CHAPTER 3
IMPACT OF POLITICAL UNION LEADERS
ON UNIONISM
3.1 INTRODUCTION

Political union leaders have no doubt wielded a very great amount of influence on the trade unionism. In some cases the political union leaders might have contributed to the betterment of workers and in certain other cases they might have affected badly the workers and also the industry. In this background it is worthwhile to examine the impact of political union leaders on various aspects of trade unionism. The opinions of the union participants have been elicited and evaluated following the Likert type of scaling technique. The procedure of scaling and quantification of the opinions has been explained for clear understanding of the study.

The questionnaire for union respondents contains several statements, which are based on the drawn on hypothetical impact of political union leaders on unionism. The opinions are elicited on a four point scale which contains the attributes such as 'strongly agree' (SA), 'agree' (A), 'disagree' (DA) and 'strongly disagree' (SDA). All these four attributes are printed against each statement of the questionnaire. The respondent is requested to answer the statements by ticking only one of the four attributes of each
statement. Later, the total number of ticks made against the attributes of every statement is obtained.

Further, in the light of guidelines given by Kerlinger on the scoring system of agreement and disagreement of items and statements, the weights have been assigned to the attributes. The weights assigned to them are: +2 for strong agreement, +1 for agreement, -1 for disagreement and -2 for strong disagreement. Later the responses on choice of attributes are multiplied by their respective weights and summated, to get a net total score i.e., excess of positive (+) score over negative (-) score or vice-versa. The obtained net total score (+/-) is further divided by the total number of union respondents, to find the weighted mean score (+/-). The positive weighted mean score (+) indicates the overall tendency of union respondents towards the agreement of a particular statement, whereas the negative weighted mean score (-) denotes the overall tendency of union respondents towards the disagreement of such a statement.

As the study follows a statement-wise analysis, the possible weighted mean score (+/-) shall range between +2.00 (when the total union respondents tick 'strongly agree' as their choice of attributes towards a statement) and -2.00 (when the total union respondents tick the 'strongly disagree' as their choice of attribute towards a statement). Further, depending on the nature of statements and attitude of respondents towards them, there is a possibility that the weighted means (+/-) on some statements may be high whereas on some statements it may be low. In this respect, with an intention to highlight the high or low tendency of agreement/disagreement of union respondents over the statements, the total weighted mean score (+/-) is divided into four blocks, for the purpose of verbal description, which is as follows:

WEIGHTED MEAN SCORE - VERBAL DISCRIPITION (+/-)

0.00 to +/- 0.50  Slight agreement/disagreement
+/- 0.50 to +/- 1.00  Moderate agreement/disagreement
+/- 1.00 to +/- 1.50  Substantial agreement/disagreement
+/- 1.50 to +/- 2.00  High agreement/disagreement
3.2 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE EMERGENCE OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN UNIONS

The emergence of political leadership in unions can be viewed in the context of political leaders themselves to serve their ulterior interests and also in the context of workmen who crave for a strong and effective leadership. On this aspect, Pattabi Raman has made a very pertinent observation: "The outsiders who are predominantly politicians and party workers entered the trade union movement with ulterior aims in their mind. They utilised the movement as a means to achieve the goods of the political movements of which they were a part. It cannot be said that sympathy for the plight and cause of labour was absent in their outlook: the fact that they entered the labour field rather than some other arena to discharge their political obligations was perhaps indicative of their mood of sympathy. But the overriding consideration was political". 2

There are no studies to explain the viewpoint of workers as to why political leadership was brought into unions. In order to find out the reasons, the questionnaire for workmen has been developed following a

pilot study on the aspects such as social, political and managerial.

3.2.1 Social factors and political leadership in unions

An examination of the social factors of workmen reveal that the workers' social factors are responsible for the emergence of political leadership in unions. The union respondents have been asked to give their opinion on some of the social issues that have a bearing on their social worklife.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.NO</th>
<th>FACTORS</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>DA</th>
<th>SDA</th>
<th>WEIGHTED MEAN SCORE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Rural background of workmen</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Job security and confirmation</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Improvement in the working conditions</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Lack of experienced worker union leaders</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Factions in rural societies</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Opinion Survey.
The table 3.1 represents that the union respondents have agreement with factors such as 'rural background of workmen', 'job security and confirmation', 'improvement in the working conditions', lack of experienced worker union leaders and factions in rural societies as the factors responsible for the emergence of political union leadership. Interestingly, they have high agreement with all the factors with some variance i.e., factions in rural societies (1.89), rural background of workmen (1.87), job security and confirmation (1.85), improvement in working conditions (1.75), and lack of experienced worker union leaders (1.53). The table also shows that not even a single union respondent has 'strongly disagree' with the above factors.

In this connection it may be relevant to examine the opinions of union and management officials and other prominent people in the district.

Commenting on the rural background of workmen, a personnel officer of IC expresses:

"The rural background of workmen coupled with ignorance and inability to understand that they are being exploited by politicians for their own selfish
ends is also the reason for political leadership in unions".

Reporting on the factions in rural villages a social worker of Cuddapah district states:

"Since very long the factions and violence has become a part and parcel of this society. The disputes that take place with partition of properties, adultery, marriage, village leadership, caste, festivals, gambling, alcoholic consumption etc., become the source for such village factions. These factions were further aggravated by landlords and rich people of the district. In order to gain popularity, to increase their wealth, to shine in the political field, the landlords and the rich indulge in rivalry with other landlords, try to stop the increasing popularity of other landlords in their localities. They practise a simple technique i.e., they spend their money very lavishly on rural mass, particularly on economically poor people and backward castes of the society, to attract their support (physically or mentally). Later, they develop a cadre from them to support their activities in such a way, the majority of the people of the village would accept them as their leaders and treat them as protectors of their interests. They also try to appease the rest of
the people of the village, otherwise even threaten them to support their leadership. Thus they involve the people in their factional and group politics to maintain their identity and leadership by keeping always the ball (factions) rolling (prevailing) in the villages. That is the main reason why villages of Cuddapah district are not coming out of the boundaries (factions and factional politics) created by the landlords and the rich”.

Explaining the reasons for bringing political leaders into unions a trade union official of CCI opines:

"The farmers in the locality offered their lands to CCI & IC plants expecting that they would get employment in return. But the slow process of offering regular employment to them by the managements of CCI & IC have led to a misunderstanding among farmers that they (managements) are intentionally delaying the offering of regular employment. These farmers along with the workmen who had already been working on temporary basis, brought local political leaders to the union field in order to pressurise the managements to provide them regular employment in the units".
Noticing the deplorable employment conditions of the past and the necessity of an influential union leader, a union member of CCI states:

"In the initial days of the unit, the management has no proper personnel policies and the workmen have no job security and conditions are very poor. Hence we realise the need of an influential person to lead the union organisation in order to protect the interests of workmen. Hence, we brought a local political leader to provide leadership to the union."

Commenting on the dearth of experienced union leaders in the past, a union official of IC claims:

"At the beginning, there was no experienced worker leaders. Hence we brought a Communist Party of India worker to lead the union organisation as he had proven leadership qualities and even could bring the support of party union wing i.e., AITUC, to fulfil the goals of our unions."

From the above, it may be concluded that social factors have also been responsible for the emergence of political union leadership. Social factors such as rural background of workmen, securing of regular employment and improving of working conditions, lack of
experienced worker union leaders, faction-based rural societies have contributed to the emergence of political leadership in unions.

3.2.2 POLITICAL FACTORS AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN UNIONS

In the view of David Easton, the political system of a country is integrally related to its social system. It is more in the parliamentary form of democracy, where the involvement of people is high, particularly in electing their representatives to the legislative bodies. These representatives, being the law-makers, derive certain powers in the Government and can influence the social and administrative system. We may infer that the political leaders can influence/help the industrial managements and the union organisations to achieve their objectives.

Table 3.2 reveals that: The union respondents have agreement with various political factors such as 'political background of the leaders', 'affiliation of the political union leader to some political party', 'ability to solve complex legal and

TABLE 3.2

FACTORs (POLITICAL) RESPONSIBLE FOR THE EMERGENCE OF POLITICAL UNION LEADERSHIP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.NO</th>
<th>FACTORS</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>DA</th>
<th>SDA</th>
<th>WEIGHTED MEAN SCORE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Political background of leader</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Affiliation of the political union leader to political party</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>0.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Ability to solve complex legal and administrative problems</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Political leaders have better bargaining capacity</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Political and factional developments in the district</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Opinion Survey.

administration problems', 'better bargaining capacity of political leaders' and 'political and factional developments in the district', which are responsible for political leadership in unions. The mean values of the table point out the variance in agreement with the factors. There is high agreement with the factors: 'better bargaining capacity of political leaders (1.84)'.
political background of the leaders (1.66); substantial agreement with the factors: 'ability to solve complex legal and administrative problems' (1.48), political and factional developments in the district (1.28); and low agreement with the factor: 'affiliation of the political union leader to some political party (0.38). The table also reveals that none of the union respondents has 'strongly disagree' with the factor 'better bargaining capacity of political leaders'.

The above discussion establishes that political factors have also been responsible for the emergence of political leadership in unions. Political factors such as 'the leaders political background, and their affiliation to the political parties, their ability to solve complex, legal and administrative problems and to political leadership with management and the political and factional developments in the district have contributed to political leadership in unions.

3.2.3 MANAGERIAL FACTORS AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN UNIONS

Managerial factors have necessiated the emergence of political union leaders to a great extent. It is observed:" The illiteracy and lack of formal education
among the overwhelming majority of workmen have made them unable to produce leaders from their own ranks. Furthermore, the autocratic nature of management then existing and the widely prevalent fear among workmen about the victimisation of workmen by the management have influenced them to seek outsiders' help to channelise their aspirations and secure for them their needs". In this connection, opinions are elicited on the statements that reveal the relationship between managerial factors and political union leadership in unions.

Table 3.3 reveals that the union respondents have high agreement with the managerial talents of political union leaders, i.e., better bargaining capacity (1.84), and 'provide better liaison between managements and workers' (1.63), substantial agreement with the factor 'save the workmen from victimisation of managements' (1.44) and moderate agreement over the factor 'provide better leadership and management of unions' (0.80). All these managerial factors elicited positive responses with regard to emergence of political union leaders.

TABLE 3.3

FACTORS (MANAGERIAL) RESPONSIBLE FOR THE EMERGENCE OF POLITICAL UNION LEADERSHIP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.NO</th>
<th>FACTORS</th>
<th>UNIONRESPONDENTS</th>
<th>WEIGHTED MEAN SCORE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Victimisation of workmen/worker union leader by management</td>
<td>314 126 32 13</td>
<td>1.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Political union leader provide better liaison between management and workers</td>
<td>341 127 17 0</td>
<td>1.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Political union leader have better bargaining capacity</td>
<td>415 67 3 0</td>
<td>1.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Political union leader provide better leadership and management of unions</td>
<td>204 163 52 66</td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Political and factional developments in the district</td>
<td>276 149 39 21</td>
<td>1.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Opinion Survey.

The table findings have also been strengthened by the opinions given by the union officials.

An official of IC Employees Union gives his opinion as follows:

"As the spokesmen of people of the localities, the
help of political leaders is very much required to the management of industrial units on various issues, e.g., mobilising of a favourable opinion among the people towards the functioning of the unit, getting clearances (permission) from local, state and central offices etc. The bargaining capacity of the unions will get strengthened if they opt political leaders as their leaders.

In the opinion of an official of IC Employees Union, the political leaders with a sizeable local following will be easily successful in fulfilling the goals of unions. Being outsiders and influential persons, they can even threaten the management for the genuine demands of the workers.

An official of IC Mazdoor Union states that the political leaders can influence the management for the welfare of workmen, they can also have good command over the union members.

An official of CCI Staff and Worker union claims:

"The vindictive attitude of the then management towards the workmen, made us invite competent political leaders to lead our unions. The management cannot threaten or victimise them as it does the workmen."
Thus, the above findings as well as the opinions reveal that the managerial qualities of political leaders such as their liaison, bargaining and leadership skills have also become responsible for the emergence of political leadership in the trade unions.

In this connection, Prafulla Chandra Das and Jaspal Singh have also drawn similar conclusions:

"Indifference in the attitude of management to sit along with workmen in conciliation proceedings and other discussions have prompted the unions to take up political leaders as trade union leaders".

"In recruitment of leaders for unions the political background of leaders cannot be undermined".

3.3 MEMBERS' EXPECTATIONS FROM POLITICAL UNION LEADERS

In the background of leadership in unions, it is pertinent to take note of the aspirations and expectations of union members from the political union leaders. In this context, Pattabi Raman observes: ".... the political leaders generally sold themselves to the workers as representatives of one or


the other political ideology, but the workers usually brought them on the basis of their expectations of the leaders' ability to deliver the goods in the immediate future; an ideology had relevance only in so far as its proponent held out this promise. His (worker) thinking has remained close to his stomach and his bare back and to the immediate material needs of his family, and he has generally shown indifference to the distant dreams of his leaders or the niceties of differences among competing ideologies".

In order to elicit the opinions of union respondents seven important variables which reveal the expectations of union members from their union leaders have been identified. The opinions are presented in the table 3.4.

From the table 3.4, it is found that, all the factors have exhibited high agreement, except one, which shows substantial agreement: 'threaten managements and achieve demands' (1.78), 'amalgamate union strength and political power to protect the interests of workers' (1.72), 'get things done with govt. officials' (1.67), 'provide liaison between management and


**TABLE 3.4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.NO</th>
<th>FACTORS</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>DA</th>
<th>SDA</th>
<th>WEIGHTED MEAN SCORE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Effective handling of grievances</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Face inter union rivalries</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Fill the social gap between management and employees</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Amalgamate union strength and political power to protect the interests of workers</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Threaten management and achieve demands</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Provide better liaison between management and workers</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Get things done with government officials</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Opinion Survey.

workers' ((1.63) , 'effective handling of grievances'(1.58), and 'face inter union rivalries' (1.56), and 'fill the social gap between management and
employees' (1.43). Surprisingly, not even a single union respondent has 'strongly disagree' with the expectations like 'threaten managements and achieve demands' 'provide better liaison between management and workers' and 'get their things done with government officials'.

Commenting on the victimisation of management, an official of CCI Staff and Workers union claims:

"If an outsider, like a politician, is taken for union leadership, he can discuss the labour problems with the management freely. On the other hand the worker union leader will have a psychological fear that his services may be affected at any time, for the simple reason that he is an active union worker. There is every likelihood of the management discrimination on the active union worker in promotions, suspensions, retrenchment etc.,"

An official of IC Mazdoor Union claims as follows:

"Being peoples' representatives (MLA's) the political leaders have a better edge in government offices. The government officials also honour their (political leaders) requests, with a view to win their support and to get their work done in government as and when necessary".
Thus, we may conclude that the union respondents have a number of expectations on political union leaders. The union respondents think that the political leaders are very suitable to deal with the managements and protect the interests of the workers. They also can face effectively the inter-union rivalries and ensure the support of Government officials in the union affairs. These findings are more or less the same as those of Mohd. Siddiq Ashraf and G.C. Rath. Siddiq Ashraf found that the members expect from their union affiliated political persons that they would help them whenever they are in trouble; or if there was unjustified pressure from the management, work in the best interests of workers; or secure them their rightful share of industrial profits, ensure security of job, enhance their union's influence; improve the working conditions of labour; develop socio-political consciousness among workers and improve relations among the rank and file of workers. Whereas G.C. Rath observes that this trend of preferring the leadership of politicians belonging to the party in power indicates their to get the support of the government by associating themselves with the persons in power as

well as to attract more members to their side.

3.4 POLITICISATION OF WORKER UNIONS

The trade unions have provided place for the political leaders to step into the union activities and provide leadership. The political union leaders in course of time have politicised the union activities. The workers are virtually divided into different blocks under the leadership of different political union leaders. In this connection, it is essential to know whether the unions have really become politicised and if so the extent of politicisation. In the view of Pattabiraman: "The political involvement of a union does not necessarily imply that its members support the political views and programmes of their leaders or of the party with which the union is involved. A member of such a union may or may not offer such support tacitly or overtly, he may even have no political views. But even when he supports the political actions of the leadership or of the party concerned, he may be considered to have been "politicised" only if he continues his support

regardless of the success or failure of the leadership or the party. Accordingly a trade union may be considered to have been politicised only if the majority of its members support a particular political programme over a period of time. If they shift their allegiances from one group or party that offers the best reward for such support, then the union of which they are members may not be considered as politicised”.

Against this background, the opinions of union respondents are elicited on the nature of politicisation of union members and office bearers (table 3.5).

The table 3.5 reveals that there is substantial agreement of union respondents with the statement 'majority of our union members support the political programmes of our political union leader' (1.45) which leads us to infer that unions are substantially politicised. Similarly the substantial agreement of them (union respondents) with the statement 'majority office bearers of our union support the political programmes of our political union leaders' (1.40) makes us conclude that office bearers of the unions are also substantially politicised.

### TABLE 3.5

**POLITICALISATION OF WORKER UNION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.NO</th>
<th>FACTORS</th>
<th>UNIONRESPONDENTS</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>BA</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Majority of our union members support the political programme of our</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>political union leader</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>I support the political actions of our political union leader regardles</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of success or failure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Majority of our union members consult political union leader very</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>often and seek his help and advice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Majority of the office bearers of our union support the political</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>programmes of my political union leader</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Opinion Survey.

There is substantial agreement of union respondents with the statement, 'I support the political actions of our political union leader regardless of the success or failure'(1.19). This makes us infer that the members are also substantially politicised. There is
substantial agreement of union respondents with the statement, 'majority of our union members consult political union leader very often and seek his help and advice' which strengthens the politicisation of members (as inferred above).

An active official of CCI Staff and Workers union narrates the role of union members and office bearers at the time of election of the Political union leader to the legislative assembly:

"Before 20 days of the date of election, the General Secretary of our union conducts a General body meeting of the union. The other unions' members will also be invited to the meeting. Political union leader, as a candidate for the assembly seat, addresses the members of his and other unions and requests their physical and financial help. Then the General Secretary decides the minimum amount to be collected from each of the union members. Further, the collected fund is spent in fulfilling the election promises of the political union leader such as offering of donations to construct temples, mosques, churches, schools etc., The office bearers take charge of the duty of spending the fund on such promises. On the election day the office bearers with the help of union members perform the activities..."
like supplying food packets and drinks to the agents, providing transport facilities to the public (voters) and at times play a very active role in capturing the polling booths to cast as many votes as possible in favour of the political union leader".

Speaking on the type of relations between members and political leaders, an official of IC Employees union explains:

"The union members approach their political union leaders for the latter's help in securing contracts or employment to their kith and kin and in respect of the cases filed either on account of their employment or with regard to factions in rural societies".

From the foregoing analysis, it may be concluded that the worker unions are substantially politicised.

3.5 EFFECT OF POLITICAL UNION LEADERS ON THE BEHAVIOUR OF UNION OFFICE BEARERS AND MEMBERS

There are innumerable chances for the workers to approach the political union leaders for their help or guidance. This provides an opportunity for political union leaders to influence the attitude and behaviour of workmen.
3.5.1(i) ROLE OF POLITICAL UNION LEADERS IN SELECTION OF UNION OFFICE BEARERS

The success of union organisations depends upon the performance of the office bearers. Generally the office bearers formulate policies of the union and execute them with the cooperation of members. The emergence of political union leaders have contributed to a thorough change in the organisation and functioning of the trade unions. In the sphere of union organisation the political union leaders have wielded unlimited influence in the selection of other office bearers. Union office bearers have been selected on the basis of their political affiliations, undermining the overall objectives of the unions. During the pilot study, it is revealed that the union office bearers both at CCI and Ic are selected unanimously by the political union leaders with the help of their members. However, there are certain comments at different quarters about favouritism in selection of union office bearers. In order to find out the correct position, opinions are elicited from the union respondents about the selection of office bearers (table 3.6).
Table 3.6 reveals that the union respondents have agreement with all the factors identified in the table, without much variance. The respondents have high agreement with the factors such as affiliation to the party of the leader (1.84), militancy...
(1.78), educational qualification of members (1.71), knowledge of union activities (1.62) and belongingness to the faction group of the leader (1.60); and substantial agreement with the factors such as nativity of workers (1.46), caste of workers (1.18), economic capacity (1.04) and religion of workers (1.01). Interestingly, none of the respondents has 'disagree' with the factors, affiliation to the party of the leader, education and knowledge of union activities of workmen.

The table also reveals that there are some respondents who disagree with certain factors. These respondents may not be equally distributed among the unions under study. Hence, a separate table i.e., 3.6[1] is constructed to show the distribution of these respondents based upon the unions and on the factors.

For the purpose of analysis, the percentages are calculated. The table reveals that a significant number of respondents (83) have 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree' with the factor that an office bearer is selected based on his 'economic capacity' (17.11%). It is followed by 79 respondents (16.29%) on 'religion of workers', 68 respondents (14.02%) on 'caste of workers', 44 respondents (9.07%)
on 'nativity of workers', and 42 respondents (8.66%) on
'belonging to the faction group of political union
leader'.

TABLE 3.6(1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.NO</th>
<th>FACTORS OF THE BEARER</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>DA</th>
<th>CW</th>
<th>CW</th>
<th>CSW</th>
<th>IL</th>
<th>IE</th>
<th>IM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Belonging to the faction group of political union leader</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Nationality of workers</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Caste of workers</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Religion of workers</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Economic capacity</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total of 485 59 93 62 28 136 107 sample respondents (100) (100) (100) (100) (100) (100) (100)

Note: The figures in paranthesis indicate the percentages to the total of sample from respective union.

Further, in order to know the intensity of disagreement of unions over the factors mentioned in the
table (3.6<1>) the total percentage (100%) is grouped
into four stratas: high (75 and upto 100 percent), substantial (50 and upto 75 percent), Moderate (25 and upto 50 percent) and slight (one and upto 25 percent). According to this classification, the IL union has complete disagreement (100%) over factors like religion, caste, economic capacity and faction group of workers, and substantial agreement over the factor 'nativity of workers'. The strong attachment of IL union with communistic philosophy may be the reason for such serious disagreement on the above factors. Whereas, the CW union has moderate disagreement on economic capacity and nativity factors, slight disagreement on caste and religion factors. The CE union has moderate disagreement on caste factor, slight disagreement on faction group, nativity, religion and economic capacity factors. The IM & CSW unions have slight disagreement on caste, religion, economic capacity factors. Interestingly, none of the respondents of CSW and IE unions has 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree' with faction and nativity factors.

The opinions obtained from some of the officials also strengthen the above findings. An official of CCI Staff and Workers' union claims as follows:

"These political leaders always think of mobilising
strong supporters to him with an objective to gain popularity in union and in public. In this process, they distribute the positions of unions to the members who support their faction groups and political parties.

An official of CCI Employees Union states:

"Union positions will be given to the worker members who have large following of people belonging to their caste, religion and native place. The motive behind such offer is to 'catch more number of definite votes for the general elections'.

One of the officials of IC Mazdoor Union comments:

"The union president (political leader) after a discussion with the worker members announces the names of office bearers. The members who have blessings of political union leader only will be selected for union offices. Union has become the private property of political union leader and his decision is final. The members should follow his decisions blindly and no member is brave enough to raise his voice publicly against the decision of political union leader".

An official of IC Employees Union opines:
"The knowledge of union activities among the prospective office bearers is considered only when they are in the good books of political union leader. Otherwise, they will not be treated well. If anyone is frank and knowledgeable, he will not find any encouragement, and further he will be treated very badly by the political union leader."

A similar feeling has been conveyed by one of the officials of the CCI Staff and Workers union:

"The political union leader supports the workmen who are more militant in order to safeguard his vested interests in the union as well as in the industry. He protect the jobs of such workmen at all costs. The aggressive and militant workmen are generally very close to the political union leaders and also will be selected as the union office bearers."

From the above, it is very clear that the political union leaders have virtually total control in the selection of office bearers of the unions. Though the union office bearers have to be elected by the worker members, in practice no election takes place. The candidates selected by the political union leaders for the post of office bearers are not contested by any other members. And as such, they are deemed to be
unanimously elected. It can be said that the office bearers of the trade unions are selected by the political union leaders and not elected by the worker members. The selection is followed by certain considerations such as belongingness to the faction groups and political parties, militancy, knowledge of union activities, caste, religion, nativity etc., with the ulterior motive of making use of the follower members for their political elections and other purposes.

3.5.1(ii) EFFECT OF POLITICAL UNION LEADERS ON OFFICE BEARERS OF UNIONS

The union office bearers are the representatives of union members. They have a primary role to safeguard the interests of workmen at all costs. They help the members in solving their work related problems and grievances. The union office bearers must be courteous, cooperative and service oriented towards the problems of workmen. In fact, the union leaders must act as saviours for all the problems of workmen by their timely action, compassionate attitude and helping nature.

The emergence of political union leaders have
affected the role of office bearers to a very great extent. It has already been established that the office bearers are selected by the political union leaders and they are not elected by the members. In the changing situation the office bearers have altogether exhibited a difference in their attitude and functions. They play the role of an opportunist, timeserver and the like, sacrificing the interests of the members. In this context, the opinions of union respondents are elicited and shown in the table 3.7.

TABLE 3.7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FACTORS</th>
<th>UNION RESPONDENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S.NO</td>
<td>SA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Majority of the office bearers of our union are co-operate with us in grievance redressal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Majority of the office bearers of our union safeguard our interests than the interests of our political union leaders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Majority of the office bearers of our union are opportunists and demoralised</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3.7 reveals that the union respondents have almost neutral opinion i.e., neither agreement nor disagreement, on the statement, 'majority of the office bearers of our union are cooperative with the workmen in grievance redressal' (0.004). Such neutral opinion of members signifies that the office bearers do not cooperate with the members in solving their work related grievances.

The respondents have high disagreement with the statement, 'majority of the office bearers of our union safeguard our interests rather than the interests of our political leaders' (-1.80). It is surprising to note that none of the respondents has 'agree' or 'strongly agree' with the statement. In other words, the office bearers are more loyal to the political union leaders rather than the union members.

The high agreement of union respondents with the statement 'majority of the office bearers of our union are opportunists and demoralised' (1.65) speaks that the office bearers are opportunists and throw a wet blanket on the grievances of workmen.

The opinions elicited from some of the responsible members and officials also go to establish that the
union office bearers do not care for the interests of the workers.

A CE Union official expresses:

"Problems of workmen are thrown into air. No office bearer is bothering about the problems of the workmen. They are rather busy in getting close to the political union leaders for securing employment to their relatives and getting their works done ".

Another member of IC Employees Union feels:

"To get things done by the office bearers, one should have money. Workmen should bribe the office bearers even to speak on their behalf. If we are able to bear the expenses of the office bearers, we can get the things done in our union ".

A similar feeling is conveyed by yet another member:

"Office bearers struggle with management and get close to political union leaders in getting employment to their kith and kin and in securing civil contracts (like construction of roads, tanks, dams etc.,) and for contracts at plant, like supplying of raw material, providing transport facilities, supply of
Commenting on 'attachment of office bearers with political union leaders, a respondent of CCI Staff and Workers union expresses:

"Union office bearers are very strong followers of political union leaders. They always work for the interests of political union leaders. They inform everything that takes place in the plant and they act in accordance with the whims and fancies of the political union leaders. They are more loyal to the political union leaders than to fellow workmen ".

An official of CCI Workers Union comments on the performance of the office bearers in this way:

"Office bearers have no time to look into the grievances of workmen. They behave like 'Chota' (small) politicians and even delay the representation of grievances to the management. We have to approach them a number of times for their help. Then only they look into the grievances. Even then, they try to discourage rather than to encourage us in presenting our grievances to the management. The clear motive behind all such things is, they (office bearers) want to be in the good
books of management rather than the worker members".

The above discussion conveys a clear change in the behaviour of the office bearers from what it should have been normally. The change has been brought in by the involvement of political union leaders. This fact has been strengthened in many ways by the opinions tendered by some responsible members as well as ex-office bearers. The data collected on this aspect also conveys a clear message that the political union leaders have caused a total change in the attitude and behaviour of union office bearers. A feeling that the office bearers are opportunistic and not loyal to the worker members pervades everywhere in the union circles.

3.5.1(iii) EFFECT OF POLITICAL UNION LEADERS ON MILITANCY AMONG UNION OFFICE BEARERS

Trade union organisations have become more and more militant in their character. Militancy on the part of workers indicates the aggressiveness with which they pursue their goals. The unfair labour policy of management, the delay in redressal of grievances and the non-fulfilment of the demands cause aggressive behaviour on the part of workmen. The emergence of political union leaders in trade union leadership has also influenced the behaviour of workers as well
office bearers resort to aggressiveness and militancy in their dealings.

In order to find out whether the political union leaders are directly or indirectly contributing to the militant behaviour, the union respondents have been asked to give their opinion on some important aspects (table 3.8).

TABLE 3.8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.NO</th>
<th>FACTORS</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>DA</th>
<th>SDA</th>
<th>WEIGHTED MEAN SCORE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Majority of the office bearers of our union are aggressive</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Majority of the office bearers of larger unions adopt more agressive attitude</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Office bearers associated with political parties are more militant in their attitude</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Office bearers associated with left parties have high level of militancy</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1.26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Opinion Survey.
The table 3.8 reveals that the union respondents have substantial agreement towards all the statements: 'office bearers associated with political parties are more militant in their attitude' (1.41); 'office bearers associated with left parties have high level of militancy' (1.26); 'majority of the office bearers of our union are aggressive' (1.13); and 'majority of the office bearers of larger unions adopt more aggressive attitude' (1.02).

In this connection it is pertinent to refer to the opinions given by some officials regarding the selection of office bearers. They have expressed that the political union leaders protect the militant members in order to safeguard their vested interests in the unions as well as in the plant. Political union leaders support the aggressive workmen and they become close to political union leaders. It may therefore be concluded that the political union leaders have definitely influenced the behaviour of office bearers to exhibit militant qualities.

11. A similar finding was brought up by Taft: Communist unions were more militant than non-communist unions (vide Taft, P., IDEALOGIES AND INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT, in Arthur Kornhauser et.al. P.201), quoted in Prakash Arya, P., A Study of Militancy among Workers, INDIAN JOURNAL OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, vol. 15, no. 4, April 1980.
3.5.2.(i) EFFECT OF POLITICAL UNION LEADERS ON UNION MEMBERS

A noticeable change in the behaviour of workmen in the trade union activity can be traced to the emergence of political union leaders. Political union leaders have generally brought in a remarkable change in the attitude and behaviour of workmen. The quality of opportunism, disloyalty and low level of participation in the union activities have become a common feature among the workmen.

TABLE 3.9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.NO</th>
<th>FACTORS</th>
<th>UNION RESPONDENTS</th>
<th>WEIGHTED MEAN SCORE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Majority of the union members are opportunists</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Union membership changes have become a common practice</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Some workmen have multiple union membership</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Participation of members in union activities is low</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Opinion Survey.
Table 3.9 reveals that the union respondents have substantial agreement on all the statements, which explain the effect of political union leadership on union members, i.e., 'union membership changes have become a common practice' (1.43), 'some workmen have multiple union membership' (1.43), 'participation of members in union activities is low' (1.14) and 'majority of union members are opportunists' (1.11).

In this connection it is apt to quote the opinions of some of the union officials.

Commenting on the weather-vane attitude of members, a trade union official of CCI Staff and Workers union states:

"We have the problem of multiple membership. Not less than 10 percent of the workmen pay their subscription to all the unions in the unit. The intention being not to antagonise and confront any of the union office bearers or political union leaders of unions. They feel that by doing so they can get their work done with any one of them."

An office bearer of IC Mazdoor Union expresses:

"I have helped a worker, when he was about to be suspended. But the same worker is an active member and
go hand in hand with the recognised rival union. There is no loyalty among these workmen. They are big opportunists. They will be with us as long as they get work done. Afterwards they go with other unions to get things done by them”.

From the above, it may be concluded that the political union leaders have caused a definite change in the behaviour of workmen. The workmen have become more opportunistic and disloyal to the union organisations. The conclusions go in line with those of Ashraf: the consequences of political affiliation of workers resulted in development of their opportunism towards the union.

3.5.2(11) ROLE OF POLITICAL UNION LEADERS IN PROMOTING MILITANCY AMONG UNION MEMBERS

In order to assess the impact of political union leaders on the militancy among union members, the opinions of union respondents are elicited (table 3.10).

Table I 3.10 reveals that the union respondents have agreement on all statements, with some degree of variance. They have high agreement with the

TABLE 3.10

MILITANCY AMONG UNION MEMBERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.NO</th>
<th>FACTORS</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>DA</th>
<th>SDA</th>
<th>WEIGHTED MEAN SCORE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Militancy is promoted by political union leadership</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Union members who are neither illiterate nor very highly educated exhibit maximum militancy</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Union members of other districts are less militant compared to the members of Cuddapah district</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>0.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Factional politics of rural societies also aggravated the militancy</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Opinion Survey.

statements: 'factional politics of rural societies also aggravated the militancy' (1.76), 'militancy is promoted by political union leadership' (1.55); substantial agreement with the statements 'union members who are neither illiterate nor very highly educated exhibit maximum militancy' (1.07); moderate agreement with the statement 'union members of other districts are less militant compared to the members of Cuddapah district, (0.62).
In connection with factors responsible for political leadership in unions, a social worker notes that, for a very long time factions and violence have become part and parcel of Cuddapah society and that the rich and influential people have been promoting factions and violence. It is evident that all the political union leaders (except the leader of IL union) are factional leaders of rural societies of Cuddapah (vide profile of political union leaders and unionism in CCI and IC, chapter 2) and a large section of union members also hail from Cuddapah district, where severe faction groups are ruling the mass.

The news item that appeared in a local language (Telugu) daily which is in respect of by-elections held at Cuddapah has much relevance in this connection:

"The politicians of ruling Congress party have resorted to booth capturing and high level of rigging and made the election a farce".

The daily also describes the serious situation on the day of election that more than 50 MLA's

(of ruling as well as opposition parties) have acted as polling agents and hundreds of armed policemen supervised the election and the majority of people in Andhra Pradesh had a premonition: "whether the elections in Cuddapah would end peacefully without any untoward incidents like murders, kidnapping, rigging and so on". Thus, the foregone analysis clearly reveals that the involvement of political leadership in unions has promoted militancy among union members. The factional politics of the area (Cuddapah) dominated by certain political leaders have thoroughly changed the attitude and character of the workmen. Gradually, the workmen are not forging themselves into a union of strength, they are degenerating into a union of factions and militancy.

3.6 Effect of Political Union Leaders on Inter Union Relations

Multiplicity of trade unions has become a common sight in the Indian industry. Whether these unions work in the interests of workers or not, they are definitely at loggerheads with one another in fighting for the interests of their political union leaders. In other words, rival political leaders have prompted

14. Ibid.
establishment of rival trade unions. The rival unions keep up their rivalry and are not united for achieving their members' benefits.

In order to ascertain the inter union relations, certain statements were administered to the union members for their opinion.

**TABLE 3.11**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.NO</th>
<th>FACTORS</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>DA</th>
<th>SDA</th>
<th>WEIGHTED MEAN SCORE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Factional politics and personal rivalries of political union leaders</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Discriminatory attitude of management in redressing the grievances</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Vested interests of political parties in power</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Bad propaganda of one union over the others</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Political party affiliation</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Vested interests of political union leaders</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Opinion Survey.
The table 3.11 reveals that the union respondents have agreement on all the reasons, with some degree of variance. They have high agreement on the reasons: 'bad propaganda of one union over the others' (1.75), 'factional politics and personal rivalries of political union leader' (1.69), 'political party affiliation' (1.60), 'discriminatory attitude of management in redressing the grievances' (1.58); and substantial agreement on the reasons: 'vested interests of political union leader' (1.31), 'vested interests of political parties in power' (1.12).

Speaking on the above context, a trade union official of CCI Workers Union comments as follows:

"Union rivalry is common when multiple unions are there. However, the industry may adopt a discriminatory attitude among unions which results in inter union clashes."

A union official of CCI Employees Union remembers the strike that took place in 1986 on account of rival unionism. The CCI Employees Union went on strike to achieve certain demands, whereas the CCI Workers Union worked against the striking union, which ultimately resulted in large-scale physical clashes.
between the members of two unions.

In yet another incident an official of Mazdoor union states that on account of political rivalry one party got killed by the supporter of another party. These two party leaders were holding offices as trade union leaders. This incident immediately spread into the unions and inter-union fighting started. On account of this, the industry was closed for some time.

The above discussion shows that there is no harmonious relationship among the unions. They are hostile to each other and even outside political rivalries have entered into trade unions through the political union leaders. This leads to prove the hypothesis: political union leaders aggravated inter union rivalry instead of promoting cooperation and harmony among workers. As such, more or less, similar findings were found in the studies of Ashraf and Pandey. Ahsraf found: the inter union rivalries based mainly on political considerations have contributed to the instability of the union movement. Pandey found:

inter union rivalries will remain as the outside leaders, in many cases, are motivated by the interest of their own survival.

3.7 EFFECT OF POLITICAL UNION LEADERS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNAL LEADERSHIP AND FINANCIAL RESOURCE OF UNIONS

It is assumed that the entry of political leaders in the trade union leadership will develop internal leadership as well as improve the union finances. However, in many cases, the political union leaders belied the expectations and worked against the interests of unions.

3.7.1. EFFECT OF POLITICAL UNION LEADERS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNAL LEADERSHIP

The prime logic of trade unionism is to relentlessly pursue industrial democracy by neutralising employer power at the workplace. An organisation, whose chief goal is to fight oligarchy on the shopfloor is morally bound to govern itself democratically. As such, in democratising the functioning of unions, in developing a spirit of cooperation and cohesion among the office bearers, in improving the leadership skills of office bearers etc., the role of union leaders is very significant. In this context, the opinions of
The above table reveals that the union respondents have disagreement over all the statements made on the linkage between political union leadership and development of internal union leadership. They have high disagreement with the statement, 'cohesion and cooperation among office bearers is increased' (-1.59), whereas, they have substantial disagreement on the statements, 'decision making by the office bearers is increasingly democratised' (-1.45) and 'union office bearers are trained to acquire leadership skills (-1.44)'.

TABLE 3.12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.NO</th>
<th>STATEMENTS</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>DA</th>
<th>SDA</th>
<th>WEIGHTED MEAN SCORE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Union office bearers are trained to acquire leadership skills</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>-1.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Cohesion and cooperation among office bearers is increased</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>-1.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Decision making by the office bearers is increasingly democratised</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>-1.45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Opinion Survey.
The table also reveals that a few have 'agree'/'strongly agree' with the statements. Hence to identify the union background of these respondents, a separate table is constructed (table 3.12.1).

**TABLE 3.12(1)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATEMENT</th>
<th>SA+A</th>
<th>CW</th>
<th>CE</th>
<th>CSW</th>
<th>IL</th>
<th>IE</th>
<th>IM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Union office bearers are trained to acquire leadership skills</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The cohesion and cooperation among office bearers is increased</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Decision making by the office bearers is increasingly democratised</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Figures in parenthesis indicate the percentage of it to the total of the union respondents.

Table 3.12(i) shows the distribution of respondents who 'agree'/'strongly agree' with statements mentioned in the table 3.12. The percentages are calculated to the total of their respective unions and for the purpose of
In the above context, some personal opinions of union officials are worth mentioning.

An official of the IC Labour Union narrates an incident as follows:

"The political union leader of IC Mazdoor Union..."
the period of his party in power started collecting money from the prospective employees. When the general secretary of same union opposed such practice, the political union leader tried all his ways to defame the secretary and did not support him when he was involved in a case of indiscipline."

An ex-official of CCI Employees Union states:

"As long as political leaders are there in unions, it is difficult to work for the cause of unionism. Most workers have spent nearly 20 years of life in villages, where they have experienced factional leadership and culture. Even after entering the industries, they are experiencing the same factional leadership in unions. Consequently, the members do not find any change in the leadership. They treat the political leadership, factional leadership and union leadership as one and the same. That is why, it is not easy to educate and bring change in a short time. Furthermore there are problems from some of our workmen who are opportunists. They won't allow us to educate the workmen for their rights and responsibilities as union members. They even carry tales to the political union leaders on us. They (leaders) naturally perceive danger from us. And when a problem comes from management on any issue these leaders
do not help us. Ultimately, we will be the victims for educating the workmen".

An official of CE Union states:

"Only the political union leader goes for bargaining with management. He never allows others (including union officials) to sit along with him in the talks. That is why neither collective bargaining nor developing the internal leadership arises."

From the above discussion, it may be concluded that the emergence of political leadership in the trade unions is in no way contributing to the development of internal leadership. The political union leaders have almost monopolised the power and tried to maintain it by resorting to unhealthy practices such as groupism, factionalism etc. The study findings are also in agreement with those of Rath: the genesis of union rivalry can be attributed mainly to political reasons.

3.7.2 EFFECT OF POLITICAL UNION LEADERS ON TRADE UNION FINANCES

Since trade unions are the organisations of the workers, they suffer from paucity of funds as the

workers' contribution may not be much. Without finances it becomes difficult to run the union activities. In this connection, it was thought that the emergence of political union leaders will come as a boon in getting sufficient finances. The practice belied all hopes, the union finances are badly affected, since the political leaders have not shown any interest in this respect.

TABLE 3.13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.NO</th>
<th>FACTORS</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>DA</th>
<th>SDA</th>
<th>WEIGHTED MEAN SCORE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Political leadership has affected the regular collection of subscriptions</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>1.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Union members get things done even without paying subscription fee</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Small amounts are collected for defensive purposes when ever necessary</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Large amounts are collected for election campaign of the political union leader</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1.62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Opinion Survey.
Table (3.13) reveals that the union respondents have high agreement with the statements, 'large amounts are collected for election campaign of the political union leader' (1.62), 'small amounts are collected for defensive purposes whenever necessary' (1.61); substantial agreement with the statement, 'political leadership has affected the regular collection of subscriptions' (1.06).

The union respondents (exclusive of CE union) also have substantial agreement with the statement, 'union members get things done even without paying subscription fee' (1.18). The statement is not applicable to the respondents of CE Union as the union opted for check off system.

Contrary to the agreement of these statements, a significant number of union respondents have 'disagree' / 'strongly disagree' with the statements. Thus, to find their union background, a separate table [table 3.13(1)] is constructed.

For the purpose of analysis, the percentages are calculated and it is further distributed into different strata: High (75 and upto 100 percent), substantial (50 to upto 75 percent), Moderate
TABLE 3.13 (i)

UNION-WISE BREAKUP OF UNION RESPONDENTS WHO DISAGREED OR STRONGLY DISAGREED OVER THE STATEMENTS OF THE TABLE 3.13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No</th>
<th>STATEMENTS</th>
<th>DA+</th>
<th>CW</th>
<th>CE</th>
<th>CSW</th>
<th>IL</th>
<th>IE</th>
<th>IM</th>
<th>SDA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Political leadership has affected the regular collection of subscription</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(25.77)</td>
<td>(4.30)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Union members get things done without paying subscription fee</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(10.93)</td>
<td>(20.34)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(20.34)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Small amounts are collected for defensive purpose wherever necessary</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2.68)</td>
<td>(15.25)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(6.45)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Large amounts are collected for election campaign of the political union leader</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(5.77)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
<td>(0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NA: Not applicable

Note: Figures in parenthesis indicate the percentage of it to the total respondents of the union.

(25 to upto 50 percent) and slight (one and upto 25 percent). According to this classification, it is observed from the table 3.13(i) that the IL union has complete disagreement (100%) on the statements: 'political leadership has affected regular collection of subscriptions', 'members get things done without paying
subscription fee', and 'large amounts are collected for election campaign of political leaders'. The CE has complete disagreement with the statement, 'political leadership has affected the regular collection of subscriptions'. The obvious reason is that the leadership has opted for check-off system of collecting subscriptions. The CW and CSW have slight disagreement on 'political leadership has affected the regular collection of subscriptions', 'union members get thing done even without paying subscription fee' and 'small amounts are collected for defensive purposes'. Surprisingly, not even a union respondent of IE and IM unions has 'disagree'/'strongly disagree' with any of the statements of table. Similarly, none of the respondents of the three unions at CCI vi., CW, CE and CSW has 'disagree' with the statement 'large amounts are collected for election campaign of the political union leader'. This reveals the negligence of political union leaders in improving the financial resources of the unions.

The opinions obtained from some of the officials also strengthen the findings.

Commenting on weak financial position of his union, an official of IC Mazdoor Union states:
"...union has also weakened due to lack of adequate financial resources. We are not collecting subscriptions. There is a false prestige among our union officials not to ask membership fee, which is just Rs.3 per member per month, as the rival union ie., IE is not collecting it. We are not in a position to attend the courts regarding cases connected with inter-union rivalries. The expenditure has to be born by the union officials, whereas our rival union ie., IC Employees Union can spare finance for its activities and has contributed Rs.50,000 for the election campaign of its political union leader in recent general elections. The reasons for sound financial position of IC Employees Union are: its political union leader is enjoying power as a Minister of State and it is a recognised union; hence, it has patronage from the management and from the company clients. Both contribute finances to that union. Whereas, our political union leader belongs to the opposition party and has become a rare visitor and has not been helping us financially. With the result, that our union activities have been almost nil".

An official of CCI Staff and Workers union states:
"Funds in small amounts are raised when occasion demands, like filing of cases on behalf of union members, helping the relatives of deceased employees etc. We also raise large funds for our political union leader at the time of general elections as a token of help. On an average, Rs. 500 per member will be contributed towards it. The motive is to get things done by him after elections".

Thus, the involvement of political leaders in many cases has affected the financial conditions of unions. A majority of unions are facing financial problems, as the political union leaders are not serious about the day-to-day functioning of unions. Whereas, they (political union leaders) allowed the unions to raise funds on adhoc basis for some important union activities and for their political elections. The conclusions are also in line with those of Ashraf; the consequences of political affiliation of workers have affected the union finances as the members and political union leaders do not have serious outlook towards 'union finances'.

3.8 CONCLUSIONS

The following are the conclusions drawn from the analysis on the impact of political union leaders on unionism:

3.8.1. Social factors such as: faction based rural background of workmen, necessity of securing of regular employment and improving of working conditions, and lack of experienced worker union leaders have contributed to the emergence of political leadership in unions.

3.8.2. The Political features of the leaders like: political background, affiliation with certain political parties, ability to solve complex legal and administrative problems, bargaining skills and even the political as well as factional developments in the area have been responsible for the emergence of political leadership in unions.

3.8.3. The managerial qualities of political leaders such as: liaison, bargaining and leadership skills have also led to the emergence of political leadership in unions.

3.8.4. The union members have a number of expectations
on political union leaders. They believe that the political leaders, as union leaders, can fill the social gap between management and employees, provide better liaison between management and workers, effectively handle the grievances, amalgamate union strength with their political power to protect the interests of workers, threaten managements to achieve workers' demands, face effectively the inter-union rivalries and ensure the support of Government officials in the union affairs.

3.8.5. The union members, office bearers and ultimately the unions are substantially politicised. The union office bearers play a very active role at the time of political elections. They perform the duties such as collecting donations from the members and spending the amounts, providing transport facilities to electoral voters, capturing of polling booths to cast as many votes as possible as per the directions of political union leaders.

3.8.6. The political leaders have total control in the selection of office bearers of the unions. Though the union office bearers need to be elected by the worker members, in practice no election takes place. The candidates selected by the political union leaders for
the post of office bearers will not face contest from any other members. And, as such, they are deemed to be unanimously elected. Thus, the union office bearers are selected by the political union leaders and not elected by the worker members. The leaders also consider the factors such as: affiliation to faction groups and political parties, militancy, knowledge of union activities, caste, religion, nativity etc., of prospective union office bearers, with an ulterior motive of making use of the workmen for their political elections and other purposes.

3.8.7. The involvement of political leadership has changed the behaviour of the office bearers from what it should have been normally. A feeling that the office bearers are opportunistic and not loyal to the worker members, pervades the union circles.

3.8.8. A noticeable change appears in the militancy of office bearers. The union office bearers who associate with larger unions and political parties (particularly of left parties) have been exhibiting high level of militancy.

3.8.9. The political union leaders have caused a definite change in the behaviour of worker members. The worker members have become more opportunistic and
disloyal to the union organisations.

3.8.10. The political union leaders have promoted militancy among union members. These factional leaders—with their faction culture—thoroughly influenced and changed the attitude and character of the workmen. Gradually, the workmen are not forging into a union of strength but of factions and militancy.

3.8.11. The political union leaders have not promoted harmonious inter-union relations. The unions have become hostile to each other and the outside political rivalries have entered trade unions through political union leaders.

3.8.12. The emergence of political leadership in the trade unions has in no way contributed to the development of internal leadership. The political union leaders have almost monopolised the power and tried to maintain it by resorting to unhealthy practices such as groupism, factionalism etc.

3.8.13. The involvement of political leaders in many cases has affected the financial conditions of unions. A majority of unions are facing financial problems, as the political union leaders are not serious about the day to day functioning of unions. Whereas, they allowed
the unions to raise funds on an ad hoc basis for important union activities and for their political elections.