

## CONCLUSION

The present study tries to focus socio-economic and demographic profiles of all categories of workers from top rung to the lowest engaged in modern heavy industry in tribal dominated, developing areas of Ranchi district. The study also highlights workers' employment career, organizational experiences, occupational aspirations, job-satisfaction as an indicator of job-commitment, commitment to industrial way of life and trade union involvement in case of unionized cadre. The 'description' and 'explanation' have guided the entire analysis of workers' 'attitudinal' and 'behavioral' state. The findings of the study have been compared with earlier findings and generalizations both at the theoretical and empirical levels. Thus, the findings of the study on some aspects reject the earlier findings of some important socio-industrial studies.

The emergence of modern industry into tribal areas has resulted in the move from a tribal way of life to an urban-industrial culture and brought about significant social and cultural mutations. A number of communities and households were uprooted from their homogeneous tribal social structure in terms of landscape, population, economy and way of life and were consequently absorbed into the

large ocean of industrial work force. Their morals, values and political institutions underwent radical changes which are often conceived as the process of 'detrribalization'. The study also reveals that few persons from the uprooted communities were absorbed in the industrial work requiring less skill. This may be attributed to high levels of skill required in the modern industry. The technical requirements of most industrial jobs, therefore, make it impossible for a raw hand, especially one with a rural-agricultural background, to fit into the industrial system except as an unskilled worker. The emergence of urban-industrial complex also attracted a large number of industrial skilled and unskilled migrants from the different parts of the country to meet the technological requirements.

Social and Demographic Profiles of Sample Workers:

The social and demographic profiles of the workers under study reveals that about 69.1 per cent of the sample executives belong to Upper caste Hindu community whereas about one-fifth (20 per cent) belong to the Lower Caste Hindu community. The 'pattern of migration' by place of birth data shows that majority of them migrated from medium and long distances.

Similarly, majority (67.5 per cent) of the sample supervisors belong to upper caste Hindu community, more

than one-tenth (11.6 per cent) belong to lower caste Hindu community and the rest shows affiliation with Muslim and Scheduled tribe communities. The 'pattern of migration' of supervisors reveals that about 63 per cent migrated from medium and long distances. Contrary to executives, a significant proportion of supervisors were migrants from short distances, i.e., within the district of enumeration.

The caste affiliations of technical workers show that less than fifty per cent (46.4 per cent) belong to lower caste Hindu community whereas about 41.6 per cent belong to upper caste Hindu community. It is significant to note that the category of technical workers almost equally attracted members of Hindu community. Less than ten per cent (8.3 per cent) belong to scheduled tribe community. The migratory status of sample technical workers reveal that majority of them have migrated from short and medium distances, i.e., born in the district of enumeration and other districts of the State. As compared to technical workers, the sample non-technical workers indicated that about 37.9 per cent belong to upper caste Hindu community whereas lower caste Hindu community constituted about 17.4 per cent. It is significant to note that about one-fourth belong to scheduled tribe community. The 'place of birth' data indicate that about

86 per cent of the total sample non-technical workers migrated from short and medium distances.

The age distribution of all categories of sample workers shows that majority of them belong to middle and old age-groups. The educational background of all categories of workers reveals a high level of literacy with technical knowledge which stands in sharp contrast to earlier findings.

A comparative study of four categories of workers shows that the Hindus constitute the bulk of the industrial work force of H.E.C.; their proportion ranging between 55.3 to 90 per cent. Similarly, the proportion of upper castes among the Hindu workers is also quite high (37.9-70 per cent). Thus, the study highlights, contrary to earlier generalization that upper caste Hindu were disinclined towards factory employment in general, and it attracted only lower castes destitutes. There is evidence to support this argument, as upper caste Hindus represented the broad spectrum of the industrial occupations and skill levels. The study also reveals that low caste Hindu fairly represented the all categories of industrial occupations. Thus, the industrial employment has attracted workers from all levels of traditional society. These findings lead us to believe that all the categories of

sample workers have devoted themselves to industrial occupation and have little interest in land or agriculture in contrast to the traditional floating character of the Indian industrial workers. Many factors such as increasing pressure of population on land, standardized wage rates, rising level of education, introduction of various social security and welfare measures and formal channels of selection based on technical abilities and skills have accelerated the process of change towards stability.

The data on pattern of migration indicates a relationship between level of skill and 'pattern of migration'. It is observed that high level of skill attracted the migrants from medium and long distances whereas low level of skill attracted majority of migrants from short and medium distances. For instance, about 89 per cent of sample executives and 63 per cent of sample supervisors migrated from medium and long distances. As against this pattern, a large proportion of technical workers (about 92 per cent) and non-technical workers (about 85 per cent) migrated from short and medium distances. The data also reveals that about one-fourth of the sample non-technical workers, which required no skill, constitute the scheduled tribe community. This indicates that recruitment to industrial jobs is highly selective and not random.

Employment Career of Sample Workers:

The data on employment career of four categories of sample workers indicate that the Heavy Engineering Corporation has not been the first employer of a fair proportion (about 43.7 per cent of sample executives, about 55.8 per cent of sample supervisors, 41.8 per cent of sample technical workers and about 20 per cent of non-technical workers) of workers under study. These workers have joined the present working concern with some prior experience. Most of them changed one concern before joining the present concern. The workers' prior work experience clearly reflects a deliberate attempt on the part of workers to adopt the industrial way of life.

The data on last place of work indicate that most of the experienced workers (executives, supervisors and technical workers) had previous work experiences in other districts and outside of the state of present concern. Although, most of the non-technical workers had prior work experiences within the district of the present concern.

The data on duration of work in previous concerns reveal that the workers had prior work experience between six months to five years. In contrast to this, most of them indicated their affiliation with the present concern for more than ten years.

The data on reasons for leaving their previous concerns reveal that better salary and future prospects offered by the H.E.C. have induced the workers to leave their previous concerns.

The employment career in general and moderate rate of occupational mobility in particular indicate their commitment to industrial occupation and industrial way of life. The relatively long employment with the present concern also indicates their satisfaction with present concern and commitment to industrial sector of employment. Among various reasons, 'job-context' and 'job content' factors seemed to have undermined the importance of distance in the overall pattern of migration.

#### Organizational Experiences:

The data on entry in job market reveal that most of the sample executives, supervisors and technical workers took one month to one year to enter in job market. In contrast to these categories of workers, the non-technical workers took relatively long duration of time to find a job. It is, therefore, safe to assume that most of the workers joined the first job not out of any choice but because it was the first job that came in their way.

Most of the workers were recruited through formal channels of selection and sent written applications which

helped them in getting the present job. Although, about 3.5 per cent of sample non-technical workers indicated that they were helped by the trade unions in getting their jobs. As many as one-third of sample executives, more than one-fifth of the sample supervisors, fifty per cent of sample technical workers and more than two-fifth of sample non-technical workers reported that they knew someone working in the Heavy Engineering Corporation when they were looking for a choice job. Although, few workers under study indicated that their contacts helped them in getting their jobs. Thus, the findings lead us to say that the organizational experience of all categories of industrial workers were based on rational and formal principles right from the beginning of their recruitment in the present concern. It is also evident that several workers gradually adapted to the formal channel of selection.

Thus, the four categories of workers under study differed from the surrounding population as they seemed to have been selectively drawn from the various regions of the country. The corporation appeared to prefer technical and educated workers with previous work experiences. The combination of these characteristics gave the work force of the corporation a unique character.

Occupational Aspirations:

The data on occupational aspirations of four categories of sample workers reveal a moderate to high level of occupational aspirations. Among the various factors that influence occupational aspirations, education, skill, age and job status seemed to significantly influence the level of aspiration. For instance, about 38.2 per cent of sample executives thought that they would retire on higher positions in relation to their present positions. About one-third reported, more or less, dead-end occupational career as they would retire on same position. In contrast to executives, about 87.2 per cent of sample supervisors indicated that they would get either senior or junior executive jobs. Similarly, more than one-third of the sample technical workers aspired to rise up to supervisory and junior executive levels. The non-technical workers have also shown moderate level of aspiration as one-third aspired to get supervisory cadre. Thus, the chances of majority of technical and non-technical workers to get higher positions in the corporation seemed to be limited.

The categorywise differences in the level of aspirations of sample workers can also be explained in terms of the factors mentioned above. For instance, workers with high occupational status, young and educated have shown

a high level of occupational aspirations. However, workers of middle and old age groups with low occupational status, low education and skill have shown a low level of occupational aspirations. Most of them aspired to get highest grade in the same trade.

With regard to aspiration of jobs outside the present concern, a high level of occupational aspirations was indicated by all the categories of sample worker. In this context, it can be argued that the combined influence of high level of literacy and their exposure to urban-industrial way of life have led to a gradual rise in the level of workers' occupational aspirations. The workers have shown awareness to their occupational careers compared to their counterpart in the initial phase of industrialization.

A comparative perusal of the data also reveals the relative importance of various factors, such as merit, seniority, efficiency and experience, in getting promotions in any organization. A categorywise difference can also be observed, as most of the executives and supervisors have reported the importance of 'efficiency' whereas workers of unionized cadres have reported the importance of 'seniority' and 'merit', in getting promotions.

The data on relative importance of caste or community in occupational advancement reveals that the executives and supervisors undermined the importance of caste factor. In contrast, the workers of unionized cadres (about one-fourth of the technical workers and one-third of non-technical workers) have indicated the importance of caste. Some of them even pointed out the importance of being a lower caste Hindu or scheduled tribe. Over one-fifth of non-technical workers also indicated the importance of being a scheduled tribe. However, a categorywise difference can be explained in terms of education and occupational status of the respondents. For instance, workers with low education and low occupational status have indicated the importance of caste in occupational advancement than those holding high status jobs with higher education.

#### Job Satisfaction:

The satisfaction is a dynamic concept and is influenced by many factors like 'job-context', 'job-content' and 'institutional' factors including 'job-situation' and personal attributes of the respondents. The concept of job-satisfaction can also be treated as an indicator of workers' commitment to job because it refers to a worker's attitude towards the job, which acts as a motivation to work. Job from the operational point of view is not only

an activity which is performed under contractual agreement and for which one receives salary, it also refers to total relationship of a respondent with the job. It is reflected in the respondents' attitude towards job. A positive attitude towards job connotes satisfaction with it, hence commitment to it. A negative attitude indicates dissatisfaction with the job, hence less commitment to it. Thus, the job satisfaction, more or less, is the result of various specific attitudes possessed by a worker towards job. At the micro level, these attitudes are found to be associated with a number of specific factors such as economic considerations, working environment, promotional opportunities and job status.

In this context, the data on satisfaction with the present job indicate that most of the respondents of all categories were satisfied with their present jobs, their proportion ranging between 58 and 80 per cent. Those who have responded positively and negatively, again, pointed out various 'job-content', 'job-context' and 'institutional' factors as the determinants of their attitude towards job. The workers who have responded negatively (over one-fifth of the sample executive, over one-fourth of sample supervisors, about one-third of the workers of unionized cadre) intended to change their present jobs. In short, workers' overall job-satisfaction is found to be closely

related with various factors like 'job-content', 'job-context' and 'institutional' factors. A comparative analysis of data further reveals that mainly 'job-content' factors such as promotional opportunities have influenced the overall job-satisfaction. In sharp contrast, the job-satisfaction of unionized cadre of workers seems to have been influenced more by the 'job-context' and 'institutional' factors such as economic considerations, working environment and job status, than any other consideration.

#### Social Relations at Work:

The study on formal relationship among four categories of workers reveals more or less a cordial relationship among them. Further, majority of them undermined the importance of job status and caste in the formation of informal relationships.

#### Attitude towards Management:

A comparative study of data on workers' attitude towards management reveals a sharp contrast between unionized and ununionized cadre of workers under study. For example, less than fifty per cent of sample executives pointed out that the management always give attention to their grievances, while four-fifth of technical and non-technical workers responded in negative term. In this context, most of the workers of unionized and ununionized

cadre indicated the importance of direct talk with management, counselling, negotiation, mutual discussion for the redressal of workers' grievances, in that order as the most suitable methods for solving their problems.

#### Trade Union Involvement:

The attitudinal study of technical and non-technical workers' trade union involvement reveals a low level of workers' participation in union activities. For instance, about 4.6 per cent of technical workers and about 17.3 per cent of non-technical workers have reported participation in union activities. These workers have pointed out a number of reasons for their participation in union activities such as, to unite the workers, to safeguard the workers' occupational interests and to protect and improve the service and working conditions. A few of them indicated ideological commitment with trade union. Most of them indicated active participation in union activities either as office-bearers or as activists. Contrary to this, the workers who have shown negative attitude towards trade union activities, pointed out a number of reasons for their non-participation, such as lack of competent leaders, caste based politics of trade unions, inter-union and intra-union rivalries and inefficiency of trade unions in solving the problems of workers. Despite these negative attitudes, however, their behavioral involvement with union

activities was rather high during the course of their agitation on some common occupational interests such as, time-bound promotion, increased House Rent Allowance and increased interim relief, etc. For instance, almost all the technical and non-technical workers have indicated their active participation in union activities in 1984 and 1987 on certain common issues mentioned above. This suggests a gap between professed attitude of disfavour-ability and actual behaviour showing active involvement with union activities.

A perusal of actual behaviour of workers during agitation indicates that despite the positive disposition, many workers were not willing to get personally involved with union affairs. In spite of the presence of quite a large number of educated workers, the workers failed to organize themselves. It is also evident that the low level of union participation provided an excellent ground for 'outsiders' to step in and control the functioning of trade unions.

The workers' behavioral study also reveals that the workers' support to union has shifted from union of one political allegiance to another, frequently depending on which union has been fighting their cause at a particular point of time. This may be attributed to the fact that

workers were more interested in the short-term economic gains. Finally, the low level of participation in union activities in conjunction with attitude for short-term economic gains have encouraged multiplicity of trade unions and various factions within unions. The business like attitude of the outside leaders also contributed its mite in disuniting the workers. Moreover, the workers of unionized cadres of H.E.C. were divided in terms of caste and other political factors. Apart from it, workers considered the participation in union activities as inimical to their job security. In other words, workers' instrumental orientation to trade unions failed to promote workers' commitment to trade unionism as an expression of working class solidarity.

The attitudinal and behavioral study reveal that the labour-management relation has worsened. In this context, there is enough evidence to reject the earlier generalization that with technological advancement industrial relations will improve. As it appears, the genesis of the conflicts lie in the day-to-day experiences of the workers.

Having shown the various characteristics of four categories of workers under study, the main objective is to suggest that the available data do not conform to

previous conclusions of Clark Kerr and his associates, Wilbert E. Moore, Arnold S. Feldman, Alex Inkeles, Nel J. Smelser, to name a few.

In the first place, the present study shows that the introduction of heavy industrial complex brings with it a new mode of production, which has a profound impact on the socio-economic and cultural system of the tribal dominated society. Moreover, the attitudinal and behavioral study at micro level in terms of contemporary social structure reveal that workers adapted to industrial way of life in developing societies. For instance, it is observed that about 11 per cent of sample executives, 34.8 per cent of supervisors, about 25 per cent of technical workers and about 51.7 per cent of non-technical workers belonged to the district of present concern. Among them, about 3.6 per cent executives, 9.3 per cent supervisors, 8.3 per cent technical workers and 24 per cent non-technical workers belonged to scheduled tribes.

The formal and informal interactions of four categories of workers within the industrial set up also show a unique pattern of social interaction existing in industrial complex which, in turn, in many ways are different from the social structure existing around it. The formal channels of selection based on technical skills and abilities

reflect unique feature of contemporary social structure. The study further reveals the participation of local tribal and non-tribal workers in new sets of relations which were independent of, and different from their traditional social and economic structures. In other words, workers were involved in a number of different sets of formal and informal social relations which were the product of distinct social organization based on opposite norms and values. Though, the tribal and non-tribal workers gradually adapted to the urban-industrial milieu, their manumission from traditional elements is not yet complete.

It is also observed that a large number of migrants having prior work-experiences also came to meet the technological requirements of the H.E.C. In this context, the available data contradict W.E. Moore's argument that the geographical mobility of the Indian population is highly restricted. Against this picture of the general population, the pattern of geographical mobility of the industrial workers under study stands in sharp contrast. For instance, most of the workers interviewed were recruited from medium and long distances and majority of them had prior work experience in various regions of the country. Thus, the workers under study show a better adjustment, reflect moderate occupational and geographical

mobility and possess moderate to high occupational aspirations than the workers of a less developed society.

The above mentioned findings lead us to reject the grand hypothesis of the traditional social structure of a newly industrializing society coming into an inevitable conflict with industrial technology. In this context, the study shows an intermingling of the elements of 'pre-industrial society' and 'urban-industrial society'. For instance, the attitudinal and behavioral study of workers' participation in trade union activities show the prevalence of some of the elements of both 'pre-industrial society' and 'urban-industrial society'. We have shown that the consideration of caste has led to the multiplicity of unions and created many factions in one trade union. In sharp contrast to this situation, we also observed some of the elements of modern values of industrial society in terms of unity among workers on common occupational interests. This implies that the change from a 'pre-industrial' social structure to an 'industrial' social structure is not unidirectional. This in turn rejects the argument that all industrial societies tend to converge to a single type of social structure. The limitation of the previous argument may be attributed to the fact that Clark Kerr and his associates, W.E. Moore and Arnold S. Feldman have studied development of the

societies from a broader perspective taking into account the general macro conception of socio-cultural differences between 'pre-industrial' and 'post-industrial' societies without empirical evidences.

Finally, the study supports the Herbert Blumer's conception of industrialization as a neutral framework having no definite social bias. To a large extent, the available informations also support the Joseph Gusfield's argument with regard to blending of 'tradition' and 'modernity'. The new set up does not replace the old and on the contrary operates in complete harmony with each other.