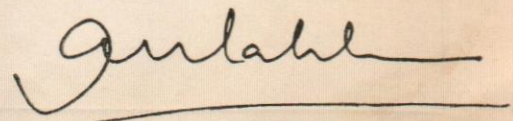

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

This issue in the Productivity Year 1982 is a special issue on Improving Quality of Working Life (QWL). Our decision to bring out this issue is based on two considerations ; one the importance attached to 'improving quality of life' in the Sixth Plan and secondly our conviction that any effective improvement in productivity can be achieved only with the active involvement and satisfaction of the people in what they do. Accordingly several articles in the issue throw light on QWL in the Indian and the third world context. Simultaneously, special contributions from USA, Europe, and Australia have been included in the issue.

Many of our readers are aware that NPC has done pioneering work in the area of New Forms of Work Organisation as a first step towards improving QWL. It was at the instance of International Labour Office that the Project was taken up in a few selected units and our efforts have received favourable appreciation both Nationally and Internationally. The objective of the study was to re-examine the manner in which work is organised ; to identify factors resulting in dissatisfaction with work and to design systems with the involvement and acceptance of those who constitute direct workers. In our assessment this has become an inevitable part of 'work culture' because of (a) increasing unrest among younger generation against jobs that are tedious and monotonous with little challenge and with apparant lack of responsibility ; (b) an increasing awareness of social responsibility; and (c) a realisation that in developing economies, technology and new systems in the process of their application have attendant problems.

To project some of the specific areas diagnosed by several experiments in the country, NPC organised in January, 1982 a national seminar on Improving Quality of Working Life. In this issue we have specially included a summary of 'Seminar Discussions' together with salient recommendations. The seminar helped in bringing together a group of people engaged in this task and creation of a network of professionals, managers, administrators and trade union leaders. NPC is further endeavouring to extend similar studies in the neighbouring countries and promote a 'think tank' mechanism within the country.



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Quality of Working Life in the First and The Third World

EINAR THORSRUD

A major lesson is that new forms of work organization can be applied to developing countries, and that the best ways of introducing them and the particular solutions have to be developed at the local level..... (However) direct horizontal exchange of experience between different countries, and particularly between organizations in the same country, is effective in stimulating organizational change.

PROFESSOR EINAR THORSRUD is an internationally acknowledged expert in the field of management. He is formally associated with the Work Research Institute, Oslo, Norway. Committed to the mission of improving quality of working life and work re-organisation, Prof. Thorsrud is a leading consultant to several Governments and International agencies. He has carried out several projects, in new forms of work organization in both the First and the Third World.

How can we be engaged in quality of working life when every month new millions of people are losing their jobs? When the superpowers and many other countries are mainly concerned with the arms race? The answer is simple; If we give up we are adding to the apathy and helplessness which is part of the vicious circle that may lead to catastrophe. There is only a short step between helplessness and desperation.

This is not the time and place for detailed analysis of the dark future confronting us. But at least we must be aware of the nature of the main problems expressed by a faltering North-South dialogue. The dialogue and potential confrontation between the First and the Third World, with the Second World watching and unrealistically pretending that it is not part of the same global problem. The global problem being the "cramp" in which poverty and overpopulation is escalating in the Third World while stagflation with increasing unemployment paralyse the First World. A paralysis which goes deeper than the economic models of the past can explain.

By 1970 the "trickle down strategy" in the poor world had proved a failure. The First World nations did not meet even the modest targets of economic transfers to the Third World. And even in countries receiving massive foreign aid the trickle down mechanism did not work.

By 1980 the Third World nations realized that they would have to help each other to help themselves. The First World is in a deadlock, unable to adjust to the fact that economic growth in traditional terms is unlikely to return. This deadlock is not only an economic crisis. It is a Cultural Crisis. And it is, possibly, by recognising this cultural crisis that we in the First World

The involvement of external specialists can be limited and needs to change in nature from that of using professional power to that of participation in joint learning. This would mean to participate in a process whereby the *capacities for learning and change are built into organizations*. If this is achieved a mechanism is created which facilitates mutual adaption between work organizations and their environment at large.

This project has demonstrated that direct horizontal *exchange of experience* between different countries, and particularly between organizations in the same country, is effective in stimulating organizational change. It is not dependent on extensive use of external specialists. On the other hand, some external resources, including professional advice, are necessary to support local developments and to overcome specific constraints. In this project interdisciplinary collaboration between manager, professionals and workers created learning possibilities which are not common in professional schools or academic institutions.

Development agencies linking The First—and The Third World

The structure and operations of development agencies in the First World are in many ways outstanding examples of the organizational philosophy of the past.

- (i) They are set up to handle large amounts of money. Consequently they are organized to some degree as *banks*.
- (ii) They are set up to handle transfer of knowledge and technology consequently they are organized to some degree as *academic centres* or professional research and training institutes and manned accordingly.
- (iii) They are set up to administer (plan, coordinate and control) projects and programmes according to policies made by governments. Consequently they are to some degree organized as *governmental bureaucracies*.
- (iv) They are set up to operate in foreign countries. Consequently they are organized to some degree like the services with experience in such operations, namely the *foreign service* or the *armed service*.

Most development agencies in the Third World are set up at least partly for the purpose of collaborating with agencies in the First World. Consequently, they tend to develop similar structures and modes of operation. If we assume on the basis of our discussion so far :

- (i) that the *bureaucratic philosophy* of organization is inadequate for development purposes.
- (ii) that the education establishment is not geared to deal with the development problems of our time, (but rather the problems of the past).
- (iii) that technology should not be taken as given, but as far as possible chosen and introduced by those who are going to use it (not primarily by outside specialists).
- (iv) that development is dependent upon participation and horizontal collaboration between institutions.

Then the four basic considerations which have shaped the development agencies are likely to produce an organizational system which is *not* conducive to development. However, there is one advantage in the four-fold design principle of development agencies. They are used to changes in structure and mode of operation, depending on which of the four principles is predominant. In the early phases the foreign service and military style may be dominant. In later phases the professional and bureaucratic professional orientation may take over. The next step might be to realize that these agencies have as a *primary task* to handle projects and programmes. Secondly that they should be organized to *maximise* learning over time. To achieve this they need to establish such relations with those who own the projects and programmes that they can share experiences and contribute to policy making on this basis. If agencies were structured according to their primary task they should primarily be project organization. They would fit into an organizational matrix consisting of "Agency-families". What would this mean ?

- (i) They would need a strong, permanent policy-making group on top, mainly because development policies will need constant review and reformation based on concrete experience with the ongoing programme.
- (ii) They would need a highly competent financial control group, partly because of the large sums of money being handled, partly because of the complex criteria used for evaluation. This control group would have to develop its own distinctive competence based on development programme experience.
- (iii) They would need a small administrative service unit.
- (iv) And finally they would need programme and project groups mostly organized on two to

five year basis and manned in a flexible way to suit changing task requirements. Since tasks will overlap between agencies, they would also recruit, train and employ staff on the basis of inter-organizational collaboration.

Development agencies are to a great extent involved in matters concerning quality of work and life. It may therefore be useful as a conclusion to summarize the main characteristics of successful projects in this area :

- (i) *They are initiated on a joint basis* by the relevant parties involved. Who the relevant parties are needs to be explored thoroughly on the basis of what overlapping values and interests they have and what commitments they can make over a period of time.
- (ii) Some sort of *search phase* will involve relevant parties in mapping out the main trends of development. Alternative futures are formulated which can be pursued by projects and programmes. Basic criteria for evaluating results are established.
- (iii) Initiation includes an *educational phase*, in which alternative ideas, models and approaches can be explored in relation to the existing problem situation to be tackled.

- (iv) Some sort of *vertical "Slice-group"*, consisting of people directly affected by planned change conduct analysis of needs, formulate plans of change and carry out actual changes.
- (v) *Evaluation is done by those affected* and results are used on many levels involved in policy making.
- (vi) *The role of outside specialists* changes from that of using professional power to that of participating in joint learning.

It would seem to be a good start to a new type of relationship between the First and the Third World if we explored the usefulness of these principles in and between development agencies. It would not be a substitute for a new economic order, but it might be a way of starting to move in the right direction.

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Improving Quality of Working Life in the Indian Context

J.P. SINGH

This paper reviews the current status of quality of working life activities and suggests a need to enlarge the concept of QWL to include search for work. It traces the progress of the QWL projects in India and underlines directions for further efforts. The strategy for initiating new forms of work organization and criteria for success of such a strategy is spelt out.

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To many a mind the concern for improving quality of working life (QWL) in Indian context can at best be marginal, if not irrelevant. After all, in a country with approximately 70% of its population working in the agricultural sector and with a total employment of only 23 to 24 million in the organised sector out of a total employable population of over 240 millions, any attempt at improving QWL will touch a mere fringe of the population. And this, when we assume that the entire population of the organised sector can be reached by this movement. One must also remember that some of the special categories of workers, like children, women, disabled and old workers are employed largely in the un-organised sector. The peculiarly Indian institution of 'Bonded Labour', wherein the generations of families are bonded to work for a 'master', although abolished by law, is in itself a big challenge to any attempt at improving QWL in the country. Nor can we ignore over two million educated unemployed, waiting for jobs, of what-ever quality, just to earn a respectable living. Should not our efforts, then, be aimed at creating more jobs rather than worry about temporarily fashionable ideas like improving QWL? This perhaps becomes a paramount question when we are faced with easily replaceable manpower, despite the laws making it difficult. After all even in a developed country one can legitimately say that such like concerns are immediately lost when chips are down. As one affected person put it, "when things get bad, it is back to secrecy, and decisions at the top of the hierarchy. Pull in the horns, everything that is long term goes out of the window, to hell with the future, it's the accountant with yesterday's figures that wins. People are dispensable, they can always requisition some more" (Mitchel, 1980).

One is also tempted to ask: Is deteriorating QWL a phenomenon peculiar to the industry or does it also affect the agricultural sector? Has a project on improving QWL been attempted in agricultural sector? Is such a project feasible or even necessary? Different persons will give different answers to these questions. Others, perhaps, will raise more questions.

Although job creation is a very important issue in our country, the issue of improving QWL for those already employed cannot be ignored. Social concern for job creation is a laudable objective for an enterprise and an individual. Perhaps we can better fulfil it by improving our own situation both in terms of work performance and satisfaction, and by generating a surplus for reinvestment. Happily, one sees enough concerns for QWL among behavioural scientists, managers, and administrators in India. Increasing dissatisfaction among workers against jobs that are tedious, monotonous and with apparent lack of responsibility, the evident strains of fast changing technology on individuals and society, and a realization that providing for people's control over jobs is a part of social responsibility of the government; have made concern for improving QWL, a reality in India. The problems of a 'partially employed society' make the task of improving QWL in India more difficult. And herein, lies the challenge for QWL in the 80's (Trist, 1981).

It would appear that this concern is equally important in the agricultural setting where technology is fast replacing traditional roles. It should not be necessary for QWL to fully deteriorate in any sector before an action programme is started. Further, perhaps it is more relevant in our context, as in our present level of development, we are in a position to learn from the mistakes of those ahead of us and avoid some of the pitfalls which became inevitable in the process of industrialization in more advanced societies. As Eric Trist (1975) has put it, we are in a position to stage a "century-skip", in designing organisations.

What Is Quality of Working Life ?

The literature on QWL is rather vague about defining QWL. Although several aspects of work and its attending conditions are included in improving QWL, the central concern of a majority of researchers is with work reorganisation and organisation redesign. The works in this area have been severally known as New Forms of Work Organization, Industrial Democracy, Job-redesign and Quality of Working Life. The term 'Improving QWL', however, by its very name connotes a wider concern than mere work-reorganization. The International Labour Office Directory of Institutions

engaged in improving QWL (1981) lists the following areas as concerns of QWL. :

- Hours of work and arrangements of working time
- Work organization and job content
- Impact of new technologies on working conditions
- Working conditions of women, young workers, older workers and other special categories
- Work related welfare services and facilities
- Shop floor participation in the improvement of working conditions.

Even though a part of QWL concern, the directory does not include problems related to occupational safety and health, as it is already covered by I.L.O. elsewhere.

A wider definition of QWL puts it as an "intentionally designed efforts to bring about increased labour-management cooperation to jointly solve the problem of improving organisational performance and employee satisfaction" (Cohen-Rosenthal, 1980). However, most people engaged in these activities have shied away from 'performance' and have stressed only 'happiness at work' as the qualifying criteria (hoping on the side that the increased happiness will result in a higher productivity). Boisvert & Theriault (1977) in a review of literature have discerned a variety of views concerning QWL. Figure 1 illustrates these views.

One notices from this figure the widely divergent views of QWL varying from a global concern about role of work in one's life to a very narrow concern for job content.

In a way, any conscious effort that is aimed at improving working conditions, work content, and its attendant conditions like safety, security, wages and benefits can legitimately qualify as QWL activity. Somehow, most work in India has taken the restricted view of QWL as one pertaining to job and job content. Ultimately, QWL is a concern not only to improve life at work, but also life outside work. Afterall, the two cannot be delinked. Even productivity must be pursued for its contribution to a better quality of life.

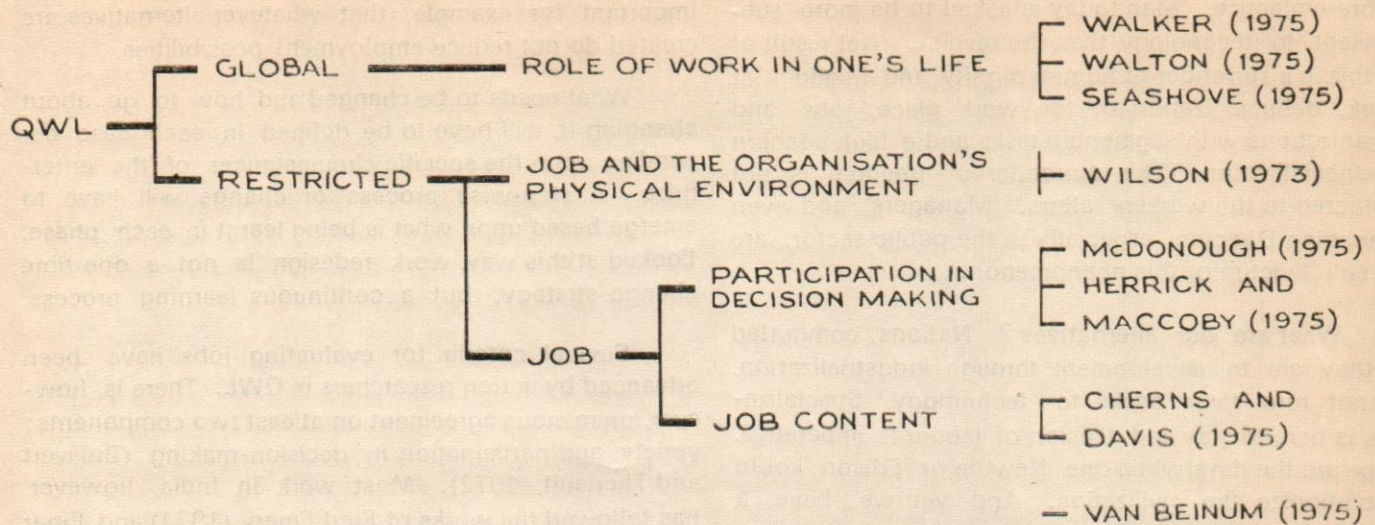


Fig. 1 : Quality of Working Life Concept

Need for Work and Organization Redesign

At this point, it is valid to ask, why should we examine jobs and job content? To answer this, it is necessary to briefly look at the history of work. Earlier, when there were no organisations, and workers, primarily tradesmen and farmers, worked as individuals or at best as family units, the worker enjoyed considerable freedom. He could, for example, start or stop work at will. He also enjoyed a choice of work within his skills and capacity for learning. Work was complex and varied. Industrialization, however, changed all this and successively imposed several disciplines on the worker.

Industrialization meant, first of all, a *Time Discipline*. A worker was allowed to work only during regulated hours. If, for example, on a particular day, he felt enthusiastic and wanted to start early, the security guard turned him back. Even, in today's modern world there are organizations in India which are reputed to send a person home, worker or officers, in case he comes late by a minute. The only choice left to the worker is to either come to work or not. This choice, as any personnel manager will tell you, the worker exercises fully, limited only by his economics.

Rapid industrial growth and two world wars, made it necessary that a large number of persons are inducted into organizations with limited or no prior training. Per force, work had to be divided into small, easily learnable components. This imposed another discipline, called *Task Discipline*. The worker was thus allowed to work only on a portion of the task, oftentimes a meaningless bit. That work became repetitive and monotonous, which did not require a worker's full

interest or intelligence, was taken as a necessity imposed by the system, subconsciously considered unalterable.

Came along industrial engineering as a full-fledged discipline, and we discovered that even in such simple tasks, there were a lot of wasted movements and efforts. We carried out work analyses and motion studies, and standardized the way in which work was to be completed. Often this standardization was accompanied by a mechanically regulated pace of work. The motto was work analysis. This imposed a third discipline on the worker, called the *Method Discipline*. Thus we said to the worker: you will work during the regulated hours, on a pre-assigned piece of work, and in a prescribed manner. The worker retaliated in the only way he could. He worked only as much as was necessary to retain his job. Rather than stop and ask: what was the problem, we turned around and asked, why does he not work?

As a solution, we introduced incentives. To our utter consternation, even incentives worked only partly. But the process did not stop here. We built an educational system which aimed at specialization. The layman has a point when he complains that we have doctors of the left-eye and the right eye, and psychologists who are experimental or abnormal. We even built organizations around these specialized disciplines. Thus in a project organization where tasks are to build a dam, a diversion tunnel and a power house, we have chief engineers, civil, electrical mechanical and purchase. We even have administrations of the cities, states and nations that are built on the same principles.

The process of alienating man from work became almost complete when technology assumed a position

of pre-eminence. Man today is asked to be more subservient to technology than the reverse. Net result of all this is a surrender of human dignity and freedom at work, dehumanization of the work place, jobs and organizations with segmented tasks and a high concern for specialization. This surrender of freedom is not restricted to the workers alone. Managers, and even Managing Directors, especially in the public sector, are an equal victim of this phenomenon.

What are our alternatives? Nations, committed as they are to development through industrialization, cannot turn their backs to technology. Specialization is here to stay and division of labour is imperative. Gone are the days when one Newton or Edison could revolutionize the civilization. And yet we have a choice:

- A. We can develop, and adapt technology to make it a better fit to human needs.
- B. We can aim at synthesizing work and create integrated tasks and sub-tasks within organizations.
- C. We can create conditions of work which re-humanize work and the work place.
- D. And lastly, we can think about what else we can do, and continue the search for alternatives.

It is in this context that the move for work organization and organization re design assumes importance. All organizations try to improve their work place. Redesigning work and organizations is a conscious effort to do so by giving greater autonomy at all levels of an organisation. It is, thus, a concrete step towards improving QWL in an organisation.

Aspects of Satisfying Work and Criteria for Job Redesign

Probably, it is easier to explain what is attempted to go away from in redesign experiments, rather than what we are going towards. The aim is to go away from the prevailing uniform type of work organizations where most tasks are split up into narrow jobs and put into a rigid status system. We are going away from a one-man-one-task system to a group of men with overall responsibility of a total task. What will be the appropriate alternative form of work organization and how to introduce it will vary according to technological and social conditions in each case. What is appropriate and adequate can best be decided through active participation of the workers, staff and management directly involved. In a country like India it will be

important for example, that whatever alternatives are created do not reduce employment possibilities.

What needs to be changed and how to go about changing it, will have to be defined in each case depending upon the specific circumstances of the enterprise. A step-wise process of change will have to emerge based upon what is being learnt in each phase. Looked at this way, work redesign is not a one-time change strategy, but a continuous learning process.

Several criteria for evaluating jobs have been advanced by action researchers in QWL. There is, however, unanimous agreement on at least two components: variety, and participation in decision-making (Boisvert and Theriault, 1972). Most work in India, however, has followed the works of Fred Emery (1974) and Einar Thorsrud (1977). Accordingly, six criteria have been used in experiments in India. These are:

- continuous learning on the job
- need for variation in the job
- involvement in decision making
- social meaning in the job
- mutual help and social support
- a desirable future (not only through promotion).

A Review of Work in India

Work redesign has its roots in the experiments carried out simultaneously in India and England, and based upon the socio-technical systems approach conceptualised by Emery and Trist (Emery, 1959; Emery and Trist, 1960). As Nitish De (1979) has put it, "it is not very widely known that while research on new forms of work organisation was in progress in the British Coal Industry, a similar experiment was in progress in a cotton textile manufacturing group in Ahmedabad in 1953." Unfortunately, changes brought about in Calico Mills, Ahmedabad, during these experiments remained static and did not become an occasion for continuing change. The loomshed where these experiments were carried out, even today, almost thirty years later, is known in the company as 'experimental shed'. The results were never diffused to the rest of the mill.

In 1973, a workshop was organised in Calcutta by Fred Emery for senior managers and trade union leaders. This started a chain of experiments and projects in India. Today, in India there is a small band of professionals and institutions engaged in QWL activities. The first chain of activities is reviewed by Nitish De (1979) starting from the first experiments in Bharat

Heavy Electricals Ltd., Hardwar, through BHEL Tiruchirapalli, a Government Post Office at Chaura Maidan, Simla, Income Tax Department, New Delhi, and Hindustan Machine Tools Ltd., Hyderabad. These experiments originated primarily from National Labour Institute, New Delhi. The work has since been conducted by Public Enterprises Centre for Continuing Education, New Delhi. The experiment in Simla Post Office started a chain of its own and is reviewed by K. Diesh (1979). This includes subsequent experiments in Chhota Simla and AGPO, Kalkaji post office in New Delhi, and Munciple Printing Press, New Delhi. The initiative for these experiments came from the Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India. The last in this series is an experiment by Postal Staff College, New Delhi, carried out in Kotagiri Post Office, Kerala. Another centre with concern for QWL emerged when Central Labour Institute Bombay organised a Seminar in 1976 in collaboration with National Labour Institute, New Delhi. However, the concern of Central Labour Institute has been primarily with the conditions of work rather than with job and job content. The last chain of experiments was started under National Productivity Council with sponsorship of International Labour Office, Geneva. This chain includes experiments started simultaneously in Rashtriya Chemicals and Fertilizers Ltd., Bombay, Tannery and Footwear Corporation, Kanpur, Ahmedabad Cotton Mills, and Jahangir Textiles Mills, Ahmedabad, Hindustan Shipyard Ltd., Vishakhapatnam, and Jhandewalan Post Office, New Delhi. The experiments in textile mills of Ahmedabad led to a project in Somasundram Mills, Coimbatore. Except for the last case, these experiments are reviewed by Kanawaty and others (1981).

Some general observations on these experiments are in order. All these experiments, barring the ones in Calico Mills and Ahmedabad Textile Mills were in public sector or in government departments. They were also large or multi-unit organisations. De (1979) also discerns a pattern of development and diffusion in these individual projects with certain elements common to all. These common elements are serially: initial doubts, curiosity, substantial interest, a feeling of privilege somewhat akin to the 'Hawthorne effect', to an in-group feeling resulting in some stabilization. Final stage is commitment and an outward look seeking to compare notes and experiences.

If criteria for success of these projects is introduction of change, perhaps it can be said that most experiments have achieved success. However, changes introduced in most organisations have been 'a la mode' Calico Mills, good, result-oriented, but somewhat static.

In some cases the changes introduced have been partial and sometimes temporary. Where changes have been of permanent or semi-permanent nature, organisations have been faced with a dilemma. Since most of these experiments were in a section, department or a unit of a large organisation, the next step has demanded either a look at the whole organization, or a major policy change, or have required a risky step forward. A stringent criteria for assessing success of these experiments will include a three step evaluation. These are :

- a. Introduction of change,
- b. Institutionalization of change, and
- c. Creating ability to generate, introduce and cope with continuing change.

Judged against this criteria, institutionalization of change in these experiments has been somewhat limited. The evidence regarding creation of ability to introduce continuing change in these organisations is not very compelling and has often been limited by movement of people to other places and organisations. This is, however, not to belittle the achievements of these experiments. In all these sites, there is a set of people who were involved in these experiments, with a sense of nostalgia, who will greet you with an outpouring of emotions and a feeling of having worked together towards a worthwhile objective. This only underlines the distance that is yet to be covered, and efforts yet to be put in.

Obstacles to Starting up a Project

Jaquie Mansell (1980) has succinctly summed up the obstacles to innovation in work place in three categories. These are: obstacles related to need, motive, and power and control. The first obvious question is—who wants QWL? In Indian context, in an ongoing concern, generally it is not the worker or the union. Both of them are too busy with bargaining for better emoluments and welfare facilities to think of work redesign. Perhaps not every management wants it either. There is some evidence suggesting that Indian managers are too status conscious to believe in group based participative decision making. Researches on Indian managerial values by Haire and others (1966) indicate that Indian managers give highest importance to security and esteem needs. Myres (1960) and Meads (1967) indicate that Indian culture is authoritarian and reluctant to share power. Sinha and Sinha's (1974) review of literature on middle class values in organisational context indicates dependence proneness and a lack of team orientation among the six value areas often discovered in Indian middle class. Obviously, the above findings are generalizations and do not comment upon an individual worker's; union leader's,

or a manager's values. The industrial engineer whose job it is to look at work, has unfortunately been brought up with a tradition of work analysis. It is only now that thinking in work synthesis after analysis has started (I.L.O., 1979). If neither the workers and unions, nor the managers want QWL, then it leaves the initiative in the hands of researchers and outside agencies.

Perhaps the question we should ask is, who should want QWL? In some of the European, and specially Scandanavian countries, it was the unions which demanded re-examination of work and its content. A similar awarness among workers in India, can be created. However, innovation in work place is clearly a top management responsibility. It should equally be a concern of the top-management of unions.

If change is desirable and somebody wants it, be he a manager, researcher or a government spokesman, the obvious question is, why does he want it? What are his motives to want change? Dealing with this question of motives is a real challenge for success of any project. It is a question of credibility. The researcher must prove that he is interested in more than his report. The manager must prove that he is not out to destroy the union or interested in getting more production through a novel device. Basically it is a question of trust that can be established only through genuine, caring behaviour. Participation and working together is one such behaviour. One has to only identify the areas where collaboration is possible.

The last category of obstacles relate to our reactions to sharing power and control. This is true of both managers and unionists. Many managers fear that new work forms will mean re-distribution of power within the organisation and between the manager and the workers. In a way, participative decision making by its very nature means more power to the workers. However, what is being aimed at is really increasing control of workers and managers over their work situation. It is not in the nature of a zero-sum game where the gain of one is a loss of the other. The purpose is to organize work in a manner that increases freedom and autonomy at work. As Lawler and Ozley (1979) have put it, "union and management participants have found that many fears voiced prior to start of the projects have proved invalid. Managements report little loss of prerogatives or influence."

Role of Unions

Although the prime responsibility for improving QWL belongs to management, unions have a special

role to play in any such endeavour. For one thing no project on improving QWL can succeed if unions are opposed to it. Of the seven experiments conducted by NPC, only in one of the successful cases, were unions not a significant factor. Even this happened partly because there was a multiplicity of unions, and partly due to their pre-occupation with larger organization-wide concerns. The workers also reported a lack of faith in the existing unions.

It was also clear from these experiments that whereas union cooperation was essential, this by itself did not ensure success of a project. What is equally important was the acceptance of change by the workers and their shop-floor representatives. It is too early to say that this is peculiarly Indian. However, considering that Indian unions often have outside leadership, and that worker participation in union activities is sometimes limited, it is not altogether an unexpected finding. However, if we also consider the role that unions have played in the Indian social milieu of creating the social and political awareness of the workers, one can be confident that unions in India can play a significant role in improving QWL.

A Strategy for Improving QWL in India

What can be a viable strategy for improving QWL in India? First of all, any concern with work in our society must also include a concern for the unemployed and the partially employed. *Participative community development projects* have tried to create work using available skills and resources (Clarke and Medling, 1980). Trist (1980) cites examples where weaknesses of a remote community were turned into a strength through participative self-help. Such projects at the village and community level hold a great promise in India, where just a beginning has been made. Job-sharing and creating part-time jobs (Thorsrud, 1980) are some other strategies that may prove useful. Since searching for work is a work related activity, it would not be difficult to enlarge definition of QWL to include this concern. In doing so, we also make boundaries between QWL and quality of life (QL) less distinct. If life is conceived as a set of activities, they can be categorized into two: work-related and leisure, care and rest-related activities. The Boisvert and Theriault (1977) diagram may then be partially modified as in Figure 2. To clarify, the concern for leisure, care and rest will include concerns like the quality of medical help, availability of homes, means for mobility and social security. Creation and search for work thus becomes a new dimension to the 'role of work in one's life' in defining QWL.

any design considerations, has been amply demonstrated. What is needed is a concerted action.

Education and training, per force, will form an integral part of a strategy for improving QWL in India. Using *training as an intervention strategy* is a potent tool in the hands of Behavioural Scientists, not only to create awareness but also to initiate change.

Finally, a strategy for improving QWL that does not *involve unions*, will per force be limited in its achievements. Unions will have to shoulder not only the responsibility of educating the workers, but also to collaborate with management in endeavours that make organisations happy and satisfying work places. Unions will discover, as Lawler (1980) has put it, "working together to improve conditions of work is what everybody wants. To redesign work while doing so, makes it fun."

Legislative measures can also give the right direction. Banning child labour in a country with child labour equivalent to the population of a small nation, only tantamounts to closing one's eyes to existing reality. Similar actions regarding 'bonded labour' and other special categories of workers will lead us nowhere. A re-examination of policies at appropriate levels is the need.

Since we are talking of segmentations, it must therefore be remembered that the distinction between QWL and Quality of Life is also one of convenience. The two must be studied together. A well deteriorated QWL cannot be very far from a deteriorated quality of life. This is applicable to both the poor and the rich, and the intellectually rich, some of whom may be engaged in improving QWL.

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QWL In Indian Organisations— An Irreverent View

S.R. GANESH

Where work itself is not accepted as part of existence, it is meaningless to talk about quality of work life, in the sense that this term is used internationally. In order to create concern for performance, interventions have to be addressed toward creating an awareness of the social cost of non-performance and poor performance.

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ORGANISATIONS, PERFORMANCE AND WORK

Organisations as a concept are an outcome of the industrial revolution and concomitant industrialisation in the West and elsewhere. Basically, organisations have come to connote places where "productive work" is done (Yankelovich, 1981). Essentially, this has displaced the pre-industrialisation concept of productive work as being performed in primary-group and community settings. Following this displacement of productive work for meeting societal needs from the primary-group settings, our world has become populated with more and more complex organisations which have come to stay with us as part of our everyday existence. Whereas in the West, this displacement has been facilitated by both social and religious values including the Protestant Christian work ethic, no such over-arching value system has provided an umbrella for functioning of organisations in the Indian context. Therefore, Indian organisations are basically importation of the Western ideas of productive work being done in places other than primary group and community settings. I am not too sure, given the predominantly agrarian society that we are, how valid this displacement of productive work from primary group and community settings is. However, the reality is that we live in a matrix of organisations of all kinds which affect our life, day in and day out, whether one is in a remote village or an urban metropolis. If this thesis is accepted, then, I would argue that there are several conditions other than our agrarian base which makes it difficult for us to accept organisations as "work places".

One important evidence for my argument comes from the non-performance as well as poor performance of many of our organisations, whatever the ownership. I think the reason is that the Indian economy operates

under protected market conditions and the protection is skewed towards perpetuation of vested interests. Such protection prevents market forces from coming into play and generating pressures for performance on organisations through normal market mechanisms of exit and voice and there is a forced choice situation as far as consumers are concerned (Hirschman, 1970). Protection as well as concentration of material and economic power prevents creation of groups which would mobilise consumers of all kinds and bring to bear pressure on organisations. Therefore, the voice mechanisms are non-existent and exit as a mechanism is foreclosed for consumers in the country due to absence of alternatives and prevalence of state as well as private monopolies and near-monopolies. Thus, the consumer has no choice but to use the state transport system and to toe the line in so far as basic necessities of everyday existence are concerned. If one exits from the state system, one merely walks into the hands of a private monopolist with high prices. Therefore, the choice is really between Scylla and Charibdes and organisations do not find themselves under any pressure of performance from the market. This creates conditions in organisations which affect work in the following ways:

There is very little concern for:

- 1) Quality of product or service.
- 2) Timeliness.
- 3) Costs.
- 4) People.
- 5) Future.
- 6) Organisational processes, specially those which add the quality dimensions to work.

The other important evidence for my argument comes from the observation that organisations in this country have "fuzzy" boundaries. Essentially, organisations have come to represent settings in which societal forces interact. Thus, our organisations have provided settings for interaction of familial forces, interest groups, caste conflicts, regional and linguistic groups, class conflicts and political and religious forces, among others (Engwall, 1981-1982; Devies, 1981; Zey Ferrel, 1981).

Irrespective of the ownership, these societal forces appear to predominate in Indian organisations much more than they do in the West. Therefore, organisations do not concern themselves with work which is essential for carrying out their missions, but, seem to concern themselves more with those activities which maintain an "equilibrium" of the societal forces. This "equilibrium" is generally in directions which perpetuate vested interests and do not upset power

balances. In many ways, ours can be considered a political economy which is essentially in the nature of a 'spoils regime' (Paul, 1981). In such a stage of development, political and other leaders play the game chiefly with the objective of sharing the spoils. Performance is of limited consequence to them because of the unequal and skewed power distribution. The masses, be they in the society or be they employees in the organisations are unable to influence the quality of management. In contrast, organisations in the West may be considered to be in a societal matrix which could be depicted as a political economy of the 'mature order'. Concern for performance is an important characteristic of a mature society. In this context work becomes a central concern and so does QWL. Thus, societal conditions make it extremely difficult for organisations to be concerned about performance and, therefore, about work, in the first place. This may also explain why many organisations perform poorly or do not perform at all. "Performance", itself, is an alien concept in this context. Hence, one wonders what success QWL interventions would have in organisations given such hostile conditions. Experiments of the 'Industrial democracy' kind are not feasible and QWL experiments will tend to remain as isolated instances and may evaporate over time unless great care is taken to insulate such experiments. This may also explain why many voluntary agencies which are involved in some interesting work in bringing about social change do not want to spread out or link up with other agencies. Perhaps, limited and insulated experiments spread all over are of a greater value than concerted efforts of the 'industrial democracy' kind.

Thus, we have to work with power centres to create concern for performance and, therefore, concern for work. Since power centres in any organisation are not under any external pressure for performance such pressure would have to be generated internally, i.e., they have to begin to feel a need for performance and, therefore, for work itself. They also have to begin to understand that concern for performance and concern for work would necessitate their changing their own behaviours and creating cultures which are congruent with such concerns. Most QWL efforts fail on this account. In family businesses and private-sector 'professionally' managed organisations with continuity of leadership, this is more possible. Along with higher education as well as influence of the West, many people who occupy key positions in such organisations are more amenable to generating internal pressures. However, governmental organisations and public enterprises which do not have stability of leadership tend to succumb to the prevailing ethos.

In order to create concern for performance, interventions have to be addressed toward creating an awareness of the social cost of non-performance and poor performance among the key stakeholders, who can be politicians, senior bureaucrats, trade unionists, among others. In a "spoils regime" this is an extremely difficult task, if not an impossible one. In the next part, I will illustrate my argument through a few examples where the primary thrust has been to influence the power centres to be concerned about performance and therefore, work. Over the years, I believe that such organisations which are influenced this way are likely to move in the direction of QWL experiments of the kind encountered abroad. One may also examine whether QWL interventions in our context are to be of the kind internationally attempted. *I suspect that QWL interventions will have to link the individuals in organisations in a mature way both internally as well as externally, such that performance is seen as a social contribution and non-performance and poor performance is seen as a social cost and a burden* (Lawrence, 1979). I further suspect that most failures can be traced to the difficulties of creating, strengthening and servicing such links internally and externally because of fuzzy boundaries. Therefore, creating a 'counter-culture' should be the predominant explicit concern of interventions preceding QWL experiments in our context. In the next part, I illustrate such efforts from my limited experience, primarily, from my work with organizations.

CREATING A COUNTER CULTURE

I think strategic interventions hold the key to creating a "counter culture" which promotes concern for performance and, hence, for work. Elsewhere, I have defined strategic interventions as planned activities undertaken by the key actors in a social action system which bring about significant changes in the posture and perception of the social system towards its primary task and its environment (Ganesh, 1981). I had identified three categories of interventions as being relevant in the context of inter-organisational effectiveness. Given the reality of 'fuzzy' boundaries, Indian organisations may also be conceived of as arenas where multiple organisations interact. Therefore, the three categories of interventions are equally germane to organisational effectiveness. These are :

- 1) *Purpose creating interventions* involving development of super-ordinate goals for the various groups interacting in the organisational arena ; conscious mapping of future states and development of specific action plans for movement towards these future states.

- 2) *Boundary changing interventions* to include development of groups and roles to handle problems of dissolution as well as creation of new individual and group boundaries ; conscious identification of the stakeholders and their salience from time to time ; conscious operationalisation of inter-group dependencies and ways of handling these dependencies and development of mechanisms for inter-group linkages from time to time.
- 3) *Culture changing interventions* to include activities to develop trust among the interacting people from various groups at different levels at different points of time ; conscious creation of nurturing of teams across groups for the performance of different tasks at different points of time ; conscious creation of mechanisms for on line real-time information sharing to bring about effective monitoring and control without undue reliance on sophisticated and expensive technologies.

I will illustrate these interventions respectively, with one example each : one of a medium-sized private sector, public limited company predominantly controlled by one family ; another of a family business group with several companies both closely held and in public limited type ; and finally, of a state level industrial infrastructure corporation considered a leader in the country. Incidentally, all these organisations are acknowledged leaders in their fields of activity. Again, while I will illustrate one category of intervention with one organization, each one has attempted and is attempting other categories of interventions. I have merely identified the thrust behind attempts of each organisation to create a "counter culture".

Thus, organisation "A" has attempted to use purpose creating interventions to bring in concern for performance. Although a leader in its industry, for more than a decade and a half, this organisation was under no pressure because of monopolistic conditions. It enjoyed good relationship between the owners and the workers. There was no middle line of management to speak of. One shift ran without supervisors. Tomorrow was very much like yesterday and growth was slow. Export opportunities were not tapped and there was no diversification. The chief executive (one of three family members in a corporate group of six) felt the need to reinvest the profits in creating new divisions to provide opportunities for growth of people in the organisation. For the first time, the six members of the corporate group sat down and began to look at

the organisation systematically and its future. Even to-day, after several years of debating, the corporate group is not fully convinced about a business-mix for the future which would rely less and less on the existing business. The mission was debated on several occasions and consensus on areas which were not considered desirable was reached. With the corporate group developing clarity on the future of the organisation, a demand was placed on the middle management to shoulder operational responsibilities. Thus, two inter-locking groups are under evolution, with the corporate group more concerned with issues within a time span of two years. Super-ordinate result-areas were identified, especially, in the operating group which brought together the marketing and the plant groups. Specific action plans were evolved. This has enabled the organisation to bring into its fold the middle managers earlier who felt left out. Today the intermeshing between the corporate group, the operating group and the workers is complete with the workers accepting the operating group "members" as opposed to negating their existence as "non-owners" and a "non-productive layer". Increasing pressures are also on the family members of the corporate group to act in consonance with the mission and not use the organisation as a setting for satisfying family needs. The corporate group has matured into a group of "entrepreneur-managers". Thus, when this organisation was confronted with crises resulting from high raw material costs, spiralling labour costs and technological obsolescence, it responded well to the challenges due to the internal strength built on processes of participation at all levels. Even on the industrial relations front, the organisation has moved away from a benevolent stance to a mature work centred relationship which is both human and humane. This has been possible as a result of conscious planning. It could be said that in this organisation there is concern for performance and, hence, work related to an organisational mission that has managerial consensus with workers' understanding. Purpose creating interventions have paved the way for QWL experiments.

In organisation 'B' the primary thrust has been toward creation of a group identity and developing appropriate mechanisms for handling inter-group problems within the Business Group. This organisation has been in existence for over three decades and consists of a marketing organisation and multiple manufacturing organisations floated by the Group. It also has several manufacturing principles who are not formal members of the Group. Run principally as a one-man show, the Chairman had been feeling a need to diversify out of the existing traditional industry and move into newer, sophisticated industries. The

entry into the Group of the young son-in-law of one of his close associates, provided him with the right opportunity. Although initially he visualised the problem as training of the marketing staff, he began to see the value of bringing about a Group identity around a strategic planning process. Interactions were set in motion which resulted in the creation of a formal management Board at the Group level followed by reorganisation of the Marketing Organisation into a Product-Region set-up. Product Managers and Regional Managers were sharply identified and a triangular interaction was set in motion with the Management Board linked to the Product-Region set-up through "Technical Directors." Planned periodic interactions of Product Managers with manufacturing heads and the Executive Director of the Marketing Organisation were also initiated. A quarterly meeting of Product Managers and Regional Managers along with a six-monthly coming together with the manufacturing heads and the Management Board have created a sense of identity and belongingness in the Group. In this process old boundaries have been dissolved and new boundaries have emerged. Concern for regions as profit centres and concern for a healthy "business portfolio" have been expressed (Hedley, 1977). Hidden costs have surfaced and strategic criteria have evolved. Hence, the strategic planning process which focussed on boundary changing interventions has created conditions in this Group whereby QWL experiments can flourish. Again, this has been possible because the power holders have felt an internal urge to do so.

Organization "C" is a successful state-level industrial infrastructure corporation. It is an informal organization, but "status conscious". Since it had been under no great pressure, neither future thinking nor systems were developed in the past. In recent years, this organization has attempted to adopt MbO as a way of managing. (Maheshwari, 1980). As a result of this it has had to rely on formalization of planning, review and monitoring processes as well as on its information system (Joshi, 1981). This has brought in its wake 12 key groups in the organization starting with a corporate group, 5 departmental groups, 5 regional groups and one apex monitoring group. Historically, the organization is split between commercial and engineering functions. The creation of these twelve groups has brought in its wake the realization that "formalization" and "systematization" with growth requires a culture built on trust at different levels to make groups function effectively. This has thrown into sharp relief such issues as composition of the groups, the role of regions vis a vis the head office departments, the need for creating business centres

around regions, and, hence, the role of regional managers vis-a-vis the engineering personnel. All these necessitate a major structural and cultural change. The move in this direction has created internal pressures on an organisation which is really under no external pressure. A gradual attempt to look into the future and develop internal control information, including computerized M.I.S. is beginning to put pressure on effective functioning of groups. The organization has now consented to have a "Process consultant" to help the groups become effective. For a governmental organization this is a major cultural departure indeed. In addition, this organisation has set in motion "training and development" efforts which cover all the employees except the class IV staff. In these efforts the officers act as "trainers" for the next level and the process of feedback has also started. At the present stage, the educational efforts are primarily technical and cognitive, but then, this is just a beginning. In many ways, this effort has helped break the ice at different levels and build trust. More sophisticated efforts at involvement may come about if these development efforts get institutionalized. Thus, O.D. interventions are paving the way for creation of a "counter-culture" and opening up the possibilities of QWL experiments.

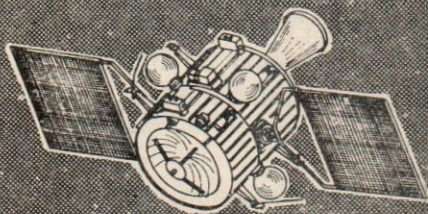
In all the three organizations, the efforts have been to create a counter-culture through influencing the power centres, generating and nurturing internal pressures since external pressures are not strong enough. My experience of working with and within educational institutions also supports this point of view. A diagnosis that was done of a premier technological institution is not even taken cognizance of by the internal elite although efforts have been made repeatedly to bring an internal group together to look at issues (Ganesh, 1981). In the case of educational qualifications I have been part of, institutional fragmentation is a common phenomenon. The institutions have become "mere addresses" for various members and not "habitats" to be cared for. Other institutions engaged in research and education around the country have experienced the phenomenon of "tail wagging the dog" and "displacement of missions". (Ganesh, 1978). The former has happened due to (a) the core professionals not investing themselves sufficiently in the development of the institution, and (b) increasing alienation followed by coming together of the other members of the institution making demands on the system, which negate the mission. The

latter has happened because of gradual erosion of "political will" in the institutional leaders who begin to view their roles from limited "personal or professional perspectives". Therefore, it becomes all the more important to initiate strategic interventions of the kind described earlier. All these are appropriate and one may start with one or the other depending on where the initial thrust would be most effective. *Creating a "counter-culture" is the need of the day—a culture that places work at its core and concern for performance as its prime-mover. Therefore, unless one moves in this direction, I have to state my irreverent view that it is meaningless to talk about QWL in the Indian context.*

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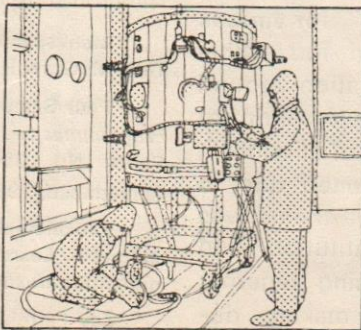
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An Assessment of Changing Patterns of Working Time Organization

LEONCE BEKEMANS

In industry, new patterns of working time organisation are reflected in the scheduling, staggering and coordination of working hours over the day, week, year or working life. The main objectives of these new arrangements are quality of life, sharing in the benefits of technological and economic progress and prevention and resorption of unemployment.

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The problem of working time organisation has, until recently, always been discussed in purely quantitative terms. The aim has been to reduce the total time spent at work : a) by setting standard hours and overtime limits per day and week, and b) by determining free time in the form of public holidays and vacation leave. However, present-day conditions (technological progress, development of large scale production, division of labour, change in work ethics, etc...) have made it necessary to consider the patterns of working time organisation differently. Hence, new and more flexible forms for the allocation of working time over the day, the week, the year and the whole active life of the individual have become the subject of debate, experimentation or reform. Changing patterns of working time organisation can be sought for many reasons (i.e., amelioration of the quality of life, at work and out of work, sharing in the benefits from productivity increases, resorption of unemployment, etc.). Many elements intervene in this process : work organisation, remuneration, nature of employment, productivity, management of personnel, etc.

Reduction of working time, longer study periods and improved retirement conditions have created more scope for individual and collective choice regarding working time organisation. Factors related to the social and economic developments in industrial society have also encouraged changing patterns of working time organisation: the higher level of education; the rapid growth of the service sector; the increasing activity rate of married women; problems of traffic congestion in large cities and overcrowding in tourist resorts ; growing industrial relations problems in conditions of economic crisis ; particular problems connected with the employment of older workers and the transition from full time work to

retirement; the demands for recurrent education and adult training schemes, etc.

Both the economic aim of using the whole potential labour force and the social aim of meeting each individual's preferences demand that people be able to choose their working time—its duration and allocation per day, per year and over their entire active life. Obviously, compromises are necessary between the collective needs of society, the needs of enterprises and the needs of individuals. Experience, however, has already shown that some of the existing constraints and rules are upheld simply out of tradition and habit. It is generally accepted that the time dimension is an integral part of an individual's conditions of work. The changed character of the time factor has an effect on the sociological and psychological aspects as well as on the economic aspects of both working life and non-working life.

The social and human aspects of the patterns of working time organisation have changed. The priority now is to deal with problems caused by the pace of modern life. Industrial and urban growth force many workers to live in the suburbs. The increasing separation of work and home means that more time has to be spent away from home.

Technological and economic aspects have also changed. Technological progress has led to an increase in productivity. While this has made for a reduction of working time, the high capital costs have often resulted in shift working, with the advantages and disadvantages this involves.

Reference is also made to the importance of the psycho-social framework in which people work and which has an influence on the patterns of working time. The framework is determined in part by the composition of the personnel (age, sex marital status, family responsibilities, the proportion of workers who are handicapped, nationality, place of residence, etc.) and in part by the effects of business fluctuations and structural factors.

A further effect of the changed character of the time factor can also be seen in the relationship between the planning of working time on the one hand, and the pattern of school time and town and country planning on the other. The school calendar affects the timetable for family and work-related activities, travel and leisure. Conversely, work schedules have an impact on school timetables. The repercussions of the different patterns of working time on town and country planning are obvious (e.g. the relation work-habitat, the introduction of flexible hours, longer work-free periods and individual choice of rest days leads to an

easing of traffic problems and more efficient use of public transport and recreational facilities).

Experience to date shows that the different approaches to the scheduling of working time are inter-related and complementary. The problem of working time goes beyond the setting of statutory limits. It involves the scheduling and distribution of working time in accordance with two principles: i.e., to answer the need for a degree of freedom of choice and to permit a better management of collective time. This paper briefly summarises the objectives of working time organisation and draws some conclusions from present working time patterns.

Objectives of Working Time Organisation

In the following section we propose to describe the general framework in which arguments are put forward in support of new patterns of working time organisation. Three main objectives can be distinguished: quality of life, sharing in the benefits of technological and economic progress and, prevention and resorption of unemployment. The introduction of appropriate accompanying measures is a sine qua non for realising these objectives.

1. Quality of Life

The well-being and job satisfaction of workers can be increased by ameliorating working conditions as well as the quality of life outside work. New policies of working time are promoted which modify working time and increase the options open to the individual. This, of course, implies a change in work ethics as well as in the attitudes towards work. In all industrialised Western countries the demand for leisure has been steadily increasing. This increase of leisure time for human and social needs has become an important aspect of working time reduction. It has certainly stimulated a social demand for leisure goods, hence an expansion of the market for leisure goods.

The steady growth of the leisure market provokes new theoretical and practical approaches to solving the present unemployment problem. A change in labour supply may relieve problems in the market. Moreover, whatever the political-economic system is, the sector of non-work is also a source of consumption and production of specific goods and services.

The debate raised by the social demand for leisure rapidly leads onto a discussion of the type of society and nature of growth. Preferring free time to work implies a qualitative growth involving new possibilities for an individualisation of human values. Still, it is possible to link work opportunities and welfare increase to a change in objectives and priorities involving cer-

tain deliberate choices. An increase in leisure time can be one of these choices.

In short, the leisure society is not only a sociological phenomenon, it also involves a different economic content of growth. Acceptable substitutes for remunerated work should be envisaged (e.g. greater educational opportunities, frequent recycling, shorter working life, etc.). Different models should be elaborated to incorporate means of responding to an increase in free time.

2. Sharing in the benefits of technological progress.

The idea that technical and economic progress leads to a progressive reduction of working time is based on the theory of the redistribution of productivity gains. The use of productivity gains implies a choice between increased means and increased leisure. The question is, "How much of each?" How does the individual in society choose between them? The extent to which people prefer more leisure to more real income varies between countries, regions and social groups. Moreover, it depends in part on the standard of living achieved, the extent of industrial development, the facilities available for the use of free time, etc.

The actual choice determines the allocation of time. Variations in working time are a function of many factors, including :

- time spent on education and training during the formative years ;
- time spent on education and off-the-job training during the working years ;
- the length of the working week ;
- the length of holidays with pay ;
- longer periods taken away from work during life ;
- earlier or later retirement.

Obviously there are infinite possibilities for combining these various types of variations in the duration of working time and of time off work. Still, it should be generally accepted that new patterns of working time should be developed so that workers can fully share in the benefits of technological and economic progress.

3. Prevention and Resorption of Unemployment

Reduction of working time as an instrument of employment policy has only been considered since the recession and the mid-seventies labour surplus. Within the European Commission the principle of concerted action regarding the organisation of working

time has been accepted. Moreover, new patterns of working time organisation contain an important element for a possible economic revival. It has often been said that a reduction in working time will create new jobs. Extended education and early retirement schemes diminish the labour supply favouring the resorption of a part of existing unemployment and the integration of a part of the stream of young unemployed. It is also argued that the demand induced by an increase in leisure time will be job creating in economic sectors such as sports, education, tourism, cultural activities, etc.

Again, a combination of a reduction of working time and a development of voluntary part time work open up certain new possibilities. A balance between the costs and the benefits of these measures should be worked out. At the firm level appropriate transfers can be realised allowing a greater flexibility of management. This would enable the enterprise to find a new equilibrium in its market position. Workers would benefit from a humanisation and individualisation of their working conditions. However, a development of the free demand for part time work is hindered by a number of uncertainties.

New arrangements of working time organisation can only realise the above mentioned objectives if they are complemented by appropriate accompanying measures. It should be agreed that the organisation of working time must be linked to the strategies of the firm, general economic and social policy and to worker participation. The proliferation of studies, in particular macro-economic studies, gives the impression that a time-lag exists between abstract reasoning and the economic and social reality. There are many appropriate measures which can be introduced or further developed to assure and stimulate changing patterns of working time organisation. We shall only mention two important ones here.

The mechanism of professional relations is a very important aspect of market economies. The existence and participation of professional organisations. (i.e., social partners) and the experience of collective bargaining are indispensable for the introduction of new patterns of working time organisation. In other words, the efficiency of governmental measures largely depends on the relation between employers and workers and on the nature of the collective negotiations.

A second important aspect is related to the usefulness of legislation or regulations. Current organisation of working time is generally left to collective bargaining. Obviously legislative action will depend on the traditions of each country. Legislative action could

be needed to give workers equal opportunities to benefit from social progress, to correct the game of pressure groups in favour of the most disadvantaged people or to built in inequalities compensating for difficult working conditions or the vulnerability of certain categories of workers (young people, older people, women, etc.). In short, regulations could establish an appropriate framework for temporary, differentiated horizons in relation to different economic and social constraints.

An Assessment

The boundaries of an individual's working life are the age of admission to employment and the age of retirement. Between these two ages, total working time varies according to the length of the working week, the amount of overtime, the length of the rest periods and holidays, the time spent on training or studying during the working year, and the periods of leave for special reasons. The current trend within this pattern of working time over life is towards a less clear-cut division between formative years, time in employment and years of retirement, so as to give the individual more scope for finding the best balance between work, study and leisure (training release schemes, sabbatical leave,...).

Employment structures are then to be reshaped according to this trend. Recent developments in patterns of working time organisation clearly indicate that the organisation of working time is now being gradually approached in more qualitative terms. The new approaches directed towards the satisfaction and welfare of individuals, groups and the whole population are conducive to job satisfaction and enrichment and encourage feelings of solidarity and responsibility. They clearly represent a further step in social progress.

The actual considerations concerning changing patterns of working time reflected both in official reports and in the positions of social partners seem to lead to flexible and progressive approaches which take into account economic constraints and individual preferences for work, leisure and income. New arrangements of working time seem also to affect the patterns of non-working time, i.e. they have an impact on the distribution of working time over life.

These approaches demand imagination, and often innovation (cf. the choice between increased means and increased leisure time, the reduction of annual working time, the reduction of overtime work, etc.). Though interrelated, each has its particular characteristics, advantages and drawbacks. To be effective, new patterns of working time organisation must be part of a joint effort integrated into the general

economic, political, social and cultural framework of each country. Therefore, a good understanding of the different objectives of introducing changing patterns of working time organisation as well as of the difficulties of implementing them is required.

1. Distinct objectives

There are two distinct objectives for introducing changing patterns of working time organisation:

- a. *The employment aim.* This objective is aimed at creating jobs or opportunities of working time for people who are unemployed. This job-creating perspective is considered very important in a period when unemployment has reached a dramatic level in most European countries.
- b. *Quality of work aim.* i.e. a strategy to improve working conditions for those who already have work.

Reference to the distinction between these two objectives is necessary for an assessment of new arrangements of working time. This often helps to clarify the opposing viewpoints of social partners (employers, trade unions, governments) who often have a different reference point and different expectations concerning these new patterns of working time. This creates misunderstandings.

One should, therefore, be very much aware of the profound difference between creating opportunities of working and introducing new patterns of working time organisation.

Trade unionists and political decision-makers often look at and assess new working time arrangements from a straight forward job-creating perspective. The result of these false expectations is disappointment and distrust. Creating economic activities and creating jobs are two entirely different tasks.

Another problem which has to be tackled is the kind of arrangement one opts for. How are our requirements best met? Is it by a rigid reduction of working time or by a more flexible structure? Moreover, the introduction of flexitime and reduction of working time are two different measures of working time organisation. They should not be confused.

Experience in some countries (e.g. Belgium) clearly proves that a rigid reduction of working time does not have a positive effect on the employment situation. In other words it did not lead to additional employment. Nor did it have a positive effect on the quality of work. Often the reduction of working time has been offset by an increase in productivity, hence

intensification of the workload per individual worker. An obvious conclusion one may draw from these experiences is that a reduction of working time must be related to a reduction of labour costs if it is to be successful.

Three policy-oriented measures can be suggested along this line of argument: 1. the increase of wage cost must be restricted; 2. the increase in the rate of productivity should not be quickened if work sharing needs to create jobs; 3. a more flexible structure of working time organisation should be promoted.

Difficulties of Implementation

In industry, new patterns of working time organisation are reflected in the scheduling, staggering and co-ordination of working hours as well as in a more or less free pattern over the day, week, year, or working life. It is quite obvious that the arguments are coloured by a diversity of opposing ideas on the causes of the economic crisis, the slackening of growth and increase in unemployment as well as on the proposed policies. The more specialised literature should be referred to for an exposition of the main elements of working time organisation (e.g. reduction of hours of work, compression of the working day and working week, staggered working hours, flexible working hours, part time employment, improvement of the annual working pattern, the retirement years, etc.)

Here, I would like to say some more about the difficulties of implementing new arrangements of working time. In a search for new patterns of working time organisation the actual choice must depend on the political flexibility of the measures proposed. Hence the need for political feasibility studies.

In addition the desirability of these working time arrangements should be examined. One of the main difficulties of introducing and applying alternative patterns of working time organisation is the inertia and resistance of many groups (trade unions, employers, public administration). We should not omit to emphasise the fact that work is a social phenomenon. Providing and/or securing employment give the social partners control over the workers. This control is believed to be better exerted within a rigid framework of working time organisation.

One of the main problems of trade union resistance is their short term outlook. They do not have 'un project de societe' but are simply defending their short term interest, i.e. job security. They are afraid that the introduction of more flexible working time arrangements will weaken their control over time and thereby lead to a loss of power.

How do we tackle inertia and resistance towards changing patterns of working time organisation? An important step towards an acceptance of the new arrangements could be to indicate to the groups involved the benefits of some measures. If one cuts across the traditional polarisation of opposing interests and restructures the labour market according to the changing environment, there will be, I believe, sufficient imagination from trade unions, employers and public administration to actually take up the issue.

Apart from making the benefits visible to various interest groups it is also necessary to translate the macro-economic approach to a micro level. If there exists a demand at the firm level for changing patterns of working time organisation trade unions will be more willing to discuss proposed arrangements. Experiments at the local level should therefore receive more publicity. There is, of course, a problem of information and communication.

The actual implementation of new arrangements of working time can be successful if those involved within the enterprise are convinced of the benefit of some measures. An exchange of experiments and of new forms of working time organisation can best be promoted at the local level within works councils. In short, difficulties of implementing new patterns of working time organisation can best be resolved by assessing the political feasibility of alternative patterns, tackling the resistance of certain interest groups towards a more flexible working time structure, grasping the importance of the changing socio-economic context and by translating the proposed measures from a macro-economic level to a micro-level.

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(as per Rule 8)

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Systems of Motivation

STANLEY E. SEASHORE

The systems of motivation vary in their emphasis upon the objectives of high individual effort and job performance, of attraction and tenure, and of contributions beyond job specifications in the interest of coordination and adaptivity. The trend is toward systems involving local participative planning and control, and more equal consideration for quality of working life for members.

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This paper will first summarize the prevailing motivational systems in use in the United States and on certain trends of change in practice. This will be followed by an analysis of the main themes of contemporary research, and the characteristics of the leading theoretical approaches.

Economic Incentives, Inducements, and Rewards

Virtually all of the larger employers in the United States make use of several different forms of economic inducement rather than relying on only one. A typical firm will have many of its employees, possibly most or even all of them, on a "straight pay-for-time wage" calculated on an hourly or daily basis or some longer period. There may be some employees under direct incentive or commission plans that relate the pay to volume of work accomplished; these may be either individual or group incentive plans, depending primarily upon the feasibility of measuring individual performance and the feasibility of providing stable opportunities for incentive earnings. The typical employer will also provide fringe benefits available to all members. These are not ordinarily dependent upon productivity, but they may be differential for classes of employees thought to have more, or less, opportunity for contributing to the welfare of the organization. The typical firm is likely to have provisions, either contractual or as a matter of established custom, that provide increments of pay rate, employment security, and/or promotional potential on the basis of seniority; that is, longer-service employees generally have better pay, career advantages, and additional security against lay off or job loss, and may have opportunity to receive, or to decline, supplemental paid overtime work (Upsahl & Dunnette, 1966).

The variations within this typical practice are

numerous. Some employers make extensive use of incentive pay plans while others make none at all; about 30 per cent of the employed are on some incentive plan (Fein, 1976). Some link their straight-time wage payments to measured standards of performance that represent the expected minimum or average output for the period. Some provide means for the employees to share in effectiveness gains, or in profits, or to acquire shares of ownership on favourable terms. The rates of pay vary greatly among employers as does the economic value of the associated benefits other than pay, such as paid time off, protective insurances and services, deferred retirement income, etc.

There exists great diversity in the amount and form of economic benefits of employment depending upon many factors. Among these factors are: historical practices in different sectors of the economy, labor union contracts (there are many autonomous unions with different policies), the economic capacities of different organizations, the work technology variations that permit or prevent the use of incentive pay plans, the preferences of the employer, and others. There are few regulations of national scope that press for uniformity of practice although the legislated minimum wage levels must be observed and certain tax-like benefits are uniform, as for example, employer payments to the employees' national social security account, and payments to insure compensation in the event of injury at work. The employer has a great deal of opportunity to choose a strategy of economic motivation that he judges to be optimally humane, equitable, and cost-effective.

It is of first importance to recognize that the considerations in choosing or designing an economic motivation system depend upon the employee behavior that the employer desires to insure. Some employers (and their unions, if any) give priority to economic security for the employees and express this by relatively great emphasis upon protective fringe benefits, upon employment security, and upon seniority as a uniform basis for economic rights and protections. Others give priority to the stimulation of maximum individual work effort and performance and, therefore, to individual variations in benefits; others to equality and equity among employees. Some give priority to minimizing employee turnover and work absence, and are not very concerned about productive effort; others to stimulating voluntary acts of effort, cooperation, or innovation beyond the minimal requirements of the employees' jobs. These differences, arising from the technology and economy of the firm, or in some cases from the employer's ideological beliefs, lead to diversity in practice.

Certain trends of change appear to be taking place in the United States as to practices in economic motivation. In the absence of any central monitoring agency, one must rely on diverse and fragmentary sources of information. The following points seem most worth noting:

1. There is increasing pressure, from labor unions and other sources, for guaranteed long-term employee income assurance. Aside from the protections associated with seniority, some firms have instituted guarantees as to annual income or provided supplemental funds for income maintenance of temporarily laid off employees.
2. While this may be debatable, and dependable information is lacking, there appears to be a trend toward expanded use of group-based incentive pay plans over individual incentive plans. This may be related to an increase in the interdependency among employees arising, in turn, from technological and information system innovations—changes that make individual-level performance measurement unreliable, or irrelevant to system performance.
3. The proportion of the total "economic package" provided to employees in the form of fringe benefits—i.e., benefits to which the employee is entitled simply by membership in the organization—continues to increase. This proportion is commonly in the range of 15% to 35% of the total economic benefits. These benefits are commonly quite uniform within the organization, with little regard for work effort, performance, tenure, or absence.
4. The number of employers providing some form of gain sharing continues to increase, although slowly. Such plans provide to the employees a share of the gains in cost-effectiveness arising from the workers' joint input. The reward is thus, linked to the cost-saving innovations by employees, and increased cooperation in work, as well as to individual effort and personal competence.
5. Profit sharing, which is not the same as cost-effectiveness gain sharing, also continues to increase in use, although slowly. It is estimated that over 300,000 firms (mostly small) now provide profit sharing: about 19 per cent of the workforce are in firms with a profit-sharing plan of some kind (Quinn, et

- al., 1971). The common justification for introduction of such plans is the belief that improved performance will result.
6. While some private firms have had employee share ownership plans for many years, the use of such plans has increased greatly in recent years. About 17 per cent of the workforce is in firms with profit sharing (Quinn, et al., 1971). The plans vary greatly in their nature, some merely providing a convenient payroll deduction and purchase service, others providing a favorable purchase price or employer subsidy for share purchase. In the last few years there has come federal legislation providing tax and capital acquisition advantages to employers who institute share ownership plans of certain specifications. Indeed, it appears to be an implicit public policy to promote "expanded ownership" by employees of their own firms. The justification includes the assumption that people will work harder and better for a firm in which they have ownership. (Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress, 1976.)
 7. The difference in effective pay rates, taxes considered, between the higher skilled and unskilled employees may continue to decrease, although there are differences of opinion on this point. In any case, only a half of the workforce desires and expects to achieve promotion to a more demanding job (Quinn & Shepard, 1975).

Non-Economic Inducements and Rewards

The last two or three decades have brought to the United States, and to some other countries, a growing preoccupation with, and energetic exploration of, non-economic factors in work motivation. While some employers have always shown a regard for humane and humanistic values in their treatment of employees, a surge of practical interest arose following some early research showing that non-economic factors of identifiable and replicable kinds could influence employee work effectiveness.

The "human relations movement" derived its stimulus from a new appreciation of the relationship between the individual employee and his employment situation that was in marked contrast with the then prevailing economic model. The economic model viewed the employment relationship as a simple bargained contract involving the exchange of pay and related economic advantages for the time and effort

of the employee. The human relations movement gave impetus to an enlargement of the range of mutual obligations under the employment contract, but still within a model of economic exchange. Thus, it was argued, to get full value from the employee including his loyalty, responsibility, concern for the employer's interests, and full use of the employee's abilities (as well as time and effort), the employer would need to provide a work environment suited to sustain the health and welfare of the "whole person" and to merit voluntary, spontaneous contributions, beyond the minimum requirements, to the effectiveness of the organization. The employee's attitudes and preferences, his individualistic needs, and his rate and potential for self-development became legitimate parts of the implicit employment agreement. In some oversimplified versions this led to the dubious proposition that more satisfied workers would be more productive, thus justifying to the employer the costs of providing a more satisfying work environment. When combined with the contemporary drive for labor union organization, and the rapid expansion of technological and capital investments that made managers feel more dependent upon the spontaneous goodwill of employees, powerful forces were created to discover and apply means for "humanizing" work, for minimizing dissatisfaction, and for making work environments more attractive and motivating to employees of diverse personal and individualistic needs.

The "human relations movement" is now widely regarded as having been overly-simple in conception. Also, it was tainted by its managerial origin and emphasis upon organizational advantage; it seemed to many to imply an employer's gain without accountable reward to the employees, or a strategy for co-opting the employee into a false sense of identity with managerial values. Nevertheless, the basic discoveries about non-economic work motivations, and the proof of the existence of substantial intrinsic reward potential in the design of work environments, have had a lasting influence upon contemporary systems of work motivation in the United States. A number of quite specific organizational policies and programs emerged and have gained significant scope of application. A few are mentioned for illustration:

1. Job enlargement and job enrichment practices are becoming more widely used. There exist technical guides to such practices and a cadre of professionals to provide advice. The underlying assumption is that overly-routine, repetitive, and highly specified jobs, however efficient in ergonomic and scheduling terms, have the side effect of minimizing

effort, reducing adaptivity, increasing turnover, and the like (Ford, 1969).

2. Job and workplace redesign to allow more group-centered and less individually-centered work is now beyond the early experimental stage of application and is becoming more common. The underlying assumptions relate to the assurance of adaptivity and skill redundancy for work performance under variable conditions, and to the motivational potential inherent in the social dynamics of group membership.
3. Redistribution of decision making and control is an explicit feature of the programs of many employers toward enhancement of work motivations. The specific forms vary widely, from relatively modest enlargement of information-giving and consultation-getting practices as between managers and employees, to more strong practices in which employees in functional units in the firm are given substantial autonomy in self-management. Such autonomy may include employee control over the technology and economy of the unit as well as control over its internal social and work-sharing arrangements. The common feature of such strategies is the allocation to lower ranks of enlarged control over, or influence upon, decisions that affect the work unit. The central assumptions are of two kinds. (1) Except for necessary coordinative and supply functions, people close to the scene of the work are most qualified and motivated to find an optimal way to perform the work effectively and to adjust to changing conditions, and (2) Self-generated work goals and constraints are more likely to be accepted than are imposed goals and constraints.
4. Joint labour-management efforts, outside of and complementary to the normal bargaining relationship, are still rare in the United States but increasing in number. Some explicitly focus upon mutual interests in productivity, efficiency, safe working conditions, and job security; others include, or even emphasize, joint efforts to seek improvements in the quality of working life (National Centre for Productivity and Quality of Working Life, 1976). The common feature of such strategies is the search for mutual problem solving outside of the usual adversary relationship. The key assumption is that there exist many

possibilities for change of mutual benefit to both the employer and the employee that are not likely to be considered, or to be readily accepted, if undertaken unilaterally or through bargaining. A secondary assumption is that such changes make the workplace more attractive and the changes themselves are less threatening if jointly sponsored.

Effectiveness of Alternative Motivational Systems

There exists some evidence bearing upon the evaluation of each of the motivational methods and strategies selected for mention in the foregoing pages. This evidence is incomplete, complex, limited in scope, and often contradictory (Fein, 1976; Katzell, et al., 1975; Lawler, 1971). No attempt will be made here to summarize this evidence. Some examples will be provided to illustrate the difficulties of evaluation. Four aspects of the evaluation problem are chosen for comment: diversity of criteria of success; limited applicability of methods; inseparability of contributions to motivation from different sources; and contamination of both data and interpretations by ideological factors.

Systems of motivation may be designed with priority to any of several desired behavioral outcomes. Katz (1964) asserted that "Three basic types of behavior are essential for a functioning organization: (1) People must be induced to enter and remain within the system. (2) They must carry out their role assignments in a dependable fashion. (3) There must be innovative and spontaneous activity in achieving organizational objectives which go beyond the role specification." It is not to be expected that any motivational factor will be equally effective with respect to all three classes of desired outcomes, and it is known that some have contrary effects for different criteria. If an organization has a primary problem of low individual effort and productivity, that organization is well advised to use individual-level incentive pay plans, for the evidence is strong that differential pay contingent upon job performance induces, on average, higher performance. In contrast, where the primary problem is one of coordination, adaptivity and flexible accommodation of changing conditions, an individual-level incentive plan is likely to impede system performance. Similarly, a motivation source such as "high quality of work", defined and measured with reference to employee need satisfactions, shows in a recent study no relationship to employee job performance (an expected outcome) but strong relationships to subsequent voluntary job turnover and to persistent absenteeism (Quinn, et al., 1977). In short, there exists the possibility of tailoring a package of motivators—a system of motivations—to fit the

central problems with which the organization must cope whether this be attraction and retention, individual effort in job performance, or attainment of systemic coordination and adaptivity under uncertainty. The evaluation of any component of such a motivational system must be with reference to the unique problems and priorities of the organization.

Much of the evidence offered in support of one or another motivational scheme is suspect, because of this natural selectivity; it is undeniably true that firms introducing individual or group incentive plans typically achieve substantial gains in productivity, but it is also true that these are firms where such plans are judged feasible and where productivity is low at the start. Similarly, where non-economic steps have been taken to induce increments in collaborative work behavior or team effectiveness, favourable productivity performance outcomes are commonly reported, but these results must be interpreted with caution as such steps are taken where conditions are favourable and need is great. Firms with profit-sharing plans are known to have relatively higher profitability than comparable firms without profit-sharing, but it is not known whether profitability induces profit-sharing or vice versa.

Firm evidence, meeting scientific standards, is very hard to obtain except by experimental methods, and experimental results in turn are suspect because of their contrived character and generally short duration.

Some approaches to employee motivation that are known to be effective as a general rule also have the restriction that they are applicable in limited conditions. Profit sharing plans, for example, apply automatically without exception to the 12% of the U.S. workforce that are self-employed and commonly to higher-level managers. They are not applicable to the half of the workforce employed by non-profit organizations such as schools and government agencies. Many work technologies preclude individual or group incentive plans because there is no way to measure productivity or cost-effectiveness gains, in a way that is timely, equitable, and comprehensive of all significant aspects of productivity.

A further difficulty in assessing the components of a system of motivation lies in the fact that they do indeed comprise a system, in the sense that the elements are interdependent. Few evaluation studies have taken into account the context or the necessary conditions that allow a potential motivational source to be effective.

Finally, as a difficulty in assessing the effectiveness of alternative approaches to work motivation, it is

necessary to mention ideological issues. During the Nineteenth Century and early in the present century there prevailed in the United States a widely shared socio-economic ideology that determined the prevailing practices in work motivation. To put the matter in an overly-simple way, emphasis was given to the operation of a free and competitive labor market in which the employer bargained with individuals to get qualified labor at the lowest possible rates of pay, and with few obligation other than providing employment and pay; the employee, in turn, was typically committed on ideological grounds to deliver a fair day's work, and to insure continued employment and individually-determined increases in pay (in the absence of guarantees) by performing as well or better than others. The ideological scene has changed considerably, through the forces of technological changes which foster interdependence in work performance, of wage setting by class action rather than by individual bargaining, and of the public pressures for rewards and protections linked to membership alone rather than to individual job performance. The portion of a worker's reward that is accessible to the employer for individualized variation for performance motivation has become more limited. The assumptions and values that are invoked for assessing the merit of alternative motivational systems are now diverse. Some see the weakening of individually variable economic rewards as undermining not only the economic system, but the social fabric as well; others welcome the development of alternative motivational sources, but for diverse reasons ranging from beliefs about societal cohesion and welfare to beliefs about the practical superiority of social and job-intrinsic rewards. For the reasons suggested here, the continuing debate about motivational systems in the United States has become ideological, in part, and not wholly responsive to scientific or empirical information. Nevertheless, research and theory construction continue. Some main lines of development are mentioned next.

Current Theoretical Developments and Related Research

While theoretical development and research proceed in many directions, several stand out because of their novel features or intensity of inquiry. Selected topics are mentioned here.

1. One thrust of inquiry into work motivations during the past decade concerns "expectancy theory". This class of theory derives from reinforcement theories of human behavior, with elaborations to take account of expectations and values. In elementary forms, the

theory specifies that a person will engage in a given behavior, such as increasing work effort, only if he perceives that increased effort would result in a performance increment, *and* also if he perceives that such an increment would lead to a net increment in valued rewards. The focus is upon the net expectancy (a multiplicative probability estimate) that added effort will result in added reward. The predictive system is moderated further by individual differences in the value attached to various benefits and costs, and by cognitive factors of information availability and certainty. This type of theory has been applied and tested primarily in the context of understanding why pay incentive plans are not uniformly effective in inducing added work effort. An illustration of its application is available from an early study of Georgopoulos, et al. (1957), in which, for a large population of production workers on individual incentive pay plans, variations in actual productivity among individuals was partially explained by the following combination of factors: (1) Variations in strength of need for more income, (2) Beliefs about the feasibility of increasing productivity given the constraints imposed by the work arrangement, and (3) Beliefs about the probability of a continued relationship between high productivity and high pay. The significance of this line of inquiry lies in its potential, in designing systems of motivation, for linking economic incentives to the context of values, beliefs, and expectations that may enhance, or may remove entirely, the intended incentive effect (Heneman & Schwab, 1972; Lawler, 1971).

2. Inquiry into systems of motivators, as compared with the study of separate motivational factors, has been rather slow to develop. However, there exist examples, and additional similar work is in progress. An example is found in the work of Klesh and Cammann (1977) in which, for a large population of workers in five different organizations, they were able to test the efficacy and compatibility of three alternative motivational strategies against a variety of employee responses. The results suggest that contingent extrinsic reward systems (e.g., pay and promotions contingent on performance) and contingent intrinsic reward systems (e.g., self-esteem, or

pleasure in doing the job, contingent on how well the job is done) operate in a compatible and additive manner, and facilitate both the employers' interests (e.g., more effort) and the employees' interests (e.g., more satisfaction, and less mental depression). On the other hand, the strategy of controlling work performance through "rules control" (e.g., job simplification, work standardization, specification of acceptable standards, etc.) proved to be incompatible with the other two and opposite in its effect upon work effort as well as upon self-esteem and intrinsic job satisfaction. The significance of this research lies not in the tentative conclusions, which need to be verified, but in the design which aims to treat an array of motivational principles of sources jointly with an array of valued outcomes.

3. The aspect of systems of motivation bearing upon individual differences and population constancies in outcome preferences has a long history of theory development and research in the United States. On the theoretical side, there is a widespread acceptance of "hierarchical" or "developmental" conceptions of need priority; these specify that certain lower-order needs, such as that for economic security, have motivational priority if not substantially satisfied, but that when such needs approach sufficient satisfaction, then higher-order needs become the salient ones. The higher-order needs have to do with social interaction, personal growth and accomplishment, autonomy and individuality in action (Alderfer, 1972; Maslow, 1965). Such conceptions are known to fit with empirical data about the expressed priorities of the workforce. Many studies show that economic benefits are judged to be of less interest and importance than "personal growth" and "intrinsic job interests" among most employed workers, but not among the relatively unskilled and lower-income people in service and production occupations; for them money rates first (Fein, 1976; Herrick & Quinn, 1971). The significance of these ideas lies, not in the abstract spinning of theory, but in the basis they provide for understanding the conditions under which economic sources of motivation diminish in effectiveness and factors relating to job design and the social arrangements at work

take on greater motivational potential.

4. The most significant recent development of theory and applied research in the United States relating to systems of work motivation goes under the somewhat misleading name "quality of working life". The central issue addressed concerns the transition of the whole of the society from the now-outmoded and dysfunctional cultural prescriptions that emerged with modern industrialism to those suitable for productive work in a post-industrial era (Davis & Cherno, 1975 ; Trist, 1976). Such a grand conception of social change and work motivations inevitably arouses ideological support and also strong opposition. Fortunately, the principles underlying the conception of desirable changes and means for achieving them allow experimentation by union and management people in organizations and allow the testing of results with reference to both established motivational theories and to empirical results to be obtained. The present situation is that a number of U.S. firms, including some of the largest as well as smaller firms, have undertaken trial ventures intended to restructure the way in which work systems are designed and changed and the way in which work environments are adapted to changing opportunities and changing needs. There may be as many as 500 or more such "experiments" in progress now, some of modest scope but many of significant scope and duration. A common feature of such efforts is employment of work-site participative processes that involve non-managerial people and (where relevant) the labor union organization ; another is the invoking of a broad range of potentially motivating factors additional to those of short-run economic advantage.

The space of this paper does not allow an exposition of the theories and strategies of approach embodied in these developments, nor is any example to be regarded as typical. Nevertheless, two brief examples will illustrate some themes.

- a. An underground coal mine in Pennsylvania has been operating for over two years under principles of the self-managing, semi-autonomous work group. There are no supervisors; all crew members are paid alike at the top contractual rate ; all share in the same tasks or divide them as they jointly think best ;

they jointly decide matters of work strategy and pacing, and the solution of work problems. So far they are reported to be maintaining good productivity, reducing some costs, compiling an exceptional safety record, and obtaining a valued bonus of satisfaction and self-esteem. Voluntary absence is said to be at a minimum and that may be one clue to the miners' quality of working life (Trist, Susman, & Brown, 1977).

- b. In an auto parts factory steps have been taken jointly by the management and the labour union to alter the culture of the factory to give priority to four objectives : increased employment security, increased within-plant equity, increased individualization of jobs and work-related activity, and increased democracy (participation in decisions). While improved productivity and cost performance have been very explicitly *not* primary goals, it is nevertheless reported over a period of about three years that productivity has increased beyond explanation by technological changes and that cost-effectiveness of production has improved substantially.

Such adventures in new systems of motivation are recognized to be exceptional and not merely incremental additions to prevailing and established systems of motivation. They have the distinguishing feature of accepting a very inclusive conception of what is meant by "organizational effectiveness," in which high productivity and competitive cost performance are valued, but not necessarily given first priority. Several such experiments are currently undergoing evaluation by neutral observers using a broad spectrum of measurements and value-perspectives which include, but are not limited to, the traditional managerial goals of high productivity and low cost.

Summary

The systems of motivation in the United States are notable for their locally varied character and their employment of inducements of many kinds. Both economic and non-economic inducements are widely used, and in different proportions. The systems of motivation vary also in their emphasis upon the objectives of high individual effort and job performance, of attraction and tenure, and of contributions beyond job specifications in the interest of coordination and adaptivity. There appears to be a trend toward enlargement of the scope and scale of collective rewards—i.e., those allocated on a class or membership basis—as against individualized rewards based on

individual differences in contribution. There is active research relating to systems of work motivations and this research reflects a variety of ideological and theoretical approaches. The most significant new development is the growth of interest and activity in the trial of "strong" systems of motivation involving enlarged local participative planning and control, and more equal consideration for goals of organizational effectiveness and quality of working life for members.

Large Organizations

This paper has not distinguished between the practices and problems of large organizations compared with smaller ones. In general, larger employers in the United States compared with smaller ones pay higher wage and salary rates, provide more generous economic fringe benefits, and emphasize economic rewards rather than non-economic rewards. In these respects, the pattern of practice is similar to that described by Ingham (1970) for British firms. The differences appear to arise from large size itself rather than from employers' policies and intentions; large organizations are more often unionized and exposed to strong economic bargaining as well as pressures for firm-wide uniformity of practices; large firms commonly are capital-intensive and, thus have less economic concern about higher wage rates; large firms tend to become bureaucratized for administrative efficiency and, thus, tend to favor uniformity of practices and dollar-accountable practices on a firm-wide basis. The evidence as to relative labor efficiency of small and large firms is mixed and uninterpretable.

Needed Research

While there is always a deficit of sound research, and priorities are debatable, this writer suggests special attention to the following topics:

1. An optimum system of motivation for any specified set of conditions (e.g., composition of workforce, nature of the technology, systemic organizational requirements, etc.) can only be designed if there is knowledge of (a) the interdependencies and interaction among motivational sources, and (b) their impact on the full array of desired behavioral outcomes. Such research will be complex, but there are now theoretical and technical resources to allow it.
2. Organizations differ-greatly in the relative importance of low turnover, capacity to attract new members, individual effort in job performance, and individual spontaneous contributions beyond job specifications. These differences in organization's need

priorities presumably derive from the organization's core technologies, from the labour market environment, from growth and innovation plans, and the like. It would be highly practical as well as scientifically useful to undertake inquiries into such patterns of organizational need priority, to the extent that they, in turn, suggest choices among alternative systems of motivation.

3. It is the nature of large organizations that they tend to impose uniformity of motivational practice to the disregard of local variations in employee population characteristics and local technological differences. Research is suggested on the means for achieving local variations to fit local circumstances. An example of such research, on a very limited scale, is the recent report of Lawler and Jenkins (1976).
4. There occurs much controversy, unenlightened by reliable data, on the motivational effects of ownership as compared with the effects of enlarged employee control. There exists evidence that the form of fiscal ownership of the enterprise (public, private, employee) may vary independently of the degree of employee control over the activities of the enterprise. We need some research designed to assess the separate and joint effects of employee ownership and of control.
5. There is some evidence suggesting that with respect to economic rewards, employee response is more closely linked to the within-firm equity in reward than it is to the absolute amount of the reward. If equity and perceptions of equity prove to be so important, then we need to extend current research on the psychological and sociological bases for judgements of equity.

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Job Satisfaction As A Managerial Concern

HANS J. PLEITNER

The phenomenon of job satisfaction represents a key element which promises an innovative access to numerous managerial problems, enabling them to be viewed and dealt with in an unconventional manner. Job satisfaction results from the degree of correspondence between the individual's expectations on the one hand and the circumstances of his job situation on the other, as compared by the individual employee.

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Any observer of our business management discipline with a concern for impartiality will inevitably gain the impression over the years that it is by no means proof against the currents of fashion. New ideas, concepts and theories are constantly being evolved and put forward, thanks to academic endeavour, and this is a good thing because it is what keeps the discipline alive. It is noticeable, however, that the attention paid to many of the topics raised does fluctuate as time goes by. One example is the phenomenon of job satisfaction (JS). First 'discovered', at least as far as the German-speaking academic world is concerned, only about ten years ago, this aroused widespread interest in the mid seventies and has since—it seems to me—rather retreated into the background, probably not least as a result of recession and unemployment, which may have shifted the priorities (Benninghaus, 1978).

What, then, beyond everyday economic realities, are we to make of JS? What makes dealing with it seem meaningful? What is the significance of JS as a managerial concern?

Our answers to these questions must undoubtedly take their cue from the content of JS, in other words from what it represents.

The term 'job satisfaction'

Since the reservations regarding scientific concept formation expressed (on varying grounds, admittedly) by authors from Adorno (1972) to Wittgenstein (1969), we feel less straightforward about the traditional procedure of prefacing every systematic piece of reflection with a definition. In the case of so complex a term as JS, however, there is little room for scepticism. For the purposes of what follows we construe JS axiomatically as 'positive in-tune-ness in the job situation, the

extent of which is dependent on the degree of harmony between a person's expectations (in respect of the various *individual* job-related factors and in respect of the job *as a whole*) and their fulfilment in reality' (Pleitner, 1981). It may be stronger or weaker, and it may also turn into its opposite, job dissatisfaction (JD). In other words we can locate it on a scale ranging from 'very satisfied' through 'satisfied' and 'neither/nor' to 'dissatisfied' and 'very dissatisfied'. The term covers not only job activity as such but every aspect (or 'dimension') relating the employee to his working environment. These may be almost infinite in number; but they can, say for operational reasons, be grouped into a finite quantity (Muller-Boling, 1979).

Two things must be noted. Firstly JS can be understood as an overall phenomenon or as the sum of individual factors. Secondly it is determined both by the actual situation at work and by the demands of the individual person.

The relevance of JS to business management

In general JS is described as a primarily *psychological* quantity—with incontestable justification, since one aspect of it, namely the person's level of expectation, can be apprehended only in psychological terms. But there seems to me to be equal justification, given the aspect of the actual place-of-work situation, for seeing JS in terms of an *economic* quantity. All the more so, in fact, since modern views of managerial economics have extended the scope of our discipline (as yet without trespassing on others' domains). There is a lot to be said for the wider orientation, not least the fact that for example the one-sidedly calculatory approach has here found its necessary complement.

So the first question, i.e. whether JS is a 'legitimate' *subject* for managerial economists to study, must be answered in the affirmative. Beyond this, of course, there is the question whether JS can claim the status of an economic *objective*. If we can answer this too in the affirmative, there remains finally the question whether it is to be ranked as an *independent* or as a *secondary* objective. We shall be coming back to this.

Here we must first point out that JS, in addition to its psychological and economic significance, is important in terms of industrial sociology, technology, and industrial medicine. We can conclude, then, that JS is a concern for managerial economics but not *just* for managerial economics. It can lay claim to scientific attention but not *just* to scientific attention.

Origin and manifestations of JS/JD

According to our working definition, JS results from the degree of correspondence between the individual's expectations/demands on the one hand and the circumstances of his job situation on the other, as compared—even if this is usually an unconscious process—by the individual employee. If, in his opinion, that correspondence is adequate, the result—according to our model—is JS; if it is inadequate, the result is JD. The latter case leads initially to an unstable situation, since it is in man's existential interests to strive for well-being, though of course the intensity of such striving is marked by interpersonal differences. Basically three different modes of behaviour are possible here:

- a) The temporarily dissatisfied person *realistically* reduces his demands until they harmonize with his circumstances. Result: JS. To adapt a saying of Hector Berlioz,¹ this would be a person with 'a talent for satisfaction'.
- b) The temporarily dissatisfied person presses for an improvement in the circumstances of his situation ('*constructive*' or '*creative*' attitude). If he is successful, he also achieves JS; if he is not, his dissatisfaction hardens.
- c) The temporarily dissatisfied person becomes *resigned* to and comes to terms with his situation. Here, too, the result is hardened dissatisfaction.

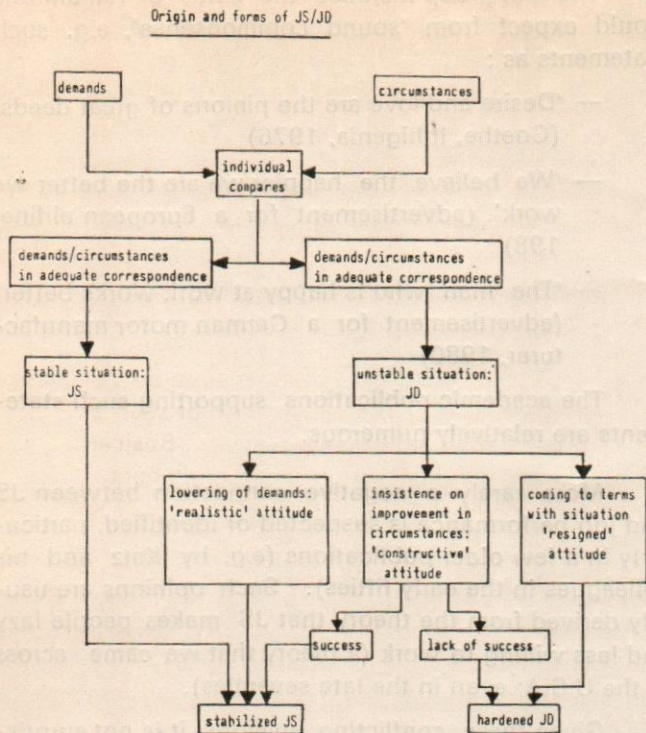
The following figure represents a modification of the ideas of Ulich and colleagues (1975, 1976); a modification particularly because in our view a *raising* of the level of demand can hardly lead to growing ('*progressive*') JS, as Ulich supposes, and further because a *retraction* of expectations need not, in a society that is only to a limited extent achievement-oriented, primarily indicate resignation (cf. the much-discussed 'drop-out').

Origin and forms of JS/JD

But we attempt to look at JS as a matter of *managerial economics*. This means that we must turn our attention to circumstances rather than to demands. Such an approach may seem excessively pragmatic, not to say one-sided—namely this concentration on the dimension in which as managerial economists we feel competent. Our argument, however, receives additional support from a remarkable empirical discovery.

Analyses of the importance of the two components of JS have shown in general that circumstances play an incomparably greater part in the generation of JS

1. 'It is not enough to have the luck to be talented; one must also have a talent for luck.'



than do expectations—and this regardless of the researcher's mode of procedure and the firms, classes of employee, types of activity, etc., considered (Benninghaus, 1978, Pleitner, 1981). The indications to this effect are—exceptionally for JS research—relatively constant and in some cases backed up by evidence, so they clearly have more than the character of mere assumptions and we need no longer be afraid that the authors were simply trying to dodge the problem. Expectations appear to show a tendency to move into harmony, at least in the long term, with possibilities of fulfilment, whether this involves rising or falling. To illustrate this let me harness two German satirical poets, Wilhelm Busch and Eugen Roth, into the service of managerial economics for once :

Wilhelm Busch : The thing once craved so fervently
Is yours, the wish fulfilled.
Your triumph you give forth with
glee :
'Now is my longing stilled !'
Alas, my friend, your words are mad,
Your reasoning is crude.
For every wish, as soon as had,
Is father to a brood.
(raising of demand level)

Eugen Roth : No man of quietly hoping ever tires
That he will one day have what he
desires, Until he too to mania suc-
cumbs
And ultimately wants whatever comes.
(lowering of demand level)

The indicated reduction of expectations (and this is presumably often the case) does not of course mean that we can assume that employees would eventually and in the long term regularly become satisfied with their situation. But within a certain range, which may vary in size from case to case, the *realities* of the job situation do indeed seem to decide the issue as far as JS is concerned.

This discovery, in so far as it can be relied on, merely underlines the high value to be placed upon the economic aspect for JS. The sober analyst in the field of managerial economics may of course take no interest in such a statement until the phenomenon of JS/JD turns out to produce measurable or verifiable effects in the context of the firm. This raises the question of its possible consequences.

Consequences of JS/JD

It is a remarkable fact that the list of those experts who are concerned with the effects of JS/JD is much shorter than the list of those looking into what causes them. Neither group, however, is characterized by unanimity. As far as consequences are concerned the differences begin with the question whether basic in-tune-ness with his job is in fact capable of guiding the employee's observable behaviour at all. A minority of authors maintains that it is not.

Most research workers, however, attribute visible and verifiable effects to JS and in particular to JD (i.e. what we have classified as 'hardened' JD). Again we propose to confine ourselves to the economic side. The more prominently the consequences appear, the more relevant JS will obviously be as a concern of managerial economists. We shall basically be discussing three groups of effects of low JS among employees :

- a) absences
- b) poor performance
- c) changing jobs

a) Absences

The prevalent opinion is that lack of JS causes absences from work (Vroom, 1964, Kahn, 1972, Bunz, Jansen, Schacht, 1974, Bruggemann, Groskurth, Ulich, 1975). The conclusiveness of the sources varies, however, and while some researchers argue apodictically that the relationship is proven empirically beyond all doubt, others tend towards a more cautious view. A recent German study (Benninghaus, 1978) even finds—that there is not the slightest connection'. (Explanatory thesis : The dissatisfied ones among the industrial workers polled are those with monotonous jobs,

which, however, makes them easily replaceable. They therefore cannot afford frequent absences.)

If we want to evaluate this kind of argument critically, we must take a closer look at what this quantity 'absences' comprises. Thus while absence from work may be a direct consequence of JD in that it prompts the person concerned to stay away, i.e. voluntarily, it is also conceivable that JD reduces attentiveness and concentration on the job, which can then lead to accidents, for example, as the immediate cause of absences. And finally, JD may produce psycho-somatic effects, i.e. cause illnesses that in turn result in absences from work. In this case it is with good reason no longer open to the employee to stay away from work through lack of JS, so neither is there any question whether he can afford to do so from the point of view of job security.

We can conclude, therefore, that the effect of JD in terms of absences may arise in different ways and is not guaranteed a priori (see also Neuberger, 1974.) On the other hand we have no grounds for assuming that as far as absences are concerned it is a matter of indifference whether or not employees are happy in their work. Even among entrepreneurs/self-employed persons time losses can result from conditions of consistently lacking satisfaction (hardened JD); one thinks of the widespread occurrence of stress disorders. Conversely JS does undoubtedly constitute a stability factor in emotional terms and in terms of health (Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 1978).

b) Poor performance

As regards the connection between JS/JD and working performance, the spectrum of opinion is even broader. Initially one would assume a very simple relationship: JS has a positive effect on working performance (quantitatively and/or qualitatively) and JD a negative effect. On closer examination, however, the connection proves to be anything but simple.

Firstly a double character is attributed to performance in relation to JS: performance as experience is a possible cause of JS, performance as outcome a possible consequence. If we concentrate here on the latter variant, a glance at the current state of research reveals the following spectrum of opinion:

- A positive connection is seen
- A negative connection is seen
- No connection is seen
- A differentiated assessment is made

The first group includes the kinds of remark one would expect from 'sound commonsense', e.g. such statements as:

- 'Desire and love are the pinions of great deeds' (Goethe, Iphigenia, 1976)
- 'We believe the happier we are the better we work' (advertisement for a European airline, 198)
- 'The man who is happy at work works better' (advertisement for a German motor manufacturer, 1980)

The academic publications supporting such statements are relatively numerous.

More rarely a negative connection between JS and job performance is suspected or identified, particularly in a few older publications (e.g. by Katz and his colleagues in the early fifties). Such opinions are usually derived from the theory that JS makes people lazy and less willing to work (a theory that we came across in the U.S.A. even in the late seventies).

Given these conflicting opinions, it is not surprising that a number of researchers are able to establish no relation whatever between the two quantities (cf. Brayfield and Crockett, 1955, Nicholson, Wall and Llscheron, 1977).

This academic stalemate prompted two of the earlier main exponents of JS research in America, Herzberg and Vroom, to summarize—independently of each other—the publications in this field. Herzberg, looking at 26 studies, found that 14 registered a positive connection, 3 a negative connection, and 9 no connection at all (Herzberg, 1957). Vroom, comparing 20 quantitatively oriented contributions, found coefficients of correlation varying between +.86 and -.31 (1964).

It is time such investigations were taken further. Meanwhile we can record the fact that obviously JS—no wonder, in view of the different origins uncovered—*can* influence job performance but *does not necessarily* do so. Valid observations in this field can apparently be made only in differentiated form, i.e. taking into account the dominant causes and circumstances in each case (Kahn, 1972). Not the least important question as far as the consequences of JS in terms of performance are concerned is whether employees have any ability potential in reserve (Bruggemann, Groskurth and Ulich, 1975.) Yet here too one thing is clear: the relevance of JS to managerial economics is beyond doubt, even if there is no justification for proceeding on the assumption that greater JS will automatically lead to higher productivity.

c) Changing jobs

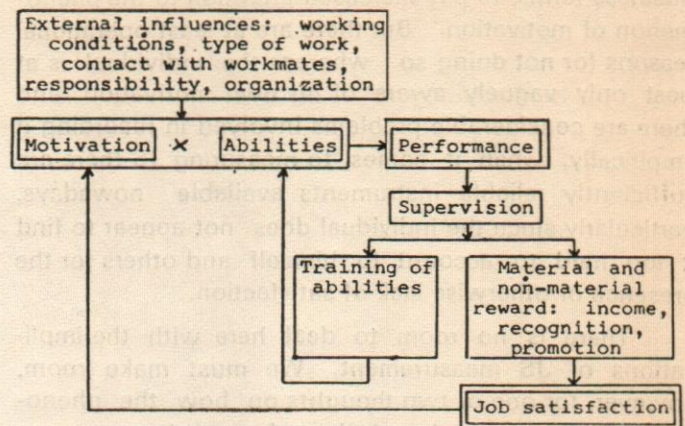
Of the three possible effects of inadequate JS discussed, leaving the firm constitutes the most drastic—and at the same time the most susceptible of measurement. The opinions regarding the relation between JD and 'fluctuation' (the usual, if rather woolly term) that we come across in academic discussion are therefore very much less divided than in the case of the other two effects; in fact there is widespread unanimity as to the existence of such an influence. The divergences have to do essentially with the *extent* of that influence. Publications in this area include reports of experiments in which a successful reduction in the rate of fluctuation was achieved by deliberately increasing JS (Hulin, 1968, and Schlitzberger, 1975). Our own empirical data, drawn from a study of JS in the small-business sector, speak—at a high level of significance ($p = .997$)—for a connection, at least between JS and the disposition to fluctuation (Pleitner, 1981.)

Such studies appear to justify the assertion that this relationship between JS and job-changing is guaranteed empirically (Bruggemann, Groskurth and Ulich, 1975) and that it is stable, though not particularly pronounced. A Munich comparison of several studies gave an average coefficient of correlation between $-.25$ and $-.30$ (Neuberger 1974). So obviously one cannot go as far as some publications suggest and use a firm's fluctuation figures (without closer inspection) as an indicator of JD and thus get out of all the difficulties involved in registering JD.

Nevertheless even strongly felt JD need not in every case lead to a person's giving up his job, as for example, when external restrictions on the person stand against it (no suitable alternative, an insecure job market, lack of mobility, etc.). On the other hand, of course, JD may become such a burden that the person concerned changes not only his job but even his profession.

As regards JS as a matter for managerial economists to concern themselves with, we have seen that this quantity does not, in our discipline, assume the status of a subject *per se* but that it is nevertheless not something to which, as managerial economists, we can remain indifferent. It is not without influence on the extent and quality of a firm's performance capability. What position can be assigned to it in this respect we seek to clarify in the following diagram relating to the individual employee (Delhees, 1973; Vroom, 1946).

Connection between motivation, performance, and JS



For the individual employee working conditions, type of work, etc., represent external quantities that in conjunction with his motivation and his potential ability are in principle what determines his job performance. That performance leads in our model via the superior to a reward and/or to an increase in his performance potential, with an effect on the employee's motivation via JS on the one hand and on his abilities on the other. The diagram is simplified and unsophisticated, e.g. with regard to the relation between JS and job motivation (JM). The rule, admittedly, is that *high* JS leads to *high* JM (as the diagram suggests). But *high* JS can also be associated with *low* JM, for example when requirements are set low. Finally JM can also be *high* in spite of *low* JS when, for example, performance rewards 'command' performance motivation and frustration prevails in respect of other factors. This already brings out clearly the fact that neither is the connection between JM and job performance (JP) a linear positive one. Instead one suspects that after a certain level of motivation JP no longer increases and later even diminishes. One thinks of careerists, for example, blindly making for their goal and ultimately overlooking important factors such as are capable of inhibiting performance.

Despite these reservations the diagram does bring out how close to the heart of task execution within the firm the phenomenon of JS—at every level of the hierarchy—is to be located. Therefore, the quantity cannot, in our opinion, simply be excluded from managerial-economic considerations relating to manpower if we do not want to overlook an extremely important success factor. Moreover it is capable of influencing not only task execution within the firm but also the firm's chances of recruiting personnel.

The objection is sometimes made that, when in doubt, it is more 'worthwhile', in both academic and business terms, to pay increased attention to the phenomenon of motivation. But there are at least operational reasons for not doing so: whereas the individual is at best only vaguely aware of his own motivation and there are considerable problems involved in recording it empirically, when it comes to measuring JS there are sufficiently reliable instruments available nowadays, particularly since the individual does not appear to find it too hard to account to himself and others for the presence or otherwise lack of satisfaction.

There is no room to deal here with the implications of JS measurement. We must make room, however, for one or two thoughts on how the phenomenon is to be furthered—in so far as it leaves something to be desired. Here again we are helped by the fact that it is essentially characterized by circumstances at the place of work and only to a lesser extent by individual demands. So again, thinking along these lines, we shall assume a constant level of demand, although here too managerial intervention is possible under certain conditions.

Influencing JS

A systematic approach has to begin with a serious survey of the extent of JS *within the firm*. In our opinion it is better to look at satisfaction in respect of the individual job-related factors one by one than to take an overall quantity, and this for two reasons: Firstly there is a certain risk in the overall approach that too positive a picture will emerge (which fails to accord with the obviously widespread malaise present in our society), because JS will be expressed 'all in all' when, with regard to individual factors, employees in fact tend towards frustration. Secondly, registering JS under its different determinants makes it possible to plan differentiated measures to influence it, as postulated by Ulich (1978). In so far as such measures cannot be aimed at employees *individually*, the sensible thing is to focus on the JS deficiencies *predominant* within the firm.

This suggestion of course modifies some of the ideas currently under discussion with regard to humanizing or raising the quality of working life. Looking at such models from the standpoint of increasing JS, however, a few reservations seem to me to be called for:

- They are often insufficiently differentiated
- They are too atomistic (minimal subsections)
- They are aimed only at a limited number of JS factors (usually type of work, working conditions, organization)

- They are often one-sidedly technocratic in their approach
- There is often a fashionable touch about them (it is slowly becoming the 'in' thing to humanize)

How, instead, are we to adopt a *differentiated* approach? Our idea envisages a three-stage procedure that can be repeated at intervals of several years. In terms of method it represents an application of Brauchlin's problem-solving scheme (Brauchlin, 1978):

- a) Measuring S with the different JS factors ('objective', calculated importance: 'How satisfied are you with...?')
- b) Finding out which factors are regarded as the principal JS quantities ('subjective', declared importance: 'What "matters most" to you in order for you to be satisfied with your job?')
- c) Planning and executing measures on the basis of this analysis.
 - a) Using a Likert scale, for example, with items between 'very satisfied' (5 points) and 'very dissatisfied' (1 point), an index value for each JS factor is established (methodologically problematical but not impracticable). These values show what contribution each factor makes to JS. Grouping them accordingly we get, in the example of our investigation conducted in about 80 Swiss firms, the following order of importance:
 1. Human contacts
 2. Job performance
 3. Type of work
 4. Responsibility
 5. Working conditions
 6. Income
 7. Recognition
 8. Supervision
 9. Company organization and management
 10. Development opportunities

The procedure usually suggested involves planning measures to enhance JS with regard to the 'weakest' factors, i.e. those in the lower part of our list.

This type of procedure, however, overlooks the verifiable fact that employees attribute differing degrees of importance to the various factors. Our case, therefore, would be to the effect that attention should instead be concentrated on those factors where the discrepancy between *calculated* and *declared* importance is greatest. Where it is non-existent, the problem at best modifies itself until it is removed.

b) Our second step is therefore aimed at establishing in what order the same factors were declared to be the most important by the employees polled, speaking for themselves. Our investigation produced the following result :

1. Recognition
2. Human contacts
3. Income
4. Development opportunities
5. Job performance
6. Working conditions
7. Responsibility
8. Company organization and management
9. Type of work
10. Supervision

c) Suitable measures to improve JS must now reasonably be planned in respect of the factors with the largest discrepancy. In our example these are recognition, income, and development opportunities.

Comparison of JS factor rankings according to declared ('subjective') and calculated ('objective') importance to employees

Ranked by <u>declared</u> importance	Ranked by <u>calculated</u> importance
1. Recognition	1. Human contacts
2. Human contacts	2. Job performance
3. Income	3. Type of work
4. Development opportunities	4. Responsibility
5. Job performance	5. Working conditions
6. Working conditions	6. Income
7. Responsibility	7. Recognition
8. Company organization and management	8. Supervision
9. Type of work	9. Company organization and management
10. Supervision	10. Development opportunities

Data base: 351 employees in 78 firms

We must refrain for our present purposes from deducing and setting out the relevant measures in detail, contenting ourselves with pointing out that they must fit into the overall context of the firm concerned. This brings us back to the question of the position of JS within a company's system of objectives.

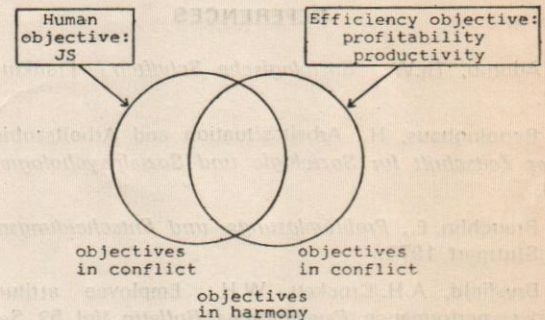
The question of priorities

In bringing in the concept of exerting influence we have already implied that JS or the enhancing of

JS has the status of an objective in terms of managerial economics. The question is still open, however, whether this objective can lay claim to an autonomous existence or whether it is to be inferred from a 'higher' objective on the part of the firm concerned. The question cannot be answered in terms of scientific method but only with the aid of a value judgement. Arriving at such a judgement is in fact problematical only in so far as the firm's complex of economic objectives (the 'efficiency objectives', i.e. the financial and production-oriented objectives according to the St. Gallen management model) is in competition with the complex of human objectives'.

Here there is still work to be done both in collecting information and in research. Nevertheless it can be assumed that the two complexes tend to be at least partially complementary (Schiemenz and Seiwert, 1979).

Relationship between efficiency objective and human objective



More precisely, the question seems to us to be not so much *whether* as *to what extent* they overlap. Thus Marxists would presumably see the circles as lying *side by side*, while strongly employee-oriented entrepreneurs would identify an even bigger overlap. This means that we are not faced with a pure choice of alternatives—a fact that at the same time makes it pragmatically easier for us to attribute to the JS objective the status of an autonomous quantity. In doing so we are not by any means bowing in the controversial direction of, for example, the German 'work-oriented managerial economics' ('arbeitsorientierte Betriebswirtschaftslehre'). No—as far as we can see a remarkable consensus appears to prevail in current *research* into the evaluation of JS as an objective (Hill, Fehlbaum and Ulrich, 1974 ; Ulrich, 1978, Muller-Boling, 1979). In *practice*, on the other hand, we tend to find entrepreneurs and managers taking the traditional view that JS efforts and rationalization measures are mutually exclusive. Exceptions, however, have come to light. We learned recently from a firm in Central Switzerland, for example, that efforts to

enhance JS had put the costs of a department up by 10% but that output had risen by more than 20% as a result.

However, it might prove useful if change on the basis of experience acquired were to set in only gradually here. Because if JS enhancement with the concealed intention of increasing efficiency were to come into fashion on a wide front, as it were, and here we take up again what we were saying at the outset, the respective measures could quickly lose their credibility in the eyes of those at whom they were directed. We recall examples from our own discipline, where originally good intentions have, in the rough and tumble of reality, fallen into this kind of discredit. But here we risk over stepping the bounds of managerial economics, which we have contrived to observe even with so seemingly 'uneconomic' a subject as 'job satisfaction'—a field where we (Neuberger, 1980) are at last in the process of getting beyond the 'hunting and gathering' stage.

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Enrichment of Job Contents of Computer Punch Operators

UPENDRA KUMAR and M.C. AGARWAL

The job enrichment study presented here has been conducted with a view to enrich the job content of punch operators working in the EDP department of a large industrial unit. The new work-system takes care of the problem of punching errors and creates a better sense of job involvement through the formation of autonomous work-groups.

The individual's job is by far the greatest single determinant of satisfaction and motivation in the work situation. Perhaps the most promising approach to motivation currently available to us is that of job enrichment—the process of restructuring jobs so as to make them more challenging, motivating and satisfying to the individual. Although by no means the only possible solution, it has proven to be a most effective management tool for increasing performance and satisfaction across a wide variety of occupational groups. Implemented in a systematic way as early as 1944 in IBM En dicott (Richardson, 1948), job enrichment has chalked up notable success in other organisations as well.

The process of trying to improve the motivational content of tasks has come to be known as 'job enrichment'. Job enrichment does not mean to take a given task and enlarge it, or simplify it, or vary it or set targets for its achievement. Nor does it mean to be nice to people, to improve the environment in which the task is done, to be democratic or consultative in managerial style. Job enrichment seeks to improve both task efficiency and human satisfaction by building into people's jobs, quite specifically, greater scope for personal achievement and recognition, more challenging and responsible work and more opportunity for individual advancement and growth.

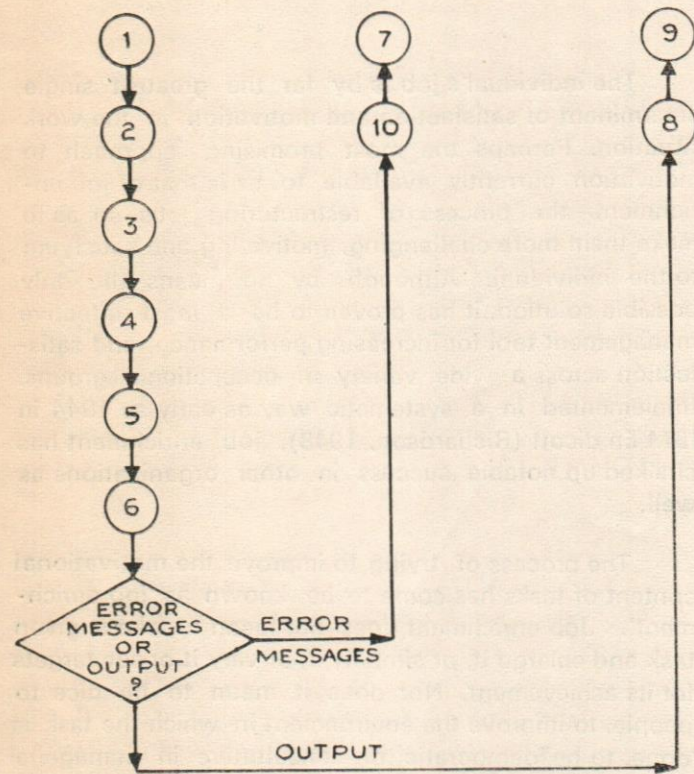
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Some studies have also emphasised the need for job enrichment for the motivation of employees. Ford (1979) in his study emphasised two points: (a) greater satisfaction can be derived from redesigning and reassigning the jobs (b) managers must make all efforts to put quality into the jobs of their subordinates. In another study Saleh and others (1976) concluded that job involvement is the degree to which the self is reflected

with three components of individual's job like identity, innovation and evaluation.

The studies conducted for job enrichment/enlargement have so far been in the traditional areas like production, personnel, finance, etc. However, there is scope for such studies in the areas and functions where there is man-machine interface. In this paper a study has been presented in such an unconventional area i.e. Electronics Data Processing Operations. This study has been conducted in a large public sector Engineering Industrial Unit. This study is concerned with the job enrichment of punch operators, working in the EDP department of the above unit.



AGENCIES

User Departments. EDP I/O Man Supervisors
 Punch Operators. Verification Operators
 Computer Operator & Systems Analyst

ACTIVITIES LIST

- 1—Send Documents
- 2—Receive Documents & Maintain Records
- 3—Fix Priorities, Distribute Work
- 4—Punch Cards
- 5—Verify Punched Cards
- 6—Computer Run
- 7—Check for Corrections & Give Details of corrections
- 8—Distribute Output & Update Records
- 9—Receive Output
- 10—Pass Error Messages, Control Totals on to the User Department
- 11—Make Corrections

Fig. 1. Existing Work-Flow Chart in EDP Centre

Identification of Problem Area

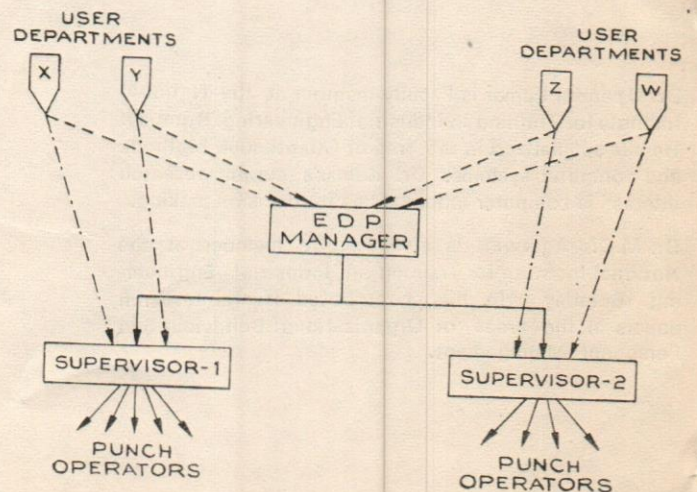
This organisation had a decentralised EDP set-up as the system analysts for various functions have been drawn from the user department themselves. These analysts were trained and were made responsible for the development of EDP application for their respective department. Administratively these analysts were reporting to the respective departmental heads. However, other EDP services like computer, punching/verification facilities, etc., were centralised under an EDP manager.

Punching/Verification of cards in EDP centre is a very monotonous job. Punch operators are recruited after being given many IQ tests, but the work is nothing but depressing alpha and numeral keys. Operators seldom know the relevance of their role. This leads to a higher than acceptable level of punching errors. This problem assumed special significance for this EDP centre, where punching accuracy requirement is almost absolute since most of the EDP operations are decision-oriented. And hence it is desirable to evolve a work system which can take care of the problem of punching errors as well as can create a better sense of job involvement among the punch operators.

Present Work System

The flow chart in Fig. 1 depicts the work system prevalent in the EDP Centre for receiving the documents punching, verification of cards, running the punched cards on computer, and distributing the output.

EDP Manager is the overall in-charge of the section, attending to the planning aspects like allocation of hours between various users, etc. He is subjected to much pressure from users departments for expediting and accuracy of punching jobs as shown in the Fig. 2.



Administrative Control ———→
 Functional Relationship ———→
 Enquiries & Pressures ———→

Fig. 2. Existing Work-Organisation Chart

Under the above setup, control and co-ordination are vested in the supervisor. He controls his subordinates by specifying what each operator will do vis-a-vis the task allotted to him. It was experienced that amongst employees so organised, there was a tendency to develop an informal system to reduce potential to work which manifested itself in the form of absenteeism, high error rate, low output, unhealthy personal relations and formation of cliques based on individual needs rather than work interdependencies.

Proposed Work System

The scope of the job of punch/verification operators has to be enlarged to give them a feeling of the importance of their job in the total computer operations. It is also desirable to make them responsible for certain activities of the total computer operations to give them meaning in their work and satisfaction in their job. In this way these punch operators would be in a position to see their work as an integral link in the computer operations; they would know their contribution and also the purpose of their job. It is expected that they would, in this way, take greater interest in their jobs since their abilities would be evident in the final output of their work. All this will have a direct bearing upon their general morale and sense of responsibility.

In order to enrich their jobs, activities of the EDP centre are analysed as under :

The following activities are defined as a single job :—

- (i) Getting the documents from users ;
- (ii) Punching of cards ;
- (iii) Verification of Punched cards ;
- (iv) Getting the errors, messages and control totals and sending them to users ;
- (v) Getting back details regarding corrections ;
- (vi) Getting the computer output, and
- (vii) Distributing it to users.

At present the supervisors receive documents from users and then distribute the work to the punch operators. The job then goes to verification operators and is again collected back by the supervisors, who, in turn, send it to the computer room for running the data with the help of systems analyst. After getting the errors, messages and control totals, users check for corrections and the correction details are sent as a fresh job. After the systems analyst finds no error, final output is obtained and distributed to all concerned. In this process we see punch/verification operators are utilised for punching and verification only. Their job become mono-

tonous over a period of time and they do not find any meaning in their work.

A group of punch/verification operators is proposed to be made responsible for the job involving above-mentioned activities from receiving the documents from users through delivering the final output back to them for all the work of one, or a set of, user departments. The size of the group is to be determined on the basis of the work-content analysis of these activities for the individual user department. However, the group should not consist of more than 4 punch/verification operators. The proposed model of work-flow chart is given in Fig. 3. Consequently, the role of EDP Manager also underwent a change relieving him of routine administrative problems. This change is depicted in Fig. 4.

AGENCIES

- User Departments
- Group
- Computer Operators & Group

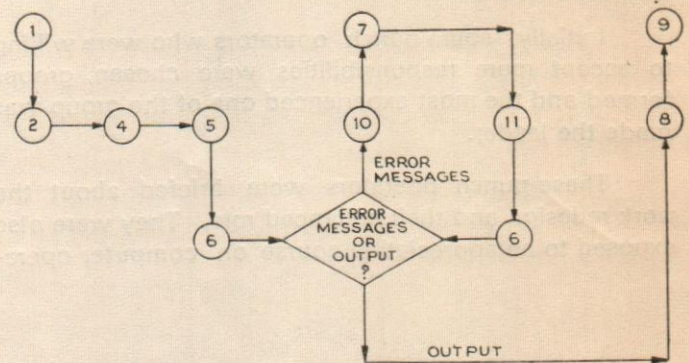


Fig. 3. Proposed Work-Flow Chart in EDP Centre

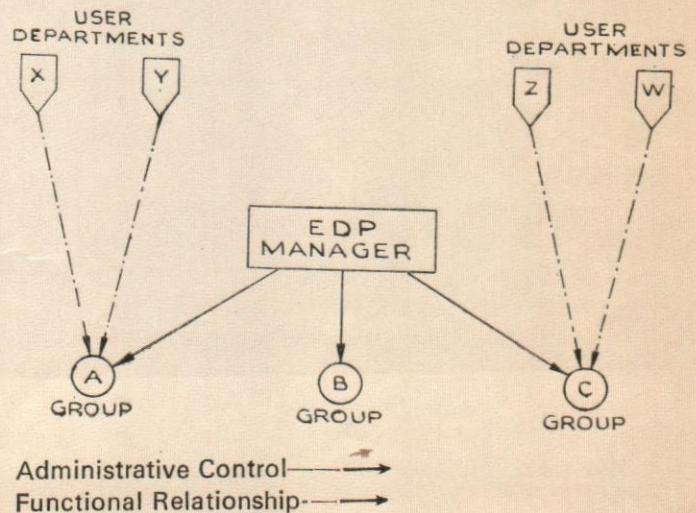


Fig. 4. Proposed Work-Organisation Chart

Benefits Expected

By enriching the job contents of punch/verification operators in the EDP centre, the following benefits are expected :—

- * Reduction in punching errors
- * Create job-involvement ;
- * Create an awareness about their relevance in the total organisational set-up.
- * Exercise of control will be more self-generated by letting the users directly interact with the group members rather than approaching them through EDP Manager ;
- * A cordial relation within EDP and between EDP and user departments is envisaged because of their realisation of the need for co-existence.
- * More personal satisfaction due to the knowledge of the purpose and meaning of their work.
- * Versatility of skills provided through multiple skill experiences and broadening of experience.

Implementation

Initially, some punch operators who were willing to accept more responsibilities were chosen, groups formed and the most experienced one of the group was made the leader.

These punch operators were briefed about the work redesign and their enhanced role. They were also exposed to an appreciation course on computer opera-

tions, magnetic tapes and discs, etc. They were also explained about the importance and maintenance of records wherein information regarding receipt of documents, systems steps performed and despatch of report was to be recorded. Subsequently, individual groups were briefed by the concerned systems, analyst about input documents, their source and need, systems steps involved, print outputs and its uses, need and value of print output to the user. Then the group started performing the new role as envisaged in the previous section. When this pilot implementation for a period of 12 weeks was found successful, it was extended to all the punch operators.

Limitations

The following limitations of the model were experienced after the implementation :

- * Emergence of the trend that a set of group members were always involved in punching/verification activities only whereas others were always involved in other coordinating activities.
- * Unplanned absence of the group members posed problems as the replacement was not always available immediately.

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Joint Health and Safety Committees Determinants of Effectiveness

P.B. BEAUMONT, ROBERT COYLE, JOHN LEOPOLD and TOM SCHULLER

Joint health and safety committees in the U.K. are a prominent and concrete example of shop floor participation in the improvement of working conditions. The paper outlines the factors which determine whether a committee is likely to be effective or ineffective. An improved record on health and safety, especially if it is accomplished by participative means, will in the long run improve company performance.

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The putative benefits of employee participation in company decision-making are often rather nebulous. Often this is due to the objectives of the participation scheme not being clearly defined, (Guest and Fatchett, 1974), the consequence being that there is either uncertainty or actual dispute over what is achieved. In other cases, concrete benefits such as reduced labour turnover and absenteeism or increased productivity are claimed (Rosenberg and Rosenstein, 1980), but there are two considerations to be borne in mind here. First, over what period of time has the improvement been judged? It is important to allow for the Hawthorne effect where an initial improvement occurs simply because of the stimulus of experimentation (Beaumont and Leopold, 1982). Secondly, the attribution of the benefits to the participation scheme can be questioned, with many intervening factors making the causality less than certain.

As participative bodies, joint union/management health and safety committees avoid some, but not all, of these problems. The specificity of their objectives is clear (though as we shall see there is still room for divergency), and they have a relatively unambiguous focus. It is only 'relatively' unambiguous in that whilst there may be a large measure of agreement there is not necessarily an identity of interest between employer and employee in the way decisions on health and safety are framed and executed.

We have recently carried out a major survey of joint health and safety committees in the UK (financed by the Leverhulme Trust). We do not claim to have identified the precise contribution made by these committees to the improvement of health and safety at work. What we have done is to clarify the participants' notions of what constitutes an 'effective' committee,

and then identified which characteristics were crucial in enabling a joint committee of this nature to operate effectively.

Moreover, the Act promoting such committees came into full effect in October, 1978 and the field-work for our research was carried out between February and July, 1981. We were thus able to study the committees when the immediate post-legislative upheaval had had time to settle and yet when the widespread introduction of the committee was still recent enough to ensure a reasonable degree of comparability.

BRIEF BACKGROUND TO HEALTH & SAFETY COMMITTEES AND THE GLASGOW STUDY

There have been many attempts in the UK to encourage the establishment of health and safety committees on a voluntary basis. They were recommended as early as 1913 by the Factory Inspectorate and official and unofficial reports continued to provide data and arguments in their favour up to, and including, the 1960s. It became clear, however, that the voluntary approach did not succeed, and without legislation there would be no significant development of joint committees (Cotgrove et al, 1971).

Eventually, in 1974, the pressure culminated in the passage of the Health & Safety at Work Act. It is estimated that over 20 million days a year are lost because of accidents at work, and approaching 2,000 people killed. The cost to the country has been estimated at £200—£500 million per annum, and the number of days lost at about six times as many as those lost through strikes. There are, therefore, very strong social and economic reasons for a general commitment to improving health and safety at work, and the Act sought to do this by providing that safety representatives may request management to establish a joint health and safety committee. The Regulations governing this provision came into effect in October, 1978, and such committees are now widely established.

We carried out a preliminary survey of 108 plants in the manufacturing industry, and over 70% of these had joint health and safety committees in existence. Just under half of these had been created since the Act was passed (Leopold, 1981). Committees previously tended to be concentrated heavily in the high accident rate industries (such as metal manufacture, coal mining and food, drink and tobacco) and in large plants. One of the effects of the legislation has been to bring about a major increase in the number of committees, particularly among small firms and those in traditionally low accident rate industries such as instrument engineering and leather.

We visited fifty-one plants in the manufacturing

industry section of the UK economy. The plants were stratified by size and by industry accident rate.

Table I : Distribution of plants by size

Over 1,000 employees	17
500-999 "	6
200-499 "	12
Less than 200 "	16
Total	51

Table II : Distribution of plants by industry accident

High accident rate	20
Medium " "	13
Low " "	18
Total	51

At each plant we interviewed five members of the committee, covering both management and union representatives. In all we interviewed 49 senior managers, 41 line managers, 39 safety officers, 51 senior employee representatives and 49 second employee representatives, a total of 229.

In this paper we concentrate on the determinants of effectiveness. However, it is necessary first to summarise our respondents' notions of effectiveness itself, which can be described under two broad headings. The overwhelming majority (79%) judged the aims of the committee in terms of getting things done'. This was interpreted in different ways: complying with minimum legal requirements; improving health as well as ensuring safety; and initiating action as opposed to resorting to events. A substantial minority, however, (21%) judged the committee in terms of its effect on people's attitudes and relationships, both as far as the participants themselves were concerned and on the shop floor as a whole. Bearing this in mind, we turn now to the determinants.

THE DETERMINANTS OF EFFECTIVENESS

A. EXTERNAL DETERMINANTS

The determinants of effectiveness can be grouped under two headings—those external to the committee and those internal to it. The internal factors relate to the structural and organisational features of effective committees, and as such can be influenced and controlled to a large extent by management and union action.

However, the external factors are less immediately controllable and fall under three headings—the industry accident rate, plant size, and the overall industrial relations environment.

1) Industry Accident Rate

As explained earlier our sample of plants fell into three groups—high, medium and low accident rate industries. We had expected to find more effective committees and better organization on health and safety matters in the high accident rate industries, largely because everyone concerned would be aware of the extent and reality of the problems and of the need to take preventive action.

This expectation was largely borne out by the findings. Plants in such industries tend to have full-time specialist safety officers; they have more active committees which are able to get things done, and which are perceived by the shop floor as being able to get things done; personnel on the committee are more likely to be trained in high and medium accident rate industries; there is a greater commitment from senior management to address time, effort and money to resolving the health and safety problems; and the possibility of involving the workforce as a whole in resolving health and safety problems is greater.

Conversely where there is less inherent risk, attitudes and motivation towards health and safety are less well developed. Respondents in low accident rate industries had much fewer problems to deal with, and there was a greater likelihood that all issues would be dealt with through the committee, as opposed to day to day procedure. Safety committees in the low industries were also less likely to discuss occupational health issues.

The question of the accident rate of the industry is closely related to the technology. Clearly some technologies are inherently more dangerous than others and this is reflected in the amount and level of activity of safety specialists and the safety committee. The converse is also true as was pointed out by a part-time safety officer:

"We are a craft industry not a high technology, high risk industry. We don't need risk control techniques or anything like that. Therefore we don't need a big committee, meeting monthly".

One aspect of technology which does impose a constraint on trade union involvement in health and safety is the degree of specialist knowledge necessary to take meaningful decisions on health and safety. Thus a senior manager in a high risk, mass production industry felt that the union involvement in safety decision making had to be restricted because "I don't think the union have the technical backup or the technical capability to make the major part of the decision".

2) Plant Size

Although the two variables (industry accident rate and plant size) can intersect, in general small plants were less likely to have a full time safety officer; the trade union representatives spent less time on safety than their counterparts in larger plants; and the committee was more likely to deal with all, or at least the vast majority, of issues. However, safety committees in the small plants tended to meet less regularly, giving rise to dissatisfaction from a substantial minority of the trade union members. This undermines the objective of using the committee to promote better relationships between management and unions.

Yet large plants also exhibit features which can weaken the effectiveness of the committee. Trade union representatives in large plants were more dissatisfied with the speed of action in carrying out committee decisions. Senior trade unionists in particular were most dissatisfied about the overall effectiveness of their safety committee for a variety of reasons, including slowness of action, the lack of senior management on the committee, and the fact that items requiring large expenditures tended not to be decided in the committee. It was only in large plants that senior trade unionists felt that both the overall industrial relation climate and the relationship over health and safety matters were hostile in any way. The significance of the climate of operation is discussed below.

3) Industrial Relations Environment

The health and safety committee clearly has to operate within the plant's overall industrial relations context. In general the people we interviewed agreed with the assertion of the Robens Report that health and safety is a less contentious area than other areas of industrial relations. Moreover, it was felt that an effective health and safety committee could best operate where the overall industrial relations environment is essentially a co-operative one. This is not to say that health and safety issues are never contentious. Indeed the main source of dissatisfaction among trade union respondents was that decisions on major issues were avoided in the committee. Thus there was a recognition among many of the trade unionists that the health and safety committee was only consultative, because at the end of the day it was management who controlled finance. Thus one senior steward said of his committee:

"It is definitely consultative because management have the money. The unions can shout as long as they like but at the end of the day money is the important thing".

However, this was not the position on *all* issues and a substantial number of both management and trade union respondents felt that the safety committee was both a consultative and a negotiating body. Thus another senior rep argued :

"There are some areas where when you start talking about changing production methods to make a particular process more safe then you run into quite serious problems. Management have turned round and said 'we will make the decision on this'...On other matters there is a fair amount of negotiation and there is some decision reached where both parties have, if you like, moved to make a decision".

While a minority of respondents felt that health and safety was a completely specific issue, it was also clear that a co-operative, problem solving health and safety committee could contribute towards improving overall relationships in the plant and a majority of people interviewed felt this. A typical comment was :

"Any process that provides the opportunity for management and union representatives to sit and talk about anything has got to have an influence on the overall relationship in the plant. It is going to improve it".

Again, this is not to say that the motives of management and union representatives are the same in seeking this position. Management representatives felt it important that union representatives were able to see how hard management worked to solve certain problems, and in wanting trade union representatives to accept some responsibility for the committee decisions. There were also one or two instances of management seeking to refer contentious items to an appropriate negotiating body, if a particular health and safety matter was 'in danger' of becoming a negotiating point. Behind this move was a desire to maintain the good interpersonal relationships which had been built up.

Trade union representatives, on the other hand, felt that being on the health and safety committee gave them the opportunity to discuss matters which they would not otherwise discuss with management, and indeed to talk with managers they would not normally have the opportunity of doing so. They, therefore, felt that the level of trust and understanding between unions and management could be raised through the health and safety committee, and in turn these improved interpersonal relationships could be used to advantage on other issues... Such a view is summed up by one rep who claimed :

"We have both been faced with a common problem and this has forced us to arrive at a common

solution. There is now a bit more co-operation from all sides on a host of issues".

We have earlier seen that one fifth of the respondents felt that improved relationships was an objective of their committee, and that clearly in practice this had advantages. This perspective is an important one for those committees that appear to have eliminated the majority of the physical hazards and problems. Thus although the senior manager of a small, low accident rate plant felt that monthly meetings were perhaps too frequent as sometimes there was nothing to discuss, he nonetheless felt that it was vital to have the meeting to maintain regularity and to continue to show the employees that there was a forum to deal with health and safety problems and that it gets things done. This view was echoed by a senior union representative in another small, low accident rate plant :

"The health and safety committee is quite effective because although it does not deal with very many problems it does act as a monitor for health and safety. This is good psychologically because we know that there is at least one area where issues can be taken up where each person has an equal say".

B. INTERNAL DETERMINANTS

The factors internal to the committee and which consequently are more within its control can be grouped under three headings—structure, composition and relationships.

1) Committee Structure

(i) Size

The size of a committee is important, particularly in large multi-union plants where there may be a problem of getting adequate representation from all sides and still keeping the committee compact and manageable. One safety officer made this point :

"Its clear that the more people on the committee the less effective it is. However, I appreciate that there are a lot of people who want to be safety reps on the committee, and will not co-operate unless they are allowed to do this. The major problem here is having more than one union".

On average the size of committees in our sample ranged between 6 and 12 members. In the larger plants this was achieved by having a system of tiered committees, usually broken down on a departmental basis, with one factory-wide committee co-ordinating the activities of the smaller committees. Significantly, the one plant with more than 1000 employees which

did not have a tiered structure was considered to be not very effective.

Clearly in some multi-union plants there is potential for conflict over representation which could result in unwieldy committees. Large plants need to seek an optimum balance between size and the need to have all unions and all working departments adequately represented. Although there was evidence of one or two problems in this area, in general trade unions have internally resolved the question of balance and representation quite amicably.

A similar conflict arose over the question of representation of supervisors. While some respondents felt it best to involve, at the stage of formulation, the people who would have to implement some decisions, others felt that their representation would make the committee too big and unwieldy.

(ii) *Timing of Meetings*

For a committee to function effectively it must meet at reasonably *regular* intervals. Two of our committees met only once every six months, which means they can hardly exercise more than a distant supervisory role. Most commonly committees met on a *monthly* basis—over half our sample. 14% meet on a bi-monthly basis, and the same percentage meet every three months. One committee meets 'as required', which means that its effectiveness depends on other factors.

The common pattern is for committees to meet monthly. But the important determining feature is not frequency of meetings but regularity. Whatever frequency is decided upon should be adhered to. The importance of regularity is illustrated by one line manager:

"Monthly is about right. I could say too often because sometimes it is just a matter of having a meeting for the sake of having a meeting...But we always believe that if you don't do things in a routine way then they will drift out of existence".

(iii) *Agenda Setting*

We looked at how the *agenda* was set for the meetings. (Only one committee had no agenda). The nature of the items included on the agenda and the extent to which members of the committee are informed about the proposed content of the meeting by the pre-circulation of the agenda are factors which contribute to the committee's overall effectiveness. Usually the agenda was prepared a week in advance of the meeting. This was done in most cases by the safety officer, either on his own or with another manager. In larger

plants with more than one tier of committee, the agenda of the top committee may be set by the plant or works committee.

Decisions about the content of the agenda and the way it is set are also relevant. One way in which this may be carried out is illustrated by a safety officer:

"I will introduce items which I think are needing to be discussed. I will not be introducing new items but generally resurrecting old items which are needing to be discussed and they in turn say—can we look at this new item?"

Agendas may be overcrowded; on the other hand a number of companies reported they were having problems in finding enough items to include on the agenda.

It was also commonly agreed by all respondents that the trade union members of the committee brought up most items of business, often through the Any Other Business item. While it is important that no-one should be denied the opportunity to raise points, it is vital that immediate problems be resolved on a day to day basis at the level at which they arise. Failure to do this leads to committees overloaded with trivial matters, unable to take a preventive overview of the situation.

2) *Composition of the Committee*

The actual operation of the committee will reflect *who* sits on it, *how* far they have been *prepared* to play an effective part, and *what* they do.

(i) *Management Involvement*

As one shop steward put it:

"Having senior management there means that if something has to be done it can't go any higher than that—that's the end of the line."

The same respondent also pointed to the obverse of this, namely the level of union involvement:

"...to demonstrate seriousness it was decided to take the convenor and sub-convenor (onto the committee) so that way we could insist on a reasonable level of senior management being involved."

We found that a senior management presence on a joint health and safety committee is important in giving that committee genuine decision making authority, and in convincing the employee side that management are genuinely and seriously committed to improving health and safety through the vehicle of the committee. The potential danger to be avoided, however, is that the senior management representative should not dominate the committee's proceedings to such an extent that it comes to be seen as almost 'his committee'.

If such should occur then the committee may be judged as effective in getting things done in relation to health and safety matters, but it will be much less capable of improving the overall working relationship between management and unions.

(ii) *The Role of the Health and Safety Officer*

The safety officer can play a major role in determining the success of the health and safety committee. This involves a number of factors: the safety officer's technical and personal skills, his relationship to the committee and committee members, and his advisory role in the plant.

Wide variations existed in the safety officer's job description and role within the management organization. In just over half of our 51 plants the safety officers were full time, with the remainder combining health and safety with some other management function, usually training or personnel. As might be expected, full time safety officers tended to be in larger size plants and/or in the high accident rate industries with a considerable number of this latter group in a safety team or safety department.

Just over half our sample of safety officers acted as committee secretary, but they were most anxious to stress their 'neutral' and technical *advisory role*. For this reason a considerable number of safety officers stressed that they should not be the chairman of the committee. They saw themselves as the person responsible for indicating a range of options to deal with particular problems rather than offering definite solutions. A number felt that although they could solve a great many problems that came to the committee on their own, it was more important that the committee was seen to arrive at decisions collectively. In other words, on many occasions the important criteria was not so much the solving of a particular issue but the way in which the issue was resolved.

(iii) *Training*

There was considerable variation in the extent and nature of health and safety training that members of the committees had received. Around 70% of senior managers and senior employee (trade unions) respondents had received some form of training. More important was the fact that while senior management training tended to be short 1-2 day events, over 60% of courses attended by trade union respondents lasted a full 10 days, with a number having gone on a further 10-day advanced course on specific health and safety topics. The real contrast was the extent of health and safety training line managers had received. Here we found that only 40 per cent of first line managers who

were members of the committee had received any training, the great majority of this being of 1-2 day duration. Over half of the line managers openly conceded that they needed more training with a substantial number stating that there should be similar TUC courses available for them.

Perhaps the person for whom training is most important is the *safety officer*, and although the vast majority of our safety officers had received some form of training, this again varied from one-day seminars to one-week courses. At the extremes were those who had no training (16%) and those who were full members of the Institution of Occupational Safety and Health (20%).

It was in the area of occupational health that training was most influential in bringing about a change of attitudes. One large engineering firm provided a good example of this change, where the safety manager had arranged a series of courses on specific health issues such as noise and chemicals. The shop superintendent from the company claimed that everyone gained a great deal of knowledge from these, especially the course on noise.

"Before the course no one knew anything about the dangers of noise on our floor, we used to roll up bits of waste and plug them in our ears when it got too bad".

(iv) *Regularity of Attendance*

Regularity of attendance was an indicator of commitment to the objectives of the committee. There is not much point, for example, in having senior management formally represented on the committee if they do not in fact appear at the meetings. As one steward put it:

"At first when I used to attend these meetings, you could hardly get a seat in there, but gradually it fell away and it was the managers who were more to blame than the shop floor".

Commitment to the cause of health and safety was seen as a key factor in effectiveness by a number of respondents. Lying behind this was a feeling that the health and safety committee could be used by both unions and management to pursue ends other than health and safety ones. The need for commitment was summed up by one senior manager:

"I think commitment is the main thing. You've got to be committed to this (the health and safety committee) and I think to treat it with respect and to make sure the work it initiates is carried through".

(v) Employee Representation

Clearly since the SRSC Regulations came into force employee representation on joint health and safety committees has been through the trade union channel in unionized workplaces. A minority of management are still troubled by this:

"While I have no objection to union people the important thing is to get the right people. However, the fact that they *must* be union people means that you could exclude the right people if they don't happen to belong to a union".

However, whatever fears management may have had when the legislation was pursued, in the majority of cases these fears have remained groundless. Thus one safety officer claimed.

"They (the union representatives) are not aggressive. They blend in with the rest of the committee. They try to solve problems"

However, while managers may have been apprehensive about the single trade union channel, the majority of employee representatives were quite emphatic on its necessity:

"Look out for the situation where the management would often seek to dominate the committee, because most managements are for production rather than safety because of the very nature of production itself. That means that on the trade union side of the committee, there has got to be power with responsibility... Senior shop stewards seek the balance with management and that then creates a safer working environment for everyone".

By way of a footnote it should be pointed out that three of our plants were entirely non-union yet have effectively operating joint health and safety committees. This was because of a participative style of management, a top level commitment to health and safety, and the fact that the employee representatives were given similar powers and operated in a similar manner to their unionised counterparts.

3) Relationships in the Committee

We have seen earlier that a substantial minority of respondents judged the effectiveness of the committee by its ability to improve relationships in the committee. The vast majority of our respondents judged that they had a co-operative, problem solving climate in the committee, and that such a climate was conducive to making the committee effective and contributed towards an improved overall union-management relationship. Clearly it is difficult to disentangle the causes of such a relationship from the structural and compositional factors which lead to effectiveness, but it is nonetheless an important consideration.

It was also an aim of a number of committees to alter the attitudes of employees as a whole to health and safety. This is partly a function of the committee being seen to be an effective vehicle for improvement and to the flow of information to and from the committee and the shop floor. In this the main vehicles was through posting minutes on noticeboards, a rather passive, one-way method of communication. However, in a number of workplaces employee representatives were able to have both informal and formal meetings with their members to build up a two-way flow of communication.

CONCLUSION

We have provided evidence on the nature of health and safety committees as one example of shop-floor participation in the improvement of working conditions. We have been able to identify a number of factors which, taken in combination, heavily influence the committee's chances of having a significant impact on health and safety. Whilst the direct effect on productivity is uncertain, it is highly plausible to argue that an improved record on health and safety, especially if it is accomplished by participative means, will in the long run improve company performance.

A final word on this score is, however, in order. As reported, we found that the committees rarely had significant finance at their disposal, and where an issue had major budget implications it would often be removed from the committee's remit and decided elsewhere. Cost is obviously a key factor and the one inherently most likely to provoke discord. In this sense, participation on health and safety has implications for other areas of company decision-making, and cannot be neatly partitioned off. In particular, judgements of its effectiveness must depend on how participation develops over time—whether health and safety committees (or similar bodies) grow and mature in status and power, or whether they level off or even decline into insignificance. We hope to follow this through in subsequent research.

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Workers Participation in Management — A Public Sector Experience

P. K. DORAISWAMY

The paper describes an attempt to secure a greater degree of workers' involvement in the day-to-day operations of one of the Textile mills of the National Textile Corporation. While human conflicts continued to appear sporadically, the scheme nevertheless provided valuable training to both workers and managers in non-defensive collaborative interaction.

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Workers' participation in management (WPM) is one of those concepts which, like the Loch Ness monster, surfaces briefly every now and then and attracts notice from many quarters. Again, like the Loch Ness monster, different people see it differently and no two descriptions tally. Soon, however, all the excitement subsides and the topic is quietly forgotten for a long time till it is revived by a fresh report. At one end, some dismiss it as a virtual non-concept and compare it to a nurse participating in a surgeon's job. At the other end, it is equated with the Yugoslavian model of self-managed industries eliminating the traditional dichotomy of management and labour. In between there are various shades of interpretation, some supporting it purely as a 'hygiene' factor while other supporting it as a positive motivator. Broadly, the reaction of most managers to this idea has been one of cynicism not unmixed with contempt for the behavioural scientists who are using industry as a guinea-pig for trying out their new-fangled concepts and theories. The trade unions, on the other hand, resist it on the ground that it would weaken their position vis-a-vis the management in collective bargaining. The normal trade union philosophy (thanks to the short-sighted pioneers of the Industrial Revolution) is, that "labour is labour and management is management; the twain shall never meet". This suits ambitious outsiders who control most of our trade unions. Thus both management and trade unions participate in opposing workers' participation.

The present article, without going into the philosophical aspects of the concept of WPM, confines itself to describing an attempt in one of the textile mills of the National Textile Corporation to secure a greater degree of workers' involvement in the day-to-day operation of the mill. This was done not for the sake of publicity, or in pursuance of any directive from

government, or to tide over any immediate industrial relations problem. The attempt arose out of the personal conviction of the Chief Executive who had faith in a participative style of management both as a value and as a technique. The intention was to try and communicate the top management's values to the lower management and the workers, and create an environment in which these values would be absorbed and internalised in the day-to-day operations of the mill. The intention thereafter was to allow the experiment to evolve by itself, hopefully, to higher degrees of participation and not to force the pace or set any time-bound programme of achievement. The function of the top management was to create and maintain a favourable climate, sow the seeds of the concept and be on guard to prevent premature collapse of the attempt.

Though joint management councils had been formally constituted in all the mills of the NTC during the Emergency, these had virtually ceased to function soon thereafter. There had been no attempts at a psychological level to convince either the managers or the workers of the top management's sincerity in the matter. It was therefore, top management's first job to create a 'caring' image. The intention was to communicate the genuine concern which the management had for their worth and welfare. The following measures were therefore introduced prior to holding discussions with workers about WPM.

- A wedding gift scheme under which a specially designed box containing NTC fabrics was presented by an officer of the mill on behalf of the management to the employees or their children when they got married, either at a specially arranged function in the mill or at the place of wedding.
- An LIC policy worth Rs. 2,000/- was presented to every employee (or his/her spouse) who underwent a family planning operation.
- Facilities for recreational and cultural activities were enlarged, including the organisation of NTC drama troupes and an NTC orchestra.
- A monthly House Journal was introduced, personally edited by the Chief Executive, as an active medium of internal communication throughout the Corporation; with prizes for best articles etc. contributed by the employees.
- Construction of houses for workers was started with HUDCO assistance, taking advantage of the boom through which the industry was passing thus making it clear to employees that increased profits would automatically lead to better amenities for them
- Adult Education and workers' education classes were organised and made active, with some Union representatives being drafted as teachers.
- Supervisors were sent for training courses in technological and management areas and encouraged to take up small improvement projects which were suitably recognised and rewarded.
- The general authority and influence of the general managers of the mills was strengthened both by formal delegation of powers and by subtle changes in the Chief Executive's behaviour and general support to them. An impression was

sought to be promoted that the mills are the most important units in the organisation and not the head office and that the main job of the head office was to give support to field units.

- Specialised and modern equipment in certain departments were installed in mill X where it was proposed to introduce WPM with a view to give the workers and officers a sense of pride in their mill.

After about a year it was found that the maximum impact of workers' and managers' attitudes was made by the House Journal, the Wedding Gift scheme, the housing scheme and the strengthening of authority of the General Managers of the mills. A stage was reached where the top managements' sincerity was not doubted even when its ideas were not acceptable.

The general industrial relations climate in the organisation was satisfactory though with a multi-union set-up, occasional wild-cat strikes were not unusual. The only major dispute with the Unions was over the quantum of annual bonus. There was a local tradition of private textile mills paying more than the statutory bonus before Divali whereas the public sector policy was to pay strictly according to the Bonus Act. However, as this was common to all the NTC mills and the Unions knew that the ultimate decision was in the hands of the Government of India, this dispute did not seriously affect the management-union relations at the mill level. Apart from this, the corporation was doing well financially.

At this stage, the Chief Executive thought of introducing WPM in one of the mills. The choice of the mill was made by the Chief Executive based on his personal judgment influenced by the following factors :

- The mill was located near the Chief Executive's office.
- The General Manager of the mill was technically competent, mature in temperament and capable of squarely facing issues without being sensitive or defensive.
- The mill level union representatives were, by and large reasonable and experienced in their respective functional jobs. Some of them were teachers in the Workers Education and Adult Education programmes.
- The Supervisors in-charge of shifts, though young were basically enthusiastic in their work and respected the General Manager.

The Chief Executive discussed the matter with General Manager of the selected mill who was, willing to give the idea a trial. He was asked to informally sound his mill level colleagues and Union representatives. He reported that, though there was no great enthusiasm, there was no open hostility either.

The Chief Executive then got in touch with the National Productivity Council, New Delhi and requested them to assist him in implementing the scheme. The NPC team of specialists had a preliminary discussion with the G.M. and Chief Executive and a plan of implementation was chalked out. The team held

discussions with groups of officers and workers in the mill for two days explaining the scheme, at the end of which the Chief Executive and the NPC team had a final discussion with Union representatives and managers. By this time, sufficient interest and curiosity had been aroused among the employees who were willing to give the scheme a try. The three main questions put to the Chief Executive at the final meeting and the answers given were :

1. **Qn :** What do we gain by participating in management ?

Ans : This is an opportunity and a right being given to all of us to influence the working of our mill. What we gain will depend on how we use this right and opportunity. I am, however, prepared to assure you that you will not in any way lose or suffer by participating in management and that your existing rights either as employees or as a Union will not be adversely affected in any way.

2. **Qn :** If there is any improvement in the working of the mill as a result, will the employees get a share of the gain ?

Ans : We accept the principle that employees are entitled to share in productivity gains resulting from their efforts. You know that this is a public sector mill and whatever profit we earn will be spent only on modernisation or amenities to employees and will not go into any private pockets. You know that we have started a housing scheme even without any formal demand from Unions. In the proposed scheme, let us jointly discuss specific productivity schemes openly and decide in the best interests of our mill. But we must realise that incentives are given only when normal standards are exceeded. So, wherever our mills are below standard norms of efficiency, let us first reach these standards and then give incentives for exceeding them.

3. **Qn :** We do not want Unions' participation in management to be highlighted or publicised as it may weaken our political image or raise undue hopes among workers.

Ans : We agree not to publicise it or even call it "participation in management". All that we want is that every employee should feel capable of influencing the working of his mill beneficially. We are not interested in publicity or any special credit for this scheme.

One other issue which came up for discussion was the composition of the committees through which the scheme had to function. It was agreed that to begin with, there would be only two committees, one for spinning and one for weaving. The NPC's suggestion to give representation for the senior-most and the most efficient workers was accepted. The mill level Union representatives felt that the least controversial way was for each Union to nominate a representative on each committee and not to have any election. They also agreed to nominate only employees and not outsiders on the committees. As the management was anxious to see that the District-level Union

Office-bearers (who were mostly non-employees) did not obstruct the scheme on one pretext or the other, above suggestion of the mill-level union leaders was quickly accepted. One of the ultra-left Unions was expected to opt out of the scheme on ideological grounds; its mill-level representative, anxious not to be left out of the scheme, persuaded his District-level unit not to stand in his way.

Though the NPC had envisaged a step-by-step strategy of implementing the scheme starting with information-sharing, then proceeding to consultation and joint decision-making ; in actual practice it was decided to let the process evolve. The Committees, with equal number of representatives of the workers and the management, had the General Manager as the Chairman. The Chief Executive decided to attend all the meetings of the committees as an observer though the General Manager would preside and conduct the proceedings. The GM was also deputed to attend a seminar held at Delhi under the auspices of the NPC on the Yugoslavian self-management system.

It was decided to convene these committees once in a fortnight. At the first meeting, the General Manager, in consultation with his colleagues, placed a note before the committees giving data on the generation of cotton waste in spinning and defects in cloth weaving, as these were problems easy to appreciate and diagnose, and profitable to eliminate. The various factors leading to such defects, ways to eliminate them and difficulties in implementing the solutions were discussed and some steps were agreed upon to be implemented before the next meeting.

The following general issues which arose during these meetings deserve mention :

- * The worker-representatives questioned the accuracy of the data presented and claimed that the occurrence of defects was not as widespread as claimed by the management. The method by which sample studies were conducted and the data gathered was explained to them and they were invited to accompany the spinning clerk or the supervisor during such sample studies.
- * While the worker-representatives blamed the management for not providing adequate facilities, tools etc., the supervisors were blaming the workers for being careless, lazy etc. As a matter of strategy, the workers' representatives were encouraged to have their say in the first few meetings and point out all the shortcomings of the management. After these were noted, investigated and fully rectified, the management, in subsequent meetings would be morally in a better position to point out workers' deficiencies. This, of course, involved the GM taking the supervisors into confidence and explaining the strategy and its logic to them so that they did not feel let down in front of the workers' representatives. Throughout the implementation of the scheme, the crux of

the problem was to encourage the workers' representatives to exercise their right to criticism without making the managers and supervisors feel bad, and to allow the supervisors to criticise workers without making the Unions feel that 'participation' is no different from the usual management-worker relationship.

- * There was often a difference of opinion between two Union representatives, mechanic and an operator. The latter alleged poor maintenance of machines while the former alleged negligent or careless handling of machines by operators. Eventually, in order to avoid presenting a divided front before the management, the workers' representatives agreed among themselves on what should be done to set things right and to cooperate with each other, thus lightening management's burden.
- * In some cases, workers' representatives admitted that some of the younger workers were immature and irresponsible and should be strictly controlled by management. They, however, made it clear that while they would personally support managers exercising their legitimate authority to enforce discipline, the latter should not expect the Unions to openly support such action or to avoid representing their cases to the management.
- * Occasionally, one Union tried to blame another Union for the troubles in the mill but generally officers and workers discouraged such attempts and tried to make the whole committee function as one body. The emphasis was, by and large, on what was wrong and not who was wrong.
- * Though the understanding was that collective bargaining issues would not be discussed in the committee, such issues kept coming up now and then. Instead of abruptly ignoring or ruling such issues out of order, the GM and the Chief Executive used to listen patiently and explain how, when and in what forum the management proposed to deal with such issues. The idea all the time was to make it clear to the workers' representatives that the management has nothing to be embarrassed about or to hide.
- * Delay in implementation of decisions taken at previous meetings was always noticed and commented upon by workers' representatives and this kept the officers alert.
- * Once when, for some unavoidable reasons, the committees could not meet for nearly 6 weeks, the workers' representatives met the GM and enquired why the committees were not meeting and saw to it that the meetings were revived.

After the scheme was in operation for six months' the mill was able to reduce the generation of cotton waste significantly. The scheme was in operation for a year when a major interruption took place. As already mentioned, the bonus dispute was a major dispute remaining unsettled and just before Divali, taking advantage of a State wide police strike, some employees of the mill indulged in acts of indiscipline. Thus four employees from the mill were dismissed. Though none of the leaders were personally involved in these incidents and all of them privately condemned the behaviour of these workers, as Unions they took a

public stand demanding their reinstatement, as decided by the district level units of these Unions. A strike ensued for about a month in the mill and the WPM Committees could not meet. After the strike, it took some time before normal working of the mill could be resumed and the WPM scheme was revived.

One must bear in mind that WPM may not convert an organisation into a managerial heaven and that human conflicts should still be expected to occur. But in this case, there is clear evidence that a month-old strike has not embittered relations and that the workers' representatives do not doubt the management's bonafides merely because some workers had to be dismissed.

For such a major innovation, the period of trial was too short to draw any firm conclusion. It is obvious that in addition to the deliberate attempts to create a favourable environment before implementing the scheme, the management benefited from deliberate choice of the mill.

While nothing revolutionary can be claimed so far from the WPM system in the mill, the experience has definitely strengthened hopes of managers who believe in participation as a value, and who believe that workers will respond, under proper conditions, to any good initiative from the management. The scheme provided valuable training to both workers and managers in non-defensive, collaborative interaction. A sceptic could ask: if the conditions in the mill were already so favourable, then why try WPM at all? The answer is that the scheme was tried in spite of having favourable conditions in the mill for the following reasons:

- * to institutionalise an existing good situation
- * to internalise the culture of participative management
- * to seek to go beyond the existing level of 'goodness' in the organisation
- * to have a demonstration effect on other mills

The ultimate aim of all management is to achieve orchestration of effort, the synergistic collaboration of all employees in which everyone's contribution has a place, and one man's contribution compensates for the weaknesses of another. It is the public sector alone which has the unique advantage of not having management interests separate from and opposed to labour interests. If management is regarded as a privilege, then participation, by definition, will be resisted. If managing is only another name for socially useful collaboration, then participation becomes a necessity, even a duty. It is based on such a perception of management that the experiment reported here was tried.

Improving QWL In India — A Conference Discussion

This conference discussion took place at the Productivity House, New Delhi on the morning of 9th January, 1982. It formed part of the proceedings of the National Seminar on Improving Quality of Working Life organised by the National Productivity Council in collaboration with Public Enterprises Centre for Continuing Education, Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms and Central Labour Institute from 7—9 January, 1982. The session was chaired by Shri Badal Roy, Director, Public Enterprises Centre for Continuing Education, New Delhi.

Edited by :
V. VEPA RAMAIAH
J. P. SINGH

Chairman

I would like to invite the participants to put forward their views regarding Improvement in the Quality of Working Life, in light of the papers presented in the last two days and earlier discussions. This is an opportunity to take an overall view of QWL in India. May I suggest that we limit ourselves to an hour and a half of general discussion and leave Prof. Thorsrud enough time to give his concluding remarks.

Mani Madala

(National Productivity Council, Madras) :

Mr. Chairman, I would like to draw the attention of this group to the fact that we have, in this seminar, concentrated mainly on the problem of QWL vis-a-vis workers in the organized sector. But in India we have a vast workforce that is largely unorganized and I believe there is a need to consider what can be done for them in terms of improving their quality of working life and quality of life. I think special attention needs to be paid to these disadvantaged and minority groups, especially to the category of women workers, who work not only in a formal work place but also at home.

Gopal Khandelwal

(Public Enterprises Centre for Continuing Education, New Delhi) :

The first point I would like to make is related to the issue of ownership: For the experiment to succeed ownership should be transferred, and I was wondering, to whom? Transferred to key individuals in the organisations? In that case what happens if those key individuals get transferred? Do we transfer the ownership to the entire organisation? Do we have a joint ownership between the external researchers and the internal

people? Do we transfer ownership to the people affected by the experiment? In that case what about the interest of the controlling individual? I think we need to look at the issue of ownership in slightly more detail.

The second issue relates to diffusion. It occurs to me that if I was a Manager in a middle management position, I will not really be interested with diffusion. Perhaps diffusion is a central concern only to researchers. As a manager, I would really be interested in making sure that I do whatever my role permitted me to do in as successful a manner as possible. If I moved out of that role into a different role, again I would try to introduce change in a manner as successful as before. This is an issue we may need to keep in mind towards diffusion.

My last point is about the network discussions. I am slightly puzzled by the network proposal. My only submission at this point of time would be that whatever we do, we do in an attempt to strengthen, whatever little network effort is already being made. I am not sure if the committee discussed 'Network Notes' which have been circulated by Dr. J.P. Singh as an Indian Coordinator. I am not sure if this group discussed the possibility of starting an Indian Network Notes. But I think there is a strong need to unearth the different change attempts being made rather than set up structures and association in this area.

Rajesh Tandon

(Public Enterprises Centre for Continuing Education, New Delhi):

I want to take up the last point which Gopal Khandelwal made which is related to the issue of the semi-formal/formal/forum/organisation, etc. that Mr. Srinivasan and Dr. Saxena have been charged with the responsibility of trying to figure out. Let me state some of my concerns and some of my views.

At this point in time, I am intrigued by the fact that since 1976 the examples as well as the people in QWL have remained more or less static. This group has not expanded to any significant extent. In every assembly that I have been to, the same faces appear. I think it is a pointer towards our own inability to expand and bring in divergent experiences, hither-to unpublished, un-known, expressions of similar efforts not only in the organised sector of our country but also in the un-organised sector. We have talked in this forum, and I feel there is a general consensus, of an expanded definition of Quality of Working Life and also an expanded notion of strategies for Improving Quality of Working Life. We have also talked about a dilution of boundaries between Quality of Life and Quality of

Working Life. In the same spirit, therefore, I would suggest very strongly that we do not limit ourselves in this network to those of us who are present here or those of us who are professionals, be they practitioners, or researchers in the organised sector. We need to include people who are unsung heroes or who are unsung practitioners or are un-known researchers all over this country. We need to expand our boundaries, bring them in fold, and therefore present a broad enough base of views, ideas, and interest, and not just those which are represented in this group,

In the same spirit, I feel that the idea of an association or an organisation is somewhat premature at this stage. I think, we have to apply some of the same principles that we preach into our own network activities. For example, we have to move away from an hierarchical concept of an organisation for Quality of Working Life in India. We have to move away from personality based or individual based organisations or associations to more collegial, work-related, broad-based institutions. I personally feel and very strongly support what Gopal said earlier, that there is a need to extend the idea of networking, before a formal step of an association or an organisation is taken. I also feel that people who are going to be upfront in this network must be those who represent the wider base. It should not be a "So-and-So's Quality of Working Life Movement" or "So-and-So Institutions' Quality of Working Life Projects". If we do that, I fear very strongly, that we will be five years hence, in the same place where we are today. In fact the group might shrink in size, diversity, as well as experience from what it is today.

In the course of discussion in the last two days having somewhat of a formal responsibility, I was unable to express some of these points of view. But I have felt that there is a certain limited direction that we want to move this discussion or these ideas to, and I am of the opinion that if there are people here who are sceptics, if they are people who are divergent, if there are people here who say that this is also what I do in a limited way in Quality of Working Life, we should be receptive enough, flexible enough and accommodative enough to include them in our forum. That, in my opinion, is the only fruitful way in which we can carry the message that we cherish, that we believe in, that we hope will be useful to others.

J.P. Singh

(National Productivity Council, New Delhi) :

I think it will be a sad day for QWL movement in the country, if we limit the whole thing to work redesign. I think right from the first paper to discussions

on the last day, we have been talking of generalising the concept. And, if this net-work that we are trying to create is going to be limited to just a work redesign group, I think we will perforce be limiting our efforts and our achievements. So, I totally agree with Rajesh that this network should try to bring in people, who label themselves simply as working to promote Workers Participation in Management. There is a lot of work in that area which is relevant to the kind of thing we have been discussing here. I think, in this net-work, we should try to bring in a couple of trade union people, who are committed to the kind of work that we are envisaging in improving QWL. The network, therefore, should not be just exclusively a forum for the researchers or the change agents. It should also have managers, technologists, and social workers. That is really where we start practicing the generalisation of the concept, making it more broad-based and more global.

However, I also want to talk about issues raised in the earlier discussions. The first point I would like to make is about the question, which was raised in Nilkant and Rajesh Tandon's paper: Is it worth-while to explore non-participative approaches to improving QWL? Is participative approach the only approach? I fully agree that other approaches are possible. Especially when we want to rise above the micro level and go to the macro level, participative approach in the traditional sense that we have been thinking of, has, probably, a very limited kind of a result. Probably the policy change becomes a more meaningful way of bringing about change. But I am also aware of the dangers of the non-participative approaches and I would like a word of caution at this point. The non-participative approaches can be benevolent, in which case I am saying that "I know what a good quality of working life is or what a good quality of life should be, and therefore, I'd like to do something for you". The non-participative approach can, however, also be an authoritarian and a highly dogmatic kind of an approach. After all we have had people in the history of civilization who were very committed people and yet history judges them today not so well. It may be because their ideas were un-acceptable, or because the way in which they went about implementing these ideas was un-acceptable. So whereas we should definitely try and explore other alternative approaches, I think participative approach, by and large, still remains our starting point. Further, nothing prevents policy change from being participation based.

The next point I would like to make is about the strategies for initiating changes and especially in large and multi-unit organisations. I would like the people

who have worked in this area, specially Jim Watson and Einar Thorsrud, to tell us more about the kind of experiences available in this regard. Most of the experiments that have been conducted in this country have come to a point where the organisation is faced with a dilemma. BHEL cannot do anything at this point of time until and unless BHEL Management is willing to grapple with the issue of promotion and BHEL experiments will, perforce, remain static kind of experiments unless we are willing to deal with the various dilemmas that they lead to. I would also like to hear, from the people who have worked in this area, of any strategies that were evolved, successfully or unsuccessfully, because both contribute to our learning in terms of the strategies for working across organisations.

And lastly, I want to talk about the ownership of projects. In a way, when we talk of ownership and the transfer of ownership, it highlights the limited success that we have had. It only indicates that we have been able to introduce changes and now we are worried that if the change agents and the outside agencies walked out these changes may be frittered away, unless they are owned by the organisation or the people within the organisation. To that extent, I think we have reached only the first criteria of being able to introduce change. It is only when we are able to institutionalize this change that the ownership question really becomes secondary. In fact, the very stringent criteria which I had proposed in my paper was the creation of ability within the organisation to continually generate change. And that would be the third criteria. Thus initiation of the change is the first criteria, the second is the institutionalisation of this change whether in terms of the policy, procedures or the organisation philosophy, and the third is the creation of ability within the organisation to introduce continuing change; because continuing change is the only way an organisation will be able to cope with the changing environment and the changing social milieu.

There is a certain degree of myth in our management and this myth is also applicable to QWL. We wish to introduce a concept like Management by Objectives, and the myth is that if we have an MBO expert, he will come in and introduce the concept for us. It never works. The myth is that if we have a department of MBQ it will do the thing for us. It never works. I hope similar myths are not generated in QWL. I hope, the day does not come when we have a department for improving QWL within an organisation and institutions churning out QWL engineers. And that is my final point. Thank you.

S.S. Rosemind

(Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd., Bhopal) ;

I would first of all like to thank the NPC for organising this National Seminar which has created an awareness of the issue of QWL. Sometimes a pessimistic view was expressed regarding the slow pace of progress of QWL activities but I believe that the creation of awareness is itself a progress.

For the experiment to succeed I feel appropriate emphasis must be laid on training and retraining of managerial staff through periodical workshops. In these workshops we must emphasize humanistic values. Workers can usually be motivated to cooperate with each other and with management and to accept change. But managers and experts often find it much more difficult to do this and for this reason training is very important.

Mr. Sisodia

(Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms) :

Mr. Chairman, at this juncture. I believe it is important to clearly identify the objective of the quality of working life and the objective of quality of life. This issue was raised by Prof. Prayag Mehta yesterday but did not generate very great discussions except Nitish De's comments about the mutuality that exists between them. But if improving quality of working life is ultimately meant for improving the quality of life than what is the quality of life? Are we aiming at a fuller life like that is available in the West? Or do we want a different quality of life—one which would involve the absence of pain?

Perhaps this assembly will have to widen its horizons and start looking to different alternatives for bringing about change—change in people, change in organisations so that the quality of life improves. In that case, what would be the process of education? Would it be the same kind of techniques and system adopted in the West, or would it be something different for our country which would give you a greater fullness in life? Perhaps we will have to look within ourselves, and towards East instead of West when we want to do this thing.

I am aware that it is a very skewed kind of an intervention, it is not what has been talked during the seminar. But may be at this juncture, when we are taking stock of the situation, we might give a thought to this. Thank you.

Chairman :

I suggest that there could be no two better people—Jim Watson from a very large organisation in the West, and Sujeet Banerjee who has the responsibility for bringing about change in a large sector, to give their experiences and views at this stage.

Jim Watson

(Shell International, London, England) :

Thank you Chairman. I think I have really been given two tasks, one is to make a few very general comments and the other, if I heard J.P. correctly, was to talk just a little bit about big systems like the one in which I have the honour of working.

In terms of the question of work, I think work is invariably an expression of who one is. Whether one is a lucky worker, well-educated and working in a nice job or a poor, unfortunate, powerless person slaving away at something, I believe that the work one does is some kind of expression of who one is. I think the human spirit rises above the conditions in which the work is being done and some expression of the individual always remains. And I also believe, that work can be looked upon rather profitably as some metabolism between the individual and his environment. In other words, if you are alone on a desert island, you may set out to build yourself a shelter, or build yourself a wall against a hurricane, or collect food. You're working, you're changing your environment and if there are other people in it, than you may be working with them or against them to do similar things. If that is so, I think it absolutely confirms the view that several people have expressed that quality of life and quality of working life are intimately related and the latter is obviously a part of the former.

The second point I would like to make relates to where to look for help. Einar and myself, we happen to come from the West, but I do not think the message we are bringing is a Western message. I think when you look towards yourself, you might find that looking to the East is just as strange as is looking to the West. I think you might find that the differences between you and people in other parts of India are just as great, in many ways, as the differences between you and Thorsrud and Watson, or you and the Japanese Industrialists, or you and anybody else you would like to mention. I think the place you look for inspiration, and I believe this very strongly and it underlies all my own work in Shell, is to yourself and the people you are trying to serve as clients, if you like to see yourself as some kind of internal consultant or some kind of change agent. I think the most profitable thing is to look at the people you are working with, and never mind where they come from.

Now, perhaps, I could try to respond to what J.P. asked. Because I mentioned Shell just now, let me take big systems. I think I have jotted down two or three things that strike me as things I would try to remember about big systems. But first is they are very very big. And if they are big enough they are complex as well in the cultural sense, and in the technical sense and the bureaucratic sense, and so on. In my experience, the beginning of any continuing journey in the quality of working life field is a journey through time, and we have to be rather opportunistic. In other words, it is very difficult to envisage starting with some kind of consolidated pattern or some kind of centrally determined pattern. You have to start opportunistically, you have to make entrances where the opportunities arise. Systems or parts of the systems that have problems or issues particularly, are places where you will find energy to do work. My experience is that you usually have to begin in that way and it is the secondary phase when you begin to see ways of connecting these opportunities together into something more like a strategy. And even when you do connect these interventions, programmes, projects together into something more like strategies it may still be something less than a neat, cut-and-dried, centrally directed strategy. It may be more of a patch work, more of an aggregate of connected things and my advise to anybody who has got to that second stage would be to remember to be ready to tolerate the differences that still remain and the disappointments that will still occur.

Another little point about big systems is that you get an opportunity to consider each individual intervention as the way of learning to move ahead into another intervention. I think Einar and I said a little bit about using the ships in this way. Each ship in Einar's Norwegian shipping work became a learning platform, a laboratory for helping to improve the design of the next ship. And in big systems it pays to be on the look out for opportunities like that.

Two last points about big systems. In spite of what I said about cultures not being entirely definitive, they are important, and big systems have their cultures too. Companies have cultures and mythologies and it is very often very helpful, especially in working with grades of managers, to sit down and talk openly about their culture and what they think their culture is. What they think are the critical elements and how they think it differs from other cultures, both in other parts of the big systems and in other parts of other systems outside.

The final point is that training is the glue. You have to have some kind of experiential training pro-

cesses going, and I say experiential because I think most of us would agree that the days of taking people out into a class-room have gone for ever. Some kind of training of people who have some kind of natural association together, working groups or managerial groups. It may be training on the vehicle or some kind of realistic project which is a part of their real day-to-day working experience. This is very important and this becomes the glue that glues the systems together and glues the QWL interventions together and hopefully it enables you to proceed. That is all I think I would like to say about big systems.

Now if I may just pick-up two or three general points about the seminar. I would like to thank you, and particularly Dr. Saxena, for asking me here. It has been a most interesting and pleasant experience for me. I have really enjoyed meeting you on the basis of personal relationships and also very notably in terms of the level of the debate. I've found the level and content of the debate very very high and very exciting and very interesting and it comes as a very nice experience after being in Toronto at a highly Western conference. Very interesting debate of at least equal quality, perhaps even a higher quality in some respects, and, interestingly I hope for you, I would say the differences again are fewer and less striking than one might predict. Many of the same subjects, treated in many of the same ways, expressing many of the same points of view.

On the subject of your network, never mind whether it is going to be some sort of formalised institution or not, I would encourage you to start now. I think there is not only a remarkable richness of experience, I think there is a very high level of energy. I heard Rajesh say that the old faces are the only ones that are around, but he hinted that perhaps the new faces are there somewhere, hidden around the corner, and they have not been brought out yet. Going back to what J.P. said about involving Trade Unionists and Managers and representatives of different classes and so on, I would encourage you to go ahead now. I have only had two days to judge by, but my impression is that there is a lot of readiness to go and people are only looking for a direction, looking for a way to go. I think you could provide that. Remember this conference is just a mile-stone. The continuing scene is a lot more important than the experience of these two or three days. This is a little point, may be a jumping-off point. But it is only a point in a continuum, the continuing journey, I spoke about before.

A few words on the very interesting subject of systems, big systems, implanted in their environment like the BHEL one and affecting the rural surroundings.

This is a terribly important thing and I will just mention briefly one experience we had. We have a big refinery on the island of Curacao which dominates the island. And to be perfectly truthful it has largely spoilt the island of Curacao with its big Tanker Jetties. And because of this dominance it became obvious to us about 10 years ago that we should start doing some work with the local community. And so we moved into a lot of organisational development type work but instead of confining it to the refineries we let it flow over the boundaries into the local community. And the results were very interesting. It is not a highly sophisticated community and the vehicle that our OD man used was a very sophisticated vehicle. It was one of those American vehicles that is concerned with levels of development of awareness. And so by preparing a sort of self-administered questionnaire and handing it out to thousands of people in the village, you have people running about saying "I am a level three. What are you?" and "How can I become a four?" and the result of that was very interesting. It produced an amazing amount of interplay between the Shell people and the people of the community, a surprising increase in understanding and collaboration. I believe, socially it was a very good move. I am not looking for any credit I am just saying there is a little example for you.

I think the second last point I would like to make is, we mentioned things like legislation but you have to remember how important this is. If you take a look at some of the recent Scandinavian legislation, if you look at the Norwegian or Swedish laws which now forbid employers to design work that is psychologically dangerous: you think what that means! How can you tell whether the job is psychologically dangerous or not? The point is the law goes very much beyond the conditions of work in physical terms. It goes into the conditions of work in psychological and social terms, and although these things are not very closely defined they are already there in these laws and one day they are going to turn up here. Never forget the importance of the law and what it could do for the questions of women, and minorities and disadvantaged sectors. It is a sad thing but we do not move as far as we might until somebody helps the things along by embodying the problem in legislation.

My final point is to say to you I hope you enjoy yourself. I am still laughing at Harinder's story about the dacoits and the policeman. And I look on it as a oasis in the desert of this seminar. There was not enough laughter here for me. And I hope you will have a little fun when you are doing all these good things. I wish you a lot of luck and I hope we can

somehow remain in contact.

Shri Sujeet Banerjee

(Administrative Training Institute, Calcutta) :

Thank you for this opportunity. My comments will be restricted in the perspective of the kind of work which we have been doing at the state level training institute. In many ways, we have been equally concerned with some of the issues that you have been discussing. Our objective in the institute is to train the people for developmental administration. In other words, we are concerned with how to make work meaningful for them, how to inculcate certain values in them at the stage at which they get into service which will be with them throughout their careers. The motto of our institute is learning to serve. We have attempted in our limited way to operationalise this concept. To a great extent we try to tell them to develop the values of imagination and sympathy. If you combine the two words, imagination and sympathy, you get a very nice word called 'empathy.' The word empathy is very very significant if you are going about trying to improve the quality of life in various organisations. The art of work is perhaps more important than the structuring and the scientific or data collecting part of it. This has been my limited experience in this particular field.

One point about the participatory and non-participatory approach that has been discussed. The issue is not an either-or; or black-and-white situation. We have had experiences of participatory approaches not quite succeeding. In our zeal for participation we should not close our eyes to other points of view.

One last point that Mr. Watson talked of, I would like to make a comment on before I finish; the East-West kind of approach. I am not advocating the view that we should not take anything from the West. The point is that we should accept whatever works. I personally feel that the concept of Quality of Working Life emerged when the West became a bit fed-up with the fulfilment of material needs. But in our country the fulfilment of material needs is very very fundamental and it will be years before we reach a situation where the people feel fed up with the fulfilment of these needs. So we should have a very open front approach to this matter and adopt whatever is applicable.

Lastly, with regard to the diffusion of these good ideas, the stage at which you can inculcate values and attitudes which will stay for a long time is the induction level training. That is, when a man gets

from University into service. That is the stage at which you can hope for a modicum of success. We would be prepared to cooperate in any kind of a design of a training programme which will be translating or diffusing these ideas to the people who are going to enter their service and going through the training institute. Thank you again for this opportunity to express my views.

Chairman

Before I request Prof. Thorsrud to make his concluding remarks I would request you, Dr. Saxena, to take the Chair for the final part of this session.

Prof. Thorsrud

(Work Research Institute, Oslo, Norway)

It is very difficult to try and say what I feel and without repeating what I have heard these last two days, but let me try and mention a few major points.

First, regarding the enlargement of the concept. It is not necessary to go into the details, but the history of the concept is not very long, it is only about ten years old. But even ten years ago, it was quite clear that the concept was not that narrow. It concentrated on work and was directly linked to the process of democratising work. And everybody knows that you cannot democratise work unless you have in mind a wider concept of democracy which goes all the way from the individual to the family, to the community, and may be, even to the Government. Although we did not try to say it at that time, for instance in 1972 when the first international conference on quality of working life was held, it was clear that that was the objective. It would have been a little too much to say so. One, it would indicate that we had such big things in mind, although I think we were not unaware of the possible forcefulness of some of the instruments, methods, knowledge, and some of the people and ideas that were involved. I think it was a fairly broad concept.

A redesign of work was very central because it was a very concrete step that was important in realising the much wider objective. And redesign of work was not so simple, as we all know when we look at the very many good examples that you have here in India. But the redesign of work was also important point because if we start with something as concrete as that, we avoid corruption of the big idea I mentioned earlier. I think there is a large chance that if you use big words and talk about such big ideas, it is very easy to corrupt those very fragile ideas, unless we can come down to brass tacks and demonstrate in some way that we know how to approach those big ideas. The redesign of work was, and still is, a very important

thing. It is now very necessary to get down further to much more difficult problems, to enlarge the concept in terms of crossing the boundary between work and family and between work and education. And that may come out of redesigning work. Analysing, for instance, the inter relationship between a company and its surroundings, even analysing inter dependence between people, and tasks, may lead on to this enlargement and crossing of the boundaries. So it is not either-or, the big global concept which is important and useful, but somewhat dangerous because it could easily corrupt the whole thing by not being able to operationalise it. On the other hand there is a danger of being too concrete because it could end up in some sort of a technique or even a method.

Some times it is more important to say what QWL is not, than to say what it is. Because it is when we cross the boundary and get astray, we can see more clearly what QWL is. For instance, QWL is clearly not an instrument for management to keep unions out. QWL is certainly not a simple way of making things a little bit more bearable in the work place to avoid approaching the more basic things. QWL is not only a technique or a method for trying to change work, but it is perhaps more the process of how we go about it. The process of learning. And then we enter problems of strategies and all the rest. So, as far as enlarging the concept, there has been in the last 10 to 15 years, a fairly wide understanding all the time. What has changed I think, is the much greater awareness of the complexity and even the possibilities. And this awareness, I think perhaps comes to us when we get very close to catastrophe. For instance, small communities never pull themselves together before they see that nobody is going to help them. May be that is one of the reasons why we have enlarged the concept and acquired more knowledge and may be even wisdom about it.

I think this leads on to the other ways of expressing concerns that we are including in QWL. Legislation was never excluded, but we wanted to be careful not to fall into the trap. Again, to think that having understood something and even having seen a way out, we legislate, and that is that. Now it will be taken care of. We must not fall back into this trap. So for instance, even legislating participation is still on but we have become more realistic about it. Legislation of the worker management participation can be a way of institutionalising some of what we have achieved in work redesign or organisation redesign. But I have seen few changes the other way around, namely by legislating first and all the other things follows. However, for instance,

legislating improved safety has in the last 10 years become more of a viable entry, more of a viable opening. However, we should not lose the basic idea that the law is some times only an indication of what is right thing. Later the big problem comes, how do we realise it? The work environment law in Sweden and Scandinavia, has ruled out a little bit of an obviously too high knowledge and too dangerous machines. But the basic thing about this is that it assumes that the responsibility for improving working conditions rests with the company and its management, and also with its unions. And then the law become more of a structure within which learning takes place.

Similarly, improving working conditions is very much on, may be even more so than 10 years ago. From that point of view, in a much wider context, bargaining is certainly still on. It is a major part of our own strategy of thinking that at a certain point we cannot avoid looking at bargaining as a way of institutionalising. I think it is still on to take a look at the structure of management-labour relations in a country. To look at the negotiation process, the conciliation process, the labour law process. May be the time has come to review a part of that, because of what we have learnt from some of the larger systems where change has taken place.

Also management is clearly a part of the picture of QWL. And may be it is coming back now in a different way than it was in 1972. And the reason for that is that I think many of the old ideas of management have now become quite clearly obsolete. A consciousness about why it is obsolete is then very important. For instance I saw yesterday that the 'International Management' had noticed that the gurus have gone in terms of management. May be that is a good thing. Because 'guru', as far as I know, is traditionally something that means a very lonely man with some pupils. That is a very poor concept for management today. But may be it is a very good picture of the manager of the past 10 years. So if the gurus have gone the paradigm has shifted. May be we are now looking at management as a completely different thing. We may not know what it is, as yet, but we have become more conscious of what it is not. And that is a very important step. It does not mean that management has gone or that leadership has gone. May be it is more important than ever. But it is of an entirely different nature. And may be when we get closer to it, we see that some of the people who have been called gurus have in fact been network builders. May be, we would not see any gurus any more in management. But may be the gurus will be there as a 'point of learning' in a network. And that is perhaps the oldest, real, concept of the gurus.

So the network concept in relation to management is extremely important and it is extremely difficult. How can one exercise leadership in a network? It is a paradox, and it is still a necessity, because the network is a place where power moves to the point where it is needed. And it is exercised, and is abolished when the need is not there. And then it moves somewhere else where parts and the problems need leadership, collaboration and action. When that is achieved it moves again to another part of the network where the issue is burning.

That leads us to the question of strategy. How do we go about dealing with this much wider concept? We have to be able to come out and operationalise it even in simple planning. So obviously, 'planning' is still on. It is certainly on, in the sense of using what we have learnt about planning, namely, not to forget the rather open search in the beginning of all planning in QWL. Because if we forget the search, we certainly forget the relevant parties to be involved in the exercise in planning. By not having the search in the beginning of the planning, we may even forget very important issues that need to be brought out first. Perhaps the rights of women, perhaps the physical working conditions, perhaps the minimal conditions for doing anything. So, the search part of the strategies is certainly very important but it is also important to envisage the major stages we are going into. We can atleast do planning in terms of stating some necessary conditions to be taken care of, in the first phase. And at least to make a plan which puts up some sort of mile-stones. But it is not a mile-stone in the old sense, it is rather a signal that we have reached a point where we shift gear. May be it is better to say that we have reached a point where the gradient is changing. May be we have reached a plateau, and now we need to take stock. Atleast that much must be involved in the planning and the strategies. And then I think, we can see that more important than the steps of the plan, are the timings for shifting gear. And the time for shifting gear is a matter of evaluation. Which gear do we now put in? How do we now change what is needed in the next phase? So not only to judge when we shift gear, if we have covered the necessary conditions, but also to evaluate, to prepare, and set up the necessary conditions to be covered in the next phase. And again, to make sure that we remember that there comes a time again after this plateau to shift gear. This is obviously something, that is important in what we have talked about the strategy.

Here I think we have come to very concrete and important point that I do not think we had dealt with as nicely in Toronto as you have done here. Namely,

this matter of remembering that if we have started with work redesign, or if we started with physical working conditions, to come to a point where we institutionalise some of what we have achieved. Not only to read off the results in some way but also to institutionalise it in some way. But that is a double edged sword. Because if we institutionalise it in a bureaucratic way or in a legalistic way, the whole thing has, probably, been wasted and we are back to square one. But that does not take away the responsibility that we have for institutionalising it. The question is to find the right way.

In some way, it may be right not to talk about money in the first step. But may be it is absolutely essential to talk about money and bargain about it later. Or may be it was not right to talk about legislation in the second step, but may be it is valid to talk about it in the 5th step and legislate something which was not possible at an earlier point because we did not know what to legislate. So, you must be very careful with this institutionalisation. It can back-fire completely. Do not let us forget, that the law maker, in a traditional sense, is the man or the woman who institutionalises. The art of law making is something we should not forget.

I think institutionalisation also means to change the role of the so called 'change agent', which I think is a bad name. But we should take it seriously ourselves. How can we institutionalize, for instance, the ownership? That was a very good point that we spent quite a bit of time on, and I think Khandelwal put it very clearly that this is really a very complex thing. It must not be an ownership for ever. And at the same time it cannot be an institutional ownership or a bureaucratic ownership. That will not work either. So I think it is a matter of responsibility of preparing the future ownership. Anybody, who has ownership, has the responsibility to get rid of it, but not to leave it free-floating. Not to abdicate. That I think is the problem of ownership. There are some people who have owned a lot who have found that the greatest luck of ownership is to give it away. Not in a paternalistic way but in a cultural way. This is a part of the strategy and planning that I have found most gratifying to listen to. I agree with Jim that what you have here in institutionalising through learning is a marvel. But again every marvel is double edged. So when I heard that you want to do this in terms of training, I get sceptical. Because then you may end up in the educational establishment, I talked about earlier. And if there is something that you want to get rid of, it is exactly that. A way of institutionalization that I have not seen in the west is where a manager changes his

role to a teacher. That is one way of institutionalizing through education which is very important.

There is one more aspect of institutionalisation which I would like to focus on in the end. It is the institutionalisation that could come about by enlarging the boundaries. And here again, India has a major responsibility to look at the possibility of changing the mission of the public enterprise as a way to institutionalize. May be, BHEL is in a unique position of institutionalizing some of the work redesign and organisation redesign through enlarging its boundaries. For instance by making it not only legal, but also required, of let us say, engineers of a certain level in the cadre to spend a certain amount of time outside the company and in the environment. Unless you have done that you will not be given full credit for having served in this position. That means to go out and lead a project group that takes care of the irrigation, or the pumps, or the maintenance of the tractors. Unless you have done that in a project group you have not qualified for a higher level manufacturing job. But that has to be both ways. It will never work if it is something you give to them. In fact they may have more to give us than the other way around. So it must be a mutual inter-relationship, if you go out of the enterprise. This could even force a union to change its mission.

A point was made about education as a possibility. We have not spent much time on education as a constraint. But I think that is an important issue that we need to deal with and linked with that, is the big constraint that was mentioned by several people here—namely the problem of the cadre. We need to take a look at the consequences that come when we have to redesign work at certain levels. What are the professional consequences? Some people said, do not forget that this is a vertical society. Japan is even more hierarchical. But there is one difference. Japan has some horizontal mechanisms that you seem not to have. And it is very important to look at that missing capacity. I don't want to go further into what Jim Watson brought forward as the problem of large corporations in the West. But I think we could see that there are some basic structural problems in the Indian society that we need to look at.

A little point on Mehta's results regarding the fact that quality of life is primary to quality of working life. I am always sceptical about these inter-related figures. I am not sure that there is a causal relationship and if there is, it still might be the other way round, because QWL may not be seen as a possibility at all by people who have not been exposed to work. So it is simply a lack of opportunity to see it as a

possibility, that indicates that work is not so important. But we may have a strong point in the fact that if we do not expand from working life into other areas, obviously we are missing the point. So these are very complex links and I agree with what has been said by Harinder earlier today that we have to be more aware of the inter-relationships and very careful to interpret as to what way they go.

I have a bit more to say about diffusion as a problem and some possibilities to deal with it. To summarize, I think, we should look at the diffusion problem in several ways. First, look at it as evaluation problem of shifting gears. Second, to look at it as the ownership problem and a transfer problem, or may be a diffusion problem. And lastly, to look at it as a problem of crossing the boundaries.

Lastly, a few points about enlarging the network or the forum. I defined a 'network' a moment ago, as something which is structured, but in such a way that power can move in it. Secondly a network is something which is not finished. It is still being woven in different directions. May be you, call it a network, what you create in India, and not an association. May be you call it a forum. But if so, a forum is a place to which people have to go. Which is not the case with a network. But may be you need both. But also remember that the forum was a place where people used to come and speak. But then the forum became the market place where people came and did things—everything from weaving to standing on their heads. So a forum can be many things. What you probably need is both the network and the forum. I am very glad that you mentioned many of the reasons for enlarging the network or the forum. Particularly what was said about signaling in the right way. However, let me repeat what I said about the big and beautiful and complex things that I just now mentioned, about this combination of the network and the forum. Do not corrupt those ideas by waiting too long. Because if you wait too long the timing is wrong again. It is a little bit like playing a flute. If you do not blow at all, nothing happens, if you blow too hard there in no tune. And I think that I would be more afraid that you blow too hard than that you do not blow at all. I think it is more urgent to set up this network or forum within the next two or three weeks or the next two or three months than to be absolutely sophisticated and ideal and do it in a year. Because do not make the best the enemy of the good.

Speaking about objectives, I think they are important, but there is also a danger. Because objectives can very easily boil down again to 'hardware' projects. So I think objectives are more important to talk about

in terms of directions. And let me just stop by saying that I think you really already have many things that we have not talked about. But let me mention as an example—a beautiful one that said that there is no water, so why not build a hundred small dams, instead of a big irrigation system. I am not saying that you should not also do that in some places, because the river is too large to be controlled by many small dams. But there is rain falling in many areas that is going to waste. And even a small dam can be used both for irrigation and for growing fish. I think that is a beautiful image of what quality of working life can be. It is not an instrument but it is something that we do. And may be it is an art, more than anything else. And we should then look for the many drops of rain that are coming and some times you have to collect them a little to use them at the right time.

I will end by saying that the National Productivity Council has demonstrated a little beginning atleast by taking the initiative and having this meeting which has been very nice, atleast for me. Second, I have seen a small change or two inside NPC. The last time I was here, I heard about the change in the budget control department. I hope you are continuing with that. And I also heard that you are changing the context of the engineering education that you are doing. Finally I also understand that you are introducing and using in your management training what has been learnt here. I must congratulate you for having already started and helped us to meet here and I hope that you have plans to further demonstrate in concrete steps these big ideas. And I see rather hopeful signs that they can be concretized and can be worked upon. Thank you.

Dr. Saxena

(National Productivity Council, New Delhi) :

Thank you Prof. Thorsrud. I suppose we are now nearing our deadline as far as the time is concerned and I do not want to make any long speech but there are a few observations which I would certainly like to make at this point of time. Because I feel that if they are not placed here probably this opportunity will not come again in the near future.

The first observation that I would like to make is, that I endorse what Prof. Thorsrud has said and the directions that he has given to us will not only be gone over by us in a routine manner, but also in our applied approach to the problems. I would like to assure him that this has been the way we started this project. I would also like to remind him that when we started, we said that this is an exploratory thing as far as NPC is concerned. And we would not mind even if we fail because in exploration you do not always succeed, but

the effort has to be made. And I am very glad that this exploratory process has now become a process of undergoing a voyage. In this ship we have very astute sailors and the sails of this ship are also moving in the right direction. And therefore I think it goes to the credit of Prof. Thorsrud for giving this direction and chartering the voyage.

The second thing which I would like to say is that when we thought of exploratory mechanisms when we started, we found that we were in a blind alley full of darkness. There were grave doubts whether we can really do anything, whether it was significant, and whether we are not dissipating our energies? And we said, even if the sun is rising the light will come down on this side. And I think these efforts have allowed the sun to rise and the light to trickle on to this side.

About this network building, I am not very clear as yet. A formalised system may completely dissipate the efforts in the long run. And if it is absolutely informal, it might not lead to any tangible results. But I am convinced about one thing, that if we want to increase the circumference there is no other way than to increase the radius. Are we ready to increase the radius? I think the answer is yes.

I also made it very clear that 'Productivity' is essentially a catalytic agent. And therefore if we have acted as a catalyst, we will still play that role. But the whole thing will have to be picked up and taken over by people who can spend more time on it and who can provide the right kind of leadership and guidance. So I want to make it very clear that initially NPC would be happy to ensure that we can build the network.

One other thing I would like to say is that all people have perception but managers have a better process of thinking. But it is a paradox that more managers are using spectacles these days than the workers. What does this demonstrate? It only enlarges the object and makes the visibility clear.

However, what is important is that we look into the value systems also which are related to that object. The objective here is the improvement of the quality of life of the people and this objective must be in our perception all the time. Ultimately, what people crave for, is not the big things, and therefore even if we are trying to improve things in minor areas, they are the real test of human culture that we wish to evolve. Eventually the human culture and societal values will have to change in such a fashion that the human element will be dominant and all other resources will be at its command. If resources over-shadow and overtake human systems, it will be nothing short of a deluge in the long run. And I think the efforts through the QWL are adding at least one drop to the vast ocean, and the vast milieu through which human systems have to move.

I am very thankful to the various agencies and to all the participants in this seminar. I must say that if there have been any failures, these are because of the NPC. If the exercise has been meaningful it has been because of the support given by the department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms, the Public Enterprises Centre for Continuing Education, and by the Central Labour Institute, and all my colleagues. When we thought of this seminar, we were not very sure whether it was a feasible proposition and whether we will be able to move in the right direction. But I am very happy that the interaction that has been provided here and the perception which each one of us had about this, has been put into an organised thinking process. I hope we will be able to bring out a brief of all the discussions.

About the network, I am sure Mr. Srinivasan will help me, and we will seek the views of every one as to how best to set it up. Once again, I thank all of you on behalf of NPC, PECCE and C.L.I. for a very fruitful exchange of ideas and experiences in this field.

Thank you very much.



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Recommendations from the National Seminar on Improving Quality of Working Life

Improving Quality of Working Life (QWL) in India is a task of gigantic magnitude. The programmes and projects aimed at improving QWL therefore are required to be initiated simultaneously at macro, sub-macro, and micro levels at the industry, government and community levels. Even though the recommendations of the seminar are classified according to the concept and responsibilities of various agencies and organisations, the conference recognised the need for collaborative efforts not only between partners in an enterprise but also between various agencies involved in QWL activities.

I. QWL IN INDIA—CONCEPT AND APPROACH

The relevance and significance of the concept of Quality of Working Life in India was discussed at length during the seminar. It was noted that the concept, although relevant in the Indian context, needs to be enlarged in its scope and coverage in view of somewhat divergent conditions prevailing in the country; this enlargement of the concept should manifest in several directions. This basis of enlarged concept should include :—

- (a) Additional areas of concern for improving QWL in an organisation.
- (b) Modifications of the concept of organisational boundaries to indicate its permeability and interaction with the surrounding environment.
- (c) Inclusion of the concern for creation of work for the unemployed and semi-employed.
- (d) Recognition of the fact that the concern for QWL cannot be separated from improvement in the quality of life of the people.

The following specific recommendations were made regarding concept and approach to QWL in India :

The National Seminar on Improving Quality of Working Life was organized to enquire into the direction of QWL activities in India and to prepare an action plan for implementing QWL concepts. The conference made specific recommendations delineating the responsibilities of managers and employers, trade unions, professional organizations and Government in the development of QWL efforts.

1. *Areas of Concern*

It was noted that traditionally QWL and job redesign have been used synonymously by professionals in India. It was noted that improvements in QWL in India can be brought about not only in work re-organisation and job re-design but in several other areas which affect the Quality of Working Life of an individual working in an organisation. In this connection, the ILO list of areas of concern in Improving Quality of Working Life was noted. It was also suggested that QWL activities could be initiated in any of the areas listed below :—

- Hours of work and arrangement of working time.
- Work organisation and job content.
- Impact of new technologies on working conditions.
- Working conditions of women, young, as well as old workers including those employed in special categories.
- Work-related welfare services and facilities.
- Shop-floor participation [in the improvement of work performance and working conditions.
- Occupational safety and health.

2. *Modification of the Concept of Organisational Boundaries*

The conference noted the tendency on the part of the organisations, specially large and those located outside the metropolitan areas, to treat themselves distinct from the environment in which they are existing. The noticeable difference in the quality of life of people working with large organisations and living in the colonies as compared to others living in the same area but not working in these organisations, creates certain imbalances. The concept of Quality of Working Life should be enlarged to include the concern for people living in the adjoining environment since they constantly inter-act with the organisation.

3. *Concern for Search and Creation of Work :*

The conference noted that the concept of QWL should be enlarged to include the concern for search and creation of work for those who are partially employed or unemployed. Projects launched should aim at creating work and build state-of-arts in this area of vital concern.

4. *Inter-linkage between QWL and QL*

The conference noted the inter-dependence between the quality of life and quality of working life

and the mutuality of the influence which each exercises on the other.

5. *The approach for Improving QWL*

While traditionally QWL has relied on shop-floor participative schemes to promote QWL, under changed condition considerable scope exists for improving QWL through other approaches. The following approaches for improving QWL were additionally recommended :—

- (a) Through policy change.
- (b) Through Management initiated action.
- (c) Through Trade Union initiated action.

6. *Objectives of QWL*

QWL activities have generally aimed at democratization of an organisation. The debureaucratization of the organisation is equally important and encompasses different spheres of society, including industrial enterprises, public administration and educational institutions.

II. RESPONSIBILITY OF MANAGERS, EMPLOYERS AND ENTREPRENEURS

At the enterprise level, improvement of QWL should be through the cooperative endeavour between management and union. A reorientation of the relationship to work on problems relating to QWL is called for. Several steps are called for on the part of management, and entrepreneurs to bring about this re-orientation. The following areas were recommended :—

1. Considerable improvements in QWL can be brought about through management initiated actions. Provision of basic physical amenities is the preliminary step in improving QWL in a large number of Indian organisations. These include amenities provided at work place, health and safety factors, welfare provisions, etc.

2. Workers participation in decision making is a powerful vehicle for improving QWL. This participation should be extended to formulating goals and setting up priorities in improving QWL and in formulating policies.

3. Each management can examine the way jobs are designed and work is structured within the organisation. Alternative forms of work design that suit human needs, should be explored, through participative methods.

4. Learning from micro-level experiments should be formalised and codified into organisational policies. This shift to policy change should be carried out in a phased manner.

5. QWL improvement through policy change should be initiated by the management by undertaking a reexamination of the organisational policies, through participative means.

6. There is a need for making the boundaries of an enterprise more permeable and to interact with the surrounding environment. Unless this is done, the environment will overtake the organisations. Thus each enterprise can endeavour to develop communities around it to reduce the difference in the quality of life within and outside the organisational boundaries. Public sector companies can take a lead in this regard and initiate projects especially aimed at helping specific communities.

7. Designing of jobs and organisations in 'greenfield sites' when an organisation is being planned, should be undertaken according to the learning emerging from the QWL experiments.

III. RESPONSIBILITY OF UNIONS & WORKERS

Although prime responsibility for improving QWL belongs to the management, unions have a special role to play. Success of a QWL programme in an enterprise depends upon the active cooperation of the workers and unions. The top leadership of a union should, therefore, initiate steps which are aimed at improving QWL of its members, and not restricted to the demands for higher wages. The following recommendations were made :—

- (i) Trade Unions should take up the responsibility of educating workers and create awareness among them about the possibilities of improving QWL through self-help actions and programmes.
- (ii) Search for areas of collaboration with management in an enterprise (like safety, health, pollution control, etc.) and collaborate with management in programmes aimed at improving QWL.
- (iii) Initiate thinking about the ways to fulfil worker needs through non-monetary alternatives. This is specially true about public sector and multinational organisations where basic needs are, to a large extent, fulfilled.
- (iv) A major responsibility of the unions lies in organising labour in the un-organised sector and thinking about ways to improve QWL in this large, untapped sector.
- (v) Unions should encourage workers to increasingly participate in the activities of an en-

terprise and the functioning of the unions.

- (vi) Employees of production oriented organisations can play a leading role in influencing the quality of decision-making, planning process, and implementation machinery.

IV. RESPONSIBILITIES OF PROFESSIONAL ORGANISATIONS

The role of professional bodies includes :

- Creating an awareness
- Conducting projects, programmes and action research.
- Providing Services.
- Improving the State-of-arts.

The following areas of action were suggested :—

1. For Creating Awareness :

The professional organisations who collaborated in organising the seminar and other similar agencies should conduct seminars and workshops to bring about greater awareness of the QWL concepts among employers, managers, trade union leaders, technologists, administrators and social thinkers. These seminars should be aimed at not only 'work re-organisation' and 'organisation redesign', but also several other areas of joint concern. Use of other media like press, radio and T.V., for creating this awareness, may also be explored.

2. Projects :

The following specific projects were recommended for being taken up by various professional organisations, and specially the collaborating agencies, in the near future.

- (a) Projects aimed at job redesign in a bureaucratic set-up.
- (b) Projects aimed at redefining the roles and responsibilities of people in view of the changing pattern of demands on these organisations.
- (c) Projects aimed at bringing about improvements in QWL through policy change.
- (d) Projects aimed at redefining boundaries of large organisations.
- (e) Participative community development projects aimed at creation of work based on local skills and resources.

3. *Providing Services :*

Professional bodies should provide services to industry and other organisations to help generate change and to build internal competence. For this purpose the following steps could be taken:

- a) Extension of service to small scale industry. This is important in view of large volume of employment and wide dispersal of this sector.
- b) Organising training programmes with a view to impart greater conceptual clarity and providing internal change agents with the necessary skill for bringing about change. The change agents should be equipped with the capability to diagnose organisational problems and intervene in group processes.
- c) Conduct in-company programmes to help generate internal change. These programmes may be conducted for senior managers, trade union leaders, personnel managers and industrial engineers in both public and private sectors.
- d) Evolving institutional arrangements necessary to conduct studies and monitor progress to utilize research findings within the organisation.

4. *Improving the State-of-Arts :*

Creating new knowledge and developing the State-of-arts is a prime responsibility of professional organisations. The following areas were recommended :

- a) Since the work in India so far has concentrated largely on a section, division or a branch of an organisation, researches and action programmes should be conducted to develop strategies for dealing with large and multi-unit organisations. Similarly, strategies should be developed for diffusing learning from experiments in a section of an organisation to the rest of the organisation.
- b) Professional organisations should take up the task of developing tools for assessing aspects of working conditions, physical as well as psycho-social, in an organisation. These tools should be simple, but reliable. They should be valid for studying all critical jobs simultaneously in a way that the relative stress levels of jobs could be assessed by members of the organisation.

- c) There is a need to extend community based QWL to relate work to other areas of life.
- d) Research work in QWL should take not only the deductive logic of social sciences but also what Ackoff calls the expansionist logic which is more humanistic and viewed human problems in holistic rather than in a mechanical fashion.

5. *Special Categories of Workers :*

The conference recommended particular efforts to be made for the following special categories of workers :—

- Workers belonging to occupations traditionally manned by the weaker sections of the society.
- Child workers.
- Women workers.
- Disabled workers.

A special reference was also made to bonded labour who, when freed face propensities of unemployment. Special programmes aimed for this particular section of the society were desired.

6. *Creation of A Network :*

The conference recommended that a network of institutions and organisations as well as industrial professionals engaged in QWL activities be established. The purpose of such a network should be to compile, collect, collate, and disseminate information about experiences in improving quality of working life and to draw out action plans for future expansion and growth.

The network should be expanded to include professionals, practitioners, managers, trade union leaders, and such others who may not be formally engaged in QWL activities but may be working and contributing significantly both in its intellectual pursuit and practical application.

V. RESPONSIBILITY OF THE GOVERNMENT

The conference noted that the Government can help in improving QWL through legislation, executive policy and action, encouragement of projects and programmes, and through its entrepreneurial role in the public sector.

1. *Legislation :*

It was noted that the Labour legislation in India has been quite progressive in laying down the standards of safety and welfare facilities in industry and organisations. Whereas it was noted that legislative action may be necessary in some new areas, in a few others,

the existing legislation may be adequate with some amendments only. The specific problem of child labour needs urgent attention.

2. *Executive Policy :*

Industrial development aided and planned by the Centre, has led to centralisation and creation of umbrella agencies. Strategies for restoring autonomy to constituent units through policy change will be necessary for improving QWL and creating facilities for promoting new forms of work organisation.

3. *Executive Action :*

A large responsibility rests upon the executive agencies for ensuring compliance of humanistic provision of law, e.g. the non-availability of creche facilities in organisations with a large female work force is potential handicap.

4. *Design of Organizations :*

Government as the largest entrepreneur should give greater attention to designing organisations before they are set-up. This concern with the 'Green-field sites' will help obviate the problems of introducing change in an on-going organisation. It will also help in preventing the problems emerging from the traditional and heirarchical forms of organisation.

5. *Technology :*

Since technology imposes constraints on people working with it, choice of appropriate technology and adaptation of technology against a conscious criteria of human needs should be encouraged.

6. *Encouragement of Projects and Programmes :*

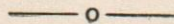
Various funding agencies of the Government can promote projects and plans by extending liberal assistance. However, the responsibility of proposing specific projects and programmes rests with agencies like the National Productivity Council engaged in the area of improving QWL.

7. *Generating Employment :*

In view of large unemployment and under employment, a search for alternatives in creating jobs should be initiated. Possibilities of creating part-time jobs were specifically mentioned.

8. *Education :*

There is considerable scope in changing the structure and content of education to make it more holistic in nature. It is also essential to explore alternative forms of education which work across the boundaries between school and the local community.



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Rising Aspirations, Quality of Life and Work Organisation

PRAYAG MEHTA

Available evidence indicates that work does not occupy a central place in the life space of the Indian worker and satisfaction with life as a whole has a more pronounced influence on work satisfaction than vice-versa. In the present context, where hard economic factors like monetary compensation, fringe benefits and work amenities are dominant, nature and design of jobs may not be a significant factor in the current ethos.

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There is now an increasing movement for workers participation and for democratisation of work organisations. Satisfaction at work place and the workers attitude are important to ensuring employees' involvement at work. Our studies point out that, employees' perception regarding availability of influence and autonomy; work amenities including economic compensation; inter-personal support; autonomy on the job and respectful supervisory behaviour are important factors in work related satisfactions (Mehta, 1976). Studies also suggest the importance of general life satisfaction in promoting work satisfaction and efficient functioning in work organisations (Mehta, 1978). Studies thus indicate the importance of linkages between quality of life, quality of working life and functioning of work organisations. This paper describes some of the important findings in this regard.

INFLUENCE AND AUTONOMY

Perceived availability of influence and autonomy tend to emerge as the major source of satisfaction among both leading workers and supervisory staff. It comprises of a perception of one's overall influence over decision making in the organisation, autonomy in carrying out the assigned work, involvement in handling grievances, control over one's own work, responsibility and initiative as well as workers perception of influence in decision making in their respective unions. As could be expected, the leading workers and worker representatives on joint councils appear to be more satisfied with their influence in their trade unions than with influence at the work place. Their dissatisfaction arose primarily from their perceived lack of influence and responsibility in their respective work organisations. Interestingly, supervisors and several categories of managerial employees also tend to perceive a lack of influence and autonomy in their respective work situation. Repeated studies with

several categories of people including government officials, managers and supervisory staff show dissatisfaction because of their perceived lack of influence at the work place (Mehta, 1976, Veccho, 1980). It is interesting to note that power related perceptions emerged as significant factors in work organisations.

WORK AMENITIES

Another important indicator of dissatisfaction at the work place is the employees' perception of lack of adequate work amenities, such as general welfare amenities, and inadequate economic compensation including inadequate salary/scale. In several cases non-availability of adequate water and canteen facilities emerged as important factors in employees' dissatisfaction. Similarly, perception regarding inadequate facilities for medicine and health care also proved to be a source of work-related dissatisfaction (Mehta, 1976).

INTRINSIC JOB SATISFACTION

Perceptions regarding nature of job tended to be contradictory both among leading workers and supervisory staff, more among the former. Workers tended to perceive their jobs, on one hand, as quite challenging, and on the other they perceived a lack of learning opportunities and variety in their work. Supervisory staff tended to perceive continuing stagnation on a given job and therefore felt their job to be repetitive. Interestingly, most employees, particularly workers, felt dissatisfied about non-availability of meaningful leisure after hard work. It was interesting that they tended to link their job satisfaction with after work time activities.

Most workers and supervisory staff tended to think that their own supervisors expected them to do hard work. Their dissatisfaction however arose primarily from the perception that the supervisory behaviour tended to display a lack of respect towards the workers and also a lack of readiness to communicate with and listen to them. Thus supervisory behaviour emerged as another important factor in employees satisfaction-dissatisfaction.

RISING ASPIRATIONS AND SATISFACTION

The workers dissatisfaction with various dimensions of work situation indicated a desire for a greater say in decision making, greater responsibility in planning and in conducting one's own work and for more respectful interpersonal relationships as well as more satisfying working conditions. Such dissatisfaction therefore indicated a desire for better quality of life in general and rising aspirations among the work force

as well as a desire for better quality of working life.

The phenomenon of rising aspirations is now well documented in developing countries. Various kinds of development activities, following political and social freedom have led to very significant rise in the peoples' aspirations. Such rising aspirations are bound to affect the sense of life satisfaction among the weaker sections. Socio-economic factors are bound to play an important part in shaping attitudes towards work and related matters, in the context of rising aspirations. For instance, studies identified objective economic factors like salary/income, promotional opportunities, social security as important factors in employees' sense of life satisfaction. The desire for advancement at the work place indicated a desire for better financial and social status. Factors like working hours and nature of job did not find the same importance as salary, security and advancement (Gangoli, 1954, Lahiri, 1965).

LIFE SATISFACTION AND JOB SATISFACTION

Studies did not suggest a clear linkage between job satisfaction and general sense of life satisfaction. In many cases employees comparatively higher in occupational hierarchy with greater variety in their jobs show dissociation between work and life (Mehta, 1978). Improvement in job content is no doubt important in various ways. Workers like challenge, variety and responsibility on the job. These factors however may not be directly related to a sense of life satisfaction. In developing countries like ours working people are forced to live in unsatisfactory conditions of life and job content may not make much difference in this regard.

In an intensive case study of coal mine workers and junior level supervisors, salary/income-constituting objective economic factors emerged as the most important variable in explaining perceived life satisfaction (Mehta, 1978). Another important factor was the employees' sense of satisfaction with work-related amenities including salary. Interestingly, satisfaction with the nature of job, autonomy, influence and supervisory behaviour although important by themselves, were not significant factors in their reported life satisfaction. On the other hand, the nature of housing facility showed substantial positive correlation with their perceived life satisfaction. Education, housing and salary of the employees appeared as highly inter-correlated with the other two. Thus, results from various studies, suggest that employee's income/salary status was the most important factor in his response to the general conditions of his life.

LINK BETWEEN LIFE SATISFACTION AND WORK SATISFACTION

Studies also showed that four indices of socio-economic conditions namely, level of education, salary status, housing and occupational status of the employees were correlated with various aspects of work related satisfaction. Such findings suggested a significant link between objective conditions of life and sense of happiness or unhappiness at the work place, and a link between the same objective conditions and a general sense of life satisfaction. This suggests an important hypothesis regarding the carry-over of life satisfaction to place of work and to the work itself. Such a hypothesis probably explains why improvement at work place does not necessarily lead to a continuing sense of satisfaction among the employees. There is another very important hypothesis implied in the situation. There is an implication that work as such may not be a central factor in our workers/employees life. (Pierce et. al, 1976).

EMPLOYEE AGE AND SATISFACTION

Another important finding of our research pertains to workers/employees age. The young entrants to work organisations and younger employees showed greater work-related dissatisfaction. Such dissatisfaction tended to decrease with increasing age of the employees (Mehta, 1979). Employees' age thus emerges as an important factor in conjunction with actual pay and satisfaction with income and other amenities. Older employees feel more 'satisfied' with life than the younger ones. It is not clear why this is so particularly when older workers are expected to have greater family and social responsibility, and, therefore, greater concern for salary increments than younger ones. May be, because of rising aspirations young entrants in an organisation may expect more from the job than they actually get at the work place resulting in greater work related dissatisfaction.

There was another important finding regarding employees' level of education and sense of satisfaction. Contrary to popular belief, lesser educated employees appear less satisfied with their life conditions (Ahmed, 1971, Ashraf, 1975). It is necessary to understand that formal education is not the only source of rising aspirations and dissatisfaction. Development activities, trade unions, etc., promote similar behaviours among illiterate workers who are exposed to such activities either personally or through the mass media. Combining the findings regarding age, it seems lowly educated younger employees tend to show greater sense of dissatisfaction with their life conditions. As a rule, lesser educated employees

also get a lower pay and lower benefits as compared to more educated employees. Dissatisfaction due to economic factors is enhanced by rising aspirations among the less educated and backward section of our population. Such employees carry their dissatisfaction with life conditions with them to their work and work place.

MOTIVATION FOR QUALITY OF WORKING LIFE

Studies suggested greater social achievement motivation and lower influence motivation among workers as compared to managerial employees. The former is indicated by a desire for some kind of collective success in relation to some self defined standard of excellence. It is also indicated by a desire for raising overall productivity and production, a desire for national/social prosperity, a desire for better life for the community and a desire for safety for everyone. Such desires reflect some kind of super ordinate achievement goals. Influence motivation is indicated by a desire for influence over other people and the surrounding environment, may be at work, in the family or elsewhere. In the context of a work organisation it may be reflected in a desire to be "important" and to have status and power, a desire to have influence over subordinates and/or superiors and others and to participate in decision making so as to influence them. Though the workers' representatives showed a substantial desire for influence, it was significantly lower than that expressed by the managerial employees (Arora, 1971). A great social achievement motivation among workers has interesting implications. The analysis of their imagery and thoughts in this respect revealed a much greater concern for improvement of general conditions and general standard of living than a concern strictly for personal development. In a later study it was found that workers having higher concern for achievement, were more dissatisfied with their work situations. In fact, they showed reduced work motivation.

PSYCHO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

It is not surprising to find economic factors fundamental in creating conditions for a sense of satisfaction in life and at work. Inflationary economy creates increasing hardship for salaried employees and wage earners. Persons with fixed incomes find their income dwindling in real value. What is surprising, however, is to find job satisfaction and other work related issues losing their significance in face of such economic factors (Mehta, 1977). At the same time, however, researchers suggest the importance of work climate, perceived availability of influence and autonomy at work, and general satisfaction due to

challenge and variety on the job as well as the importance of employees/workers personal/psychological needs.

QUALITY OF LIFE AND WORK

The hypothesis regarding linkage between life satisfaction and work satisfaction was confirmed in a further study. As mentioned above, work related factors like nature of job, supervisory behaviour, etc. appeared as significant factors in explaining the employees' life satisfaction. On the other hand, life satisfaction showed significant relationship with the various aspects of work related satisfaction. Employees who reported greater life satisfaction also showed greater satisfaction with perceived influence and autonomy in the organisation. It is thus interesting to note that life satisfaction emerged as an important variable even for work related situations.

As we know, the current economic and industrial scene is marked with disputes and unrest due to demands for higher compensation, higher dearness allowance, bonus, etc. It is true of workers as well as white collar employees. Even senior executives and government officers are affected by this situation. Reports appearing in newspapers suggest increasing unionization among white collar employees including officers and technocrats and a tendency to collective action. One of the main functions performed by the increasing number of officers staff associations is to represent and press collectively for better compensations, promotions, etc. (Mehta, 1979).

It is no surprise that increasing economic difficulties cause disputes and unrest. Rising cost of living tends to shrink the quality of life for apparent reasons. Therefore, economic considerations emerge as important factors in psychological sense of life satisfaction. Similarly, hard objective factors like housing, fringe benefits, amenities at work place and such other factors also emerge as important in work satisfaction. It seems therefore that *perception of economic factors and hard objective economic factors emerge as linking variables between a sense of life satisfaction and work satisfaction. This also provides a linkage between quality of life in general and the quality of working life.*

Undoubtedly, work is a very important element in life. The growing alienation from work processes and at the work organisation not only affects productivity but also more vital areas of human life. As work related issues become more problematic, efforts are increasingly needed to improve job designs and work organisations. However, studies suggest that

satisfaction with work is not so crucial as satisfaction with life in general. Nature and design of jobs may not be a significant factor in the current ethos where hard economic factors are becoming more important for maintenance of a minimum quality of life.

In such a context efforts at job "enrichment" and work "redesign" are seriously limited by the emerging organisational economic and psychological factors. This is more true of developing countries like India where general economic backwardness prevails with ever rising unemployment and increasing cost of living accompanied by rising aspirations. Without continuous thinking about adequate wage structure, protection against fall in real wages, appropriate reward policies, social development and security programmes it may be difficult to increase work satisfaction. There is a need for redesigning work and work organisations alongwith programmes designed to increase quality of life in general.

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Interlinkage Between Quality of Worklife and Quality of Life

NITISH R. DE

Starting from the premise that quality of life and quality of worklife are systemically inseparable, particularly in face of problems like poverty, malnutrition, unemployment and inequitable distribution of wealth, the author sets forth a few propositions to show interpenetrability of the two concepts. He also calls for a re-examination of concepts and tools for research in the area.

Prof. Nitish R. De is Director (Personnel) with the General Electric Co. of India. Prior to this he was Director, Public Enterprises Centre for Continuing Education and Dean, National Labour Institute. Prof De is an internationally acknowledged expert in the area of labour relations and work reorganisation. He is a member of the Executive Committee of the International Council for the Quality of Working Life.

When we use the concept of worklife, we do not exclude life. When we show our preference for quality of work life, we include quality. By implication then we accept that there is teleological justification for quality of life. It is by no means surprising that social scientists, who are not directly or immediately concerned with work redesign, socio-technical systems or the quality of work life devoted to an organisational setting, describe their concern for the futures of work on a more comprehensive framework than do the applied behavioural scientists.

As an example, one can cite the cases of Jan Tinbergen (1979) and Bertrand de Jouvenel (1979). Tinbergen resorted to a development perspective and, in that context, picked up the values of life in the contemporary world as projected to the next century. He touched upon nature and quality of world production system, selection of production processes, distribution system and a variety of topics including ecology. His concern can be summed up in this statement :

“We press for a clearer idea of how we can make life meaningful. We must identify what true human progress implies for our own way of life and for that of others. In doing so we must be tolerant of other people’s ideas of beauty and goodness ; on the other hand, we may require the same tolerance from others.”

While discussing man and his needs, Jouvenel postulates a future scenario where necessary goods for mankind will be re-examined; concern for personal health and its upkeep and the quality of children’s life will assume a major importance. Ackoff (1981), a systems analyst, and not altogether foreign to micro-organisations, while outlining his thoughts on develop-

ment laid emphasis on improved quality of life. According to him, this is a basic requirement in designing various human systems.

These scholars from the richer countries have reminded the thinking world of something that I believe should come naturally to the minds of developmental thinkers and activists in the poor third world. In a country like India, important though it is that a micro-organisation concerned with production of essential goods and services should operate as effectively as possible, we are constantly reminded of the undeniable environmental problems from which we cannot divorce our programme for micro-excellence. It is not suggested that thereby we postpone our concern for organisational effectiveness. It is only a reminder to ourselves that we accept that the two are systemically inseparable, particularly when the third world has to deal with innumerable internal problems such as poverty, malnutrition, unemployment, inequitable distribution of wealth and anaemic developmental organisations set up as delivery system for the target groups. We are also aware that we are inextricably linked with the first and the second worlds through technology, cultural influence and political confrontations.

Thus, any attempt at looking at the micro-organisation by mentally isolating it from its macro-environment will be faced with inevitable failure to reach the objective.

Some Tentative Propositions

Having said this, we want to place below a few propositions by which we can see the inter-penetrability of the concepts of quality of life and the quality of work life.

1. *Within the organisation itself there is scope for extending critical consciousness of the members from work place to their immediate environmental context.* There are examples in support of this proposition. Workers at the grassroots, participating in work system redesign, picking up the key lesson from their experiences, showed interest in the company-run school system for children so that the quality of education can improve. Large number of welfare services, healthcare, food supply, immediate environment and the workers' residential colonies could be looked upon with a new perspective.

There is also an array of examples from Norway, Scotland, Spain, Canada and USA where there have been productive spill-over of interest to the community life by employees who started redefining their role as actively involved citizens of the community. There is a message of hope for extension possibility.

2. *Employees of productive organisations can become leading parts in influencing the quality of decision-making, planning process and implementation machinery by their productive intervention.* It is suggested that in political democratic system it is possible for the members of productive organisations, as is recently evidenced in Poland, to put across determinedly the alternatives that exist in the style of functioning of the ruling elites of a party, or the government of the day, in order that a sick social system including its economic parameters can reach the viable alternatives. It is not conceivable that such efforts will invariably be crowned with success. None-the-less, the sensitivity towards thermonuclear armaments escalation in Europe, to be concerned about unsafe nuclear power stations are but two illustrations of where productive men and women, whether they be located in the education system or the economic system, have focused the attention of their own governments on matters of human future. It is postulated that an apathetic work culture would not have succeeded in raising and mobilising some collective consciousness.

3. *The likely positive impact of the experiences of productive workers on the style and the ethos of functioning of burgeoning government agencies can bring about transformation in their organisational goals and priorities.* The public consisting of members of productive organisations can focus on the habit-encrusted and tradition-hallowed bureaucratic inertia so as to arouse public conscience. Experience lends testimony to limited efficacy, if not futility, of the Parliamentary Investigation Commissions to bring about any effective change, worth the name, in the bureaucratic citadel. Structure does not change in a fundamental way because the perception of reality of the functionaries in bureaucracy remains unaffected. They are adequately trained to domesticate the Commission and Committee Reports. It is, therefore, postulated that one way to make impact on the intransitivity of bureaucratic functioning either at the local level or at the metropolitan level is to bring forth the collective experience and wisdom of productive employees who have incorporated in their life-style the core message of the quality of work life.

4. *Quality of work life in micro-organisations can derive its substance and broaden its horizon by drawing upon the insights of the quality of life movements.* The popular Chipko movement in Garhwal region to revive the decimated forestry, the resurrection of Jamestown urban area by collective citizen effort in New York State, the Rost island upswing in Norway and by now the well-acknowledged Mondragon com-

prehensive cooperative coverage in the Basque country in Spain provide discernible lessons on building-blocks for laying firm footholds for newer designs of human organisations which can set to course the knowledge-based applied behavioural science interventions in micro-economic organisations. We have a hunch that a good deal of organisational innovations in future will spring from such, not so esoteric, innovative rural and community systems.

5. *Need to perceive the life-sized burning problems which cast deepening shadow of threats upon quality of life and work.* Though slated in the end, we emphatically maintain that this proposition is of utmost urgency to the contemporary world. The contexts of the globalisation of economic, political and cultural malaise can no longer remain unquestioned and unexamined.

The global economic crises are sought to be overcome by taking recourse to such technological marvels as chips, robots and artificial intelligence to name but a few. R&D outlay and capital investment are indeed massive. But, at the end of it all human labour is compelled to yield grounds for organisational survival. This is harsh reality even if it tramples the

right to work and human dignity. Misery of labour at work is giving way to elimination of employees.

We remind ourselves essentially of this context. Proliferation of sophisticated and lethal arms and armaments epitomised in clean bombs is yet another reality of the brutalisation of human sensibilities and the story can go on in this vein.

What we have to ask is wherein do we pitch our values and canons of quality of life and work in these contexts? Can they survive? Do they call for reappraisal simultaneously in the conclaves of organisations and communities?

We believe, whatever be our approach in specific situations, the survival of life and work demands a fresh look and reformulation of our concepts and tools.

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Work and Society—A Radical Possibility

JIM WATSON

This paper touches upon the factors which promoted the QWL movement in Europe. It highlights the impact of changes in attitude towards authority in work organisations as a result of increasingly questioning attitude of the workers combined with increasing need to participate in decision making. A model is presented in which work provides not only material rewards but also psychological satisfaction and social identity

Mr. Jim Watson is presently Head of Human Systems Development at the Shell International Petroleum Co. Ltd., London. Mr. Watson has been actively associated with the several QWL experiments initiated in Shell and in an Executive Committee member of the International Council for the Quality of Working Life.

One of the central ideas I should like to raise is that attitudes to work and the relation of work to life in general exhibit great *variety* (depending on cultural, economic and many other factors) and significant *change* through time. I hope that I may be able to demonstrate to you that the multinational employer has changed its approach to work radically over the last 20 years or so, and is continuing to do so today as we look ahead to the world of the 21st century.

Taking the issue of quality of working life in its broadest sense, I think it is fair to say that Shell has been regarded for many years as a good employer—providing in general good jobs, salaries, conditions of work and the rest. This role alone, however, is seen nowadays as encouraging excessive dependency and having overtones of the 'closed' thinking of the past, and, in the industrialised countries at least, it is no longer universally admired. What society now demands of industry is that it create wealth and useful products without dehumanising the lives of its employees and without creating 'golden chains.'

It might be interesting here to revisit what seems to have happened in this sphere in the urban/industrial cultures of the West. The paternalistic era came rather sharply to an end in the 1960s. The revolution in social attitudes to authority that manifested themselves in many countries from the mid-50s onwards presented unprecedented productivity problems to those who were charged with the management of large organisations of every kind and caused these people to call in the social scientists. Consultants who specialised in the resolution of conflict were observed to be prospering on every side.

Some employers (and Shell was one of these) realised that the industrialised world was never going

to be quite the same again. The acceptance of the idea that power should be exercised by a privileged few had been called into question, and the way was open for a much wider involvement of employees in decision-making. It was clear that some kind of irreversible change had occurred in attitudes to work as well as to authority.

New *values* were now aboard, and in 1965 Shell entered into a pioneering project in the U.K. with the help of the Tavistock Institute, which had conducted some valuable research on work design in the British coalfields in the early 1950s and in the textile mills in Ahmedabad a few years later.

The essence of the Shell U.K. project was the establishment, throughout a large and heavily unionised company, of a whole new philosophy of management, in many ways well ahead of its time, based on the principles of treating employees as mature and sensible people and inviting them to play their part in running a business in which they worked (Hill, 1971). With this project Shell entered into a new dimension of QWL, one in which the key to quality as well as productivity lay in the design of the work itself and in the management climate in which it was to be carried out.

This project occupies a very important place in the history of Shell's involvement in the QWL field. In many ways it was a failure, inasmuch as it failed to 'stick' with succeeding management. In other ways, however, it was extremely successful. It highlighted many of the difficulties of diffusing alien ideas of this sort in a technocratic culture, and became something of a learning model for later QWL developments in other Shell companies. As late as 1976, for example, the Philosophy Statement that was developed for the Shell U.K. project was adapted to form the philosophical basis for the design of Shell Canada's new polypropylene plant at Sarnia, in Ontario.

The Sarnia plant is one of two recent Shell work design projects. The other concerns the ships of our Dutch tanker fleet. Both projects have a very strong flavour of productivity improvement, which is now regarded as an inseparable part of QWL development.

The Sarnia project was conceived in the early 1970s, when Shell Canada began to study how best to utilise manpower in its manufacturing function. Studies of a variety of plants of advanced design in several countries suggested that a new type of polypropylene plant could be built at Sarnia in which younger, better educated operators could take a much bigger share in managing the plant than was normal practice in the industry. The Philosophy Statement mentioned above was used as a basis for discussion and learning throughout the project, with

current assumptions, practices, information flows and so on being tested against it as the design work proceeded. Its implications were also checked out against the options open to the technical designers, and a number of important innovations were made in the physical layout of the plant, the process control systems and the arrangements for quality control. An elaborate training programme was developed to produce a multi-skilled work force, and the result is a plant run by teams of operators who also do much of the traditional supervisory, maintenance and quality control work and are paid accordingly. The Sarnia plant has now been running for about 2½ years. It is performing satisfactorily, and some of the lessons that have been learned from it are being used, in their turn, in Shell gas plants, refineries and oil sands pilot plants in Western Canada.

The other project I mentioned was carried out, also in the 1970s, in some of the ships of our Dutch tanker company with the help of colleagues of Einar Thorsrud who had pioneered similar work some years earlier in ships of the Norwegian merchant marine. It is sometimes referred to as an advanced manning experiment, but in fact it goes much deeper than that. It is concerned with the amalgamation of the classical divisions of the shipboard organisation—deck and engineroom staff—and the introduction of a much more democratic style of day-to-day working in what used to be one of the most authoritarian settings in the world—the ship at sea. It quickly became apparent that the implications of the new style of working were far-reaching. The traditional education of seafarers, and hence the nautical schools, had to change, and so had the technical characteristics of the vessels themselves. One of the most interesting aspects of this kind of work is that each project becomes a sort of test-bed—a learning vehicle—for subsequent design work.

It is part of my job to consider possible futures for work in the world we live in. No-one, of course, can foretell the future, but we can all share in creating it. As Russell Ackoff has said: "The future.. depends on choices yet to be made".

Herein, I have outlined a very radical model for an unfamiliar society—one which, as far as I know, does not exist, and would probably be very difficult to establish—but one on which I would be very interested to have your reactions. The model is not meant to be a solution to anything, but rather a scenario or archetype to stimulate debate in different environments. The important things about it, if it has any importance, would be to assess what elements of it might be useful in a given

culture and to devise a strategy or process that might help people to move towards them—power politics and all. The essence of the model is as follows :

- Work is neither a penance nor an indulgence, but a way of modifying our environment and a means of self-expression.
- Work therefore provides psychological satisfactions and social identity as well as material comforts.
- Work should be distinguished from employment. It includes self-employment, work done in the so-called 'black' economy, helping and supporting others, performing useful services, creating beautiful things, and so on.
- Work may or may not attract payment, and where it does, may sometimes be best paid for by barter.
- Income from work (production) should not be taxed, whether on an individual or a corporate basis. Neither should income from the transfer of land or capital when sold/given/rented/invested and so forth.
- Society can be supported financially by taxing consumption (including the consumption of labour). Buying/receiving/hiring/borrowing and the like should attract tax at a standard rate (say 15% of the capital value of the transaction) whether once off or in the form of an annual rent).
- All men and women (and probably children pro rate according to age) should receive a state pension. Unemployment and sickness benefits and retirement pensions as such would therefore disappear.
- All trade barriers should be removed—'cheap' labour being allowed to displace 'dear' (at least in the short term and up to a point).

This is obviously a Utopian model, and I am not trying to sell it to anyone. There are clearly mind-boggling difficulties in the way of moving towards such a society, and these would differ enormously from one culture to another. The power systems in most countries, for example, would be ranged squarely against many of the ideas contained in the model, and it would probably be very dangerous to aim to develop a society of this type anywhere in the world in less than 20 years. But I make no apology for presenting these ideas as material for debate. However, I should like to mention a few characteristics of such a society that seem to me to be an improvement on what most of us have at the moment, and suggest a *process* of moving towards such a model or whatever variant of it might seem more appropriate in any given country.

Here, it seems to me, are a few of the advantages :

- People, including the young, the old, and the disadvantaged, could live without working if they had to, and find better and happier lives.
- Those who wanted to work could choose what they preferred to do, express their talents better, and in many cases get paid for it.
- Because income would not be taxed the 'black' economy would become legitimate and state expenditure would be curtailed.
- The shortage of employers that exists in many countries today would be alleviated. Work that is currently needed but not being done could begin to receive attention.
- The productivity of land, labour and capital would be increased and the consumption of scarce resources would be discouraged by the transfer of the burden of taxation from the earners to the spenders.
- A better balance between the public and private sectors of the economy should be possible, as well as a better relationship between economic planning at national, state and community levels.
- A healthier and more stable pattern of international trade and investment should emerge.

I said I should like to suggest a process that might be appropriate for consideration by anyone who might wish to evaluate these ideas against the circumstance currently prevailing in his own environment.

He or she might put together a *group of people who have some power to procure change*, and might encourage them to do some work on the following questions (or something like them) :

- Does this model have any merit in our context ?
- How could we modify it to make it more relevant to our circumstances ?
- What strategies could we build for getting some action on separate parts of the modified model ?
- Whom should we have to involve locally, besides ourselves ?
- Whom internationally ?
- What time scale can we put on our plans today in order to help to keep our noses to the grindstone ?

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New Indicators of Development : Analysis of India's PQLI

V.K. THOMAS

The Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI) is an index of the level of progress achieved by any country in meeting basic human needs. This study attempts to compute PQLI for different states of India over different years and to compare these indices with the estimate of state domestic product. Uttar Pradesh recorded the lowest PQLI while Kerala tops the list in spite of the fact that average per capita income of Kerala has always been below all-India level.

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The country of Sri Lanka has in recent times attracted considerable attention for the tremendous improvement in physical well-being of the poorest citizens despite the relatively low average per capita GNP.

During the last three decades, quick rise in the per capita GNP has been the target of investment strategy. But the outcome of this strategy is considered disappointing as the upward slope in GNP failed to raise the level of general well-being and to meet the "basic needs" of the poorest in many developing countries. Most of the international development agencies like the UN, OECD and the World Bank have recognized this fact and are eager to divert their assistances to meeting the "basic human needs" of the people in general.

As yet, however, there is no satisfactory indicator to measure the degree of progress in the physical well-being of the poor. The per capita GNP with all its inherent weaknesses reflects only the general economic performance and fails to register improvements in the quality of life. Per capita GNP being a measure of simple arithmetic mean can be a good indicator only when the variation or the distribution of values is not skewed. It fails to be a representative parameter if the underlying distribution is extremely skewed. This is often the case with many developing countries. In fact, the per capita (average) measure will be misleading in these countries because the key feature here is the level of *dispersion*. A suitable measure of dispersion is required for a better appreciation of the situation in these countries.

The Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI) and the Disparity Reduction Rate (DRR) were introduced by the Overseas Development Council (ODC), Washington D.C. under the direction of Morris D. Morris in 1977-78, in response to the need for a supplement to per