POLITICIZATION OF TRADE UNIONS AND CHALLENGES TO INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN INDIA: A STUDY WITH A FOCUS ON NORTHERN KERALA

S. Rajesh*Dr. Manoj P K**

Abstract

A strong and stable union in each industrial enterprise is essential for good industrial relations. The employers can easily ignore a weak union as it hardly represents the workers. The agreement with such a union will hardly be honored by a large section of workforce. Therefore, there must be strong and stable unions in every enterprise to represent the majority of workers and negotiate with the management about the terms and conditions of service. Trade unions play an important role and are helpful in effective communication between the workers and the management. They provide the advice and support to ensure that the differences of opinion do not turn into major conflicts. The central function of a trade union is to represent people at work. But they also have a wider role in protecting their interests. Most popular trade unions in India are affiliated to certain political parties. These political parties are only keen on making every grievance of the working class a political issue to attain political gains. As a result the problem only gets wide publicity and remains unsolved. Political parties with different ideologies or objectives works towards trade union objectives which is unfavorable towards the workers interest. Majority of the trade union leaders are political leaders which is against the interest of the workers and politicization of trade union is really a challenge to strong and stable trade unions in India. The present study analyses the issues and challenges of trade unions because of politicization and suggest measures to overcome these challenges for cordial industrial relation system.

Keywords: Trade Union, Politicization, Inter-union rivalries, Collective Bargaining

_____

*Ph.D Scholar (Business Administration) Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tamil Nadu
*Assist,Professor, Dept. of Applied Economics, Cochin University of Science and Technology, Kochi

Introduction

Theoretical framework and review of literature

Trade unions are organized by workers to solve their problems created by industries. They are voluntary associations of workers formed to promote and to protect their interests by collective actions and constitute an integral part of the relationship between employers and the employed. They engage in bargaining with the employers to ensure better working conditions, fair wages, security of job, etc. for their members. They also defend against any injustice and exploitation by their employers. As far as industrial peace is concerned, existence of a strong and recognized trade union is a pre-requisite. It is much influential when decisions taken through the process of collective bargaining and negotiations between employer and unions.

A trade union is a continuous association of wage earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their working lives "Sydney Webb and Beatrice (1910). Flanders (1975) stated that trade unionism is an integral part of complicated yet on the whole smoothly working system of industrial relations. Allen (1971) mentioned that trade unionism is an attempt to rectify the power imbalance. It is a substitute for individual action and is an integral part of the relationship between the buyers and sellers of labor power. In the words of the Industrial Relations Ordinance, 1969, "trade union means any combination of workmen or employers formed primarily for

the purpose of regulating the relations between workmen and employers or workmen and workmen or employers and employers for imposing restrictive conditions on the conduct of any trade or business and includes a federation of two or more trade unions [Section 2(16)]". It is evident that political links of trade unions have become almost universal although the nature and extent of the relationship between trade unions and political parties differ from country to country. In advanced capitalist societies, trade unions of the whole country are linked up with a single political party through their single central organization, while the largest democratic country like India, trade unions are tied up with too many political parties which has got different ideologies. In the former case all trade unions within the country assemble together under one umbrella and for that matter the country's working class remains united. Their political divisions are hardly indulged. But in the latter case the picture is different (Taher, 1996). Trade unions have to play a prominent role in these countries during their movement for independence vis-a vis anti-autocratic movement, thereby making the same set of people act both as leaders of trade unions and as those of political parties. In most cases a trade union leader and a politician was one and the same person. So an inter-locking of the nationalist and the labor movement becomes inevitable in almost all the underdeveloped countries like ours.

Multi unionism and political manipulation characterize the labor movement in India and the Indian trade unions serves as an instrument of manipulation by competing political parties [Ralph James, 1958]. Activities of political parties among industrial workers went on increasing since then and the workers experienced political pulls in all directions. Industrial belts became battlefields of political parties. The workers, who had once fought together against their common enemies, started fighting each other. Trade union leaders became instrumental in making chaos on behalf of their parent organization, i.e. political party. India experienced serious

labor indiscipline and inter-union rivalries after its independence. Clashes between supporters of the ruling party and other opponent unions were rampant in Bangladesh (Islam, 1983). In spite of politicization of trade unions, in terms of economic benefits and labor welfare facilities, the position of workers is perhaps no better or even worse than that prevailing at the time of adopting the first labor policy since 1972 (Khan, 1986). Trade unions provide the grass-roots base for the prospective political leaders and a spell of trade union leadership career tends to have a pay-off in the political field and several trade union leaders are occupying high political positions in the country [C.P.Thakur, 1976]. Trade unions, worldwide, are experiencing difficulties on many counts in general and retention of quality membership in particular. There has been substantial erosion both in membership as well as bargaining power of unions [D.K.Srivastava, 2006]

Five Marxist unions in West Bengal have been helping employers against workers' interests to enable the politicians to show a good record of economic and industrial performance [Ramaswamy 1988]. In western countries, some of the unions facing problems of declining membership and social acceptance have begun to assume new functions in the areas of community welfare and problems in the environment [Brecher and Costelo 1990, Craft 1990]. UK survey evidence consistently shows that union members report lower levels of job satisfaction than non-union workers [David E. Guest & Neil Conway 2004]. Politicization of the senior civil service in post-communist Hungary has more in common with the communist past than with the prevailing modes of politicization in Western democracies [Jan-Hinrik, 2008]. Italy have always been highly differentiated in their views of union politics and it is the politically-relevant behavior of union elites that is more important than the attitudes of the rank and file in shaping union interaction with the political sphere [Miriam A. Golden 1990]. Union membership has no effect on Japanese

employees' job satisfaction, but that there is some negative impact on company commitment [James R Lincoln, Joan N Boothe 1993].

Trade unions are not really industrial organizations in the Indian situation. They are loosely-knit protest committees, with weak structures and finding themselves in very difficult situations relating to positive decision-making, and needing to be bailed out cither by the management, political parties, or the government. Finance and manpower-wise, they arc extremely weak and instead of integrating, they arc fragmenting. Labour unions have rarely concerned themselves with providing answers to numerous industrial questions as an adult constituency, but enjoy the vested interests in the "fruits of backwardness" which has dominated the stances of almost all the political parties in the country. (S R Mohandas, 1990) [2].

2. Rationale and objectives of the study
Survey of literature reveals that the topic trade union issues and challenges exist from various countries. In India, particularly in the northern regions of Kerala State is highly political oriented administration and backward area with respect to development, is not free from politicization of trade unions. It is expected that the present research findings will add new knowledge to the existing literature on the subject which may benefit the industrial relation system in India. In the above context, the primary aim of this study is to examine the politicization of the trade unions and its impact on industrial relations with reference to northern Kerala in India. The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

(i) To make an overall study of the trade union activities in India, and examine the major reasons why workers join the trade unions;

(ii) To study the satisfaction level of workers from welfare activities facilitated by trade union;

(iii) To study the factors challenging healthy industrial relations in organizations under study and also to identify relationship between politicization of trade unions and factors that adversely affect cordial industrial relations.

(iv) To suggest measures to improve trade union activities by mitigating the related challenges.

3. Methodology of the study
Period of the Study
The study was conducted for a period of 6 months from July 2012 to December 2012. The respondents were contacted and interviewed in the factory premises during their off-duty hours.

Research Instrument
A structured interview schedule was prepared for the purpose of collecting the data. The factors of the study were drawn out from the related studies and the statements of the schedule were framed representing the factors. These were given shape in consultation with the field experts. The survey was preceded by a pilot study, conducted by interviewing a sample of 30 respondents. After computing the score of each respondent for the first test and retest, Cronbach Alpha Score was calculated. As the score of the test for the tool was above 0.50, the tools were found to be reliable.

Research Methodology

The study was confined to northern (Malabar) region of Kerala State. This area was selected, keeping in mind that it is well endowed with human resources approximately 50000 in various industrial sectors which include textile and other industries. It was decided to collect the necessary information from 500 workers spread in 30 medium and small sized manufacturing organization, 60 employers / management authority / industrial experts and 40 trade union leaders / representative affiliated to various political parties. A Non-probability, proportionate quota sampling was used for the study. A questionnaire was prepared in the light of the objectives of the study. In addition to this, different research findings on trade unionism were used as secondary sources. Moreover, various published materials have been taken into

consideration for developing the theoretical framework of the study.

Collection of Data
For collecting the data the respondents were contacted individually and given a brief description about the nature and purpose of the study.   For the convenience of the respondents, various   statements in the Questionnaire were translated into vernacular language (Malayalam) so that the respondents could give their response with ease.

4. Results and discussion
In this initial stage, primary data (field survey) collected are analyzed using statistical tools.

Reason for joining trade union:
From Table I, it is noted that all the respondents under study (viz. 600 in number) have agreed for the need of joining trade unions but contradicting rank of their preference of needs.

Table I: Reasons for Joining Trade Unions

Reason for joining trade union	Worker (500)	Manager (60)	TU Leader (40)	Total (600)	Per-cent	Rank Preference		
						Worker	Manager	TU Leader
Safeguard against victimization	30	10	5	45	8	4	3	4
Protect & promote workers interest	120	20	16	156	26	2	1	1
Decent remuneration	280	6	9	295	49	1	5	2
Establishing legitimate rights	60	9	7	76	13	3	4	3
Resolve industrial grievances	10	15	3	28	5	5	2	5
Total	500	60	40	600	100			

(Source: Field Survey)

Satisfaction Level of Workers regarding the Functioning of Trade Unions:
From Table II it is noted that the 500 workers, 60 percent (302) of them are not satisfied for the functions and role of trade unions whereas 40 percent (198) belongs to satisfied category of trade union functions and their roles.

Table II: Satisfaction Level of Workers regarding Functioning of Trade Union

Variable question	Satisfied	Not satisfied	Don't know
Satisfaction level of workers regarding functions and role of trade unions	198	302	0
Percentage	40 percent	60 percent	0 percent

(Source: Field Survey)

Affiliation of Trade Union with Political Parties:

From Table III, it is noted that 33.33 percent of the total respondents of 600 numbers have the opinion of affiliation of trade unions to political parties is desirable whereas 63.33 percent belongs to different opinion of trade unions are not necessary to affiliate political parties and 3.33 percent of the respondents have no answer pertaining to the question.

Table III: Opinion regarding Political Affiliation of Trade Union

Particulars (Influencing Factors)	Workers (500)	Managers (60)	TU Leaders (40)	Total (600)	Percentage
Affiliation of trade union with political parties : Yes	160	0	40	200	33.33
Affiliation of trade union with political parties : No	320	60	0	380	63.33
Affiliation of trade union with political parties : Don't know	20	0	0	20	03.33
Total	500	60	40	600	100.00

(Source: Field Survey)

It is pertinent that joining trade union is necessary for various reasons but at the same time majority of the respondents have the opinion of the functions of trade unions not much satisfactory and majority of the managers and employees are opposing affiliation of trade unions with political parties. So for further analysis, politicization of trade union is kept an independent variable and various issues of trade union activities as a dependent variable.

In the second stage of analysis, the primary data collected are analyzed using SPSS 11.0 package. Accordingly, relevant tests of hypotheses are done, as given in following paragraphs.

Uneven growth of Trade Union
Growth of trade union movement is an important factor which has influence on collective bargaining process and cordial relations between employees and trade unions. Steady growth is a symptom for the employees trust towards trade union. Records show that the trade unions have not grown in all types of industries and this uneven growth is not free from India especially in the northern regions of Kerala state.

Table IV: Uneven Growth of Trade Union

Year	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
TU Number	162	167	167	315	334	337	437
Membership	102407	78398	87746	153374	179278	498466	3629991

(Source: Statistical wing, Labor Dept., Govt. of Kerala)(Data on manufacturing sector)

The following hypothesis is framed to find the association between politicization and uneven growth of trade union.

H_0 = There is no significant association between politicization and uneven growth of trade unions.

H_1=There is significant relation between politicization and uneven growth of trade union.

The result shows that there is a significant association between politicization and uneven growth of trade union at 2 d.f. and 0.05 significance level. Among the 600 respondents, 54 percent of them have the opinion that politicization of trade union is moderately depends upon uneven growth of trade union movement in the northern regions of Kerala. This includes 278 selected workers out of 500, 39 employers / management authorities out of 60 and 8 trade union leaders out of 40. 46 percent of them have opinion that politicization of trade union not depends upon uneven growth of trade union movement in this region. It is concluded that uneven growth and politicization of trade unions are associated in this region which directly affects strengthening of trade unions and cordial industrial relation system.

Multiplicity of unions:

Prior to 1947, the Ali India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) was the only trade union federation in India which was formed in 1920. Now a days, major trade unions lime INTUC, AITUC, CITY, HMS, BMS, UTUC, UTUC-LS, STU holds 85 percent of the total trade union membership which are affiliated to major political parties [Dynamics of IR, Himalaya publishing House]. Single union with common objective is good for common platform to achieve better interest of the workers & trade union. On the other hand multiple trade unions are a necessary evil which will damage peace and harmony as it creates enemies of different union members. As a result multiplicity of union is not fair for the growth of trade union movement operating in India especially in the northern regions of Kerala state and each union has affiliated to various political parties.

The following hypothesis is framed to find the association between politicization and multiplicity of trade union.

H_0= There is no significant relation between politicization and multiplicity of trade union.

H_1= there is significant relation between politicization and multiplicity of trade union.

The result shows that there is a significant association between politicization and multiplicity of trade unions at 2 d.f. and 0.05 significance level. Among the 600 respondents, 69 percent of them have the opinion that politicization of trade union is highly depends upon multiplicity of trade union movement in the northern regions of Kerala. This includes 340 selected workers out of 500, 56 employers / management authorities out of 60 and 20 trade union leaders out of 40. 31 percent of them have opinion that politicization of trade union not depends upon multiplicity of trade union movement in this region. It is concluded that multiplicity and politicization of trade unions are highly associated in this region which directly affects strengthening of trade unions and cordial industrial relation system.

Leadership issues

Majority of the unions are managed by politicians who have no experience or work history with the corresponding union. This type of leadership creates barriers between lower-end workers and upper management, and is disadvantageous to the proper development and management of the union. Leadership of a union must only arise from within the labour class. Outside leadership is an issue in the present scenario. If the leader is within the members of trade union or an expert in this field but belong to the working place would be an advantage. On the other hand, leaders from outside working place and attached to political parties would be a hurdle for the progressive relationship with employees as well as employers. Leadership issue is taken as dependent variable and politicization of trade union as independent variable.

The following hypothesis is framed to find the association between politicization and leadership issue of trade union.

H_0 = There is no significant relation between politicization and leadership issues of trade union.

H_1 = here is significant relation between politicization and leadership issues of trade union.

The result shows that there is a significant association between politicization and leadership issues of trade union at 2 d.f. and 0.05 significance level. Among the 600 respondents, 54 percent of them have the opinion that politicization of trade union is moderately depends upon leadership issues of trade union movement in the northern regions of Kerala. This includes 265 selected workers out of 500, 45 employers / management authorities out of 60 and 10 trade union leaders out of 40. 46 percent of them have opinion that politicization of trade union not depends upon leadership issues of trade union movement in this region. It is concluded that leadership issues and politicization of trade unions are associated in this region which directly affects strengthening of trade unions and cordial industrial relation system.

Inter-Union Rivalry

Powerful political parties have established their own trade unions with the intention of spreading their political power. This causes an inadequate and unhealthy growth of trade unions. Most trade unions have developed inter-union rivalries and groups that are in constant competition against each other. Members' energy has been wasted on deconstructive activities, and unions have become more political. This situation really affects cordial industrial relations. Inter union rivalry is an issue at present in this region, which is taken a dependent variable and politicization of trade union kept as an independent variable. The following hypothesis is framed to find the association between politicization of trade union and inter union rivalry.

H_0 = There is no significant relation between politicization of trade union and inter-union rivalry.

H_1= There is significant relation between politicization of trade union and inter-union rivalry.

The result shows that there is a significant association between politicization and inter union rivalry of trade union at 2 d.f. and 0.05 significance level. Among the 600 respondents, 65 percent of them have the opinion that politicization of trade union is moderately depends upon inter union rivalry of trade union movement in the northern regions of Kerala. This includes 322 selected workers out of 500, 51 employers / management authorities out of 60 and 18 trade union leaders out of 40. 35 percent of them have opinion that politicization of trade union not depends upon uneven inter union rivalry in this region. It is concluded that inter union rivalry and politicization of trade unions are associated in this region which directly affects strengthening of trade unions and cordial industrial relation system.

Financial Weaknesses

Workers do not adequately contribute toward to their trade union membership fees, except when necessary. Many workers feel the services of their trade unions are not worth paying for. The lack of necessary funds prevents trade unions from offering support for welfare activities for labour. One reason for financial weakness in trade unions is due to the presence of rival trade unions by politicization process. Welfare programs of trade union are driven by financial soundness and every member of the trade union has to contribute lump sum amount towards union activities which includes welfare of the trade union members. In fact, not much welfare activities happening in this region due financial weakness of trade unions. Financial weakness is an issue, which is treated as a dependent variable and politicization of trade union kept as an independent variable. The following hypothesis is framed to find the association between politicization and financial weakness of trade union.

H_0 = There is no significant relation between politicization and financial weakness of trade union.

H_1= There is significant relation between politicization and financial weakness of trade union.

The result shows that there is a significant association between politicization and financial weakness of trade union at 2 d.f. and 0.05 significance level. Among the 600 respondents, 38 percent of them have the opinion that politicization of trade union is moderately depends upon financial weakness of trade union movement in the northern regions of Kerala. This includes 198 selected workers out of 500, 26 employers / management authorities out of 60 and 4 trade union leaders out of 40. 62 percent of them have opinion that politicization of trade union not depends upon financial weakness of trade union movement in this region. It is concluded that financial weakness and politicization of trade unions are slightly associated in this region which directly affects strengthening of trade unions and cordial industrial relation system.

Weak Collective Bargaining Process
Collective bargaining process is an essential to protect and safeguard the workers interest. On

the other hand, collective bargaining is happening separately based on the union objectives which may differ from union to union. As a result, collective bargaining process gets weakening from industries to industries due to non-cooperation among the trade unions. As it is happening in this region, identified weak collective bargaining process as a dependent variable and politicization of trade union kept as an independent variable. The following hypothesis is framed to find the association between politicization and weak collective bargaining process.

H_0 =There is no significant relation between politicization and weak collective bargaining process.

H_1= There is significant relation between politicization and weak collective bargaining process.

The result shows that there is a significant association between politicization and weak collective bargaining process of trade union at 2 d.f. and 0.05 significance level. Among the 600 respondents, 61 percent of them have the opinion that politicization of trade union is moderately depends upon weak collective bargaining process of trade union movement in the northern regions of Kerala. This includes 320 selected workers out of 500, 34 employers / management authorities out of 60 and 12 trade union leaders out of 40. 39 percent of them have opinion that politicization of trade union not depends upon weak collective bargaining process in this region. It is concluded that weak collective bargaining process and politicization of trade unions are highly associated in this region which directly affects strengthening of trade unions and cordial industrial relation system.

Chameleonic Attitude of Trade Union Leaders

Attitude of trade union leader is an important factor for better relationship among the parties of industrial relations. Consistent attitude is better which should be adopted by various parties in the industrial relations. On the other hand, chameleonic attitude from trade union leaders will definitely damage the trust between management and trade union leaders which has

got direct affect on cordial industrial relations. As this phenomena existing in this region, identified chameleonic attitude of trade union leaders as a dependent variable and politicization as an independent variable. The following hypothesis is framed to find the association between politicization and attitude and double game politics of trade union leaders.

H_0: There is no significant relation between politicization and chameleonic attitude of trade union leaders.

H_1: There is significant relation between politicization and chameleonic attitude of trade union leaders.

The result shows that there is a significant association between politicization and chameleonic attitude of trade union leaders at 2 d.f. and 5 percent significance level. Among the 600 respondents, 52 percent have opined that politicization of trade union is moderately depends upon chameleonic attitude of trade union leaders in the northern regions of Kerala. This includes 267 workers out of 500 under study, 37 from among the sample of 60 employers under study and 8 trade union leaders out of 40 under study. It is concluded that chameleonic attitude of the trade union leaders and politicization of trade unions are moderately associated which directly affects strengthening of trade unions and cordial industrial relation system.

Concluding remarks and suggestions for improvement

The vital pre-requisite for good industrial relation system is strong and enlightened labor movement which may help to promote the status of labor without harming the interests of management. Unions should talk of employee contribution and responsibility and exhort workers to produce more, persuade management to pay more, mobilize public opinion on vital labor issues and help government to enact progressive labor laws. From this study, it is noted that politicization is a major obstacle for the development of strong and stable trade unions which in turn is an integral part of cordial industrial relations. Hence, these obstacles must be removed or

partially adjusted through consensus mechanism.

Based on the findings of the study the following are the suggestions for improving the industrial relations climate in organizations:

1. Since challenges of trade union issues existing as politicization of trade union become a cause will continue disturbing the cordial relation among parties of industrial relations, there needs to be an urgent attention and sincere to maintain harmonious industrial relations in the northern region of Kerala – the area under study.

2. If trade unions are free from political control then many of the issues as dealt already in this paper could be drastically brought down.

3. Except for compliance with legal provisions, politics and trade union activities should be treated separately; and these should not be mixed up as if their objectives are different.

4. Consensus among trade unions and political parties should be formed and government should take initiative to formulate strategy to ensure common objective to safeguard workers' as well as employers' interest.

5. It is advisable to have less number of trade unions and more number of members, presence of trade union leaders in the factory premises or industrial areas themselves, ensuring the implementation of more welfare activities to boost the confidence of the members of unions, developing an attitude of consensus to all issues among all concerned, etc. are some other measures that are suggested for the mutual benefit of all stakeholders related to industrial relations. Naturally, this situation demands co-operation among political parties, building mutual trust among the members and leaders of trade unions, and ensuring cordial relations of both the above groups with the management.

References

1. Ralph James; Politics and Trade unions in India, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1958, p.41, 42.

2. Mohandas, S.R; Industrial relations the coming decades , *Indian Journal of Industrial Relations*, Vol. 26, No. 1, Jul. 1990, p 86

3. Flanders, A., Industrial Relations: What is Wrong with the System? *Labor*, 1975, p. 10.

4. Ahmed, M. (1983), "Industrial Policy : Some Relevant Issues", Journal of Business and Economics, Vol.9, No.4.

5. Allen,VI, *The Sociology of Industrial Relations Studies in Method*, Longman, 1971, p.10.

6. Anderson, J.C., Guderson, M., and Ponak, A. (1989), Union-Management Relations in Canada, Second Edition, Don Mills 1, Addison Wesley, Ontario, p.6.

7. Bhuiyan, M. Sayeefullah (1991), "The Trade Unions Politics in Bangladesh: A Study of Textile Mills Workers Union", The Dhaka University Studies, Part-C, Vol. 12(1).

8. Bonars, S.G., Deere, D.R. and Tracy J.S., "The Effects of Unions on Firm Behaviour: An Empirical Analysis Using Firm Level Data", *Industrial Relations*, Vol.33. No.4, 1994.

9. Cheema, CS. (1990), Industrial Relations in Public Sector: A Case Study of Punjab Roadways, Unpublished Thesis Paper, GNDU, Amritsar.

10. Manaktalas, Bombay. Das, H. and Manimala, M. (1997), "Are Unions Relevant in Todays Global Economy? A Snapshot of Managerial Attitudes Toward Unions in India", *Indian Journal of Industrial Relations*, Vol. 33. No.1

11. Islam, M.M., "Industrial Relations in Bangladesh", *Indian Journal of Industrial Relations*, Vol. 19, No.2, 1983.

12. Johri,C.K.(1964), *Unionism in Developing Economy*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay.

13. Karnik, W.B. (1978), *Indian Trade Unions - A Survey*, P.C. Maneklal and Sons Pvt. Ltd., Bombay.

14. Mamoria, C.B., Mamoria, S. and Ganker, *Dynamics of Industrial Relations in India*, Himalays Publishing House, 2nd Edn., 1997.
15. T.N. Chhabra, K.L.Suri, *Industrial Relations Concepts and Issues*, 4th (Rev.) Edn. 2009.
16. Mathur A.S. and Mathur, J.S. (1964), Trade Union Movement In India,Chaitany Publishing House, Allahabad.
17. Parmar, J.S. (1997), "Some Emerging Dimensions of Trade Unionism in HRTC: An Empirical Approach", Indian Journal of Industrial Relations, Vol. 32, No.3.
18. Punekar, S.D. (1948), Trade Unionism in India, New Book Company, Bombay.
19. Ramaswamy, E.A. (1977), The Worker and His Union, Allied Publishers, Delhi.
20. Rao, Amiya (1983), "How Relevant Are Our Trade Unions?", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XVII, No.47.
21. Sen, Ratna (1997), "Industrial Relations: Patterns and Trends", *Indian Journal of Industrial Relations*, Vol.32, No.3.

22. Taher, M.A. (1996), "The Financial Health of Trade Unions in Bangladesh", *Journal of Business Administration*, Vol. 22. NO. 3-4.
23. Harold Crouch, *Trade Unions and Politics in India*, Bombay, Manaktalas, 1966;
24. K.N. Vaid, "Political Unionism and Industrial Relations in India", *Indian Journal of Social Work*, July, 1968.
25. .K. Johri, *Unionism in a Developing Economy*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1968.
26. K.N. Vaid, *Growth and Practice of Trade Unionism*, Delhi School of Social Work, 1962.
27. C.P.Thakur, *Indian Journal of Industrial Relations*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Jul., 1976), p. 6.
28. Dayal, Ishwar (1997), "Are Unions Losing Influence", *Indian Journal of Industrial Relations*, Vol.33, No.2, October, pp. 245-253.
29. Srivastava, D.K. (2001), "Trade Unions Situation in India: Views of Central Trade Union Organisations".