CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION
1.1 INTRODUCTION

Modern industrialisation has been instrumental in bringing a plethora of changes not only in the organisation and management of industry but also in the social and political life of the individual. The effects of industrialisation badly hit the labourers working in the industry. The innovations in technology and management had thrown a challenge to the very existence of the labour-force as most of the production process was automated and the work monitored closely. The conditions obtaining for the labourers were gruesome. The wages paid were meagre, the working conditions were deplorable. The degree of dissatisfaction and antipathy with the management among the workers started swelling. The first sign of labour unrest was noticed in parts of Europe in the 18th century and later in the other parts of the world. The labour problems acquired unimaginable dimensions and gravity and ultimately called for giving a united fight to the managements of the industries. Thus, the labour problems have given birth to the emergence of trade unionism. Trade unionism has become a phenomenon at different levels i.e., plant level, industry level and national level.
In India too, the evils of industrialisation were felt though not early but during the middle of the 19th century. During this period, jute mills, textile mills and railways came into existence. In fact, these were the first industries which have unleashed labour problems and thus paved a way for trade union movement in India. The demands like weekly holiday, limited hours of work, rest between work, payment of wages before a stipulated time, compensation to injured workmen etc., have become the vital issues for any trade union.

Labour movement and trade unionism have grown in size and acquired strength, ultimately to become a strong force of the worker. No organisation or industry is left uncovered with the labour unions. Further, modern trade union movement is not limited to any one industry or nation, it has spread to the entire world and has become a world movement.

One of the most important problems often faced by the trade union movement is the lack of proper leadership among the workers. Even though the problems were genuine, the labour unions were not in a position to bargain with the management and solve their problems due to lack of good leaders. This situation
called for non workers to step into the middle of the labour force to show them the right way as leaders and also as well wishers. The situation in many cases provided ample scope for the politicians to enter the arena of labour force and to intertwine their interests with those of the labourers. There were occasions where non worker leaders had achieved political mileage by being the leaders of trade unions. Although trade unions were not formally affiliated to any political party, their leaders were often also the leaders, or at least active supporters, of one political party or the other and were openly associated with the labour movement. Consequently the labour movement in India has traditionally reflected a cross-section of the prevailing political ideologies. Different political parties started nurturing different trade unions resulting in the growth of political party based trade union movement in the country.

Labour movement is an organised activity of wage earners to better their conditions either immediately or more or less in distant future.

1. Commons, John, R., Labour movement, ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, volumes 7-8, 1957 edition, p. 682
It implies in some degree a community outlook. Labour movement is a continuous effort on the part of wage earners to improve the standards of living. It is visible in the form of strikes, lock-outs, legal battles etc. In fact, Labour movement is the child of modern capitalism; in other words, it is a response to capitalism.

1.2 EMERGENCE OF NATIONAL, REGIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL UNION FEDERATIONS

The ideological differences among national political parties have given birth to many national, industrial and regional trade union federations.

1.2.1 NATIONAL LEVEL TRADE UNION FEDERATIONS

The important national level trade union federations are; All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC), Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS), Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS), Centre of Indian Trade Unions (CITU) and United Trade Union Congress (UTUC).


1) All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC)

On October 30, 1920, the representatives of 64 trade unions with a membership of 1,40,854, met in Bombay and established the All India Trade Union Congress under the chairmanship of Lala Lajapat Rai. It had the support of such national leaders (Communists as well as socialists) like C.R. Das, Sardar Vallababhai Patel, Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subash Chandra Bose, Gulzari Lal Nanda and others from the Indian National Congress. It was brought into being chiefly to facilitate the selection of deligates to represent Indian Labour at the ILO conference, but it also set before itself the task of coordinating the activities of several individual unions existing in the country, promoting the interests of Indian labour force in the service of Swaraj Movement.

2) Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC)

The different perceptions and consequent interpretations of the communist and non communist leaderships on the issue of support to the British war

effort, after Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union had led to a major split in AITUC. The non communist leadership organised their own trade union federation in the name of Indian National Trade Union Congress, on 3rd May 1947, under the chairmanship of Sardar Vallababhai Patel. The INTUC believes in Gandhian ideology and strongly supports Congress party.

iii) Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS)

The Socialist group broke away from the congress in 1948 and formed a new political party (Praja Socialist). Socialist trade union leaders who were operating within the INTUC seceded from it and formed a new central trade union organisation called the Hindustan mazdoor Panchayat (HMP). In course of time, the HMP had a tie-up with the Indian Federation of Labour (a labour federation came into existence with the rift that took place in AITUC between the trade union leaders of Radical Democratic Party and others on the issue of supporting the then British Government in the second world war) and brought about a new central trade union federation in the name of Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS). The main objective of HMS is to organise and promote the establishment of a democratic socialist society.
iv) United Trade Union Congress (UTUC)

Some trade union leaders, who attended the meeting called by socialist leaders in December 1948 to form the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, could not agree with the principles and objectives of the Sabha; hence, they met again on 27th December 1948 and decided to set up another organisation. Consequently, on 30th April, 1949, the United Trade Union Congress (UTUC) was established by "radicals" outside the Communist and socialist groups. The leaders were mostly from West Bengal and Kerala.

v) Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS)

The union federation has been the outcome of decision taken by the Jana sangh in its convention at Bhopal on 23rd July 1954. It was materialised in 1955 and had links with Rastriya Swayam Sewak Sangh (RSS). At present it is under the control of Bharatiya Janata Party.

vi) Centre of Indian Trade Union Federations (CITU)

In 1970, there was again a rift in the AITUC, when the Communists divided themselves into the Communist Party of India (CPI) and Communist Party of India Marxist
The AITUC came under the control of the former CPM and the CPM started a new central organisation - the Centre of Indian Trade Union (CITU). It is a leading trade union federation in West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura States.

1.2.2 INDUSTRIAL LEVEL TRADE UNION FEDERATIONS

Outside the ambit of the above national level organisations - but in many cases in close liaison with them - the employees of banking and insurance industries have formed industrial level trade union federations.

1.2.3 REGIONAL LEVEL TRADE UNION FEDERATIONS

With the formation of State Governments by regional parties such as Akali Dal in Punjab, Dravida Munnetra Kazagam (DMK) in Tamilnadu, Telugu Desam Party (TDP) in Andhra Pradesh, Shiva sena in Maharashtra, the regional level labour Federations have come into existence. Hence, it is inferred that the political parties have initiated and nurtured the trade union organisations for their own political benefits.

1.3 INCREASE OF POLITICALLY-INTERESTED TRADE UNION LEADERS

The initiation of unions by political parties at national, industrial and regional level has changed the pattern of trade union leadership. Leaders with political motives have emerged in the union movement. A great majority of these leaders have been political agents with party axes to grind. They provided connecting link between labour and political organisations. They mixed politics in trade union affairs. And they have also used the trade union organisations as a ladder for developing their career in political field.

1.4 IMPACT OF POLITICAL UNION LEADERS ON TRADE UNIONISM

Political leaders in their ambition to achieve political mileage have virtually divided the labour community into different hostile groups. Even though there were no differences among workers as to what policies their union should follow, the rivalry was

based upon the politically divided outside leadership. Such tendencies have ultimately contributed to the retardation and destruction of cohesion and other evil trends in trade union movement.

1.4.1 Factionism and union rivalry

Political involvement has reduced the trade union movement into an arena of political factionalism. Rival factions within the same union or rival unions, in their attempts to secure or maintain the allegiance of an identical body of workers, have resorted to all kinds of tactics, including violent assault of members of opposite groups. Evidence is not difficult to obtain: reports of such hostile activities are to be found in trade union journals as well as in the daily press.

Clashes between members of rival unions were frequent during the rule of Communist Party government in Kerala. Reports of raids and assaults by supporters of AITUC unions on rival union officers and members and of retaliatory attacks by these groups, were quite frequent during this period. In a memorandum submitted to the Ministry of Planning and Labour of the

7. Ibid. PP. 131-133.
8. Ibid.
Government of India, the General Secretary of the Kerala State Branch of the INTUC detailed nine major instances of Communists' attack on INTUC workers and sympathisers in and around the Kumbazha Estate during a labour dispute in the plantations. The Governor of Kerala, in a report to the President of India, declared that the Communist ministry (Government) in Kerala had discriminated in favour of Communist Unions with "the object of consolidating and expanding the sphere of influence of the AITUC against non-Communist Labour Unions" and that "this treatment often led to physical conflicts between communist and non-communist labour unions".

Thus, the politically motivated, externally instigated rival unionism has manifested itself in the form of mutual hostility and feuding within and among unions on a fairly serious scale.

The political factionalism has resulted not only in inter-union rivalry but also in intra-union struggles.


10. Summary of the Report of the Governor of Kerala to the President of India on the Kerala situation, Placed on the table of the Lok Sabha by the Home Minister of the Government of India on August 17, 1959, Hindu, Madras, August 18, 1959.
for leadership and control. These struggles have been based more on the political platforms of the contending factions than on the personalities and qualifications of the rival claimants to leadership; that is to say, the struggles more often than not have been between protagonists of differing political ideologies or parties.

1.4.2 Dissipation of scarce leadership and financial resources

Rival unionism has resulted in the waste not only of labour's material resources but also of leadership. Trade union leaders instead of turning their attention to members' problems and the solutions thereof, have spent themselves in trying to promote their own or of their party's causes or in scheming the downfall of each other and of rival political factions. Even honest and sincere leadership has been constrained to join battle when attacked.

12. Ibid.
1.4.3 Members' lack of loyalty towards union

The rival unionism arising out of political involvement has tended to promote opportunism among the workers and deter the development of a sense of loyalty to their respective unions. Expediency has become the governing factor in the worker. He has shown a tendency to shift his allegiance from one group or union to the other. Often the result of a single labour dispute has been sufficient to alter his support. This tendency has been fostered and encouraged by the fact that rival leaders or groups have been contesting for the loyalty of the workers with competing promises. The multiplicity of groups or union around him, all clamouring for his support and promising him the best result, have only helped to accentuate the worker's proneness to be a weather-vane, and this has prevented the development of abiding worker-loyalty in the trade union movement. This is implicit in the following statement of the INTUC president:

"We must see to it that the union member relationship is not mercenary or opportunist, members' loyalty to the union should not fluctuate with the

13. Ibid.
fortunes of every trade dispute handled by the union. It must be deeper, firmer, abiding and fundamental, being rooted in our philosophy and objective.....".

1.4.4 Workers' indiscipline

Political factionalism and rival unionism seem to have contributed to worker indiscipline, surfacing in wildcat strikes, go-slow tactics in factories, and resort to violence. This is not to say that worker indiscipline has been engendered solely by the political involvement of trade unions. It is, in fact, a symptom and a result of several diverse forces which operate in a society subject to poverty, strains and stresses of industrialisation. Among the causes of indiscipline may perhaps be included: bad management practices; the problem of worker orientation among a people used to village life and now subject to the rigours of urban life amidst inadequate facilities; lack of education among workers and their consequent inabillity to understand their responsibilities in an industrial society; and unemployment or the threat of loss of employment. But it is a safe assertion that the political involvement of the labour movement has added

its own contribution to this formidable list. Rival unionism, with its flood of propaganda, chauvinism and clashes, has no doubt affected the workers' sense of discipline. The image of rival groups of leadership fighting each other in the fashion of the jungle may not be considered a lesson in discipline; on the contrary, irresponsibility among leaders has seeped down and affected members in varying degrees in their faith in democratic practices.

Testimony about all these ill-effects of rival unionism has been provided by trade unionists themselves. An International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) delegation visiting India in March 1948 declared that the INTUC and the HMS, should stop spending their energies in clashes with each other, otherwise both of them would be weakened and the anti-democratic trends in the labour movement would gain strength. Ashok Mehta said in 1953:

"The present fragmentation not only prevents trade unions from gaining strength but interferes with developing initiative and discipline. Multiplicity of

unions presents abiding loyalties from growing up and fails to foster worker-leadership in the Movement".

A severe indictment was provided by Jatin Mitra in 1959 when he said:

"Quite a number of unions have become the stage for the free fight of the different political parties or groups of the same party for suzerainty. The baneful effect of this on the working class can easily be gauged. The unity, energy and single-minded devotion of the workers have been badly shattered by rival political groups fighting with particular motivation and extra union interests".

Then again, there being thus a weakening of the real strength of the unions, attempts are often made to make up for this deficiency by inflating the membership to impress the authorities and by staging periodic hectic demonstrations. What only devoted and sustained field work, including the meticulous working of the grievance machinery, could attain in attracting

and enlisting extended membership and in expanding the jurisdiction of union activity, is now being tried to be accomplished by jugglery and fraud.

A leader of the UTUC brought out another important aspect when he said:

"Another harmful aspect of this rivalry has been that workers lack confidence in their own strength. They have come to depend upon their leaders for the fulfilment of their demands and not upon their organised strength. As a result even when they try, the leaders often find it difficult to build a healthy militant trade union movement".

1.5 IMPACT OF POLITICAL UNION LEADERS ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

The political involvement in the Indian trade union movement has seriously affected the industrial relations also. It has increased the antagonism of the employers towards the union movement, handicapped the development of collective bargaining and affected the trade union's relations with the employers.

1.5.1 Antagonism of employers

An early result of the assumption of trade union leadership by political leaders and party workers was to increase the antagonism of the employers towards the union movement and provide them with additional excuses for refusing to recognise the unions. Employers have complained about leaders who mixed extraneous political issues with industrial questions and they have been unwilling to have any dealings with unions having such leaders.

Evidence presented before the Royal Commission on Indian labour 59 years ago highlighted this issue. The Government of Bengal said:

"In the case of the majority of strikes, the negotiation machinery was conspicuously absent and in these cases the influences behind the strikes were more political than economic".

The Bombay Mill Owners' Association declared:

"We realise that our workmen are incapable of forming

20. ROYAL COMMISSION ON INDIAN LABOUR, ii, Part 1, Manager of Publications, New Delhi, 1933, P.226.

21. Ibid. v, Part 1, PP.119-120
unions unaided, and require the guiding hand of
disinterested (Social) workers, but that does not mean
that every political busybody should be encouraged to
take a hand in inciting strikes. It is unfortunate for
the cause of labour that some people should be
determined to import into every question connected with
our workers the idea that capital and labour are
hostile to one another and the interests of one are
necessarily opposed to those of the other".

The president of the labour union in Jamshedpur, an
outside leader, stated that politicians give different
colours to labour disputes and raise false issues and
that sometimes labour disputes degenerate into political
issues. He added:

"Politicians are generally very prone and quick
to catch hold of any mass of men they might try to help.
Generally what sort of help is rendered is best known
(only) to them, but it is not always of a very happy
nature (for) they try to raise all kinds of political
issues....."

22. Ibid., i, Part i, P.405.
23. Ibid., iv, Part ii, P.369.
24. Ibid.
1.5.2 Weak collective bargaining

The injection of extraneous political issues in labour disputes has adversely affected the conduct of genuine negotiations not only when it occurred but sometimes even when it did not, because it was common enough for management to allege such injection and use it as an excuse for refusing to negotiate. It is possible that this practice has to some extent been fostered also by the employers' refusal to deal with the workers until confronted by an influential outside leader acting on behalf of the workers. In such circumstances, the political leader has been tempted to use all the arguments at his command including political argument to yield to the workers' demands. However, as a result of this tendency to mix political issues with labour issues, the legitimate causes of the workers have often suffered.

1.5.3 Increase of labour management conflicts

Introduction of political issues in legitimate labour disputes has resulted in the promotion of labour management conflicts by politicians for the purpose of

advancing their own political aims. They have exploited the unsatisfactory labour situation to demonstrate their strength.

Politicians have led the organised labour to participate in the hartals (cessation of work and business activity) and political demonstrations. Labour participation in such hartals and demonstrations which was frequent during the days of freedom struggle has continued even after the country became independent.

One of the features of political leadership in Indian trade unions is the holding of multiple offices by a political leader. It is because the number of unions controlled has become the barometer of one's political power and prestige. As a consequence the trade union movement has been getting "only part-time, part-attention and part-alliance from a large section of its leadership." Furthermore, many of these political leaders have no intimate knowledge of the

industry or trade with which they are concerned as union leaders and have no proper understanding of the problems involved, with the result that they have often made faulty representations or misrepresentations of the labour view-point. In this connection, it has also been pointed out that such leaders have a tendency to fix the 'Striking point' at too high a figure. This has been the result of their under-estimation of the positive costs to the workers of industrial disputes and overestimation of the advantages likely to accrue from the struggle, apart from points at issue, in the shape of recognition, prestige, opportunity for propaganda, etc.

1.5.4 Strenuous relations between employer and unions

The political involvement of trade unions has also affected the trade unions' relations with the employers. Competition among the rival unions with political motives have made unreasonable claims on management. It may be a common union tactic to demand more in the context of rival unionism to prove the superiority of the claimant union over a competing

32. Ibid., P. 139.
There is always the lurking fear that a rival union may promise more and even manage to secure better results, thus attracting the workers' support to itself. In these circumstances, it has become difficult to conduct labour management negotiations on a basis of responsibility and reasonableness. A veteran trade union leader has commented:

"Bitter experience has shown that negotiations cease to be honest and straight foreword when there is a multiplicity of rival unions. None of the unions will dare accept a good and realistic offer of a concession to conclude an agreement lest a rival make a bid to canvass support for a still higher claim".

Thus, the political parties and their agents have played a lead role in the development of trade union movement. In the initial stages they have helped the growth of movement by contributing 'leadership and moral support'. Later, the developments that have taken place in the scenario of the country have brought the union movement more or less under the complete control of political parties. As such, the political parties with

their difference in ideologies and many times due to personal rivalry among the political leaders themselves, have brought structural disunity thereby ushering in rivalry into the trade union movement. All these lead to dissipation of union leadership and financial resources; lack of loyalty to their unions among members; workers indiscipline; and organisational weakness in the struggle for improvement in labour's working and living conditions. Besides these consequences on unionism, the political involvement of trade union movement has affected industrial relations too. It has increased the antagonism of the employees towards the union movement, handicapped the development of collective bargaining and affected the trade unions' relations with employers.

An irony of Indian Trade Union Movement is that though it has become a perennial source of problems (as discussed above) proper solutions have not been so far found out. At the zenith of all these issues lies the workers, whose interests remain mostly unprotected. This situation calls for deeper understanding of the problem of Indian trade union leadership, its structure and quality at different levels. Some studies have already been made in this direction. However, there remain many
gaps which require fuller understanding in order to get over the problem.

1.6 A REVIEW OF RESEARCHES AND LITERATURE ON TRADE UNION LEADERSHIP

By and large the literature on trade unions can be classified into three broad categories: (a) historical studies, (b) studies relating to unionism at the area level and industry and enterprise level and (c) of leadership. Keeping in view the long history and coverage of the Indian trade union movement the studies in the field have to be considered very limited. Further, many of them are historical. The studies on trade unionism at the area, industry and enterprise level have focused their attention on the growth and structure of unions. As such, the present review of researches and literature on trade union leadership does not claim to be exhaustive, since it is not possible to trace out all the studies on the subject. Some studies which are not of much significance and which are of repetitive description have been avoided.

The leadership factor of trade unions has not received adequate attention of the researchers. In India, the first full scale study was not published until 1967. Even subsequently also, the studies with an
exclusive focus on leadership are only a few. As a result, this aspect despite its significance, has not received the attention it deserved. As such, an attempt is made to present the salient features of some of the important investigations on the trade union leadership.

34. Dange devotes his report 'on Indian Trade Union Movement', to the trade union leaders associated with Communist Party of India. He calls upon a leader to learn how not to run ahead of the masses nor lag behind them taking into account the traditions, loyalties and antagonisms of the workers' tribe, caste, village, religion etc., apart from considerations pertaining to class struggle.

35. Punekar surveyed trade union leaders in Bombay and came to the conclusion that there are no differences among the INTUC leaders in terms of age,


education or ability. Mathur and Mathur consider outsiders as a necessary evil in trade unions until they can be replaced by consciously trained insiders.

Vaid in his sample covers 27 leaders of seven textile unions in four factories and 35 leaders of 20 banks involving 11 unions in Delhi. The study describes at length the historical background of the emergence of these leaders. A trichotomous typology of big name leaders is constructed. The status, authority and role of the three types of leaders is then briefly dealt with. Mathur and Raman interviewed 30 trade union leaders in Agra and found that insiders are motivated by the spirit of service while outsiders work for monetary benefits. They are useful and also harmful in some respects. They suggest that in order to check opportunist and careerist outsiders and until insiders are able to take over, workers should be properly educated by the Government and by the goodhearted outside leaders themselves.


37. Vaid, K.N., GROWTH AND PRACTICE OF TRADE UNIONISM—AN AREA STUDY, Delhi School of Social Work, Delhi University, Delhi.

More elaborate studies have been conducted by Punekar and Madhuri and Mathur. Punekar and Mathuri made an all India study of the union leadership and sought to provide a profile of union leaders by providing data on their socio-economic background, work schedules, remuneration, training, attitude etc. The study showed that contrary to the general impression that most trade union leaders are 'outsiders' only 33 percent of them belong to this category.

Mathur conducted a similar study of trade union officers in Rajasthan, UP and Delhi. He found that 27.5 per cent of his 298 respondents to be outsiders. The conflict experienced by union leaders between their loyalties to trade unions and obligations to kith and kin formed the subject matter of the enquiry made by Mohan Das.


The study undertaken by Thakur and Munson analysed the political character of the unions as well as the positive role their leaders were playing in making available their known-how to several union organisations. Munson and Nanda made a study of the influence of legal framework on trade union leadership in three large cities. The study appears to suggest that the pre-occupation of leaders with legal issues hardly leaves any time for them to attend to organisational activities. Sheth and Jain have enquired into the status and role of local union leaders of a textile mill in North India. Bogarett analysed political unionism in its positive and negative aspects, showing how a particular leadership strength, by rising above political pressures, could enhance the workers

42. Thakur, C.P., and Munson Fred., C., INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN PRINTING INDUSTRY (Chapter 3), Shri Ram Centre for Industrial Relations and Human resources, New Delhi, 1969.


interest, while failure was due to those who succumbed to political pulls.

There are a few studies conducted recently. They are reviewed hereunder:

46. Dayal Iswar and Sharma Baldev, R., MANAGEMENT OF TRADE UNIONS, Shri Ram Centre for Industrial Relations and Human Resources, New Delhi, 1976.


Jaspal Singh has attempted his study in Punjab. He interviewed 300 leaders selected from eight towns in Punjab. The various aspects covered in his study, includes process of recruitment and training of the leaders, their relationship with the followers, Government, political parties. etc. He found that: a) The trade union leaders themselves knew their unions are weak, unstable and without continuity due to factionalism within as well as multiplicity and rivalry without, fluctuations in size of membership, lack of finances etc.b) The recent industrial laws and mechanisms have raised the number of cases brought up before the various administrative departments and reduced trade unions to free shops for legal advice.c) The workers as well as their leaders regard them as something required only during crises, a perpetual organisation being considered unnecessary.d) The acquisition and holding of leadership continues to be influenced by traditional factors like region, religion, 

Many trade unions have been run by persons active in political parties. Union leaders with political aspirations devote more time to trade union activity. Union strategy includes political agitation and, The political leaders play an important role not only in stimulating the formation of unions but also in training union leaders. Political leaders should act as reference models for trade unionists. He also opined that in the existing model of industrial relations even the effectiveness of trade unions depends on the extent to which they are willing to and capable of influencing the Government.

Acharji developed a leadership profile on the basis of the information collected through structured interview schedules administered to 70 union leaders at the plant level in Jamshedpur.

Santosh sood examined the prevailing political alignments of the trade union leadership in Punjab, its perception of its own role and that of others, the nature and extent of its militancy, its


point of view on problems relating to the working class in general and its style, and made an attempt to correlate these with factors like age, religion, caste, rural/urban background, educational level and other data on the personal backgrounds of the respondents.

53
Edvin Masihi tried to focus on the leadership aspect of trade unions. Based on interview data of 215 trade union leaders of seven textiles unions of Ahmedabad, he presented a picture of these leaders, which includes their socio-economic and personal characteristics, the manner in which they have come up to be the leaders at various levels in their trade unions, the type of tasks that they performed for their members, their perception of gains and losses of their role and their views and opinions regarding several important aspects of industrial milieu.

54
A study by Madhusudhan Rao was an attempt to analyse the behavioural dimensions of leaders at grassroot level in Visakhapatnam, an industrial centre


in South India. He has selected a sample of 300 trade union leaders, who were drawn from 104 unions. The aim of the study was: to know the socio-economic and psychological factors influencing the individuals in emerging as union leaders, to enquire into the attitudes, qualities and styles cultivated by them and their relations with union organisations, managements political and social activities.

Prafulla Chandra Das made a study on trade union leadership in Orissa. It was focused on the nature, character, features, growth of the trade unions and trade union leaders and their involvement in the game of politics. He came with recommendations like checking of multiplicity of unions, regulation of political infiltration and intra-union rivalries and regulation of multiple trade union leadership. The study undertaken by Hiremath pertained to an analysis of the relationship between background factors, attitudinal factors and the role patterns associated with union leadership, by taking a sample of 242 union


leaders belonging to 52 sample unions of various types, sizes and affiliations with a view to identify emerging patterns of trade union leadership in India.

The brief review of the literature on trade union leadership is intended to present issues which are raised by the researchers and the varying emphasis placed on different aspects by them. The different aspects covered by them are: socio, economic and political background of the leaders, the factors responsible for them to emerge as trade union leaders, leaders' involvement in game of politics, values, beliefs and attitudes (goal profile) of leaders, political parties etc; whereas the industries surveyed by them includes: banking, printing, shipping, and textile. In respect of their geographical coverage, some have concentrated in urban centres such as Agra, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Visakhapatnam and some of the surveys are state wise, covering states such as Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh; and the rest are general in nature covering the unions across the industries and states in India. The review also reveals that there is not even a single study concentrating exclusively on political union leaders and their impact on unionism and industrial relations. And
no study has concentrated on union leadership of cement industry.

1.7 THE PRESENT STUDY

The present study - Impact of political union leadership on unionism and industrial relations - aims at assessing the impact of political union leaders on various issues influencing the unionism and the industrial relations. This study helps to probe deep into the qualitative aspects of leadership and the involvement of political leaders in the unions. Further, the study identifies the extent of contribution made by political leaders to the cause of unionism and industrial relations.

1.8 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The present study is limited to cement industry in Cuddapah district of Andhra Pradesh. Though the cement industry is scattered all over Andhra Pradesh and also in some other parts of the country, Cuddapah district has more number of large scale as well as small cement factories. In view of the heavy concentration of cement industry in Cuddapah district and also the too much politicisation of unions, it was felt appropriate to restrict the study to the cement industry. There are
also some other industries like mining, engineering, agro based industries etc., in the district, but they are not organised and do not have strong unionism of workers. Hence cement industry was considered appropriate for making this study.

The cement industry of Cuddapah comprises three large scale cement units: Cement Corporation of India (CCI, a public sector unit), India cements Ltd (IC, a private sector unit) and Texmaco Cements Ltd (Tc, a private sector unit). For the sake of convenience a sample of two cement factories (CCI and IC) i.e., one from public sector (CCI) and other from private sector (IC) are chosen, limiting the scope of the study to these two units. Further, the study confines to some important aspects such as the factors responsible for political leaders'involvement in unions, members' expectations from political union leaders, politicisation of worker unions, effect of political union leaders on the behaviour and militancy of members and office bearers, inter-union relations, development of internal union leadership, union finances etc., under 'unionism' category and the industrial unrest, negotiations, implementation of negotiation results, bargaining capacity of unions, grievance
handling, industrial violence, workers' indiscipline etc., under 'industrial relations' category.

1.9 OBJECTIVES

The following are the objectives of the study:

1. To make a general review of the trade union movement in Cuddapah district.
2. To examine the social background and political affiliations of trade union members and leaders in cement industry.
3. To know the extent of politicisation of worker unions.
4. To analyse the impact of political union leaders on unionism and industrial relations.

1.10 HYPOTHESES

On the basis of the pilot study, the following hypotheses have been formulated for the purpose of the present study.

1. Political union leaders promoted militancy and indiscipline among workers.
2. Political union leaders aggravated inter union rivalry instead of promoting cooperation and harmony among workers.
3. Political union leaders sacrificed the interests of the union for their personal and political interests.

1.11 METHODOLOGY

For the purpose of this study, both primary and secondary data have been collected and used. The secondary information has been obtained from the records and reports available at the offices of government and at the offices of trade unions as well as managements of selected units. The literature on the subject has been gathered from journals, periodicals, books, reports available at Indian Institute of Management (Bangalore), Shri Ram Centre for Industrial Relations (Delhi) and Libraries of Osmania University (Hyderabad), Andhra University (Visakhapatnam), S.V.University (Tirupati) and S.K.University (Anantapur).

The primary data has been collected from the union members and managerial personnel by administering separate questionnaires and through unstructured interviews. The opinions of management personnel on several aspects of unionism were taken with an intention of examining the information supplied by the union members. Views of union and management officials were taken as and when necessary to cross check the opinion
results (Statistical results). A pilot study has been conducted to understand the functioning of the units and the involvement of political leaders in unions and their impact on unionism and industrial relations. Social Scientists, such as Sociologists, Psychologists, Economists and Trade union leaders (of other units) were consulted in formulating the questions. The questionnaires for union members and managerial personnel were pre-tested at Cement Corporation of India plant. Twenty-five workers and twenty managerial personnel were interviewed for this purpose.

A Likert-type technique was used to prepare scales for the selection of statements to measure the attitude of union members and managerial personnel towards political union leadership. Correlation values between the individual statement score and total statements' score were taken to select the internally consistent statements. Point Biserial correlation was used for the purpose. Statements with significant correlation between individual statement score and total statements score were retained and included in the final questionnaire for union members and managerial personnel. To facilitate easy understanding, questionnaires were prepared in both English and Telugu (local language) and administered for non-managerial
employees. For the managerial personnel, the questionnaire was prepared only in English.

1.1.1 SAMPLE FRAME WORK

In determining the size and nature of the sample, the total employees of each unit were classified into managerial and non-managerial employees. Incidentally, all the non-managerial employees of both the units have enrolled themselves as union members. They were designated ministerial staff (tally checkers, store issuers, U.D.C., L.D.C., Account Clerks, Tool Keepers, Stenographers etc) Skilled workers (Fitters, welders, Plumbers, Diesel mechanics, Quarry Drillers, Maistrys etc.), Semi-Skilled workers (Mechanical attendents, Security guards, attenders etc.), Unskilled workers (Mazdoors, Sweepers, Ward boys and lab boys). Managerial employees include supervisors and executives.

The stratified random sampling technique is thought more ideal and suitable for selecting the sample from the managerial and non-managerial employees as they are found in all the departments of each unit and every department has homogenous characteristics. Hence stratified random sampling method is chosen for the present study.

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In order to arrive at the optimum percentage of respondents from managerial and non-managerial cadres, samples from the various departments, initially of 40 per cent, were taken from Cement Corporation of India Plant. The data was analysed to get the means of age and service. Then an additional 10 per cent was added to the original 40 per cent of the respondents and a set of new means for age and service were computed. The new means computed were in close agreement with the ones calculated from a 40 per cent sample. Also they were compiled with the mean age and service as calculated from the company records which were also close to the estimated mean age and service as obtained from the 50 per cent sample. Hence it was decided that a 50 per cent sample would be adequate for the study of this nature.

In the light of the above analysis, a sample of 485 union members and 119 managerial personnel were chosen from the two units. The tables 1.1, 1.2, 1.3 and 1.4 explain how the sample was drawn from the two populations of selected units.
TABLE 1.1

STRENGTH OF WORKMEN AND MANAGERIAL PERSONNEL OF VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS: THE UNION AFFILIATION OF WORKMEN, IN CCI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S1. Name of the Department No.</th>
<th>Total Manage-</th>
<th>Total work</th>
<th>CE</th>
<th>CWS</th>
<th>CW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rial staff</td>
<td>force</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. General Manager</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Management Services</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Personnel and Administra-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Time Office</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Materials Management</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Civil</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Electrical</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Instrumentation</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Production</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Maintenance and service</td>
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<td>213</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machanical</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Packing plant</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Mining</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Crushing</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

92  426  185  125  116

Source: Records of CCI and its unions.
CE : CCI Employees union, CWS: CCI Staff & workers union
CW : CCI Workers union.
### TABLE 1.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of the Department</th>
<th>Managerial</th>
<th>CE</th>
<th>CSW</th>
<th>CW</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management Services</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personnel and Administra-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tration Dept.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time office</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materials Management</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrical</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumentation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance and Services Mechanical</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Packing Plant</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crushing</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total                  | 46         | 93 | 62  | 59 |

50% of sample from the total managerial and unionised workmen of various departments at C.C.I.
TABLE 1.3

STRENGTH OF WORKMEN AND MANAGERIAL PERSONNEL OF VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS: THE UNION AFFILIATIONS OF WORKMEN IN IC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Name of the Department</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>IL</th>
<th>IE</th>
<th>IM</th>
<th>Workforce</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>office</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Personnel and Administration</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
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<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Civil</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>26</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Production</td>
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<td>52</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>72</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Maintenance and Service</td>
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<td>167</td>
<td>76</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mechanical</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Packing Plant</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
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<td>146</td>
<td>542</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Records of IC and its unions.
IL: India Cements Labour Union
IE: India Cements Employees Union
IM: India Cements Mazdoor Union.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Name of the Department</th>
<th>Managerial Staff</th>
<th>IL</th>
<th>IE</th>
<th>IM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>General Manager</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Management Services</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Personnel and Administra-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Electrical</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Instrumentation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Production</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Maintenance and Service</td>
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<td>84</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Packing Plant</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Crushing</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>73</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.11.2 TOOLS OF ANALYSIS

Primary data collected through structured questionnaires are subjected to statistical treatment. The weighted mean statistic has been extensively used to assess the impact of political union leaders on unionism and industrial relations. The procedure of calculation of weighted mean values and how these values should be understood in the study is explained in a very detailed manner at the beginning of the chapter i.e. impact of political union leaders on trade unionism.

1.11.3 TERMINOLOGY USED

The phrase 'political union leader' is used in the study to mean the leadership of trade unions by a politician.

1.12 PRESENTATION OF THE STUDY

The entire study is divided into five chapters:

Chapter I is introductory in nature. It highlights the trends in Indian trade union movement and the consequences of political leadership in unions. It also provides a brief review of studies
undertaken on trade union leadership, scope, objectives, hypotheses and methodology of the present study.

Chapter II provides an overview of trade unionism in Cuddapah district as well as in cement industry.

Chapter III analyses the impact of political union leadership on trade unionism.

Chapter IV analyses the impact of political union leadership on industrial relations.

Chapter V presents the conclusions of the study besides giving suggestions for improvement.

1.13 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

No study can encompass all the aspects of the situation it studies. It becomes all the more difficult where the researcher has to work under constraints of time and resources. The present study has the following limitations:

(a) As the primary data is collected by administering a structured questionnaire for the union and management respondents it may not be cent percent accurate and there is scope for bias in filling questionnaires.
(b) A managerial approach is given to study the problem and to suggest appropriate measures, if any. Hence, a deeper analysis from the viewpoint of psychologists, sociologists, economists and political scientists might not find a place in the study.