The article focuses on the evolving nature of self of professionally qualified technocrats in India. It contributes to the growing literature on the nature of evolving self as a result of the process of West-led modernisation and the spread of free market capitalism across the globe. It reports the findings of a study of organisational culture in a high-tech joint venture in India. The factor analysis indicates the existence of individualistic as well as collectivistic tendencies amongst the educated professionals. This duality has been conceptualised as "individualised familial self" amongst the qualified technocrats in India. The study suggests the need for similar explorations in different countries to understand the impact of global forces of change in varying cultural contexts.

Individualised Familial Self: The Evolving Self of Qualified Technocrats in India*

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Though the link between culture and behaviour is not at all direct (Triandis, 2002), it is accepted that culture influences human behaviour in any society. Human societies differ in terms of various cultural characteristics (Triandis, 2002), which constitute the core of many of the frameworks and theories in the area of cross-cultural research.

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Individualism–Collectivism and Self-Construal Process

Individualism and collectivism are two such cultural characteristics, which have caught the attention of innumerable researchers. They deal with the way individuals relate to their groups or the extent individuals are integrated to the collectives, which varies across societies. Earley and Gibson (1998) call it "social connectedness".

The relationship between the individual and collectivity in human society is also intimately linked with societal behaviour (Kagitçibasi, 1987) or norms (Hofstede, 2001). Cultural context influences individuals by shaping their self-concepts (Erez & Earley, 1993; Gudykunst et al., 1994; Hofstede, 2001; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis et al., 1990; Triandis, 1995). The social identity theory as conceived by Tajfel & Turner (1979) and further explored by Turner (1985), suggests that an individual defines himself, in part, in terms of his memberships in various social groups or categories. Social identity (Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990) contributes to self-conception. Scholars such as Markus & Kitayama (1991) and Triandis (1989) have focused on the role of self-construal in relation to individualism–collectivism. Roland (1987), a psychanalyst, also holds the position that "the intrapsychic development of the self" is congruent with the major socio-cultural patterns of a society and will, therefore, vary in contrasting societies.

The "self", which is structured through experience, by which individuals interpret and respond to external environment (Triandis, 1989), can be understood as a constellation of beliefs, feelings and knowledge.

Cross-cultural researchers (Hsu, 1983; Hui, 1988; Triandis, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998) have discussed the distinctions between individualists and collectivists in many contexts. On the one hand, individualists (*a*) believe that the self is the basic unit of survival and, (*b*) have high needs for autonomy. They are concerned mostly with their own success; collectivists are concerned with the success of their groups.

On the other hand, collectivists (*a*) hold the view that the unit of survival lies in a group or in several groups and, (*b*) have greater associative and nurturing needs (Hui, 1988). Collectivists view the self as interdependent with others, whereas individualists view the self as autonomous and independent from groups (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Reykowski, 1994).

Individualism–Collectivism and Psychological Processes

Individualism and collectivism are cultural characteristics that describe social behaviour at collective level. The psychological manifestations of individualism and collectivism are different in nature at individual level, which have been described as "idiocentrism–allocentrism" (Triandis et al., 1985) or "independent–interdependent" self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Systematic research at individual level has identified several psychological processes that correspond to individualism and collectivism (Hui & Triandis, 1986; Hui, 1988; Triandis et al., 1985; Triandis, 1988). Individualism is related to competition, self-reliance, and emotional distance from in-groups and hedonism; collectivism is related to high family integrity, small distance from in-groups and high sociability and interdependence.

Modernisation, Market Capitalism and Growth in Individualism

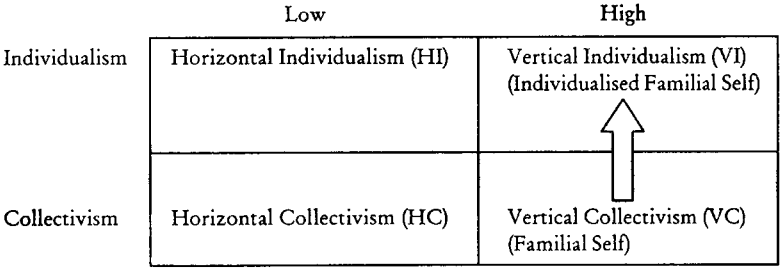
It has been suggested that even in traditional collectivistic societies, individualistic tendencies within a traditional society become dominant with economic growth/affluence (Hofstede, 2001), development of a highly urbanised middle-class (Hofstede, 2001), social mobility (Cutright, 1968; Miller, 1960; Hofstede, 2001), introduction of modern technologies (Stinchcombe, 1965; Triandis, 1973), market capitalism, competition, exposure to mass media (Beteille, 1977).

Although the utility of the individualism–collectivism construct is indisputable, Triandis (1995) has argued that it is multidimensional. Consequently, the linear shift from collectivism to individualism has been questioned. Triandis (1995) has proposed that both individualism and collectivism may be further modified as either horizontal (emphasising equality) or vertical (emphasising hierarchy). According to horizontal patterns, one's self is more or less like every other self. In contrast, vertical patterns consist of hierarchies; thus one's self is distinct from others' selves. The combination of those relative emphases with individualism and collectivism produces four distinct patterns: horizontal collectivism (HC), vertical collectivism (VC), horizontal individualism (HI) and vertical individualism (VI). The vertical–horizontal

dimension captures the essence of Hofstede's "Power Distance" index (refer to Figure 1).

Figure 1

Power Distance



Researchers have found that the development of market economy in a society is related to the vertical individualistic tendency of the people. The very essence of market development implies that people are more competitive and, hence, would be individualistic (Chiou, 2001).

Co-existence of Individualistic and Collectivistic Tendencies in a Culture

Any reference to individualistic and collectivistic cultures gives the impression that members of a particular society are uniformly individualistic or collectivistic, which is not likely to be the case (Kashima, 1987; Sinha & Tripathi, 1994). Kagitçibasi (1990) noted that both collectivistic and individualistic tendencies might co-exist in the form of basic human needs for both dependence and independence. Hence this co-existence of both the tendencies is likely to be manifested in various forms in variety of cultures and contexts.

The findings of the study revealed that the qualified technocrats in India seem to be concerned about their professional growth, while preferring an emotionally intimate hierarchical mode of interactions. The desire for professional growth seems to be the manifestations of individualised self, whereas preference for emotionally intimate hierarchical mode of interactions are the manifestations of what Roland

calls the familial self (1988). We propose that such a kind of hybrid self predominantly found among the qualified technocrats in India be called "Individualised familial self".

Scope and Organisation of the Article

This article reports the findings of a study of organisational culture in a high-tech Indo–US joint venture located in India. The factor analysis indicates the co-existence of individualistic and collectivistic tendencies amongst the educated professionals' behaviour in an organisational context. Such findings on behavioural data encouraged us to conceptualise the evolving self of such professionally qualified technocrats in India. It contributes to the growing literature on the nature of self as a result of modernisation and the spread of free market capitalism consequent to the success of western organisations globally.

This article has seven sections. The first two briefly summarise the findings of various studies in the above-mentioned areas undertaken internationally and in India. The third section discusses the rationale of this study, followed by a section that captures the socio-economic profiles of the respondents as well as the respondents' profile which is a representative sample of qualified technocrats in India. The following section reports the study and the findings of the factor analysis. The results of the factor analysis are discussed in the next section. In the discussion section, the concepts of individualised familial self as well as its relationships with other conceptualisations of "self" have been elaborated. The final section summarises the article and mentions the limitations of this study, besides the scope for further studies.

Reflections from Other Societies

Findings of various studies undertaken in different societies have uniformly revealed the shifting trend of dominant value orientation from collectivism to individualism with economic development, urbanisation and adoption of market economy.

Turkey

Studies reveal a trend toward individualism among the more progressive and upper socio-economic status (SES) segments of Turkish society (Imamoglu, 1998). Although the socialisation practices of the middle and lower SES Turkish parents seem conducive to raising collectivistic persons, those of the upper SES parents seem conducive to raising individualistic persons (Imamoglu, 1987). Although the parents from all SES groups wanted their children to be emotionally interdependent, those of lower and middle SES favoured obedience and loyalty, whereas those of upper SES favoured more autonomy and professional growth (Imamoglu, 1998). Imamoglu (1987), on the basis of his study on child rearing practices in Turkey, argues that the dominant orientations and behaviour of the people in a particular society may vary depending upon the stage of economic development, literacy and other socio-economic factors.

Taiwan

The traditional agriculture-based Taiwanese society has become a modern cosmopolitan one as a result of post World War II era of economic development (Yang, 1981). Bond and Wang (1981), however, claimed that the characteristics of collectivism were still registered strongly in Taiwanese society. The Taiwanese, in general, have become more individualistic (Chiou, 2001). In Taiwan, traditional are competing with modern (western) values, the latter gaining ground at a rapid pace (Chiou, 2001). In Taiwanese society although the vertical individualistic tendency is getting stronger, horizontal collectivistic is still the basic cultural element (Yang, 1981).

Hong Kong, Chile and Mexico

The rapid economic development in Hong Kong has caused its population to become competitive (Chiou, 2001), and hence, individualistic. Fernandez et al. (1997) observed that Chilean and Mexican societies were undergoing a transformation from collectivistic to individualistic ones.

Singapore

The law-makers of Singapore have recently passed a law that requires individuals to take care of aged parents. Such laws were not necessary, when filial piety was strong among expatriate Chinese, which constitutes 76% of the population of Singapore (Triandis, 2002). This change is attributed to increasing affluence. When individualism is on the rise, some of the traditional collectivist values (like filial piety in case of the Chinese) are less reflected in the behaviour of people.

Japan

Trommsdroff (1983) and Schooler (1998) have recorded the increase in individualism in Japanese society. Economic development affects the lives of families, where collectivist and individualist values are inculcated. With increasing wealth, family patterns shift from extended to nuclear family. Japan is an example. The Japanese press regularly publishes stories of breaches of traditional family solidarity. Care for the aged in the past used to be considered a task for the Japanese family, but provisions by the state have become necessary in cases where families have stopped fulfilling their traditional duties (Takezawa, 1975).

Nevertheless, as Hofstede (2001) points out "even at a level of per capita income equal to or larger than Western countries, Japanese society will very likely conserve distinctive collectivist elements in its family, school, and work spheres". The same holds for other Asian and European countries (Heuer, Cummings & Hutabarat, 1999).

Greece

Differences in individualism remain within countries as well. Georgas (1989) found significant differences between urban and rural Greek students; the rural students maintained extended rather than nuclear family values, even after four years spent in studying in Athens—something similar to the findings of this study.

Argentina

Chiou (2001) reported that Argentina was moving from a horizontally individualistic society toward a vertically individualistic society.

Reflection from Earlier Studies in India

In India, also, findings of many earlier studies have revealed the co-existence of both individualistic and collectivistic value orientations. A number of scholars have attempted to explore the reasons behind such a tendency or its manifestations in the patterns of social behaviour.

Sinha et al. (2002), in their study on collectivism and individualism in India, which was conducted in five locations (including New Delhi, the most affluent with better infrastructural facilities compared to the other four locations) found that "affluence and infrastructural facilities induce people to combine individualist orientation in their collectivist behaviour, or use collectivist means to realise individualist interests, but still refrain from being totally individualist. Compared to the people at a relatively less affluent place with weaker infrastructural facilities they are likely to be more individualist".

Sinha (1982) noted that "in spite of the collectivistic orientation and a strong tendency to submerge the individual in a group, it is indeed paradoxical that in the day-to-day functioning an average Indian is very selfish, displays extreme form of egotism and lack of consideration. The co-existence of a high degree of individualism and a sharp 'self' and 'other' distinction with collectivism makes Indian psyche appear to be very paradoxical".

Sinha (1990) also reported that the managers, like their counterparts in western countries, attach top priority to achievement, advancement, ability utilisation, and personal development. Sinha (1994) found that managers, more than workers, desire job challenges, recognition, and appreciation, promotion, etc. Quite often these seemingly *personal*-growth oriented dispositions are also implicitly serving the social values of status and prestige (our emphasis).

Dalal (1988) observed that while Indians may be dependent (valuing hierarchical relationships), it is not true that they do not desire greater control over the outcomes, which influence their destiny, like professional growth.

D. Sinha and Tripathi (1994) on the basis of the review of studies on behavioural dispositions of Indians, noted the "co-existence and contradictions" pertaining to behavioural tendencies among Indians. Sinha and Tripathi (1994) quoted Kapp, observing ". . . the paradoxical coexistence in one culture (i.e., India) of contradictory value orientations and actual behaviour pattern." Singh and Das (1977) have reported that while managers profess to value freedom, autonomy, their actual behaviour manifests collectivist orientations suggesting that the latter are the core values.

Ramanujam (1977) found Indians to be sensitive to context in their thought and practices. Kedia and Bhagat (1988) mentioned that Indians have "associative thinking", which they claim to be an unique characteristic of Indians. Sinha and Kanungo (1997) attempted to capture both the thinking processes and the resultant behavioural dispositions through the term "context sensitivity and balancing". Context sensitivity is basically a thinking principle or a mindset that is cognitive in nature and it determines the adaptive nature of an idea or behaviour in a context. Balancing, on the other hand, is a behavioral disposition. Varying degree of balancing can be noticed in all cultures, but it is relatively strong among Indians (Sinha and Kanungo, 1997).

This is so because of their "engulfing and balancing mode of thinking" (Marriott, 1976). This co-existence of a high degree of individualism and a sharp "self" and "other" distinction with collectivism makes the Indian psyche appear to be paradoxical. "Neither a 'melting pot' nor a 'social-blending machine seems to have operated in the Indian context" (Sinha, 1988).

Though some degree of "cognitive compartmentalisation" is observable in most societies in a state of transition (Dawson, 1963), "tolerance of dissonance" appears to be especially characteristic of Indian social thinking.

Both collectivistic and individualistic value orientations are available to managers and are activated differently in response to situational demands. Tripathi (1988) has observed that the Indian form of collectivism is unique in a way that it also contains a streak of strong individualism. He further observed that, "In Indian society, individualism and collectivism act like figure and ground. Depending on the situation, one rises to form the figure while the other recedes into the background". Indians, particularly in achievement situations are as competitive as individuals from western society. In fact, a series of studies on competition and cooperation behaviour have reported that Indians

were high on the dimension of competition and low on the dimension of cooperation. L'Armand and Pepitone (1975) asked Indian as well as American students to put a wager on their own behalf and on behalf of their partner. American subjects were found to do better when they bet on behalf of their partner, whereas Indian subjects showed better performance when they bet on their behalf and were allowed to keep the money. They also performed better when they bet on behalf of their own caste group members. Other studies (Druckham et al., 1974; Alcock, 1975) have also shown similar results.

Tripathi (1988) has used the concept of variable boundary to explain Indian self. Depending on the situation and characteristics of the person, the boundaries of "self" can get extended so as to reduce the saliency of the in-group. Under such conditions, an individual acts more on the basis of an individualistic orientation. In another situation, the same individual may display a collectivistic orientation, wherein the self-boundaries may get completely submerged in the in-group boundaries.

Parikh (1979) has attempted to explain the co-existence of both patterns of behaviour by mentioning that the collectivistic set of values is acquired from their early socialisation, which is sustained by collectivist culture. The individualistic set of values is drawn from western management education which is based on the individualistic ethos. Both sets are available to managers and are activated differently in response to situational demands. Sinha (1980) has identified "personalised hierarchical relationship" as the core of interpersonal interactions, which becomes the model for other relationships outside the extended family (Gupta, 1991). The traditional Indian social values, which are valued the most are hierarchy and personalised relationship, which are at the core of "vertical collectivism" (Triandis & Bhawuk, 1997), which is also called "vertical solidarity".

Respect for hierarchy and importance of personalised relationship are still valued by Indians and accepted to be pan-Indian cultural values (Sinha et al., 2001). The importance of hierarchical personalised relationship is inculcated within an Indian in his childhood socialisation in a traditional joint family. For an Indian, the extended family is the most important social institution, what Kakar (1978) calls the "psychosocial matrix of childhood". "In Indian society, with all its enormous heterogeneity, the pervasive dominance of extended family, almost as an entity onto itself, is a constant" (Gupta, 1991).

The principle of a hierarchical ordering of social dependencies extends beyond its home base in the extended family to every other institution

in Indian society. It is expected that "the hierarchical actuality of extended family life in India, based primarily on age status, legitimated by an enduring moral tradition, and sustained through the complementary modes of nurturing and succoring, is extrapolated to all other social institutions as the normative form of organization" (Kakar, 1978).

On the basis of psychotherapeutic treatment of 12 English speaking, middle and upper class Indian patients from five religious communities, Roland (1988) reported that "emotionally close, well-defined hierarchical family relationship" is valued the most by them. Relationship, to the Indian psyche, is usually far more important than issues. Roland (1983) stated that the desire for emotionally close, well-defined hierarchical familial relationship of the Indians is a manifestation of their traditional collectivistic familial self. He also observed that the traditional Indian society provides few social options and autonomy to Indian adolescents, which hinders the individuation process of the Indians (Roland, 1988). Compared to the American society, relatively weak individuation process in Indian society makes Indians closer and submissive to familial pressures.

Individuation Process in Traditional Indian Society

In a comparative analysis of Indian and Amercian society, Roland (1988) found that the extended family has been the most valued social institution in India. Indian society stresses far more on extended family than any of the western individualistic societies. Western societies, on the other hand, are far more egalitarian with considerable autonomy of individuals compared to India.

Roland (1988) stretches Mahler et al.'s (1975) concept of symbiosis and separation-individuation to include the modes of relatedness throughout life as well as stages of development to discover that Indian modes of relatedness lean more toward the symbiotic end of the continuum—what Hsu (1971) terms "intimacy relationship" and calls "symbiotic relationship". This kind of relationship is characterised by (*a*) being "sensitive" to others' feelings and (*b*) dependency needs, quite pervasive among the Indians. Roland (1987) uses the term "symbiotic reciprocity" to capture this mode of relationship.

In the same token, traditionally, separation and individuation process within the Indians is discouraged at any cost. Self-assertion and aggression are discouraged through gratification (Roland, 1988). There is little

empathy for the particular individualised needs and feelings of the child. This kind of childhood socialisation prepares a child to always look for close familial relationships in all sorts of relationships throughout life. Close identification with family is deeply internalised in the Indian self (Roland, 1988). The urge for hierarchical familial relationship of an Indian is felt in every aspect of human life including the work life.

He also discovered a streak of individualised self among the urbanised educated Indians, which he argued to be the product of urbanisation, westernisation and industrialisation (Roland, 1988).

Rationale of this Study

In spite of all these studies, there seems to be a lack of efforts by researchers to conceptualise the behaviour of Indians in an organisational context. Most of these studies have focused on the behavioural pattern in the societal context and have conjectured their behaviour in an organisational context. There is a lack of clear understanding of the behavioural patterns of Indians in an organisational context, though there is no denying the fact that organisational culture does not evolve in isolation of the influence of societal culture. Roland's (1988) conceptualisation of familial self fails to capture adequately the behavioural patterns of Indians in an organisational context. It seems that his conceptualisation of familial self subsumes the streak of individualised self observed among the urbanised qualified technocrats in India.

Members' behaviour within an organisation is, in a way, a manifestation of social norms/values in an organisational context. Modern organisations are guided by western organisational practices based on individualistic organisational ethos, whereas organisational members socialised in a traditional society bring in collectivistic societal ethos. These two seemingly conflicting value orientations interact in the organisations. Moreover, when a traditional society modernises, a group of people in it, commonly known as professionals, nurture modern western values and can be categorised as early modernisers. Though they are socialised in traditional families in their early childhood, later on they get influenced by modern ideas, when they are exposed to western ideas in their academic and professional careers. Their visible behaviour and attitudes are influenced by seemingly two conflicting cultural influences—early childhood in a traditional family and influence

of modern western ideas in their adolescence. They seem to possess a hybrid self, which is conditioned by both traditional collectivist and modern individualist values. This study has attempted to understand the behavioural patterns of such professionals in an organisational context. The authors also felt the need to conceptualise the dual self of urbanised qualified technocrats in India, which would help organisational leaders understand their employees better.

This article through an empirical study of the culture of an organisation, which is populated by mostly qualified technocrats (86%), has attempted to interpret the behavioural patterns of professionally qualified Indians and conceptualise the nature of their self.

Socio-economic Profile of the Respondents: Representative Sample of Professionally Qualified Technocrats in India

The study reported here was conducted during July 2000 through February 2001 in a high-tech Indo-American joint venture located in New Delhi.

Hi-tech Communication Limited (HICOM)[4] is a joint venture between US-based Hi-tech Network System and its Indian partner Communication Limited, which was incorporated in 1992. Most of the employees (86%) were professionally qualified and were electrical, electronics or telecommunication engineers. They are either graduate or diploma engineers from Indian Institute of Technology, Regional Engineering College, National Institute of Information Technology, Industrial Training Institutes and/or business management graduates from business schools and university management departments. They mostly belong to middle-class families and are conscious about their career growth and professional achievements. The employees are young, energetic and enthusiastic, with their age ranging from 25 to 35 years. The average age of the employees in the organisation is 29 years. There are around 130 employees in the corporate headquarter located in New Delhi, of which seven are female. As of December 2000, there were 235 employees in the organisation throughout India. Only eight of them have been in the organisation for more than seven years. Most of the employees have joined during the past one year

(refer to Table 1). (The name of the organisation is not disclosed to maintain confidentiality.)

Table 1

Number of Employees and Duration of Stay in HICOM

Duration of Stay in HICOM	*Number of Employees*
< = One Year	97
> One Year < = Two Years	47
> Two Years < = Three Years	26
> Three Years < = Four Years	18
> Four Years < = Five Years	17
> Five Years < = Six Years	19
> Six Years < = Seven Years	0
> Seven Years	8

(As on December 2000)

The respondents in this study have been living in a highly urbanised city (National Capital Region covering New Delhi, Noida and Gurgaon) and were mostly first-generation migrants from rural joint family settings.

Ninety per cent of the total 113 million population of New Delhi is urban, with a literacy rate of 82% (Census of India, 2001, Paper 1 of 2001). Its population has grown at 46.31% during 1991 through 2001, in spite of the fact that the natural growth rate of population has come down to 14.1% in 1998 from 18.4% in 1991 (Sample Registration System Data, SRS Bulletin, October 2000, Volume 34, No. 2). This is because of the rising migration of population to the National Capital Region, which includes New Delhi, Gurgaon and Noida, which is estimated at three to five lakhs per year (*The Times of India*, 9 March 2002, p. 2). New Delhi is the most lucrative place to migrate with the number of companies registered in New Delhi having grown at an average of 7% along with the annual growth in employment opportunity of 4%. As per 1991 Census percentage of households having modern amenities such as electricity, safe drinking water, toilet or all three facilities is 80, 95, 64 and 58%, respectively. The number of vehicles on the roads of New Delhi has increased sixfold in 20 years from 5.4 lakhs in 1981 to around 35 lakhs in 2001. In terms of telecom facilities and career opportunities, New Delhi is second only to Mumbai, which has traditionally been known as the commercial capital of India. New Delhi is going to be the first city in India to have one million cellular phone

users. The per capita income in New Delhi is twice that of the national per capita income.

The Study

At the outset we believe that it would be appropriate to record the fact that the theme of this article is based on a serendipitous discovery of some interesting findings from the factor analysis of the items of a study. The study was originally conducted to develop a methodology to measure the strength of an organisational culture from a subjective–interpretive–attribution perspective. The strength of a culture was conceptualised as the degree of "peer-induced cognitive pressure".

"Peer-induced cognitive pressure" forces an organisational member to abide by the "perceived shared expectations" and discourages him from being a deviant. His perception about the behavioural patterns of his colleagues makes him behave the way they behave. The study in a way captures the perceived patterns of behaviour of organisational members in an organisational context. The factor analysis of these perceived behavioural data reveals the underlying thinking patterns, which have been used in this article to conjecture about the self of the respondents, which are taken as the representative sample of qualified technocrats in India.

The present study adopted a survey research approach, using a questionnaire. The questionnaires were administered personally by the first author at the corporate office of HICOM. The questionnaire was administered to 66 employees, which included 28 supervisors and 34 executives. The respondents were selected randomly.

HICOM also has a well-articulated mission, vision, values and beliefs (refer to Exhibit I). Consequently, the items of the questionnaire used in this study were selected on the basis of the espoused mission, vision, values and beliefs of the organisation as well as pre-survey discussions with the executives.

The questionnaire had two parts. The first part dealt with the demographic profile of the respondents, such as age, designation, grade, functional area, and length of service in the organisation. The second part was related to the perception of the respondents about their colleagues' behaviour. Respondents were asked to respond on the behaviour of their colleagues. This section contained 15 items selected on the basis

of preliminary interviews with executives. A five-point Likert scale, ranging from "strongly agree" (1) to "strongly disagree" (5), was used to collect respondents' perception about the behaviour of colleagues. The responses to the items in this section have been factor analysed to arrive at the five factors related perceived patterns of organisational members' behaviour. Reliability of the instrument used was judged through the calculation of a Cronbach alpha coefficient (Cronbach, 1951), which was found to be 0.83. This was above the Nunnally (1978) criterion of 0.7, and hence, reliable.

Principal Component Analysis

Prior to the discussion of the findings of the principal component analysis (PCA), Table 2 presents the list of variables, which are subjected to PCA.

Table 2

List of Variables that are subjected to Principal Component Analysis

Variable	*Items*
COURT	Are courteous with me
HON	Are fair and honest in performing duties
FIN	Encourage others to exhibit financial acumen while performing duties
CUST	Try hard to meet customers' needs
HELP	Help others achieve organisational goals
INFO	Provide others with right kind of information at right time
OPPOR	Provide opportunities to experiment new ideas
TOLER	Tolerate mistakes committed by others while performing duties
CENT	Encourage people to do what they are told to do by senior management
PROF	Help people to grow professionally
SYST	Encourage others to follow system
IDE	Are open to new ideas
INIT	Appreciate initiatives taken by others
GROUP	Encourage group efforts
PERS	Help others in personal needs

The principal component analysis of items pertaining to organisational culture (see Table 3) was conducted. In accordance with the Kaiser criterion (Kaiser, 1958), factor solutions were retained if they exhibited

an eigen value greater than 1 and if they were conceptually clear and interpretable (Churchill, 1991; Hair et al., 1998). Items with loadings less than 0.7 have been dropped. Loadings less than 0.2 have been suppressed.

Table 3

Principal Component Analysis (Rotated Component Matrix)

Variables	*Professional Growth*	*Hierarchy Orientation*	*Financial Prudence*	*Respecting System*	*Empathic Orientation*
COURT*	0.492			-0.654	
HON*	**0.509**	0.404	0.329		
FIN		0.269	0.306		
CUST*		0.660	0.815		
HELP*	**0.649**	0.459			
INFO*	0.533	0.459			
OPPOR	**0.786**				
TOLER			-0.285		0.824
CENT		0.729			
PROF	**0.741**				
SYST	**0.251**			0.796	
IDE*	**0.696**	0.199	0.225		0.339
INIT*	**0.679**		0.370		
GROUP*	**0.541**		0.608	0.341	
PERS			0.413		0.709
Eigen values	3.725	1.844	1.700	1.410	1.397
Variance explained (cumulative)	24.833	37.126	48.459	57.860	67.174

Extraction method: Principal Component Analysis
Rotation method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalisation
All loadings less than 0.200 are suppressed and items with loadings less than 0.7 have been dropped.
* Marked items will be dropped, as the loadings are less than 0.7.

The identification and labelling of the five extracted factors is discussed below (refer to Exhibit II). Table 3 presents the principal component analysis of the data on perceived behavioural patterns of one's colleagues. The factor analysis of the 15 items leads to five factors, which cumulatively explain 67% of total variance.

The first factor solution loads two items onto a vector generating an eigen value of 3.725. Given that these two items appear to gauge the extent to which shared expected norms are related to professional growth (opportunities to experiment new ideas and helping people to

grow professionally), the solution is accepted and ascribed the label "Professional Growth".

The second factor solution loads one item onto a vector generating an eigen value of 1.844 and accounting for 12.29% of the total variances. This item is related to hierarchical orientation of the organisational relationship. The solution is accepted and labelled as "Hierarchy Orientation".

The third factor solution loads one item onto a vector generating an Eigen value of 1.7 and accounting for 11.33% of the total variances. This item is related to financial prudence. Consequently, the solution is accepted and the factor is labelled as "Financial Prudence".

The penultimate factor solution loads only one item (system orientation), explaining 9.40% of total variances, generating eigen value of 1.41. This item gauges the organisational needs for processes or systems. The solution is accepted and the factor is labelled as "Respecting Systems".

The final factor loads two items onto a vector generating an eigen value of 1.40 accounting for 9.31% of total variances. It seems to focus on individual needs for personalised relationship (tolerating mistakes and helping others in their personal needs). The solution is accepted and is labelled as "Empathic Orientation". This orientation, in a way, reflects symbiotic reciprocative kind of relationships which the Indians find very comforting (Roland, 1987).

The five dimensions of "shared perceived organisational norms" discovered were related to (*a*) professional growth, (*b*) hierarchy orientation, (*c*) financial prudence, (*d*) respecting systems, and (*e*) empathic orientation.

Discussion

The five factors of the shared perceived organisational norms, in a way, are the explicit expressions of inner desires of organisational members. In this case, the perceived organisational norms are the combination of some norms accepted in an individualistic society ("Professional Growth"), some in a collectivistic society ("Hierarchical Orientation" and "Empathic Orientation") and some modern organisational needs which are considered universal ("Financial Prudence" and "Respecting Systems") across all societies.

The most dominant factor in terms of ability to explain variations in perceived patterns of behaviour is professional growth (eigen value 3.725), which includes two items "opportunity to experiment new ideas" and "help people grow professionally". Organisational members in highly individualistic societies, such as USA, usually have a desire that the organisation should provide scope and opportunities for professional growth and experimentation. Desires for opportunities for innovations and initiatives in an organisational context are predominantly modern organisational values emanating from North American individualism. With such an orientation, organisational members value freedom, autonomy, creativity and challenge. These values are accepted and appreciated in an individualistic society and are seen as the manifestation of an individualised self. Interestingly, the second dominant factor is respect for hierarchy (eigen value 1.884), which includes the item related to hierarchy/centralisation. It is perceived that one is expected to take the approval or advice of senior management before deciding anything. This is common in a hierarchically oriented collectivistic society such as India. This could also be seen as a manifestation of the traditional respect for age/hierarchy accepted in various social institutions (for instance, joint family) in Indian society.

Taken together these two dimensions seem to reflect the vertical individualistic tendencies among the respondents, who are taken to be a representative sample of professionally qualified Indians. The vertical individualistic tendencies among the qualified technocrats in India seem to be stronger than the vertical collectivistic tendencies, while exhibiting both. This gradual shift from vertical collectivism to vertical individualism among the qualified technocrats in India needs to be further explored, considering the fact that most of the earlier studies have found Indians to be vertically collectivist (Triandis & Bhawuk, 1997) (refer to Figure 1).

The factors such as financial prudence and respective systems are directly related to modern organisational complexity. The least dominant factor is the empathic orientation. Most of the earlier studies have emphasised the importance of personalised relationship in interpersonal relationships in Indian society. This finding is at some variance to earlier findings. Is it because of the cosmopolitan living styles of urbanised and qualified technocrats in India? This needs to be further researched.

The qualified technocrats, in an organisational context, seem to be concerned about their professional growth, while preferring a

hierarchical mode of interaction. They seem to be sensitive to both their inner desires for professional growth and the need for hierarchical personalised relationship within an organisational context.

This finding is also in contradiction to the finding of Sing and Das (1977) who have reported that while managers profess to value freedom, autonomy, etc., their actual behaviour manifests the collectivist orientations suggesting that the latter are the core values. In this study it was found that organisational members perceive the behavioural pattern of their colleagues to be dominated by their individualistic orientations such as professional growth.

The findings of this study also encourage us to conjecture that qualified technocrats in India are highly individualistic. Moreover it seems to us that the self-orientation of the qualified technocrats have been influenced to a great extent by (*a*) the members' expertise, (*b*) desire to grow professionally and succeed in a highly competitive job market and (*c*) desire to enhance social status by achieving higher organisational position in exchange of their expert knowledge.

Is such a hybrid self typical of qualified technocrats or more pervasive in Indian populace? This can be understood through the exploration of the influence of respondents' demographic profile on their perceptions about organisational norms. The correlations between the respondents' background variables and the derived factors are reported in Table 4.

Table 4

Pearson's Bivariate Correlation (Two-Tailed test of Significance) between Respondents' Background Demographic Variables and the Five Factors Extracted

Background Demographic Variables	*Professional Growth*	*Hierarchy Orientation*	*Financial Acumen*	*Respecting System*	*Empathic Orientation*
Age of the respondents	-0.229	-0.044	0.149	-0.143	0.123
Experience in the organisation	-0.027	-0.074	0.000	-0.102	0.044
Nature of Job	-0.027	0.090	-0.024	0.056	0.192
Functional area	-0.229	-0.044	-0.121	0.205	0.034

Note: None of these correlations was significant.

It was found that none of the background variables like age of the respondents, duration of stay in the current organisation, nature of job they are handling (managerial or supervisory) and the functional area they are involved in, has any significant correlation with the five factors of perceived organisational norms.

Such findings lead us to conjecture that such a kind of hybrid self, which we call Individualised Familial Self could be more pervasive in Indian population.

Individualised Familial Self

The desire for professional growth seems to be the manifestations of an individualised self, whereas respect for hierarchy and empathic orientations are the manifestations of what Roland calls the familial self (1988). There seems to be interactions of both kinds of selves among the urbanised professionals in India. We suggest this kind of hybrid self predominantly seen among the qualified technocrats in India be called the "individualised familial self". As shown in the principal component analysis, the individualist norms dominate the collectivist norms in an organisational set-up which employs professionally educated urbanised qualified technocrats.

The familial aspects of self are inculcated among these professionally qualified technocrats in their early socialisation in traditional collectivistic family settings. The familial self gets individuated when these qualified technocrats receive professional education and migrate to urbanised locations to maintain a cosmopolitan lifestyle away from the traditional family settings.

As Indian society is becoming more cosmopolitan through a process of westernisation and industrialisation, we find an increasing tendency among the professionally qualified Indians staying in urban locations to become more individualistic. This is consistent with Erikson's (1968) work on identity crisis. This theory states that in a society in which there are considerable social options open to adolescents and adults and individual autonomy in deciding among these options, the members of the society develop individualised self. Though the traditional familial self does not have those options, with modernisation of traditional Indian society, the urban Indians have the luxury of ever evolving more and more social options and autonomy of choice.

In the context of Indian society, professionally qualified technocrats are individualist as far as performance of tasks is concerned, whereas they are collectivist as far as the work environment is concerned. This suggests that the organisations in India should cater to both individualistic and collectivistic needs.

Individualised Familial Self in Relation to Other Conceptualisations

The way the current research efforts on culture and self are focused on the cross-cultural variability in conception of self (Kagitçibasi, 2000) indicates that cross-cultural variability in the conception of self has been accepted as given. The "relational" conceptualisation of the self is a common finding in non-western collectivistic societies. Even in the non-western countries, the kind of relationship that is emphasised varies from society (country) to society (country). It has been variously labelled "the we-self", "the group-self", "the two-person matrix" (in China), "social selfhood" (in Africa), and so on. In case of the Indian society, the traditional self has been labelled as "the familial self". Conceptually, individualised familial self is similar to Kagitçibasi's (1996) "relational-autonomous" self and Hofstede's (2001) "ego-in-context". Relational-autonomous self or ego-in-context is distinct from western conceptualisation of individualistic self or "ego". Self can only exist within a context. Relationship with the context is as important as individual autonomy.

This conceptualisation of self has taken care of most of the findings of earlier researches in India. Marriott's (1976) observation about the Indian's "engulfing and balancing mode of thinking", Kapp's (1963) observation on "the paradoxical co-existence . . . of contradictory value orientations and actual behaviour pattern" and Sinha and Kanungo's (1997) conceptualisation of "context sensitivity and balancing", we believe would be better understood and appreciated, if we take into account the dual nature of individualised familial self of qualified technocrats in India. This conceptualisation is also consistent with Sinha's (1982) and Sinha et al.'s (2002) observations on individualistic tendencies of the Indians and Parikh's (1979) attempt to explain the co-existence of individualism and collectivism.

The findings of this study are in contradiction to the findings of Singh & Das (1977) suggesting that collectivistic value orientations are the core values. Our findings suggest that though the qualified technocrats in India are guided by both collectivistic and individualistic value orientations, the latter is the dominant one in organisational settings. Individualised familial self takes care of Tripathi's (1988) concept of variable boundary to explain the Indian self. He argued that depending on the situation and characteristics of the person, the boundaries of "self" behave either individualistically or as a member of a collective.

The conceptualisation of individualised familial self may also be viewed as an extension of Roland's (1988) familial self, which takes

care of both familial and individualised selves of the qualified technocrats in India.

Summary and Conclusion

This article reports the findings of the factor analysis of the data gathered on the perceived behavioural patterns of the colleague-members in a high-tech Indo-US joint venture located in India. Five factors were extracted. A closer analysis of the five factors revealed the existence of both individualistic as well as collectivistic tendencies amongst the educated professionals. These seem to be the manifestations of a hybrid self. It is suggested that this kind of hybrid self predominantly seen among qualified technocrats be called individualised familial self. It is found that the dominant value orientation among the qualified technocrats that shapes the behavioural patterns in an organisation is the individualistic tendency rather than the collectivistic tendency. It was also found that the vertical individualistic tendencies among the qualified technocrats seem to be stronger than the vertical collectivistic tendencies while exhibiting both.

Limitations of this Study

The article is based on the responses of the organisational members of only one organisation, which is an Indo-US joint venture. On the basis of the behavioural data of one organisation, it would be imprudent to generalise. The concept needs to be further pursued and researched extensively.

Second, it is not a comparative study. The respondents of this study are from one location only. A cross-locational or cross-national comparative study would definitely clarify the nature of self of the qualified technocrats in India in a better way.

Third, this tudy is handicapped in generalising the findings for general population because of the lack of other background information such as education and family background of the respondents. Moreover, future research should also take into account the localities in which the organisation is located—urban, semi-urban or rural—and the nature of industry in which the organisation is operating.

Finally, the study has not focused the individuation process of the Indians. Researchers should focus on the socialisation and self-construal process of the qualified technocrats in India, which would help understand them better.

Conclusion

In spite of all these limitations, the article has attempted to contribute to the growing literature on the nature of evolving self of qualified technocrats in India. There is a need for more ethnographic studies in varying cultural contexts within India as well as other countries. There is a need to capture the peculiarities or idiosyncrasies of qualified technocrats in various societies in an organisational context. It is necessary for better understanding of highly qualified ambitious employees and to have appropriate organisational cultures that stimulate them to contribute in a desired way.

EXHIBIT I

VISION

We wish to be universally admired and benchmarked as an organisation for customer care, employee satisfaction and business operations of highest integrity, forging on enduring and profitable relationship with stakeholders.

MISSION

To be the leading value added provider, continuously adding value to customers' business by offering the state-of-the-art products and services, primarily using satellite technology.

VALUES

- Ethics (Honesty and truthfulness)
- Customer Care (Meet and exceed explicit and implicit customer expectation)
- Financial Acumen (Focus on value for money ensuring financial discipline, propriety and viability)
- Stakeholder Care (Understand and fulfil expectations of those having a stake in the organisation)
- Benchmarking (Continuously identify and evaluate best practices)

- Relationship building (Understand and establish mutual interdependence and meet implicit and explicit expectations of all stakeholders)

BELIEFS

- Respect and care for individuals
- Transparency in our interactions, transactions and operations as a whole
- Maintain high standards of ethics in business transactions
- Be an equal opportunity employer
- Raise the bar continuously in every aspect of our business
- Be a learning organisation
- Promote team spirit and passion for excellence
- Develop a paranoid approach in meeting commitments, objectives and milestones
- We exist only because of our customers

EXHIBIT II

Grouping of items in five factors with loadings

Professional Growth
My colleagues in my workplace:
Provide opportunities to experiment new ideas (0.786)
Help people grow professionally (0.741)

Hierarchy Orientation
My colleagues in my workplace:
Encourage people to do what they are told to do by senior management (0.729)

Financial Acumen
My colleagues in my workplace:
Encourage others to exhibit financial acumen while performing duties (0.815)

Respecting Systems
My colleagues in my workplace:
Encourage others to follow system (0.796)

Empathic Orientation
My colleagues in my workplace:
Tolerate mistakes committed by others while doing job (0.824)
Help others in personal needs (0.709)

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