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WORKERS AND MANAGEMENT :

A SOCIO-HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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# WORKERS AND MANAGEMENT :

## A SOCIO-HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

This pa,er is based on a series of discussions
(between the author, Indira J. Parikh who was
visiting INSEAD, Professor Henri Claude de Bettignies
of INSEAD Fontainbleau, France and Professor Pulin K.
Garg, Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad) held
at INSEAD in 1975. Based on the discussions the ideas
have been put together to understand why the relations
between workers and management have evolved the way
they have evolved, what are the sources in history and
culture of the two continents and what could be other
alternatives.

The intention of this pa,er is to explore the
changing patterns of relationships between workers and
the management in industry over the last century and a
half. The growth of industrialization has occured
across the world. The cultures are different the social
traditions are different and the assumptions of life,
individuals, collectivity and the relationship between
the individual and collectivity are different. Yet
when it comes to the industrial scene of worker-

management transactions and relationships most
countries seem to walk the same path. It is hoped
that exploration of the socio-historical and develop-
mental perspective may provide a better understanding
and appreciation of the multi-faced phenomena of
worker-management relations. Such a perspective,
suggests three broad patterns of worker-management
relations available today in the industrial world.

## 1. The Mono-Community of Work

The mono-community is a concept I am using where
the work system revolves around a single person who is
the owner-manager, or around a group of persons who
represent him as the management. The structure of
this community is characterized by hierarchy with only
one power center, i.e., the management. The structure
is dominated by the management. The worker is unor-
ganized. Generally he does not feel the need for
organization. The worker-management relations in this
mono-community are governed by the concept of welfare.
The management considers part of its role and almost

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A mono-community is a translation of the Sanskrit word
"Kutumb". In its central meaning it connotes the
primary kinship system of society. The structure suggests
a social organization around a patriarch governed by
fixed roles where exercise of authority is paternalistic.

its duty, to show patronage to the workers. It also considers its role in the acts of piety or to envelop itself in the glory of being humane, and progressive by organizing ritual activity of welfare. In India, this has become a part of legal obligation to provide some welfare schemes for the workers and compulsory appointment of labour welfare officers along with industrial relations officers who look at the legal side.

The mono-community can be said to be the dominant pattern of social organization prior to industrialization of agrarian societies. When industrialization began the workers were drawn to the industries from either the feudal structure in the western context and the rural caste structure in the Indian context.

The worker in this pattern, in spite of his geographical mobility away from his primary system tended to transfer his ways of relating to his family authority to the management structure. In India, it has been turned into an euphemism of "Mai-Bap", i.e., "Mother-Father", implying both a dependent and succurent expectation and acceptance of control, both for

direction and role-boundaries. The worker is a
recipient and expects only the conventional and
traditional protection and support in crises from
the management. He also expects tolerance for
inefficiency, does not take the responsibility for
innovation and expects that the management would
extract his commitment through constant reminders.
He admires a boss who remembers his name and the
details of his family. This structure, process, and
relationship between worker-management existed just
when industrialization made its first appearance.

## 2. The Dual Community

In this pattern, both the management and the
worker are organized. There are two centres of power,
each competing with the other and each professing
different interests and aims. In this pattern the
structure of the community revolves around the
leadership which can be either unit based or industry
based. The interaction is more often a confrontation.
This is really a bargaining situation which emerged
after World War I. It has been enshrined in labour
legislations of the day which set up concepts like

third party arbitrations, labour courts with special
powers and the like. The legislation legitimized
conflicts of the two power centres.

The basic assumption of this pattern in the mind
of the worker is that the industry belongs to the
management. Its management is its responsibility.
The workers are only concerned with ensuring a propor-
tionate share in the reward. They are also concerned
that the management does not take unfair advantage of
the helpless workers. The management's assumption is
that the unit belongs to them and its is their respon-
sibility to keep it profitable. They see the worker
as a hindrance to the growth and profits. They consider
the management of the industry as their prerogative.
Both the management and the worker do not accept the
concept of partnership in the enterprise. A large part
of the industrial scene is characterized by this pattern
both in India and in Europe.

The key words in this structure are representation
and representative. This implies that the management
and the union come together as representatives of their
own interests and not as representatives of the total
system or the goals of the system, i.e., growth. As

such, a conflict situation resulting in pseudo
compromise occurs. The consequence of this is
interesting. Both groups focus on the inner dynamics
of the dual community and gradually forget the rele-
vant forcers and conditions of the environment. They
may continue to refer to wider environmental conditions
to justify their own view points. Each group interprets
the environmental conditions in what it considers the
most relevant view for its own arguments. Thus the
dual community tends to collapse on itself, gets out
of touch with the environment and is left behind. It
remains there till an acute crisis of survival in the
environment comes about. The dual community then
manages itself by the principal of management by
crisis, which does not always lead to growth and
relinking with the environment. Entrenchment in the
moment of crisis leads very often to dissolution of
the community. The 'sick mills', limping industries
and such phenomena are a product of this. The
government then has to bail out these industries by
subsidy as happened in India, Europe, and America.
Or, the government takes over the ownership by
nationalization.

It also produces the kind of agreements where
the union agrees under crisis to change technology
or redefinition of jobs, but insists upon the prin-
ciple that the workers should continue even though
they are not working on anything specific. The
industry is made to carry workers for ghost jobs.
This 'feather-bedding' eventually becomes an uneconomic
proposition for the industry and the society.

The construct here is very much like the process
of disintegration of the 'Kutumb' in India where the
'Kutumb' is still seen as owned by the patriarchs,
but the sons have organized themselves to extract as
much from the 'Kutumb' for their pleasure and needs
as they can, and disown the responsibility of contri-
buting towards the regeneration of the 'Kutumb' and
its resources. Whatever resources they create is seen
as belonging to them alone and not to the 'Kutumb'.
There is a specific lack of replenishment of the system
and its resources by the merbers of the dual community.

In the dual community, the ownership is not
contested but the distribution of resources, products,
and power is. In order to sustain this structure and

process, ideological rationalization are utilized.
At the peak of this structural process, the focus
completely shifts to goals and targets and the
mechanics of getting things done. The continuous
search is for periods of lull rather than to handle
the sources of the storm that arises. This focuses
the worker-management relations in the legal, logical,
and rational orientations.

3.    Unified Community

In the current worker-management scene the worker
participation pattern is indicative of growth toward
unified community. This pattern is of recent origin
and has two stages. The first stage is based on the
assumption of joint responsibility for the continued
growth and development of the unit. Here, though
there are two centers of power, yet there is a commit-
ment to cooperation so that benefits can be optimized
for everybody has been accepted.

The second stage is a logical end of the first
stage, i.e., the construct of joint ownership. The
emergence of such an organization then fulfils the
meaning of the word 'Samaj' where work-role differentiation

is accepted but the basic center of power of decision-making is shared by all equally.

For example, a particular Canadian firm which through the dual community process has exhausted itself and was in the process of being taken over by the government resorted to this concept whereby every person became an owner. The ownership returns were still stratified but provisions were accepted whereby length of work in the system and the role in the system would continue to increase the size of ownership of each individual.

The major assumptions of this system have not yet become crystallized in terms of a definite industrial policy. Experiments with such bodies as the works committee, joint consultative committee, representation on the Board and two-tier system have been attempted. But if we look closely, these experiments are still caught with a syntax and semantics of the dual community. Perhaps, the greatest challenge to the social scientists, industry and trade unions is to discover social processes and forms which would make the unified community a reality, rather than the pseudo unified community it becomes. The whole set of jokes and cartoons on worker

participation reflect this dilemma of shift from the dual community concepts and processes and the extension of its syntax and semantics to the emergent community.

These three patterns exist simultaneously in India as well as in Europe. The majority of industrial relation situations fall in the first two patterns in India, and in Europe in the last two. But it must be remembered that though the movement in Europe is toward unified community, it is still struggling in the first phase where the representation syntax of the dual community dominates.

## The Genesis of the Three Patterns Mono-Community

The genesis of the relationships of the mono-community which is management dominated lie in the traditions of the pre-industrial society where the organization of a community was around a rich owner of the resources of the community. The large part of the population rendered services and they were given primarily the patronage of the feudal lord. They received the freedom to utilize some of the resources for consumption and then they were the beneficiaries of 'largess' on occasions of child-birth,

good harvest, marriage, etc. But this was strictly
at the pleasure of the lord or tied to conventions.
In Indian society, this was systematized in the
'jajmani' system which ran parallel to caste system.
Broadly speaking, the 'jajmani' system prescribed
the size of goods and the occasion of goods receivable
by the service people as well as prescribed the nature
of service. For example, a potter was to provide a
fresh set of pots three times a year at the turn of
major seasons - like on Diwali day, the advent of
winter, the Hodi day, the advent of spring and summer,
and on the 26th day of the Jyeshth month, the decline
of the summer and the advent of the monsoons. In return
he would receive what the requirements of his living
were.

In this system, the relationships were governed by
a paternalistic authority providing familiarity and
personalization in the relationship. There was a strong
sense of closeness and integration. The roles were
differentiated and each role had its defined boundary.
It provided for a rich social and community life.
Besides differentiation of roles, there was also a
differentiation of levels of aspiration as well as

standards of living and life style. In the Indian
situation, the differentiation of roles, aspirations,
and life style were legitimized by strong caste and
role mythology. As such, there was a synchronization
between the role level and level of consumption. My
understanding of the feudal system of the West is that
a similar synchronization was available between roles,
level of aspirations, consumption and life style,
without the support of systemization and legitimization
by formalized contracts of the 'jajmani' system, and
by the role, and caste mythology.

The difference between conventional status of
organization in the feudal system and legitimized
codified status of organization in the 'jajmani' system
of the Indian society is reflected in the patterns that
emerged at the point of industrialization. The European
rural individual/farmer could move more easily and
accept not only physical mobility but also social
mobility. The physical mobility from the conventional
systems opened for the European worker, individualized
aspirations or at best aspirations for the nuclear
family and not for the entire kinship.

In the Indian situation, the transfer of mono-
community attitudes were complete to the industrial
environment. The Indian worker recreated his rural
socio-psychological community* in the new social
temporal community* and did not get involved in the
here-and-now. He treated this new place as a situation
of exile. The European worker in contrast shed the
attitudes of the mono-community more quickly and
moved in to the here-and-now or he retained the
nostalgic memories but did not wish for a return.

## Dual Community

The genesis of the second kind of relationship -
the dual community in which management confronted
strong unions - the eventual emergence of two parallel
communities well organized and differentiated in terms
of their interests and objectives - lie in the emergence
of giant size industry and corporation, which were
free from the anchors in land and direct natural resources
of the land. In the initial stage, the patterns of the

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* These two constructs are used by Prof. Pulin K. Garg
to explain the dynamics of a village community under
change in India. They can be referred to in a paper
'Social Interaction in a Village Community' by
Professor Gaikwad of the Indian Institute of Management.

first - i.e., the mono-community were brought to the
new situation. So we find the welfare-based theory
of industrial relations. But gradually,the second
pattern emerged because inherent in the nature of
industrialization are the following:

a)   move from personalized, close and strong community
     sense, characterized by a sense of partnership but
     stratified in terms of natural resources;

b)   size of the technology which brought larger number
     of workers into work system and also made each
     process of the total product a complete task in
     itself.

c)   breakdown of conventions which govern community
     togetherness; the legitimization through 'jajmani'
     system and the myths and the conventions of the
     feudal system.

In this breakdown, the European worker discovered
that he is only selling his effort and skills to the
company. He is free from the burden of social obli-
gations, that he is a time-bound employee and that he
can sell his efforts to the highest bidder. This led
to his discovery of new aspirations and also a learning
that synchronization between work, life style, and
level of consumption are not necessarily valid.

For the Indian worker this discovery was very much delayed. He came to the industrial situation still tied to his legitimized and codified social identity of being a member only of primary system of his kinship, and his stay in the secondary system of industrial situation was tantamount to an exile. His aspirations opened not for himself or the nuclear family, but for the entire kinship, where each individual became a spearhead for more exiles from the kinship system. At some point of time the worker still planned to return home. It must be emphasized that for almost eighty years of industrialization, the myth of return still survives.

For a while the inherent elements and processes of industrialization did not come to the surface because of the so-called pattern of company towns. In fact, the company towns created an arbitrary and enforced mono-community whose entire resources belonged to the entrepreneur. The organization of these company towns deprived the individual worker of his share in the natural resources and thus made him extremely dependent on pure wages. It brought into the focus his helplessness.

The industrialist introduced a strong policing system
in the company towns and made approach to themselves
difficult. Thus the fragile link of the feudal
attitudes and feudal processes were dissolved. After
World War I, as the workers began organizing, the
company towns witnessed the most serious violence
between workers and management.

With the advent of the industries and corporate
organizations people moved from a social system of
villages and farms as work force and became labourers.
They left villages and farms for a brighter and more
hopeful future, leaving behind their kith and kin,
rich folk-life and a system of personal interaction.
This movement and mobility brought them to a relatively
isolated and emotionally, and socially barren life.
They had to look for meaning and fulfilment in some
other sphere. There seems to be two distinct patterns
in this movement, one in Europe, and another in India.

Migration Patterns

The European Pattern :  The European pattern
reflects the basic motivations of movement away from
rural areas for better living conditions. The

industrial scene appeared to be more stable as well
as more certain and regular source of income.  So
the worker migrated as a spearhead into the city
with hopes of bringing his kith and kin to the city
for better opportunities.  In effect, he was willing
to uproot himself in order to ensure opportunities
for himself and his family.  Very soon he got tired
of the patterns of patronage offered by the Nouveau
Rich, middle-class-turned industrialist.  He became
aware of the exploitation under the garb of patronage.
He saw the middle class getting richer and enjoying
leisure and luxuries while his lot was a barren life.
His reaction to the frustration accompanied by continued
harshness of existence led to his rebellion, his
organization and eventual entrenchment in the dual
community pattern of industrial relations.

Long is the history of this struggle.  A whole
set of legal steps have emerged to manage this struggle.
Yet it has also crystallized and ensured at the process
level the basic attitudes of opposition between management
and workers.  The worker and the management still locate
themselves on the opposite sides of ideology and the
social system.  Only in Germany it seems legally enforced
worker participation in management emerged as early as
1916.

In a series of Executive Development Programmes where managers, senior, middle and junior levels were involved, the exercise 'We-They' was played. It is fascinating to note how the managers when given the role of trade-union leadership saw management as:

* exploitive,
* manipulative,
* powerful,
* conniving,
* untrustworthy,
* interested in their own profits,
* working to disrupt TU unity by paid spies,
* following the policy of divide and rule.

The other section of the managers who played the management role saw the TU leadership as

* irresponsible,
* unmanageable,
* power hungry,
* disruptive,
* selfish,
* unreasonable,
* short-sighted,
* immature.

Of course, both sets of managers playing the
role of Trade-Union leadership and management gave
themselves good images. A similar data were obtained
when 40 TU leaders spent three weeks at IIM, Ahmedabad
and carried out the same 'We-They' exercise. In fact,
Trade-Unionists playing manager roles in the exercise
gave stronger negative images to the Trade-Union
leadership.

It is apparent from the above that a basic mistrust
and hostility marks the core of industrial relations
classified under the dual-community pattern. My
analysis of the reported demands and complaints in the
European Industrial Relations Journal suggests that a
similar set of stereotypes reflecting mistrust and
hostility exists here also.

The ease with which the European worker moved out
of the feudal system broke his role-set. It is also
under the Protestant philosophy which dignifies work,
separated the link between the nature of work and the
quality of life style. Thus the worker in Europe was
willing to work hard in order to ensure a stable
middle-class standard of living. He was concerned with
the size of reward. His hope was material security

and his aim was to maximize it. In the absence of
any other personal meaning, he truly became the
economic man of the early 20th century.

The Indian Pattern : Patterns of Exile : The
Indian caste system backed by the 'jajmani' system
did not resemble the feudal system of Europe. In
the dual codification of social status, and economic
interdependence, the Indian worker had his own status,
property as well as role security. He was not dependent
on patronage or 'largesse'. His experience with close-
ness, solidarity, and stability of the rural community
was rich and personally meaningful. The advent of
heavy industrialization drew him to the cities not as
an immigrant but as a person in exile. He came to the
industrial centres as a representative of his family
who stayed in the village. His role was to generate
cash for remittance to his folks in the village, and
he lived with a myth of saving enough to buy his own
acre of land and return. So he was in exile with
no investment in the industry. Even today, it is not
unusual to find a large number of workers in Indian
industry living a grass-widower's status for eleven
months of the year in shabby tin sheds and crowed in
unhygienic conditions. To a certain extent, even the
educated elite of India who lived in Europe and

America followed the same pattern of frugal living.
Save to return home with a better quality of life.

As such, it is difficult to organize such a
labour force. It is not unusual to find that the
minority trade-union can precipitate a unitwide or
industry-wide strike even when the majority of trade-
union leadership openly opposes such a move.

Bound by this concept of exile, initially the
Indian worker only looked for short-term and immediate
returns. Long-range policy and strategy formulation
for bargaining was not his concern. Moreover, the
stress of living in exile made him temperamental and
he could be easily incited for absenting himself from
work. Ensuring wages for the period of strike is one
of the major hurdles of any negotiation in India.
Ideologies and political philosophy did not form a
part of his perspective. He was also not willing to
pay that huge a price as the American worker paid in
the thirties to ensure a permanent dignified position
for the worker. The largest struggle is on the size
of bonus and retrenchment occuring due to modernization
of technology. It is rare to see a strike in India  ,
which may be more central to work design and such other
critical areas of a worker's life.

The developmental perspective presented here
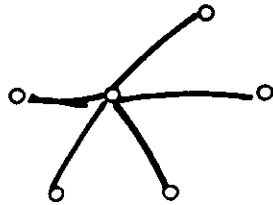can be represented by the following model:

Figure I

Model of Mono-Dual and Unified Community

Dual-Community Model

Mono-Community
Model

Unified-Community
Model
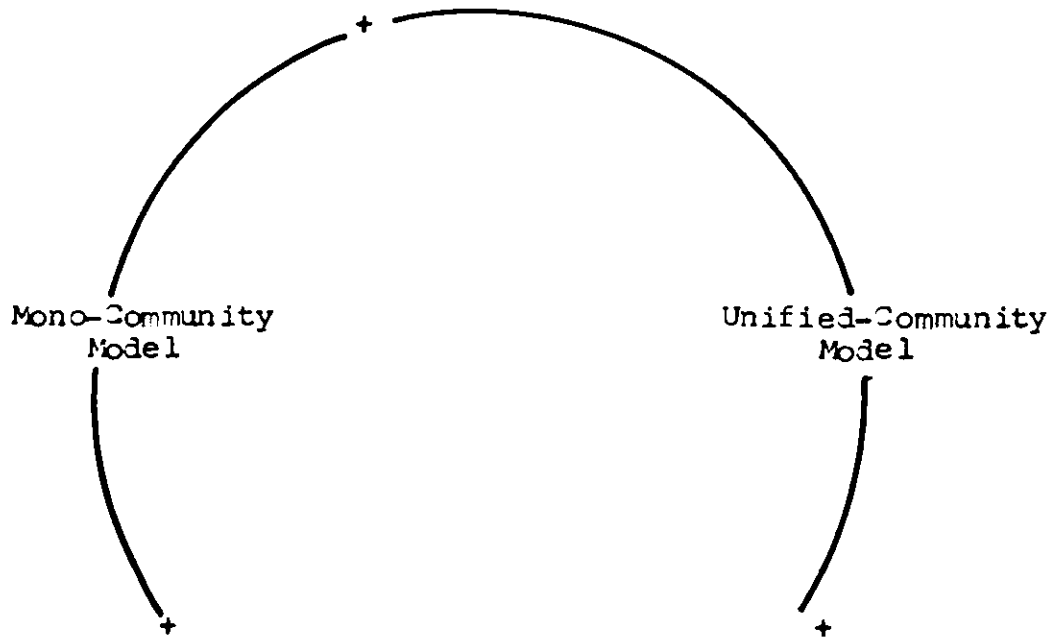
To summarize, the mono-community is one-person
system. It is simple in structure. Every role is
stratified and well-defined. The authority structure
is more like a star

## Figure II

## Mono Community Structure



where the owner, the feudal lord or the controller
of resources is in the centre. Each service is
directly linked to him, and he exercises authority.
The link across other roles either does not exist
or is very weak. This can be truly defined as one-
person system. In this person, all roles lose their
identity. This is a paternalistic process characterised
by dependency. In India, the pattern in essence remains
the same except there is not one person who controls
the resources but a set of people. As such, the
patterns would be :

## Figure III

## Patterns of Inter-Role Relationships
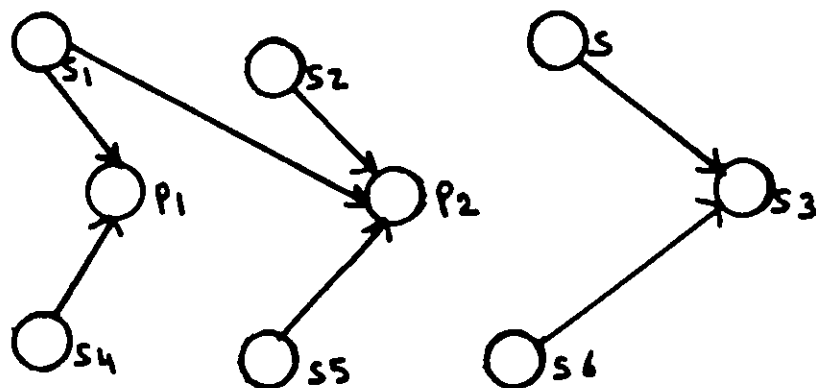
There could be, for example, five potters relating
to twenty farmers, ten scavangers relating to twenty
farmers. This is an overlapping system of one person
wherein neither the resource controllers which are more
than one nor the service roles which are more than one
in the same service, have any direct link to each other.

This becomes more complicate due to multiple
service roles in a community relating to multiple
resource roles. But essentially each resource role
has a set of service roles around him in the same star
fashion. The only additional factor is that each
person in each service role are bound together by the
caste structure. This, however, is only a social bond.
In terms of work relations, the caste belongingness
does not break the one-person system.

As such, in the Indian pattern of mono-community,
role identities do not merge in the resource person.
The exercise of authority of the jagrani system is both
ways, i.e., interdependent. As such, mobility is more
difficult. The basic process governing this system
both in Europe and India is of obedience.

The dual-community model is like two stars in interaction:

## Figure IV

### Structure of Dual Community



Management Structure                Union Structure
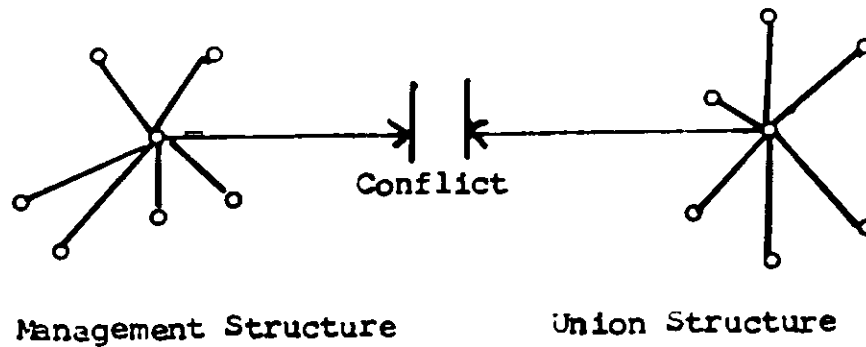
Here there are two power centres and the process is conflict. The movement from the mono-community to that of dual community is interesting in terms of understanding worker-management relations. This movement eventually introduces the following variables in worker-management.

a)  Breakdown of sense of social belonging - This reduces the sense of psychological security. In the new situation, work rewards become more important. The psychological security is traded for economic security. With the destruction of psychological security anchored in social belonging and identification, tolerance for stratification

of life styles and consumption levels becomes poor.
Individual starts having new aspirations generated
by the concept of equality in work. He tends to
respond with self-oriented attitudes to life and
becomes acutely aware of unequal distribution of
rewards. As he has closed his doors to going back,
the worker in the European context organized himself
to protect himself and struggled to put his roots in
the new situation. This commitment was to stay and
a growing awareness of unequal distribution of rewards
lead him to accept membership in a secondary and volun-
tary system, i.e., the trade-union. The unit which is
the instrument for self-protection also became the
instrument for self-enhancement through collective
bargaining.

In effect, the logical conclusion of this movement
is to more often use strike as a strategy. One could
perhaps talk of Freudian concept of victim interna-
lizing the aggressor and repeating the same pattern.
Strike is only the other side of lock-out by the
management who used this in the mono-community very
often. Essentially, the Trade-Unions in the dual
community have not discovered any new process for

ensuring their rights which have not been used
by the management.

b)   Polarization, politicalization, and entrenchment
and conflict with a win or lose strategy comes
as the high mark of a dual community. The entry
of the government through legislation to control
and contain this conflict reminds me of the
allegoric story of the two cats who found some
bread and could not agree on an equitable share
between them. They both went to the monkey who
was supposed to be a balanced and just person.
They requested him to divide the bread in a fair
share between them. The monkey brought out a
balance (see the symbol of justice in government)
and broke the bread in two. One side was heavy.
The monkey broke off a piece to balance and put
this by his side. This time the other side was
heavy so he broke off another piece and kept it
by his side, and so the process went on until
the cats had nothing left and the monkey had it
all. This is what happened with the sick mills
in India and perhaps in many situations in Europe
and America.

A look at the movement from mono-community to
dual community gives us the possible following steps:

1.   Total control by the resource controller - with
     no social welfare or compassion. Increasing
     dissatisfaction and violence between workers, not
     towards the management. The South African model
     where the worker town of blacks shows as high as
     1,000 murders a year in a million population
     besides all other kinds of violence provides
     evidence (description given by a member of INSEAD
     delegation to South Africa). American company
     towns displayed a similar pattern at the turn of
     the century.

2.   Entry of middle-class elite moved by pity and
     ideals of reformation. This is largely an attempt
     to welfare and uplift, which incidentally leads
     to organization of workers but is not sufficient
     to silence the increasing tide of discontent and
     rising aspirations.

3.   Suppression of elite intervention by the management,
     thus leaving the workers once again in a quandary.

4.   Entry of political ideology and political elites
     from outside the system. This acquires legal
     support as the confrontation leads to socially

undesirable incidents. This specially happens
at the height of the strike and introduction of
the strike breakers.

5. Acceptance of Union and polarization with the
characteristic entrenchment. This is the peak
of dual community.

6. Entry of instruments of negotiations and conflict
containment. There are two sources of this: legal
and the other scientific. Taylorism came at the
peak of the mono-community system where work
motion studies and standardization was sought for.

7. Final entry of the government. As the sixth step
fails to dissolve the primary conflict and as
each issue becomes a battle-ground in the emerging
dual community, the government enters taking
greater control of the situation till the process
can end in nationalization. The whole process
of movement of mono-community to dual community
can be represented in the diagram given below.
On the outside of the circle are the steps to
organization of workers. Inside of the circle
are the attitudinal factors of the workers.
Parallel to these steps are the inputs of the

law and shift in the emphasis of the law from
protection to containment and the inputs of
the social scientist from scientific management
to motivational O.D.

Figure V

Movement of Mono Community to Dual Community
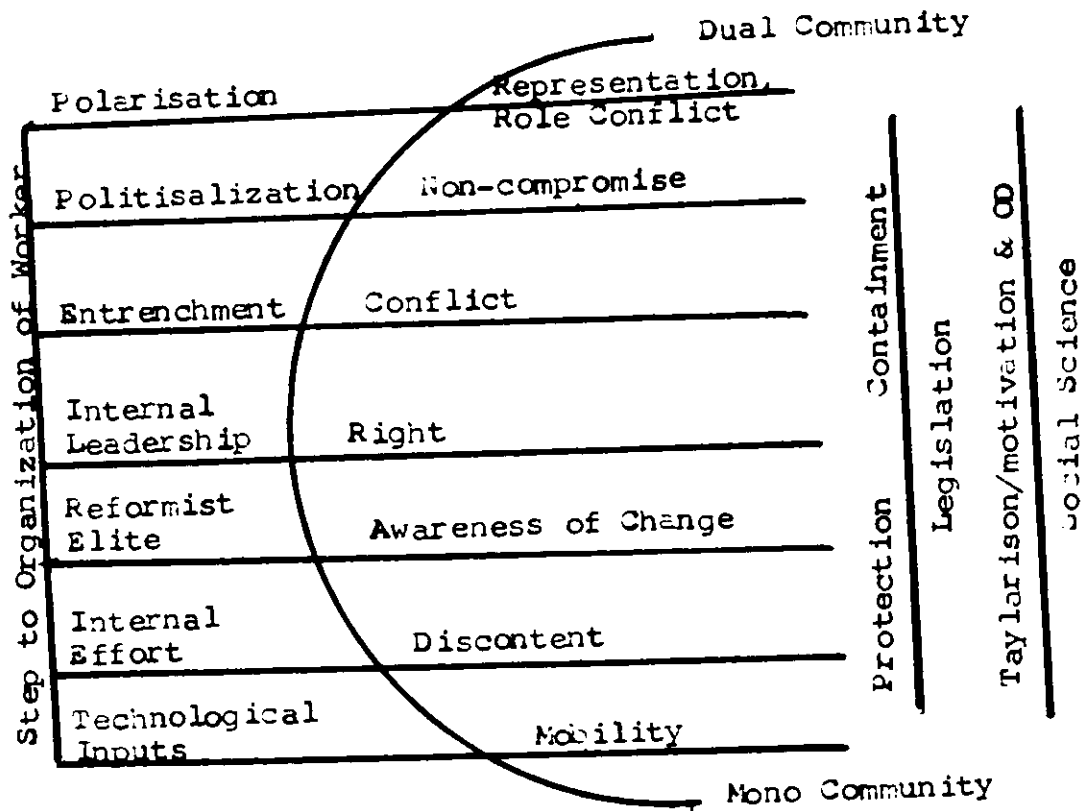
## Emergence of the Unified Community

The growing dysfunctionality of the dual community model reaches a height when the processes such as joint consultative committees as well as introduction of task systems and budgetary control systems fail, to create a spirit of cooperation. It is then that the model of unified community has started to emerge.

However, basic doubts remain in the minds of both the management and the union. The internalization of attitudes of the dual community is very strong. The whole existence of the dual community is charged with emotional rhetoric in spite of its manifest content being sometimes rational. The rationality is only in the statistics quoted and not in the final messages.

One of the sources of doubt is what Garg illustrates as a problem of change. According to him any inter-action or transaction between two persons or groups has primary gains as well as secondary gains for each participant. In the encounter with change, the loss of primary gains of the older interaction is clear, so are primary gains clear in the new transaction. But the loss of the secondary gain of the first

transaction is either unclear, and causes anxiety
or is clear and causes rigidity. The secondary
gains of the new transaction is never clear because
secondary gains are normally unintended consequences
of the primary gains. Unless the new transaction
develops and stabilizes, the secondary gains of this
transaction are not clear. As such, acceptance of
change becomes difficult.

The shift from the dual community to the unified
community is now an accepted direction of worker-management
relations, but as yet there has not been a real achievement.
Growingly the attitudes have changed. People
have started to accept and entertain the idea that the
worker and management can act together for common
interests. The real problem seems to have been to
find organizational forms and organizational processes.
In the Indian context most of these new forms and
processes have been anchored in models of task and
structures of organizations. A social-cultural exploration
to discover deeply embedded processes of
belonging have been ignored. And if in ownership
concerns they have been utilized they have been
retained in their original form in a new context

which makes them irrelevant in today's times and people.

In the last decade, many forms and processes have been adopted. Work Council, Board Membership, Joint Consultative Committees, and Two-tier system are but a few forms introduced by the organization. The processes governing these social forms (social institutions) have been either initiated by government through law, and occasionally negotiated between the workers and the management. Whichever be the source of this movement, it has created a spectrum of stances which can be depicted in the following two by two matrix:

<u>Figure VI</u>

<u>Matrix of Union and Management Transactions</u>

Management

| | | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |
| Union | Yes | X 1 | + - 2 |
| | No | + - 4 | = 3 |

Dual community is reflected in the 2/2 element of the matrix where both the Union and the management say no to the worker participation as well as common ownership.

The 1,1 element of the matrix will reflect the true unified community where both the union and the management accept participation and common ownership.

The 2,1 element of the matrix where the management takes the initiative represents the arousal of doubts and negativity in the unions. In the 1,2 element when the worker moves and displays readiness, the management displays anxiety of losing power.

The 2,2 element represents the entrenchment of the dual community which ends up in the processes like government intervention or rationalization.

As such, the moves from the dual community to the unified community gets entrenched in emotional residues of past exploitation, past power struggles, and dysfunctional organizational proces es. Perhaps the issue lies in the fact that no social form or process has yet broken the syntax and the logic of the two parties. It entrenches organization in the game of determining who will exercise authority on whom. Underlying this game of evaluative exist stereotypes such as how can a shopfloor worker even conceive the policy for the total environment. Basically, the task-role determining the 'world view' still persists on both sides of the struggle. The worker or the union

is not willing to grant the management's awareness
of the worker's reality and the reality of the
operation. The manager is not willing to make the
union aware of policy, financial, and business and
environmental realities.

The tug-of-war process in the industrial relations
and containment of conflict through state intervention
has won the worker representation, but it has not been
successful enough to ensure him and the management any
significant stability of relationships. In terms of
the schemes, the worker-management relations are
moving from the peak of dual community towards unified
community. The movement of legislation is to continue
to move the worker toward partnership and provide him
a peer status by increasing his stakes in the growth.
In this attempt, new role definitions for the worker
are emerging.

The social science approach to ease the industrial
relations situation has kept pace from Taylorism and
motivational approach during the shift from mono-
community to dual community. With the attempts to
reach the unified community the social scientists have
focused on involvement from the worker and organization
development for the management.

Another struggle in the shift from the dual community to unified community is currently centred around the boundary of total system decisions and the boundary of task role of the individual. Should the individual participate in decision-making only in the spheres of his task-role, or should he participate regardless of his task-role boundaries in making decisions about the total system. To the worker, the participation in decision-making at the task-role level appears illusory because any decisions so made can be put aside and nullified by decisions at the total system level. To the management participation of the worker in the decisions at the total system level becomes a threat, perhaps a threat to power, their own role boundaries and finally to their ability to make quick and prompt decisions.

Finally, the shift from dual community to unified community centres around the dissolution of proxy representation of one group of people in the hierarchy and privileged space of the management. Does it imply that the very concept of employee and worker which invokes images of people being used as instruments for management goals have to be surrendered.

The history of worker-management relations, then,
began with organized efforts to end the economic
exploitation of the worker. The legal and the social
scientific approach was exclusively focused to improve
the conditions of the worker. This may have been reflected
in improving his living conditions, his work conditions
and his economic conditions through incentive schemes and
such other motivational approaches. To a large extent
the goal of ensuring freedom from economic exploitation
has been achieved but the conflict remains. The paradigm
of 'We-They' characteristic of the dual community is still
operative. The new movement has led to the generationo
of laws which in effect enjoins the worker and the
management in a common venture. This may be alright,
but the social science contribution searching involvement
of the worker through humanization of work and CO
programme for management raises some very fundamental
questions in my mind.

In both situations, with the workers and the
managers, the focus is to enrich and make the quality
of work life richer and meaningful. Work is assumed to
have become the central focus and meaning in life of the
worker and the manager. His other life roles assume a

secondary significance or no significance at all. The roles which an individual has in the family setting, the multiple roles of a husband, son and father acquire a secondary status and so do the multiple roles which an individual has in his social setting. To attempt to make work - one role amongst the multiple other significant roles - the sole role giving meaning and significance to an individual, leads to narrowing down of the totality of the individual, and the members of his other systems pay a huge price. This in itself will lead to dehumanization of the individual.

This does not imply that the work be not made more richer and meaningful. In fact, efforts need to be made to make it meaningful and rich. But to give work role the significance of giving the primary and significant meaning at the cost of other multiple roles in the other system of belonging of the individual, is in itself a process of dehumanization, and a source of exploitation of the individual. One can find the process of dehumanization culminating in seeking the social rewards of the system in the total organization men like James Bond and other such characters depicted in literature.

The task ahead of the worker-management relations is to reach a point of cooperative effort in a unified system of belonging where the roles are differentiated, where a sense of psychological security is generated and where both the organizational goals and the individual goals acquire convergence and fulfilment without merging as one goal.

One can take the schemes earlier given, describing the movement of mono-community to dual community further to illustrate the movement of dual community to unified community.

## Figure VII

## Movement of Dual Community to New Directions
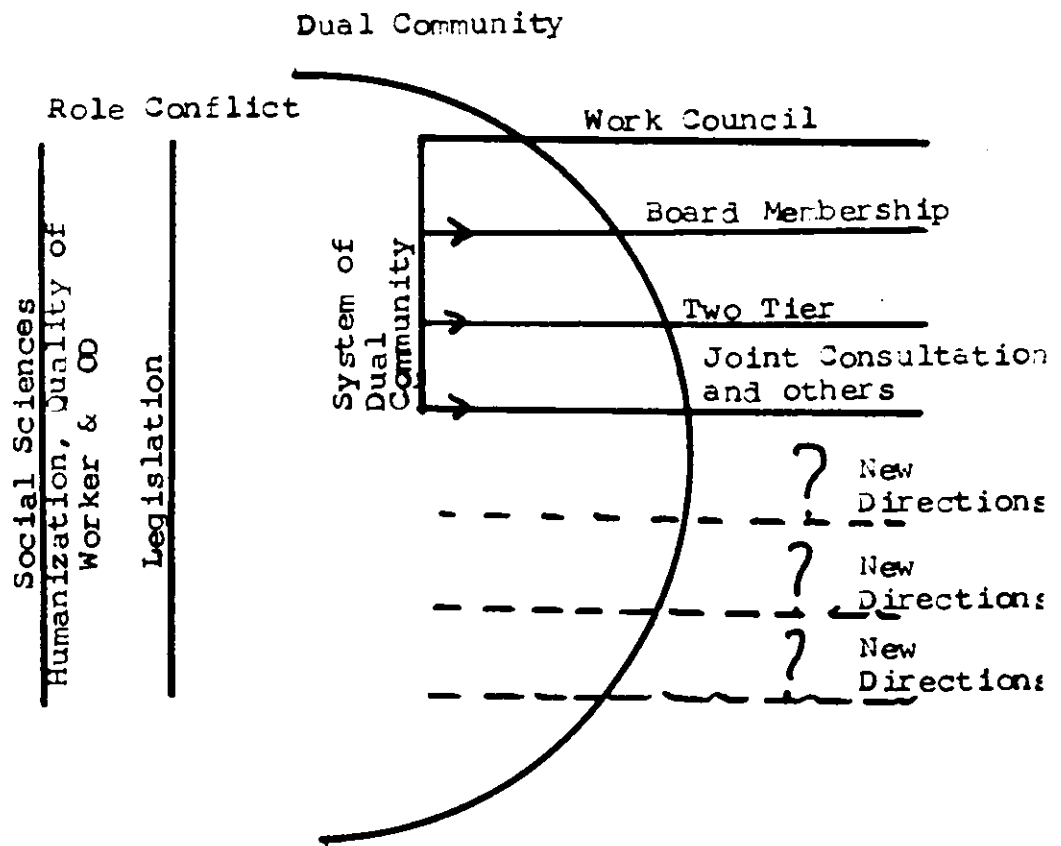
### Dual Community

As illustrated in fiture seven, though the
movement away from the dual community is being
attempted through introductions of new institutions
such as two-tier system; though it is being helped
by new modes of organizational development and new
laws, the hardest task is to dissolve the syntax of
the dual community from operating.

One can see the similarity of the steps of the
first quadrant of the schemes in the third quadrant.
However, it seems that the fourth quadrant marked with
question-marks is still unvisualized.

The new task then, ahead of the social scientists,
law, the management and the union, is to discover new
institutions, new forms and new processes. In its
absence, I suspect we would revert back to a pseudo
mono-community around work. This may in the long run
be more destructive to the social fabric of the society.
Perhaps the most important issue may revolve around the
discovery of new technological inputs than the pure
engineering approach provided to the growing industrial
scene. Perhaps the slogan of appropriate technology
is not that bad. But it must be remembered that the
appropriateness of a technology has to be determined in

the context of multiple cost-benefit ratios  and

not purely financial, and technical ratios.  A deep

look at socio-historical and cultural perspective

may be critical and essential to pave new models of

worker-management relations.

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