CHAPTER TWO

METHODS AND FIELD

1. Methods of Inquiry and Analysis
2. The Field
3. The Sample
Methods of Inquiry

An attempt is made under this heading to elaborate various methods adopted and techniques employed in carrying out the study. Particular reference is made to the tools and techniques employed in collecting the data, procedure followed in drawing the samples and finally to the methods of data analysis which help arrive at generalizations. As mentioned at the outset, the main thrust of the study is to probe into the structural and functional aspects of union organization with a view to understand how exactly the unions administer themselves and also to identify the factors that lead to oligarchic and democratic tendencies in the union government. Commensurating with these diverse objectives, a variety of tools and techniques that suit best the requirements of the present study are adopted.

The study requires data pertaining to the type, size, affiliation pattern, age, recognition status and so forth of the unions which could serve as important variables in the analysis of findings. Further, data pertaining to various structural features of union organization are also necessary as the main thrust of the study is organizational analysis of trade unions. There is no better tool than an information schedule to elicit the data mentioned above.

It is a common-place observation that studies on structure of organizations which require factual information rather than attitudes and orientations, could be best accomplished with the help of a schedule rather than interview or observation method. Further, since the study also probes into the functional and administrative aspects of union organizations, it requires the researcher to employ information schedule. Furthermore, the management disposition towards union and vice versa, most frequently preferred and most effective method of resolving
industrial disputes, and so forth could be ascertained with the help of an opinionnaire interspersed in the schedule. As such the study depends on two principal instruments. Though these instruments are separate they are complimentary to one another and together elicit the data required for the present study.

The first instrument can be called an institutional survey schedule aimed at eliciting such information about the unions as the size, type, age, affiliation, jurisdiction, recognition status, union base and so forth. It also elicits information pertaining to union office, building, office equipment and furnitures, normal working hours, union fees, income, normal expenditure, union executive and its strength, composition, union constitution, elections, committees and sub-committees and so forth. In short, it focuses on institutional aspects of union organization. This information schedule could be filled up by consulting both the union office files and records available with the office of the Commissioner of Labour in Karnataka. These two sources could act as check for each other. Care is taken to ascertain the authenticity of the records and thereby the reliability of the data gathered. The researcher did not face much difficulty in introducing this tool.

The main instrument, however, is the information schedule. The information schedule is preferred to other methods of data collection in view of the fact that the information gathered with the help of a well drafted and pretested schedule is a very useful. Such schedule is an indispensable research tool, yielding data with a degree of reliability that no other method can match [Kerlinger, 1964: 475]. Writing about the significance of information schedule vis-a-vis other methods, Kerlinger states that best instrument available for founding people's behaviour, future intentions, feelings, attitudes and a reason for behaviour would be the structured interview conducted on a schedule which
consists of open-ended, closed and scale items [Kerlinger, 1964: 476].

The information schedule consists of different sections, each section eliciting data pertaining to one important aspect of the unions under investigation. It consists of such important sections as, unions, politics and outside leadership, unions, management and the industry, structure and functions, union government-conventions, legislature and executive, union constitution, union leadership, union elections and centralization and formalization.

Pilot Study

This information schedule was pretested on 10 unions in the Gulbarga division. This pilot study could greatly enhance the validity of the instrument. The pretest revealed that many of the questions required streamlining and refining so as to make them more valid and less ambiguous. Based on the experience of pilot study the schedules were revised and refined. The schedules so pretested and refined were introduced in the main field work. The pretesting also provided the researcher with necessary exposure to the field and the experience that was of considerable help to the researcher in carrying out the main field work.

The Field Work

As mentioned earlier, the information schedule was filled up by referring to the files of the union office and the records available from the office of the Commissioner of Labour. Some of the unions as well as officials in the Commissioner of Labour had to be persuaded a lot to part with necessary information. In some cases the information had to be sought exclusively from
the unions due to non-availability of information with the labour office. In such cases, the data were double checked to ascertain their authenticity.

The other information schedules were introduced in person to the top office bearers such as President, Vice-President, General Secretary, Joint Secretary and Assistant Secretary. They were interviewed with the help of main information schedule to elicit data pertaining to the main theme of the thesis. Many a time it was not possible for the office bearers to answer the questions off-hand. For example, they could not give details off-hand about the regularity of conventions, membership attendance at such conventions rank-wise representativeness of executive committee, regularity of and attendance at executive meetings, cases of violation of union constitution, turnover of union leadership, extent of competition and voting in union elections and so forth. In such cases, the union records could be referred to and necessary points could be taken down.

It needs to be mentioned here that, the office bearers were interviewed separately to see that the opinion of the one does not influence that of the others. Further, these opinions, wherever possible, were cross-checked with the relevant data for verification. For example, when the office bearers mentioned that a particular method as the most effective method in resolving industrial disputes, it was verified with the office records to know whether the method had actually been more effective than any other method with respect to that union. Similarly, to know the membership participation at annual conventions, not only the office bearers were asked to give an account but also proceedings of the general body meetings were studied. Thus the membership participation in conventions was finally classified as active, or somewhat active or inactive based on careful consideration of the opinions of the respondents as
well as the available records from the union office.

The office records were referred to and the important facts were taken down in the union offices themselves as there was some sort of reluctance on the part of unions to part with the office files for the purpose of home study or photocopying. This method was of considerable advantage to the researcher also because, in many unions the files and other records were not properly maintained and under such situations the researcher had to discuss with the union officials for clarification interpretation as well as supplementing the missing data. Since it was required to study the files and records at the union office itself, the union officials were readily available for such assistance and help on the spot.

On the whole, the response from all the unions was quite encouraging except for a few who needed to be persuaded. The union officials, especially of big unions, were found to be extremely busy people. The inside leaders had their jobs to attend in addition to union work and outsiders had either too many unions on hand or had political responsibilities to shoulder. The union officials were also busy with organizing, campaigning, litigation in connection with their unions. As such they appeared to be a bit difficult lot of people to be accessible for interview.

Methods of Data Analysis

The data so gathered were subject to various types of analysis. An attempt is made here to give an account of the data analysis.

The qualitative data gathered from the field were
transformed into quantitative data by using suitable scoring and coding techniques. The various field information were classified and each of the categories were scored giving due weightage. Similarly, each variable was classified into different attributes with suitable scoring techniques and these categories were assigned different codes. A coding key was prepared for the purpose of reference and also decoding the coded data. The data so quantified were transferred to coding sheets for the purpose of analysis.

Computation of these sheets yielded various types of tables such as linear tables, bivariate and multivariate tables. The tables used in the analysis of data are overwhelmingly bivariate, as linear tables are of less scientific value in the analysis of organizational structure and multivariate tables are too complicated for so small a sample of 156 unions. However, for the purpose of giving a profile of unionism, as well as traits of unionism as ascertained by the study of the sample of unions, linear tables are also made extensive use of.

Arithmatic mean (average) proportions and fractions are used for the purposes of description. On the other hand Chi-square ($X^2$) test (coefficient of covariation), are used to analyse and interpret the data. These statistical methods are specifically used to ascertain the association between the variables and also the strength of such association. The findings based on such an analysis are interpreted as per the requirements of the tests.

In concluding this section, it could be stated here with confidence that methodological aspects of the study were most carefully considered giving no scope whatsoever for any lapses. It was borne in mind that the very validity of the findings could be undermined or questioned if the study allows lapses in
methodology. Further, it was also realized that the strength of any research endeavour lies in its methodology and as such, it deserves to be given high priority among all the research commitments. As such, maximum care was taken to guarantee the validity, reliability and the objectivity of the data. Utmost care was taken to see that all the principles and procedures meant for collecting and analysing the data were meticulously followed. However, the combination of many methods, which suits best a complex study as this was tried instead of relying on just one method. With this note on the methodology of the study we may pass on to consider the frame work of analysis.

Frame-Work of Analysis

An attempt is made under this section to define the concepts used in the body of thesis and explain numerous measures of organizational analysis devised for the present study. The study purports to develop and apply numerous indices to identify, measure and explain various structural properties of trade unions, and in doing so, it assigns specific contextual meaning to various concepts and variables in the structural analysis of trade unions. In the absence of standard terms and also standard measures of structural properties of organizations, particularly of trade union organizations, it becomes more than pertinent to devise and operationalize concepts, measures and variables to be employed in the analysis of trade union organizations. As such, an attempt is made here to give an account of those concepts, measures and variables that are used in the body of thesis to follow.

It could be mentioned here that there is no single study so far which has standardized indices to measure nature and extent of membership participation in decision making in unions, extent
of political involvement among unions, influence of rank and file
on the general policies of the union and so forth. As such, suitable methods and measures are adopted to devise indices to
identify and measure variables pertaining to union structure and
union functioning. Further, combining scores of unions on these
indices, composite indices are developed which could indicate
the nature and extent of democratic and oligarchic tendencies in
trade unions. All the indices are so devised as to give us the
most realistic estimation of democratic tendencies in the unions.
A few of these concepts, indices and variables are explained
here.

The unions were classified broadly into three types as
industrial, service, and white-collar, depending on the type of
industries wherein they were operating. Unions were also
classified on the bases of size, age, recognition status,
jurisdiction, affiliation status and so forth. However, the
stratified proportionate random sampling based on type and
size.

The unions were also classified on the bases of their
political affiliation and extent of political involvement. The
political involvement of the unions was further classified as high
if there was no difference between union work and party work,
and was classified as moderate if involvement was restricted to
periodical campaigning for the party and having one or two party
functionaries on union executive. Whereas, it was considered as
'low' if there were no definite obligations on the part of union
toward the party and remained only as a sympathizer.

Further, extent of outside leadership was also classified
as high (more than 25 percent of the office bearers), moderate,
(10-25 percent) and low (less than 10 percent) keeping in view
the recommendations of the National Commission on Labour, which restricts the outside leadership of 25 percent of the total number of office bearers. Further, depending upon the position occupied by the outside leaders as well as their influence and 'Say' in policy making of unions, their functional importance in the union affairs was classified as 'high', 'moderate', and 'low'.

The consensus with which the union policies were formulated, extent of adherence to the union decisions and contracts of unions with the management, membership support to the actions taken by unions and nature of membership response to strike call by the union were taken as indices of union solidarity.

Since type of unionism practiced has important implications for the functioning of a union, unions studied were classified as belonging to three types of unionism namely, business unionism, welfare unionism, and ideological unionism. It is assumed here that the goals pursued by the unions have determinate role to play in deciding the strategies adopted by them and might eventually foster a particular type administrative machinery. Further, goals pursued by the unions were classified as instrumental (wages, bonus, fringe benefits), intrinsic (working conditions, compensations, welfare) and ideological (working-class solidarity, workers' participation in management, emancipation of working class).

However, main indices of union democracy are frequency of conventions (general body meeting), participation of membership in such conventions, influence of membership on decision making process, areas and mode of membership participation, freedom to express opposing views, responsiveness of leadership to the
desires and aspirations of membership, functioning of union executive and practices such as referendum and strike ballots. A survey of literature on union democracy would highlight the utility of these indices in ascertaining the democratic and oligarchic tendencies in unions. As such, an attempt is made here to develop and operationalize these indices to be used in the subsequent chapters.

The unions are classified on the basis of frequency and regularity of conventions. The frequency of conventions was ascertained from the constitutions of the unions, and was classified as high (once a year), moderate (once in 1 to 2 years) and low (less frequent than once in two years). However, many unions have the tendency to flout the regulations regarding the frequency of conventions as specified in their constitutions. As such, the unions were also classified in terms of regularity with which the conventions were held, as high, moderate and low.

Leadership constitutes an important element in the analysis of union structure and functioning. Leadership styles and ideologies leave a stamp on democratic or oligarchic traditions of a union. As such an attempt is made in the study to probe into the responsiveness of leadership to the desires and aspirations of the membership and their style of functioning. It is assumed that, an union to be democratic requires its leaders to be responsive to the aspirations and will of membership with high degree of accountability, and be consultative in their functioning and accessible to membership. The unions under investigation were studied for their such traits and were classified accordingly. Even turnover of leadership is taken as an index of union democracy in studies conducted elsewhere. So, the unions studied were also classified in terms of the turnover of their leadership. Even the length of tenure in
of the present leadership was scored and combined with the scores on leadership turnover to develop a composite scale of leadership turnover in the unions studied which was classified as high, moderate and low.

In many studies on union democracy, frequency and regularity of union elections, extent of voting therein, extent of competition in union elections and structure of electioneering are taken as key variables. Accordingly, in the present study a survey of elections of unions under study was made to ascertain these variables.

Internal power structure of unions was another area of interest in the study of unions. This pertains to intra-union party system, presence or absence of organized party conflict, and presence or absence of structured groups. This also refers to the presence or absence of institutionalized opposition to the party in power. Lipset and others [1956] emphasize the existence of two party system within organization as a necessary precondition for union democracy. They further state that existence of two party system fosters necessary opposition to the party in power compelling it to be responsive to needs and aspirations of membership, and accessible to membership to ward-off their grievances. It also enables one party to capitalize on the lapses of the other to capture power rendering all the parties responsible and accountable in their actions. Following these lines, the present study seeks to focus on such features of internal power structure as mentioned above and develop a composite variable of internal structure of unions which could be classified as either democratic or undemocratic.

Two other structural variables of the unions taken into account for analysis are centralization and formalization. Though
no definite relationship could be assumed between formalization and union democracy, centralization could be assumed to be having inverse relation with degree of union democracy. Degree of centralization was ascertained taking into account the process of policy making, day-to-day decision making, distribution of executive authority and control in the union hierarchy and structural distance between the leadership and membership. Decentralization of authority and decision making and executive responsibility was taken as an index of union democracy whereas centralization was taken as an index of oligarchy.

Further, a few composite variables were derived by combining the scores of their constituent elements which could be utilized to analyze the determinants of union democracy. The composite variable of decision making process was made up of scores on areas of membership participation, mode of membership participation, extent of participation, influence of membership on decision making process, holding of referendum on important issues, mandatory strike ballot, and freedom to express opposing views. These scores were combined to give a composite measure of democratic decision making in the unions and the total scores were divided to represent highly democratic, moderately democratic and undemocratic decision making process in the unions.

Similarly, the composite variables of functioning of union, union executive, union constitution, union leadership, union elections were ascertained and suitably classified.

Extent of union democracy in turn was ascertained by combining scores of unions on each of the above mentioned variables such as decision making process, functioning of union legislature, functioning of union executive, nature of union
constitution, union leaders and leadership styles, union elections and internal power structure. As such, it could be observed that, the measure of union democracy, in the final analysis, is derived from combination of thirty three different variables pertaining to unions structure and function, and could be considered as more exhaustive and elaborate measure of union democracy than any attempted hitherto, particularly in the study of unions in Indian context. For classifying unions as highly democratic, moderately democratic and undemocratic, each of the seven composite variables as represented by each union were coded. Democratic was assigned code 3, moderately democratic was assigned code 2 and undemocratic was assigned code 1. Combination of all the seven variables pertaining to each of the unions yields a minimum score of seven and maximum score of twenty one. Hence, unions with score less than 10 were classified as undemocratic, unions with scores between 10 and 15 were classified as moderately democratic and unions with scores between 16 and 21 were classified as democratic. Thus, it could be observed that there are three distinct stages in the development of an index of union democracy. In the first stage structural and functional variables pertaining to one broad area of union structure and functioning. In the third stage, these composite variables are combined to derive a compound variable of union democracy. The extent of union democracy so determined and its relation to other characteristics of the unions studied or in other words, the determinants of union democracy are discussed in the core chapter.
The Field

The present investigation into union democracy is based on the study of unions in the state of Karnataka, Karnataka is one of the leading industrialized states in the union of India. There is no other state in India with as diverse industrial units as found in the state of Karnataka, and Bangalore, which represents the setting of the present study is one of the biggest and fastest growing industrial cities in India. There are more than 9000 public and private sector industries in diverse fields of manufacturing and services. Major public sector enterprises such as HAL, HMT, BEL, BHEL, BGML, ITI, NTC, BEML, IDPL, CCI, SAIL have their plants located in Karnataka. In addition there are state units such as NGEF, VISL, KSDC, KPCL and so forth. Further, giant private sector corporates such as Voltas, Tatas, Birlas, Larsen and Tubro, ACC, ITC, RIL, MICO, Ideal Jawa, Garware, Kirloskar, Binny and others have their prime plants located in Karnataka. Diverse manufacturing units such as Aeronautical, Automobile, Electrical, Electronics, Telecommunication Equipments, Textile, Machine Tools, Chemical, Pharmaceutical, Fertilizer, Mining, Cement, Ceramics, Tobacco, Synthetics, Leather, Paper, Sugar, Liquor, Steel, Food and Beverages are located in the state. Besides these manufacturing units there are large service establishments catering to the needs of transportation, power generation, power supply, water supply and sewage, communication, education and so forth. There are also varieties of business, trading and commercial establishments which could be classified as white-collar units. As such, it represents one of the highly industrialized regions in the nation with Bangalore known as the fastest growing industrial city in Asia.

As a consequence of this diverse and large-scale industrial
activity, the state of Karnataka represents a seat of intense labour activity as manifested in large number of trade unions of varied types, sizes, affiliations and ideologies. But all these industries did not appear all of a sudden like a bolt from the blue. The state of Karnataka has a rich and varied tradition supported by an efficient economic system incorporating diverse village and cottage industries and much cherished and preserved handicrafts, that are famous world over. However, there are many ups and downs in the industrial history of Karnataka, a brief account of which is given below to provide a necessary setting for the study.

Karnataka is one among the states that flagged-off industrial revolution in India. The industrial history of Karnataka is in many ways unique and remarkable. In fact, the state had sugar mills as easily as 1800. However, industrialization in true sense of the word may be said to have got off to a start only in the year 1884, when the first textile mill of the state was established. Another textile mill was set up in the year 1887. These mills had to suffer serious constraints right since their inception and as such, the government had to rush to rescue the units by assisting and supporting them in various ways including subscription to the share capital of these industries. This even marked an important land mark and started a new era in the industrial development of the region as it was the first instance of the state participation in industry. Hence, it could be stated that Karnataka set an example to the rest of the country by its capital participation, which later came to be labelled as public sector [Madaiah and Ramapriya, 1989:65].

Karnataka is endowed with rich and varied natural and mineral resources indispensable for industrial development. Much of the plan resources are utilized to create required industrial infrastructure by way of development of industrial estates with
requisite facilities and providing financial, technical services to the entrepreneurs of the state.

First two decades of the present century were marked by a phenomenal increase in the large-scale industrial activities contributing to rapid industrial growth. The industrial map of the state came to be spotted with rice mills, oil mills, saw mills, steel and brass foundries, tobacco industries, tile factories, distilleries and so forth. The real breakout of industrial revolution in true sense can be stated to have occurred between the outbreak of First World War and Indian Independence. It could represent an age which shaped the things to come, and as such could be considered as a formative period of modern industrial economy, as much for the state of Karnataka as for India at large. The war gave an unprecedented impetus for the industrial activity. Every sphere of industrial activity was geared to war effort and was producing beyond installed capacity to meet demands placed by the war. War also, provided protection from foreign competition to Indian industries both due to greater demands for the goods and blockade of sea routes. This protection was crucial for industries in their nascent stages. Further fillup to industrial growth was due to state taking up the entrepreneurial role to supplement and stimulate private enterprise. Several large-scale industrial units such as Mysore Iron and Steel Works, Government Central Industrial Workshop, Government Soap Factory, Government Sandal Oil Factory were established in the public sector between 1914 and 1924. On the other hand, in private sector, Krishnarajendra, Minerva and the Mahalakshmi Woollen and Silk Textile Mills, the Standard Tile and Clay Works Limited, Mysore Asbestos, Mysore Premier Metal Factory, Sindhurath Chromite and number of other concerns were started in the same period.

Two decades following 1924 were characterized by even
more intensive industrial activity and laid the foundation for strong industrial empire in the state. This was manifested in the variety and number of industrial concerns that came up during this period. This period witnessed the rise of quite a few industries of national importance due to which, Karnataka came to have more than a fair share in the industrial development of the country. Industries as diverse as cement, sugar, chemicals and fertilizers, paper, agricultural implements, electrical goods like lamps, transformers, batteries and insulators, bakelite products, machine tools, glass, enamel paints, porcelain, matches, spun pipes, potteries, chrome and leather goods, vegetable oil, tobacco and coffee, alcohol, silk and engineering were a few of the units established between wars. The credit goes mainly to the pioneering work done by Sir M. Vishweshwarayya, who was responsible for designing and constructing a number of important projects which paved the way for the industrial development of the state. A good number of industries were established in public sector by the state Government's policy, much before the initiation of Industrial Policy Resolution at the Centre. As a result of this commitment, the Government had to utilize most of its plan resources for industrial development. In the meanwhile, Government of India and Karnataka setup a number of giant industries of national significance such as HAL, BEL, ITI, BEML, HMT, MISL, KGML, HGM and so forth.

The reorganization of the state saw unprecedented industrial activity in the state due to which it rightly came to be known as a model industrial state. The progress made by the state, at least during 1950s and 1960, has no parallel elsewhere in the country. If we scan post-reorganization era, it becomes evident that there has been an enormous growth of industry in the state.
By the end of 1984, Karnataka had 357 large and medium scale industries, with a total investment of Rs.1,496 crores employing about 3.2 lakh people. More than half of the large and medium scale industries are located in and around Bangalore district leading to the exponential growth of the metropolitan city [The data pertaining to the field are given in the Appendix].

The data reveal that the total number of joint stock companies has almost doubled within a span of five years, from 1985 to 1990. It increased from 5341 in the year 1985-86 to 9624 in the year 1991: Similar trend could also be observed, with respect to both public and private companies separately too. However, it is significant to note that about 90 (90.6) percent of the total joint stock companies operating in the state during September 1990, are in the private sector and public sector companies constitute only about 10 percent. This might be attributed to the liberal industrial policy and incentives offered by the state to industrial activity. Even in terms of total number of industrial units the state ranks 5th in the country, representing one of the leading industrial states in the union.

Industrial Relations

Coming to the industrial relations scene, the state can be said to represent an ideal place for industrial ventures. Compared to other leading industrial states in the nation, Karnataka stands out as a state known for industrial peace and harmony. Traditionally, the state has been an ideal setting for industrial endeavours due to a favourable industrial relations climate. Long drawn and violent industrial disputes are a rarity enabling the peaceful and harmonious coexistence of labour and
capital. In a state with as many as 12,000 registered factories, and another 50,000 small scale registered units, couple of industrial disputes a month may be taken as an index of high degree of industrial peace.

The termination of war in 1945 and the consequent withdrawal of Defence of India Rules enabled the workers to organize and demand higher wages and better working conditions. The emergence of trade unionism also strengthened workers' solidarity, coupled with refusal of the employers to concede the demands of the workers on the grounds that cessation of war had put an end to the production of war materials reducing their ability to pay. So the number of strikes and lockouts reached an unprecedented level in 1947. It increased from only 4 strikes in the year 1936 to 132 in the year 1947-48.

The reorganization of the state in 1956 changed the industrial relations scene in the state due to the change in the labour jurisdiction of the state. The year 1957-58 witnessed an abnormal increase in the number of strikes and the number of man-days lost. This sudden increase was due, among other causes, to increase in the area and the number of industrial concerns coming under the jurisdiction of the reorganized state of Karnataka. The adoption of the code of Discipline in 1958 and the ratification of the Industrial Truce Resolution in 1962 in the wake of Chinese aggression at the Centre and in States led to a temporary reduction in the number of strikes and lockouts as well as man-days lost. So far as the trend is concerned, the data reveal that on an average 83 strikes take place per year in the state and the number of strikes per year is still coming down [Nagaraju; 1981]. Coming to the late eighties, the data indicate that on an average only 24 strikes take place per year in the state, which could be considered as considerably low.
Unionism in Karnataka

Since the present study purports to undertake an inquiry into the structural features of trade unions, a detailed account of unionism in the state becomes rather mandatory. This section strives to give a detailed picture of the field from which the sample of unions under investigation have been chosen. It is believed that this would lend a contextual relevance to the findings of the study and help interpret them against the necessary backdrop. It is also hoped that this background would enable the researcher to attempt meaningful and significant inferences in interpreting the findings which may otherwise elude explanation. In short an attempt is made to pin-down the finding to their own context by giving a brief history and the existing state of affairs pertaining to unionism in the State.

In the state of Karnataka the trade union movement was lagging behind the all India union system. There was not even a single union, not to speak of a movement, before 1920. Only minor and feeble labour activity at plant level could be observed. Manifestations of labour discontent though in a weak manner, could be observed in Mysore and Bangalore at Binny Mills around 1920. But what could be called as the first active, forceful, regular and well organized trade union of the state came into existence in the year 1929. Though the Trade Union Act at all India level was passed in the year 1926, the unions in the state did not have legal standing till as late as 1942, when the Mysore Labour Act was passed. As such the development of trade unionism in Karnataka was rather slow as compared to the overall situation of India.

This slow development of trade unionism in the state has been attributed to various factors such as absence of skilled
workforce in the beginning of the process of industrialization in the state and resultant willingness on the part of employers to offer better terms and conditions of work, lack of solidarity among the heterogenous labour force as a result of immigration of workers from neighbouring states of Andhra and Tamilnadu. These migrant workers along with the local. Labourers formed heterogenous workgroups affecting the solidarity. The slow growth was also due to the absence of favourable legislation promoting trade unions in the state. On the one hand, the government was not interested in enacting labour laws, and on the other, there was no compelling urge among the workers to have such legislation promulgated. In addition to these factors, there were many other that led to the slow and tardy growth of unionism in the state.

Labour movement in Karnataka between the Wars was mainly concerned with improving workers economic and working conditions. High profits during the war also enabled the employers to concede the demands of the workers. Bonus was one of the important economic gains of the working class during the war. But the post-war years saw an immediate recession affecting adversely the employers' capacity to pay. This dragged the workers on the warpath, and which in turn manifested in the increased labour activity. At the same time, the political parties succeeded in enlisting the trade union support for their political ends, making unions politically more conscious. This also led to an alliance of politicians and the working class in the State for mutual support as was found in other States too.

In the meanwhile the Government promulgated Mysore Labour Ordinanace in the year 1941. According to the provisions of this ordinance, union could, for the first time be registered and
be recognized by the employers. This ordinance gave a big fillip to union building activities in the State and by the end of the same year, there were registered and recognized unions in almost every industry in Bangalore. The Mysore Labour Act which was passed a few months later, did regularize the legal status of unions, made recognition of the unions by employers compulsory, restricted number of unions in each industry to one, limited the number of outsiders in the union to two and also the number of unions with which a man could be associated to one.

Further, immediately after the Second World War, the leaders were rather interested in the freedom movement and democratic governments in the states. The union movement could receive the attention it deserved only after the issues of larger national interest were attended to.

A few important unions were established in the State in the meanwhile. Hindustan Aeronautics Employees Association was formed in January 1947. The Imperial Tobacco Company Employees Union was established in the year 1949, and Indian Telephone Industries Employees Union was formed in the year 1950. It was only in the 1950s that the union movement in the State received the impetus it needed, which was mainly due to the worker struggles in the HAL and other such big industries and the large scale entry of white-collar workers into unionism. Seven unions of white-collar workers were formed between 1956 and 1958. These unions were formed mainly by the bank and insurance employees. In addition to these, unions were also formed in HMT and BEL in the year 1956. So by the end of 1950s, unionism was firmly entrenched in the State [Reindorp; 1971:28]. And ever since, there has been a phenomenal increase in the number of unions and total membership of unions. The following table gives an estimate of decadewise growth in the number of unions in the state as well as percentage increase in the number of unions at the end of every decade.
Table 2.1
Decadewise Fresh Registration of Unions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>No. of New Unions Registered</th>
<th>Total No. of Unions at the End of Decade</th>
<th>Percentage Growth from the Previous Decade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Till 1950</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-1960</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>377.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-1970</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>226.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-1980</td>
<td>1099</td>
<td>1442</td>
<td>320.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-1990</td>
<td>1663</td>
<td>3205</td>
<td>115.32</td>
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<tr>
<td>1991 March</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>3265</td>
<td>74.88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The table reveals that, in terms of percentage of increase from the preceding decades, the decade of 1951 to 1960 represents the highest percentage increase with increase in the number of unions by 377.27 percent. However, in terms of the absolute numbers we could see an uninterrupted increasing trend. The number of new unions registered each decade represent quite an impressive trend with only 83 new unions registered between 1951 and 1960, whereas the number of fresh unions registered between 1981 and 1990 being 20 times this number, that is, 1663 unions. It could also be noticed that the union building activity or unionization is almost in direct proportion to the industrial activity in the State. The increase in the number of unions registered in the State year after year is in proportion to the number of industrial units established in the corresponding years indicating a positive relationship between unionization and industrialization.
The data pertaining to the other traits are rather not very well compiled by the labour ministry of the State, nor there are published works dealing systematically with the growth and state of unionism in the State. However, based on the list of registered trade unions published by the Commissioner of Labour and whatever information that is available therein, an attempt is made here to portray a brief profile of unionism in the State highlighting other traits.

A brief report on unionism in the State, existing as on March 1991, is given here. In all, the state has 3265 registered trade unions as on 31st March 1991 and these are distributed over nine labour divisions comprising nineteen districts. The divisionwise distribution of the unions is given in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>No. of Unions</th>
<th>Percent of total</th>
<th>Total Membership</th>
<th>Percent of total</th>
<th>Average size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bangalore-I</td>
<td>949</td>
<td>28.06</td>
<td>2,25,838</td>
<td>38.61</td>
<td>237.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangalore-II</td>
<td>694</td>
<td>21.26</td>
<td>93,686</td>
<td>16.02</td>
<td>134.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mysore</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>8.73</td>
<td>46,227</td>
<td>7.91</td>
<td>162.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chikkamagulur</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>4.44</td>
<td>36,015</td>
<td>6.17</td>
<td>248.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangalore</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>8.48</td>
<td>79,905</td>
<td>13.67</td>
<td>288.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharwad</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>5.91</td>
<td>15,325</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>79.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgaum</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>8.30</td>
<td>29,892</td>
<td>5.12</td>
<td>110.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bellary</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>7.87</td>
<td>34,363</td>
<td>5.88</td>
<td>133.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulbarga</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>5.94</td>
<td>16,280</td>
<td>2.79</td>
<td>83.91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL: 3,265 100.00 5,85,024 100.00 179.18
The table indicates the uneven distribution of union over the state. It could be observed that, Bangalore Division-I and Bangalore Division-II together account for over 50 (50.3) percent of the total unions in the State. Even in the case of membership, this region accounts for 55 (54.63) percent of the total union membership in the State, whereas, Dharwad with 2.63 percent of the total union membership stands as the division with minimum membership contribution, Chikkamagulur division with only 145 unions represents the division with least number of unions. The data reveal that the average size of the union in the State stands at 179.18 members per union. However, variations do occur from this State average with regard to the average size of unions in each division. The range of variation being 79 (79.4) to 288 (288.46) members per union. The data also reveal that, only four divisions have the average size more than the State average, with Mangalore division being the one with largest average size at 288 members per union. The average size of the union gains significance in view of the fact that it can be an index of union proliferation and multiple unionism. In general, it could be stated that considerable regional variations are observed in the unionism in the State, with Bangalore Division-I and II together representing more than half of the total number of unions as well as the total membership. Even in terms of average size of the unions, regional variations range from as small as 79 to as large as 288.

The unions are also classified on the basis of type of industries in which they are operating. It is significant to note this classification because it is believed that unions operating in different type of industries tend to differ from one another in terms of ideologies, strategies, structure and functioning. This, in turn, may be attributed to the difference in attitudes and aspirations, ideologies and working conditions among workers in different types of industries.
It is evident from the data that as many as one half of the total unions in the State are operating in manufacturing plants or, what they are called in the present study as industrial organizations and another, one fourth of the unions are white-collar unions. Service unions, on the other hand, constitute only about 12 (12.84) percent of the total unions. This low percentage of service unions may chiefly be attributed to less number of service organizations on the one hand and to the lack of working-class consciousness or union building activity among service occupations. Further, large number of industrial unions might be the manifestations of the multiple unionism so widely prevalent in industrial organizations. In addition to these three types of unions, there are general unions, which are called so as they recruit members from a varieties of occupations and numerous organizations. These general unions normally have a spatial jurisdiction, from which they draw membership. But these unions are on decline these days, as they lack organizational affiliation and as a matter of fact, these unions have to bargain with diverse managements and to represent workers associated with varieties of working conditions.

Coming to the affiliation patterns of unions in the State the data indicate that the independent or unaffiliated unions constitute not only the single largest category but also represent majority of the unions in the state. The data reveal that as many as 75 (75.45) percent of the total unions registered in the state are unaffiliated ones and these unaffiliated unions represent as much as 51 (51.43) percent of the total union membership of the state. An attempt is made here to present the data pertaining to affiliation pattern among unions inspite of the fact that information on this aspect of unionism is not compiled systematically by the State Department of Labour. The table is prepared based on information as it is available in the general
list of registered trade unions in the state of Karnataka. (The data pertaining to Affiliation pattern of unions in Karnataka are given in the appendix).

It could be observed from the data that, INTUC is the federation with largest number of unions affiliated to it (278 unions) and is the federation with single largest membership following. On the other hand, HMS is the federation with least number of unions affiliated (34 unions) and with least membership following. But it is significant to note that all the affiliated unions together constitute only about one-fourth (25.57 percent) of the total unions. On the other hand these unions represent nearly one-half (48.57 percent) of the total State union membership. It is also significant to note that the unions affiliated to communist federations are by and large the bigger unions compared to unions affiliated to other federations. AITUC and CITU have the average size of 463.27 and 336.65 members respectively which is much larger compared to the average size of the unions which stands at 179.18 members per union.

Thus with regard to affiliation patterns of unionism in the State it could be stated in conclusion that there is a conspicuous tendency among the unions to remain independent or unaffiliated. However, the data also seem to suggest that the larger unions are more prone to be affiliated than the smaller unions. As many as 92.63 percent of the small unions are independent. This might reflect the tendency among the national federations to focus their attention on the larger unions to lure them, and apathy toward smaller unions due to their meagre contribution to the membership strength of the federation.

Though the State Department of Labour does not compile information on the extent of outside leadership in the unions, and
also the distribution of this trait with respect to the size, type and affiliation of unions, an attempt is made here to portray this trait based on the study of a cross section of unions in the State conducted some time back. This is one of the much debated issues pertaining to unionism and union leadership in India.

Outside leaders are those who are not the employees or workmen of the firm in which they lead a union. The trade union leadership has not developed yet as an independent profession by itself in India as found in the Western societies. And in the absence of educated work force, the unions normally depend upon the services of motivated, philanthropic and sometimes politically oriented outsiders. There are arguments both in support of as well as opposing the outside leadership in Indian unions. Many critics consider it as a necessary evil and have considered it as being functional to the growth of a mature union movement in India. For both historical and cultural reasons, outside leadership is considered as an integral ingredient of Indian trade union movement. It is believed that the Indian working-class is incapable of throwing up leaders from within to lead the movement due to ignorance, low rate of literacy, fear of victimization, lack of awareness about the rights and privileges of the working class and the traditional rigid class distinctions that hinder free interaction between the employers and the employees. In Indian unions, it is believed that the outside leaders who often belong to a much better position to negotiate with the management. Their greater command over English language and superior knowledge of law have justified their continued presence in the unions, as union management involves dealing with intricate legal matters and extended legal battles with the management. But on the other hand this outside leadership is considered as one of the
weaknesses of the Indian labour movement. It is assumed that
the outside leaders with no working-class background and with
no experience of work in the plant are myopic to the needs and
aspirations, stresses and strains of the workers they lead. It
is also charged that more often than not, they have political
overtones and as such owe their primary allegiance to the goals
of the political parties they represent rather than that of the
unions they lead. It is also alleged that they enter unionism
with narrow personal motives and seek to realize their political
dreams, that is, they make use of unionism as a platform or
forum to launch their political career. Instead of probing into
the validity of these assumptions, an attempt is made here to
just portray the nature and extent of outside leadership among
the unions in the State.

The study conducted sometime back reveals that the
proportion of outside leaders is about 14 (13.63) percent of the
total leadership in the State. These outside leaders tend to be
much better educated than the inside leaders, and tend to be
mostly associated (94 percent) with the unions affiliated to the
national federations. The study also reveals that these out-side
leaders tend to occupy higher positions in the union hierarchies
and have a high union career as compared to the insiders.
Association with multiple unions is rather conspicuous among the
outside leaders. The study revealed that nearly 85 (84.28)
percent of the outside leaders are associated with more than one
unions as leaders. They are found to be having high role
performance in the industrial relations and also in the
organization of industry. Further these outside leaders are found
to be most frequently associated with political parties (78
percent) and more often happen to be the political functionaries
working in the labour wing of their respective political parties.
Thus this region corresponds to the general assumptions held
with regard to the outside leadership in the trade unions
[Hiremath, 1989].
Setting of the Study

As mentioned earlier, the State is divided into four regions for the purpose of administration namely, Bangalore, Hassan, Gulbarga and Belgaum. These four regions are further divided into nine divisions. The present study is based on an inquiry into the structural features of unions in the two labour divisions of the State, that is Bangalore Division-I and II. Bangalore Division-I has labour jurisdiction over the Bangalore City Corporation Divisions (1 to 16, 17, 19, 43 to 50, 52 to 60), Bangalore North Taluka excluding the area within the Corporation limits, Doddaballapur, Devanahalli and Nelamangala Taluks of Bangalore district and the district Tumkur. The Bangalore Division-II covers the Bangalore City Corporation Divisions (18, 20 to 42, 51, 61 to 63), Bangalore South Taluka excluding the area within the Corporation limits, Ramanagaram, Channapatna, Kanakapura, Magadi, Hosakote and Anekal Taluks of Bangalore District and the district of Kolar. In all these two divisions together extend over the districts of Bangalore, Tumkur and Kolar.

The Bangalore regions* comprising Bangalore Division-I and Bangalore Division-II is characterized by heavy concentration of diverse industrial undertakings, both public and private. This region is recognized as one of the foremost industrial centres in the nation with as many as eight large public sector industrial undertakings and numerous medium and small public and private industries. This region has diverse types of industries such as aeronautical, electronic, electrical, heavy electrical, non-electrical.

*Foot Note: Though the official jurisdiction of the Bangalore Region extends over five districts namely Bangalore, Tumkur, Kolar, Mysore and Mandya, the Bangalore region referred to here is taken to represent Bangalore Division-I and Division-II, to which the present study is confined.
automobile, watch, telephones, textile, soap, chemical, plastic, food, brewery mining and pharmaceutical. Due to heavy concentration of industrial labour, and also of trade unions of different sizes and shades of political affiliation, this region represents a seat of intense trade union activities. As a testimonial to this fact, the data show that these two divisions together account for more than half (50.32 percent) of the total number of unions registered in the State. As on March 1991, these two divisions have 1,643 unions out of a total of 3,265 unions registered in the State, whereas, no other division has even 300 trade unions registered therein. Even in terms of membership, the data presented earlier reveal that, these two divisions together represent nearly 55 (54.63) percent of the total union membership of the State rendering this region a right place to study patterns of unionism. All the traits of Indian unionism are found associated with unions in this region. Political affiliation, multiple unionism, interunion rivalry, outside leadership are just a few traits being mentioned here. We find unions representing almost every brand of unionism, political affiliation, and political involvement. We also come across widest possible range of unions in terms of sizes and types. Further, the state headquarters of all the national union federations are found located in Bangalore providing necessary secondary information, as this is one of the very few regions where the data pertaining to unionism are better preserved and are up to date. As such this region provides an ideal setting for investigations into the structural features of unions. The findings based on the study of so representative a region as this may justifiably and reliably be extended to explain the realities pertaining to structural and functional aspects of unionism not only in other parts of the State but to Indian unionism in general.
However, this region differs from other regions in terms of size and affiliation patterns of unions. Though this region represents only about 50 percent of the unions in the State, more than 90 percent of the large unions in the state are operating in this region. And compared to other regions of the State, the proportion of independent unions is far less in this region. But despite all such peculiarities, this region represents a premier industrial belt with a mature and well-developed unionism. It is in this region that unionism has come to be one of the dominant, socio-economic institutions and has come to acquire definite structure and functions. And it is in this region that unionism has assumed the form of a movement and provides an opportunity for a fruitful sociological inquiry. So it is this setting which provides the backdrop to the present study and it is from this context that the sample of the unions studied is drawn.

The Sample

The present study is based on an inquiry into the structural and functional features of a sample of 156 trade union organizations drawn from the setting described in the foregoing pages. The 1,643 unions registered in the Bangalore Division-I and Division-II constituted the universe from which the sample was drawn. However, all the 1,643 unions are not active. At the time of study, quite a few of them, that is, as many as 299 unions had not submitted their annual returns for the preceding year to the office of the Commissioner of Labour which is a statutory requirement. The registration of those unions that do not submit their annual returns regularly is liable to be cancelled treating them as defunct. Since the study focuses on the functional aspects of the unions it was decided to delete such defunct unions from the list of unions for the purpose of sampling. Thus, the list of active unions in the region from
which the sample was to be drawn consisted of 1,345 unions. Further, it was assumed that very small unions with less than 50 members could not be studied effectively in view of the objectives of the present study. Since the study sought to probe into the structural patterns of trade unions and union with less than 50 members could not be thought of developing a formal internal structure and systems of authority that could be subjected to meaningful sociological inquiry, it was decided to delete the unions with less than 50 from the list of 1,345 active unions. There were as many as 207 unions with less than 50 members. Further, the size of another 36 unions was not known, rendering them not eligible to be included in the list for drawing sample. After deleting these unions, the effective strength of the unions for drawing the sample stood reduced to 1102 unions as against a total of 1,643 unions in the State.

Further, it was decided to draw the sample that represents 15 percent of the universe. Though 10 percent also could have been a sizeable sample, it was decided to draw 15 percent to gain fair representation of different categories under which the unions were classified. However, limitations inherent to an individual research endeavour such as this and constraints on researcher in terms of time, money and other resources were also kept in view while determining the sample size. As such, it was decided to study 165 unions constituting 15 percent of the 1102 active unions with 50 or more members in the region.

Sample Frame: There are varieties of sampling techniques at the disposal of a social researcher. But the validity and reliability of the findings depend on suitability or compatibility of the sampling techniques with the research objectives. Further, the choice of sampling method is largely determined by the unit of study or phenomenon under
investigation. So far as research on organizations is concerned, sampling has necessarily got to be purposive [Hall et al. 1967: 107]. Since the present study focuses its attention on unions as organizations rather than a movement or an institution, the sampling procedure employed to render the sample of unions truely representative of the universe in terms of type and size. Thus the sampling method adopted for the present study could be described as two way stratified proportionate random sampling based on type and size.

In order to render the sampling procedure systematic, purposive and random at the same time, unions were classified into different categories in terms of their type and size. The names of all the unions were written on small pieces of paper and the same were segregated on the bases of union type and size. The 1102 unions were divided into nine possible categories based on their size and type and the number of unions equal to 15 percent of the respective categories were drawn randomly to give us the sample most representative of the universe.

Thus, in all, 165 unions representing 15 percent of the 1102 active unions with 50 or more numbers were drawn from the nine categories which constituted the basis for the present study. However, inspite of the best efforts by the researcher, nine unions did not respond positively to the request made by the researcher for cooperation in the study. Three of these unions could not be studied as the industrial relations situation was not conductive in their plants for the same, two unions were found to be defunct, and the remaining unions, outrightly rejected to cooperate with the researcher for reasons of confidentiality and lack of trust in academic research. Thus, the actual number of unions studied under the present investigation are 156. The
data pertaining to the breakup of unions in Bangalore region,
Table showing breakup of unions in terms of type, in Bangalore region, sample selected and study sample.

Table-2.3
Breakup of Unions in Bangalore Region by Type and the Sample Drawn

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Bangalore Region</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
<th>Study Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>754</td>
<td>(68.42)</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>(20.05)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White-Collar</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>(15.53)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL:</td>
<td>1102</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The industrial unions are in a big majority in the Bangalore region as can be seen from the table. The proportion of such unions in the state as a whole is only about 50 (49.59) percent. This phenomenon appears to be natural because Bangalore region is densely spotted with industrial units of diverse types and these industrial units outnumber other types of units. It could be noted that as many as 69 percent of the total large, medium and small unions of the state are manufacturing type. Accordingly, the sample selected for the study was so drawn as to represent different types of unions in the same proportion as they appeared in the universe. Hence
the sample consisted of 113 industrial unions, 33 service unions and 19 white-collar. However, the number of unions actually studied were 108, 30 and 18 respectively.

Coming to the size, the unions were classified as belonging to three sizes, that is, large, medium and small, and the same procedure was adopted to draw a proportionate sample from the universe.

Table-2.4
Size of Unions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Bangalore Region</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
<th>Study Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(27.13)</td>
<td>(27.27)</td>
<td>(28.84)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(29.13)</td>
<td>(29.09)</td>
<td>(28.84)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small</td>
<td>482</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(43.74)</td>
<td>(43.64)</td>
<td>(42.31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL:</td>
<td>1102</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
<td>(100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all there were 299 large unions, 321 medium unions and 482 small unions in the Bangalore region. A sample of 15 percent of each was drawn for the purpose of study aggregating 165 unions. It consisted of 45 large unions, 48 medium unions and 72 small unions. However, due to non-response from 9 unions, the actual study sample consisted of 45 large, 45 medium and 66 small unions. Further it is significant to note that there is a statistically significant relationship between the type and
size of union. The analysis reveals that the proportion of smaller unions is considerably higher among industrial unions (52.78 percent) as compared to service unions among which the corresponding proportion is just 10 percent. On the other hand, only 28 (27.78) percent of the manufacturing unions are large compared to the corresponding proportion among service unions which is as high as 40 percent. Thus it could be stated that the manufacturing unions tend to be smaller as compared to the service unions, that tend to be larger. One half of the white-collar unions (50.00 percent) are of medium size and one-third (33.33 percent) of them are small. Thus, the present investigation is based on the study of these 156 sampled unions.

These sampled unions exhibited other traits too in terms of age, affiliation, recognition status, political involvement, extent of outside leadership and so forth.

Over three-fourths of the unions (76.92 percent) were new unions, that is, registered after 1975 indicating the recent origin of the union movement in the State. If we look at the increase in the number of unions, it becomes evident that the growth has been more than 1,200 percent from decade to decade on an average and the number of new unions registered every decade has increased from 238 between 1961 and 1970 to 1,099 between 1971 and 1980 and further to 1,663 unions between 1981 and 1990. This phenomenon could very well explain the composition of unions being overwhelmingly in favour of new unions.

Further, of the 156 unions studied 98 unions constituting one-third (62.82 percent) were the unions recognized by the management indicating acceptance of unionism as an integral part
of industrial way of life by the managements. The managements seem to be in favour of recognizing the unions in the hope that the negotiated settlements could be arrived at leading to cordial industrial relations rather than being opposed to the recognition of unions as the bargaining agents and inviting their hostility.

Out of the total of 156 unions studied, 60 unions, constituting 38 (38.46) percent, were the majority unions and another 35 (34.62) percent were the minority unions. The remaining one fourth (26.92 percent) of the unions were the "only unions" in their plants. This indicates that the ideal of "one industry one union" is still a far cry from reality or the Indian working class has not realized yet the advantages of multiple unionism. It is also significant to note that plant unionism has become a rule rather than an exception. Over three-fourths (76.28 percent) of the unions were the plant unions, organized with the plant as a setting. Only about 14 (14.10) percent of the unions are the regional or area unions drawing members from a specified region or area and the remaining about 10 (9.62) percent of the unions are with the jurisdiction of the entire state. So we do not find among Indian working class a solidarity beyond the local plant where they work. The industrial union with workers engaged in a particular industry as a whole as members which is so common in the West is rather conspicuously absent in the Indian context. The American and British union movement are replete with unions of steel workers (USW) automobile workers (UAW) miners (NUM, UMW) printing workers (ITU) garment workers (ILGWU) textile (TWU, ACW) and so forth organized at national level. This may also indicate that, the tendency among Indian working class is to identify with the plant rather than the industry to which plant belongs. Coming to the affiliation status, one-fourth (25 percent) of the unions were independent unions which constituted the largest
single group. Of the remaining, 21 (21.15) percent were the AITUC unions followed by INTUC unions constituting about 15 (15.39) percent. 21 unions constituting 13 (13.46) percent were affiliated to BMS followed by unions affiliated to CITU (11.54 percent). Unions affiliated to HMS constituted about 8 (7.69) percent. When the unions were divided on the basis of ideology as communist and non-communist as evidenced by their affiliation, it was found that the non-communist unions constituted the single largest category representing 40 (40.38) percent of the total unions studied. However, communist unions, that is, those affiliated to AITUC and CITU also were close to this figure representing 35 (34.62) percent of the unions studied and the remaining unions constituting one-fourth of the total were independent unions. However, all these independent unions were not a political by nature. In terms of political affiliation, the data indicate that in spite of one-fourth unions being independent in terms of affiliation, only about 15 (15.36) percent of unions had no formal political affiliation. This indicate that some of the unions are unaffiliated only on the paper whereas in reality and practice they tend to sympathise with federations of one or the other political colour. As many as 75 percent of the unions studied are those with single party affiliation whereas as few as less than 10 (9.62) percent of the unions are with multiparty affiliation. These are the unions the membership of which support and work for different and at times antagonistic political parties. Thus, the political allegiance of these unions depends upon the leadership at a particular time. Further it is also observed that the political affiliation could be the function of the type of union. The data reveal that only about 8 (8.33) percent of the manufacturing unions are a-political as compared to 16 (16.66) percent of white-collar unions and 40 percent of service unions. The relationship between the two could also be found statistically
significant. Even in terms of political involvement, measured in terms of closeness of association, extent of support and types of political activities engaged in, the data reveal that, as many as 83 percent of the unions exhibit moderate to high political involvement. About one-fifth (19.24 percent) of the unions display a very high political involvement, which means, they do not distinguish between union activities and party activities and tend to regard unions as the labour wings of their respective political parties. As in the case of political affiliation, even involvement is found to be significantly associated with the type of union. The extent of high political involvement is as high as 33 (33.33) percent among white-collar unions whereas the corresponding proposition among service unions is as low as 8 (8.33) percent among industrial unions, whereas nearly 70 (69.44) percent of the industrial unions are moderately involved in politics. Thus, with regard to political involvement it can be stated that white-collar unions are much more politically oriented than are the service unions, followed by the industrial unions as a close second.

Coming to outside leadership the data suggest that 27 unions constituting about 17 (17.30) percent of the total unions studied have no outsiders at all. Further, in about 10 (9.62) percent of the unions the outsiders are in high proportion that is, over 25 percent of the office bearers. However, the largest single category is that of unions with low extent of outside leadership in which less than 10 percent of the office bearers are outsiders. In case of another one-third of the unions (34.62 percent) studied, the extent of outside leadership is moderate in the sense, within the statutory limit of 25 percent. So, in all, the outside leadership is below statutory limit in as many as 90 (90.38) percent of the unions with about 17 (17.30) percent unions having no outsiders at all. Thus,
notwithstanding the desirability or undesirability of outside leadership in the Indian context, it could be stated that the extent of outside leadership is not as high as it is thought to be or sometimes feared. However, it is significant to note that in as many as 60 percent of the white-collar unions, there are no outsiders whereas the corresponding proportion among industrial unions is considerably low at just about 3 (2.78) percent. Thus, the extent of outside leadership is much higher in the industrial unions, with 50 percent of these unions having moderate to high outside leadership as compared to 32 and 30 percent of the white-collar and service unions respectively.

Further, the data reveal that, contrary to the common belief, it is the smaller unions that tend to have outsiders more frequently than do large and medium unions. With regard to the functional importance of these outsiders in the administration, measured in terms of their role, say and authority in deciding the goals and strategies of unions, the scene appears to be slightly different. Though the extent of outside leadership is high only in about 10 percent of the unions, in 25 percent of the unions, their influence on the functioning of the unions is considerable. On the other hand, though the unions with low extent of outside leadership are nearly 40 (38.46) percent, the unions with outsider leaders having low influence on the functioning of unions constitute only 27 (26.92) percent. Thus the data seem to indicate that though the extent of outside leadership is considerably low in the unions, it exerts quite a bit of influence in the decision making process in the unions or the general administration of the union. The data also seem to suggest that it is in the industrial unions that the outsiders play the role of greater functional importance than the leaders in white-collar and service unions. In terms of size, it is quite paradoxical to note that though it is the small unions which are more prone to outside leadership, it is the large
unions in which they assume greater functional importance. Thus, functional importance of outside leadership is found to be significantly associated with type and size of the unions. It also needs to be mentioned here that, very often the outside leaders tend to occupy higher positions in the union hierarchy such as those of President, Vice-President and General Secretary. The data reveal that of all those unions with outside leaders, 93 (93.02) percent of the unions are such in which outsiders occupy higher positions. Further, it is significant to note that not even in a single union, the outside leaders occupy lower positions such as Assistant Secretary, Treasurer and so forth. This fact also supports the notion that the outside leadership, despite of being a small minority, tends to influence the functioning of unions to a considerable degree.

Unions were also classified on the basis of extent of internal solidarity. It was ascertained on the basis of identification of members with the union, support of membership to the policies and programmes and also the regularity with which they paid the union dues. The data so ascertained show that about 85 (84.62) percent of the unions are characterized by moderate to high degree of union solidarity. About 40 (40.39) percent of the unions exhibit high solidarity and about 44 (44.29) percent of the unions are characterized by moderate solidarity. It is further noticed that the service unions exhibit greater solidarity than do the other types. It is also significant to note that 75 percent of the unions with low solidarity are the industrial unions. Coming to the size, it is interesting to note that small unions exhibit greater solidarity than the unions of large or medium size. Looking at the criteria used to ascertain the union solidarity, it appears natural that, the smaller unions are found with higher degree of solidarity than other unions. The implications of the degree of solidarity for union functioning will be discussed in the subsequent chapters.
Coming to the type of unionism practiced, the unions could be classified into three categories. Depending upon the goals emphasized and the strategies adopted, three forms of unionism, welfare unionism and ideological unionism. The classification of unions so made reveals that unions pursuing business unionism formed the single largest category (44.23 percent) followed by welfare unionism (36.54 percent) with only about 19 (19.23) percent of the unions coming under the ideological category. This seems to be indicating the fact that unions focus on bread and butter rather than better treatment, workers' participation in management, working class solidarity and so forth. These unions could also be classified as those having instrumental, intrinsic and ideological goals. Thus we find instrumental orientation being associated with relatively more number of unions compared to other categories. It is logically assumed that, the unions with ideological orientations tend to have hostile relations with the managements as many of their demands are hard to be met by the managements. On the other hand demands such as wages, bonus, fringe benefits and improved working conditions are rather easy to be met with. Hence, the data pertaining to the climate of industrial relations in their respective plants reveal that, nearly 80 percent of the unions have normal to cordial relations with their managements. Whereas only about 20 percent of the unions have hostile relations. In terms of the type of unions it appears that, the white-collar unions either have cordial or openly hostile relations with their management whereas, majority of service and manufacturing units tend to maintain normal relations, that is, neither cordial nor hostile relations with their managements. Coming to the size of union the data seem to suggest that, the smaller unions more often tend to have cordial relations with the managements than others. On the other hand, it is the large unions that seem to be
having hostile relations with their managements more frequently. Similarly, less than one-fifth of the unions (17.31 percent) are found to be highly strike-prone as against 83 (82.69) percent of the unions with low to moderate strike-proneness. On the other hand, data also indicate that the service unions are less prone to go on strike compared to others. In terms of size, the large unions are more prone to go on strike and unions of medium size are least prone to do so. However, in general, the strike-proneness appears to be quite low. This finding appears to be meaningful in the light of the fact that only about 13 (13.46) percent of the unions have unfavourable attitude toward their managements. Further, nearly 60 percent of the unions have favourable opinion toward management with remaining unions being rather indifferent toward their respective managements. The data also seem to suggest that the service unions have in general more favourable attitudes toward their managements and the white-collar unions in general tend to have rather unfavourable attitudes toward management. It could be observed that 60 percent of the service unions have favourable attitude and the remaining service unions are indifferent with no union having unfavourable attitude. On the other hand, only one third of the white-collar unions had favourable attitudes, with another one-third of the unions having unfavourable attitudes toward their management. Further, the relationship between type of union and the attitude toward management is found statistically significant.

In addition to these traits the sampled unions also exhibit certain preferences in their strategies so far as the resolving of disputes are concerned. About 58 (57.92) percent of the unions prefer collective bargaining most as method of resolving disputes. This is followed by conciliation, which represents the most preferred method of 25 percent of the
unions. Arbitration is the least preferred method, as it is the first choice of only 2 (1.92) percent of the unions. It is also significant to note that about 6 (5.77) percent of the unions prefer direct action or strike as a method of resolving their differences with the management. The remaining 10 (9.62) percent unions prefer adjudication. Further, it could be observed that an overwhelming majority of the service and industrial unions prefer collective bargaining to resolve their disputes (70.00 percent and 61.11 percent respectively). Whereas, a similar proportion (66.68 percent) of the white-collar unions prefer conciliation as a method to resolve their disputes with the management. The relationship between the two could be found statistically significant. On the other hand the size of the union is not found to be associated with the preference for particular methods of resolving industrial disputes.

However, there seems to be no correspondence between the most preferred method and the most effective method of solving industrial disputes, as indicated by the data. It is observed that though 58 (57.92) percent of the unions prefer collective bargaining most as a method to resolve industrial disputes about 23 (23.08) percent of the unions consider it as the most effective method. On the other hand, conciliation which is preferred by only 25 percent of the unions is considered as the most effective method by twice that number (50 percent) of the unions.

Thus the sampled unions could be classified on diverse lines and such classifications are used as important variables in the light of which the structural features of the union organizations are discussed in the coming chapters. In this chapter, an attempt is made to give a comprehensive account of
the sampled unions which could serve as a necessary backdrop in the light of which the findings of the study could be discussed in the subsequent chapters.