CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES viii
OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF CONCEPTS USED xiii
ABBREVIATIONS USED xvi

Chapter 1 : INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

110 Historical background and certain general concepts 1
120 Status of research so far, and review of literature 7
130 Broad objectives and hypotheses of the study 14
140 Scope of the present enquiry 16
150 Methodological notes 18

151 Type/size of population as a substrate of the sample
152 Sampling procedure
153 Size of the sample
154 Method of conducting the enquiry
155 Response
156 The interview schedules
157 Analytical procedure and variables of the study

Chapter 2 : PERSONAL BACKGROUND AND ECONOMIC STATUS OF RESPONDENT LEADERS

210 Personal data 34

211 Age pattern
212 Religion and caste

212.1 Religion
212.2 Caste
213 Rural/urban background

214 Data on educational attainments and visits abroad
   214.1 Academic and technical qualifications
   214.2 Seminars and courses attended
   214.3 Visits abroad

215 State of origin and languages
   215.1 State of origin
   215.2 Length of stay at place of work
   215.3 Mother tongue
   215.4 Knowledge of other languages, and languages used by respondents for union work and negotiations

216 Membership of religious, social, social welfare and co-operative organisations and local bodies

220 Job history

221 Jobs lost and unemployment
   221.1 Loss of any previous job due to union activity
   221.2 Periods of unemployment

222 Upward and downward changes
   222.1 Pattern of change in emoluments
   222.2 Promotions

230 Economic position and household liabilities

231 Occupation
   231.1 Main and subsidiary occupations
   231.2 Experience in present job

232 Income pattern
   232.1 Present emoluments
   232.2 Allowances as paid full-time union workers
   232.3 Income of other earning members of the household

233 Property ownership
   233.1 Other sources of income
234 Household liabilities
234.1 Marital status
234.2 Size of household
234.3 Support to other members of the household

Chapter 3: CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO AND NATURE OF PARTICIPATION IN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

310 Introduction
311 Political leanings and affiliations
311.1 Participation in general political activity
311.2 Party affiliations as members or sympathisers
311.3 Voting record
311.4 Changes in political affiliation
312 Arrests, convictions and imprisonment
312.1 Frequency of convictions and warrants of arrest
313 Political and trade union affiliations of relatives

320 Initial participation and period of association
321 Manner and motivation of initiation
322 Age levels and period of association with the movement

330 Nature of participation
331 Number of unions in which respondents had a leadership role
332 Participation as full-time paid union officials
333 Membership of governmental committees, factory committees
334 Types of work load and their relative importance
335 Availability of time for personal and family obligations
336 Harassment and victimisation in consequence of union work

Chapter 4: ATTITUDES AND IDENTIFICATION

410 Identification and militancy 130

411 Identification with class

412 Militancy

413 Organising new unions

420 Satisfaction 146

421 Job satisfaction and related factors

421.1 Job satisfaction

421.2 Promotion prospects

421.3 Desire to see one's son following one's footsteps in trade union work

421.4 Respondents' perception of the reaction of their families to their trade union work

422 Respondents' perception of the strength of the trade union movement in Punjab

423 Difficulties, special problems

423.1 The most difficult problem faced by the respondents in union work

423.2 Special problems during the period of the 'Emergency'

430 Attitudes towards certain special problems 164

431 Settlement of industrial disputes

432 Considerations pertinent in taking strike decisions and conducting strikes

433 Factionalism within trade unions

434 Principle of organisation: craft unions versus industrial unions

435 Workers' participation in management

436 Corruption in the trade union movement
Chapter 5: PERCEPTION OF OTHERS' ATTITUDES

510 Attitudes of workers

511 Perception of reasons which motivate a worker to join, or not to join, a union

512 Measures for promoting greater unionisation

513 Extent of participation by ordinary members in union work

514 Channels of communication with workers

520 Attitudes of employers and managements

521 Attitudes of employers and managements towards the trade union movement

521.1 Employers
521.2 Managements

522 Attitudes in public and private sectors

530 Attitudes of the organs of state power

531 Attitudes of the Central and State Governments

531.1 Central Government
531.2 Punjab Government

532 Attitudes of subordinate organs of executive power

532.1 District and local authorities
532.2 Police

533 Attitude of the judiciary

534 Some political overtones of these attitudes

540 Attitudes of the political parties and the general public

541 Assessment of the attitudes of the political parties

541.1 Indian National Congress
541.2 Jana Sangh
541.3 Communist Party of India
Chapter 6: **Leaders' Perception of Their Own Role**

610 The role of a trade union leader

611 Why does one become a trade union leader?

612 What characterises a good trade union leader?

613 What does a trade union leader hope to achieve?
   613.1 Long term goals
   613.2 Short term aims

620 The role of outsiders in the trade union leadership

630 Two extended dimensions of a leader's role

631 Should a leader feel involved in his occupation as an employee?

632 Should a leader get involved in elections to parliamentary institutions?

Chapter 7: **Conclusion**

**Summary**

**Appendix A**: Interview schedule

**Appendix B**: Special interview schedule for State-level leadership

**Appendix C**: Union data schedule

**Selected Bibliography**