estimate Committee recommended the setting-up of a Bureau of Public Enterprises which was conceived of not only as a financial watch-dog and information agency but as a consultancy organisation and liasion organisation. It had to

maintain liaison with the Department of Administrative Reforms in respect of matters like work-study, operations research, improved reporting - and incentive systems, recruitment procedures for top personnel, etc. Gradually the appraisal functions, formulation of common policies, consultancy and the public relations functions received emphasis. As a result of its gradually expanding functions it was natural to think of establishing the SCOPE as a relatively independent organisation.

On 29th September 1970 the scope was established. The Bureau has been collaborating closely with the standing conference closely with the standing conference and it had helped to modify the guidelines or norms issued by the Bureau. Various other bodies planning for the public sector such as the parliamentary committees, Cabinet Sub-Committees and Groups, Economic Secretaries Committee, Planning Commission and Administrative Ministries, etc., have often focussed it useful as a sounding board for important policies. The SCOPE has so far been able to undertake only a few activities such as a common building complex in Delhi for public enterprises, holding central conferences and seminars etc. It has not become fully effective as a representative body nor in spite of many efforts has it been able to provide a philosophy for the public sector and to orient its development. In fact, the SCOPE can be better compared with a chamber of commerce like the Indian chamber of commerce, Calcutta, rather than with the FICCI. The SCOPE has, for example,

been able to promote forms of inter-enterprise co-ordination for commercial purpose.

The managing of public relations by the public sector and reporting to parliament is within the competence of the SCOPE just as it is within the competence of the Bureau of Public Enterprises. It can assist the task of co-ordinating financial trading and productive organisations in the public sector and in developing suitable common activities by consent. Thus for the entire task of planning the public sector from below, this organisation can play a key role.

The All-India Manufacturers' Organisation (A-IMO).

Well-known engineer - statesman, the late Sir M. Visvesvarayya, was the founder and the first president of the organisation. The ideas of this statesman on economic planning were well known to the public before independence. In fact, the work of the National Planning Committee as also the Bombay Plan, the People's Plan and the Gandhian Plan were influenced by his thinking. His main aim in setting up the AIMO was to set up a separate central organisation composed of industrialists as contrasted with organisations which had both traders and industrialists in their membership regarded the ASSOCHAM as a body of foreign businessmen and, therefore, unsuited for planning or at least for taking initiatives in the matter. The FICCI, he felt, was an organisation which trading interests and large manufacturers who had a base in trade

had formed, and its reluctance to associate directly and explicitly with national objectives made him feel that a separate organisation directly interested in economic planning and having a constitution that would bring to the fore front entrepreneur types who co-ordinated more closely with national objectives was necessary. The rapid industrialisation of India, it was felt, required a considerable degree of economic planning on the one hand, and a business class more concerned with industrialisation and long-run development than with short-term speculation and traditional trading-gains, on the other. The A-IMO was, thus, an attempt to popularise the concept of linking economic planning and corporate planning and also an attempt at emphasizing the social responsibilities of entrepreneurship at least at the propaganda level. The A-IMO was brought into existence as a result of the deliberations of the All India Manufacturers' Conference held in Bombay in March 1941. The A-IMO developed a fairly elaborate organisational structure in the form of state boards, regional boards, district councils and city councils.

The A-IMO has been organising trade fairs and exhibitions - the first one was organised in 1951, and recently in 1968, and International Trade Fair was organised at Madras. It has sent several industrial delegations abroad, has organised Sir, Visvesvaraya

Industrial Museum at Bangalore, is organising an International Trade Centre in Bombay, has published Industrial Directories, Expert guide and various other publications useful to industry, making special efforts to provide guidance to new entrepreneurs and so on.

In order to be of service to its members it takes up individual cases with the respective departments of government and tries to solve them. It submits memoranda from time to time on various policy issues to the government; it has representation on several Advisory Committees of both central and state governments and many issues are taken up at this level; it organises several meetings, seminars and conferences in different parts of the country. It holds its quarterly meetings also in different cities; and it carries continuous dialogue and discussions with officials on important matters. The A-IMO also publishes regularly its monthly journal, Industrial India, and A-IMO Newsletter, and its members are kept informed on all matters affecting their business.

It did have a hand in inducing the government to set up the Industrial Finance Corporation, various technical institutes, etc. It emphasised the importance of engineering and consultancy services.

Now it may be said that to be an organisation with a glorious past but limited standing in contemporary times.

The Fair Trade Practices Association (FTPA).

This was organised on the Gandhiji Jayanti Day, i.e., 2nd October, 1966, and on 25th March, 1968 it was registered under the companies Act, 1956. The basic effort of the Association was to improve the image of the private sector Indian businessmen have frequently been criticized for having among their ranks black marketers, hoarders, riggers of prices and suppliers of sub-standard and adulterated goods. The businessmen have been the target of attack of politicians and many times they have been used as scapegoats whenever there occurred any difficulty in the economy and more especially whenever there occurred a rise in the prices of essential goods. In 1966, when reputation of Indian Businessmen was at its lowest ebb., and the government thinking was to intervene and introduce controls in all business operations, some leading businessmen from Bombay thought of improving the image of business community and instituting some sort of self-imposed voluntary controls on business.

The Association laid down the Nine-Point Code of Fair Trade Practices intended to safeguard consumers' interests by regulating the relations between businessmen and consumers on the basis of norms regarding prices, especially during scarcity periods, product information to eliminate sub-standard and adulterated goods, banning misleading advertisements, inaccurate weights and measures and dealing in smuggled goods, and finally, correct

accounting and information. Since the consumer movement in India is weak and the Association did not have any sanctions, the effort had many limitations.

The main field of activities of the FTPA is Greater Bombay, though now it has established adhoc committees at Madras, Jaipur and New Delhi.

The Executive Committee of the FTPA consists of not less than 16 and not more than 25 members out of which two-thirds are elected members and one-third are elected members and one-third of such elected members retire every year. One half of the elected members will be elected by individuals and business firms, which the remaining members will be elected by the company members.

The Executive Committee has the powers to carry on day-to-day administration of the Associations and to establish or dissolve the sub-committees, branches or areawise committee.

The FTPA has attempted to give guidelines to manufacturers and dealers on industrial products such as Vanaspati, types, tubes, and paper. The technique is to evolve voluntary schemes so that the government is not forced to intervene. The Association has also undertaken certain work for publicity such as the direct distribution of one lakh notebooks for children at subsidized rates in Dadar area of Bombay. It has undertaken special surveys of consumer reactions and published proceedings of seminars, discussions and meetings on topics that concern it. However, the Nine-Point code has remained on paper and is

fading steadily. Other branches of consumer movement such as the Grahak Panchayat and Consumer Guidance Society appear to be doing better, as they enter directly into trade & into consumers' problems. The FTPA itself seems to be now convinced that voluntary efforts do not discipline the business community and now it has put up a proposal that government should set up a body to promote fair trade practices. Thus it is after legal sanction to support its activities.

The Federation of Indian Export Organisations.

As a measure of export promotion the government of India has encouraged setting up export councils for individual commodities. The Cotton Textile Export Promotion Council was the first to be established in Bombay in 1945. Now there are 18 such councils looking after cashew, chemicals and allied products, engineering product, leather products marine products shellac, plastic and linleum, silk and rayon, spices, sports goods, processed foods, wool & woolens, tobacco, basic chemicals pharmaceuticals and soaps, mica and son on. The latest council to be established in Gem and Jewellery Export Promotion Council which was set up in 1966 in Bombay. These councils are single instruments of export promotion and they are intrusted with the responsibility of administration of export promotion schemes. Such as cash assistance, fixation of drawback rates, import replacement, etc.

The establishment of market development fund and the introduction of code for grant-in-aid for expert activities, the virtual compulsory membership for exporters of such councils and the close association of these bodies in the policy making of Government have enhanced their prestige further. Necessary financial assistance is also provided in part by the government to these councils. Then there are specialised institutions looking after one aspect of exports, such as the Export Credit and Guarantee Corporation of India, Indian Institute of Packaging, Indian Institute of Foreign Trade Commodity Boards, etc. Augmenting the efforts of these specialised institutions are various chambers and trade associations in the country.

In order to create a common forum for all these institutions and to co-ordinate their activities, the Federation of Indian Export Organisation (FIEO) was formed in 1965 with its headquarters at New Delhi. Apart from co-ordinating efforts of various organisations, the FIEO also deals directly with those commodities and services which do not have any specific export promotion council to assist them in their export promotion.

The FIEO has a very close co-ordination with the government of India. It has been entrusted by the government with primary servicing functions to provide integrated assistance to government recognised export houses. It has also been designated by the government

of India as the central co-ordinating agency in respect of the export promotional efforts of consultancy services in the country. It received an annual financial grant from the government to carry on its activities and its specific activities in the field of experts are also supported by the Market Development Fund.

The FIEO has established very close relations with many international agencies such as the UNCTAD, GATT, FAO, ECAFE, UNIDO, International Trade Centre and the International Monetary Fund.

The FIEO has three categories of members; ordinary, associate and honorary. It is managed by a managing committee of 30 members elected by its members and its annual budget is around Rs. 15 lakhs.

During the last ten years, the FIEO has done good work in the field of export promotion. Apart from co-ordinating export promotion efforts of all export promotion councils, export houses, exporters and other similar bodies, it has sent several delegations abroad, received many delegations into India, conducted special studies on individual commodities and countries, has produced films on India's export potential and industrial progress and has arranged to show them abroad, has advertised in many foreign papers to create India's image as an exporting country and has published directories,

folders and other literature on various aspects of exports and has circulated the same widely. At the instance of the government, it has undertaken special studies on warehousing abroad and packaging for exports. Federation has been vested by the government with the responsibility of recommending selected export promotional constitutions and export houses for the grant of awards for outstanding export performances. It has also prepared plans for organising a world trade centre at Delhi with the Co-operation of the central government.

Thus the FIEO presents a picture of a very useful and close co-operation between a central body and the government for undertaking work of national importance.

Agencies and Institutes of Management Education in India.

The history of the origin of management education in India is not very old. It has made rapid progress from small beginnings in early 1950s. After World War II, some progressive industrial firms took initial steps in the direction of management education by providing in-company training programmes for executive working under them to make them susceptible to the changing industrial scene in the post-war period. But the first concrete effort towards bringing management education to a frame of organised educational system was made when All India Council for technical education set up a special committee to look

into the question of instituting courses in the field of management in universities and other institutions. Members from industry and academics were included in this committee. A decision was taken to start a post-graduate diploma course in business management and industrial administration initially on a part-time basis. This too was only for junior executives who were already working in industries. It was also recommended that All India Council for technical education should set up under its auspices an organisation for coordinating and controlling management education in the country. This recommendation was accepted and the All India board for technical studies in management was set up in 1953 by All India Council. Thus a small beginning was made and important developments soon followed in the area of management education in India. Three types of courses in management was suggested by the All India board set up for management education. These three types of courses were to be conducted in business management, general management and industrial administration. The content of each course was outlined and the various subjects to be covered up were indicated by the board. It also emphasised, the need for adaptability, flexibility and experimentation in management education in the country. Certain standards to be met by all institutions concerned were laid down in order to maintain parity & uniformity. The selected institutions to conduct courses in Business Management include the Madras University, the All India

Institute of Management and Labour Welfare (Calcutta University), the Delhi School of Economics of Delhi University and the Bombay University. For the teaching of industrial administration, the Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur, the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore and the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute Bombay were named. Institutes with an established reputation in social sciences were selected to conduct courses in business management and those with good reputation in science and technology should conduct courses in industrial administration. With the passage of time, the board accepted management as applicable to all spheres of national life..

University Courses :

Initially only part-time courses were conducted. The rule that only those persons would be admitted to such courses who have at least a degree in any discipline and who have at least two years of experience in industry, gave a push to management education. What was initially decided by the board was that universities should provide only part time courses. But when the demand for management education became high, more institutions at many other important commercial and industrial centres were selected. Till 1974 there are 31 universities and other institutions conducting a number of courses in management. Examples of these are full time masters degree in business administration, part-time post graduate courses in business

management, industrial management and industrial relations and specialisations like sales & marketing management, production management, finance management, personnel management, international business management. The annual admissions are about 800 students to full time courses at the master's degree level and an equal number in part time courses in post graduate diploma level. But today there is a shift towards full time courses at the master degree level. It was felt that the inclination to depend too much on part time courses is not conducive to the progress of systematic education in management. Universities should realise that they can make management education in India dynamic only by constantly coordinating and cooperating with universities by providing them with new knowledge, techniques and skills.

It is worthwhile discussing some of the shortcomings of management education. Students coming out from such business schools are not up to the expectation of the industry. "There are many signs of a growing disappointment with the product of business management schools. Doubts about the present day management education are being raised. Both academicians and business managers have expressed serious concern over the personality make up of the present day MBAs both in India and abroad."¹

1- P.N. Singh, "Making Management Education more Relevant" in Modern Management, Vol.III, No.4. p.7.

Management education in universities and other institutions has also brought about a new phenomena in the Indian industry. MBAs in India have started and perfected the game of job hopping almost killing the loyalty syndrome prevalent Indian organisations earlier. Despite these drawbacks, management education in Indian universities have been successful to partly meet the requirements of Indian industry.

Administrative Staff Colleage :

As a joint venture of government and private industry, administrative industry was set up in Hyderabad in 1956. This college conducts as its main activity three months course for senior executives in the principles and techniques of organisation, administration, and leadership in civil life. Case study, faculty discussion, business games, business problems and exercises and modern management techniques are all parts of the methodology of the courses. This college is not concerned with the preparatory training and caters to the needs of working executives. Also conducted are short time courses in different functional area such as materials management, marketing management, executive decision making etc. The entire expenditure on maintenance of the colleage is met by the income from tuition fees of the participants. Some people argue that

it is a management school-cum-professional management service organisation that overlaps in function with the institutes of management. All India Management Association, National Productivity Council and other organisations.

Institutes of Management.

The institutes of management at Ahmedabad, Bangalore and Calcutta are the most premier and world-widely acclaimed institutes in the field of imparting management education.

It was the decision of the central government, in 1961-62, to open two full fledged institutes of management at Ahmedabad and Calcutta. The help of private sector industry was also solicited. Training of young men, women for the management career, conducting research and providing training for teachers in management were some of its main objective. 100 to 120 students were to be admitted in each of the institutes and a large number of participants for executive development programmes. These were autonomous institutes and were to be assisted by two well known American Universities. Sloan School of Management of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the graduate school of business administration of the Harvard University were to assist these institutes at Calcutta and Ahmedabad. These two institutes were to be administered by their own high power board consisting of representatives of the industry and commerce, leaders from different spheres of national life and members of the academic fraternity.

Some general criticisms have been levelled against these institutes. One is that there seems to be no justification for setting up these institutes and dumping an unproportionately large sum of money into them. The second criticism is that the high per capita cost of education which is about 7500 rupees per annum is considered exorbitant. Moreover, these institutes are thought to be serving the interests of private sectors. Despite the criticism levelled against these institutes, it is a fact beyond doubt that these institutes are acclaimed world wide for its performance, standard and high quality research. Recently one more institute at Lucknow has been set up for imparting management education in the country.

All India Management Association.

In 1957, the All India Management Association was created as an apex body with active support from government. AIMA was intended as a cause group - a body to pool management thoughts in the country, a forum, to develop a national managerial ethos, an organisation to facilitate furtherance of the profession and its contribution to society. Today, after thirty years, AIMA is recognised for its national stature; upheld by a broad base of membership; and is known for its activities - both national and international.

The AIMA activities have grown in step with the needs of Indian Industry and have changed over the years. As new needs have been felt the activity base has been expanded.

The activities of AIMA today can be classified in four broad areas - related to :

- (a) Bringing together the community of professional managers - identifying and developing new forums and talents.
- (b) Breaking new ground in policy making and collaborative areas, both in India and abroad.
- (c) Education and training in management and
- (d) Research, collation and dissemination of information.

These areas themselves are not mutually exclusive but form the underlying principles for activity expansion.

Management Development Activities.

Other management development activities range from comprehensive programmes aimed at strategy formulation and policy making level, to highly specialised and advanced courses at various levels of management.

- (1) Top Management Programmes - short duration (3-5 days) programmes of highly specialised and functional nature range from Human Resources Development to Information Management. Between 12 and 15 such programmes are announced every year.

- (II) Computer Aided Management - AIMA's superbly equipped computer centre conducts short duration courses for managers at all levels. Built around intensive hands on sessions, these courses allow managers to use available software in their own situations.
- (III) Special Interest Group Programmes - To extend current thinking into sectoral areas, AIMA has held programmes in Travel & Tourism, plans to go into Management of Educational Institutions and Hospitals and is creating interest group among Women Managers.
- (IV) Programmes for Public Administrators - Specifically designed for various levels of IAS & other Public Service Officers cover both general management and specialised courses. Programmes have been conducted for Department of Personnel & Training and for Department of Electronics of Government of India.

Advanced Management Programme.

A prestigious four week course designed for top management personnel in public and private sector boast of the best Indian Management teaching faculty and several international speakers. Hence in the idyllic location of Srinagar, in its 28 years Advanced Management Programme has trained over 1000 top management personnel.

National Competitions for Young Managers (NCYM).

It is held annually on the convention theme. This event attracts an array of bright young men and women to a two tier competition, culminating into the finalists participation in the National Convention;

National Management Convention (NMC).

The singular annual event of AIMA brings together eminent management thinkers, senior professionals and a large number of practicing managers debate national management related issues. Since 1987, this programme includes a teleconference with managers abroad.

AIMA's Diploma in Management.

A unique Diploma offered through distance learning to executives with at least 3 years of experience, is the single largest AIMA activity.

This diploma recognised by the government of India, follows the curriculum guidelines of a MBA' programme. It is conducted through a wide ranging network of Local Management Associations; Personal Contact Programme Centres; Libraries and Student Advisors. Faculty for teaching and evaluation is drawn from all over India from among some of the best management teachers and practicing managers. There are, today over 9000 students enrolled in this Diploma. Entrance to the Diploma is through an Admission Test held twice a year at 55 centres; conducted along the some lines

as GMAT. A major attraction in this Diploma is the flexibility it offers to pursue the course at a pace suitable to the individual.

Management Research.

Carefully identified and defined research projects are carried out with the help of sponsored scholars. The results are published in monographs available to managers and teachers. AIMA is now poised to catalyse setting up of research parks for more intensive research in the applied areas of management.

Organisation and Governance of AIMA.

AIMA is a federating body of its members and Local Management Associations, each of which functions autonomously. Registered under the Societies Registration Act, AIMA today affiliates 42 Local Management Associations. The policies for AIMA and the direction it takes is formulated by AIMA's council of Management. The council comprises elected members and representatives of LMA, through Regional Councils and nominees of the Government of India. Over and above, the Council co-opts eminent management professionals and representatives from the leading management institutes.

AIMA Membership is available to individual management professionals and to organisations. Various categories of membership ensure wider participation, from interested individuals. There is a place for everyone who has managerial experience and wishes to be with the main stream in the development of the profession.

Brief Summary.

In conclusion, we can say that these professional bodies and institutes like FICCI, National Productivity Council, Administrative Staff College, Institutes of Management, National Institute of Training in Industrial Engineering (NITIE), All India Management Association (AIMA), are rendering very valuable services to business and industry in a variety of ways. In fact the imagination with which many of these bodies have organised their functions and built up their resources is astonishing. But it is also true that except a few organisations, many of them lack adequate representing character, and their activities are limited to a few routine functions. The negative attitude has also resulted in gulf between these bodies on the one side and the government, the consumer and the labour on the other. This needs to be corrected and these bodies must take an independent view of the government actions and give some concrete suggestions for action to the government. They may also accept for certain social policies on behalf of the government. More stress should be given to provide necessary expert advice and common services to their members.

These professional bodies and institutions are contributing in the emergence of management as a profession. Membership of these bodies like All India Management Association and others is not compulsory and this is a

major handicap in the evolution of management as a professional professional bodies must be made compulsory. Despite the weakness in the functioning and norms formulation by these bodies, the fact can't be denied that these are helping the management to become a profession in its true sense.

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Chapter - 5.

Structure and Composition of Management Profession :
Recruitment - Sex/Education/Caste/Religion

No matter what has been written or said about recruitment and selection, everyone believes that he is an expert in this field. It is probably the one area where 'the professional' is inevitably challenged by 'the laymen', whatever the circumstances. Nevertheless, it is one of these situations where often a manager or supervisor has to face up to the problems of becoming totally involved in the recruitment and selection process without quite knowing how to tackle what is in reality a complicated task, in spite of the apparent simplicity of the ultimate decision to be taken - 'to hire or not to hire'.

If it is not too much to say that the well-being of an organisation or enterprise depends largely on the quality of its managers, then it can also be said that no enterprise activity can be more important than that of choosing these managers.¹ Since the maturing of these men and women is a long process involving training,

1. P.F. Drucker, Concept of the Corporation, New York, The John D. Company, 1946.

practice, and the creation of developmental opportunities, it is critical for the future of the enterprise to identify, if possible, these at all levels in the organisation structure.²

Before going into detail, a few basic points may be emphasised here. Almost every one in any organisation has at some stage the responsibility for requesting materials or finance in order to carry out their work effectively. Those requests which can lead to heated discussions between superiors and sub-ordinate, or between peers, are essentially concerned with inanimate objects - 'vegetables, mineral or abstract'. But the request for a replacement as soon as some one is leaving the organisation; or for more staff to carry out the work, will inevitably lead to consideration of the 'animal category'. The true relevance of this is the ability; apart from the right of this 'animal' category to hold and undoubtedly voice opinion and comment, constructive or destructive, about the way in which the recruitment and selection is handled. This 'answering back' facility is acknowledged by all professional recruiters, who ignore it at their peril. It is probably the one point which many managers do not practice,

2. G. James W. Walker, 'Trends in Manpower Management Research,' Business Horizons, Vol. 11, No.4, pp. 37-47, (August, 1968).

for when they are dealing with the accustomed human problems within their own job functions they are dealing with known people; in a specific and generally accepted framework. But job applicants are not subject to, nor do they hold, the corporate values (real or imaginary) that form part of the everyday working lives of those already employed.

The second point, which follows on naturally from the first, is that the principle of 'do unto others as you would be done by' underpins the total recruitment and selection procedure. The job applicant, whatever, the level, expects to receive the normal human courtesies not only in the face to face situation but also at all other points of contact during the decision making process. In spite of the obvious economic nature of employment, a great deal of attention must be placed on the underlying social processes.

Thirdly, it is important not only to acknowledge but also to understand that the situation is not onesided as far as the decision-taking process is concerned. The conclusion of a recruitment task does not occur with the decision 'we'll offer you the job; this is merely a unilateral decision. The conclusion in reality only comes when the applicant says 'thanks, I accept your offer.'

In any organisation there is at the same time both a buyer's market and a seller's market as far as jobs

are concerned. It is important to distinguish between them, for while the same basic administrative approach is both necessary and applicable, the tactics to be adopted can differ widely. This is equally true of shop floor and board-room situations. Bearing these points in mind the objective is now to provide managers at all levels, no matter to tackle the job effectively, and to gain, by the end of the day, a sense of satisfaction from a task well done. The recruitment process has its part to play in the public relations policy of the organisation. The projection of corporate image is reinforced through the job advertisement and even more in the handling of candidates response by the recruiters who themselves have a unique opportunity for reinforcing as well as maintaining the image. Many recruitment 'failures' can be attributed to the lack of consistency between the organisation's perceptions of itself and those it projects through the media and its current staff.

Everyone will realise and readily acknowledge that all organisations including one's own family must have financial resources in order to function at all, and to utilize these financial resources in order to function at all, and utilize these financial resources correctly some systematic methods must be devised and implemented to account for income and expenditure. But not everyone

is prepared to acknowledge that the same principle has to be adopted in relation to recruitment and terminating staff. The total cost of recruiting and terminating staff. The total cost of recruitment an employee of average skill can be assessed at approximately three to four times the weekly wages, and very much for senior grades. So any organisation that does not set up an effective system for handling recruitment is likely to put at risk sums of money in the immediate short term which under normal circumstances would be referred to board level for approval.

Statistical information on the numbers already employed in the organisation categorized by status, departments, works or site, and sub-divided in relation to occupational skills required, levels of work involved or merely by job titled, is required to be made available in order to provide a reference point from which the procedure of recruitment begins.

Although by now there are several hundred 'standards' tests for recruitment, they may be readily classified in four groups.³

1. Intelligence tests, designed to measure mental capacity and test memory, speed of thought, and observation of interrelationships.

3. Harold Koontz & C. O' Donnell, Management. A Systems and Contingency Analysis of Managerial Functions, Mc. Graw Hill Ltd. Japan, 1955.

2. Proficiency and aptitude tests, constructed to discover, respectively, existing skills and the potentiality for acquiring such skills.
3. Vocational tests, designed to discover the most suitable occupational area.
4. Personality tests, designed to measure potentiality for leadership.

Social scientists have yet to develop adequately reliable tests for use in selecting managers. Despite many attempts made, the basic reason for this lack is the fact that the managerial job - or more accurately, the qualities on which managerial success rests - is extremely difficult to isolate. Without knowing for what one is testing, there is no expectation, perhaps by coincidence, that a successful test can ever be developed. "Selecting managers, for example, has been much more difficult because of the problems of describing the managerial job and reliably judging relative performance".⁴

Some of the most important managerial qualities are desire to manage, intelligence, analytical ability, ability to communicate and integrity.

4. Edgar H. Schein, *Organisation Psychology* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice Hall, Inc., 1965).

Having discussed briefly the recruitment process, and some of the demerits associated with it, we now turn to a discussion of social composition, sex, education, caste, and religion of managers in the management profession.

Sex Composition.

The world of industrial management in India is a world of men. Out of a sample of nearly three thousand managers who were approached for the study,⁵ there were only thirteen women. They occupied highly specialised but relatively low level managerial positions. One foreign concern alone employed eight of them. One Indian private sector concern had three women managers, and two other concerns employed one each. No woman manager was found in the public sector concerns.

It was also noted that the women managers had a very high degree of education : five held Ph.D's; two years of professional education beyond the Master's degree. Because they were holding high positions, it is assumed that they had high level of education of quality for them.

5. S.C. Jain, Indian Manager, Somaiya Publication, Bombay, 1971.

Nearly half of these women managers were unmarried. The questionnaire data indicate that most of them were in their early thirties with a work history of less than five years. In most cases their present jobs were also their first jobs.

It is thus evident from the aforesaid that the majority of managers in the management profession are male.

Age Composition.

The age composition of managers in the management profession, spread over a period of ten years has been compiled by Dhingra, Pathak and Jain. The results are as follows :-

Table - 1.

Age	1963 %	1967 %	1973 %	1976 %
20-29	11.35	6.61	41.36	11.05
30-39	39.00	28.03	-	45.35
40-49	32.90	38.31	40.12	36.63
50 & above	16.75	27.05	18.52	6.97

Data was collected in 1963 by Jain, and by Subramaniam in 1967 and by Pathak in 1973. Consequent upon these works Mirza Saiyadain and Arun Monappa in 1976 compiled the data on age composition.

From an observation of the above table on age composition it is clear that the majority of managers, that is 45.35%, in 1976 were in age group of 30-39 and in the age group of 40-49, almost an equal number, i.e., 40.12%, were found. The least number of managers were found in the age group of 50 and above. It can, therefore, be said that the large majority of managers was in the age group of 30-50.

It has also been observed by S.C. Jain that as compared with the managers in some other countries, Indian managers were relatively in some other countries, Indian managers were relatively young. A study of British managers found their average age to be 46 years, and the average age of the top managers to be 50 years.⁶

Similarly, a study of top level business executives in the United States found their average age to be 53 years.⁷ The research showed that though the ages of managers ranged

6. Mirza S. Saiyadain and Arun Monappa 'Profile of Indian Managers' Vidyavahini Series, 1977, p. 13.

7. The Action Society Trust, The Management Succession, (London : The Action Society Trust, 1956) p. 7.

from 21 to 70 years, the average mean age was 41 years. What are the reasons for the relatively young age of Indian managers? The answer is to be found in the fact that they start their careers in relatively high level occupations. This enabled them to climb into managerial positions at a relatively young age.

What is also evident from the above table is that the typical Indian manager is a man in his middle age. The number of managers, in the age group of 50 has decreased over the period from 1963 to 1976. This is because of the need of formal professional management education to which only the younger generation is exposed. Since the formal education in management is of recent origin, the older generation of managers might be deprived of some professional educational qualification.

Rural-Urban Origin.

It is interesting to note that the distribution of Indian managers rural-urban wise is contrary to the pattern we find in the population of India. While 82 percent of Indian people are classified as "rural" and only 18 per cent as urban, no more than 20 per cent of Indian managers were brought up in rural areas and the remaining 80 % came from towns and cities.⁸

8. Census of India, 1961.

Table - 2.⁹

Origin	Public Sector %	Private Sector %	Foreign Sector %	Indian Managers %
Rural	23.2	15.8	22.6	20
Urban	76.8	84.2	77.4	80
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.

Out of a sample of 1982 managers, those belonging to towns are 1586, and from villages are 393; the answer to this question was not given by three respondents. The majority, i.e., 80 per cent, of Indian managers were brought up in urban environment, while the remaining 20 % are from rural areas.

Evident from the table is the fact that proportion of managers having urban origin is the highest in the foreign sector. 77.8% managers from public sector and 77.4% from private sectors are of urban origin. This gives birth to a question as to whether people belonging to rural areas are treated with discrimination in the recruitment process? But this is not the case. Because to be a manager,

9. S.C. Jain, 'Indian Manager : His Social Origin & Career, Somaiya Publication Pvt. Ltd., Bombay, 1971.

a qualification in management education is considered necessary and this is the monopoly of people in towns and cities. It can therefore be concluded that education is a crucial factor and not rural-urban origin. At the same time it is also a fact that the majority of employers prefer those persons who came from certain social background and occupations, which is urban in nature.

Caste Composition of Managers.

The examination of caste origin of managers in the management profession is important to find out whether caste has any influence on their entry into management. There are thousands of caste and sub-caste in Indian society. According to G.S. Ghurya Indian society is characterised by the presence of more than 2500 castes and sub-castes.¹⁰ Castes are hierarchically graded and this graduation is followed by rules of commensality and connubium. There is very limited or no social intercourse between the members of any two castes.¹¹

The classification of castes into broad categories is essential in order to know about the castes in the whole country. The varna classification can be usefully used in

10. G.S. Ghure, Caste and Race in India, Populare Prakash Pvt. Ltd., Bombay, 1932.

11. M.N. Srinivas : Village India, London Asia Publishing House, 1962.

a limited geographical locality but is not very meaningful in an all India study. In the table given below, caste groups were classified into six categories and the ratio of managers in these caste groups to their overall proportion in the Hindu male population is calculated.

Caste Composition.

Table - 3.¹²

Caste Group	Hindu Manager (%)	Hindu male Population (%)	Ratio (%)
Brahimins	41.4	6.6	6.27
Trading castes	22.0	2.9	7.59
Professional Castes	21.7	1.3	16.69
Farming & Warror Castes.	13.7	28.8	0.48
Other interior castes	0.8	39.6	0.02
Low Service Castes	0.4	20.8	0.02
All Castes	100.0	100.0	1.0
100%	1586	122,187,106.	

To find out whether the various caste groups in the Hindu population are equally or unequally represented among

12. S.C. Jain, 'Indian Manager : His Social Origin and Career. Somaiya Publication Ltd. Bombay 1971.

the managers, ideally the caste composition of Hindu managers is compared with the caste composition of the adult male Hindu population at the time when managers took their first jobs, which was on the average during the early 1940s. Since the census of 1931 was the last census in which castes were enumerated, a comparison is made with the male Hindu population in all age groups in 1931.

It is evident from the table that Brahmins and people of the trading and professional castes are very much over-represented whereas those belonging to the service castes and other interior castes are grossly under-represented. It is further clear that this wide disparity in the representation of different castes is because some groups enjoy certain advantages over others while the recruitment is made. This is also to note that the very fact that all the castes are represented among the managerial fraternity goes to show that caste is not a great impediment or obstacle. The reason for the disparity in the number of managers of different castes is the unevenness of education among the castes.

Brahmins, deeply rooted in the traditions of education, have always been dominating in management and administration in India. V. Subramanyan, writing about the administrators recruited in the same year that Jain conducted his study, goes on to say that in 1963 there

were 39.76 per cent Brahmins. The khatri Rajput group was 10.2 per cent. The traditional dependent professional groups such as Kshatriya, Kayasthas, Boiddho Bania, Lingayat and others amounted to 15.41 per cent and agricultural castes such as Vellala and Kamma contributed 5.11 per cent. The scheduled caste and scheduled tribes amounted to 19.37 per cent and non-Hindu 3.08 per cent.¹³

From the aforesaid, it is crystal clear that education in India has been dominated by or rather is a monopoly of a few castes in the top rungs of the hierarchy and management profession is no exception.

As regards the question of caste discrimination in the recruitment of the managers, it may be observed that (1) the various caste groups have received different treatment in the hands of different groups of entrepreneurs in India; and (2) Hindu employers belonging to different castes have tended to favour the members of their own caste for managerial positions.

13. V. Subramanyam : Social Background of India's Administrator & Publications, Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, p. 53.

Occupational Origins of Managers in the Profession.

The occupations of the fathers of Indian manager is going to be discussed with the help of data. This study has also been spread over a period of time and the changes in the occupational origins of managers have been noted.

Table - 4.

Occupation	1963 %	1967 %	1973 %	1976 %
Agriculture	12.50	8.88	-	8.14
Industry	15.80	10.28	37.65	2.91
Managerial/ Executive.	31.30	30.72	20.37	18.02
Professional	21.20	21.27	20.37	23.84
White collar	18.30	12.64	26.54	18.02
Others	0.90	13.75	11.12	29.07

From an analysis of the above table it is clear that the highest figure for any single category refers to fathers of managers who are professionals like teachers, doctors, engineers, scientists, lawyers etc. This is followed by fathers of executive and white collar workers. Those whose occupational origin is in agriculture constitutes only one per cent. The percentage of those managers whose fathers were agriculturists has decreased from 12.50 in

1963 to 8.14 in 1976. The number of managers whose fathers were industrialists and managerial executives has also decreased in great proportion and the son & daughters of professionals having managerial jobs has increased slightly. The number of white collar workers whose sons and daughters are managers shows variations every four years and is not uniform at all.

Now we are going to discuss another data collected by S.C. Jain. He collected it through a research on 1982 managers in 1963. The table will show the occupations of the fathers of managers both 'at the time when they began their schooling' and 'at the time when they became self-supporting.' By and large Indian managers have come from the families having elite occupations.

Table - 5.¹⁴

Occupation	Father (when manager started schooling) %	Father (when manager become self-supporting) %
Labourer	1.2	0.9
Small farm operator	7.2	7.5
Large farm owner	5.1	5.0
White collar worker	20.2	18.5
Govt. officer	17.8	18.5
Business executive	11.8	12.8
Professional	21.5	21.2
Business owner	15.2	15.8

- 14. S.C. Jain, Indian Manager : His Social Origin & Career, Somaiya Publications Ltd. Bombay 1971, p.45.

It is obvious from the table that there is very little movement in the occupations of fathers of managers from the time they started schooling to the time they became capable of being on their own. About 21 per cent were the sons of professional men; accountants, doctors, engineers, lawyers, professors and ordained priests. Fifteen per cent were either lawyers or doctors. About three per cent were professors, two per cent were engineers, one per cent were accountants,

A little more than 18 per cent of the managers are sons of government officers. Only a small fraction of one percent (0.2 per cent) of these fathers belonged to the military. Only one manager is said to be reported that his father was a Minister in a state government.

Thirteen per cent of fathers were business executives. About 16 per cent of the fathers were engaged in business, ranging from small stores to large industrial combines. About 18 to 20 per cent of the fathers of managers were categorised as white collar workers. More than 5 per cent of the managers are the sons of fathers sharing considerable land. More than 7 per cent are the sons of small farmers.

If there were uninfluenced mobility to all occupational positions in Indian business and industry, the occupational origins of Indian managers would be approximately the same as the occupational origins of the male Indian

population. It is also clear that certain groups of population supply a greater share of managers compared to the proportion in the general male population.

Professionals, white collar workers, government officials are examples. On the other hand certain sections of population like labourers and farmers, having a large share in the adult male populations of the country have very little percentage in the number of managers. This very large difference between the occupational competition of the general population and the occupational composition of the fathers of managers is a measure of the under-representation of the sons of labourer and farmer categories and of the over-representation of the sons of the people in administrative, managerial and professional occupations.

Religious Composition of the Manager in the Management Profession :

It will not be an exaggeration to say that India is a land of many faiths and religion. Of course, the majority are Hindus. But there are others, e.g., Jains, Zoroastrains Sikhs, Jews, Bhuddhists, Islam and people belonging to several other smaller faiths in our country. But is there a proper representation of managers from all such religious? In the following table is presented the proportion of managers to the male Indian Population in the year 1963.

Distributions of Indian Managers and Indian Male Population (1951) according to religions.

Table - 6.¹⁵

Religion	Indian Managers %	Indian male Population %	Ratio %
Hindu	83.19	84.91	0.98
Muslim	0.76	9.96	0.08
Christian	4.14	2.23	1.86
Sikh	1.61	1.88	0.86
Jain	4.54	0.46	9.87
Zoroastrian	5.50	0.03	183.33
Buddhist & Jew	0.00	0.47	0.00
Other religions			
Total	100.00	100.00	1.00

From an analysis of the above table it may be observed that the over-whelming majority of the managers are Hindus, that is 83.19 percent. Zoroastrians occupy second with &

15. S.C. Jain, Indian Manager : His Social Origin and Career. Somaiya Publications Pvt. Ltd. Bombay, 1971.

only 5.5 per cent of the managerial jobs to their credit. Jains and Christians are 4.54 per cent and 4.14 per cent respectively. Sikhs have only 1.61 per cent of these jobs. Muslims do not constitute even one per cent of managerial jobs. Buddhists and Jews together have even fewer managerial positions, which is 0.26 per cent. Sikhs are a little under-represented; but the Muslims are most under-represented. They constitute about 12 per cent of India's population, but their share in the managerial cadre is only 0.76 per cent. It cannot be denied that a policy of discrimination is there in the recruitment of managers. But the unproportionate representation of various religious categories itself does not prove that there has been discrimination.

Some other variables like education, or occupational background are also responsible for this uneven representation. If the various religions in India had produced managers in proportion to their respective strengths in the population of the country, then the religious distribution of Indian managers would be approximately the same as the religious distribution of the male adult population of India.

Educational Background of Managers :

Data on the managers' education exhibits that a high level formal education has been one of the basic requirements for entry into managerial positions. The

following table is based on data collected by various researchers over a period of time.

Table - 7.¹⁶

Education	1963	1967	1973	1976
Less than high school	1.90	-	-	-
High School	11.20	40.67	8.03	0.0
Graduate	20.10	95.33	51.85	65.70
Post-graduate	51.70	-	40.12	29.60
Others	15.10	-	0.00	4.70

It is clear from the table that from 1967 onwards, there has not been a single manager who has studied atleast till school level. At the minimum, 80 to 90 per cent of the managers turned out to be graduates in all years. Before 1963, a person who has not at least a degree in graduation could not get a job in the management profession, especially in managerial ranks. With an exception of the year 1967 when the number of graduate managers swelled to 95.33 per cent, from 1963 onwards the number of graduate managers has been on the decrease. 51.70% of managers in 1963, 40.12% in 1973.

16. Mirza S. Saiyadain & Arun Monappa - Prole of Indian Managers, Vidyavahini Series, 1977, p.17.

and 29.60 per cent in 1976 have post-graduate degree. It may thus be concluded that majority of the Indian Managers are either graduates or people who are more qualified than that. Entry into the managerial position is largely dependent on the educational qualifications.

Now we are to discuss the educational background of 1982 Indian managers collected in 1963 by S.C. Jain.

Table - 8.¹⁷

Education	Public sector %	Foreign sector %	Indian sector %	Indian managers %
Less than high school	2.0	1.1	2.4	1.9
High school	2.0	5.9	5.9	5.5
Some college	1.5	9.0	4.0	5.7
Technical Diploma	11.8	10.3	17.7	14.1
Bachelors degree	12.3	24.0	18.4	20.1
Masters plan	11.2	6.8	9.0	8.3
Doctorate	5.1	2.9	3.3	3.3
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

An analysis of the above table suggests that almost twenty per cent of the Indian Managers have

17. S.C. Jain, Indian Manager : His Social Origin and Career, Somaiya Publication Pvt. Ltd. Bombay 1971 p.27.

their education beyond the high school level. More than 80 per cent of managers had taken either their technical or professional diplomas or degrees from recognized universities. Those who have continued their education beyond graduate level constitute more than 50 percent. About 88 per cent of the public sector managers have at leasts colleage graduation degrees, the corresponding figure in foreign and Indian private sector are 74 per cent and 70 per cent respectively. The reason for this disparity in the educational attainments of the public sectors private sector and foreign sector managers is that the public sector rules regarding recruitment are strictly laid down and a high degree of importance is attached to educational attainments whereas the same is not applicable to the private and foreign sectors where employers have a greater freedom to make the rules flexible in the recruitment process of the managers. Different industrial compositions and different organisational styles also must have contributed substantially toward the observed differences is the levels and the nature of education of the managers from three sectors.

A Brief Summary :

It is evident from the data analysed in the preceeding pages that a typical Indian manager of the 1950s was a male in his early forties or late thirties and the recent times

have witnessed an increase in the proportion of young managers. It has also been found that most of the Indian managers come from families with elite occupation. There is a preponderance of sons of professionals, white collar workers and government officials among managers. More than fifty per cent of Indian managers are sons of managerial executive or professionals. As far as educational attainment is concerned, it has been observed that managers are a highly educated lot and at least 30 per cent of them are graduates. As regards religious representation, we find that Christians, Jains, Buddhists, Jews and Zoroastrians are overrepresented, while Sikhs and Muslims are underrepresented. There has been an almost proportionate representation among Hindus. It has also been observed that most of the Indian managers are urban bred and that there is a gross under representation of managers from the rural side. As far as caste-wise distribution of Indian Managers is concerned, we find that there is an un-equal caste representation among the managers with the Brahmins, professional castes and trading castes amounting for a major chunk of managerial workforce in the country. Farming and warrior castes and low service castes are grossly under-represented.

To sum up, it can be said stratified inequality tends to nurtur more and more as a result of growth of professions as more and more people become professionals

as they tend to create more gap. Instead of open society, professions in India, in particular management profession tends to make the society more and more closed and particularistic. This is patently against the assumption of universalism as an attribute of professions, as far example, PARSONS, has done in his "Profession and Social Structure" in Essays in Sociological Theory.



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" CONCLUSIONS "

In this last chapter I turn towards a succinct recapitulation of what has been said in the preceding pages.

The study of the sociology of professions has been one of the most fascinating areas of research for sociologists. The present work was an attempt to fathom some aspects of the management profession in the country today. There is, no doubt, the paucity of systematic data on this topic and I felt great difficulty because of this in arriving at some meaningful generalisations.

I have studied here three aspects of management profession, viz, the evolution of management profession, the social attributes of the management profession and the professional institutes, their nature and growth.

As far as the social attributes of the management profession is concerned, it has been found that almost all Indian managers are male. Only a small fraction of them are females. Management profession in India has been almost monopolised by men. The typical Indian manager of 1950 and 1960s was a male in his middle years around 40 years of age. Same is in the case even today. The Indian managers are mostly drawn from elite occupations and thus they are urban bred. Majority of the managers are sons of professionals, white collar workers, high government officials and executives. Brahmins, professional

castes such as Kayasthas and Banias, account for a large proportion of managers in the country. Christians, Jains, Budhists and Jews are overrepresented while Sikhs and Muslims are underrepresented. Rural-Urban wise distribution suggests that rural society is grossly underrepresented among the managerial class. As regards educational attainments, most of the Indian managers are highly educated. Ninety per cent (90%) of them have at least graduation degree; but not many managers have professional qualifications like MBA, PGDM, etc. But the scenerio is fast changing today.

As far as the evolution of science of management is concerned, it can be traced back to the days when people first attempted to accomplish goals by working together in groups. It has gradually evolved with the growth of trade, commerce and industry. As wealth, luxury and ease grew, the leadership of industry began to lack force and determination. Ownership became inclined to rest upon its oars, it became decreasingly a driving force. Joint ownership followed; and with it came management in modern sense. This change in the ownership of industry led to three significant developments. First, increased capital, bigger plants, and bigger staff made possible large scale production. Secondly, democratic industrial ownership implied a definite divorce between labour, capital and management. Thirdly, business - combines

and big business movements became inevitable which, in turn, required that each concern should be directed by a regular and expert body of men, so that policy might be coordinated throughout the business organisation. Thus, at the beginning of the 20th century, management evolved and stood in a more clearly defined position than ever before. It has gradually drifted away from capital and assumed an entity of its own with a definite function in an industrial organisation. Today, management is emerging as the directing force of industry and is gradually becoming a profession.

A mass of information pertaining to chambers, association and central bodies representing business both in India and abroad is available. Careful historical work has also be done in order to place contemporary issues in perspective. The comparative approach is used because of its potential for new ideas but the basic Indian background provides the framework for discussions.

In the rapidly evolving policy environment, institutions representing business have to develop new activities; through these new activities they can acquire a new image. To plan these activities on a national basis, a comprehensive view of these institutions and of their settings is essential. Chambers of Commerce, associations and central bodies representing business have a special role in developing country and in any mixed economy. They

have to acquire professionalisation, specialisation and effective provision of common services. It is essential that our enterprises in all sectors are provided with support that can compare favourably with that obtainable abroad.

Time has come for the chambers of commerce, trade and industries associations and central bodies of business to take a fresh look at the functions they are performing and the role they would like to play in the changing circumstances. These bodies have played a very useful role in the independence movement of our country and many of them are rendering very valuable services to business and industry in a variety of ways. In fact, the imagination with which many of these bodies have organised their functions and built up their resources is astonishing. But at the same time it is also true that barring a few organisations, many of them lack adequate representative character, have extremely poor finances and their activities are limited to a few routine functions. The stress is more on ventilating the grievances of business than performing common services. This negative attitude has also resulted in a gulf between these bodies on the one side and government, the consumer and the labour on the other.

To voice the grievances of the sector of industrial or business activity which the chamber is serving, anybody would agree, to the primary functions of these bodies.

However, taking this to be the sole function is a mistake which most of these bodies have been committing and thus isolating themselves from broader social milieu.

Formal management education is of great significance for the social and economic development of a country. The need for formal education was felt in India for the first time during the early post-independence era, and early 1950s saw the beginning of several institutions and universities offering courses in management. Professional training in management techniques and practices becomes an indispensable pre-requisite, for the industrial development of the country. Over the last 30 years or so there has been a proliferation of the management profession in India. Three causes have been chiefly responsible for the beginning and growth of this process. First, a realisation early on the British industrialists in India that for various reasons they needed to develop Indian executives. Second, a sudden demand by the newly opened government Purchase and Supply Propaganda and other departments during the war. Third, a gradual shift from "family management" to professional management. All these factors have led to a demand for management education in formal institutional settings. In the beginning, the courses were part-time and intended only for working executives but gradually full-time management education was developed in many universities. At present there are numerous premier institutions offering part-time as well as full time courses in professional

management.

Sociology of management in India is still to coverage its interests on several aspects of the managerial profession. A lot of research work needs to be done on management associations and management education. We find that some notable work has been done in social origins of managers but much needs to be done in the area of managerial attitudes and managerial styles of life. It has been noticed that Indian managers have been perceiving the management scene in India in much too simplistic terms. Indian managers often try to explain industrial phenomena along lines of Western theories and models. These models are not appropriate in the Indian context and that is why these models often fail in solving the problems in Indian industrial set-up. It is necessary to have a comprehensive understanding of the empathy. Some new theoretical tools can perhaps be improvised both for understanding the current economic scene as well as for managing it successfully. But what is required for all this is a lot of research work on the sociological aspects of the management profession in the country.

It is not easy to answer the question : how far 'management' is a profession. In order to answer this, we must delver into the traits of a profession viz, a body of abstract knowledge, service-orientation, professional authority, communal sanction, code of ethics, professional culture etc. It is difficult to say that management in

the country today approximates its ideal type in sociological theory. What is present is a constitutive nature of a management body of knowledge which borrows from sociology, psychology, labour economics, statistics, etc. In India what we find is that top positions in the managerial field are held by both qualified and non-qualified personnel. This is because of the economic history of the country. In this way, management today does not stand up to the standards of professionalisation. Moreover membership in management associations are voluntary and as a result of this not all managers are members of management associations - a comprehensive Code of ethics has not been formulated as yet. The feeling of solidarity and the sense of belongingness also does not exist in the managerial class in India.

All these factors lead us to say that management profession in India is still undergoing the process of professionalisation. But management today is emerging as the directing force of industry and is gradually becoming a profession.

EPILOGUE

It is difficult and conscientiously unnerving to terminate the thesis at this point because there are so many aspects of the topic that need enquiry in greater details. It is very hard to resist the temptation of looking into the varied vistas of "Management Profession in India" emerging with each passing day. For the fear of making this work look staggeringly voluminous, we have to terminate it precisely at this point.

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