CONCLUSION

With the onset of the foundational re-structuralizing forces in the wake of tremendous pace of industrialization and modernization, human society has witnessed multi-complex patterns of socio-economic behaviour. A conspicuous feature of modern society has been an overall process of dislodgement of various types and forms. Both on the international and national levels, we see an unparallel movement of different socio-economic agents criss-crossing from one continent to another and from one region to other.

In India we see before our very eyes a classical feudal economy being exposed to industrialization and modernization process. This has resulted in various types of movements and counter movements on the part of laborers to find ways and means for making a living. There is a frequent inter-state exchange of laborers in multiple public and private sectors. Kashmir being comparatively a backward state in terms of industrialization, we find huge numbers of skilled, semi skilled and unskilled laborers moving from rest of India to join various economic undertakings. Also different forms of laborers come from Jammu, Ladak and other areas of the state to find a living. Naturally, they organize their different unions or mostly join the Unions already functioning over there.
The main objective of the present study is to provide a systematic account of origin, growth and present character of trade Unionism and to show the attitude of the migrant workers (masooras) towards modernity. The first and the introductory chapter shows in a wide detail the setting of the field under study. The IIInd chapter is of research techniques employed during the study. The IIIrd chapter shows the origin, growth and other aspects of trade unionism of migrant workers of Kashmir. The IVth chapter shows the modernism. The discussions in these chapters leads us to the following main conclusions.

Trade Unionism movement in Kashmir is about half a century old. The study of its origin and growth reveals that it has passed through three main stages. The three stages consists of birth, consciousness and development. The first stage was marked by the birth of the movement and continued up to the year 1947. The workers conditions was deplorable, they could not organize themselves into Unions mainly because of their illiteracy, ignorance, poverty and social backwardness, pressure of under-employment and unemployment, a combination of social, economic and political factors, stresses and strains of the Maharaja's autocratic rule, ill-treatment to workers by the dictatorial officialdom, enthusiasm generated by the Indian trade Unionists, motivated the workers of Kashmir.
to organize. The failure of workers initial attempts to form a stable organizations of their own led them to seek the help of outsiders, philanthropists and political leaders. Trade Unionism is the primary mechanism through which workers try to participate. The employers in their attempts try to maximize the production, imposed stricter disciplinary measures and further increased working hours and workloads and this all was not accompanied by increase in worker's earnings. Thus economic and non-economic factors together made workers exhaus-
tive and in turn realized the urgent need to organize in order to protect and safeguard their own interests.

The second stage starts after 1963. The repeated successes of the Indian trade Union's induced the trade union leaders of Kashmir, who in turn solidly tried to develop trade unionism in Kashmir. Earlier it was thought that the workers organizations are anti-government but it proved vague and futile with the passage of time and government reacted itself to better the conditions of workers. The communists, who led the Masoodar Sabha, tried to crept into the production complexes of the state and succeeded highly in bringing and developing conciousness amongst the illiterate workers. Their slogans of "Exploitation" and "capitalism" have had a greater appeal to the worker's sentiments.

The IIIrd stage starts when the Sheikh Abdullah took again the charge of the government in his hands after a lapse
of 22 years. The workers felt a breath of relief. This happened after the year 1973. The government immediately took keen interest in developing the state industrially. The number of the registered trade unions increased and the membership ratio grew manifold. There are many more federations in the state and the state central labour union is under the patronage of state government. The popular government is trying to solve the labor problems through various methods and means.

One of the interesting features is seen in the process of trade unionism in Kashmir. Earlier, the year 1973, the Congress government (state branch) also tried much to overcome the problems of workers but the workers were not satisfied. After the year when Sheikh Abdullah took the charge of the government, a remarkable change is felt amongst the illiterate and ignorant mass of workers of the state. The workers are satisfied even if their demands are sometimes pending in the files.

The structural analysis reveal that in the state (Srinagar and Gulmarg) the trade union is developed on the basis of plant or industry. Some of them function as independent Unions (like HMT - Watch factory) having no formal affiliations with any other or there are almost maximum number of trade unions which are having formal links with the national federations.
These federations exist at the state level and function either as a branch of national federation like INTUC (Indian National Trade Union Congress) AITUC (All Indian Trade Union Congress), HNS (Hind Mazdoor Sabha) or as independent federation like State Central Labor Union. The state branches of INTUC, AITUC and HNS function dependently on the national federations and are under the patronage of different political parties. State Central Labor Union is under state government’s patronage at this time and claims the highest membership of the workers.

The organizational set up of unions is quite coordina-
tive (with good system of vertical and horizontal structures).

The Srinagar and Gulmarg experience shows that in the state of Jammu and Kashmir the trade Unions are increasing the surface - area for the workers to join. The Union membership is enormously increasing from 1800 (in the year 1974) to 6311 (in 1978). The degree of unionization is also predominantly swelling and the table 3 in chapter IIIrd show that the degree of unionization increases from 12.3% (1974) to 46.4% (1978).

The state has to go a long way to give a modern shape to the industries and trade Unions in Kashmir. Earlier to 1973 there were also Unions but the Union membership was limited.

Prior to 1973 no written record is available signifying the strength of workers in any industry membership ratio.
and the degree of unionization was not to the extent to make trade Unions fertile to do some substantial work for the working masses. But recent trends have brought vibrating sense among the workers (migrants together) to join Unions so as to get benefits through joint efforts.

Further, increasing number of registered trade Unions and increased degree of unionization do not alone correspond to the high adequacy of trade Unionism workers participation in trade Union activities is also a question to be discussed. It is confirmed during this research study that migrant maooors education, marital status, wage satisfaction length of services and age are significantly associated with trade Union participation. In general low educated, unmarried; middle aged (i.e. 20 - 30 years of age); new comers or freshers (i.e. respondents at the service length of 5 - 10 years) and those migrant maooors who are not satisfied with their wages take active and aggressive part in Union activities. It is also seen that migrant maooors of Srinagar and Gulmarg join Unions mostly to "Get raise in wages" or "to Get bonus". This is shown in table 4 and 5 of the IIIdrd Chapter.

The chapter IIIdrd also shows that the trade Unions in Srinagar and Gulmarg are closely knitted with political parties. Unions have been promoted, organized and controlled by political parties and political leaders continue to dominate the Unions
even now. No doubt, workers could gain power only through organizations but they lacked the ability and the power to bring about this organization. It needs a vocal leadership. There are suggestions that trade Union movement should be depoliticized. But the influence of political leaders on trade Unions is so much that it is better to call them "political Unions" and, however, in the prevailing conditions in Kashmir the depoliticization seems rather impossible. It would take time to neutralize the influence of political leaders on trade Unions and the actual problem is to avoid undue dependence on politicians and political parties who subordinate the Unions to their political activities. Likewise, the trade Union members is to be encouraged to take the leadership of the workers and function independently.

Independent functioning of trade Unions is not possible. Workers are considered the revolutionary agents because work stoppages immediately tell up on the stomach of the state. The government considers the trade Unions as the principal intermediary which because of its popular character can enable the government to reach workers, attend to their needs, retain support and maintain discipline. By and large, Union leaders do not view themselves or their organizations in this light.

As representatives of workers they make demands on employers and government, launch struggle and exert pressures
to back their demands, but are generally ready to settle honourable compromises. The dichotomy in expectations and the conflict in roles as viewed by the government and the union leaders have been responsible for several paradoxes. The relationship between the government and the Unions is an odd mixture of cooperation and clashes of interests. The paradox do not end here. The third existing party or group i.e. opposite political groups and their leaders exploits the "clashes of interests" —— which is the strong point and always try to develop a confusion between the government policy and the union's interests. This brings in the militant conflict. However, in the Kashmir experience the strikes, conflicts and lockouts are not encouraged at the government level mostly because the state is considered for a long period a politically disturbed area. The government tries to come up to the problems of the workers to neutralize the revolutionary nature which is considered hidden in the workers working force.

Over all, organizing labor is not a course but through trade unionism, it will help for planned economic development. It will prevent the growth of the evils of industrialization and economic inequalities. If not confined to the protection and advancements of the members interests at all costs and by all means it would develop an ethics and a code of behaviour. While helping their own members, it would contribute to the
improvement of an underdeveloped economy and help the state to develop a new social and economic philosophy. The trade unions have to drive both the workers and the community.

Our trade Unions are, no doubt, weak, unstable, poorly organized and deficient in internal discipline. To this task of strengthening and stabilizing trade union movement every one connected with it should contribute. The government, the employer, the trade Unionist, the social and political worker each can further the development of trade Unions along proper lines.

The greatest stumbling block in the way of labor organization is the illiteracy and ignorance of labor. Our workers not only cannot read and write but their knowledge of affairs is confined to what they are told by their jobber or mistry. They do not understand all the implications of collective action, mutual help and goodwill. To develop trade Unions properly it is necessary to remove the ignorance of workers. Government and employers are supposed to educate the workers through press, class-rooms, radio, television and through movies. The responsibility lies, however, on the government, other agencies can help and supplement the efforts.

In continuation to trade Unionism the study is also concerned to see the extent to which migrant mazooors (workers) are modernised. There are divergence of opinions about the
modernization process. In this research study, as described earlier, Daniel Learner's model is employed. This model constitutes political participation, mass-media exposure and empathy. Different writers have employed different indicators to measure the political participation but in this study some selected indicators are employed to measure political participation and are shown in Table 1 to Table 4.b. So far as "frequency of talking politics" according to residence, income and education is concerned, it is shown that maximum number of urban respondents talk politics "time to time" (See Table 1). High income group respondents also talk politics "time to time" and low educated migrant males or "talk politics nearly every day." (Table 1.b).

Table 2, 2a and 2b, shows that maximum number of urban males "contribute time in a political campaign" and maximum number of low income grouped and low educated respondents" attend a political rally during a political campaign."

The table 3, 3a and 3b shows that maximum number of urban males, high income group and low educated respondents participate in national/local elections.

The table 4, 4a and 4b shows that maximum number of urban male migrant males or are the members of national conference party. The rural migrant males also are the members of national conference party or other parties but they are not
so much active. Further, low income grouped and medium educated respondents take maximum membership in the national conference party.

Further, the indicators to measure the mass-media exposure the following are selected and shown in table 5 to table 8b:

a. Newspaper reading.
b. Magazine reading.
c. Radio listening.
d. Cinema or movies.

In consideration to the above table 5, 5a and 8b shows that maximum number of urban male migrants, high income group respondents read newspapers "occasionally" and high educated respondents read "regularly."

The table 6, 6a and 6b shows that a considerable proportion of male urban migrants read magazines "once week" and high income group respondents and low educated respondents read magazines "occasionally."

The table 7, 7a and 7b show that maximum number of male urban migrants listen radio "A no. of times a week" Rural male migrants also listen radio to the maximum number. Low income group respondents and medium educated respondents listen
radio "regularly" and "once a week" respectively.

The table 8, 8a and 8b shows that rural and urban male migrants go to movies "occasionally". Medium income grouped and medium educated respondents go to movies "occasionally".

The above tables reveal that migrant males participate considerably in political participation and are also exposed considerably to mass-media. The following table 9, 9a and 9b shows the level of empathy among the migrant males. The urban males do have medium level of empathy. The high income grouped respondents do have the high level of empathy and high educated respondents do have the high level of empathy. This puts in total that residence, income and education effects the level of empathy and high income and high education results in high level of empathy.