CHAPTER 5

TRADE UNION ORGANIZATION: 2. UNION STRUCTURE

In this chapter, first, the formal as well as informal structure of these unions particularly unions A and B, is described, then, it is shown that these unions, particularly unions A and B are democratic organizations not just in their formal structure but also in actual operation.

The formal structure with minor variations is more or less similar in all these unions, as shown in the figures No. 1a and 1b.

Members and leaders are two basic components of a trade union like any voluntary or service organization. Leaders are of crucial importance in a trade union, as they are more or less continuously active in the union and are in charge of union affairs, while members get a chance to act in the union only intermittently. However, in the Bank Officers unions, membership also assumes a certain significance because of the number of factors; it is made up
exclusively of officer level employees in the respective banks, nearly all the potential members are enrolled, it is the members, who elect all the leaders from among themselves and members are all educated and well-informed.

**GENERAL BODY OF MEMBERS:**

The General body is made up of all the members on roll in the union, meets regularly, at least once a year, discusses and approves the annual report presented by the General Secretary as well as the audited accounts presented by the Treasurer at the annual General Meeting. It elects every year (Union A) or every two years (Union B), all the office bearers and managing committee members of the union. Majority from the General Body of membership can compel of office bearers to call a requisition meeting and force them to introduce desired change in the union.

The members are not a passive, silent body, but are active in the annual general body and other meetings, at the time of election and voting and at the time of any action programme given by the union. During the formative years many members from the general body took active part in the union.

**MANAGING COMMITTEE MEMBERS (ACTIVISTS):**

Managing Committee comprises of office bearers and other members elected proportionately from different zones or sub-divisions of the union. Its strength is 27 at the
union - A and 39 at the Union B. These are the leaders or activists in these unions. The term 'activist' is purposefully used for the leaders: All the leaders are from the rank and file and function as full time officers in the bank in the same way as members and with them.

There is no marked difference in terms of social, economic, educational or job qualifications and positions held on the job between members and activists (See table No. 1), Lot of reshuffling between members and leaders take a place because most members prefer to be activists for a limited period only; again there is no leader, rather it is the team of office bearers and managing committee members that actually manage these unions and conducts trade union affairs. These leaders do not assume any leadership role outside their organisations. All these characteristics make the leaders appear as activists in a group of equals. If one wants to single out a leader from these activists, the General Secretary can be referred to as such.

The practice of having an outsider as President has been there at the Union B right from the beginning (and at Union A in the initial years only). However, he was perceived by activists as well as members as more of a trade union consultant or expert (as union often consults a legal expert, in the same way), rather than a leader. In all but one (union B) unions of the bank officers in the region, the practice of taking the advice and help of
UNION ORGANISATION
BANK OFFICERS UNION REGION LEVEL
GENERAL BODY OF MEMBERS
(ELECTS)

THE MANAGING COMMITTEE
(ACTIVTS) COMPRISING OF

OTHER MANAGING COMMITTEE
MEMBERS ELECTED PROPORTIONATELY
FROM DIFFERENT SUBREGION'S
OR ZONES OF THE REGION &/OR
ZONAL SECRETARIES

OFFICE BEARERS

PRESIDENT &
VICE-PRESIDENT

TREASURER &
ASSISTANT TREASURER

GENERAL SECRETARY &
ASSISTANT, J. ASSIST &/OR
ORGANIZING SECRETARIES

THE MANAGING COMMITTEE
(ACTIVTS) COMPRISING OF

SUBCOMMITTEES
INVOLVING ALL THE MANAGING COMMITTEE MEMBERS
SUCH AS

1 COACHING CLASS
COMMITTEE

2 CULTURAL WING

3 CREDIT SOCIETY
(ELECTIVE)

4 GRIEVANCE
COMMITTEE

5 SOCIAL WELFARE
COMMITTEE

6 LEGAL
COMMITTEE

7 STUDY CIRCLE
COMMITTEE

MAGAZINE
COMMITTEE

ACTION COMMITTEE AT THE TIME OF ANY
TRADE UNION ACTION PROGRAMME
DIFFERENT TYPES OF UNION ORGANISATION

I  REGION LEVEL UNION
   AFFILIATED TO
   NATIONAL LEVEL FEDERATION
   AFFILIATED TO
   NATIONAL LEVEL CONFEDERATION (AIICOBOO)
   AFFILIATED TO
   ALL INDIA COORDINATING COMMITTEE OF
   OFFICERS ORGANIZATIONS IN
   DIFFERENT INDUSTRIES (AIICO)
   TRANSFORMED AS
   NATIONAL CENTRE OF OFFICERS ORGANIZATIONS
   (NCOO)

II  UNION STRUCTURE RUNS PARALLEL TO BANK STRUCTURE
   I  NATIONAL LEVEL FEDERATION
   II  MADE UP OF
       VARIOUS REGIONLEVEL UNIONS
       SUBDIVIDED IN TO
       III DIFFERENTS ZONES OR SUBREGIONS
           FOUR AT UNION B
           NINE AT UNION A
   IV UNIT OF UNION AT EACH
       DISTRICT CENTRE OR TOWN OR CITY

III  REGIONAL LEVEL UNITS OF
    STATE UNIT OF CONFEDERATION
    UNIT OF NATIONAL CENTRE OF OFFICERS ORGANISATIONS

Fig. 1.b.
trade union expert or industrial relations expert without making him an office bearer is followed.

OFFICE BEARERS:

Role and responsibility of the office bearers and other activists are fairly well spelt out in their respective constitutions. The General Secretary plays a crucial role. As chief executive in charge of the union affairs, he organizes meetings, keeps minutes, submits returns due for a trade union and attends to correspondence, meets the management and represents the union at other levels of the union organization at federation and confederation as well as other offices' unions, and does other trade union work. He is assisted by assistant general secretary, joint assistant secretary, and/or organizing secretary, as well as other managing committee members.

The president presides over all the meetings, conducts the union's business. He signs minutes, and can call emergency meeting, if needed. In his absence these functions are being performed by the Vice-President. The treasurer keeps accounts of all the receipts and expenditures at the union and prepares balance sheet. He is assisted by Joint Treasurer.

SUB-COMMITTEES:

All the other managing committee members are assigned major responsibilities pertaining to specific types of -
trade union activities in different sub-committees in which General Secretary and/or assisting General Secretary remain present. There is a provision for co-option of members in the managing committee and in sub-committees for some union work. At the union B operating sub-committees were grievance committee, legal committee and magazine committee, while at the union A - a number of sub-committees were functioning and looking after diverse types of trade union activities; study circle activity, coaching class activity, credit society activity (looked after by elective committee), cultural activity, social welfare fund activity etc.

Sub-committees are appointed from time to time whenever any issue or problem needs close attention, e.g., Committee to study the problem of transfer, to examine the need of modification in the constitution. At the time of a trade union programme action committee is formed where over and above managing committee members, other members, especially past activists and aspirant activists are incorporated.

Apart from this, small surveys are also undertaken to study a problem in depth and find the solution. For example at the union A, when the problem of Cashier Officer (Head Cashier) came to the fore all the Cashier officers were circulated a questionnaire and the data were analysed to know the actual difficulties faced by them and find a solution. Again, at the Union A, in order to study the
problems faced by Branch Managers, a meeting of all the branch managers in Ahmedabad was held to discuss the problems faced as well as their solutions.

TEAM SPIRIT:

In these unions, more so at the Union A, it was observed that not just office bearers but all the managing committee members, even past activists and other members are involved in the union affairs; specific duties are assigned to different office bearers and managing committee members, however activists do not seem to believe formal division of work too much. According to most activists, equality, fraternity and team work are the three things they emphasize most in the union. All are equal in the union and all type of union work is regarded as of equal importance by them.

In the past, even the General Secretaries have made swift tours to get all the "arrears" in the membership fee cleared, in all these Unions. An office bearer's position sometimes, is held only in a formal way, e.g. The Treasurer at the Union A, did his job only in a peripheral way, it never suited him. However, he is very useful in the union on other fronts. He helps in the preparation for negotiations (has sharp memory of places and faces), he is very helpful in organizing or arranging any event in the union, he is prepared to do all types of work and looks after correspondence with the members. However, the work of -
keeping detailed accounts is being done by another activist. Whenever any problem arises at any of the branches of the bank, the activists who are well informed about the problem, place etc., rush to the place, no hard or fast rule is followed as to who should go, e.g. indiscipline case or case of fraud or enquiry etc.

LOOSELY KNIT CORE GROUP:

The crucial role is that of the General Secretary. He is the Chief Executive at the union office, main functionary in charge of the negotiations and mostly represents the union at other wider trade union bodies, such as federation, confederation etc. It has been observed that those activists who are in charge of or are involved in the work of negotiations with the management are perceived as influential and powerful and command more respect from the members. Constitutions of these unions do not specify any one office bearer for this job, however at the Union A General Secretary is in charge of it and he along with other office bearers meets the management. Often a sort of division of work is done, in that grievances of the members at different Zones are represented by different office bearers and activists to the management. It is an informal norm observed by these unions never to meet the management for union work alone. This norm is given such an importance that during the emergency (1975-6) the management told the union to send one man only. The union refused and insisted on -
following the old practice of meeting as a team of two and more activists even boycotted the meeting till the management agreed to meet them as a team of two or more activists. At the Union A, the General Secretary is accompanied by other assisting Secretaries, Treasurers and sometimes Presidents or other office bearers in meeting with the management. He is democratic by temperament and involves many activists in the work. However his role is very crucial in terms of removing any grievance. Again, he is highly influential and active in the federation as well as confederation and other trade union forums of officers. So he is perceived as powerful at the Union A and an informal loosely knit core group in charge of the union is formed around him. It is composed of those activists who are more involved in connection with negotiations, in the informal discussions on issues and events and in drafting important write-ups and correspondence, come to the union daily and look after day to day issues that come up. It has been observed that those activists who are capable and willing to devote time to the union are groomed into the union and are brought near the union office by their job placement. Majority activists in the informal core group are in the main building of the bank in Ahmedabad where the union office is also located. Often their job positions are such that after office hours or even during the office hours they can come to the union office and devote some time. At the Union A the concentration of activists is in the vicinity of the union office. (Not so in case of the Union B.)
It has been observed that when these activists who were once in the informal core group, accept position in the bank demanding more time and heavy responsibilities, slowly and gradually more away from it. For example one of the present assisting General Secretary, one past-president of the union have moved away from the core group, union could have managed for their 'convenient' job placement, however they prefered moving up in the hierarchy to union work. Thus the informal core group is not fixed; rather it changes its composition with the movement of activist in and out of it; personal likes and dislikes, the popularity with the members, particularly, the backing of a loosely knit cluster of membership an activist holds, makes him useful and important in the union and is often taken in the core group.

*Other Loosely Knit Clusters*:

A number of other loosely knit clusters of activists were observed at the union A, these are formed around some office bearer or activist, e.g. one loosely knit cluster of activists and other members is knit around some managing committee members and looks after Credit Society sponsored by the Union, it is active in Social Welfare Fund activity as well.

Another such cluster of activists and members is knit around the Vice-President and is in charge of coaching class activity. Still another one is in charge
of cultural wing recently started by the Union.

**OPPOSITION CLUSTER:**

One loosely knit opposition cluster was observed at the Union A and one of the assisting Secretaries was involved in it. It was made up of a past activist and other aspirant activists. One of the most active members in the cluster who was defeated thrice at the election, never had been in the elected activists group; yet he perceives himself as very active in the trade union. According to him, the democratic interests of the union would be better served with an opposition group as it would exercise check on any one tempted to misuse or abuse power. He maintains full record, with respect to the functioning of their union.

At the time of election and in the General Body meeting, the loosely knit opposition cluster raises its voice about pertinent issues, e.g. fee rise, proper maintenance of accounts duly audited and sent to members in time. It even circulates pamphlets and propagates its views concerning internal functioning of the Union. Thus the group works as watchdog over the union. In the last election it contested all the positions in the Union, however, it lost all, but one position that of a managing committee member. The frustration made it create difficulties for the informal core group in power in the union,
It tried its influence at the management level, disturbing the unified image of the Union. However, both the core as well as opposition groups emphasize unity of their organization as well as the democratic style of functioning. Although accused of favouritism some times, the loosely knit informal group in power has a clean slate in terms of union funds or harassment of the opposition cluster, on the contrary, it has tried to win over all activists, both past and present.

At the union B, the (external) President as well as vice - (internal) President alongwith the General Secretary and assisting Secretaries form one powerful loosely knit core group of activists in charge of union affairs. They are all involved in periodic negotiations and meetings with the management. Outsider President always leads the periodic negotiations for settling issues, while day to day issues and individual grievances of members are represented by other activists from the core group. Internal Vice-President is in the Union since its inception, is popular and is perceived by members and activists as an able trade unionist; so the Vice-President's position is not just honorific, but equally powerful in the Union B. While in the Union A, President's position appear to be more honorific and consultative. This core (at the group) Union B is active at the federation level also, and has good rapport with the external President.
In the union B it was observed that one of the past General Secretaries could not build up congenial relations with the outside President, as well as with federation activists, so he could not become effective in the Union and lost his popularity with members. He did not contest the election again.

Informal core group in the union B also involves a few past activists and takes help (for clerical type of work) of some aspirant activists. They are a fairly well-knit group, work as a team and informally meet on most days of the week. They however are not concentrated in one place. They come to the union office for an hour or two in the evening and keep in touch with one another telephonically. They alone are involved in the negotiation work.

Informal core group at the union B is perceived by a few members as partial, even despotic. It not only does not help 'their' people but harasses and even punishes 'others', (mostly through inconvenient transfers and postings). They dare not go to them, and feel a certain distance, from them. However it is not accused of mal-practices.

Other managing committee members do not come to the union office daily and they are not involved closely in the negotiations and day to day union affairs. They are comparatively less active in the union, and come to the
union office only when the sub-committee work calls them. There is a loosely knit cluster of elected activists in the union. One of them gets the highest votes in the elections and commands high respect from the membership at large. It functions as a watchdog in the union. It performs three main functions: (1) Listens to the problems of members who approach them (and dare not go to the core activists) and take these to the core group and press for their earnest solution. (2) At the managing committee meeting offers its views, suggestions and press the union to take correct decision if necessary. (3) Keeps a watch on the way Union affairs are managed by the informal core group in charge in the Union.

At both the unions, the informal core group in power in the union does not become despotic mainly because it is a team and not a one man show, it values the democratic process and follows it earnestly. Most activists in the group are also career oriented with respect to their job, and are prepared to give only limited time to the Union and that too, for few years only. 3. All the major decisions are taken at the managing committee meetings which are regularly held with active participation by all the activists. 4. Members are also vigilant in that they become vocal at the meetings and 'vote in' or 'vote out' candidates they approve or do not approve.

A few informal norms that have developed at these unions are functional to the maintenance of free floating
informal loose (and non-bureaucratic) as well as democratic structure. The informal norm of meeting the management for solution of grievances in groups of two or more activists and never alone, is highly functional in this respect. It insulates activists from allegations as 'sold out' or 'secret alliance with the management', It also insulates activists from undue pressures by the management functionaries, and reinforces the belief that union work is a team work and should involve as many activists as are willing in this influence generating union work.

Informal beliefs egalitarian norms and team work have successfully prevented the development of bureaucratic structure. Activists who have negotiating skills and show better grasp of the problems are held in high esteem but never does a distance develop between them and other activists and members. Also those who do clerical and other work are also not belittled on that count either. It is a team made up of all these activists that runs the Union.

DEMOCRATIC STRUCTURE:

These bank officers' trade unions are democratic not just in their text in their constitution but in actual practice as well. This shall be shown, by examining the elections of activists and decision making process in the unions.
UNION ELECTIONS:

The unions are managed by office bearers and other activists who are all elected by the members including even the outside President at the Union B. Any member can contest for any of the positions in these unions and elections are conducted every year (Union A.) or every two years (Union B.), fairly regularly, and by secret ballot. A separate election committee is appointed every time by managing committee for holding elections democratically.

It was observed that a large number of members on an average three-four and even more times the posts, contest as candidates for different positions, even the posts of General Secretary and President are also contested, only exception to this is the President at the Union B who wants to be in the Union only as unanimous choice. One Union A activist told, "We do not believe in having activists in any of the posts without a contest for the post; even for the posts of General Secretary and President, all posts are contested by three-four or more members." There is a fair amount of reshuffle of office bearers, and even General Secretaries and Presidents have changed in the Unions A and B. Circulation of office bearers as well as other managing committee members in these unions is fairly high, however some activist members retire on their own.
In general elections are fought individually, however the group in charge of union informally backs in its candidates for different posts, so also loosely knit opposition groups also informally back a few candidates, in the past one of the elections at the union B was fought by the rival groups, that is the group in power and in opposition by forming panels for all the union posts.

At the Union A, until the last election, leading opposition faction was contained within the candidates backed by the informal group in power. In the last election, the opposition cluster for the first time fought for all the posts by fielding panels, where the opposition cluster got defeated on all except one position of the managing committee members. As new members get inducted into the union, old ones go out, thus, fulfilling one of the conditions of democracy, that is, rapid circulation of the elites. In the Union B the turn-over of activists is much more frequent. Even the General Secretary, Assistant General Secretary and Vice President position holders have changed as a result of election outcome, at least thrice during the years, however few (three-four) activists have also continuously got elected for all the years.

In Union A the first General Secretary was elected three times successively after which he himself opted for retirement and since then the present General Secretary
is getting elected in the successive elections. However, among the other office bearers and managing committee members changes do take place, reshuffle of position as also turn-over of activists takes place.

At the time of election not only candidates who contest the elections but friends of activists, other interested officers & loosely knit clusters of activists are highly active. The tempo develops at the time of election, canvassing through circulation of pamphlets to members and informally meeting members is fairly high, all the loosely knit clusters are active in electioneering, voting is very high between 80 to 90 percent. Elections are fought sometimes on issues such as policy for transfer (Union A and B), group favouritism on the part of the existing activist group (Union B), injustice done to junior office members by the settlement reached by the activists in power (Union B), dissatisfaction with the way union affairs are conducted (Union A).

**DECISION MAKING IN THE UNIONS 'A' AND 'B':**

Managing committee is the main decision making in these unions. It meets regularly three (Union B) or four (Union A) times a year and even more times when needed, rarely one or two members remain absent. It has been observed as a very active & democratic decision making body. It is a team of equals who actively participate in the deliberations and discussions in a fearless and frank manner and arrive at the decision.
It discusses problems raised by all the members and not just those placed by the general secretary, the union executives are criticised by members when they disapproves of the way they function (Union A.) and even press them to correct their stand on any issue or on style of work (Union B.) For example at the Union A in one of the managing committee meetings, a few activists complained that the General Secretary was not involving all the activists in the union work and favoured only a few activists. The General Secretary promised to look into it and to set the thing right.

Discussion on issues at the meetings often become so hot that it almost reaches to a breaking point. However, once a consensus or majority decision is reached such hot exchanges are forgotten like family quarrels and all the activists work as a team and present unified image outside.

The decisions are always a result of group effort, they are mostly the result of consensus, rarely majority decisions. 'Informal core' group of activists plays a crucial role in arriving at the decisions. But other members also are able to influence union decisions.

I shall narrate another instance of the decision making at the Union A as follows: At one of the executive committee meetings while discussing the problem of transfers by few activists, said that too much time
(nearly 80 percent of the time) of the activists particularly of the General Secretary was spent on the issue of transfers. With the result that the other issues did not get enough weightage. The discussion in the meeting went on as to what could be done about it; should they represent only few genuine cases of requests pertaining to transfers or as was being done at that time, present all cases, the 'genuine' (medical or such ground) ones were pressed for solution by the union, 'others' were presented but not pressed. A few activists said that the Union had to satisfy all its members and accordingly make an effort to solve all their problems meaning thereby that all the transfer cases must be taken up. If union did not do this then members would try at other levels, possibly with the help of the Award staff activists or with the influence of some of the top management functionaries, and get it solved. This would tarnish the image of the union which was clearly undesirable and therefore all cases of transfers must be presented. Few members insisted on scrutiny by the Union and presentation of only 'genuine' cases of transfers. However, the suggestion did not gather much support as majority of activists did not want it. But then the discussion turned to the issue of involving all the activists in the union work, so that activists could find time for other pertinent issues, a few activists in the union wanted that even in the negotiations many more activists be involved.
At the Union B, in one of the executive committee meetings, the issue of postings abroad was hotly debated. Most activists said that the management should not select officers for foreign postings in an adhoc manner and some norms must be laid down. The meeting then began to discuss the norms they would like to insist on the management, while a few other activists of the opposition cluster murmured aside and criticized the stand taken by the core union activists' "names of their" officer-members were not there and 'others' were there, in the list of candidates for foreign postings, so they were making noise." They publicly asked for (and got) the assurance of the General Secretary and Vice-President that the names selected from their region alone would not suffer, because of any stand union took on the issue. The decision was then taken that the union could suggest only to the management on the norms of foreign postings. The above instance shows that the opposition activists did influence the final decision taken by the union on the issue.

The opposition cluster at the Union B pressed for a re-transfer policy (that those officers who are transferred to places outside the state or in rural areas must be called back within the state or in urban places after three-four years). It persisted for it and even went to the extent of threatening to form, a separate union for the metro-politan areas and forced the Union to get such appropriate policy evolved. Informal core group in power
in the union was not so willing to have such a policy. As one opposition activist put it, "transfer is also a trump card in the hands of union executives. So they (core group) do not want any policy with respect to it, and keep it loose, so that they have freedom to press for transfer of any member they like".

This shows the opposition cluster in the union activists group does influence decision.

MEMBERS ARE INVOLVED IN & INFLUENCE DECISION MAKING - PROCESS -

The rank and file are involved in and do influence the decision making process in these Unions. General body of members is not a silent passive body. If the annual general body meeting is not called in time, or again, if elections are not declared in time, it asks for the same. It does not want to be taken for granted or ignored by the activists in charge of the Union.

Annual meeting of the general body of members is not a formal ritual. The members attend the annual general body meetings in overwhelmingly large mass members (often 80-90 percent). The meeting never suffers from a lack of quorum.

The annual general body meeting begins as a ceremonial, grand function where the chief guest, such as the chief minister of the state, or a functionary from
the top management is welcomed, garlanded, they make speeches, some activists from other region, and other officers’ unions in the city also are invited and they make short speeches. President also makes his speech - then the meeting breaks for a grand refresment- lunch; after which the 'big dignitaries' (including the external President at the union B.) The meeting resumes and the business session starts; the reports of the General Secretary and audited accounts by the Treasurer are discussed, approved, and other items on the agenda also are discussed and decided upon. A large number of members attend and participate in this session by asking questions and offering their comments. Particularly at the Union A. Resolutions are passed with respect to each of the item.

At one such general body meeting at the Union A, the members openly criticized what they called the 'lavish expenditure' by the union activists. Some members were severely critical of the defects in the statement of the audited accounts and opposed vehemently the proposed rise in the membership fee. However, after the outburst, the General Secretary answered all the queries, admitted the short-comings of his team, promised to correct them, welcomed and appointed an inquiry committee made up of past activists (held in high esteem) as well as those representing the opposition clusters. Moreover, he was successful in raising the membership fee from Rs. 5 to 10 per month.
Union activists take the sense and approval of the rank and file by calling a meeting whenever trade union action is to be taken, members express their 'views frankly, opposition views are also heard and resolutions are passed finally on the basis of a majority decision.

Thus members are involved and allowed to influence union decision in these unions, membership at the Union A is more vocal than at the Union B. Wherever then it is effective in voting 'in' or voting 'out' the activists it approves or does not approve.

At the union A, the style of functioning of the General Secretaries, both past and present, plays a very important role in the development of the Unions as democratic organisations. Previous General Secretary who later became president and then retired after holding important positions in the union, (however now thinks of coming in the union again) is still remembered for his oratory, good drafting, correspondence ability his handling of the first ever strike of the officers' union, and his dedication to the union. In fact the present general secretary was a very much reluctant to take the post, viewing himself as not a match for the outgoing General Secretary.

The present General Secretary contributed to the consolidation of the unified democratic union. He is highly responsive to members and tries to keep them satisfied. He is popular and his tolerant pleasing and
persuasive style is highly appreciated in all the loosely
knit clusters and members in the union. He is very much
tolerant of the opposition views, is prepared to work with
all the elected activists, including the opposition cluster
activists, is willing to correct himself and he is a
committed trade unionist.

Democratic structure of these trade unions offers a
rare contrast to the bureaucratic structure of industrial
workers unions in India. As Devki Devi has stated (1973)
the industrial workers' unions are democratic only consti-
tutionally. In actual practice most of them do not
function democratically mainly because they do not fulfill
conditions ensuring union democracy: they have (1) Low
membership participation, (2) Centralized top level
decision making, (3) A large status gap between leader-
ship and membership, (4) Have opposition that leads to
intra-union and interunion rivalry but not institutiona-
lized opposition conducive to a strong independent union.
(5) Union elections are irregularly held and rarely by
secret ballot (and no data are available on the turn-
over of leadership.)

Small size of the union, the same educational social,
economic back ground of members and activists, contact and
interaction between them on the job and in the union-
factors such as these are influential in the development
of these unions as democratic organizations.
The fact that the management does not dabble into union affairs and that the unions (officers' and award staff unions), also refrain from interference in the internal affairs of one another, have contributed to a successful evolution of a democratic structure.