

TRANSACTIONS OF THE THIRD
WORLD CONGRESS OF SOCIOLOGY

ACTES DU TROISIÈME
CONGRÈS MONDIAL DE SOCIOLOGIE

AMSTERDAM, 1956

VOLUME II

INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DE SOCIOLOGIE

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General Theme

PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE 20TH CENTURY
LE PROBLÈME DU CHANGEMENT SOCIAL AU 20ÈME SIÈCLE

VOLUME II

Changes in Economic Structure
Changements dans la Structure Économique

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ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DE SOCIOLOGIE

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PART ONE

Transformations de la structure industrielle

GEORGES FRIEDMANN

(Professeur d'Histoire du Travail, Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers, Paris, avec la collaboration de Jean-Daniel Reynaud, Centre d'Etudes Sociologiques, Paris)

Le thème de la section II, 1, "Transformations de la Structure Industrielle" est un thème central pour la sociologie industrielle. Il est même difficile pour qui, au delà des pratiques d'administration et de négociation, cherche à prendre cette vue d'ensemble des problèmes humains qui caractérise pour nous la réflexion sociologique, de ne pas concevoir ces problèmes en termes d'évolution et de changement. Ce n'est pas seulement parce que l'industrie est soumise à la loi d'une transformation technique incessante, parce qu'elle porte sur les machines, sur les procédés de travail ou sur la liaison et la coordination des tâches. C'est aussi parce que la société industrielle tout entière, avec ses mouvements de population, ses déplacements professionnels, l'évolution des attitudes et des valeurs de ses membres, est une société mobile, une société essentiellement historique où la description même des structures exige qu'on en suive et qu'on en étudie la transformation.

Par là apparaît aussi l'ambiguïté de la sociologie industrielle. Même si on voulait se réduire à la sociologie de l'entreprise, il faudrait tenir compte de la signification du travail pour ceux qui l'exercent, des mouvements de main d'œuvre, de l'organisation des ouvriers, de la place de l'entreprise dans la vie locale. C'est pour répondre à certaines des questions posées par l'enquête Hawthorne qu'a été entreprise l'étude de Yankee City. La sociologie industrielle déborde donc la sociologie du travail, au sens strict de ce dernier terme. La vie industrielle pose des problèmes et comporte des conséquences qui touchent à l'ensemble de la vie de ceux qui y participent. Il s'ensuit que la sociologie industrielle est nécessairement conduite à traiter de l'ensemble des sociétés industrielles ou du moins des sociétés en tant qu'elles sont mues, transformées et parfois périodiquement bouleversées par la vie industrielle. En ce sens, la sociologie industrielle n'a pas d'objet qui lui soit réservé, elle ne peut travailler en champ clos. Elle est une direction d'étude, une voie d'analyse, elle n'est pas une science séparée des autres sciences de l'homme, s'appliquant à un domaine rigoureusement défini et clos.

De cette étude, les communications réunies pour ce Congrès n'ont pas l'ambition de tracer un tableau complet. Bien des problèmes en sont absents ou sont insuffisamment représentés. On peut regretter, pour ne citer que quelques exemples, que rien ne soit dit sur l'évolution des relations industrielles—et pourtant le mouvement est rapide—dans les pays, comme l'Italie ou la France, où le syndicalisme révolutionnaire

est majoritaire; on pourrait souhaiter que l'évolution de la répartition des catégories professionnelles, sur laquelle certaines communications nous donnent de précieuses indications, soit étudiée pour elle-même; on aimerait qu'aux deux communications qui traitent de pays en voie d'industrialisation s'en ajoutent d'autres qui permettent une vue d'ensemble.¹ Cependant, le but d'un Congrès est moins de faire une revue complète que de relever des préoccupations, de confronter des méthodes et de permettre des échanges. L'ampleur du thème retenu interdisait de donner plus qu'un échantillon très fragmentaire des recherches en cours. S'il n'est nullement représentatif de l'ensemble des études de sociologie industrielle, du moins est-il riche d'idées, de suggestions, de problèmes.

* * * *

L'étude des pays en voie d'industrialisation mérite une place à part. M. El Saaty trace les étapes de l'industrie égyptienne en montrant sa concentration dans les grandes villes de l'Égypte moderne et analyse quelques uns des problèmes que pose la main d'œuvre qu'elle attire. M. Bansi Dhar expose par quels procédés on s'efforce dans les Provinces Unies de l'Inde de faire entrer l'artisanat de village dans une organisation coopérative et de lui donner des méthodes de production plus efficaces et plus modernes. Peu de sociologues voudraient aujourd'hui établir entre ce mouvement d'industrialisation et celui qui a affecté les pays d'Europe il y a cent ou cent cinquante ans un parallélisme étroit. Mais à ceux qui en seraient tentés ces deux communications permettraient de déceler d'importantes différences dans les deux mouvements. Même si l'on voulait laisser de côté—et comment le pourrait-on?—les traditions nationales, la position du problème ne serait pas la même dans les deux cas. Le décalage entre artisanat et industrie, plus encore entre mode de vie rural et industrie, est d'abord infiniment plus grand parce que c'est à l'industrie du XX^e siècle que sont confrontés les modes de vie et de production traditionnels. Les conditions sociales sont toutes différentes. On saisit dans l'étude indienne l'effet qu'ont eu la prise de conscience nationale, les profonds mouvements d'idées qui l'ont accompagnée, l'exemple des divers pays étrangers: le développement d'une industrie textile nationale cherche à éviter la phase de capitalisme conquérant qu'a connue l'Europe du XIX^e siècle; il cherche une révolution industrielle sans rupture avec les structures locales et sans concentration capitaliste. On ne peut dire encore dans quelle mesure cette tentative réussira. On peut en tout cas souligner l'originalité d'une entreprise qui fait reposer les progrès de l'organisation du travail sur l'éducation des coopérateurs. De même, l'expérience égyptienne prend place dans un milieu déjà très urbanisé. Alexandrie et Le Caire sont de beaucoup plus grandes villes que n'étaient Paris ou Londres au début du XIX^e siècle. Certes, dans la définition du milieu urbain, la dimension n'est pas seule déterminante; la densité des rapports, l'entrelacement ou l'isolement des

occupations, l'importance des intermédiaires mécaniques interviennent également. Mais il reste très important que le cadre de l'industrialisation soit le plus souvent celui de villes "millionnaires".

Dérivant tantôt de l'influence de ce milieu urbain, tantôt de la structure d'une économie où jouent un rôle important les contrôles d'Etat et plus généralement le désir de substituer à une poussée économique aveugle une action orientée et contrôlée, les services tertiaires ont donc chance de jouer un rôle important et de représenter pour une partie de la main d'œuvre le moyen idéal de promotion sociale et de sécurité. Cet appel du tertiaire n'est assurément pas un phénomène neuf et l'on a relevé depuis longtemps le rôle qu'il a joué dans l'émigration rurale. Il serait cependant intéressant de savoir dans quelle mesure il est plus sensible dans les économies neuves d'aujourd'hui, dans quelle mesure aussi varie, selon le degré de maturité de l'économie, le décalage entre le nombre de postes qu'offre effectivement le secteur tertiaire et le nombre de postulants.

Il est donc important, au delà des parallélismes superficiels, de saisir l'originalité de ces transformations. Les méthodes "culturalistes" ont beaucoup contribué à permettre des analyses plus exactes et plus concrètes, suivant de près le contour souvent capricieux de la réalité humaine du changement industriel. Nous pensons cependant que les rapprochements ne sont pas exclus et que les notions comme celles de milieu technique et de milieu naturel peuvent y être utiles. Non pas, certes, pour en faire des cadres abstraits de classification ou pour établir des dichotomies; mais pour relever et regrouper les traits communs qui permettent de décrire des familles de mode de vie ou de milieux et surtout pour fournir un fil directeur qui fasse passer de la description à l'interprétation et rende sensible l'homogénéisation progressive du milieu industriel.

Aussi aurions-nous tendance à ne pas séparer totalement des problèmes d'industrialisation les problèmes de transformation technique dans les pays industrialisés. Les premiers enseigneraient en effet pour l'étude des seconds, s'il en était besoin, que l'évolution technique n'est pas un fait isolé, qu'elle est en même temps l'évolution des rapports sociaux dans l'entreprise et à l'extérieur et qu'il est même souvent difficile de parler de ses conséquences au sens causal de ce mot. Il est certes légitime de partir des faits techniques et de se servir de ce fil directeur pour débrouiller l'écheveau complexe des réalités humaines en évolution: mais on ne peut le faire que dans la mesure où le changement, qui est la loi interne de l'industrie, s'exprime le plus clairement et le plus concrètement en termes techniques. Il est légitime également de relever que les progrès techniques sont la condition nécessaire de certaines évolutions. Mais ils sont conséquence autant que cause et entre les possibilités qu'ils ouvrent, ce ne sont pas seulement des considérations techniques qui font le choix. L'étude de l'Université de Liverpool, dont MM. Halsey, Scott et Banks nous donnent un aperçu, montre bien les transformations de la vie hors du travail

qu'elle apporte, par l'intermédiaire d'un nouvel horaire, la modernisation d'une aciérie. Elle révèle aussi dans quel réseau d'attitudes sur l'emploi et les possibilités de chômage technologique vient s'insérer l'adaptation à un changement. L'étude de l'Institut des Sciences Sociales du Travail de Paris, dont MM. Touraine et Reynaud rapportent quelques conclusions, s'est efforcée de saisir comment des changements en cours sont compris par les ouvriers intéressés dans des perspectives générales à la fois professionnelles et économiques. Elle montre comment les attitudes à l'égard du changement spécifique ont leurs fondements dans des vues économiques largement extérieures à la vie immédiate de l'entreprise et à l'expérience du changement considéré. Elle essaie en conclusion de situer ces attitudes dans un schéma d'évolution industrielle.

L'excellente description que donnent MM. Faunce et Sheppard des effets de l'automatisation permet de saisir sur le vif l'entrecroisement des causalités. Ce que les auteurs appellent, d'un terme classique mais peut-être un peu impropre, les effets secondaires de l'automatisation, c'est en effet la rencontre des exigences économiques (développement de la consommation) ou culturelles (transformation de l'apprentissage et de l'enseignement), des réalités syndicales (positions de force de chaque partie), des attitudes (valeurs du travail, par exemple). On peut même se demander si sous le mot d'automatisation on groupe les phénomènes en vertu de leur affinité technique (comme le montrent les auteurs, il couvre en effet des procédés techniques et des réalités industrielles assez différentes) ou en vertu de certaines de leurs conséquences. L'unité des différents aspects de l'automatisation ne résiderait-elle pas, tout autant que dans l'utilisation des techniques électroniques, dans *un style commun* d'une phase industrielle ? Quand on parle d'automatisation, ce qu'on désigne n'est-ce pas surtout un rapport nouveau de l'homme et de la machine et une définition nouvelle des tâches qui donnent une unité réelle à ce qui ne serait autrement qu'une liste, aux limites mal définies, de machines et de procédés technologiques ? Au départ même, le phénomène technique n'est pas pur, certains de ses "effets primaires" font partie de sa définition et ce sont ceux qui lui donnent sa signification sociologique.

On peut néanmoins se demander si la réalité sociale de ces phénomènes n'est pas dépendante des conditions techniques en un sens plus subtil. De même que l'étude de l'adaptation des machines à celui qui a la tâche de les conduire a pu se répercuter sur leur construction dans la mesure même où les solutions techniques progressaient, se faisaient plus souples et plus variées et pouvaient tenir compte d'exigences supplémentaires, de même l'évolution des techniques de production pourrait aboutir à un desserrement de leurs exigences ; en d'autres termes, une des caractéristiques de l'automatisation pourrait être que cette phase industrielle prédétermine moins étroitement les relations entre les membres de l'entreprise, définit de manière moins

rigoureuse les postes et les statuts et laisse donc plus de jeu à la poussée des relations humaines. Si l'organisation technique est condition, elle serait condition de moins en moins contraignante. Il y aurait donc une évolution vers un conditionnement technique plus souple, il y aurait des techniques plus perméables que d'autres aux exigences sociales qu'elles rencontrent.

Si l'on accepte cette hypothèse, on pourrait essayer de voir dans quelle mesure les politiques du personnel, par exemple, ou les attitudes professionnelles peuvent présenter des similitudes à des niveaux techniques différents ou des différences à des niveaux techniques similaires — une fois atteint un certain degré de " perméabilité " de la technique. Non pour chercher à déterminer le poids de tel ou tel facteur (dont la définition risquerait d'être largement arbitraire), mais pour étudier en quel sens et dans quelles conditions la réalité technique est contraignante, quel jeu elle laisse, quelle part aussi d'attitudes incorporées et comme invisibles, mais plus mobiles qu'elle-même, contient ce que nous appelons une détermination technique.

A l'autre pôle de ces déterminants de la transformation de l'industrie nous rencontrons des faits démographiques. L'apport continu de main d'œuvre nouvelle ou la nécessité de vivre sur un marché de main d'œuvre fermé déterminent une organisation différente de l'industrie d'une région et des attitudes différentes de cette main d'œuvre. C'est du passage de l'un à l'autre que traite la belle étude faite par M. Burkart Lutz sur la sidérurgie de la Ruhr. On y saisit le passage d'un système industriel et social à un autre à mesure que les apports de main d'œuvre diminuent. On a décrit souvent l'effet qu'a eu aux Etats Unis l'apport continu de l'immigration en main d'œuvre non qualifiée. La Ruhr offre un exemple assez différent d'un phénomène similaire : le système industriel y a cherché à cristalliser les situations au lieu de les fondre dans le " melting pot " et l'avènement de l'autarcie démographique y a donc posé un problème plus brutal.

Toute fois les données de population ne sont pas seulement démographiques au sens étroit du mot : l'arrêt de l'immigration, le vieillissement ne prennent tout leur sens que par l'homogénéité croissante et l'urbanisation de la main d'œuvre. En un sens, l'autarcie démographique ne fait que précipiter un mouvement qui a ses origines dans l'évolution technique, l'évolution du travail et celle du genre de vie. La suppression de la mobilité géographique atteint un système de mobilité sociale qui permettait de perpétuer une structure déjà en retard sur la réalité des rapports sociaux.

Peut-être est-ce aussi l'occasion de réfléchir à ce qu'on appelle classiquement le " retard de la culture " (cultural lag). Assurément, il est inévitable, dans une société dont l'évolution est rapide, que les attitudes, les valeurs, les degrés et les critères de prestige aient un certain retard sur les rapports économiques et les réalités professionnelles. Mais peut-on se borner à cette constatation ? Peut-on même l'interpréter, en s'inspirant d'Elton Mayo, comme un décalage

(ou un conflit) entre une logique technique et économique et une logique semi-affective des rapports sociaux ? Ne nous attardons pas à montrer qu'il y a quelque confusion à verser dans l'affectivité des valorisations sociales dont la motivation est complexe et qu'il serait plus juste d'opposer des démarches techniques inspirées des sciences de la nature, d'une part, et, de l'autre, le comportement des groupes humains. Mais demandons-nous si nous ne saisirions pas de plus près la signification sociale de ces décalages en étudiant comment ils s'incarnent dans des groupes concrets. Le modèle le plus simple de cette interprétation—trop simple pour s'appliquer à des réalités sociales complexes—c'est la distinction dans l'entreprise entre ceux qui décident, organisent et réalisent le changement et ceux qui le subissent. On sait à quel point une participation accrue sinon à la décision du moins à la réalisation du changement peut faire disparaître les résistances. L'insécurité qu'entraîne le changement est donc proportionnelle à la pression exercée de l'extérieur sur le groupe. Un certain degré, sinon de spontanéité, au moins d'auto-détermination peut l'alléger considérablement. Le retard de la culture n'est-il pas la manifestation d'une résistance, et qui est d'autant plus forte que le groupe qui exerce la pression ou qui l'incarne est plus antagoniste ? C'est donc le jeu des groupes antagonistes (que peut venir compliquer une opposition de classe, soulevant des problèmes différents) qui l'expliquerait le mieux.

* * * *

Quels sont les traits caractéristiques de la transformation de l'industrie ? La communication de M. Caplow en étudie un, particulièrement important : l'augmentation de la taille moyenne (et de la taille maximale) des entreprises accompagnée d'un taux de "mortalité" qui décroît quand la taille augmente. Particulièrement intéressante est la similitude des structures qu'on semble constater entre les entreprises de grande dimension à travers des branches d'industries très différentes : horizontalement, une différenciation croissante des compétences qui s'oriente vers des spécialités comparables et parfois identiques ; verticalement, une stabilisation du nombre de paliers hiérarchiques pour des raisons qui touchent aux dimensions maniables des groupes et aux lois de communication. Ces déterminations ne peuvent paraître trop simples que si l'on oublie qu'à une certaine dimension il y a aussi similitude des fonctions et que, par exemple, les problèmes de communication se posent en termes comparables parce qu'il s'agit en gros du même type de communication et d'entreprises placées à une phase d'évolution industrielle qui est sensiblement la même. Sans mettre en cause la validité des schémas de la dynamique de groupes ou de la théorie des communications, on peut cependant se demander dans quelle mesure ces structures découlent de conditions universelles de morphologie et de dynamique des groupes sociaux et dans quelle mesure elles portent la marque historique des évolutions et la marque locale des attitudes. On peut souhaiter que dans cette direction s'engage une

discussion qui permettrait, en soulignant les différences, de comprendre mieux encore la portée et la signification des ressemblances constatées.

C'est un problème très proche qu'ont rencontré, chacun de leur côté, M. Smith et M. Chester en étudiant les nationalisations en Angleterre : passage rapide, sinon brutal, d'un éparpillement de petites entreprises à une concentration nationale, recrutement et mise en place d'un corps de spécialistes et d'une bureaucratie, problèmes de la fusion des pratiques et des loyalismes, problèmes généraux des grandes organisations. C'est sur la formation des bureaux, de l'appareil de comptabilité de précision et de contrôle qu'insiste M. Smith, c'est à la centralisation et la décentralisation de l'autorité, l'introduction des techniciens et la création d'un nouveau loyalisme que M. Chester consacre son exposé. Les nationalisations offrent de toute évidence un sujet d'études privilégié pour le sociologue en lui donnant l'occasion de comprendre la manière dont se constitue une très grande entreprise, en lui présentant comme un film accéléré de la croissance habituelle. Certes, le mouvement d'opinion qui accompagne cette transformation et notamment l'attitude des syndicats ont dû contribuer grandement à faciliter le passage. Mais les problèmes de l'autorité, de la répartition des décisions, de l'unification des différents niveaux de la direction sont sans doute en grande partie comparables à ceux qui se posent dans de très grandes entreprises privées. La description méthodique et complète qui nous en est présentée offre de grandes possibilités de généralisation.

Diverses communications fournissent des données sur un autre problème essentiel : celui de la répartition des catégories professionnelles ou plutôt de l'évolution de cette répartition. Le gonflement des fonctions de direction que constate M. Smith, on le retrouve dans l'évolution de l'usine sidérurgique étudiée par l'Université de Liverpool : la différenciation des fonctions de direction, l'appel progressif à des spécialistes, l'évolution du recrutement de ces fonctions qui de plus en plus se fait à l'extérieur de l'entreprise et exige une formation théorique généralement sanctionnée par des diplômes universitaires, c'est la transcription en termes dynamiques du tableau de recrutement dressé par M. Smith, c'est aussi la confirmation détaillée de certaines hypothèses de M. Caplow. Des études ont entrepris de comparer la formation et la taille des groupes de direction dans divers pays. Qu'il nous suffise ici de rappeler ce problème.

De même, l'augmentation du pourcentage des employés est une constante de l'évolution industrielle et l'on ne peut s'étonner de la retrouver aussi bien dans l'étude de Liverpool (de 1925 à 1953, les employés passent de 7% à 14%) que dans celle des transports routiers de marchandises en Angleterre ou dans l'exposé général de M. Caplow. Quelle est en revanche l'évolution des catégories ouvrières ? Nous n'avons là que des indications fragmentaires. Dans l'usine sidérurgique étudiée par l'Université de Liverpool, la proportion des ouvriers hautement qualifiés passe en vingt huit ans de 7% à 11%. Dans la

même branche industrielle, les ouvriers de l'usine étudiée par l'Institut des Sciences Sociales du Travail attendent du changement technique une élévation générale de la qualification. Il n'est pas douteux qu'on assiste à une diminution du nombre des manœuvres et que pour beaucoup le passage à des tâches d'ouvriers spécialisés constitue une promotion. Le sentiment peut en être d'autant plus net que les conditions de travail s'améliorent. Le sentiment d'une promotion comporte des éléments (diminution du travail de force, propreté du travail, régularité de la production) qui ne sont pas nécessairement significatifs d'un progrès de la qualification proprement dite, qu'il s'agisse de connaissances ou de savoir faire. Tel quel, le problème reste posé : au mouvement qui gonfle depuis une quarantaine d'années les effectifs des ouvriers spécialisés un mouvement inverse de requalification s'oppose-t-il de manière tangible ? L'automatisation de la production semble devoir renforcer ce second mouvement. Quelle est dès maintenant son importance globale dans différents pays ? Nous n'avons pas jusqu'ici de réponse sûre à ces questions.

M. Westerlund traite du difficile problème de la maîtrise qui a fait couler tant d'encre sans que, comme il le relève lui-même, le nombre des études scientifiques ait correspondu à l'intensité des préoccupations. Il rappelle les résultats de son étude bien connue sur le passage de la direction fonctionnelle à la maîtrise de groupe et souligne les difficultés méthodologiques des études comparatives avec un scrupule scientifique et une rigueur d'analyse que l'on rencontre rarement en ce domaine où, plus qu'en beaucoup d'autres, abondent les généralisations hâtives. Il serait particulièrement utile que la discussion à ce sujet pût replacer cette recherche méthodique des critères et des variables dans un cadre d'évolution qui donnerait une validité plus grande aux comparaisons. L'évolution souvent étudiée des fonctions de la maîtrise pourrait ainsi être reprise systématiquement.

La difficulté de ces problèmes de catégories professionnelles vient en partie du fait qu'ils se posent non seulement dans l'entreprise (où ils résultent de l'évolution technique) mais aussi dans l'ensemble de la société, du fait qu'ils sont liés aussi bien à l'élévation du niveau d'instruction qu'à celles du niveau de vie et du niveau d'aspiration. C'est pour nous un des intérêts fondamentaux de la communication de M. Foote que de replacer ces problèmes dans une évolution sociale d'ensemble. A la fois les relations industrielles (par les clauses de sécurité ou de salaire garanti que comportent les conventions collectives), l'évolution technique (en éliminant les postes d'effort musculaire et les postes les plus routiniers par la dialectique du machinisme qui les avait créés) les aspirations sociales et intellectuelles (que répandent le progrès de l'instruction et le prestige des membres des " professions ") expliquent la " professionnalisation " du travail aux Etats Unis. Le passage de l'emploi (job) à la carrière se marque aussi bien dans le progrès du contrôle par les égaux (collègues de travail) que dans la préoccupation croissante de la formation et de la promotion à l'intérieur de l'entreprise.

Le consensus qui s'établit pour la hiérarchie des postes comme pour l'échelle de prestige des professions traduit une évolution sociale générale. Un certain nombre de ces traits se retrouveraient dans d'autres pays. Dans quelle mesure cependant pourrait-on y retrouver, malgré les différences de niveau économique et d'équipement technique, le sens général du mouvement décrit pour les Etats Unis ? La question mérite d'être posée, car ce que décrit M. Foote, c'est l'apparition d'une structure sociale originale qui donne un sens systématique aux pressions exercées par les syndicats comme aux transformations industrielles. Est-ce un phénomène unique ? Est-ce le stade le plus avancé d'une évolution que d'autres pays connaissent aussi ou du moins ont-ils chance de s'engager dans cette direction ? Nous pensons que le problème ainsi défini est un des plus importants et des plus généraux qui puisse se poser la sociologie industrielle et peut-être la sociologie tout court.

* * * *

Un certain nombre de communications, enfin, traitent de problèmes qui touchent plus particulièrement aux relations industrielles. Trois communications françaises présentent des études de cas : M. Mermoz définit la structure et l'esprit de la communauté de travail Boimondau ; M. Dubois décrit l'organisation des aciéries de Bonpertuis où il s'efforce depuis de nombreuses années de réaliser une certaine forme d'association ouvrière à l'entreprise ; M. Migeon définit la philosophie qui inspire la pratique de la Télémécanique électrique. Assurément ces trois entreprises ne sont nullement représentatives de la majorité de l'industrie française. Mais si elles ont, à des titres divers, retenu l'attention, c'est que les solutions apportées, bien que relativement isolées, répondent à des problèmes assez généralement répandus. Nous avons tenu à laisser la parole aux animateurs de ces trois expériences pour qu'ils puissent exprimer dans leurs termes leurs intentions, les résultats qu'ils ont obtenus, l'appréciation qu'ils en font.

Deux formes de co-gestion sont présentées par M. Nuyens qui étudie les houillères des Pays-Bas et par M. Neuloh qui décrit l'expérience allemande. L'échelonnement des organismes dont la compétence mais aussi les pouvoirs augmentent à mesure qu'on s'élève, fait du système hollandais une formule intermédiaire entre la consultation et la co-gestion. On retiendra l'institution originale des "hommes de confiance" à la fois délégués d'atelier (mais auprès du chef d'atelier) et grands électeurs pour le comité d'entreprise. Ces deux communications replacent les institutions dans leur cadre historique et montrent la lente évolution des relations industrielles qui leur a donné naissance ou — dans le cas de l'Allemagne — leur a permis de trouver des précédents.

* * * *

Les limites mal définies de la sociologie industrielle que nous signalions au début de ce rapport ne nous rendent pas facile la tâche de lui

donner une conclusion. L'étude de l'industrie débouche, on l'a vu, sur les problèmes les plus généraux. C'est particulièrement au problème des facteurs de changement ou à celui des types d'explication que les communications présentées conduisent à réfléchir. Nous ne saurions pourtant nous étendre sur des questions qui sont traitées par d'autres sections de manière approfondie. Bornons-nous à deux remarques.

Pour reprendre les termes de notre introduction, l'objet de la sociologie industrielle est essentiellement historique. Il peut sembler que le but du sociologue est de tirer de l'étude de la société les répétitions et les similitudes. On lui a même assigné la recherche des lois qui lient ces objets particuliers que sont les faits sociaux. Le thème de ce Congrès nous paraît au contraire une bonne occasion de plaider pour une sociologie historique. L'intelligibilité qu'apportent les relations ou les corrélations ne nous semble pas celle d'une liaison intemporelle entre deux phénomènes mais celle d'un élément de description d'une structure. Et cette structure elle-même est en mouvement, elle se décompose ou se forme et c'est à discerner ces disparitions ou ces naissances que la sociologie doit s'appliquer. Des identités partielles peuvent éclairer, à travers les époques et les distances, l'analyse de structures globales différentes. Mais, à proprement parler, la sociologie industrielle étudie des cas uniques dans la mesure même où elle se veut capable de saisir dans leur réalité concrète les phénomènes contemporains.

De plus, l'intelligibilité qu'elle apporte est peut-être moins une explication que la saisie d'une signification historique. En ce sens la sociologie aurait la même rationalité que l'histoire : une rationalité incomplète, partielle et qui tient toujours un peu du pari dans la mesure où, à esquisser la signification d'un mouvement, on anticipe nécessairement sur la courbe qu'il décrit. Demander comment se transforme l'industrie, ce n'est pas seulement demander où elle était et où elle est. C'est aussi demander où elle va. La prévision en ce domaine n'a pas la même rigueur ni le même sens que la prévision dans les sciences de la nature. Non parce que nos données sont incomplètes ou nos connaissances insuffisantes mais parce qu'une évolution historique n'a pas les mêmes caractéristiques que la trajectoire d'un corps.

NOTES

¹ Au moment où nous rédigeons ce rapport, certaines communications ne nous sont pas encore parvenues. Notamment nous regrettons de ne pouvoir, pour cette raison, donner aux communications soviétiques la place que nous leur avons réservée dans ce rapport. Nous souhaitons que la discussion répare cette injustice involontaire.

Changes in the Industrial Organisation of Egypt

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INTRODUCTION

Until the beginning of the 20th century, practically all those interested in Egyptian affairs had been unanimous in their judgment that Egypt was solely an agricultural country with no room for industrial enterprise. None of these experts entertained the idea that large-scale industrial enterprise could ever take root in a country which they believed was destined by a "natural" disposition to remain agricultural. This belief was for decades inculcated into the minds of younger generations until it became inconceivable to them that industry would one day be considered as one of the major sources of national income.

A study of the distribution of foreign investment at the beginning of the 20th century shows that the bulk of the imported capital found employment in banking, land and urban development, transport and public utilities and other projects necessary for the commercialization and urbanization of the country. Thus, in 1902, out of the total capital of the joint stock companies operating in Egypt, amounting to LE 45 million, the share of industry did not exceed LE 4 million; mostly invested in cotton and sugar processing, cigarette-making and oil extraction.¹

The explanation of the slow and somewhat belated development of large-scale mechanized industry in Egypt until the end of the last century is not hard to seek. It may be found in the annals of the colonizers who "have not only not succeeded in building up a single manufacturing industry, but have effectually killed whatever possibility there had been for one".²

RECENT INDUSTRIALIZATION OF EGYPT

Development During the Twentieth Century: The first two decades of the 20th century saw some industrial development. Some industrial companies were formed during the boom which occurred at the beginning of the 20th century, but were soon unable to withstand the devastating repercussions of the financial crash of 1907, after which no less than twenty-six industrial and commercial companies had gone into voluntary or forced liquidation.³ One of the effects of that financial breakdown was that capital fought shy of the industrial field.

Fortunately, this industrial apathy did not continue for long; for by 1917, there was a number of large mechanically-equipped concerns consuming considerable quantities of raw materials and employing large numbers of workers in the following industries: cotton ginning

and pressing, sugar, salt and soda, cement, pottery, alcohol and spirits, clothes, bricks, beer, paper and rubber goods.

The First World War gave an impetus to local enterprise, especially after imports had been stopped for fear of marine and war risk. But, most of the new industries did not survive for long after the war. Yet, the period between the two World Wars witnessed a rapid expansion in the industries producing building materials and a rise of industrial concerns mainly in cotton spinning and weaving, lamp glass, boots, shoes and soap on purely Egyptian funds. The Bank Misr, a State-aided financial establishment which aimed at the development of national industries, was formed in 1920. Since then many wealthy Egyptians joined the ranks of industrial promoters. Hitherto, their main interest had been the acquisition of land which conferred upon the owner great social prestige and yielded for him as well a big annual income. But the long-term depression of agricultural prices and the rising profits of industry led some foreign as well as Egyptian capitalists to invest in industrial enterprises.

Following the Second World War, there was a rush to invest capital in industry and a large number of Joint Stock Companies with ambitious plans were founded. Thus, a class of veteran industrial promoters, the Egyptian bourgeoisie, has emerged auguring well for the future of industrial enterprise in Egypt, and a new industrial mentality appeared heralding a change in Egyptian capitalism.⁴

Table I shows very clearly the steady rise in the number of Joint Stock Companies operating in Egypt since 1911. The number of these companies in 1952 more than trebled their number forty-one years previously. This is the salient fact which emerges from Table I.

Table I. *Joint Stock Companies Operating in Egypt.**

Year				Number of Companies
1910-1911	..	..	..	164
1942-1943	..	..	..	335
1945-1946	..	..	..	375
1947-1948	..	..	..	456
1949-1950	..	..	..	478
1951-1952	..	..	..	501

* Compiled from the Year Books of Joint Stock Companies operating in Egypt.

Moreover, the cornerstone of the economic policy of the New Régime is a definite plan of co-operation between private and public efforts in order to achieve the desired economic and social objectives. Thus, the Permanent Council for the Development of National Production was created, and began its activities at the beginning of 1953. The purpose of setting up this Council was to synchronize economic and social reform and to build the new economic policy on sound principles. Its function

is to examine the country's resources and exploit them to the utmost within the limits of its possibilities and man-power, thus bridging the wide gap between resources and the gradual increase in population.

Policy of Financing Industry: Before 1947, when the Industrial Bank was established, the financing of industry had been facilitated by the Bank Misr which sponsored and financed some nine industrial projects through its companies, which had been formed for the promotion of industry. Just before the outbreak of the war, the Bank Misr was faced with a disastrous crisis which forced the Government to interfere and an emergency Law was passed in July, 1941. The law stipulated that the successful Misr companies should, within a year of its promulgation convert any debit balances owed to the Bank Misr into shares or debentures to be sold to the public, priority being offered to the Bank's clients. Thus, the number of the Egyptian bourgeoisie increased considerably.⁵

In 1947, the Industrial Bank was established for the following purposes: (1) to grant intermediate credit to industrial concerns for the purpose of purchasing new machinery and the extension of works; (2) to guarantee loans made through existing channels to worthy industrial borrowers; (3) to encourage the Egyptian public to invest directly in industrial enterprises, and (4) to help in converting promising family enterprises into joint stock form. Under the New Régime, the Industrial Bank was accorded substantial aid to enable it to enter into partnership investing a part of its reserve in the industrial field. Thus, the foundations for a stabilized policy of financing modern industry in Egypt have been finally laid.

The Major Industries of Egypt: There are no less than twenty-five major industries in Egypt. The three main extraction industries are: mining of combustible materials and metallic ores, extraction of salt and soda, and quarrying of hard and soft rocks. Other industries include: food processing, tobacco, chemicals, printing and allied trades, textile and clothing industries, metallurgy, machine tools, construction of vehicles, etc.⁶ The cotton industry is the largest employer, absorbing more than 98,000 workers, or 37 per cent. of all industrial workers. This is not to be wondered at in a country famous for its cotton. In magnitude, the cotton industry is followed by the food industry which engages not less than 60,000 workers, or 23 per cent. of all industrial workers.⁷

Analysis of Egyptian Industry: Table 2 shows that, in the Industrial Census of 1927, the number of industrial establishments reported was 70,314. Of these, 27,448 employed no staff, that is, 39 per cent. of the total were one-man workshops. Those employing from one to four persons were 34,861, or 49 per cent. Eight per cent. employed from five to nine, while only four per cent. employed ten or more.

In the Census of Industrial Establishments of 1951, the number of establishments reported was 124,551. Of these 36,800 employed no

staff, that is 30 per cent. of the total were a one man institution. Those employing from one to four persons were 77,825, or 62 per cent. Five per cent. employed from five to nine, while only three per cent. employed ten or more.

Table 2. *Size of Industrial Establishments, 1927-1951**

Year	No. of establ.	Establ. not employing staff	%	Establ. empl. 1-4	%	Establ. empl. 5-9	%	Establ. empl. 10 and over	%
1927 ..	70,314	27,448	39	34,861	49	5,352	8	2,653	4
1937 ..	92,021	48,285	52	36,039	40	5,010	5	2,687	3
1951 ..	124,551	36,800	30	77,825	62	6,147	5	3,779	3

* Compiled from the Industrial Production Census.

The first striking fact which may be inferred from a study of the figures in Table 2 is the steady increase in the number of factories and workshops of different sizes. It is to be noted that in the Census of 1951 the decrease in workshops not employing staff was well compensated by the marked increase of workshops employing between one and four workers. This trend may also emphasize the fact that a large number of the workshops with no staff expanded their enterprises and employed between one and four workers.

The second salient fact suggested in Table 2 is the numerical preponderance of small-scale industries and crafts. One of the striking features of Egyptian industry, even at present, is the existence of small workshops in the neighbourhood of modern factories in industrial areas. A labour expert who was invited by the Government in 1931 to study labour conditions in Egypt commented on this phenomenon. "In the course of my tour nothing impressed me more than the problem created by the existence of labour working under factory conditions in the same localities as workers employed under the traditional conditions of craftsmanship. The latter's outlook is still to a large extent medieval, though it must gradually be influenced by the new notions derived from neighbours employed under modern conditions. Similarly, the small artisan employer plying his craft with a few journeymen and apprentices, is separated by a very wide gulf from the industrialist, who may be achieving mass production on up-to-date lines in his immediate vicinity."⁸

Industry and Labour: According to the Population Census returns of 1927, there were 482,681 persons active in industry and crafts in Egypt. This number rose in 1947 Population Census to 708,776. Thus, there was an increase of 47 per cent. in the number of persons active in industry and crafts in twenty years. Such an increase is another clear indication of rapid industrialization.

According to the Industrial Census of 1951, there were 124,551 industrial establishments of different sizes in the whole of Egypt, employing 474,832 workers. Table 3 shows the number of industrial establishments in the Governorates and Provinces of Egypt and the number of workers in June, 1951.

Table 3. *Number of Industrial Establishments and Number of Workers in June, 1951**

	<i>Total of Establishments</i>		<i>Factories</i>			
	<i>No. of Establ.</i>	<i>No. of Workers</i>	<i>No. of Factories</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No. of Workers</i>	<i>%</i>
Cairo	34,768	170,988	4,307	12.3	83,284	42.8
Alexandria ..	15,918	83,774	1,825	11.5	72,246	86.1
Other Governorates	7,212	35,530	1,130	15.7	11,787	33.2
Lower Provinces ..	38,892	121,044	7,205	18.5	86,980	71.3
Upper Provinces ..	27,761	63,496	5,060	18.2	53,246	83.8
TOTAL	124,551	474,832	19,527	15.6	307,443	64.7

* Industrial Production Census, 1951.

Two main facts emerge from a study of the census figures in Table 3. First, only 15.6 per cent. are factories, leaving an overwhelming majority of 84.4 per cent. of the total number of industrial establishments as workshops employing less than five employees. Therefore, they do not come within the jurisdiction of most of the labour laws; especially in regard to individual labour contracts which are vital to the workers.⁹ The workers employed in these workshops account for 35.3 per cent. of the total number of industrial workers. Such a high percentage is, no doubt, an important factor in weakening the trade union movement, for more than one third of the industrial workers are neither organized nor united together by common interests. Moreover, they do not have a concept of labour which resembles in any way that of their fellows in factories which employ at least five workers. The second striking fact to be inferred from the figures in Table 3 is the concentration of industry in the two main cities of Egypt, viz., Cairo and Alexandria.

THE IMPACT OF INDUSTRIALIZATION UPON EGYPTIAN SOCIETY

Concentration of Industry in Cairo and Alexandria: According to the Industrial Census of 1951, the number of industrial establishments of all sizes in Cairo and Alexandria was 50,686, or 41 per cent. of the total. It is clear from Table 3 that Cairo is the biggest industrial centre in the whole of Egypt. Alexandria comes second with a little less than half the number of factories and workshops in Cairo. Between them,

Cairo and Alexandria have more workers in factories than have the rest of the country; notwithstanding the fact that the number of factories in Cairo and Alexandria is about half that in the rest of the country. Moreover, the same Industrial Census shows also that Cairo and Alexandria had 205 factories out of a total of 368 in the whole country employing more than 99 workers or 56 per cent. of the total. Fifty-seven per cent. of the workers employed in these big modern factories are in Cairo and Alexandria. This fact may be significant in the explanation of the advanced labour consciousness evident in these two cities.

The fact that both Cairo and Alexandria are the biggest industrial centres in Egypt accounts to a certain extent for the steady growth of their population. Table 4 shows the growth and density of population in Cairo and Alexandria in the censuses taken in the first half of the 20th century.

The gradual growth of the population of Cairo and Alexandria (seen in Table 4) is partly due to the constant migration of village labourers who come to these two cities in search of regular work and pay. They received additional encouragement to leave their villages and settle in Cairo and Alexandria from the growing demand for labour resulting from the gradual expansion of industrial enterprise in these two cities.

In an industrial survey¹⁰ of Alexandria in 1954, 770 workers out of a random sample of 2,000 employed in 60 factories had migrated from various villages scattered all over the country. The provinces which fed Alexandria with most of the migrant workers were Menoufia, Behaira, Gharbia, and Guerga. Behaira and Gharbia are the closest provinces to Alexandria. It is interesting to note that Menoufia is two provinces removed from Alexandria while Guerga is over 500 kilometres away in Upper Egypt. The most important single reason given for leaving the village and settling in Alexandria is the desire to obtain regular work and pay. More than 56 per cent. of the migrant workers came to Alexandria for this purpose.

The results of the increasing density of population in the Governorates of Egypt, especially Cairo and Alexandria, are poor housing conditions, congested areas, overcrowded means of communication, and a rising cost of living. All these add to the adjustment problem of the industrial workers and make life in the city very hard and complicated.

Size of Family: It is no wonder then that the town people have started to question the old-established tradition concerning the advantages of having many children. It is true that an overwhelming majority of workers and other small-salaried employees wish to have three children in order to be entitled to a full cost-of-living allowance over and above their basic pay. But, this feeling does not mean that a big family is welcome at present. In the industrial survey referred to above, only 253 out of 1,288 married workers, or 19·6 per cent., had more than four children at the time of the interview.

Table 4. *Growth and Density of Population in Cairo and Alexandria in the Censuses 1907-1947.**

City	Area in sq. km.	1907		1917		1927		1937		1947	
		No. of popu- lation	Density per sq. km.	No. of popu- lation	Density per sq. km.	No. of popu- lation	Density per sq. km.	No. of popu- lation	Density per sq. km.	No. of popu- lation	Density per sq. km.
Cairo ..	172	678,433	4,114	790,939	4,796	1,064,567	6,455	1,312,096	7,957	2,090,654	11,706
Alexandria ..	72	353,807	4,853	444,617	6,099	573,063	7,861	685,736	9,407	919,024	12,890

* Population Censuses.

Furthermore, married workers who have children were asked whether they desired more children. Of the 528 village migrants, 284, or 54 per cent., answered in the affirmative, while 267 of the 600 Alexandrians, or 45 per cent., expressed the same wish. Those who answered in the negative were 116 village migrants, or 22 per cent., and 217 Alexandrians, or 36 per cent. Those who left the matter to Providence were 125 villagers, or 24 per cent., and 116 Alexandrians, or 19 per cent. These findings show the difference in outlook towards the size of family between those who migrated from the villages and the Alexandrian workers. The effect of urban social life on the mentality of city dwellers is clearly exposed in these poignant answers. In each of the two groups not desiring more children, it is interesting to note that 80 per cent. attributed their refusal to economic reasons, showing clearly the effect of urbanisation on the attitude of workers to size of family and cost of living. Thus, it may be that the wide-scale industrialization of urban and rural areas planned by the New Régime will have a marked effect on the increasing population of Egypt.

Nucleus of a New Middle Class: Compared with workers in advanced industrial countries in Europe, the Egyptian worker receives meagre pay. In 1950, 1951 and 1952, the weekly average pay was P.T. 149, 189 and 199 respectively.¹¹ But, in spite of the hard and costly life of the city, and the low wages of its various industries, the standard of living of industrial workers is definitely higher than that of village labourers, whose average weekly pay is about P.T. 72. Work and pay in rural areas are, of course, not regular. Consequently, village labourers are usually afflicted by disguised unemployment which forces them to live a destitute and hazardous life. Thus, compared with industrial workers, the village labourers have little purchasing power and are not an important factor in national economy.

In spite of their poor pay, industrial workers in the city maintain a standard of living much higher than that of labourers in rural areas. Moreover, they benefit from urban social services which are subsidised by the Government, and are able to offer their children a better opportunity to be instructed in Government schools. Thus, a small working class which may be the forerunner of a new middle class is gradually emerging. Being permanently employed and regularly paid, the industrial worker feels that he belongs to a new class which differs in structure, productivity and income from the agricultural class which is entirely dependent on land. Moreover, the village worker who migrates to the city is extremely impressed by its material culture, and his way of living alters rapidly.¹²

CONCLUSION

Modern industry is steadily developing in Egypt since the beginning of the second decade of the 20th century. At present, there are nearly half a million workers employed in workshops and factories of different sizes. There are more than twenty-five important industries, most of

which are undergoing a well-marked development owing to the impetus given to them under the New Régime.

Industry in Egypt is concentrated in big towns, especially Cairo, the capital, and Alexandria, the main Egyptian seaport. Cairo and Alexandria have become over-populated partly because of the constant migration of village labourers who flock to them in search of work. The results of the increasing density of population are poor housing conditions, overcrowded means of communication and a rising cost of living.

Industrialization has increased the self-sufficiency of Egypt's economy. Many of the commodities which used to be imported are being produced locally. In addition, Egypt is now exporting surplus manufactured goods. Industrialization has, to a great extent, increased the purchasing power of the working class, for in spite of their low wages, the standard of living of urban workers is definitely higher than that of village labourers.

Industrialization in Egypt has led to the emergence of a small working class which may be the nucleus of a new middle class, since many workers desire to give their children an education which would enable them to be employed in white-collar jobs in public or private agencies or on the administrative side of new industrial enterprises.

NOTES

¹ See El-Gritly, A.A.I., "The Structure of Modern Industry in Egypt", *L'Egypte Contemporaine*, nos. 241-242, November-December, 1947, pp. 366, 367.

² T. Rothstein, *Egypt's Ruin*, London, 1910, p. 307.

³ El-Gritly, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

⁴ El-Gritly, *op. cit.*, pp. 369-376.

⁵ See El-Gritly, *op. cit.*, chapter iv.

⁶ The Industrial Censuses and the Population Census of 1947.

⁷ *Industrial Production Census, 1953*.

⁸ H. B. Butler, *Report on Labour Conditions in Egypt*. Cairo, 1932, p. 5.

⁹ The Individual Labour Contract Laws of 1944 and 1952 exempt workshops not using electric power and employing less than five workers from the conditions stipulated in them. Article I, C.

¹⁰ "Industry and Social Change in Alexandria", a research project directed by the late Professor Z. Ullrich and the writer under a grant from the Social Research Centre of The American University at Cairo.

¹¹ *Annual Pocket Book of Statistics, 1953*. P.T. 5 = one shilling.

¹² This conclusion was reached in a pilot study by the writer, "A Sociological Research on an Industrial Enterprise: Showing Modification of Structure under the Impact of Industrialization", submitted to the International Preliminary Council of Social Sciences in Paris, 1953.

Efficiency Methods and Cottage Industry in Uttar Pradesh : A Sociological Experiment

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The declared policy of the Government of India is to develop a socialist pattern of society through democratic methods. This means that ownership would devolve increasingly on the men who are primarily responsible for production, transport and marketing. In other words, the elimination of the middle-men would ensure increasing returns for those whose labour is responsible for the production of goods, either for consumers or for export. The best way to achieve this, is to increase the rate of development of the Co-operative movement. The Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh very rightly remarked that "the co-operative movement could bring about the cultural, intellectual and spiritual uplift of the people". This process would have two economic aspects : (a) the extension of rural credit, and (b) the efficient and profitable organisation of cottage and small-scale industries on a co-operative basis.

The Rural Credit Survey Committee of the Reserve Bank of India has made extensive recommendations whose implementation should go a long way towards extending rural credit. In pursuance of the recommendations the Imperial Bank of India has been nationalised. As regards the efficient organisation of cottage and small-scale industries, we have to view the process in three phases, viz.: procurement of raw materials, the manufacture thereof, and the marketing of the finished product. It is here that co-operative enterprise could go a long way. It must be borne in mind that these three activities are most successful when they are specialised. The person who is a good farmer and can produce a rich crop, is not necessarily proficient in manufacture, nor are the men connected with manufacture necessarily good at marketing. And even if they were so, the performance of the three activities by one man would lead to concentration of wealth in the hands of one person and increasing exploitation of all others for his own ends. In fact this is a very widespread evil of private enterprise where the capitalist seeks to play a decisive rôle in all three activities, with a view to retaining the profits in all three fields, viz., production, manufacture and marketing. An example of this is to be found in the sugar industry, where the owners of some factories are also owners of big sugar-cane farms, which supply cane to the factory. The agency which is responsible for sales is again very frequently controlled by them. Co-operatives of farmers pool their production and sell it without any middle-man stepping in to nibble

at the profits. Co-operatives of manufacturers make wholesale purchases and distribute them equitably to the small-scale manufacturers, according to their equipment. The manufactured commodities are passed on to the marketing co-operatives, responsible for storing and selling them to the best advantage of the producer. Gains resulting from the sales are distributed after necessary deductions, so that if the farmer has been paid a certain price at the scheduled rate, and the manufacturer has been paid for his commodity a fixed rate, the increasing profit will be proportionately distributed to all concerned.

One may well ask where do efficiency methods come in all these? The range of efficiency is very widespread and extends from the dissemination of relevant information about cultivation and manufacturing to book-keeping, personnel management and determination of the best methods of doing a job, and doing it effectively. I shall illustrate this with the help of an example :

In India handloom production has provided subsistence wages for tens of thousands of weavers and their dependants. But a socialist society can not be content with a mere subsistence level of earning among these weavers. Consequently the government of India has had to lay down certain restrictions in the matter of the production of cloth in mills. Production has been restricted in quantity as well as in variety so that a safe margin may be obtained for the handloom weavers. But the handloom is at best a very poor competitor of the power-driven looms. The only way out for small-scale industry is, therefore, the production of cheap electricity outside the big industrial towns. Small co-operative organisations might be set up where electricity is used to work, say 8 to 10 looms, for the production of cloth which is in demand in that area. The upkeep of the looms would require a workshop and fitters. Now if a weaver is to work these looms effectively, he must know something of the mechanics of the loom as well as the art of weaving. He must know where and how to economise movement, what is the best method of reshuttling and replenishing, how to piece breaks, and how to examine the back of the loom to prevent slub entanglements from creating breaks and thereby increasing the workload for the weaver. To this end, the Sampurnanand Industrial Psychological Laboratory at Kanpur has installed an electric loom. The first step in training consists in describing the mechanism of the loom and how it functions. Charts are prepared showing sketches of the various parts to enable learners to identify them and their functions. The interdependence of the different functions of the loom is stressed. Learners are shown cine-pictures of the process of assembling and overhauling looms. Intensive training is given in the mechanism and operation to enable the learner to handle the loom with confidence. An attempt is made to instil a sense of pride in workmanship. The present-day Indian worker often lacks this pride, although in pre-British days, and even in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, India enjoyed a very high reputation for craftsmanship, which still persists to some

extent in certain well-known crafts like Dacca muslin manufacture, Lucknow embroidery, and Agra ivory work.

One need only study with care the social and economic problems of Uttar Pradesh villages to be convinced that industrialisation on a co-operative basis is the only way to raise the standard of living. Unfortunately the lure of white-collar employment leads many young men from the villages to eke out a meagre existence in towns. The abolition of Zamindari (land-lordism) has very justly struck a blow to the economic prosperity of petty landholders. Their domestic economy is in a bad way. They have paid a heavy price, though well-merited, for their exploitation of the primary producer, the farmer. But their children have to be rehabilitated, or they would create a problem for law and order. Few can be honest on an empty stomach. We must, therefore, inspire in villagers the ideal of self-sufficiency in the necessities and amenities of life; and co-operative enterprise, so planned as to prevent duplication within the same area, seems to be the best way of achieving this. We know that villagers have many shortcomings and would require firm handling by the economic sub-committee of the Panchayat (Village Council constituted by law) before prosperity becomes broad-based. Nor can the state administrative service do all the organisation. The agency to do so must be non-official and strictly disciplined. It is no part of this paper to devise ways and means for that, but our Chief minister is anxious to enlist the co-operation of well-disciplined non-officials to purge administration of its shortcomings and to promote co-operative enterprises. But it is not an easy job to evolve by democratic methods a socialistic pattern of society from the feudalism which continued during British régime.

The experiment now in embryo in the laboratory will be repeated in towns. Small models would be set up to train workers on the spot in all the three aspects (production, processing and marketing), and a multi-trade co-operative enterprise will be passed on to village shareholders who will look after it themselves with the personnel trained according to aptitude.

What our villages need is that efficiency methods should not be mere experiments in laboratories or worked out in a few big factories. The efficiency methods as they are being developed in the Laboratory would provide a trained and efficient personnel for cottage industries. Motion study becomes the most educating medium and standard time units, instead of being laid down by an outside agency, are unconsciously acquired in effective training and apprenticeship.

If the experiment succeeds, it will be as much a sociological experiment as one in efficiency methods. The Laboratory goes into the villages to make their activities purposive.

The Economics and Organisation of Industry in the U.S.S.R.

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In the first quarter of the 20th century, as a result of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, there appeared a new, socialist method of production. The production relations inherent to the Soviet socialist system were the main and decisive force in the rapid development of the national economy and in the creation of the industrial might of the U.S.S.R. The second quarter of the 20th century was marked by an exceptionally swift increase in the productive forces of the U.S.S.R., despite the tremendous setback and damage to the national economy of the country during the Second World War. The building of the foundations of Socialism in the People's Democracies began during this period too. And finally, the present period—the third quarter of the 20th century—opens new prospects for an even more powerful economic and cultural development of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies in Europe and Asia on the basis of the many years of experience in the planned development of the economy of a socialist society.

I

The principal leading branch of the Soviet economy is socialist industry. Industrial production in the Soviet Union is very important for the constant improvement in the working people's standard of living, the social progress of society, the basis of the state's might. The economic laws of socialism make it possible to develop steadily and with increasing rapidity all branches of the national economy, always bearing in mind the principal aim—that of satisfying as fully as possible the constantly increasing material and cultural requirements of society.

The Russia of pre-revolutionary days was economically a backward country. In 1913 the total industrial output in Russia was 2.5 times smaller than that of France, 4.6 times smaller than that of Britain, 6 times smaller than in Germany and 14.3 times smaller than in the U.S.A. In a short period of about 20 years (out of the 38 years of Soviet power, 18 were spent in wars forced on the country and on subsequent economic rehabilitation), the Soviet Union has, in the production of the principal industrial commodities far outstripped such highly-industrialized countries as Britain and France. The gap between the industrial output of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. was

reduced sharply. In the middle of the 20th century the U.S.S.R. firmly took the lead in world industrial development, a fact which becomes strikingly clear when comparing the dynamics of the increased output of the heavy industry in the past 30 years.

	Pig Iron Mill. tons	Steel Mill. tons	Coal m. tons	Petroleum m. tons	Electrical Energy Bill. kwh.
1900					
Russia	2.9	2.2	16.1	10.4	2.0 (1913)
U.S.A.	14.0	10.3	244.6	8.3	22.5 (1912)
United Kingdom	9.9	4.9	228.8	—	—
France	2.7	1.5	32.3	—	—
1925					
U.S.S.R.	1.5	2.1	18.1	7.0	3.0
U.S.A.	37.3	46.1	525.9	104.6	82.0
United Kingdom	6.4	7.5	247.0	—	11.3
France	8.5	7.4	47.1	—	10.2
1950					
U.S.S.R.	19.3	27.3	261.0	38.0	91.0
U.S.A.	59.4	87.8	505.0	266.7	389.0
United Kingdom	9.8	16.5	220.0	0.1	56.0
France	7.8	8.6	51.0	0.2	34.0
1955					
U.S.S.R.	33.0	45.0	391.0	71.0	170.0
U.S.A. (1954)	53.2	80.1	378.0	313.0	544.5
United Kingdom (1954)	12.1	18.8	227.7	0.1	72.9
France (1954)	9.9	10.6	56.2	0.5	43.0
U.S.S.R. (1960 plan)	53.0	68.3	593.0	135.0	320.0

In the past 25 years, excluding the war years, the average annual increase in industrial output in the U.S.S.R. comprised 18%, in the U.S.A.—2.8%, in Britain—3.5% and in France 2.5%. A fact that must be taken into consideration also is that the Second World War inflicted great damage on Soviet industry. Suffice it to say, that as a result of the war, in the Soviet metallurgical industry alone, there had been destroyed 54 blast furnaces, 119 open-hearth furnaces, 101 rolling mills, 39 pipe mills, many factory buildings with complicated industrial equipment.

Pre-revolutionary Russia's machinery industry was weak and technically backward. The industrial equipment needed by the country had to be imported from abroad. There was no production of automobiles, tractors or more or less complicated farm machinery inside the country. Nor did the country have coal, chemical or other engineering industries. In the Soviet Union special attention is paid to the rapid development of a technically advanced machinery industry, which determines technical progress of all branches of the national economy. Before the war, in 1940, the Soviet Union produced 50 times more machines, lathes and technical equipment than in 1913. In 1955 the machinery industry will have produced 4.6 times more

than in 1940 or 230 times more than in 1913. The Soviet machinery industry can now produce machines and equipment no matter how complicated and do a first-class job on a par with the modern world level of engineering. The machines and technical equipment which are constantly being perfected make it possible to economize and alleviate labour, and increase its productivity in all branches of the national economy. A large highly mechanized agriculture has been formed on this basis. In 1925, Soviet agriculture was equipped with 2,560 tractors of different types, for the greater part of foreign make. In 1955, Soviet agriculture had at its disposal more than 1 million 400,000 15 h.p. tractors and more than 450,000 lorries, all produced by Soviet factories.

Before the Revolution Russia occupied the 15th place in the world in the output of Electricity. Now the Soviet Union takes the second place. More than 300 big and medium power stations have been built and commissioned in Soviet years, including 90 hydro-power stations. The Kuibyshev Hydro-power Station alone, which was partially commissioned at the end of 1955, will generate annually 11,400 million kilowatt-hours of electricity, which is 6 times more than produced in all of Russia in 1913. In 1954 the first atomic power station in the world was commissioned in the Soviet Union. Now work is under way on the construction of atomic power stations of a greater generating capacity. The rapid rate at which the electrification of the country is being carried out creates a realistic opportunity for the further upsurge of all branches of the national economy of the Soviet Union on the basis of the most up-to-date techniques.

The badly-developed industry and predominance of agriculture in pre-Revolutionary Russia caused a sharp difference in the economic and cultural development of the central regions and the outlying ones. The peoples of many nationalities of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, Siberia and the Far East had few industries and were very badly off. For the most part they led a nomadic or semi-nomadic life, they were practically illiterate, wild, subject to mass diseases and gradual extinction of some of the nationalities—all these were characteristic features for the eastern regions of pre-revolutionary Russia.

The socialist method of industrialization made it possible in an unusually short period of time to transform the economy and culture of all the economic regions of the country.

On the basis of an advanced technique, and the very big natural resources discovered in Soviet years, the Soviet state successfully solved many large-scale economic problems of the country's industrial development. The creation of the Urals-Kuznetsk industrial area, which included two giant steel plants at Magnitogorsk and Kuznetsk, the exploitation of new huge coalfields, the Kuznetsk and the Karaganda, radically changed the economic development of the Urals, Kazakhstan and Western Siberia. A big new oilfield came into being along the Volga, and in the Bashkir and Tartar autonomous republics, called the second Baku, which has rich prospects of further

development. On the Volga, the Kama, the Dnieper and the rivers of Siberia numerous big hydro-power stations have been built or are under construction. They ensure the supply of cheap electricity in large quantities. Work has begun on the construction of the biggest hydro-power station in the world, the Bratsk station on the Angara River, with a generating capacity of more than 3 million kilowatts. The production of this station will approximately equal that of the Kuibyshev and Stalingrad stations taken together. The colossal natural resources of Siberia, the Far East, Central Asia and Kazakhstan are being put to industrial use very rapidly. All these vast regions were only recently blank spots on the industrial map of the world.

Soviet industry has been built up by internal sources of revenue, without the assistance of foreign loans. The main source for the financing of the country's industrial development was found in the systematic reduction of the cost of production, and a careful, economic use of industrial resources. The public ownership of the tools and means of production, the constant increase in the internal resources of the national economy are making it possible to steadfastly enlarge the scale of industrial production in the country. The Sixth Five-Year Plan for the economic development of the U.S.S.R. provides for a fresh upsurge of industrial production on the basis of the all-round use of the tremendous achievements of modern science and engineering.

II

The most important principles of the organisation and management of socialist industrial enterprises are state direction and planned economy throughout the country, the material incentive of the worker for his job, a self-sufficient financial basis, the unilateral management of each enterprise.

State leadership and planning represent a mighty force in the organization of labour throughout the national economy. The fulfilment of the production plan is obligatory for each enterprise. The main targets for a state-owned factory are set by the Ministry through its corresponding department. The production plan of each branch of industry forms part of the single economic plan approved by the government. On the basis of the targets set by the State plan each enterprise works out, with the active participation of the entire staff, a concrete production and financial plan. The factory employees determine the possible production reserves in the different parts of the factory for the steady increase in output and the fulfilment of the state plan. The director of the factory approves the concrete production and financial plan. When the Five-Year Plans of economic development are drawn up, the workers discuss the prospects facing their enterprise and make suggestions which are taken into consideration by the Ministries in compiling the general state plan. Many years of planning in the Soviet Union have shown that the targets set by the

state plan for the development of industry are as a rule not only achieved but topped.

State planning of the development of the economy, sciences and engineering ensure a steadfast increase in the scale on which new techniques are used, and make it possible to replace and modernize old technical equipment according to pre-arranged plans. Unemployment does not exist at all in socialist society, and the introduction of new techniques is not hampered in any way, the workers are quite willing to use new and more efficient production tools and strive to perfect the organisation of work at the factory. Another important advantage of a planned economy is that it gives opportunity for the rapid transfer of engineering and production achievements of a single factory to all concerned in the industry and to other branches of the national economy. There are no commercial secrets in the Soviet Union.

The planned replacement of industrial equipment throughout the country exercises a decisive influence on a growing productivity of labour. In the past few years Soviet industry received annually on the average 26,000 million roubles worth of new equipment. After the war, as well as before it, productivity of labour in Soviet industry went up steadily. In 1955 it was nearly double the pre-war figure. As far as productivity of labour is concerned the Soviet Union as yet has not caught up with the United States. An analysis of Soviet industry made recently has shown the existence of tremendous reserves for raising the productivity of labour, and has revealed the existence of serious drawbacks in this field. By overcoming a certain lagging behind in some branches of industry in the field of productivity of labour, it will be possible in the Sixth Five-Year Plan to raise considerably industrial output on a new technical basis.

The steadfast use of material incentives for those who work well has a great significance in the organization of Soviet enterprises. For the greater part the piece system is in force at factories, with bonuses for results surpassing the accepted norm or quota. Each factory has a special fund for improving cultural and other amenities of the workers and the perfection of production. In the heavy industry from 4-6% of the planned profits or the money economized by lowering the cost of production is set aside for this fund. Half the fund goes for introducing new techniques and modernizing existing equipment (in addition to capital investments provided by the plan for the same purpose) and the other half of the fund is spent on improving cultural amenities for the workers (holiday rest-homes and sanatoria, clubs and so on), on individual bonuses to the workers and engineers, on paying for accommodation at sanatoria and rendering monetary assistance in special cases. The director of a factory has to reach an agreement with the trade union committee on the expenditure of these funds.

The system of financial self-sufficiency makes it possible to combine state direction of enterprises with their operative independence. An

enterprise which is self-sufficient financially receives from the state sufficient funds for its activities—both principle and working capital. A factory has the right to obtain the necessary materials it requires for production. The principle raw materials and other materials are given to the factory from a state fund according to the approved state plan. The factory sells its production at fixed prices in accordance with the plans for the realization of this type of goods. The factory has a balance of its own and the rights of a *persona de jura*, it concludes agreements with other enterprises. In the State Bank the factory has an account of its own and can be granted a loan.

The state establishes for each factory targets as to the quality, quantity, variety of production, productivity of labour, number of workers to be engaged, reduction in cost of production, turnover of funds, profits, and some other things. A factory that is considered self-sufficient financially must reimburse its expenditure out of its income and show the profit demanded by plan. Financial self-sufficiency demands that each enterprise pay special attention to the economics of production. The effective use of production techniques, the rational use of labour, material and financial resources leads to lower production costs and greater profits. The enterprise is interested in lowering the cost of production and making profit, since that determines also the sum that is allocated for encouraging the workers.

Many enterprises have made separate big shops financially self-sufficient. Depending on the results obtained by the shop—fulfilment of production plans, lower expenditure of raw materials and other materials, lower cost of production—a system of bonuses for the workers of the shop is operated.

Industrial enterprises are directed by one person. Each worker is responsible for his part of the work and is under one person. The director of a state-owned industrial enterprise is appointed by the Ministry concerned and is responsible for the fulfilment of the state production plan, for a systematic improvement in the organization of production and organization of labour, for the improvement of cultural and other amenities for the workers. The director is given wide rights in organizing and directing the enterprise, in questions relating to the staff, wages and material encouragement of the working people.

While keeping strictly to the principle of unilateral responsibility, the director should draw active workers into various measures for improving the enterprise's work. The factories hold regular so-called production meetings at which drafts of production plans and other important matters are discussed widely. The Party and trade union organization help the management of the enterprise to improve the organization of the work and raise the activity of the workers.

The keen interest of the workers in the rational organization and perfection of production makes itself felt strikingly in the development of socialist emulation between groups of workers and entire factories. This is a popular method of raising the productivity of labour and

perfecting production on the basis of the maximum activity of the workers themselves. Socialist emulation is an expression of the comradely co-operation of the workers, of their active creative participation in improving production. Socialist emulation is founded on the creative initiative, the advanced experience of the best workers. Workers who have found new better methods of doing their job by using the most up-to-date techniques and certain inventions of their own act as initiators in the fulfilment and overfulfilment of production plans, in improving the organization at their enterprises, in getting better economic results. The example set by these people has an active influence on the general mass of workers, which leads to the rapid dissemination of advanced industrial production methods.

One of the most important ways in which the workers participate directly in the technical progress and perfection of production is by proposing various inventions. The number of inventions, technical adjustments and improvements suggested by the workers in very great numbers in all branches of industry (in 1951 there were about 700,000 and in 1954 more than 900,000) are an important sign of the creative activity of the workers.

The active participation of the workers in the organization and management of industry, in the development of their creative initiative, the introduction of new production methods, the keen interest of the workers in the progress of their enterprise, the concern for the improvement of the workers cultural and other facilities—are all characteristic features of the democratic principles on which industry is organised in the Soviet Union.

In a very short space of time, in extremely difficult conditions, without any help from outside, the country built up a powerful industry representing the material foundation of the social progress of society. Its tremendous experience in the organization of socialist industry is now being used widely in building socialism in the People's Democracies of Europe and Asia. The Soviet Union with its immense industrial basis is rendering great practical assistance in the industrial development of the People's Democracies. The socialist industrialization of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies is an extremely important factor in the social progress of the 20th century.

The Movement from Jobs to Careers in American Industry

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The working force of the United States, contrary to a certain century-old prediction that it would become proletarianized, is becoming professionalized. The evidence for this trend, as it appears in Detroit, has been sketched in two previous articles¹ and is to be presented in full in a forthcoming book. This paper, based on one chapter of that book, concentrates on a single aspect of the complex movement which is occurring: the adoption of the career concept as a guide for interpreting successive transformations in the nature of work.

Whether this aspect of change in industrial organization should be termed psychological or sociological or social-psychological is left to the reader. And whether widening adoption of the career concept is cause or effect of the associated changes is likewise left aside; in either case the phenomenon of professionalization hangs together systematically. Some brief review of the evidence found for this trend, however, may be merited in order to illuminate the context of the process by which jobs are becoming careers.

THE FACILITATING CONDITIONS

The professionalization of labor in American industry, as exemplified pre-eminently in Detroit, may be seen historically and statistically as the concomitant of certain interrelated trends affecting the labor force of the community as a whole:

1. The succession of new clauses added to representative labor-management contracts since the war, which tend generally toward stabilizing and elevating the work experience of the persons affected: productivity and cost-of-living escalators, health plan, pensions, employment guarantees and, not least important, continual achievements of higher wages and reduction of spread in wages, which make labor-saving improvements worthwhile at the lower levels.

2. The continuing shift of more of the working force into tertiary, quaternary and quinary industries, and, within each industry, the increasing ratio of salaried to hourly-rated employees, with parallel attainment by the latter of guaranteed annual income as an approach toward salaried status.

3. Steady engineering success in devising mechanical means for performing more and more complex tasks, accelerated by the growth of institutionalised industrial research and development, which eliminate less-skilled jobs, while creating more employment requiring technical training and theoretical understanding.

4. The vast expansion of higher education and of employment requiring higher education, which presses steadily downward in the job hierarchy.

5. Reflection in personnel practice of the notion of an endlessly expanding range of satiable wants, as already in marketing practice and theory.

6. The upward tendency found among all occupational categories to shed their chores and dirty work onto lower ranks—thus ultimately onto machines. (The category of "laborers" in the total working force now totals less (6 per cent.) than professionals (9 per cent.)

7. In the community at large, the transfer of leadership and trust to persons upholding professional impartiality as custodians of the public interest, which accords with widening of the middle class at expense of extremes.

8. The diffusing appeal of scientific neutrality and matter-of-fact competence as opposed to sectarian loyalties in handling problems of social organization in a cosmopolitan society immersed in mass communication, as shown by their permeation of areas hitherto regarded as exempt from science.

9. Extension of the career concept to such avocational areas of human development as family, leisure and citizenship.

WHAT CAREERS ARE AND ARE NOT

A final word of introduction may also be required to clarify what is meant by the concept of career. As a first approximation, a career may be thought of as an occupation for which some special preparation is made; which integrates the vocational activities of a person over his life span; and which thereby constitutes more or less an expression of his philosophy of life. Another way of defining—from both institutional and psychological points of view—the developmental feature of a career is to describe it as a progression of statuses and functions which unfold in a more or less orderly though not predetermined sequence in the pursuit of values which themselves emerge in the course of experience.

When employment is undertaken solely for the sake of earning an income, it is called in common parlance "just a job". A career is not "just a job" but represents virtually the other pole of a continuum. The correlation of this continuum with certain others is a major theme of this paper.

There are several other meanings attached to career that are also eschewed here. Thus a career is not simply a sequence of promotions within a bureaucratic hierarchy, nor does it necessarily imply conspicuous office or recognition. These may signify substantial attainment in performing the tasks of the chosen occupation, but are neither always based upon nor do they always follow real accomplishment.

The so-called "careerist" is usually understood to be an opportunist whose principal motive is personal advancement without conscientious regard to the real achievement which is prized by colleagues or clients of his profession. And by career is likewise not intended that related spectacle of the person who subordinates or sacrifices family, friends and other personal values to the objective of personal advancement in his vocation. These are distortions of one basic feature of the career, that it does involve the development of the individual; they leave out the performance of a valued service, which seems no less important in understanding the value put upon the professions.

The concept of the career loses some of its utility if it is broadened to include any life history or all of a life history. To repeat, a career commences with some special preparation for a vocation undertaken as a lifework, but this acquisition of competence continues indefinitely without a ceiling.

The orderly progression—roughly, the increase—of the person's services toward his community, and correlatively the statuses he is accorded, from his training period onward, further distinguish a career from all more casual, discontinuous or non-responsible forms of employment.

Finally, the word career is not a synonym for profession. All professions offer careers, but not all careers are—at least as yet—professional careers. We are here dealing with only the career aspect of the phenomenon of professionalization, which has numerous other aspects.

CUMULATIVE EFFECTS OF HATRED FOR CHORES AND DIRTY WORK

Evidence of the psychological hunger for careers in place of jobs falls into both negative and positive kinds. Workers in Detroit industries share with others in American society their depreciation—in both concept and attitude—of occupations that are mere jobs, and the approbation of employment as it takes on the nature of a career.

It may seem paradoxical to assert that the various forms of behavior by which factory workers and others indicate their dislike of the worst jobs is evidence for their desire to convert those jobs into careers. Yet when their antagonistic reactions are analysed in terms of effect rather than conscious intent, the paradox may not only be resolved but possibly rendered reasonable. In a free society where it is taken for granted that any man may quit his job whenever he decides to do so, and where alternative employment abounds, there are multitudes of ways by which distaste for certain jobs is regularly manifested. Turnover, for instance, while it also arises from such normal conditions as ageing, ill-health, and the attraction of opportunities elsewhere, springs up conspicuously from the discomforts of certain jobs. These jobs are hard to keep filled; no one wants them except by default of better; no one keeps them any longer than he has to. Thus from plant to plant it is possible

to rate jobs crudely in terms of the rate of turnover among their holders, above and below a norm. The rankings which result follow the same general order as when ranking them from least to most professional.

Peculiar problems of ascription occur in rating the relative worth of jobs within a plant, with rates of pay tending to reflect rather than to determine such ratings. The rate of pay is more a statement of the esteem in which a job is held than of its indispensability or of a policy aimed at reducing turnover by increasing monetary reward. Regardless of pay, a dull or dirty job is still a dull or dirty job. That in the past it has always been possible to fill dirty jobs with low-status newcomers to the labor force, while there has always been an excess of aspirants for high-ranking jobs, has belied any notion of market determination of wage differentials, at least from the supply side. In a sense automation is now taking the place of the unskilled immigrant laborers who used to enter at the bottom of the wage scale, so non-market influences can still continue to dominate rankings. Countless observations have been made of the degree to which wage and salary differentials are taken by both management and labor to represent an existing system of social values for rating the worth of jobs, with the justice of any specific rate having to be rationalized relative to rates at comparable, higher and lower points within this system.² It is tempting to speculation to consider the process by which this remarkably uniform rationalizing system arose and is continually readjusted to inflation and absolute wage increases, and particularly the nature of the recurrent complaints by the highly skilled against the narrowing of differentials. The significant point to which comment must be limited here is that the hierarchy of pay differentials parallels the criteria of professionalism. Only people who participate in the commercial realm—outside the system based on performance—find their jobs rated by market criteria.³

Those workers who must hold the least desirable jobs in industry, not having found an opportunity to quit for better ones, exhibit their antagonism meanwhile in multiple ways, all of which consistently indicate by relative intensity and range the same pattern of ranking. The more common symptoms of antagonism to a job are absenteeism, tardiness, destruction and waste of materials, negligence toward employer property, horseplay, shouting, and infraction of rules, not to mention resistance to the pace and quantity of the work itself, all of which have been extensively documented.⁴ These manifestations are visible in the lower ranks of even the best-reputed places of work ; they occur in periods of unemployment as well as full employment, and may indeed even be to some extent inversely related to the ease with which persons can quit the less satisfying jobs. Ingenuity denied expression in work has frequently been dramatically applied to frustrating and sabotaging the dissatisfying tasks which are imposed. As a single example one may cite the elaborate schemes that have arisen from time to time for conducting betting or theft in those parts of plants where work is least attractive.

As a rule these manifestations of antagonism toward dissatisfying work are regarded as wrong even by the perpetrators, and are never defended directly by the unions to which they belong. Various devices of supervision, inspection and reporting are maintained by management to restrain their occurrence. While many managers take these reactions matter-of-factly as problems to be dealt with, rather than expending emotional energy in futile condemnation, no one in labor or management appears disposed to accept them as permanently necessary or desirable features of worker behavior. Strategies differ as to how to proceed in dealing with such symptoms, but the onerousness of the least professional jobs is recognized on all sides and conceived as a matter to be attended to rather than ignored or simply accepted.

Summarized still more detachedly, there is constant pressure against those jobs that are only jobs. Numerous strategies for suppressing non-rational expressions of dislike for such work, or inducing workers to forego such expressions, have not been so obviously unsuccessful as to halt recurrent hopes that some new argument or arrangement or device will yet suffice to reduce this pressure. The pressure has meanwhile continued and if anything been fostered by the steady encouragement of popular aspirations. Since the possibility of diverting such pressure more constructively into support for the elimination of onerous jobs through automation is limited by the threats which automation poses for security of employment, the trend toward eliminating such jobs may proceed more rapidly to the extent that steady employment is henceforth guaranteed. Under such a condition antagonism toward dirty work could become a constructive force which would be forthrightly defended and encouraged, as it is not at present by either union or management. Although such a condition has been foreseen for some time,⁵ its imminence is impossible to judge, to infer from the opposing views expressed in the recent Senate hearings on automation.⁶

REDUCTION OF SUPERVISION

Prior to the organization of the industrial unions in the automobile industry, the foreman was the symbol and much of the substance of what was hated by the workers. The foreman's arbitrary power to hire and fire, to engage in favoritism and exploitation, to discipline and reward and punish in a whimsical manner, to judge without right of appeal by the worker — these were the targets of the very first union-management contracts drawn in 1936.⁷ With establishment of standard rules of seniority, promotion, layoff, rehiring, determination of work quotas, and especially grievance procedure, the foreman was stripped of nearly all those features of personal supervision which made it hated if not justly feared. Foremen are still required to induct new workers, to eliminate "bugs" and maintain the flow of work, and to interpret the contract and apply discipline in cases of infraction of rules. But even in this last respect there is a steady accumulation of "common law", through joint reliance on precedents deriving from umpire

decisions in specific grievances; to this extent the foreman himself may be said to have become professionalized through the growth of objective standards of performance and ethical behavior.

What appears to be a basic shift in authority from persons ("government by men") to impersonal regulations ("government by law") is implicitly a shift in the locus of authority from certain persons to certain others, that is, from superiors to colleagues. Symbolically not only does the recognition clause usually stand first in a union-management contract, but it is usually a monument to the unions' first victory, as successive clauses tend to recapitulate its further history. The legitimacy of standards imposed by one's fellows, which is characteristic of any profession, as against standards imposed by any other outside group, has grown in recognition. As yet in explicit discussion, however, the transition is still primarily conceived as the reduction of arbitrary supervision. Since the transition is neither complete nor is it conceived in positive terms, its psychological expressions continue to be stated or acted out as objections to direct, personal supervision. Especially in the lower ranks, this attitude appears in the still widespread though doubtfully realistic hankering to "be one's own boss" through the medium of self-employment in small business.⁸ But at the higher levels where jobs have attributes—especially seniority and pension rights—which make their holders more frequently eager to keep them, the desire for reduction of supervision is exhibited in consistent preferences—other things equal—for jobs where supervision is minimal and the worker can be responsible for his own performance according to some objective system for determining its standard. "Bosses" are evaluated individually within certain limits according to how much responsibility they are able and willing to entrust to those they supervise, even though at the foreman level few of the conditions determining how much supervision may be required are within his control. At least in theory, there is some measure of agreement between union and management on this attribute of the good supervisor.

THE ORDER OF ASPIRATION AMONG JOBS

Corresponding with the evidences of antagonism toward jobs that are "only jobs", and toward jobs that are closely supervised, attitudes and concepts toward jobs become more favorable as they ascend in rank toward professional character. This hierarchy of job preference is more or less independent of the administrative hierarchy in the plant, which is much more affected by criteria not indigenous to the plant, but it does cover both hourly-rates and salaried positions. The principal overt signs of favorable attitudes are those of involvement in the work itself. Involvement appears in unreadiness to quit at the end of work periods, off-work conversation about the job, the making of suggestions, reading or supplementary study, and even the taking of additional formal training. Overtime on professional tasks may be put in without

extra pay or any pay at all, up to a point, whereas in the hourly-rated jobs work often ceases well before the end of working periods, and overtime is resented unless the worker desires the premium pay he receives. This order of involvement corresponds with the order of job preferences and relative rates of payment, but does not result therefrom.

(It may be granted that the auto industry has fewer craft lines and incentive pay systems to obscure this hierarchy, without conceding that Detroit is unrepresentative.)

Like the paradox that the least-desired jobs are generally the lowest-paid, it also happens as a rule that the more desired and well-paid a job is, the more likely it is to require special training or education. There is no principle of least effort here but rather of limitation of opportunity; all would be in the upper categories if they could. Although frequently defended in terms of relative length of preparation, the higher pay schedules accorded the more skilled or professional jobs arise from the esteem accorded jobs which utilize higher competence rather than from the cost of acquiring it.

This consistent system of preferences among existing jobs within industry operates as a constant positive pressure to influence countless subordinate decisions in assignment and promotion of workers. While enormous numbers of hours can be spent by personnel officers and bargaining sub-committees in ironing out marginal cases in the elaborate job- and pay-classifications which every substantial company maintains, and while the possibility of need to modify criteria makes management unwilling to submit such cases to arbitration, none the less there is remarkable consensus and understanding about the general principle of order on which specific decisions are based. The meaning of this order as representing complex estimates of professional status rather than mere differences in skill, however, is less evident in labor-management discussion than in the explicit attitudes of the oncoming generation toward the total array of occupations in the community at large.

RELATIVE PRESTIGE OF OCCUPATIONS

No evidence quite so persuasively documents the view that the United States constitutes a single social system rather than a congeries of partial systems as the degree of agreement among the studies of occupational prestige which have been made in various parts of the country during the past generation.⁹ Consensus on the ranking of broad occupational categories (as distinguished from specific jobs within plants) is so uniform and stable (save for some decline of bankers during the depression) as to approach the status of a national standard.

Some minor samplings are available from Detroit proper, but the best sample for our purpose consisted of 6,789 high school students from the entire state of Michigan who were surveyed in the spring of 1948¹⁰. Grouping replies by census categories, breakdown of

twelfth-grade boys' statements of occupational aspirations and expectations showed the following distribution :

	Wanting to become :	Expecting to become :
Professionals ..	40 per cent.	25 per cent.
Proprietors, managers and officials ..	12	10
Clerical, sales and kindred workers	8	8
Farmers	6	7
Skilled workers and foremen ..	16	13
Semi-skilled workers	4	12
Unskilled workers	0	3
Not answering	14	22

In the most authoritative national survey¹¹, a representative sample of adults in 1947 ranked 90 familiar occupations according to their general standing, and then both these occupations and the rankings were combined according to the same census categories as above, with these average scores derived from a 0-100 scoring scheme :

Professional and semi-professional workers	80·6
Proprietors, managers and officials	74·9
Clerical, sales, and kindred workers	68·2
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers ..	68·0
Farmers and farm managers	61·3
Operatives and kindred workers (semi-skilled)	52·8
Laborers	45·8

The same sample was also asked, "Suppose some outstanding young man asked your advice on what would be one of the best occupations to aim toward. What one occupation do you think you would advise him to aim toward?" The resulting pattern of preferences strikingly duplicates the aspirations of Michigan youth :

Professional or semi-professional work	50 per cent.
Skilled labor (craftsman, foreman, etc.)	13
Business career (proprietor, manager, official)	11
Farming	8
White-collar work (clerical, sales, etc.)	8
All other	3
Don't know ; would depend, etc.	7

To sum up in a sentence, professionalism has drastically surpassed proprietorship in the past few decades as the apex of vocational aspiration, although the number of actual places available in each (9 per cent. of total labor force) is identical.

For this trend supporting evidence of other kinds than attitude studies is available in Detroit. The decline of specialized curricula—college entrance, academic (terminal), vocational, home economics, commercial—among American high schools has been general in the past decade. In Detroit high schools these diverse curricula were

combined in a single college-entrance curriculum soon after the war. Even though, as in other parts of the United States, the high school dropout rate still approaches half the entrance rate, and little more than a third of those who graduate enter college, few pupils, parents or teachers now want to forego or foreclose the latter possibility.

Perhaps somewhat peculiar to Detroit is the significance of rejection of high-school vocational training and of apprenticeship by the industrial second generation—the native-born sons of factory workers. In the 1920's the Board of Education constructed two large technical high schools for the purpose of training skilled workers for Detroit industry. These have not been enlarged since. Instead, despite the shortage of classroom space in the public school system as a whole, the two technical high schools in recent years have been operating below capacity. (One has become nationally famous for its production of artists!) In former years, pupils who did well in "shop" courses in neighborhood high schools were encouraged by teachers to transfer to a vocational high school for fuller training, and then were informally steered into apprenticeships and thus to employment in skilled trades in manufacturing companies. Now company supervisors of apprenticeship training complain of scarcity of high-quality candidates for apprenticeships. Frequently in private and occasionally in public conversation they bitterly condemn teachers for steering intelligent pupils away from the route to the skilled trades; applicants for skilled jobs and training greatly out-number opportunities, but they lack schooling.

A director of industrial education for one of the largest companies complained in an interview of pupil disinterest in the skilled trades:

"The school counselors do a poor job. You can't blame it all on the parents. They get hold of a bright boy and tell him that he is too smart to work in industry, that he should go to college and go into some profession."

Yet the director of placement for the public school system counters with indirect testimony to the realism of the young people entering the labor force:

"The auto industry has been able to meet competition by eliminating skill from their operations. We used to place apprentices in the spring-making trade. We used to think that if a boy didn't come from a spring-making family he couldn't be a good spring-maker. They were a caste—a very cocky group, constantly in labor difficulties. The engineers got after that and today there isn't a semblance of that any more—they took the skill out of the spring-making game. They used to build up a spring leaf by leaf. They were always in a position to hamstring the industry. I could point out many instances of that same thing, where the industry broke down high-skill barriers into low-skilled operations."

In no sense is this to be taken as a decline of interest in technology among the younger generation of Detroiters. The high status of scientists indicates that the appeal of technology has if anything risen in recent decades. The difference between technology conceived in terms of scientific research and engineering, and the older tradition of mechanical ingenuity and acquired dexterity is tantamount to two hierarchies, one capped by the college-trained engineer, and the other by the toolmaker, who is almost equally adaptable and immune from obsolescence of skills. These two hierarchies are to a slight degree tending to merge at their peaks.

What is particularly revealing of the trend is the tendency for people in many skilled trades to appropriate the title of engineer when occasion offers. This tendency appears not only in casual introductions and conversations, but also in formal efforts to organize specialized occupations as distinct engineering societies, membership in which substitutes psychologically for college degrees and state licences. The 1950 Census ran into this phenomenon of applying honorific status-terms so frequently that its figures on the number of engineers in the United States are deemed inflated.¹² This margin of inauthenticity, however, defines the direction of aspiration, realization of which tends to render the figures progressively authentic.

A final bit of evidence for the movement toward extending the career concept may be found in the increasing adoption by management of what are generally called staff development programs. These began with higher management in the larger companies, but have steadily spread down into lower ranks and smaller companies. While in many ways vague and groping, even in their more awkward and naïve expressions they foster the idea that good men are not merely to be "found" but are also to be "made" at company expense by various forms of training on and off the job, by encouragement and cultivation of their emerging interests and talents, and by carefully introducing them to a succession of greater responsibilities and opportunities. While in some respects executive development is but a new name for the old policy of promotion from within, the elements of further training and re-training, sequential organization of the job history, and the development concept itself, imply more than simply the organizational need to fill higher posts. The something more is the notion of the man himself as to some degree the product of the organization, not simply an item of input. How far down this movement can or will extend, and how rapidly and effectively, is hard to estimate, if conceived only in terms of what is initiated from the top. Considering, however, that in some companies every executive down to the level of foreman is touched at least lightly by some phase of executive development programs, it may be said that it reaches almost to the bargaining unit which embraces hourly-rated workers; also, it is abetted to some degree by the desires of junior executives and staff professionals themselves for furtherance of their careers. If we put then alongside this such signs

of a trend toward professionalization as we find in the ranks of the hourly-rated workers, it may be said that in this broad sense the tendencies toward professionalization at all levels are tending to move in parallel directions. It is too early to deduce from this evidence, however, that corporation and union may at some future point converge in the adoption of personnel development as a joint objective.

Academic intellectuals who have theorized about American labor have tended to discount the rôle of intellectuals in affecting its policies. Yet every class in society has its own effective intellectuals who formulate and articulate its self-conceptions and aspirations. The concept of career, and a favorable attitude toward achieving the conditions which will permit everyman to have a career, appear to be emerging in all segments of the labor force.

NOTES

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² Arthur M. Ross, *Trade Union Wage Policy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1948).

³ Peter F. Drucker, "The Employee Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII, No. 4 (January, 1953), 358-363.

⁴ Daniel Bell, "Work in the Life of an American," in *Manpower in the United States: Problems and Policies*, ed. by Haber et al. (New York: Harper & Bros., 1954), 3-22. Also, cf. Walker, Charles R., and Guest, Robert H., *The Man on the Assembly Line*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952, esp. chap. 10, "Mass Production Characteristics and Human Behavior".

⁵ Clinton S. Golden and Harold J. Ruttenberg, *The Dynamics of Industrial Democracy* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1942), esp. chaps. viii, ix.

⁶ Peter F. Drucker, "The Promise of Automation," *Harpers Magazine*, CCX, 2159 (April, 1955), 41-47.

⁷ Edward Levinson, *Rise of the Auto Workers*, United Auto Workers, Detroit, 1947.

⁸ Ely Chinoy, *Automobile Workers and the American Dream* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1955).

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¹⁰ Brookover, Wilbur B., et al., *Youth and the World of Work: A Study Based on a Representative Sample of Michigan 10th and 12th Grade Students* (East Lansing: Social Research Service, Michigan State College, 1949).

¹¹ National Opinion Research Center, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," reprinted in *Class, Status and Power*, ed. by Bendix and Lipset (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953), 411-426. Gladys L. Palmer and Ann R. Miller, "The Occupational and Industrial Distribution of Employment, 1910-50," in Haber et al., op. cit., 83-92.

¹² Helen Wood, "Trends in the Specialization of Occupational Requirements," in Haber et al., op. cit., 103-116.

Changes in German Industrial Organisation : A Systematic and Historical Introduction to Co-determination

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I. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

This contribution is based on the findings of a long-term sociological investigation being made by the Sozialforschungsstelle a.d. Universität Münster in Dortmund, of the institutional forms and the effects on social climate of co-determination in the plants of the German steel and iron industry.

The results of investigation will be published in three parts :

Part I: German industrial organisation and its social forms up to co-determination (published January 1956).

Part II: Legal position and effectiveness of co-determination. (Findings of an empirico-sociological investigation in a foundry.)

Part III: Co-determination and social welfare in industry.

Only some aspects of the problems of the first section will be treated in the present paper.

The special position of German industrial organisation, in terms of international comparison, arises from two Acts: one, enforcing co-determination between employees and management in the mining and steel- and iron-producing companies was passed on May 21, 1951, and the second (October 11th, 1952), extending the enactment to all other industries, although only to plants with more than 100 employees. The special position of German industrial organisation then, corresponds with the special position of the basic industry of the Ruhr area within it. The uniqueness of the German Acts has been acknowledged on various occasions: the present *Bundesinnenminister*, Dr. Schröder, called it "an experiment that is unparalleled in the whole world and that is being watched by the whole world with the greatest and most intensive attention".¹ Of the opinions voiced abroad I mention the American economist McPherson who characterised it as "the world wide most interesting large-scale experiment in the patterning of relations between management and labour".²

The factual characteristics of this special position might be limited to four statements:

1. *Industrial organisation in the German Federal Republic is regulated by special laws.*

In other countries also, laws concerning industrial organisation have been enacted, as for instance in the Netherlands the laws concerning shop committees and the economic organisation of the country (1950), in Belgium the law of 1948, in France the regulations of the provisional constitution of February 1945 and the detailed regulations of August 1950.³ But in none of these countries have there been enacted comprehensive basic laws concerning industrial organisation as has been the case in the German Federal Republic. Most of the laws outside of the German Federal Republic are regulations involving only the supra-plant level. In other countries, e.g. in Switzerland, Sweden, Italy, Austria, we find only autonomous agreements of the participating social partners, or progressive regulations, without intervention on the part of the state. The classical country of such regulations is Great Britain where labour-management relations are developing on the line of progressive industrial organisation, proceeding within the master agreements between labour and management. In the U.S.A. conditions are somewhat similar.

2. *The German federal laws regulate co-operation between social partners in terms of an entirely new principle.*

Outside of Germany there may be distinguished two principles that are generally applied: the principle of unification and the principle of separation. The principle of unification signifies that it is the employer or his representative who presides in all committees or boards involving joint decision-making, even in those of the employees' representatives. This principle is to be found e.g. in the Netherlands, Sweden, Belgium and Great Britain. The principle of separation renders the employees' representatives more or less independent of the management. They elect their own chairman, have their own tasks and enter as partners into negotiations with the employer or the management. This principle is found in Switzerland, in Italy and Austria, and in a distinctive form in the United States.

German industrial organisation appears at first as a combination of these two principles. In the workers' council which is stipulated by both laws (1951 and 1952) we have election by the employees, their own representative in the chair and the autonomous spheres of activity correspond to the principle of separation; and in the function of "Arbeitsdirektor" (Labour manager) in the coal and iron industries, as part of the management and simultaneously as chairman of the committees for collective bargaining, the principle of unification. Actually it is no mere combination, but rather a synthesis of both principles. This is particularly clearly evidenced in the composition of the board

of directors (5 of each of the two social partners; the shareholders and the employees, respectively), by the election of the eleventh member of this board (joint election), and by the election and function of the "Arbeitsdirektor". In the "Betriebsverfassungsgesetz", too, the economic committee (for plants with 100 and more employees) has a synthetic nature. The principle of this synthesis is the acknowledgement of equal rights for both social partners.

3. *In addition, the German laws have given the employees and their organisations, the right to co-determine economic and financial policy.*

In the economic sphere, employees have rights to give and make suggestions in the Netherlands, in Sweden and in Switzerland, rights of investigation, of hearing and of veto, in Belgium, France, and Austria; joint committees or so-called production committees in Great Britain. In all other European countries the economic sphere is the exclusive business of the management.

4. *The special position of German industrial organisation is secured by institutional rights of the employees and their organisations to participate in management.*

These participation rights are: the nomination of one half of the members of the board of directors in the coal and iron industries, and the nomination of one half of the members of the economic committee. Also in regard to the "Arbeitsdirektor" this participation right is guaranteed in so far as the candidate proposed on the part of the employees may not be refused by the shareholders' side.

These are the most important features of the German laws of 1951 and 1952. For German industrial organisation both laws signify partly a very new arrangement, partly a continuation of the development in industrial organisation.

II. THE PLACE OF CO-DETERMINATION WITHIN THE SYSTEM OF GERMAN FORMS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION

In spoken German the habit has grown of applying to industrial organisation terms originating in other social spheres. Terms like "patriarchal", "democratic", "military", "absolutistic", "Master-in-the-House point of view" are used in Germany and to some extent internationally. Such designations are unrelated to the nature of the plant and represent mental associations with the political conditions of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Their use has an ideological impact on discussions of German industrial organisation and on life in the plant. Often they are not substantially applicable, since authority in the industrial plant cannot resemble domestic authority nor the commanding power of a monarchy, nor is it based on democratic voting. Lines of authority in the plant have a special character of their own.

A system of industrial organisation like a plant must then desist from using any concepts that are not relevant to industrial organisation. The specific nature of the organisation of the plant depends on the answer to the following questions:

1. Which social groups take part in decision-making in the plant and which are excluded from it?
2. Where does their claim to this participation start and where does it end?
3. Of which kind is the sociological structure of the entire labour force of the plant?

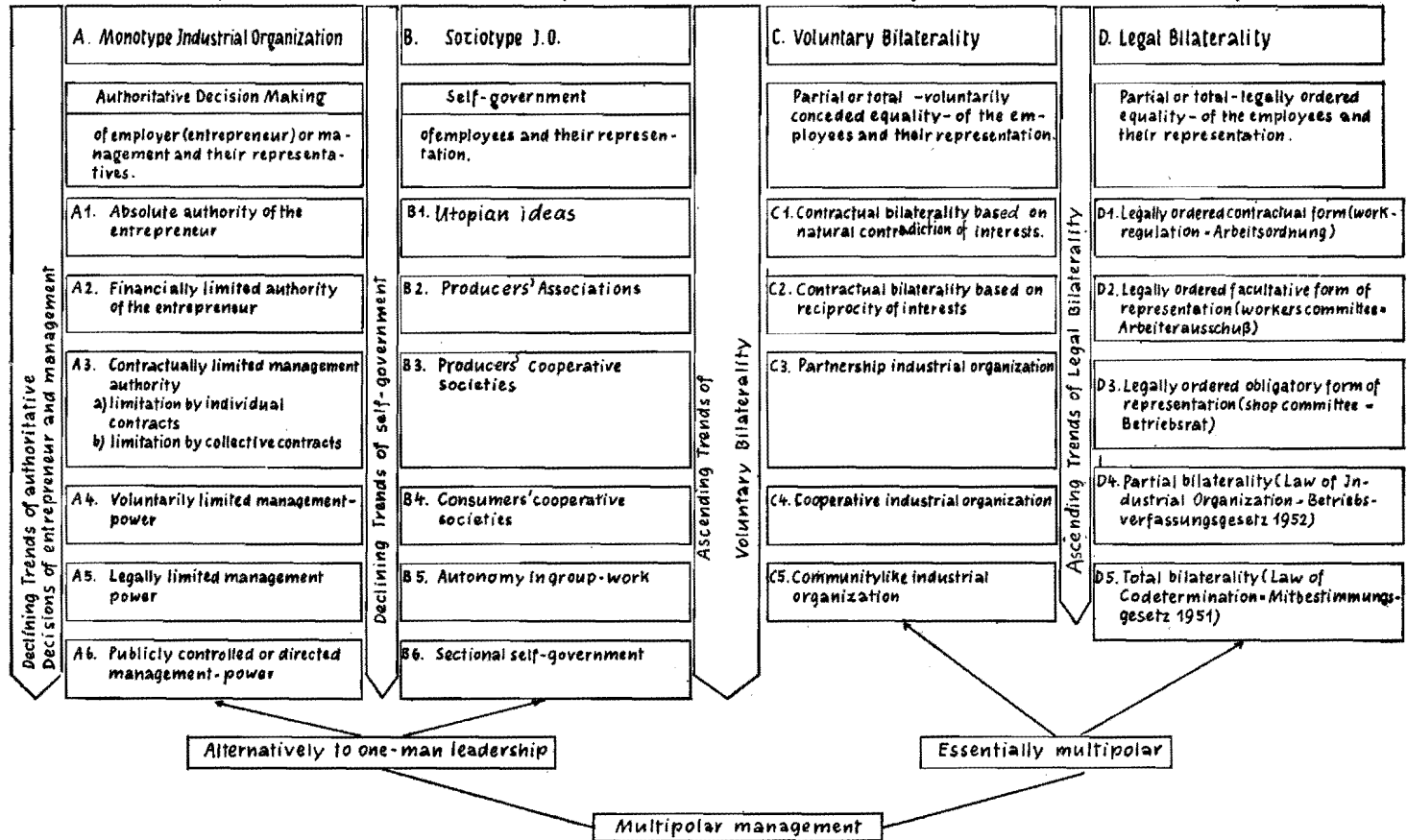
The decision-making process in a plant may take an almost incalculable number of forms. However, all can be reduced to two fundamental forms: it is either one-sided, i.e. the decision is made by the employers' side or the employees' side only, or it is two-sided, i.e. the decision is the result of collective bargaining of the two social partners: the management and their representatives on the one hand, and the workers and their representatives on the other. The two extreme types of one-sided organisation are: absolute authority of the employer and full democracy by employees' decision. We call the first the 'monotype industrial organisation', and the second the 'sociotype'. We have six sub-types of the monotypical organisation: the absolute type, the financially and contractually limited, the voluntarily and legally limited, and finally the plant management that is directed by public authority. There are as well six variations of the 'sociotype', e.g. producers' associations and consumers' associations.

In the case of two-sided decision making in the plant, where management and workers or their respective representatives are sharing equal rights, we may distinguish voluntary and legal types of organisation. The former subdivides into contractual, partnership and co-operative sub-types, the latter ranges from the "Arbeitsordnung" (work-regulation), and workers' committees to the economic committee (Wirtschaftsausschuss) and covers all types of co-determination from partial to total bilaterality. The accompanying schematic presentation gives a survey of the social forms of the industrial organisation in this system. Within it we can also define the place of the German Act here under discussion. The Act of 1952 refers to D4 (partial bilaterality), that of 1951, concerning the coal and iron industries only, to D5 (total bilaterality). Co-determination (total bilaterality) is not a particularly radical form of industrial organisation. Among the sociotype forms, and also among A6 (publicly controlled and directed plants) there are many much more radical forms, e.g. in Eastern Germany, and in all countries under authoritarian government. The decisive characteristic of bilaterality is the equality between management and employees, which as is well known, does not exist in the authoritarian states at all. Co-determination, then, is neither the most radical nor the sole form of social order in big plants in Germany.

System of German Industrial Organization

Unilateral Forms of Industrial Organization

Bilateral Forms of Industrial Organization



III. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CO-DETERMINATION AND THE ATTITUDE OF WORKERS IN FORMER TIMES AND TO-DAY

German co-determination can be traced historically to three sources: the initiative of the entrepreneurs, the demand of the labour movement, and legislation.

In German social history, the initiative in the introduction of voluntary bilateral forms of industrial organisation was taken by the entrepreneurs. At a time when the German labour movement expected little or nothing from the capitalist economic order in Germany, but everything from a socialist economy, progressive entrepreneurs in all regions of Germany and in many industries tried spontaneously to concede to the workers participation rights first in the social, but later also in other spheres, in order to initiate co-operation and co-determination within the plant. The word "co-determination" has been used in plant and work regulations issued by German entrepreneurs jointly with the representatives of the employees (*Arbeiterausschüsse*) since about 1870. Among German entrepreneurs who encouraged this process were Hutschenreuther, Freese, Ernst Abbe (*Zeisswerke*), Robert Bosch and others. As long as free development of industrial organisation was possible (i.e. not during the period of National Socialism) and up to the enactment of laws of 1951-1952, this development continued.

The demand of the labour movement came into play much later.⁴ It tended rather to demand institutions on the supra-plant level in order to have economy and society patterned in a democratic fashion, e.g. by the introduction of an economic parliament on a parity basis. Even in the workers' committees which had been introduced by many entrepreneurs and later legalised by the state, the labour movement and especially the unions did not display much interest. It was not until 1915 that the decision was taken at the executive committee conference of all German unions, to form a working committee with the central union of German industry, a committee where also the representation of workers in the plants should be discussed. This working committee was realised only after the war, in 1918. Here the interests of management and the demands of labour converged for the first time.

Legislation on the subject of co-determination began in the year 1880 with governmental recognition of the right of workers to co-operate within the framework of social security. From then onward there ensued a continuous growth of the participation rights of workers, through the regulation of industrial plants by work regulations (*Arbeitsordnungen*) 1891, the introduction of workers' committees (*Arbeiterausschüsse*) 1905, the law of relief work (*Hilfswortsgesetz*) 1916, through the Weimar Constitution and the law of workers' councils (*Betriebsratsgesetz*) 1920. This last law conceded to the employees of industrial plants the right of representation on the board of directors, the right of veto in cases of discharge, the right of

receiving information about economic affairs and further rights proper to bilateral industrial organisation. All these rights were done away during the National Socialist period by re-establishing the absolute authority of the entrepreneur under the control of the state and its officials. Since 1945, the participation rights of the employees in the plant have not only been restored, but even extended far beyond the former framework, in the several constitutions of the German federal "Länder" e.g. Bavaria, Hesse, Bremen Free-state, North Rhine and Westphalia. This extension has been effected chiefly by three articles of the law of 1951:

(a) The right of co-determination is conceded to the employees, or to their representatives, without restriction, for all affairs of management in mining and in the steel and iron industry. This implies total legal bilaterality.

(b) In the board of directors, the same number of representatives is conceded to the workers as to the shareholders, i.e. full parity. The principle of synthesis is expressed also by the method of appointment and the function of the eleventh member.

(c) The "Arbeitsdirektor" (Labour-Manager), whose election and appointment may not go against the votes of the employees in the board of directors, is a member of the management on an equal footing with the others. The law does not qualify or limit the sphere of his tasks, though as a rule social and personal problems are dealt with by the Labour-Manager. Here also, in the position and function of the Labour-Manager, the synthetic nature of German industrial organisation is displayed, for he is simultaneously part of the management and trustee for the employee and unions. The position and tasks of the Labour-Manager illustrate the real aim of German industrial organisation to attain a social order of the industrial plant on a co-operative basis.⁵ German co-determination, then, with its three lines of origin, is not a social phenomenon without historical tradition as has often been asserted in the literature. Co-determination is deeply rooted in German social history.

Within German social history the steel and iron industry in the Ruhr area has always held a special position. Its extension to large-scale installations began in 1890, i.e. 100 years after this development had taken place in England; the production limit of three million tons was reached in 1900, while England had produced this amount already in 1865. The problem of obtaining and assimilating labour in the big plants was a difficulty that could be overcome only by most rigorous principles. This was the real reason for the former negative attitude of German steel and iron industries to attempts at reform, to scientific regulation projects, to legal measures for regulating inplant order. With but one short interruption directly after World War I this opposition continued until 1945. The co-determination experiment in the German steel and iron industry can be regarded as a reaction to the conservatism of the

leading managers. In the social and historical development of the heavy industries of the Ruhr, the pendulum has swung from one extreme of unilateral industrial organisation to the other extreme of total bilaterality.

The attitude of German employees and their organisations to co-determination has been the subject of public discussion since the enactment of the law. Recently this problem has been investigated sociologically by the *Gesellschaft für Soziale Betriebspraxis*, Düsseldorf,⁶ by the *Frankfurter Institut für Sozialforschung*⁷ and in the long-term research of the *Sozialforschungsstelle an der Universität Münster*, Dortmund, mentioned before. It is not possible, here, to enter into details of these investigations. But research findings to date leave no doubt that co-determination has introduced and realised a basic change in the organisation of the steel and iron industries in Germany. The new social order developing out of this change may lead to a new concept of industrial organisation, powerful enough to withstand the Eastern concept. It is, therefore, a problem of enormous political significance.

NOTES

¹ 132 und 123. Sessions of the German Federal Parliament of 10.4.51 and 16.7.52.

² McPherson: *Betrachtungen der deutschen Arbeitsverfassung in Weg zum sozialen Frieden*, Düsseldorf, 1954, S. 79.

³ Comp. Ernst G. Erdmann, "Das Recht der Arbeitnehmer auf Beteiligung an der Verwaltung der Betriebe der gewerblichen Wirtschaft (The right of the employees to participate in the administration of the industrial organisation—An international comparison of laws, in *Schriftenreihe der Bundesvereinigung der Arbeitgeberverbände*, Heft 6, Köln, 1952.

⁴ It was in the year 1848 that the idea of co-determination first emerged at the first Berlin Workers' Congress, for participation in election of plant supervisors (*Betriebsleiter*).

⁵ Comp. the contributions to the July issue of the *Industrial Labour Relations Review*, 1955, by Edwin S. Beal and P. McPherson, p. 483 and 499.

⁶ Pirker, u. a.: *Arbeiter, Management, Mitbestimmung*, Düsseldorf, 1954.

⁷ *Betriebsklima*, Frankfurt, 1955.

The Nationalised Industries of Great Britain

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I

Between 1945 and 1950 some of the basic industries of Great Britain i.e. coal, electricity supply, gas and inland transport, were nationalised, that is the ownership of these industries was transferred from private hands into public boards appointed by a Minister of the Crown and responsible through him to Parliament. This paper is based on researches into the organisation of these industries carried out between 1948 and 1955 under the auspices of the Acton Society Trust. No reference will be made to the civil air transport corporations, nor to the iron and steel industry. The former are left out because special circumstances such as national prestige and defence strategy have a particular influence in their development. The latter has been excluded partly because steel nationalisation was only short-lived (the majority of the industry has now been denationalised) and also because—which is of greater importance for the purposes of this paper—the change in ownership did not lead to any changes in the industrial organisation of the firms involved.

II

The main factor which has to be clearly set out for an understanding of the magnitude of the economic changes which took place is the contrast in the broad pattern of the structure of the nationalised industries before nationalisation and after.

(a) Before the 1st January, 1947, when it became publicly owned, the British coal industry was operated by approximately 800 companies working the thousand or so collieries in Great Britain. Because of the depression to which the coal industry had been subject from the end of the First World War to the early 1940's, very little progress had been made in the technical and organisational modernisation of the constituent undertakings. Therefore, in 1947 the majority of these 800 firms were small units operating on a 'shoestring' so far as personnel and capital investment were concerned. In consequence, less than a dozen of these firms were of a size and complexity demanding modern forms of management structure and specialisation.

Under the Nationalisation Law these 800 private companies were eliminated and the thousand pits were transferred to the National Coal Board. By statute the Board was given full authority and responsibility for "everything which happens and which ought to happen in the coal fields".

(b) The picture of the other two fuel and power industries is in principle the same. The electricity supply industry had been operated by some 600 undertakings, generating, transmitting and distributing electricity. These 600 undertakings were replaced in 1948 by the Central Electricity Authority with national control over all generation stations and the transmission grid and 14 Area Boards were entrusted with the responsibility of distribution for a specific region of the country. Inherently the same situation was the consequence of nationalising the gas industry. Here, some 1,000 undertakings—a few loosely linked through holding companies—were integrated in 1949 in 12 Area Boards covering the whole of Great Britain under a national co-ordinating body named the Gas Council. The complexity of the organisational change affecting both electricity and gas was even greater than in the coal industry. In all three nationalisation schemes, that is coal, gas and electricity, many hundred undertakings were affected. In the case of coal, however, they had all been privately owned—but in electricity two thirds, and in gas one third, of these undertakings had already been owned by local authorities and were, before nationalisation, an integral part of local government administration.

(c) The nationalisation of inland transport represented a two-fold attempt at integration:—

(i) Integration within the various existing transport systems (that is the railways, road haulage, road passenger transport etc);

(ii) Integration of these various systems with each other to provide a completely co-ordinated service.

Thus, in road transport, for example, the plan in the initial stage was to transfer into public ownership some 5,000 small private haulage undertakings and to concentrate management under the control of a Road Haulage Executive. So far as the railways were concerned, this task of gathering the small operating units had already been accomplished in 1921 when the 120 or so traditional British Railways companies were—by law—amalgamated into 4 very large scale organisations. Before the second World War these were among the biggest industrial organisations in the United Kingdom. In 1921 there was compulsory amalgamation, but private ownership remained. In 1948 these 4 companies were transferred into public ownership, but even here, nationalisation meant a major change. Not only were these 4 large units fused into one immense organisation—this in turn was to be only part of the whole complex system comprising all inland transport services controlled and co-ordinated by the British Transport Commission. The latter thus became—with the exception of concerns in Soviet Russia—the largest single organisation in the world, with a staff of nearly a million. (The complexity and size of the organisational task of the British Transport Commission has subsequently been little affected by the denationalisation of a part of the road haulage services brought about by amending legislation in 1953.)

III

The following table will help to convey the picture of the magnitude of the changes involved:

Industry	No. of undertakings before nationalisation		New organisation	Numbers employed
Inland Transport	5,000	...	British Transport Commission ...	900,000
Coal ...	800	...	National Coal Board ...	800,000
Electricity Supply ...	600	...	Central Authority and 14 Area Boards ...	200,000
Gas ...	1,000	...	Gas Council and 12 Area Boards ...	150,000

To translate these facts into more general concepts of industrial organisation;—nationalisation in Great Britain meant the amalgamation on an unprecedented scale of many hundreds of independent companies and authorities which had grown up over decades with their own modes of operation and their own traditions, into some of the biggest units so far known in the industrial history of Great Britain. And all this was done at one stroke, on a single day, imposed by an Act of Parliament.

IV

It will be self-evident that such wholesale changes of the formal organisation in the various industries was bound to bring about intricate problems of adjustment. The situation was made even more difficult by the fact that up to 1945 organisational change had been little studied and, of course, no knowledge at all was available of the techniques demanded by a change of such magnitude made at such speed. Within the context of this paper it is only possible to draw attention to three major factors which have proved to be of outstanding importance in creating problems of adjustment.

(a) *The Diversity Factor.* Whatever was said in the Acts of Parliament, however carefully thought out were the blueprints and the directives, it proved an extremely difficult job to weld together these hundreds of units into homogeneous organisations with coherent policies and uniform standards of operation and control. The resistances of staffs, managers, and workers alike, to any attempts to abolish traditional methods of work were such that it soon became obvious that probably a whole generation would be needed to achieve one of the major aims of nationalisation, that is the creation, in each sector of nationalisation, of a modern large scale organisation out of the welter of diverse units.

(b) *The Scale Factor.* Staffs who had spent the formative years in the small companies which were now brought together under a single

control, often had great difficulty in adjusting their outlook to the needs of the new large organisations. In consequence, administration became delayed and there was a tendency to centralise decisions at too high a level. In some cases these developments resulted in the resignation of those who had been extremely efficient in the previous environment of small scale units to which they had been accustomed. In others, the 'maladjusted' became literally casualties of over-work and worry.

(c) *The Growth Factor.* An organisation can grow in at least two contrasting ways:—

(i) Through a process of continuous amalgamation over a period of time; the usual pattern is the absorption of smaller firms by a larger one, which then becomes the recognised centre of authority and control.

(ii) A sudden amalgamation at one stroke; in this case new levels of management and authority have to be set up over the constituent firms, none of which had been in a relationship of subordination before.

Indeed, this was one of the most intractable problems of nationalisation and gave rise to such questions as:—how to organise and staff the superior levels of management and control; how to get this new authority accepted; how to create loyalties to the new organisation. The last proved a particularly difficult task as it was not merely a problem of transferring loyalties from a traditional focus to a new centre. The old focus of loyalty had been in most cases something very specific—a colliery, a power station etc. Now an "abstract entity" had to become the centre—a District, an Area or a Division. The abolition of the old loyalty led often in practice to a vacuum. There was for some years little identification with the new organisation and, in consequence, small appreciation of its goals.

There is now an increasing awareness of the resistances to the organisational change and a recognition that it affects all employees, from the Board members to the humblest worker. A number of new techniques have, in consequence, been developed to accelerate adjustment to the new working environment demanded by nationalisation.

V

But whatever the problems of transition, adjustment and new loyalties, the nationalised industries have raised with special intensity the problems inherent in any large scale organisation. Here it must suffice to concentrate on the two round which controversy has particularly centred:—

(a) The need to provide for the co-ordination and planning over the industry as a whole without erecting multi-tier structures leading to remote control;

(b) The introduction of specialists into the organisational framework without diffusing responsibility.

VI

The various nationalisation schemes charged the new public boards with the duty to provide co-ordinated services nationally, and in some cases, regionally. The need for such centralisation of authority had been made obvious by the difficulties encountered in the various industries since the First World War and had been expounded in the reports of many commissions. But what did the statutory requirements of co-ordinated integration etc. involve when they were translated into organisational practice? To take an example from the coal industry:—there a public board of about a dozen members was set up in London to take control of the working of some thousand pits dispersed over the whole of Great Britain. To make co-ordination, planning and accountability a reality, the board had to set up intermediate levels of management. Thus, the thousand pits were first of all grouped into 200 Sub-Areas, the Sub-Areas into 50 Areas and the latter put under the supervision of 9 Divisions reporting to the National Coal Board in London. In other words, the individual pit manager who, before nationalisation had direct contact with the head of his own organisation, the managing director, etc., now felt himself to be at the bottom of five levels of management with no hope of ever meeting in person those who had the power of final decisions.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in nearly all nationalised industries a continuous argument has been going on that the new organisation has meant over-centralisation, that one or the other of the new levels of management should be abolished, and so on. (Indeed, in one instance, by an Act of 1953, one such level, the Railway Executive, was abolished and the transport services are now directly controlled by the British Transport Commission). At the same time, however, all this prevailing criticism created a feeling of insecurity which was a disturbing influence on free communications and the development of confidence between the various levels of newly established management. The development of free communications and confidence are now seen to be of far greater importance for the decentralisation of authority than any adaptations of the formal structure of the organisation. It is being more and more recognised that decentralisation depends less on changes from "tall" to "flat" organisations, to use a phrase of scientific management, than on the creation of understanding and trust between the various tiers.

VII

At least as difficult as these problems was the second task given to the new public boards. As already explained, the industries to be

nationalised were—with the exception of the railways—conspicuous by the lack of voluntary concentration, by the small-scaleness of their operations and the consequential lack of specialisation. All Committees, which before the second World War had investigated the efficiency of these industries, recommended nationalisation in the expectation that one of the major advantages would be that increase in size would make possible economies of scale, for example those which might accrue from specialisation.

In view of these recommendations the public boards considered one of their first tasks to be the recruitment and appointment of specialists to provide for increasing efficiencies. Among the new departments set up were those for engineering services (often broken up in turn into planning, electrical and mechanical divisions etc.); for personnel management (with specialists in labour relations, staff management, training and education, welfare, pension services); for finance (with specialists in accountancy, costing and organisation and methods); and many others. There was often little appreciation that this hothouse growth—this new internal complexity—was bound to lead to extremely difficult relations between the existing executive managers and the new specialists. How were these specialists to be co-ordinated if the manager responsible for the operating units was not to be faced with a situation where he had to serve a dozen masters, each speaking a different language and often contradicting each other.

The public boards adopted conventional systems of organisation. Some promulgated the “line and staff” system; others put their faith into “functional controls”; others again proclaimed better “human relations” as the solution of their difficulties. The results are perhaps best epitomised by a judgement of the highest Scottish Court delivered in the early 1950’s on an indictment for negligence against managers of a nationalised industry. “This seems to be a large scale organisation where everybody’s business is seemingly nobody’s responsibility”. It is, however, only fair to say that now, after about half a dozen years of practical experience a better understanding has emerged of what can be achieved by organisation charts, books of rules and management manuals. The respective rôles of specialists and managers are beginning to be sorted out and their various functions accepted. This has been done, however, less by formal changes than by training and education,¹ by conferences and courses.

VIII

To restate the problem of industrial organisation created by the changes inherent in nationalisation in Great Britain:—

(a) Nationalisation has meant, in practice, the wholesale amalgamation at one stroke, by law, of hundreds of previously independent undertakings into nation wide or regional units.

(b) This change in structure raised several major issues of transition:—

(i) How to weld a diversity of units into a homogeneous organisation with a coherent policy, uniform standard of operation and control against the resistances of managers and workers to the abandoning of traditional methods of work.

(ii) How to organise higher levels of management; how to create accepted sources of authority and how to infuse loyalties to freshly created organisations.

(iii) How to adjust staff who spent their formative years in small organisations to the rapidly changing scale of operations.

(c) All the nationalised industries are large scale organisations and they have to find by trial and error a solution to the chief difficulties of any large scale organisation:

(i) How to balance the needs for co-ordination and planning with the equally pressing need for decentralisation; how, in short, to provide uniformity whilst still preserving initiative. How to do this with the minimum of 'chains of command' and without blocking essential lines of communication.

(ii) How to achieve the technical advantage of specialisation; how to introduce specialist departments; how to distribute functions between executive management and specialists without diffusing responsibility and thus undermining organisational effectiveness which is the very target of specialisation.

Although final solutions to these very complex issues have not yet been reached, it can be claimed that there has been one big change in Great Britain. Whereas before 1945 argument mainly concentrated on *what* was to be nationalised, now there is a far greater awareness that we have yet to learn *how* to nationalise. There is a growing appreciation that nationalisation is not merely a legal transaction performed by statute in which shareholders are transformed into debenture holders and in which only the few Directors of the Boards of the private companies to be nationalised are affected. It is now recognised that nationalisation is a major organisational change. Indeed, because of the scale in which it was carried out in Great Britain, it became a social change affecting the lives of millions of people.

[The scope of this paper has necessarily been limited to the changes in organisation which resulted from British schemes of nationalisation. Other problems of nationalisation, e.g. of public accountability, and in industrial relations, public relations, economics, etc., were outside its scope.]

REFERENCES

The following publications of the Acton Society Trust, London, contain detailed research material on problems of organisational change: *Patterns of organisation*; *The Extent of Centralisation*; *Management under Nationalisation*. See also, H. A. Clegg and T. E. Chester, *The Future of Nationalisation*, Blackwells, Oxford; National Coal Board, Report of the Advisory Committee on Organisation,

The Rise of a Bureaucracy

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NATIONALISATION AND BUREAUCRATIC NEEDS

The post-war nationalisation measures in Britain introduced public ownership in no fewer than five major industries. With only one exception—iron and steel, where the experiment was short-lived—this was accompanied by great changes in the existing management structure; for one of the main objectives of the programme was to introduce the benefits of large scale organisation and unified control to industries which for various reasons had tended to ignore them. These changes were not uniform in their impact; in the railways, and in electricity supply, for example, earlier legislation had made attempts to unify and standardise existing services, and here the new boards of management enjoyed the advantage that some steps had been taken towards a more centralised form of organisation. The British Transport Commission was able to use the geographical and functional set-up of the old private railway companies as the framework of the nationalised regional organisation: while the “grid” system of inter-connected power stations, developed before 1939 served as the basis of the organisation of nationalised electricity supply. Furthermore, in these cases, there was at least a nucleus of trained and experienced staff available for key posts.

But elsewhere, no such advantages existed. The period under war-time control had further underlined the serious shortage of experienced mining engineers and administrators; and most of the government committees appointed to consider the structure of the industries subsequently nationalised, had stressed the problems likely to arise through a shortage of technicians and executives capable of playing a part in the affairs of large-scale organisations.¹ The nationalisation programme recognised this deficiency, its advocates claiming that only through public ownership could the need be met. State control, it was argued, would ensure that men of such calibre would be recruited and trained, in contrast to the short-sighted outlook under private ownership. But though the nationalisers recognised the need, they also underestimated it. This is to be explained partly by the mood of over-optimism always shown by the supporters of any revolutionary development, but more because estimated requirements were usually based on what was known of the bureaucracies of private industry. Since then it has become clear that the triple demands of large scale re-organisation, of central control, and of accountability to Parliament produced a set of bureaucratic needs unique in the history of industrial administration in Britain.

Bureaucratic systems of control were nothing new in British industry, but nationalisation created a new and exacting type. Coordination and technical advance were its prime objectives, and to secure them the nationalisers visualised a hierarchy of power arranged, for all functions, as a hierarchy of competence. Accordingly, most territorial levels of administration were designed to carry a full complement of specialists (engineers, planners, personnel officers, accountants), whose competence was to increase at each superior layer. In this way the closest scrutiny could be made of decisions anywhere in the new organisation. In intention, therefore, the bureaucratic structures of the nationalised industries came remarkably close to the "pure" type of bureaucracy distinguished by Max Weber.

The imposition of such structures on industries which had, for the most part, only limited experience of them was bound to produce changes and tensions of great interest to the sociologist. In one case, that of road haulage, bureaucratic systems of control were virtually unknown, and it is with this experience that the present paper is concerned. Attention has been confined to the years 1948—53, before the return to private ownership of certain parts of the public sector.

THE ROAD HAULAGE INDUSTRY BEFORE NATIONALISATION

The Transport Act of 1947 set up a British Transport Commission to provide "an efficient, adequate, economical and properly integrated system of public inland transport and port facilities within Great Britain". The intention was to build the framework for a system of inland transport, in which rail and road would be fruitfully joined through a rational allocation of traffic, and "unnecessary competition" eliminated. Operation of the system was delegated to agents known as Executives, or boards of management, appointed by the Minister of Transport. Powers to acquire most long-distance haulage by road conferred by the Act were eventually transferred to a Road Haulage Executive, appointed in June 1949. The task confronting this body was a tremendous one, for in three years it was to acquire over 3,500 undertakings and 42,000 vehicles, and create from them a unified national service, with some 80,000 employees, known as British Road Services.

No private haulage company even remotely approached operation on such a scale. A few "large" firms had established themselves (each with not more than a couple of hundred vehicles), and to one side were to be found well-known undertakings such as Pickfords' and Carter Paterson's, which had been in road transport for well over a century and which had passed under railway control. But about the rest of the industry it is impossible to generalise. In 1936, 27,000 licences had been issued for the carriage of goods for hire or reward, specifying just over 100,000 vehicles, or an average of 3.75 vehicles to each licence. The small scale nature of the industry is shown still more clearly by the fact that only 300 licensees controlled more than 25 vehicles, and

some 3,000 controlled from 5-25 ; while over 23,000 operators had less than 5 vehicles apiece. At the outbreak of war, the 350 *largest* concerns were found to contain 10,000 vehicles, or an average of 28 vehicles per firm. Apart from the railway-owned companies, no single private haulier controlled as much as one per cent. of the total fleet.

Among this great mass of small operators, conditions were extremely unstable, firms coming on and off the road almost overnight. Factors such as these make it impossible to speak of this sector of the industry as having any "administrative structure" at all. Many firms were one-man enterprises, buying vehicles on hire-purchase: the owner would almost certainly have begun as a driver, and would still take out a vehicle when needed. He would have little or no need for specialised staff : drivers would do their own maintenance, and also canvass for traffic. Some would be sent out on "tramp" runs ; picking up a fresh load wherever they could, and eventually arriving back, often after an absence of several weeks.

Record keeping was at a minimum. Records of hours worked were required by law, and for these the drivers themselves were responsible. Apart from this, in view of the small-scale and *ad hoc* nature of the work, scant attention was paid to operating records. Accounts, if kept at all, were kept in the most rudimentary form. (Firms could be classified, it has been said, into those who kept accounts, those who had cash books, and those who used the back of an envelope.)

In view of this, over much of the industry it would have been exceptional to find large numbers of specialised clerical or administrative staff. Most record-keeping and letter-writing would be carried out by the owner himself, or his drivers : when occasion demanded, his family might be called on to help. At this level, control was autocratic ; the only formal rules being legal requirements prescribing maximum hours of continuous work—and these were often lightly treated. In the years immediately preceding the last war, over 70% of general haulage workers were employed under such conditions.

However, once a firm became large by the industry's standards, i.e. with more than a handful of vehicles, the need would be felt for the introduction of more systematic procedures, involving specialised clerical work. In a handful of firms, the increase might have been great enough to result in a second level of management, but this was very rare indeed. One clerk, often a driver unfit for the road, helped by a boy, was the common pattern here, dealing with elementary book-keeping, consolidation of records, correspondence, wages, and the simple and unavoidable documentation associated with certain classes of traffic, e.g. parcels and "small". But whatever the volume of this work, and it plainly assumed sizeable proportions in the two hundred largest firms, record-keeping and rule making remained something of an after-thought. Clerical staff had low status ; they were badly paid and unrepresented by trade unions ; and they got little sympathy from drivers and other

workers, who regarded them as "the boss's men". Yet often drivers enjoyed a closer personal relationship with the owner, who had himself begun as "one of them", and for the most part, still behaved like it. Accommodation for clerical workers again showed how little thought had been given to the need for this type of work, though none can doubt the ingenuity subsequently displayed. The less enterprising pressed the front parlour into service, or bricked off a corner of the garage, but others littered their yards with an array of "offices" which were later to present a formidable problem of replacement. Few of them bothered to build; their clerks were housed in railway arches, worn-out lorries, derelict buses, trams, and even bathing cabins.

Only in the railway-owned sector of the industry had the size of the undertaking and the nature of the traffic led to bureaucratic systems of control. The Pickford and Carter Paterson organisation had some 2,100 clerical and administrative employees in 1944; its specialised work such as furniture removal, and parcels traffic carried over a national network, involved much paper work. Here were to be found traffic clerks, accounts clerks, and staff dealing with complaints and claims; at a higher level were the senior office clerks, the commercial representatives (salesman) and the headquarters staff. Yet even here, staff were not selected because they possessed a specialist qualification—it was not a practice, for example, to recruit qualified accountants—usually men were taken on at an early age and trained, as on the railways, strictly to meet the requirements of work they were likely to do. Nor did it follow that clerical employees in this sector of the industry enjoyed the best wages and conditions; in fact, pay was low even by railway standards. After 1933, when the railways assumed control of the Pickford, Carter Paterson and Hay's Wharf organisations, some progress was made in recruiting clerical workers by the railway clerical union, the Railway Clerks Association. Even so, no agreement governing the wages and conditions of these employees was concluded until 1943, only five years before nationalisation. Clerical workers elsewhere in the industry preferred on the whole, to identify themselves with management, rather than risk disfavour and possibly dismissal because of union activities; moreover, the small-scale and fiercely competitive nature of the industry made contact with fellow workers in other firms extremely difficult. The Transport and General Workers' Union, which was active in recruiting drivers, did succeed in attracting a small proportion of clerical staff, but they remained uncovered by any of the national decisions concerning wages and conditions.

The war brought many changes to the industry. Many services were compulsorily integrated after the assumption of control over long-distance road haulage by the Ministry of War Transport. Control was effected nationally through twelve traffic regions, divided into Districts and sub-Districts. The 390 sub-Districts were the operational units, and were placed under a manager assisted by a traffic officer

from the Ministry. The controlled undertakings provided the reporting points for vehicles and office and accounting facilities. New clerical procedures were introduced. Many clerical employees were called up, and temporary workers recruited. But the return of the old conditions in the years immediately following the war indicated that the industry had been little affected by the revolutionary operating systems introduced between 1942 and 1945. This failure to reorganise and to develop services on a bigger and more rational scale provided further ammunition for the advocates of public ownership.

THE GROWTH OF BRITISH ROAD SERVICES, 1948—53.

Nationalisation of road haulage firms began in 1948. By 1951, British Road Services had virtually acquired full control of long-distance road haulage. Within the space of three years, the structure of this sector of the road transport industry had been changed beyond recognition. Instead of the thousands of tiny units in sharp competition there was now a unified organisation, under centralised control, seeking to establish common policies and practices throughout the country. The task before the Road Haulage Executive could be summarised : (i) to acquire over 3,500 undertakings, (ii) to weld these together into one organisation, (iii) to introduce new systems of operation and control, (iv) to secure the full co-operation of management and men; (v) to plan its development under the control of the British Transport Commission, in consultation with the four other transport executives.²

Clearly the fate of the experiment depended in the ability of the Executive to devise bureaucratic systems of control which were capable of realising these objectives, but which would not affect the flexible operation regarded as essential in road transport. What were its assets in this task? As has been shown, its inheritance was very mixed. Only a tiny fraction of its staff had worked in organisations even of moderate size, and thus the fund of experience was low. On the other hand, goodwill and enthusiasm were in fair supply, both from the workers who had long campaigned for nationalisation, and from a number of newcomers, attracted by the prospect of a new and constructive enterprise. However, these advantages might quickly be lost if the new organisation failed to live up to their high hopes. On top of this, the Executive was subject to continuous hostile propaganda from the still considerable private sector of the industry.

From the beginning, the new enterprise expanded at a phenomenal rate. Total vehicle strength rose from 8,208 in January 1949 to 42,000 by January 1953; total employees in the same period from 23,000 to 70,000. Between 1949 and 1951, the Executive took over 3,000 firms at a cost of £80,000,000; in the summer of 1949, it was acquiring businesses at the rate of 200 a week.

Undertakings acquired were allotted to one of nine Divisions. Eight of these were separate geographical areas; the ninth consisted chiefly of the national network of services built up by Pickfords', known as

the Special Traffic (Pickfords') Division. Within each Division were three further levels of management : Districts, of which there were thirty at the end of 1951; Groups, of which there were 227; while the lowest level of management was to be found at the Depots, numbering just over 1,000. Even here the size of the unit was three or four times greater than the commonest form under private ownership.

Within this general framework, the new bureaucratic pattern was quickly established. An examination of the departmental structure gives a clear picture of the growth of new functions and lines of control. At headquarters, with a staff of 250, ten specialist departments were set up, each with its own chief Officer reporting direct to the Executive ; these were Secretariat and Legal, Organisation, Finance and accounts, Public Relations, Staff and Welfare, Traffic, Engineering, Surveying, Stores, Research. At each divisional headquarters, with a staff of approximately 60, there were six specialist departments, with chief officers responsible to a Divisional Manager. Each District headquarters had a staff of approximately 30, with five departmental officers (accounts, staff and welfare, traffic, engineering and stores) responsible to the District Manager. The Group originally had three specialist departments—accounts, traffic and engineering. With the introduction of these new departments, centralised systems of control in specialised and unfamiliar activities were quickly established throughout the industry. Thus the framework was provided within which the Executive could set out to realise the unified services and the high technical standards required by Parliament.

THE RECRUITMENT OF STAFF

The recruitment of staff for these new centres of administration and paper work was a major problem. The appointment of the Road Haulage Executive itself was a prerogative of the Minister of Transport, who gave it a composition little different from other nationalised Boards. Ex-managing directors sat alongside ex-trade-union officials. The Chairman was a soldier formerly in army transport.³ In doing this, the Minister followed the general requirements of the Transport Act, that he should select members from persons experienced " in transport, industrial, commercial or financial matters, in administration or in the organisation of workers ".

Once appointed, the Executive was responsible for selecting its senior managers—in many ways one of its most difficult tasks. The structure of the industry before the war allowed few men the opportunity to become experienced in the methods and outlook of large organisations, which meant that the Executive often had to go outside the industry to recruit senior staff. This was particularly the case where specialised functions were being introduced for the first time. To bring the administration in line with modern business practice, qualified accountants were required at each of the main levels of management—

Headquarters, District and Group—so that an industry which had previously regarded the keeping of accounts as an annoyance, now numbered its accountants in hundreds and its accounts clerks in thousands. Other examples where new recruits needed to be brought into the industry were in engineering, and in personnel management, both of which had never previously been recognised as specialised functions. The high rate of acquisition, too, meant a need for staff qualified in estate management.

The new management structure also called for large numbers of senior clerical staff ; some of these were recruited from men already in the industry, but many had to be sought elsewhere. Such men would be called upon to exercise initiative and responsibility, and to be suitable for further promotion.

Below this level, the range of clerical jobs was immensely widened, especially in the traffic and accounts departments in which over half the jobs of this type were found. It is difficult to say how far nationalisation meant an absolute increase in the numbers of clerical workers in long-distance road haulage : without doubt the numbers of administrative and senior clerical staff increased, but whether the proportion of clerks serving them was appreciably in excess of those in the sector of the industry before nationalisation is debatable. Unfortunately, few reliable figures are available, except for data derived from the 1931 Census on the distribution of the labour force of individual industries by function. This lists 6,962 clerical workers out of 168,421 employed in road cartage and haulage, representing 4·7% of the total. Administrative and clerical employees accounted for approximately 20% of British Road Services staff between 1948–53, as Table 1 shows. This fact, and the steady increase in numbers of clerical staff in the early years, were repeatedly held up by political opponents as evidence of red tape, and of an attempt to “run the industry from Whitehall”. But the figure of 14,900 clerical and administrative employees in March 1953 does not, however, represent an increased proportion in this type of work compared with 1949. As it was at this time that the Executive was acquiring the larger private firms and their staffs, it is reasonable to assume that the proportion of 20% is similar to that which obtained in the bigger enterprises.

This, however, is a small point when set against the greatly-increased proportion of white-collar workers over the nationalised industry as a whole. In the space of a few years the informal and often unconventional practices of thousands of small firms were swept away : in their place a centralised administrative machine was set up, which put a premium on order, predictability and method. “Making up the books” was no longer a family ritual, performed once a week in the front parlour : it was a daily process, performed by qualified staff. Every development in this period served to emphasise the loss of individuality on the part of what were once fiercely independent units ; from the regular issue of directives from higher levels (including the

“Management Manual”) to the increased use of machines, especially teleprinters, all stressing the interdependence and sameness of routines all over the country. Such an administrative revolution clearly called for a great increase in the size of the white-collar group.

Table 1. *The Growth of British Road Services, 1948-1953*

Date as on 31st March	Vehicle Strength	Total Employees	Total Clerical and administrative Employees	Clerical and administrative employees as % of Total Employees
1949	9,913	26,315	5,419	20
1950	36,907	70,298	12,621	18
1951	39,623	76,277	15,357	20
1952	40,292	78,203	16,284	20
1953	38,553	70,899	14,928	21

AN ANALYSIS OF RECRUITMENT IN A DIVISION

Table 2 shows the background of 304 senior clerical and administrative staff in one of the larger divisions in September 1953. By this time the process of recruitment was complete, and the Conservative Transport act of that year which began partial de-nationalisation had yet to take effect. The table then, gives a picture of the age, education and previous field of employment of senior officials in the new administration.

The information presented has been classified for two Groups, ‘A’ and ‘B’. Group A includes 113 staff earning more than £768 p.a. at that time, and is the senior category. Group B consists of 191 staff earning between £550-£750 p.a. Each section has been divided into age groups 30-44 and 45-64: no employees under 29 were found in Group A, but the 13 in Group B are analysed separately.

Three main areas of interest may be distinguished: (i) the educational background, (ii) the proportions of staff recruited from within the industry and from outside, (iii) the areas of employment from which outsiders were drawn.

The educational information shows that the majority of the 304 had not attended after the age of 14, but that in the higher-salaried group, it was more usual to have attended grammar school. The cases where no educational data are available may almost certainly be added to the “elementary” totals.

About 60% of the two groups taken together were already in the industry before nationalisation, the percentage increasing with the age of the employees. On the other hand, one out of every six employees

Table 2. *Age, Education and Recruitment of 304 Administrative and Senior Clerical Employees in one Division of British Road Services, September, 1953*

Age Group	Group 'A'		Group 'B'			Total
	30-34	54-64	Under 29	30-44	45-64	
Total in group	51	62	13	84	94*	304
<i>Education</i>						
University	—	2	—	—	2	4
Grammar Technical	28	28	7	35	26	124
Elementary	17	23	4	31	50	125
No Data	6	9	2	18	16	51
<i>Last Area of Employment before Nationalisation</i>						
Already in road haulage	23	41	5	47	62	178
Total Newcomers	28	21	8	37	32	126
Transport	3	6	2	4	5	20
Central and Local Govt.	2	2	2	—	5	11
Armed Forces	3	1	1	1	1	7
Manufacturing						
Industry	3	3	—	6	—	12
Retail Business	3	1	—	4	2	10
Accountants	2	—	—	7	3	12
No Data	6	6	3	11	11	37

* Includes 2 employees over 65.

recruited since nationalisation was over the age of 40. In the higher salary range the Division was more dependent on outside recruitment.

In considering the fields from which newcomers came, the immediate impression is that no one industry or occupation was dominant. Of the six categories recognised, transport not unnaturally provided most recruits (chiefly from the railways). Accountants made up almost 10% of the newcomers, showing the rapid growth in this branch of management. Of greater interest perhaps is the fact that of the newcomers, 64, or more than half the total, moved into jobs similar to those which they had been doing.

GRADING AND SALARIES

The absence of any hierarchical system of administrative and clerical grades, with a corresponding salary scale, did not long persist in the new bureaucracy. Within two years of nationalisation an elaborate grading system had been established, in which status was determined by the nature of the work and the position in the management hierarchy. Districts required more high grade positions than groups, and so on. Personal considerations were firmly excluded. "It must be stressed," said the Executive in a statement of policy, "that *posts** are being

* Author's italics.

classified and that the quality as distinct from the quantity of work arising from the duties of a post will be the determining factor fitness for promotion in the absence of a suitable vacancy will not warrant regrading". Such practices were in marked contrast to most experiences of private ownership, when a clerk's salary depended wholly on his personal relations with the owner.

Below a salary level of £630 (in 1950) six grades of staff were officially recognised. At the lowest level class IV, rising to class I, and above this, two special classes 'A' and 'B'. The Executive distinguished the duties of these various classes as follows : Class IV, clerks performing routine work in all departments ; class III, clerks whose work would still be largely routine in character, but who might be required to take charge " of a small section of the work of an office ", or be entrusted with the supervision of work similar to his own. Much the same criterion applied in Class II, except that responsibilities would be greater, and possibly of a specialised nature, e.g., a cashier. A post in Class I called for responsibility, initiative, and supervising ability ; its occupant might be directly responsible to a manager at the next level in the hierarchy. The two special classes were to include junior members of management, e.g., superintendents at the smaller depots, and traffic assistants, staff (personnel) assistants, and accountants at the smaller groups.

These classifications were subsequently agreed by the two trade unions representing clerical workers, the Transport Salaried Staffs' Association (formerly the Railway Clerks Association) and the Transport and General Workers' Union. The activities of these two unions were given enormous impetus by the requirements of the Transport Act that the industry should set up machinery for the negotiation of wages and salaries, and for consultation between management and workers on safety, health, welfare and efficiency. This development naturally strengthened the bargaining position and status of clerical staff, and facilitated the creation of a system of graded posts, as this was in keeping with the desire of the unions for a clearly formulated promotion policy. The collective agreement on grading allowed for promotion to a higher grade, based on suitability, experience and professional qualifications where relevant.

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE NEW BUREAUCRACY

These were some of the highlights of the rapid and far-reaching changes in the road haulage industry between 1948-53. In the space of three years, complex bureaucratic systems of control were imposed on an industry whose economic structure seemed like some relic of an earlier age. Into this time was concentrated a process of development which in most other industries, ' normal ' economic forces had achieved only over many decades. The physical patterns of the take-over were formidable enough : but such a process also required tremendous adjustments on the part of those who had known the industry in

its former state. The days of fierce cut-throat competition, of buccaneering attitudes, of a disposition to evade the law, were over, and the industry was now under the control of a vast centralised authority, whose *raison d'être* was to substitute the rational order of the large-scale organisation for the informal circumstances of the past. Many human problems were created, both for managers and men, by this upheaval.

The problem of the 'diehard' manager to some extent confronted all the nationalised industries, but in road haulage it was especially acute. The small-scale nature of the industry meant that many operators retained by the Executive as managers had been expropriated by none other than their new employer. Thus the Executive was often dealing with a manager who harboured a strong feeling of resentment towards nationalisation, and who was little inclined to change his behaviour in response to central directives. And even the manager who welcomed it or who was largely indifferent to the change, found some difficulty in accepting the intervention of specialists in every conceivable subject, backed by the authority of specialists at all levels of the management hierarchy. Previously in matters such as accounts and personnel, he had exercised full control (if only through his freedom to ignore them), and now he was subjected to interference by "outsiders".

A major task of the executive, therefore, was to create a corporate spirit among its senior staff, and to secure their support for its policies. Many efforts were made in this direction. From the beginning, considerable authority was delegated to the Division, in order to bring the focus of co-ordination closer to the operating level; Divisional Managers had great independence and were in fact sometimes known as the "Barons". In the opinion of many local managers, this independence was inadequately distributed down the line, but attempts were made to enlist their support by regular conferences at the various levels of the management hierarchy. For example, Group Managers would meet regularly at District headquarters to discuss operating results and policy. This managerial consultation was widely used for specialist staff. Divisional specialists regularly attended national level meetings, where proposed policies were recommended and debated. On their return to the Division, divisional officers would hold similar conferences with their subordinates at District level. In this way, a serious attempt was made to secure a full understanding of the nature and purpose of policies before they were put into effect. This machinery was severely tested at such times as the reorganisation of groups in 1951, in which the District took over many of the accounting functions previously carried out at group level.

The diehard manager proved to be not the only traditionalist in road haulage. Many of the workers, especially drivers, found the ordered world under public ownership irksome compared with the free-and-easy atmosphere of the past, for rationalisation of services

put an end to many of the pleasures as well as the hardships under private ownership. In return for the greater security and regular wages offered by British Road Services, the driver often had to forfeit traditional advantages: for example, his complete freedom when out on a job, including the search for a return load, and the extra cash from the boss for a job "well done" (which often meant illegally done). Under the new system, "the office" prepared his schedules, at the delivery point "the office" gave him his return load: while breaking the law meant the risk of dismissal. Controlled timing and new systems of operation such as "directional services" required men to work in a strange and often irksome manner; routes were broken down into sections, and a vehicle might have several drivers between collection and delivery point. The driver became like the worker on the assembly line, who sees only part of the job, and never the whole. Sometimes the controls broke down; an attempt to extend supervision over the driver on the road by introducing mobile road patrols aroused intense opposition and eventually a serious strike; the scheme was later abandoned. Many of the innovations introduced in this period are not yet accepted.

In seeking the co-operation of workers, the device of consultation was widely used. Committees for joint consultation on questions of welfare and efficiency were required to be set up at all levels. At the top was a national committee representing headquarters management and union leaders; at the bottom were over 200 local joint committees (at group level) where the group manager and his assistants met representatives of the various grades of worker elected by their fellows. For once a bureaucracy was attempting to secure the understanding of those whose working lives were shaped by the new systems of control; and further, to secure their active support by identifying them with policy-making. But this was not what many workers had hoped for, a form of workers' control; the lines of managerial authority were not seriously challenged, for the committees' rôle was strictly advisory.

This attempt to develop a new relationship between managers and managed was at once the strongest and yet the weakest element in the position of the Executive. The foregoing has shown that it had frequently to take decisions which called for great changes in the lives and attitudes of many of its employees—both for managers and men. Consultation could soften the blow, and might even make the victim welcome it, provided that it was properly used. Often this was the case, especially where reorganisation or closure of premises—matters of immediate practical concern—were involved. But equally often managers and men refused the opportunity. Diehard managers resented consultation, regarding it as dictation by the worker. Similarly, those workers who had looked forward to nationalisation as the end of capitalism, argued that the "same old gang" were still in power, and that consultation was just another trick.

Considering the speed of events, it now seems improbable that any programme of training could have overcome these difficulties. But it may be questioned whether the Executive was sufficiently conscious of the human problems of adjustment created. There was undoubtedly a failure to explain to local managers just what was expected of them on the consultative committee, and there was, not unnaturally, marked variation in the conduct and in the effectiveness of local committees. More serious was the failure to use managers as means of communicating to workers some idea of the purposes of nationalisation. In consequence the task was left to the full-time union official who could do no more than explain it as he had always done—in the language of the political platform. Faced with the difference between this ideal, and the reality of a bureaucratically-administered large-scale organisation, workers were sometimes bewildered and troublesome.

It is now clear that the rate of change was so great that many problems went unnoticed. The physical problems of acquisition, and of building up new services, dominated management's policy and on occasion the human element was left to adjust itself as best it could. This neglect of the human element was, to some extent, the result of a mistaken attitude; the workers wanted nationalisation, it was argued, and they would co-operate. But the changes which management made in industrial organisation and working methods had social consequences which were not foreseen, and many workers soon forgot their ideology in the face of threats to familiar patterns of life.

CONCLUSION

The change in industrial organisation which has been described was of a peculiarly intense and rapid nature. Not only were operating conditions transformed by the advent of a large-scale organisation, but for the first time the administrative sector took on a recognisable form. Looking closely at the expansion and developing structure of this group of employees is at times rather like viewing a speeded up motion picture; the characters jerk on their way at tremendous pace, wheeling and swaying, always seeming to court disaster, yet somehow remaining upright. Indeed, the whole process has an experimental air about it, which makes it of special interest to the sociologist. What light does it throw on the nature of modern industrial bureaucracy?

At this stage, three comments would appear to be relevant to the question. First, at the end of the period 1948–53, the new bureaucracy had become sufficiently sure of itself to be thinking about reorganisation and modified systems of control. For the most part, its immediate need for senior staff was satisfied, and it was developing a cadet scheme for training future managers. All this had been achieved in a period of full employment, and of intense competition for staff with other employers, in which the existing salaries paid by nationalised industries were said to be a disadvantage. This in itself

is an interesting comment; it shows how quickly an industry, undeveloped managerially, could be brought in line with modern practice.

Second, in explaining the rapid expansion in the size of the bureaucracy, the major factor (apart from the scale of the enterprise), was clearly the introduction of a hierarchical system of management, with groups of specialists at most levels. The size of this group, with its attendant clerical staff, was frequently held up as proof that the industry was highly centralised, but this is questionable. At least part of the increase in administrative and clerical staff was the result of the Executives' attempt to *delegate* authority. One example of this was the original decision to locate a full accounts department, under a Group accountant, at each of the 200 Groups. In fact, it can be argued that decentralisation in the large organisation often requires an expansion of local bureaucracies, if local management is to be sufficiently served with information (about operations, accounts, personnel, etc.) on which to base the decisions made possible by extended authority. That size alone does not determine the intensity of bureaucratic control is suggested by the considerable variations in the proportions of clerical and administrative staffs in other nationalised industries—coal 5%, railways 16%, electricity generation 12%. The question of how far the control exercised by a bureaucracy depends on its size relative to the numbers in the organisation deserves closer study.

Finally, what can be learned from the human reactions observed during these developments? Supporters of nationalisation might conclude that managers and men showed a marked capacity to withstand a rapid rate of change; opponents, that the ends of reorganisation were only achieved at the cost of the initiative and enthusiasm of the local manager. In the absence of any common standard of judgement, there can be no final answer to these points; it can only be said that evidence can be brought forward to support either of them. It appears, however, that the human problems might have been far more severe if less attention had been paid to consultation both within the management, and between management and workers. Would a slower rate of change ultimately have benefited the organisation? On the whole, this is to be doubted. It would have been possible to wait longer to recruit and train senior managers and so raise standards; against this the chances of persuading workers to accept change in small but frequent doses would almost certainly have been far less. The clean break with the past symbolized by the new organisation and its methods, with the emotional element for those who had sought nationalisation for many years, was under these circumstances far better probably than a policy of gradualism. In any case, it must not be forgotten that the Executive's policy had its origins in a political programme and that it was expected to show results in a relatively short period.

To sum up, the growth of British Road Services between 1948-53 shows that it is possible to implement in a remarkably short space of time a vast programme of industrial change in which all the elements of modern industrial organisation are speedily assembled. But it is equally clear that such an assembly is a social process, creating a network of unfamiliar relationships, and new possibilities of tension and antagonism. Weber, in his classic analysis, regarded bureaucracy as "capable of attaining the highest degree of efficiency and . . . in this sense the most rational known means of carrying out imperative control over human beings". Examples such as the one studied here remind us that bureaucracies, despite their advantages as administrative organs, are by no means immune from every-day problems of human relationships and conflict. The fact that we are comparatively ignorant of the precise nature of these problems also reminds us of one of the central weaknesses of the sociologist's position: that despite a certain skill in tracing and assessing the significance of social developments, the complex of human motives and reactions which lies at the heart of them remains largely an unknown quantity.

NOTES

¹ See Professor Chester's paper.

² At that time the Railway, Docks and Inland Waterways, Hotels, and Road Passenger Executives.

³ Contrary to general belief (especially among trade unionists), this was not a common practice. Of the 47 full-time national Board members appointed at the time of nationalisation, only three had been high-ranking service officers.

A NOTE ON SOURCES

Most of the material for this paper was obtained through interviews with road haulage employees. There is very little documentary evidence about conditions in the industry before nationalisation, except for official reports such as the Baillie Committee 1937 (Cmd. 5440). Details of the organisation of British Road Services, staff figures, operating results, etc., can be found in the annual reports of the British Transport Commission. An account of middle management in nationalised road haulage is given in "Management under Nationalisation", a report prepared for the Acton Society by Professor T. E. Chester and the author of this paper.

A Movement Towards Co-determination in the Dutch Coal Mining Industry

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The personnel management of the Dutch coal-mining industry may boast a deep-rooted tradition of long standing. As early as 1906—only a few years after the establishment of Staatsmijnen in 1902—the then Government issued the following directive to the first Director-General: "To ensure a smooth running of the enterprise it is primarily essential that the workers be satisfied with the way in which they are treated Nothing can contribute more to the achievement of this end than the conviction that the 'master's eye' is continuously turned not only to the technical side of the business, but also to the interests of the personnel, and that all complaints of the workers will be heard and examined in an unbiassed manner It is first and foremost in this field that Staatsmijnen should set an example to all other industries." That this line has been constantly adhered to is illustrated by a significant event that occurred in 1917, the same year that saw the serious country-wide strike which was called owing to the war conditions (the only strike that the modern Dutch mining industry has known in the sixty years of its existence). Some time before the strike, the most powerful trade-union (the Christian Mineworkers Union) had made a proposal for the institution of a body of joint consultation as a means by which serious difficulties and strikes could be prevented. The proposal was accepted by the managements and the "Contact Committee for the Mining Industry" was set up. The committee was composed of representatives of the managements of the statemines and the privately-owned mines and of representatives appointed by the trade-unions. The work done by the committee has been a very important factor in the history of labour-relations in the Dutch mining industry.

In this connection it is to be remarked that in matters of composition and procedure the committee was not liable to any legal compulsion. The committee was based exclusively on an agreement between employers and employees and on the willingness of both parties not to enforce by struggle what could be settled by joint consultation. It is not surprising that the work of the "Contact Committee" has been far from easy. More than once discussions were very heated and on several occasions the divergence of opinion was so fundamental that co-operation was in danger of being terminated. In the twenties and thirties the concept of "joint consultation" was still a novelty to which both sides were not yet accustomed. The more remarkable

therefore that the willingness to co-operate was so strong that all difficulties could be overcome. The committee has carried on its activities till after the outbreak of World War II. In the twenty-four years of its existence the committee has, by laborious work and much trial-and-error, made a great contribution to the creation of a mentality which was to favour the development of a more extensive co-operation between employers and employees after the war. Shortly after the liberation this co-operation was established on the basis of a " Mine-Statute " issued by the Government (20 June, 1945).

The Mine-Statute distinguishes four types of bodies whose activities are concerned respectively with the mining industry as a whole, the separate companies, the big, more or less independent, component parts of the companies and with the separate work units. The highest of these bodies, the M.I.R. (*Mijnindustrieraad*)¹ is the legislative authority for the whole mining industry. It is composed of a neutral chairman appointed by the Government and some twenty members, ten of whom delegated by the managements, four by the mine-officers and six by labour. The representatives of officers and labour are appointed by the Government from a nomination list made up by the recognized trade unions.

The M.I.R. is charged with a threefold task:

- (a) promoting the well-being of the country's economy;
- (b) promoting the best possible economical and social management of the mining companies;
- (c) promoting the social security of all persons employed in the mining industry.

For the execution of these duties the M.I.R. has been granted extensive powers, which are both of a regulating and of an advisory nature. Its regulating power is concerned with the whole field of wages and other labour conditions. In addition, the M.I.R. is authorized to enact regulations with regard to the engagement, promotion and dismissal of personnel, the prevention or overcoming of labour shortages, the provision of more work and the fighting of unemployment, the vocational training of personnel, the employment of partly incapacitated workers and the arrangement of social provisions. As a rule the regulations made by the M.I.R. need the approval of the Minister of Economic Affairs. As soon as this approval is obtained, the regulations are legally binding upon all persons working in the mining industry. Consequently it may be said that the organization of the mining industry bears a public-legal character.

The regulating power of the M.I.R. was not restricted to what is usually understood by the term " social matters ", but also extended into the economic field. The M.I.R. was authorized to direct the mining companies as to how the budgets, balance sheets and accounts were to be arranged. How far the authority of the M.I.R. reached becomes particularly clear from the fact that the supervision of the

companies has been entrusted to the Council. The companies' revenue and expenditure estimates as well as their plans of extension or changes, mechanisation or rationalisation were likewise subject to the previous approval of the council. This supervisory power even included the right to suspend or dismiss a company director with whom co-operation had been found to be impossible.

Now let us consider the highly important question as to how in the ten years of its existence the M.I.R. has made use of the far-reaching powers mentioned above.

In the sector of social matters, wages and other labour conditions several important regulations have been drawn up which, for the greater part, have won the approval of the Minister. It is very important and gratifying that these regulations were carried either unanimously or by a strong majority of votes. One of these regulations provides for the administration of justice within the industry in the case of disputes bearing on the interpretation of labour conditions. Not less significant is the fact that the M.I.R. has exercised much restraint with regard to the supervision of the mining companies. The council has not made use of its extensive power in this field. This fact points to the existence of a good understanding between the council as a legislative authority and the Managing Boards as the highest governing bodies.

Generally speaking it may be said that, after an experimental period of ten years, it affords much satisfaction that the M.I.R. has succeeded in fulfilling its task as a body standing above the parties concerned. It is not the party interests, but the responsibility for the well-being of the mining industry as a whole that has been the guiding principle for the council's activities. Especially when confronted with difficult situations and strained relations, the M.I.R. has proved itself a worthy successor to the former Contact Committee and succeeded in preserving industrial peace in the mining industry.

As mentioned earlier, the M.I.R. is the highest authority within the industry. Under this body we have the "Ondernemingsraden"² (O.R.), of which there are five: one for the state mines and one for each of the four privately-owned mining companies. The task of these committees comprises the promotion of the best-possible economic and social management of each individual company and the creation and preservation of the atmosphere needed for attaining this end.

The O.R. differs from the M.I.R. on many points.

First of all it has a different composition. Of its fifteen members three are appointed by the Managements, two by the Boards of Directors, four by the recognized officers' associations and six by the recognized trade unions of the workmen. To ensure parity of votes, each of the former five members is entitled to cast two votes. The chair is held by one of the Managing Directors of the company, or by a representative delegated by him, who at the same time is a member of the committee.

As regards its authority—and it is particularly in this respect that the O.R. shows the greatest difference with the M.I.R.—it should be remarked that the committees have no regulating powers but exclusively a consultative and advisory voice. Unlike the M.I.R., the O.R. is not a legislative and governing committee but a consultative and advisory body. The consultative part of its work is chiefly directed towards economic matters; in the O.R. of the state mines estimates and year-plans are extensively discussed. The only stipulation made with regard to the personnel management is that the managing directors can only be appointed and dismissed in co-operation with the O.R. At Staatsmijnen this has led to the usage of subjecting important personnel mutations to a previous discussion in the O.R. For the rest these committees are entitled to consider all other matters which, in the members' opinion, are of importance for their company. The process of development has given much reason for rejoicing. In the course of the ten years behind us they have grown into bodies that have the confidence of managements and employees alike.

The management of Staatsmijnen has proceeded from the standpoint that the O.R. can only perform its task as a consultative body if the members are fully informed of the managing policy of the enterprise. For this reason the management has started upon a systematic treatment of their policy in the O.R. A striking fact that deserves to be mentioned here is the wide and keen interest which the members, including the representatives of the workmen whose everyday duties are restricted to a small section of the enterprise, are showing in these matters. It has proved possible even for the representatives of labour to obtain a certain "managerial attitude", an acquirement which is very beneficial to the fruitfulness of consultation.

The development of the O.R. clearly shows that "democracy in industry" need not be an empty slogan but can certainly be realized, provided both parties are of good will.

It is obvious that the development proceeds slowly and requires much tact and patience, especially of the chairman.

While the O.R. is working to the benefit of the enterprise as a whole, it has delegated those parts of its task that are concerned with the principal divisions to the "Ring"⁸ ("Raad-In-Nieuwe-Gemeenschap" = "council in the new society"). At Staatsmijnen there are twelve of these committees; i.e., four for the four collieries, two for the two coking plants, one for the nitrogen works and one for the head-office. Just like the O.R., the Ring is a consultative body; its task consists in the furtherance of daily co-operation between all persons employed in a given division of the enterprise.

The Ring normally consists of eight members. The chair is held by the manager of the division or by a representative designated by him. Of the other seven members three represent the officers while the other four are labour representatives. They are elected by the confidants, who will be discussed later on, but the nomination of candidates is

made by the trade unions. Apart from this procedure it is also possible to be put in nomination by twenty officers or by 100 workmen. In its fortnightly meetings the Ring discusses all matters which the members consider of importance for their own division. These subjects include the operating results, absenteeism, labour turnover, economy in materials and safety. The Ring also has advisory power with regard to the promotion, mutation and dismissal of personnel.

When considering the activities of the Ring—as well as those of the M.I.R. and the O.R.—attention is attracted by the changes which the development of present-day industrial life is bringing about in the managing procedures. In this sphere, too, a slow but irresistible advance of democratic principles and tendencies can be observed. It is to be noted, however, that these changes in the managing procedures are to be attributed neither to a decrease in the need for control on the side of labour nor to a decline in labour's willingness to accept this control, but to the fact that labour, in some way or another, wants to have a say in the decisions taken by the management. What should be pursued is a change in the "decision-making activity". In order that this end can be achieved it is essential for the management to satisfy two requirements, namely the willingness to enter into consultation and discussion with labour, instead of merely restricting themselves to the taking of decisions as was done in the past, and the capacity of guiding this joint consultation along constructive lines. This willingness to consult and discuss is the more difficult to acquire as the management has been longer accustomed to the system of non-consultative decision-making. Although, here again, things cannot be rushed, it is gratifying to note how the insight that present-day industrial life calls for a new type of management is constantly gaining ground. In the course of the development of the Ringen another important thing has become evident. Greater willingness to enter into straightforward and honest consultation on the management's side stimulates the workers to take a more active interest in their work and creates an atmosphere of confidence which is highly beneficial to human relations in industry. The last but not the least place in the system is held by the confidants. The confidants are appointed for a period of 2 years by the work units, i.e., groups which, under the control of one superintendent and in daily contact with each other, are engaged upon a joint task. The size of the groups varies from 5 to about 75 persons. The task of the confidant consists in the furtherance of co-operation, diligence and responsibility in an atmosphere of devotion and good understanding. He tries to pursue this end in the first place by setting a good example to others and furthermore by acting as a mediator between the working unit and the superintendent if complaints or difficulties should arise.

Finally, he may give advice to the superintendent—no matter whether or not he has been asked to do so. The task of the confidants is as important as it is difficult. In order that the confidant be capable

of mediating successfully, he should have the confidence not only of his colleagues but also of his superintendent. He is adviser to his superior, but this causes no change in his position as a member of the subordinate staff. In the discussions with his supervisor he is supposed to speak frankly without adopting an attitude of being the supervisor's co-manager.

The confidant can carry out his task properly only if the superintendent shows understanding and appreciation of this form of co-determination and industrial democracy.

Owing to the large number of persons involved—at Staatsmijnen alone about 850—it is very difficult to give an accurate description of the process of development through which the institution of confidants has gone during the ten years of its existence. However it may have been, it is an encouraging fact that the number of work units electing their own confidants increases with each following election and, more particularly, that the type of persons elected appears to be increasingly more suited for this function.

The movement towards co-determination in the Dutch mining industry may now look back upon the experience assembled in a period of ten years. In the course of these years two general acts have been accepted by which this development has been piloted in a fixed course: the Statutory Trade Organization Act and the Act governing the institution of Company Consultative Committees (O.R.).

In the first act outlines and principles are specified for the organization of the Netherlands industry as a whole, while the second provides for the institution, powers, composition and working procedures of the O.R. in all enterprises where more than 25 persons are employed.

In order to include the mining industry in the national regulation a new Mine Statute was issued in 1954. In the new Mine Statute several important alterations have been included, chiefly aimed at warranting the independence and autonomy of the separate enterprises. For this reason the far-reaching powers of the M.I.R. with regard to the supervision of the enterprises have been repealed.

The principles of co-determination in the mining industry, however, have been fully maintained. It is only at the top—the M.I.R.—that participation has the character of co-decision. The M.I.R., in which employers and employees are represented on a parity basis, remains a legislative body which issues regulations that are legally binding upon the whole mining industry. The new Mine Statute stipulates that these regulations can only be passed by a two-third majority of the number of votes cast. The regulations remain subject to the approval of the Minister of Economic Affairs.

Participation on the lower levels is identical with joint consultation and joint deliberation. To render the results even more fruitful than they have been in the past, it is essential that in the years to come emphasis be put on instruction and education.

The management of the Dutch mining industry are convinced that the pursuit of participation is not only a concern of labour and its organizations but also a matter in which the employers themselves are closely concerned.

Failure on this point on the employers' side will inevitably lead to erosion of the management's prerogatives with the result that the very nature of the employer's function will be affected. The "management-must-manage" principle also applied to matters concerning the development of democratic ideas in industrial life.

NOTES

¹ "Mining Industry Council".

² Company Consultative Committees.

³ Works Consultative Committees.

La fin de l'émigration dans la Ruhr et l'évolution de la structure et de l'organisation sociales de la sidérurgie allemande

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QUELQUES REMARQUES ET DEFINITIONS PRELIMINAIRES

Il existe des relations multiples de conditionnement et apparemment même de détermination entre l'entreprise industrielle et la région dans laquelle elle est située. Ces relations sont réciproques, c'est-à-dire qu'elles partent aussi de l'entreprise, dans la mesure où cette dernière joue individuellement ou collectivement un rôle dominant dans la région. Ces relations semblent observables dans à peu près tous les domaines de la vie sociale: démographie, économie, géographie humaine, attitudes et conscience sociales, etc.

Nous définissons l'ordre social d'une entreprise industrielle comme le produit des exigences de la coopération et de "patterns" dominants d'organisation sociale. Les exigences de la coopération elles-mêmes sont déterminées par la production visée, les installations techniques disponibles et les facultés, qualifications, attitudes, aspirations et goûts professionnels (dans le sens le plus large) de la main d'oeuvre employée ou à employer. Les principes d'organisation sociale peuvent être déduits des normes et principes en vigueur dans la société globale ou dérivés par analogie de systèmes sociaux plus anciens. Il semble que la troisième possibilité théorique, à savoir la constitution immédiate de principes d'organisation originaux pour un système social nouveau soit rare, sinon pratiquement impossible.

Il est bien entendu que nous employons la notion de causalité seulement dans le sens généralement admis dans les sciences sociales, et qui n'exclut jamais l'interférence d'un troisième facteur qui n'entre pas directement dans le modèle précis de recherche ou de démonstration. Ceci concerne particulièrement le facteur technologique dont l'importance primordiale dans le domaine de l'organisation industrielle ne doit jamais être oublié, quoiqu'il soit lui-même dans une certaine mesure soumis à l'influence des facteurs qui nous occupent plus spécialement ici.

Cet exposé utilise particulièrement les résultats des recherches suivantes:

1. Pirker, Braun et Lutz: une série de recherches rapides dans plusieurs grandes entreprises de la sidérurgie allemande et des industries de transformation annexes sur les éléments de structure, organisation, comportement et attitudes sociaux saisissables par des méthodes indirectes; publiées dans: "Arbeiter, Management, Mitbestimmung",

Dusseldorf et Stuttgart, 1955 (édition française raccourcie en préparation aux Editions Ouvrières).

2. Direction sociale de la Dormund-Hoerder Hüttenunion (conseiller technique : B. Lutz) : plusieurs petites études sur les changements dans la structure du travail et des aspects de l'organisation sociale dans les deux usines sidérurgiques de cette société ; une partie des résultats sera publiée dans : *Industriebetrieb und Öffentlichkeit vor den sozialen Aufgaben der Gegenwart*, en préparation chez Ring-Verlag, Stuttgart und Düsseldorf.

Des recoupements ont été faits avec plusieurs recherches de sociologie industrielle effectuées parallèlement à celles mentionnées plus haut par : Institut für Sozialforschung à Francfort (*Betriebsklima*, Francfort, 1945) et les équipes du Dr. Popitz (manuscrit ronéotypé, publication en préparation) et du Dr. Neuloh (*Die deutsche Betriebsverfassung*, Tübingen, 1956), Sozialforschungsstelle, Dortmund.

I. LA PERIODE D'IMMIGRATION

Le développement rapide de la sidérurgie et des charbonnages dans le dernier tiers du 19^{ème} siècle fit de la Ruhr un foyer constant et puissant d'immigration. D'après des enquêtes et estimations (faites en particulier par la Sozialforschungsstelle, Dortmund) la moitié au plus des familles vivant actuellement dans la Ruhr environ sont originaires de la région même ou des régions avoisinantes. Le reste est constitué par des anciens immigrés, dont la grande majorité provient de la main d'œuvre rurale, de l'Allemagne orientale et de la Pologne occidentale. Nos enquêtes dans plusieurs grandes usines ont prouvé qu'il y a parmi les ouvriers entrés avant 1930 un pourcentage d'immigrés de la première génération de 30% et plus.

La période d'immigration proprement dite se termine au milieu des années 20 (rationalisation dans l'industrie de la Ruhr, changements politiques dans les régions traditionnelles de recrutement). Mais le grand chômage autour de 1930, l'emploi massif de prisonniers et de travailleurs étrangers recrutés de force pendant la guerre, l'afflux des populations professionnellement et socialement déracinées par la guerre dans les premières années après la défaite, masquèrent jusqu'à ces dernières années le fait nouveau que l'industrie de la Ruhr ne pourra plus dorénavant compter que sur une main d'oeuvre née et grandie dans les régions limitrophes.

(A) *Les nécessités coopératives de la sidérurgie pendant la période d'immigration.*

La quasi totalité des immigrés était techniquement inexperimentée et habituée seulement à de durs travaux physiques primitifs (naturels).

Ces hommes durent être intégrés dans un processus de production qui se distingue de presque toutes les autres productions industrielles à la fois par l'ordre de grandeur des forces à dominer et de l'équipement à utiliser et par son degré relativement bas de rationalité. (Par

“rationalité” nous désignons non seulement la rationalisation proprement dite, au sens technique du mot, mais l’intelligibilité du processus de travail et la possibilité et la nécessité de le considérer en termes rationnels). Ceci signifie des risques élevés et des exigences importantes quant à la responsabilité, la qualification, l’autonomie et l’initiative pour la main d’oeuvre prise dans son ensemble. Par là est exclue la solution qu’adoptait Taylor à la même époque et vraisemblablement devant une situation parallèle, c’est-à-dire la réduction de la tâche à une fonction parcellaire dont les détails d’exécution sont pensés d’avance et imposés.

(B) *Les principes d’organisation*

Pour correspondre à ces nécessités coopératives, la sidérurgie allemande adopta au début de son développement de grande industrie un “pattern” d’organisation sociale qui présentait la plus grande conformité avec les valeurs et les “patterns” généraux d’organisation sociale de l’Allemagne à cette époque : l’organisation autoritaire et hiérarchique de l’armée du XIXe siècle.

(C) *Les caractères de l’organisation sociale*

L’organisation sociale ainsi créée est caractérisée avant tout par :

La concentration de la qualification, presque uniquement fondée sur l’expérience et la routine, sur un nombre relativement restreint de “premiers d’équipes” et de cadres inférieurs et moyens ;

La hiérarchisation des responsabilités et initiatives du premier au dernier poste ;

Le renforcement et l’élargissement du système (fonctionnel) de qualifications par un système de statuts (dont l’action s’exerce aussi à l’extérieur de l’entreprise) et qui repose en grande partie sur des discriminations ethniques et morales ;

L’existence d’un grand nombre de postes soumis à une discipline personnelle de travail très sévère, n’exigeant que de l’effort et de la résistance physiques et auxquels n’est attaché qu’un prestige professionnel et social très bas.

Ce système présentait pour les usines sidérurgiques des avantages importants :

Il s’appuyait sur les expériences sociales et professionnelles antérieures des immigrés (service militaire, travail de manoeuvre dans les grandes exploitations agricoles).

De grandes parties du personnel étaient interchangeables (donc élasticité conjoncturelle du facteur main d’oeuvre et difficulté d’organisation syndicale des immigrés) ;

Un grand nombre de tâches étaient garanties contre toute erreur ;

Il assurait une position privilégiée aux cadres dans le sens le plus large (indigènes pour la plupart, qui détenaient une expérience pré-industrielle à l’artisanat mécanique et sidérurgique), ce qui était une condition nécessaire pour leur identification avec ces principes d’organisation sociale ;

Condition optima pour la reprise des traditions sidérurgiques de la petite entreprise dans les nouvelles grandes usines.

(D) *Les conditions d'équilibre*

Ce système ne pouvait être maintenu dans un minimum d'équilibre que dans la mesure où :

Assez de main d'oeuvre était disponible sur le marché du travail ;

L'antagonisme entre les groupes privilégiés et le reste du personnel immanent au système de qualification et de statuts ne disparaissait pas ou ne perdait pas de son importance par l'établissement des relations personnelles ou de l'organisation syndicale ;

Les aspirations et perspectives d'une grande partie du personnel (et pas seulement des groupes privilégiés) en matière de formation, promotion, prestige et valeur intellectuelle de leur travail, n'entraient pas en opposition avec le caractère dichotomique de l'organisation du travail ;

Des changements technologiques ne renforçaient pas l'importance de la rationalité et de l'autonomie au détriment de la routine dans la qualification exigée.

II. PASSAGE A LA PERIODE D'AUTARCIE DEMOGRAPHIQUE

Il s'agit maintenant de savoir dans quelle mesure la cessation de l'immigration met en question les conditions d'équilibre de l'organisation sociale traditionnelle de la sidérurgie Rhénano-Westphalienne. Il nous restera ensuite à démontrer par quelques exemples sa transformation d'une part, ou d'autre part les problèmes nés d'un manque d'adaptation à ses conditions nouvelles.

(A) *Conséquences générales de la cessation de l'immigration.*

Les phénomènes suivants paraissent être d'une importance particulière dans le cadre de nos réflexions :

1°. *Vieillessement de la population active.* Ce phénomène, qui se produit aussi dans les régions industrielles normales, par suite de l'augmentation du standard de vie, c'est-à-dire par une conséquence secondaire de l'industrialisation, est renforcé, dans notre objet par le fait que les immigrants étaient en majorité des jeunes.

2°. *Amenuisement ou disparition de "l'armée de réserve industrielle".* En rapport avec les changements de la politique sociale et économique générale (plein emploi, sécurité sociale), produits aux-mêmes de l'industrialisation, une expansion industrielle continue crée une demande excédentaire de main d'oeuvre.

3°. *Urbanisation des jeunes.* Cette conséquence—vraisemblablement la plus importante—signifie que les jeunes ou futurs jeunes ouvriers de la sidérurgie se distinguent de la génération précédente par :

Une plus grande habitude de l'organisation et du machinisme moderne (conséquence des changements dans le milieu quotidien et d'une meilleure formation scolaire et professionnelle) ;

Un esprit plus rationnel et plus critique accompagné d'une certaine méfiance envers toute autorité fondée sur la "discipline" et non sur la compétence ;

Une aspiration ressentie comme légitime à la promotion professionnelle, à l'autonomie, à une certaine valorisation intellectuelle du travail ;

Un refus du travail de force (au moins dans la mesure où des conditions spéciales ne lui confèrent un certain caractère "sportif") et la disparition des attitudes traditionnelles "héroïques" envers le travail de force qui le valorisait partiellement pour les générations précédentes.

4°. *L'homogénéisation de la population et la disparition des groupes sous-privilégiés prédéterminés.* Le processus d'assimilation des immigrants paraît être achevé aujourd'hui.

L'hétérogénéité créée par l'existence de populations déracinées par la guerre n'est que provisoire. De plus, la majorité de ces groupes est originaire d'un milieu plus ou moins industriel et ne se distingue du reste de la population que par des caractères accidentels, mise à part leur ancienneté différente dans les usines.

(B) *Le facteur technologique comme cause et comme effet.*

Bien entendu, les changements que nous venons de décrire n'agissent pas seuls sur l'organisation et la structure sociale de la sidérurgie, mais se combinent de multiples façons avec le facteur technologique qui est lui-même sous certains aspects une de leurs conséquences. Ainsi donc le retard d'à peu près une génération que présentent les formes et procédés de travail dans la sidérurgie comparés à ceux de l'industrie de transformation (retard dont les conséquences sociales apparaissent nettement aujourd'hui dans la sidérurgie et particulièrement dans les charbonnages) fut en partie rendu possible par les conditions sociales particulières à la période d'immigration. La disparition de ces conditions a elle-même fortement contribué à la campagne de rationalisation et de modernisation particulièrement intense dans les dernières années et a surtout influencé le genre des transformations techniques nécessaires et possibles.

(C) *Les transformations et adaptations de l'organisation sociale visibles dès maintenant.*

1°. *La hiérarchie des salaires.* Depuis la fin de la période d'immigration on observe un nivellement à peu près régulier de la hiérarchie des salaires dû d'une part à l'augmentation du minimum vital (conséquence des nouveaux besoins créés par l'urbanisation)—et donc une augmentation des salaires de base ou des taux dits "de présence"—d'autre part à l'importance croissante de la rémunération des facteurs "effort" "risques" et "conditions de travail" par rapport au facteur "valeur professionnelle et intellectuelle" (conséquence des changements dans l'offre des aptitudes et des préférences sur le marché du travail).

2°. *Oeuvres et prestations sociales.* Dans ce domaine, l'évolution paraît être marquée par deux étapes successives ; la majorité de la

sidérurgie allemande est en transition vers la deuxième étape. Les oeuvres et prestations sociales, qui étaient originairement des privilèges supplémentaires, dont bénéficiait la partie la plus précieuse du personnel, seront dans la première étape, progressivement étendues à tout le personnel et serviront ainsi en premier lieu à protéger l'entreprise contre les influences indésirables provenant de la société globale (mobilité de la main d'oeuvre). Dans les derniers temps se renforce la tendance à soumettre davantage les oeuvres et prestations sociales des entreprises aux principes d'une politique sociale publique. Ceci diminue d'autant l'importance, assez forte encore dans la première période, des critères de fidélité à l'entreprise et de position dans l'entreprise.

3°. *Discipline et commandement.* La structure traditionnelle quasi-militaire de discipline et de commandement, fondée sur l'obéissance et la dépendance personnelle envers le supérieur, soutenue aussi par des différences de statut extérieures à l'entreprise, montre une tendance assez nette à s'objectiver et à se dépersonnaliser. Parallèlement s'accroît l'importance des formes plus ou moins "coopératives" de l'organisation du travail (imposées entre autres par le facteur technologique dont elles sont une des conséquences sociales les plus importantes).

4°. *Formation et promotion.* L'affaiblissement de la structure traditionnelle de positions (nous appelons système de positions un système qui résulte du système des statuts et du système de qualification) exige une nouvelle assise de l'autorité des supérieurs, laquelle ne peut être qu'une compétence technique accrue et donc la conséquence d'une meilleure formation professionnelle.

La formation devient parallèlement un des critères objectifs de promotion les plus importants. La nécessité des critères objectifs apparaît à mesure que les critères employés jusqu'ici perdent leur valeur sélective ou fonctionnelle pour la promotion: "origine familiale et ethnique" du fait de l'évolution sociale; "expérience" du fait de l'évolution technologique et démographique; "autorité" du fait de l'évolution technologique et sociale.

Il est à remarquer que l'emploi de nouveaux critères de promotion commence seulement à se répandre ou même à être envisagé.

5°. *L'organisation formelle de la direction.* Les transformations de l'organisation sociale de la sidérurgie allemande se manifestent peut-être le plus nettement dans l'établissement des directions sociales indépendantes dont le chef, dit "directeur de travail", fait partie du collège directorial (qui n'est que rarement présidé par un directeur général) et porte la pleine responsabilité de toutes les décisions touchant directement le personnel (salaire, embauche, formation, etc.).

Cette évolution, étant un aspect de la cogestion, a certainement été accélérée par un mouvement politique mais suppose en tous cas la reconnaissance générale à l'entreprise d'une fonction sociale spécifique,

et en partie même indépendante de ses fonctions techniques et économiques (la vérification ex-contrario de cette thèse se trouve dans les charbonnages où malgré un régime juridique identique une organisation générale plus antique a pratiquement restreint la fonction du directeur de travail à celle d'un chef de service social).

(D) *Quelques problèmes d'adaptation non encore résolus.*

Malgré ces transformations dans l'organisation sociale de la sidérurgie allemande, dont quelques unes sont assez impressionnantes, les véritables problèmes d'adaptation à la nouvelle situation d'autarcie démographique, dans une très large mesure ne sont pas encore résolus :

1°. *L'absence d'une théorie sociale dynamique de l'entreprise industrielle.* Les transformations décrites s'opèrent avant tout d'une façon "inconsciente", en partie même en contradiction avec les valeurs et principes d'ordre social qui ont gardé leur fonction normative dominante. L'efficacité de ces rajustements "après coup" est compromise à partir du moment où une planification à long terme s'impose pour préparer et assurer l'équilibre futur entre l'organisation sociale et les nécessités coopératives de l'entreprise industrielle et la société globale.

2°. *Fondement de la hiérarchie de positions sur l'ancienneté: solution à courte vue et sans issue.* Après que l'origine familiale et ethnique eût perdu largement de son pouvoir de sélection, il s'établit une situation où l'emploi de l'ancienneté ou plutôt des comportements, attitudes, valeurs, routines, liés à une longue ancienneté, comme critère objectif de distinction, permettait le maintien de principe, modifié seulement dans les formes extérieures, du système de position traditionnel. Dans cet état, le rôle des immigrés des décades antérieures échut à la majorité des populations professionnellement, socialement ou géographiquement déracinées par la guerre et même à une partie des jeunes indigènes, malgré une différence fondamentale de profil culturel. (Ces groupes plus ou moins "sous-privilégés" représentent environ un tiers du personnel, le pourcentage exact étant avant tout fonction de l'état de modernisation spécifique de l'usine). L'état dont nous parlons ne peut durer qu'aussi longtemps que ces groupes sous-privilégiés acceptent leur situation avec plus ou moins de résignation par suite d'impératifs matériels ou parce qu'ils bénéficient pourtant de la situation assez favorisée des ouvriers de la sidérurgie par rapport au reste des travailleurs de la région : outre un niveau de salaire assez élevé, ils bénéficient de meilleures conditions de travail que les mineurs et de plus de stabilité d'emploi que les travailleurs du bâtiment, pour ne nommer que deux groupes de comparaison les plus importants dans la Ruhr. En outre, il apparaît dès maintenant que le processus de rationalisation technique, déclenché aussi par les facteurs sociaux et démographiques, mais dont il devient de plus en plus indépendant, va donner une importance primordiale à ces groupes et à leurs facultés, aptitudes, habitudes et comportements professionnels spécifiques.

3°. *Rationalisation de la mobilité: condition préalable à une organisation sociale adaptative.* Il paraît que l'équilibre social de la sidérurgie allemande ne pourra être assuré que si on reconnaît la nécessité de faire disparaître les résidus extra fonctionnels (surtout liés à des valeurs et valorisations irrationnelles) qui marquent aujourd'hui dans une large mesure son organisation sociale.

La politique la plus efficace dans ce sens sera vraisemblablement constituée par une rationalisation de la mobilité horizontale et verticale (dans l'entreprise et entre l'entreprise et le marché du travail) et de ses déterminants (formation générale et spéciale; dégel du marché du travail dans l'entreprise et meilleure information sur les possibilités de changement et les exigences des postes respectifs, ce que nous appelons en allemand "die Transparenz des Betrieblichen Arbeitsmarktes"; adaptabilité des formes de rémunération et de la hiérarchie de salaire et de leurs principes directeurs aux transformations technologiques; harmonisation entre les aptitudes et exigences professionnelles—pour ne nommer que quelque uns des aspects particuliers).

III. QUELQUES REMARQUES FINALES

(A) *L'exemple privilégié des houillères de la Ruhr*

La majorité des problèmes énumérés se pose d'une façon bien plus aiguë dans la presque totalité des mines de charbon de la Ruhr, grâce à un caractère beaucoup plus archaïque des formes de travail et de l'organisation sociale. Malgré des avantages sociaux considérables, et malgré des efforts importants pour recruter des jeunes, les charbonnages souffrent d'un déficit de main-d'oeuvre dont les conséquences économiques commencent à devenir graves. Une récente étude comparative de l'"Institut für Sozialforschung" de Frankfurt sur "le climat social" dans des usines sidérurgiques et dans des mines de charbon a démontré clairement que certaines tensions, encore latentes dans la sidérurgie, sont aiguës et manifestes dans les houillères (ces tensions semblent se cristalliser autour des rapports chefs-subordonnés).

(B) *Le phénomène du décalage culturel dans l'organisation sociale de l'entreprise*

Enfin, il paraît utile d'indiquer que l'organisation sociale de la grande entreprise est assez institutionnalisée et présente suffisamment de caractères traditionalistes pour permettre l'apparition de phénomènes de décalage culturel importants pour la recherche scientifique comme pour la pratique de la direction.

Sociological Aspects of Technical Change in a Steel Plant

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A characteristic mark of the development of industrial society is the never-ceasing urge towards higher material productivity. The search for increased industrial efficiency, institutionalised as technology, constitutes an established source of social change with consequences which ramify throughout the structure of society.

It is not our purpose here to attempt a general survey of the relation between technical and social change¹ but merely, by way of introduction, to indicate that the study on which we have been engaged² has this as its context, and, more immediately, the dominant tendency of industrial organisation towards an ever-increasing scale of operations at higher technical levels. We have studied the sequence of changes in the formal occupational and informal structure of a steel plant which has undergone a programme of technical change and expansion with a view to illuminating the social factors facilitating and impeding the introduction and assimilation of technical innovations.

Again, it is not possible within the confines of a short essay to attempt a complete account of the study and its results. Accordingly, we have limited ourselves to a brief outline of the scope and method of the enquiry and to a discussion of some of its results.³

SCOPE AND METHOD

The steel plant to which we obtained access was worthy of attention in the first place in that it provided material for an essay in the social history of a company whose growth was in many respects micro-cosmic of the dominant trends in the development of industrialism. However, at the same time, we were interested in studying the plant from the viewpoint of industrial sociology, i.e. to formulate an appropriate framework of analysis and to collect our data in terms of it as systematically as possible. In analysing the network of social relationships in the plant, we have made use of four main analytical categories—formal structure, occupational structure, informal structure and tradition. It is unnecessary to explain to the present audience the meaning to be attached to these terms. We would, however,

emphasize that an occupational group has to be considered as composed of persons who not only perform a similar function in relation to the organization of production but who share similar values, attitudes, interests and patterns of behaviour, deriving partly from their common objective position in the organization of the plant and also partly from ideologies and ideas, stemming from the traditions of the firm, the industry, and the society in which they operate.

In order to illuminate the relation between technical change and social structure it was essential that historical depth be given to the study in so far as available sources made this possible.⁴ The social system which preceded the innovation or sequence of innovations had to be ascertained and its development traced not only in order to assess precisely the impact of the change, but also in order to interpret the attitudes and behaviour which change occasions.

THE PROGRAMME OF TECHNICAL CHANGE AND EXPANSION

From its establishment in 1851 until the end of the 1920's the history of the company was one of steady expansion on the basis of hand rolling of steel sheets, accompanied by backward integration. Towards the end of this period a new external market situation was forming. On the one hand the traditional overseas market for galvanised sheet was falling away and on the other, motor car bodies, steel furniture and the like necessitated the production of more malleable sheets of finer surface quality and thin gauge. The technical problem of producing better quality sheet was ultimately to be solved by a complete change of technique involving immense capital investment. A tentative approach to the solution was made, however, in the period 1928-37 through adaptation and modification of the basic hand rolling process in a new department at first advised and later managed by executives from an American company.

On balance, this period of experimentation was not very successful. In the mid-thirties the company was pressed by the American firm to adopt the method of continuous strip-rolling already developed in the U.S.A. The company hesitated and delayed but eventually was forced to undertake the task of revolutionising the whole productive process by the news that the American firm had contracted to build a continuous strip mill for an English competitor.

This third phase of reorganisation, begun in 1938, was without doubt the most fundamental in the history of the plant. It was the first occasion that technical change had necessitated abrupt and radical change in the processes, jobs and skills. Thus, during the second World War, the productive processes in connection with the rolling and finishing of steel sheets were enlarged (to a capacity of 10,000 tons of strip per week), mechanised and elaborated and, at the same time, with these advances in technique and the expansion of output, there were also created new and enlarged maintenance, administrative, research and laboratory services. Moreover, though the completion of

a fully integrated steel works was delayed until after the end of the Second World War, it was implicit in the decision to go over to continuous strip rolling, and the overall result was the creation of a large organisation operating at a higher technological level, including a new steel works with laboratory and maintenance departments, a power house, two blast furnaces, coke ovens, a chemical plant for by-products, a sinter plant and raw material handling equipment.

The process of integration has occupied the post-war years and is not yet complete. The new steelworks came into production in 1952 and the two old ones were closed down. The old shops contained 17 furnaces producing rather less than 5,000 tons of steel per week. In the new shop, there are 8 larger furnaces which, in 1954, produced nearly 14,000 tons per week. The housing of these furnaces is correspondingly larger than that of the older furnaces. In short, conditions of work have been improved, especially as compared with the older No. 1. shop.

CHANGES IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE PLANT

Some illustrations of the relation between the programme of technical change and the social structure of the plant may now be given.

From the point of view of formal structure, the most obvious consequence of the changes in technical organisation have been growth in size and differentiation and this may be illustrated by reference to management organisation and occupational structure. The size of the work force has increased enormously. In 1896 it was 250 : by the end of the second phase of development, it was 5,000 and at the present time, it numbers about 7,000. Meanwhile, occupational structure has become highly differentiated mainly through the development of new administrative, maintenance and ancillary functions. For example, between 1925 and 1953, the proportion of the total labour force represented by staff employees rose from 7% to 14% and that by craftsmen from 7% to 11%. Perhaps the most striking illustration of the effect of technical change from this point of view is that whereas on the old hand mills and their finishing processes there were about 20 different occupations, on the continuous strip mill and its finishing departments there are over 250.

Managerial functions were exercised in the early days of the company's existence entirely, or almost entirely, by members of the founding family. But the period of expansion after 1896 saw the emergence and formal recognition of a new occupational group. Just as the changing function of members of the owning family was distinguished more clearly by their designation as directors when the company was incorporated in 1898, so, during the early years of this century, the number of those whose function it was to co-ordinate the various activities of a department rather than to supervise operations directly increased to the point where a new group, the managers, was officially recognised and appropriate rewards and status conferred upon them.

It is, however, important to note that this was only a first step towards the creation of a qualified cadre of managers. The first managers were promoted supervisors and many features of "family organisation" persisted in the expanding management organisation. Indeed this traditional element, resulting, as it did, in a tendency towards inbreeding of managers, was a factor making for inelasticity in the adaptation of formal management structure to the needs of the changing technical organisation. It is true that this type of management organisation proved adequate for the realisation of the purposes of the firm during the first phase of technical development. Indeed, under the dynamic leadership of the dominant second generation member of the founding family and of a small number of other individuals at the works management level, it proved successful enough for the firm to become the leading producer of galvanised sheet in this country. Nevertheless, it is important to appreciate the true nature of this success, which lay essentially in the exploitation of an existing and expanding market for a stock commodity in the production of which quality and exact specification mattered less than the achievement of a high output at low cost. In other words, the management organisation during this period proved very effective for the operation of an established process. As is so often the case, however, its limitations derived from its merits. Successful in the exploitation of an existing product, primarily because its members had intimate experience of the techniques of production, the inbred management group was, because of its limited experience and qualifications, ill-equipped to adapt to changing technical demands.

However, before these demands had to be met in the shape of the New Strip Mill (1939), the phase of experimentation (1928-37) had given time for the introduction of qualified specialists from outside and the training under their leadership of junior persons who were subsequently able to man the new processes.

Nevertheless, the third phase of reorganisation resulted in further drastic alteration of the background and training of the managers as a group. Thus, for example, of the 12 departmental managers in 1935, 7 had risen from the ranks or through the laboratory or offices within the plant and 5 had been recruited directly from outside, whereas in 1954 there were 21 departmental managers,⁵ only 8 of whom had been recruited from the plant, the other 13 being specialists recruited by direct entry. In fact, if the present departmental heads are divided into those who received their appointment before 1930 and those who were appointed after 1930, of the 10 in the second category, all are "direct entrants". Again, whilst of the 1935 managers only 5 had a University degree or other professional qualification, 11 of the 1954 group were so qualified. In short, it would be difficult to find a better example of the way in which technological change produces functional differentiation and leads to a radical modification of the mode of recruitment of managers.

ATTITUDES TO TECHNICAL CHANGE

We have collected information by direct enquiry from those affected about attitudes to the technical changes which have been described. The difficulties of obtaining valid information concerning attitudes in retrospect are obvious enough, especially under the circumstances of this research where the sample was a selected one of "survivors". In any case, we can only illustrate our findings in this paper and have accordingly chosen to discuss, however briefly, the results of a structured interview on a sample of present employees aimed at eliciting general attitudes to technical change, and the results of a study of one of the most recent changes, the building of the new steel works.

GENERAL ATTITUDES TO TECHNICAL CHANGE

The hypothetical situation was put to our respondents that "in a large manufacturing plant the directors were considering whether or not to put in some new machinery. If they put in the new machinery it would mean that about 500 workers would have to be laid off and it was absolutely impossible for the firm to find them new jobs in the plant." A battery of statements was then read to the respondent and he was asked to indicate agreement, uncertainty or disagreement with each one. There were altogether 13 statements including, for example,

One man said, "I think the firm should put in the new machinery".

Another man said, "The Unions would be in the right if they opposed the putting in of the new machinery".

Another man suggested, "The firm ought to pay a bonus of three months wages to all the displaced men to tide them over till they found themselves another job."

It was clear from the responses that redundancy is seen as a normal feature of modern industrial life. The great majority (65%) agreed that "the chances are at least 10 : 1 that a man will find himself redundant at some time during his working life", and comments were frequently made to the effect that redundancy must be regarded, and indeed accepted, as an inevitable consequence of technical advance. In making this judgement, many of the men were clearly arguing from their own experience and this probably accounts for certain differences between occupational groups. Thus the manual workers regarded redundancy as a more common feature of working life than did the staff employees. The junior staff, a young group with less personal experience of technical change and unemployment, had the least proportion of members (44%) who agreed with the statement. Within the manual groups the proportion in agreement was slightly higher among craftsmen and their mates than among the production crews.

The occupational groups differed in their reaction to a statement that the new machines should go in. Staff employees, and especially the foremen, showed the most keenness for the new machines, no less than 94% of the foremen being in favour of the proposed innovation. Similarly maintenance men were more keen than production men. But

within each of these broad divisions there was a clear correlation between agreement and occupational status and this will be seen, in what follows, to recur in all our data on attitudes to the various facets of technical innovation. Thus, the leading hands favoured the new installation more frequently than their crews, though less frequently than their foremen, and the craftsmen more frequently than their mates but less frequently than their charge-hands.

When the issue was put in the context of the making of profits, more than half of those previously in favour withdrew. The fall in the proportion of "favourable" craftsmen was particularly marked and their comments gave the impression that for them support for technical change involved increasing productivity for more effective competition in world markets, and hence the sinking of profits in further capital investment rather than in dividend distribution. But the proportions in agreement fell just as heavily among foremen and junior staff—so much so that there was little difference between the staff and the production men as a whole. 54% of the staff disagreed with the statement compared with 56% of the production men and 65% of the maintenance men. But again, within the three major divisions of the work force, the "anti-profits" response increased at the lower status levels.

Three statements referred to the rights of management and unions in technical innovation. More than 3/4 of the staff thought that the management had the right to install new machines with or without union agreement: a greater proportion disagreed that the unions had any right to oppose the innovation and 3/4 did not agree with the man who announced that, though his own job would not be affected, he would be willing to go on strike against the new machines. The foremen were more "conservative" in all these respects than were the clerks, especially as regards the question of strike action.

As a whole the staff were more favourable to the rights of the management than were the wage earners but, comparing the smaller groups, the leading hands on the maintenance side expressed more pro-management or anti-union views than the junior staff, and their responses differed quite markedly from the group of craftsmen from which they are largely recruited. The production men generally were more pro-union than the maintenance men. Union rights and strike action appear to be most strongly supported by unskilled labourers on the production side. Perhaps it is relevant to notice that the men in this group are most dependent upon the unions for their progress up the promotion lines of the production processes. 50% would be willing to go on strike under the circumstances described compared with 15% of the staff and 29% of the maintenance men. Some of them spontaneously voiced the sentiment of labour solidarity in this connection.

The doctrine of labour solidarity was very much in evidence in the responses to a statement which suggested that 'short time' for all

workers should be adopted as a temporary expedient. 72% of the staff and 86% of the wage earners agreed with this or were in a few cases not sure. Within the narrow limits of widespread agreement, solidarity was greatest among production crews and semi-skilled maintenance men.

Subsequent statements were much more general in character. There had been a good deal of recent discussion in the press concerning the reports of Anglo-American productivity teams and the progress of British industry in the struggle against an adverse foreign trade balance. More than half of the manual workers and nearly three-quarters of the staff were critical of the unions from this point of view. Managerial efficiency on the other hand, was not so much questioned, although one-third of the staff and 2/5 of the men agreed that "management is quite content to jog along and leave things alone" as long as a steady profit is being made. Rather more than 1/5 of the whole work force thought that both management and unions were at fault.

These two statements again bring out the relation between loyalties and occupational status. Criticism of the unions was greatest at the top: criticism of the management was greatest at the bottom. Craftsmen tended to be slightly "out of line" in this pattern. They were more critical of the unions than were the leading hands. One got the impression that efficiency for its own sake is more important to them than to any other group. The volume of their criticism of management was not "out of line" but its quality was. Many specific complaints were made particularly against unnecessary interference and technical incompetence on the part of middle management and foremen.

In summary it may be said that a clear relation obtained between occupational status and attitudes to technical change, the firm (or management), and the unions. The higher the occupational level, the greater the support for technical change in the face of unpleasant social consequences, the greater the support for the rights and righteousness of management, and the less the approval of the claims of unionism—in terms, that is, of a hypothetical programme of technical change.

These reactions are, of course, to a hypothetical situation. The results of our enquiries concerning the men's reaction to the technical changes which they have actually experienced, however, provide corroborating evidence of this relationship between occupational status and attitude to change. Two main results emerged from these inquiries. First, it is clear that different occupational groups use different criteria for evaluating their experience of technical change. For example staff employees had a relatively greater concern with promotion opportunities, human relations and security as compared with the wage-earners' emphasis on wages, hours, and conditions of work. Secondly, these differences between employees' criteria do not appear to be very closely related to the actual course of developments in wage structure,

promotion opportunities, security and the other elements relevant to the evaluation of technical innovation. Concern with security, for example, is much greater among staff-men than among wage-earners, although the evidence available to us from the slump of the early 1930's indicates that the two groups were equally exposed to unemployment. Hence it would appear that reactions to technical change must be seen, not simply in terms of the absolute impact of variations in wages, degree of security, etc., but also in terms of the way in which these things are evaluated by the members of the various occupational groups.

In this connection more detailed study was undertaken of a single shop in the works in order to eliminate as far as possible some of the more obvious objective factors leading to acceptance of or opposition to technical change, and the melting shop was chosen with this intention in mind. Our aim was to obtain a number of interviewees who had experienced no radical modification in their job status as a result of the change and whose experiences in so far as wage changes were concerned were similar. The melters satisfied both these criteria and in addition had the extra merit of being wholly composed of workers who had been melters in the firm before the change and who, therefore, had not been obliged to learn entirely new work practices or to work with new labour imported from other firms and other parts of the country.

We were conscious, however, that two variables remained which might be important. Before the change the melters had been separately organised in two different departments comprising furnaces of different sizes and technical competence, and there was a long history of conflict between the two trade union branches responsible for these two sets of men. Secondly, there was a change from the usual three-shift system of working with a week-end break to a more complicated continuous three-shift system in which the men are on a rota for time off from work at different periods in the week. Second and fourth hands in both shops were accustomed to working a longer week than the rest since they had worked a Sunday rota pre-change.⁶ Now all hands work the same number of hours and all take their turn working on Saturday afternoons and evenings and Sundays.

The effect of these variables, however, was rather different from what might have been expected. All hands, irrespective of their departmental origin, experienced increases in wages as a result of the change, but in terms of *real* wages the effect of change on the pay of first and second hands from the old No. 2 steelworks was negligible. Nevertheless, the reactions of interviewees on this score did not follow this simple demarcation line. About 20% of them gave answers which did not correspond to the objective situation as we knew it and further enquiry on promotions followed the same pattern. What was important for the men when they considered whether they were better off financially as a result of the change or whether they had been promoted or demoted, was their position relative to that of other men from the same pre-change

department as themselves. Both in the old steelworks and the new the men can be thought of as having a place on a seniority ladder which determines their rate of advancement, and the merging of two such ladders into one was accompanied by a series of estimations by the men of where they would have been had the old seniority system been maintained. That is to say we could not have deduced the men's reactions to the wage changes and relative lack of status changes from mere knowledge of the objective facts of pay increases and so on, alone. What became obvious was the importance of the security system as a background to their evaluation of change. That is to say, the actual facts of past and present incomes are of less importance for this group than their estimates of how quickly they will rise to a higher grade and whether any men from their own department had been advanced beyond them in the race. Of course it is to be understood that promotion from one grade to another is accompanied by considerable wage advances and that it is in material terms that the men mainly estimated their position. The point we are emphasizing here is the over-riding importance of the concept of seniority, which for this group of semi-skilled workers is the equivalent of the career pattern laid down for the typical bureaucrat.

In the case of the change in the length of the working week there was a statistically significant difference between the responses of second and fourth hands as compared with first and third hands; but beyond this fact lay an even more important one that about one-third of our respondents claimed that their hours were "worse" than before the change. This raised the whole question of the evaluation of hours of work and the degree to which hours worked at week-ends were "worth more" than hours worked at other times—"worth more", that is, not in monetary terms but in terms of the leisure time activities which may be pursued on these different occasions. Right from the beginning of our enquiry we were made to understand that the melters had a grievance on the score of continuous shift work. It was the price they had paid for greater productivity and higher wages, and for about a third of them it coloured their response to other questions which, objectively considered, might not have been considered in those terms at all. All men were agreed that the new week-end arrangements constituted a sacrifice of social life, but not all were affected personally to the same extent, and within the limits of this widespread agreement, relative deprivation is explicable only by reference to previous differential experiences, many of which lie beyond the reach of this type of analysis. Nevertheless, our main point is clear. In examining the relation between technical change and attitudes, crude economic categories such as wages and hours of work are of value only if they are considered in the light of other objective facts not deriving from the immediate situation itself, such as the long tradition of collective bargaining for semi-skilled workers in the industry which has erected the seniority principle as the fundamental criterion for guiding negotiations

over promotion, and the local, and indeed national, emphasis on the week-end as the "proper" time for leisure and leisure hour pursuits. Against this background of values, much of the discrepancy between the objective fact of change and subjective evaluation of it can be explained.

CONCLUSION

The general conclusions of the study as a whole cannot of course be presented here. But two of the main points which have emerged have been illustrated in this paper. In studying the history of this firm our attention has been drawn to the importance of inelasticities of the social structure as impediments to the introduction and assimilation of technical change, and we have exemplified this by reference to changes in qualifications and modes of recruitment on which the development of an effective management organisation depended. Secondly, we have had to tackle the problem of estimating the weights to be attached to the many factors which shape a man's reactions to experience of technical change. We have, for instance, been able to relate general attitudes to technical change, to occupational structure and the value systems of occupational groups. However, in extending the analysis to an examination of particular technical changes we have found it necessary to depart from reliance on either of two traditionally opposed methods of analysis, and this we have been able to illustrate by a consideration of the attitudes of those men affected by the building of the new melting shop. From this instance, it is clear that if we had relied simply upon the objective changes in wages, conditions of work, and rank in the promotion hierarchy, it would have been impossible to explain why so many men should have benefited by, yet at the same time complained of, their experience in each of these respects. On the other hand, it is equally clear that a comprehensive analysis could not have been made exclusively in terms of our respondents' evaluations, for these in their turn are partly explicable only in the light of the facts of the situation before the change took place. In short, reactions to a specified change can only be understood as a product of both the objective facts of the situation and their subjective evaluations in the context of the participants' status in the plant, their value systems and social outlook before and after the change. It is, moreover, obvious that these two main conclusions are in fact related, since it is to be expected that the inelasticities of the formal structure are themselves to be explained, at least in part, in terms of the value systems of the various constituent groups. The seniority principle, for example, was largely used for the selection of furnace crews for the new melting shop although on grounds of efficiency some men might well have been promoted more than they were over the heads of men with longer records of service in melting departments; and the persistence of the "family ideology" among directors and managers alike similarly affected the recruitment of managers by emphasizing promotion from

the shop floor over against the development of a professional cadre. At the same time, it is clear that the inelasticities of this formal structure continues to buttress the patterns of values. Promotion in the new melting shop continues to follow the seniority principle and hence to justify it as a valid basis for promotion; managers mostly recruited from the shop floor continue to value the "family ideology". What we have yet to do is to complete our analysis of the degree to which the requirements of technical efficiency do, or do not, eventually bring about changes in subjective evaluation as well as objective fact.

NOTES

¹ Cf. *International Social Science Bulletin*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1953, especially the essays by G. Friedmann and W. E. Moore.

² The work has been conducted by a team of research workers whose senior members were W. H. Scott, A. H. Halsey, T. Lupton and J. A. Banks.

³ A full account will be found in our book, to be published by the Liverpool University Press in 1956. At the time when this paper was written, the study was incomplete. The discussion which follows is therefore tentative and selective. There is no discussion for example of Union organisation or Management/Union relations.

⁴ A variety of sources and methods were used including :—

(1) Analysis of the company's employment and wages records, annual reports to the shareholders, minutes of meetings with Union Officials and other documents.

(2) Free interviews with old and retired employees, directors, managers, Union officials, present employees, etc.

(3) Structured interviews with all top managers, Union officials and a sample of employees in the different occupational groups.

⁵ The increase being entirely accounted for by the emergence of new specialist or "service" functions. There is no space here to discuss the problems for assimilation of innovation resulting from the multiplication of sub-groups within the management organisation with consequent increased difficulty of co-ordination and control.

⁶ In the melting shop there are four grades of melter in a crew with differential responsibility and pay. The leading hand is known as a first hand, and the remainder are second, third, and fourth hands respectively.

Les ouvriers de la sidérurgie et le progrès technique

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I.—POSITION DU PROBLÈME

Les recherches sur les attitudes des ouvriers à l'égard des changements techniques qui interviennent dans leurs entreprises se sont d'abord bornées à un simple enregistrement d'opinions sur les conséquences observées ou attendues du changement considéré. C'est ainsi que l'on a étudié les opinions ouvrières à l'égard des modifications intervenues dans la nature des tâches, dans les conditions de travail, les formes et le montant de la rémunération, les caractères des groupes restreints de travail, les relations des ouvriers avec la maîtrise et les cadres, à la suite de l'introduction d'un équipement nouveau ou de méthodes nouvelles de travail. Mais il est vite apparu que ces études ne présentaient d'intérêt que si ces opinions pouvaient être confrontées à l'observation directe des changements intervenus dans les caractéristiques professionnelles, économiques et sociales du travail. Au cours des dernières années, l'attention s'est progressivement déplacée vers l'observation des changements intervenus dans le milieu de travail et les opinions, bien souvent, n'ont plus été considérées que dans la mesure où elles semblaient gêner l'adaptation de la main d'oeuvre à ces nouvelles conditions de travail. Ces études se sont placées du point de vue d'une direction d'entreprise qui cherche à prévoir les difficultés qu'elle va rencontrer dans l'introduction d'un changement et à atténuer les inquiétudes, dissiper les malentendus et aussi limiter autant que possible les éventuelles conséquences défavorables de ce changement.

Ces études sur "l'administration du changement" ont fait faire un progrès décisif à la recherche en obligeant à considérer les opinions dans les conditions sociales concrètes de leur formation et de leur expression. Mais elles tendent souvent à traiter trop rapidement et presque incidemment non seulement l'ensemble des attitudes ouvrières à l'égard d'un changement précis, mais surtout l'analyse des raisons pour lesquelles ces attitudes se forment. Plus précisément, elles risquent de laisser croire que les attitudes à l'égard d'un changement sont toujours et entièrement déterminées par les transformations entraînées par ce changement dans les divers aspects de la situation de travail définis au niveau du poste, de l'atelier ou de l'établissement industriel.

Or, la première question que doit poser la recherche dans ce domaine est : dans quelle mesure les attitudes à l'égard d'un changement technique sont-elles déterminées par les conséquences attendues ou constatées de ce changement technique sur les autres aspects de ce travail ? En d'autres termes, dans quelle mesure cette méthode d'étude des attitudes ouvrières peut-elle accepter dès le départ le principe d'un lien direct reconnu entre les divers types de transformations entraînées par un changement technique, permettant de considérer ces transformations comme des conséquences de ce changement ?

S'il est assurément légitime de saisir à l'occasion d'un événement un ensemble de phénomènes provoqués par cet événement, il n'est pas assuré que l'analyse de ces phénomènes puisse être menée d'une manière satisfaisante à partir de cet événement, considéré comme seul principe d'explication.

En particulier, si l'on observe les attitudes ouvrières à l'égard d'un changement imminent, mais non encore réalisé, il semble qu'elles soient, en partie au moins, et d'autant plus que l'information sur le changement à venir est plus faible, déterminées par des attentes qui s'expliquent par l'expérience passée et présente des personnes considérées, ou des personnes et des groupes qui exercent une influence sur la formation de leurs attitudes. Il faut donc bien poser au départ la question : dans quelle mesure les attitudes à l'égard du changement sont-elles déterminées par les conséquences attendues ou reconnues de ce changement, ou par les orientations générales de la conscience ouvrière dans la société globale, la région, l'industrie, l'entreprise considérées. C'est à cette question que l'étude menée en 1954-55 dans une importante usine sidérurgique par l'Institut des Sciences Sociales du Travail de Paris s'efforce de répondre.

Cette recherche a été menée¹ dans un laminoir à tôles fortes occupant 250 personnes environ et qui devait être progressivement remplacé à partir d'Octobre 1955 par un train continu de conception extrêmement moderne alors que l'ancienne installation datait des années qui avaient suivi la première guerre mondiale. Elle a consisté après une étude d'ensemble de l'usine et surtout de la tôlerie en une campagne d'interviews menés au domicile de 82 ouvriers représentant près de la moitié des effectifs de la tôlerie, une fois éliminés les très jeunes ouvriers vivant en général dans leurs familles et dont les réponses s'étaient avérées très pauvres, et les ouvriers nord-africains dont la situation et les attitudes étaient trop différentes de celles des autres ouvriers pour pouvoir être étudiées dans le cadre d'un échantillon déjà très restreint. Cette étude ne constitue que la première phase d'une recherche qui doit étudier en 1955-56 l'attitude des ouvriers de la tôlerie après le lancement de la nouvelle installation.

A la question générale précédemment posée, elle n'apporte pas de réponse simple. L'analyse des interviews montre que cette réponse varie suivant que l'on considère les conséquences professionnelles du changement ou ses conséquences économiques. La différence qui

existe entre ces deux types de réponses explique la complexité et l'ambiguïté de ces attitudes à l'égard de la notion même de progrès technique.

II.—ASPECTS PROFESSIONNELS

La quasi-unanimité des ouvriers interrogés pensent que l'ouverture de la nouvelle tôlerie transformera profondément leur vie professionnelle. Fait frappant, ils considèrent favorablement cette évolution. Ils jugent en majorité que la qualification y sera plus élevée (79%), que les ouvriers qui y travailleront auront plus de responsabilités (80%), que les conditions matérielles y seront meilleures (89%), qu'on y travaillera plus vite (89%) mais sans que cela entraîne nécessairement une plus grande fatigue.

Ils ont de plus le sentiment que la nature des qualités exigées va se transformer: on demandera plus de formation technique aux professionnels, et aux ouvriers spécialisés plus d'attention, de réflexion et de sûreté de réaction. Le changement devrait donc entraîner une certaine promotion professionnelle.

La direction de ces attitudes est donc claire et bien marquée. Dans quelle mesure ces attitudes sont-elles reliées à des attitudes d'ensemble qui dépassent le cas précis de la nouvelle tôlerie? Dans quelle mesure aussi l'appréciation des changements professionnels se réfère-t-elle directement aux faits techniques eux-mêmes?

1—Attitudes spécifiques et attitudes générales. Il y a une très large concordance entre la vision qu'ont les ouvriers de la nouvelle tôlerie et la vision qu'ils ont de l'évolution d'autrefois à aujourd'hui. Autrement dit, les attitudes spécifiques à l'égard de l'événement qu'est l'ouverture prochaine de la nouvelle tôlerie sont en accord avec les appréciations générales qu'ils ont de l'évolution de leur métier.

Relevons ce parallélisme sur trois points:

TABLEAU 1
Evolution de la qualification

	Elle augmente	Total des réponses exprimées	Proportion de rép. favor
D'autrefois à aujourd'hui ...	28	48	0,58
De l'ancienne à la nouvelle tôlerie ...	44	56	0,78

TABLEAU 2
Evolution des conditions de travail

	Elles s'améliorent	Total des rép. exprimées	Proportion de rép. favor.
D'autrefois à aujourd'hui ...	64	68	0,94
De l'ancienne à la nouvelle tôlerie ...	62	70	0,89

TABLEAU 3
Evolution des cadences de travail

	S'accélérent	Total des rép. exprimées	Proportion de rép. favor.
D'autrefois à aujourd'hui ...	39	47	0,83
De l'ancienne à la nouvelle tôlerie ...	61	68	0,89

De même, la nature de la qualification évolue dans le même sens dans les deux séries de questions.

Cette concordance très grande ne semble pas pouvoir s'expliquer par le fait que les deux séries de réponses traiteraient en fait de la même chose, ce qu'on sait de la nouvelle tôlerie influant sur la vue de l'évolution passée, et réciproquement le manque d'information sur les nouvelles installations laissant libre jeu aux idées déjà acquises. Les exemples cités sont spécifiques. On peut même constater que les attitudes à l'égard de l'évolution de la qualification sont significativement plus favorables dans le cas de la nouvelle tôlerie.

Mais les événements nouveaux entrent sans difficulté dans les cadres d'interprétation que l'expérience a constitués. Ils sont compris dans une perspective historique avec laquelle ils concordent. Ils constituent une nouvelle étape de l'évolution, mais qui est la suite d'une histoire cohérente.

2—*Les attitudes et le changement.* Dans quelle mesure pendant ces attitudes sont-elles déterminées par les changements eux-mêmes? Les ouvriers ont généralement le sentiment qu'on passe non seulement d'une installation technique à une autre mais d'un système de production à un autre. La transformation technique va entraîner une transformation de l'organisation du travail, le passage d'un travail lâche, à cadence inégale, largement réglé par l'individu, à un travail serré, régulier, organisé d'en haut. Dans une certaine mesure, le nouveau système est déterminé par des causes non techniques. Comment le considère-t-on?

Il y a en effet quelques réponses qui se fondent non sur les faits techniques eux-mêmes mais sur les fins qu'ils servent : les qualifications vont baisser parce qu'on les fait baisser. Le sens des transformations, c'est "plus de machines et moins d'ouvriers". Dans ce cas, les attitudes professionnelles hostiles se fondent non sur les conséquences du changement mais sur les intentions qu'il trahit.

Mais ce n'est le cas que d'une infime minorité. Pour presque tous, le lien entre le changement et les attitudes est direct. Il s'exprime dans une terme fortement valorisé : celui de "moderne". L'installation d'un service "moderne", c'est à la fois un progrès des conditions matérielles de travail et un progrès de la nature du travail, où l'effort physique diminue au profit du travail "de tête". Il n'y a pas de doute qu'en ce

domaine les attitudes sont directement déterminées par les changements techniques.

Les conséquences du changement sont-elles pourtant seules à les déterminer? Il n'est pas certain, même sous l'aspect professionnel, que l'acceptation du changement s'explique essentiellement par les avantages qu'il entraîne.

III.—ASPECTS ECONOMIQUES

Si les transformations professionnelles attendues sont directement attribuées au changement technique imminent et si, d'autre part, il existe une parfaite cohérence sur ce plan entre les attitudes à l'égard d'un changement particulier et à l'égard de l'évolution technique dans son ensemble, il en va différemment pour les conséquences économiques de l'installation de la nouvelle tôlerie et de l'évolution technique en général. En fait, dans la mesure où l'évolution du statut économique du travailleur n'est pas considérée simplement comme une conséquence du progrès technique, cette évolution même et la définition même de ce statut se compliquent si bien qu'il faut distinguer plusieurs éléments dont la combinaison ou le mélange forment ce qu'on nomme souvent la condition ouvrière et qui entretiennent avec le progrès technique des rapports très divers. On doit distinguer au moins les problèmes suivants : le chômage, le genre de vie ouvrier, le salaire et le niveau de vie.

1—Le thème du chômage technologique est, parmi les conséquences du progrès technique, la plus souvent mentionnée et étudiée. Il est présent ici, car la plupart des ouvriers pensent que la nouvelle installation n'emploiera pas tous les ouvriers de l'ancienne (même en tenant compte du fait que les effectifs de la nouvelle tôlerie seront sensiblement égaux à ceux de l'ancienne). L'inquiétude est forte en particulier chez et pour les ouvriers âgés, du fait de la rapidité plus grande d'exécution que réclamera la nouvelle installation. Néanmoins, ce thème est transformé et corrigé par trois remarques :

La première, qui représente l'opinion très majoritaire, est que le non-réemploi de certains ouvriers dans la nouvelle tôlerie n'entraînera pas leur licenciement mais seulement leur déplacement dans l'usine. Les ouvriers interrogés savent par leur expérience des années difficiles 1952-53 que la direction s'est efforcée d'éviter les débauchages et y a jusqu'ici réussi. La politique de l'entreprise vient donc corriger les effets défavorables que pourrait entraîner le progrès technique.

La deuxième n'est présentée que par une minorité; elle indique une certaine inquiétude concernant un avenir plus lointain : la nouvelle tôlerie qui produira davantage sera plus vulnérable, plus sensible aux crises de surproduction. Certes, ce danger de surproduction est parfois présenté comme une conséquence directe du progrès technique; il est clair cependant qu'il implique déjà la référence à des réalités économiques, à un système d'utilisation sociale du progrès technique et non plus seulement aux conséquences directes et inévitables de celui-ci.

La troisième est la plus caractéristique de l'entreprise et du secteur industriel considéré. La crainte principale des ouvriers est celle d'une réduction des horaires de travail.

Fera-t-on plus ou moins d'heures ?

Non réponse	...	...	...	...	19
autant	...	...	...	...	17
moins	...	...	...	...	18
Plus	...	...	...	...	0
Dépendra des commandes	...	...	...	...	10
Moins (c'est à craindre)	...	...	...	...	18

46 ouvriers sur 63 qui ont exprimé une opinion pensent que le nombre d'heures diminuera. Cette crainte provient du fait que la rémunération des heures supplémentaires constitue dans une usine où les horaires sont très importants (56 heures environ) une part importante du salaire. Rien ne montre mieux le caractère indirect des liens qui existe entre une situation technique et les caractères économiques de la situation de travail pour les ouvriers de cette usine que cette attitude apparemment paradoxale qu'ils prennent : le progrès technique doit par lui-même diminuer la durée de travail mais le système de rémunération est tel que les ouvriers craignent ce qui devrait être pour eux une importante amélioration. Cette situation et ces attitudes contradictoires qui sont un des points principaux révélés par cette recherche soulignent l'impossibilité où sont ces ouvriers de juger les progrès technique en fonction d'une situation économique qui serait considérée comme sa conséquence.

2—Il est un domaine cependant de l'évolution économique qui est généralement considéré comme directement lié à l'évolution technique ; c'est celui de la consommation et du genre de vie. A une question sur l'influence de la technique sur la vie hors du travail, les réponses ont été :

Il y a eu du progrès	...	...	...	42
mais pas en proportion	...	...	...	5
mais on n'en profite pas	...	...	...	8
mais il faut beaucoup travailler	...	...	...	3
mais la vie est trop chère	...	...	...	11
il n'y a pas de progrès mais un recul	...	...	...	7
on réponse	...	...	...	6

Ce tableau montre d'abord que la majorité pense que le progrès technique a transformé les conditions de la vie familiale et des transports en particulier. Les commentaires qui accompagnent ces réponses sont très vigoureux et traduisent une conscience nette de la profonde et rapide évolution du genre de vie ouvrier qui s'est produite en France au cours des dernières années. Ce thème cependant s'assortit souvent de réserves insistant toujours sur l'effort supplémentaire qu'impose à l'ouvrier cette course au progrès. Mais ces réserves ne font qu'accroître la liaison indiquée entre le progrès technique et l'augmentation ou la différenciation des besoins. C'est le progrès technique qui est tenu pour responsable et des transformations de la vie quotidienne et de la difficulté que rencontre l'ouvrier à faire face à cette prolifération de besoins nouveaux.

3—Ce lien direct entre l'évolution technique et le genre de vie ne se retrouve pas quand on aborde le thème plus important des réponses sur la situation économique des ouvriers : l'évolution du niveau de vie. Qu'il s'agisse du salaire dont une légère majorité pense qu'il a baissé d'autrefois à aujourd'hui ou qu'il s'agisse des conditions de vie dans leur ensemble qui, de l'avis de la quasi-unanimité des répondants, s'est abaissé depuis 1939, ni le progrès technique en général, ni un changement technique particulier ne sont tenus pour responsables de cette aggravation de la situation. Bien au contraire, comme le montrent les réponses à la question : quels seront les salaires dans la nouvelle tôlerie ?

non réponse	...	...	...	...	12
croient qu'il baissera ou le craignent	...	...	...	...	20
croient qu'il restera le même ou le craignent	...	...	...	...	13
pensent qu'il devrait monter	...	...	...	...	33
divers	...	...	...	...	4

Si l'on se souvient que les craintes en ce domaine sont liées à une éventuelle réduction des horaires, on voit que le thème dominant est l'affirmation qu'un progrès technique, un accroissement de la production et de la productivité doivent entraîner une amélioration des salaires. Néanmoins, une large majorité ne pense pas qu'ils monteront en fait. L'augmentation de la production n'entraîne pas une augmentation parallèle du salaire : au cours des dernières années, la production s'est élevée considérablement et non seulement les primes, dit-on, n'ont pas suivi le même rythme, mais encore une modification dans leur mode de calcul a entraîné, il y a quelques années, une diminution de salaire importante pour un certain nombre d'ouvriers. L'idée s'introduit donc d'une différence, voire d'une opposition entre les possibilités offertes par le progrès technique et les résultats qui proviennent de son utilisation sociale actuelle. Le groupe de réponses le plus nombreux à la question : qu'apporte le progrès technique à l'ouvrier ? est : il n'apporte pas ce qu'il devrait (29 réponses sur 65 exprimées) et ce thème se trouve mêlé à d'autres dans d'autres réponses encore. En termes très nets, la responsabilité de l'aggravation des conditions de vie ouvrière est reportée sur "ceux qui nous dirigent", sur le système économique et social et non sur la technique.

Cette rupture entre le progrès technique et la situation économique entraîne une discordance frappante entre les jugements à l'égard des conséquences économiques attendues de la nouvelle tôlerie et à l'égard de l'évolution passée des salaires. Alors que les deux types de réponses concordaient en ce qui concerne les conséquences professionnelles du progrès technique, elles sont ici en opposition.

Evolution des salaires d'autrefois à aujourd'hui

	-	-	=	+
salaires de la	-	2	1	7
nouvelle tôlerie	=	6	2	2
	+	8	7	4

Les chiffres sont trop faibles pour permettre une analyse précise. Il est néanmoins remarquables que 6 ouvriers seulement croient à une évolution continue des salaires du passé dans l'avenir, dans un sens ou dans l'autre, alors que 15 portent des jugements opposés sur les deux moments envisagés de l'évolution. Il ne semble pas que se dégage une ligne nette d'évolution ni que, par conséquent, s'établisse une relation entre le salaire et l'évolution technique dont la continuité et la rapidité sont, elles, formellement reconnues.

Ceci n'est qu'une manifestation extrême de la complexité des jugements portés par les ouvriers sur leur situation économique. Le fait principal demeure. L'absence d'unité entre les divers aspects de la situation économique des travailleurs dans l'esprit des intéressés eux-mêmes est concurremment l'absence dans la plupart des cas d'un lien direct entre le progrès technique et l'évolution de la situation ouvrière. Dans un cas même et particulièrement important, celui du salaire, il n'existe aucune perception d'une évolution nette. Peut-être peut-on faire ici l'hypothèse générale que si les ouvriers replacent naturellement les faits techniques dans une perspective historique d'évolution et de progrès, ils ne jugent pas leur situation économique et sociale par comparaison avec un passé proche ou lointain, mais d'après la conscience qu'ils ont de participer ou non à un moment donné aux biens sociaux créés par leur travail. Il demeure que, selon les ouvriers interrogés, le progrès technique qui apporte par lui-même des conséquences professionnelles favorables pourrait apporter, s'il était utilisé pour le bien des travailleurs, une amélioration de la condition ouvrière, et c'est ce lien théorique qui justifie le jugement d'ensemble favorable porté sur le progrès technique.

IV—LA NOTION DE PROGRÈS

Il y a donc plus qu'un décalage entre le progrès technique et ses conséquences sociales dans l'esprit des ouvriers interrogés. A proprement parler, c'est seulement du point de vue technique et professionnel qu'ils pensent en termes de changement. Quand il s'agit du salaire et du niveau de vie, ils ne parlent que de leur maintien et le fait est d'autant plus frappant que, tout en affirmant l'évolution des besoins et du genre de vie, ils n'établissent pas de rapport entre cette évolution et leur situation économique et sociale. Ils ne pensent pas cette dernière en termes de progrès, ils ne la placent pas dans une perspective historique. Le progrès tout court, c'est pour eux essentiellement le progrès technique avec ses conséquences pour le travail et le genre de vie; ce n'est pas l'évolution sociale, qu'on désignait sous ce nom au XIX^e siècle. La condition ouvrière peut être meilleure ou pire selon les moments; elle apparaît pire aujourd'hui qu'avant-guerre; mais ce sont des oscillations dues au rapport des forces, à la politique gouvernementale, à l'organisation de la société. Ce ne sont pas des étapes dans un mouvement, en tout cas pas des étapes dans un mouvement lié au mouvement technique.

Aussi n'est-il pas étonnant que le mot de progrès ne comporte pas, dans leur bouche, de valorisation très nette. Le progrès est une loi technique et économique : il faut moderniser parce que d'autres le font et que l'usine, pour survivre, doit tenir tête à la concurrence. Les raisons du changement sont claires et elles sont acceptées par une forte majorité. De même la vie se transforme et les besoins changent. Le progrès n'est pas bon ou mauvais ; c'est un fait, ou plutôt c'est une loi d'évolution à laquelle on ne saurait s'opposer, qui est impersonnelle et inéluctable. On pourra donc protester contre certaines conséquences du changement, voire lutter contre elles. Il serait peut-être possible d'éviter certaines conséquences défavorables, quoiqu'on discerne mal comment. Mais, fondamentalement, il faut accepter le changement, indépendamment de ses conséquences bonnes ou mauvaises, parce que c'est une nécessité.

Peut-être cette attitude peut-elle s'expliquer en partie par le fait que les ouvriers ont été relativement peu informés du changement et en tout cas qu'ils y ont assisté sans y participer. Le changement est jusqu'ici un événement, ce n'est pas une expérience. Mais cette explication n'est que partielle si du moins on se borne à invoquer les méthodes d'administration du changement. La source de ces attitudes semble plus profonde.

On peut donc conclure que, pour une part au moins, les attitudes à l'égard du changement technique considéré ne sont pas déterminées par ses conséquences. De plus, des aspects directement saisissables de la transformation, seuls les aspects professionnels sont mis directement en rapport avec le changement. Les aspects économiques (salaires, chômage, niveau de vie) n'ont avec lui que des rapports indirects et qui ne vont pas sans ambiguïté.

CONCLUSIONS

Il est difficile, faute d'éléments de comparaison, de définir la signification des résultats de cette première étude. Il est certain qu'ils s'expliquent en partie par la situation économique et la politique du personnel du secteur industriel considéré : secteur en extension, usines importantes qui fournissent de grandes possibilités de réemploi aux ouvriers déplacés et dont les directions, au cours des dernières années, se sont efforcées, en général avec succès, de ne pas débaucher de personnel à la suite de transformations techniques. Cette situation explique la faiblesse des craintes de chômage technologique qui seraient certainement plus importantes dans des régions moins industrialisées et placées dans une situation économique moins favorables.

Mais il est probable aussi que les réalités techniques et professionnelles de cette industrie expliquent les résultats obtenus. Le travail des ouvriers reste en grande partie "traditionnel", c'est-à-dire fait d'expérience et d'habitudes, plus que d'utilisation de connaissances techniques ou de maniement de mécanismes complexes et de matériaux complètement standardisés. Parallèlement, l'ouvrier est fortement "engagé"

dans un travail exercé dans ces conditions très particulières. Il est donc normal, semble-t-il que ce soit en termes professionnels qu'il définisse d'abord les conséquences du changement technique. Il est remarquable qu'appelé à définir des facteurs de satisfaction et d'insatisfaction dans leur travail, dans d'autres industries et dans le travail ouvrier en général, il ait d'autant plus insisté sur les facteurs professionnels qu'il se référait à une expérience plus directe et plus personnelle, tandis que les aspects économiques reprenaient pour lui de l'importance quand il s'exprimait en termes généraux. S'il est exact que les caractéristiques professionnelles du travail contribuent à expliquer et la priorité des effets professionnels du changement dans le jugement porté sur celui-ci et le lien direct établi entre ces effets et le changement technique—tandis qu'il n'existe pas de lien direct et simple entre le changement et l'évolution de la situation économique des travailleurs, selon les ouvriers interrogés—on doit s'attendre, au cours de la seconde phase de l'enquête, c'est-à-dire en interrogeant les ouvriers après le lancement des nouvelles installations et la disparition des anciennes à voir les problèmes économiques à la fois gagner en importance et être mis en relation plus directe avec le changement technique.

Cette idée est au premier abord surprenante car les attitudes a posteriori seront certainement plus directement influencées par les caractéristiques directement éprouvées de la nouvelle installation tandis que les attitudes a priori étaient plus déterminées par les orientations générales de la conscience ouvrière. Mais elle doit peut-être conduire en conclusion à l'hypothèse qu'à un progrès dans la mécanisation et dans l'automatisme correspond, au niveau même de l'expérience vécue de travail, une plus grande importance des aspects économiques et sociaux, dans la formation des attitudes à l'égard du travail. La comparaison des attitudes exprimées avant et après l'introduction du changement technique sera surtout l'analyse de la réorientation d'un système d'attitudes, dans une situation économique et sociale générale apparemment identique, en fonction d'une transformation profonde des expériences professionnelles.

NOTE

¹ En collaboration avec Jacques Dofny et Bernard Mottez.

Quinze ans d'expérience ouvrière : la Communauté de Travail Boimondau

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I. PROBLÈMES POSÉS PAR L'ENTREPRISE CAPITALISTE

Depuis l'apparition de la grande industrie, se substituant à l'artisanat, une structure de l'entreprise, génératrice d'une grande production, s'est développée dans le monde.

Aujourd'hui, cette structure, en dépit de grands succès matériels, se solde par un redoutable échec social. Il convient d'étudier les problèmes posés par l'entreprise traditionnelle dite " capitaliste " pour comprendre dans quelle mesure l'entreprise communautaire, décrite ci-après a apporté ou tenté d'apporter un remède ou une réponse.

Le caractère de l'entreprise capitaliste traditionnelle

Les hommes de l'entreprise capitaliste, réunis à l'occasion du travail, forment un ensemble d'hommes, dont les intérêts, la sensibilité, la liberté sont différents ou opposés. On peut dire même, qu'obligés de coopérer à une même œuvre, les hommes de l'entreprise capitaliste vont devenir, les uns pour les autres, des étrangers, des ennemis.

Sur le plan économique. En gros, deux groupes d'hommes composent l'entreprise : les uns sont propriétaires de l'entreprise, c'est à dire que les moyens de production : capital, machines, brevets, bâtiments sont leur propriété privée personnelle.

Les autres, la plus grande masse, ne possèdent que leur force de travail, qu'ils louent ou vendent aux possesseurs de l'entreprise.

La prise de conscience de ce seul fait entraîne, chez l'ouvrier, un terrible sentiment de dépendance, de frustration. L'ouvrier ne se sent pas attaché à l'usine. Ce n'est pas *sa chose*. Il n'y vient ou n'y séjourne que par nécessité. De plus, travaillant en commun, l'ouvrier a la certitude que dans le partage des richesses produites par le travail il a la part du pauvre. D'où les conflits, les grèves qui ensanglantent notre histoire ouvrière depuis plus d'un siècle. Pour l'ouvrier, le salaire n'est jamais juste. Il a le sentiment d'être frustré du fruit de son travail.

Sur le plan industriel. Le gigantisme de l'entreprise, rend incompréhensible à l'ouvrier ses rouages, son mécanisme et son but. L'ouvrier ne se sent pas à l'usine dans un lieu familial. Le travail parcellaire et monotone n'a pour lui aucun intérêt. La division du travail a aboli toute joie créatrice, tout esprit créateur. Les techniques d'organisation, de contrôle du travail, la standardisation lui rendent l'usine hostile.

Contraint par nécessité de venir à l'usine pour gagner sa vie, l'ouvrier n'aspire qu'à tuer les heures et en sortir au plus vite.

Aucune participation ne lui est demandé. Il sent confusément que quelque chose lui est enlevé, supprimé.

Sur le plan social. L'usine, c'est la grande contrainte. Toute l'organisation capitaliste consacre la dépendance de l'homme envers d'autres hommes. Ces hommes qui commandent, qui ont le pouvoir, il ne les a pas choisis; ils lui sont imposés.

Supérieurs par la technique, par la culture, ils enserrent l'ouvrier dans un ensemble de règles ayant pour but une production qui est sans intérêt pour lui, qui ne sert qu'à accroître le profit du patron.

A sa place de travail, l'ouvrier ne situe pas sa tâche dans l'ensemble. Il travaille comme une machine, *il n'est pas informé des buts ou des événements importants de l'entreprise.* Bien plus, il sent que l'avenir n'est pas ouvert devant lui. Ses possibilités de progression, d'ascension sont limités. Il a bien peu de chance de gravir les échelons et il sait que, même si cela se produit, il n'ira pas loin.

Sur le plan humain. Ses relations dans le travail, à l'occasion du travail, sont lamentables. L'usine s'apparente à la caserne. Un cloisonnement rigoureux fait d'habitudes, de traditions, de manières de voir, sépare le directeur, la maîtrise, les ouvriers. Pas de contacts humains; de simples rapports techniques.

L'ouvrier se sent de plus en plus ravalé au niveau du matériel.

Pis encore, il se sent souvent un simple appendice de la machine. On ne le considère que comme un producteur. Rien en dehors de la dure nécessité de gagner sa vie, ne rassemble, cimente les hommes entre eux. Plus grave, *aucune sécurité d'emploi* ne lui est assuré. C'est d'ailleurs ce sentiment d'insécurité qui orientent tant de fils d'ouvrier vers les carrières de fonctionnaires.

L'expérience Communautaire

L'expérience communautaire française, dont nous allons retracer les grandes lignes, est un essai, une tentative de résoudre les contradictions, les problèmes posés par l'entreprise de types traditionnels.

Construite, élaborée par des ouvriers, elle a pensé une structure particulière dont voici les grandes lignes:

- Propriété sociale et indivise des moyens de production.
- Suppression du salariat. Tous les membres sont des associés.
- Elections des responsables.
- Conseils élus assistant le responsable.
- Education et instruction sur tous les plans.
- Intégration de la famille.

II. LA COMMUNAUTÉ DE TRAVAIL

La tradition française

Pour les historiens du mouvement ouvrier, pour les sociologues s'intéressant à la structure des entreprises, la France est le pays où,

au 19e et 20e siècle, les expériences coopératives, communautaires, associatives ont été les plus nombreuses.

L'idéal d'une société fraternelle, d'une organisation de l'entreprise nouvelle n'a cessé de hanter le cerveau des penseurs, et susciter l'association des ouvriers entre eux. La Communauté de Travail s'insère dans cette tradition bien française: *l'association ouvrière de production*.

Les communautaires française se réclament de St. Simon, de Charles Fourier, de Philippe Buchez et, dans une certaine mesure, d'Etienne Cabet. L'essentiel de leurs principes est puisé dans la riche expérience des associations ouvrières françaises.

Situation de la Communauté de Travail

La Communauté de Travail Boimondau, est une entreprise d'horlogerie fabriquant des boîtiers de montres, des cadrans de montres. 185 ouvriers travaillent dans l'entreprise.

La Communauté a fêté, en février 1955, son 15e anniversaire.

La profession horlogère française qui groupe 8,000 ouvriers en 620 entreprises, situe Boimondau parmi les 5 ou 6 grandes entreprises d'une profession qui reste l'apanage de la petite entreprise.

Dans la spécialité horlogère de boîtier de montre, Boimondau se place au premier rang et assure à elle seule 20% de la fabrication française de boîtiers.

Géographiquement, la Communauté de Travail Boimondau est à Valence (Drôme), en dehors des milieux traditionnels de l'Horlogerie: le Jura et la Savoie.

La Communauté de Travail Boimondau n'est pas une expérience unique puisque quatre autres communautés horlogères se sont créées à Valence et à Besançon et qu'il existe en France, dans des professions variées, 52 communautés de travail.

Bref historique de la Communauté

La Communauté a été imaginée et créée par un ouvrier horloger devenu petit patron: Marcel Barbu.

S'inspirant du christianisme, il élaborait la première structure de la Communauté et en fut le créateur. Cela se passait en 1940.

La défaite française, l'occupation allemande l'amènèrent à transférer son entreprise à Valence et à réaliser, avec quelques jeunes ouvriers la première Communauté de Travail. Très vite l'entreprise comprend 5, 10, 15, 30 ouvriers qui sont éduqués professionnellement.

En 1942, la structure de la Communauté s'établit. Il y a un conseil de gestion, des assemblées, des cours. Les Allemands décrètent le Service du Travail obligatoire.

Les membres de la Communauté refusent de partir en Allemagne. On arrête le responsable et les Communautés prennent le maquis dans le "Vercors" pour résister à l'occupant. Ce petit fait a une importance dans la formation, la cohésion de l'équipe communautaire.

A la Libération, après la défaite allemande, la Communauté reprend son essor.

Le fondateur Marcel Barbu, retrouve à son retour de déportation une Communauté durcie par les épreuves. Des divergences apparaissent. Les Compagnons décident de nommer un nouveau Chef de Communauté et allouent au fondateur, une somme de 7,580,000 Frs. pour aller créer d'autres Communautés.

La Communauté continue son essor, se développe, prend la première place sur le marché de l'horlogerie. Elle est actuellement une des entreprises les plus représentatives de l'horlogerie française.

Les principes de la Communauté

Les membres de la Communauté venus de tous les horizons offraient, au départ, un curieux mélange de croyances et d'opinions diverses. Bien vite il a fallu se mettre d'accord sur un certain nombre de principes et instituer la *tolérance* dans les idées comme un principe essentiel de la Communauté.

Les principes de base, à partir desquels la règle de la Communauté fut instituée sont :

- (1) Propriété sociale et indivise des biens de production.
- (2) Tout le pouvoir dans l'Assemblée Générale.
- (3) Délégation de pouvoir à des chefs élus et responsables.
- (4) Rémunération hiérarchisée.
- (5) Organisation de l'éducation et développement de la culture et des loisirs.
- (6) Solidarité des membres de la Communauté en face des risques sociaux (maladie, accidents).
- (7) Principes de l'unanimité pour les décisions importantes.
- (8) Organisation scientifique du Travail dans l'entreprise.
- (9) Intégration de la famille dans la Communauté.

La règle de la Communauté

La Règle de la Communauté de Travail est le pacte fondamental qui lie les hommes de la Communauté. Cette Règle a été débattue, discutée, adoptée sur la base des principes ci-dessus. Elle est à la fois le statut essentiel de la Communauté et son règlement intérieur. Elle n'a rien de définitif et elle est revue périodiquement par une Commission pour la modification de la Règle.

La force de la Règle vient :

- (1) De ce qu'elle est reconnue valable dans l'engagement personnel signé par le Compagnon.
- (2) De ce qu'elle a été élaborée, discutée et approuvée à l'unanimité.
- (3) De ce qu'elle est mentionnée dans le statut juridique légal de Coopérative Ouvrière de Production.

Le statut juridique

Le but de la Communauté étant l'épanouissement, le développement de ses membres, dans un climat de liberté, avec comme base économique l'exercice en commun d'un métier, ne pourrait trouver, dans le droit français, un cadre juridiquement prêt pour elle. La Communauté tient à la fois de la structure publique (type commun), de l'association sans but lucratif et de la société commerciale.

Grâce à un compromis, la Communauté a adopté provisoirement le statut juridique des Coopératives ouvrières de Production française. Ses particularités, l'application des principes communautaires, sa règle sont mentionnées à l'article 5 bis de ses statuts.

La propriété sociale des moyens de production

L'actif de la Communauté de Travail Boimondau représente 220 millions de francs. C'est le fruit du travail collectif de 15 années.

Par nature, ce capital est collectif et indivis et aucun des membres actuels de la Communauté ne peut en emporter une part en cas de départ (quelqu'en soit la raison).

Ce capital a été constitué progressivement en prélevant sur le profit au bénéfice de l'entreprise, une importante part annuelle qui a été confiée au *Comité d'Entreprise*.

Dans la Communauté, le Comité d'Entreprise (qui a un statut juridique légal prévu par le Code du Travail français) est devenu le Conseil Général d'Administration de la Communauté.

C'est donc le Comité d'Entreprise, personne morale, qui possède les parts du capital de la Communauté. Cette propriété sociale des moyens de production, libère dans la Communauté les hommes de la contrainte de l'argent dans les assemblées.

La position des personnes dans la Communauté

La Communauté a aboli, dans ses principes, toute discrimination de race, de nationalité, de sexe, de religions ou d'opinions. Pourtant elle pratique un certain choix à l'entrée. Ce choix est subordonné à un examen de capacité professionnelle, de santé et aussi d'aptitude coopérative.

Une fois entré dans la Communauté, trois stades s'échelonnent sur 15 mois, jalonnent l'intégration progressive de la personne dans la Communauté.

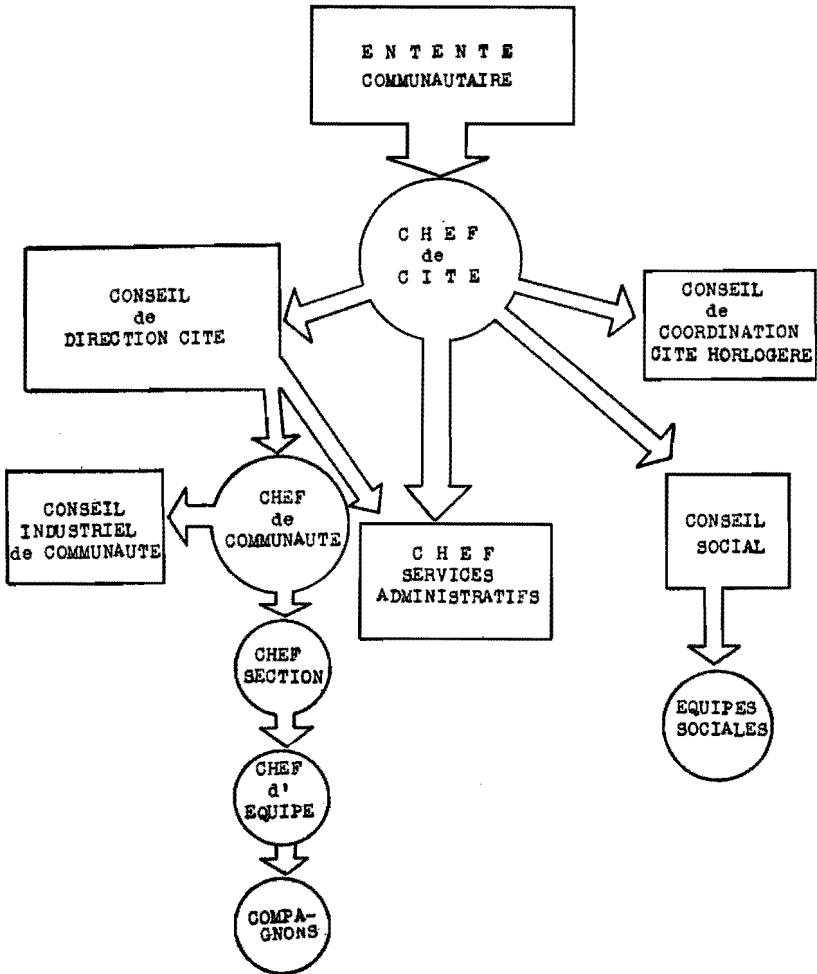
(1) *Stagiaire* (à l'essai pendant 3 mois). Le statut du stagiaire est celui d'un salarié.

(2) *Postulant* (dure un an). Le postulant est un stagiaire qui a été accepté par le Conseil Général. Il participe aux assemblées mais n'a pas le droit de vote. Il peut être renvoyé sur décision du chef.

(3) *Compagnon*: postulant ayant satisfait à l'examen du Conseil et ayant montré par 15 mois de vie communautaire qu'il était apte

à s'intégrer totalement dans la Communauté. Le Compagnon peut être éligible à tous les organismes de la Communauté. Il assiste à toutes les assemblées et a le droit de vote. Le Compagnon ne peut être renvoyé que par décision du Tribunal.

Organigramme de la Hiérarchie des Responsabilités Communautaires



Les organismes de gestion

Tout le pouvoir vient de l'Assemblée Générale des Compagnons (associés). Ces compagnons, en assemblée désignent :

- (1) Un Chef de Communauté élu pour 3 ans (mandat renouvelable 3 fois). Ce Chef a les pleins pouvoirs pour gérer, diriger la Société et ce sur tous les plans (humain, industriel, financier).

(2) Un Conseil Général de 12 membres élus pour un an qui conseille le Chef de Communauté.

(3) Une Commission de Contrôle, composée de 3 membres, élue pour 3 ans.

Les organismes d'information

L'information est la clef de voûte de l'édifice communautaire. A cet effet, la Communauté s'est donnée des organismes réguliers d'information.

(1) *Assemblée de contact.* A lieu chaque fin de semaine. Elle dure 1/2 heure. A cette assemblée y participent tous ses membres (stagiaires, postulants, compagnons). On fait le point de la semaine, on commente les résultats, les difficultés, les succès, les échecs. C'est dans cette assemblée que sont donnés oralement les directives ou informations générales.

(2) *Assemblée de compagnons.* C'est la réunion mensuelle des associés. Les épouses y participent. On y traite des grandes questions de la Communauté.

(3) *Réunion de groupes de quartier.* Afin de diffuser les informations, de créer un esprit de groupe, d'éduquer, de mettre en relation les membres de la Communauté les uns avec les autres, les membres de la Communauté sont réunis par groupes de 4 à 6 familles sur la base du quartier.

Un chef de groupe réunit périodiquement, tantôt dans l'un ou l'autre foyer les membres de son groupe pour y discuter des problèmes de la Communauté. C'est dans les groupes que se préparent les modifications de la Règle, les élections etc. . . .

(4) *Le journal mensuel.* Enfin un journal mensuel, véritable bulletin intérieur, complète, avec le tableau d'affichage, les moyens d'information dont disposent les Compagnons.

Les organismes de sécurité

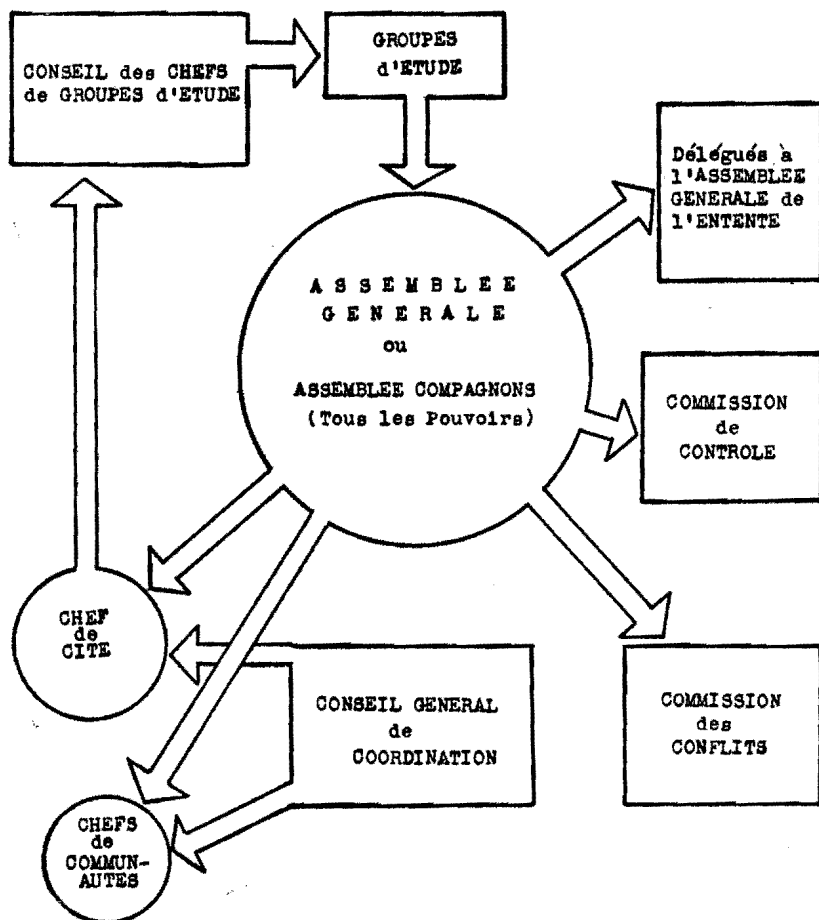
Afin de pallier à l'arbitraire possible des chefs pour régler les différents de toute nature, des organismes de sécurité existent. Ce sont les tribunaux de la Communauté ou les Commissions d'arbitrage. Il en existe deux :

(1) *Le Tribunal de la Communauté,* composé de 8 personnes élues par l'Assemblée Générale. Il a pour mission de régler les conflits, de veiller à ce que la Règle soit respectée.

(2) *La Commission d'arbitrage de l'Entente Communautaire.* C'est une Commission d'arbitrage nommée par le Congrès des Communautés de Travail françaises. Il juge les conflits entre communautés de travail et aussi les conflits qui n'ont pas été réglés par le Tribunal de la Communauté.

Les deux organismes de sécurité s'appuient sur le pacte social qui garantit la sécurité au compagnon. En effet, seul le Tribunal peut prononcer son renvoi. Encore faut-il qu'il y ait faute grave.

Organigramme de Transmission des Pouvoirs



Les organismes culturels et sanitaires

L'épanouissement des hommes, but de la Communauté, est réalisé par l'éducation et la propagation de la culture *dans le travail* et sur le *lieu du travail*. Un service social organise donc la culture dans la Communauté. Sur 48 heures de travail, trois heures sont consacrées à des cours. Dix sept professeurs des écoles et lycées de la ville viennent enseigner à des ouvriers, suivant un programme, les matières les plus diverses (français, langue étrangère, histoire du Mouvement Ouvrier, sciences, musique, peinture, etc.). Afin d'encourager l'effort culturel, les cours sont rémunérés.

La Communauté dispose d'une infirmerie avec deux infirmières et s'est assurée les services d'un médecin du travail. Une jardinière d'enfants (éducatrice) garde les enfants qui ne sont pas admis à l'école de la ville.

La Communauté dispose en outre d'une maison de repos et d'une colonie de vacances de montagne.

Autorité et discipline

La nécessité d'une hiérarchie des fonctions et d'une autorité est acceptée par tous les membres de la Communauté. Les chefs sont élus et révocables. A chaque échelon le pouvoir est total, la responsabilité totale. Néanmoins les chefs sont assistés de conseils qui ont pour mission de les aider, de les conseiller, de les contrôler. C'est presque toujours un problème d'homme. Tant vaut le chef, tant vaut l'autorité.

Au-dessus du chef il y a la règle et c'est pour le bien commun qu'il doit diriger la Communauté.

La *manière* dont s'exerce l'autorité du chef n'est pas sans importance. Parfois le chef a tendance à régler les problèmes tout seul et ne consulte pas assez les compagnons. Parfois c'est le contraire. Le juste milieu est difficile. Avec le vieillissement et la maturité communautaire, l'ensemble des membres participe beaucoup mieux à la direction des affaires en intervenant dans les assemblées. Il n'est pas facile de trouver dans le même homme une haute qualification technique et un véritable esprit communautaire. Pourtant le succès de la Communauté de Travail dépend de l'équilibre heureux de ces qualités du chef.

La rémunération

Association d'hommes qui s'unissent pour réaliser leur destinée personnelle, la Communauté se fait productrice en vue d'assurer à la fois l'existence de ses membres et la sienne propre. Les bénéfiques qui résultent de cette activité sont répartis de la manière suivante :

Un fonds de réserves.

Une part pour le développement des moyens de production.

Une part pour la couverture des risques sociaux (maladie, etc.).

Une part pour la rémunération du personnel.

C'est le Conseil Général qui détermine le montant des parts.

La répartition aux membres tient compte de la quantité de travail professionnel fourni. Elle tient compte aussi de la qualité du travail suivant une échelle hiérarchique basée sur les conventions collectives françaises. Le barème des coefficients a été discuté et adopté à l'unanimité.

Manœuvre	100
Ouvrier professionnel	170
Chef d'équipe	220
Chef d'atelier	320
Ingénieur	500 à 600
Chef de Communauté	700

Un salaire minimum (10% supérieur au salaire minimum légal garanti) est assuré à chaque compagnon.

De plus, une rémunération dite *sociale* est accordée pour récompenser l'effort culturel et la participation aux activités de la Communauté. Les épouses de compagnons participent à cette rémunération.

L'organisation du travail

Se trouvant dans un métier semi-artisanal, la Communauté a dû adopter les méthodes industrielles modernes: travail parcellaire, contrôle des temps, rationalisation.

Les cadences de travail sont évaluées, d'après un système assez connu (Bedaux).

Des primes de rendement récompensent l'effort. Une cadence minimum de travail est exigée. Cela ne va pas sans difficultés. Une Commission des Temps étudie les cas litigieux. Les raisons de changements de valeurs sont commentées, expliquées.

Outre une formation des hommes assurée par les cours, une formation de la Maîtrise a été faite par des instructeurs, à l'aide des méthodes T.W.I. Progressivement, le choix de la Maîtrise (ratifié par les Compagnons) ne s'est plus fait d'une manière sentimentale mais au mérite.

L'organisation du travail, l'adaptation d'une politique industrielle de travail en série ont entraîné des résistances dans les communautés et n'ont pas encore toutes disparu. Le grand souci du Service Social est d'adapter chaque personne au travail qui semble le mieux lui convenir.

III. LES RÉSULTATS

Le climat de l'entreprise

Du fait de la propriété sociale des moyens de production, la division en classes sociales a disparu. Tous les efforts demandés (discipline, dévouement, production) ne sont pas entachés d'arrière-pensée d'exploitation. On gagne sa vie dans une structure socialement plus juste que l'entreprise capitaliste.

Du fait de l'élection des responsables, le fossé entre dirigeants et dirigés s'est partiellement comblé. Les rapports humains sont empreints de simplicité et de bienveillance.

Du fait de l'éducation et de l'information, les hommes de la Communauté acquièrent une mentalité nouvelle de gestionnaire.

La promotion ouvrière

Du fait de l'accession aux responsabilités, de la formation ouvrière, la hiérarchie est ouverte. L'homme de valeur, celui qui a de l'ambition, des possibilités, sait que son ascension est possible.

Tous les responsables actuels (cadres supérieurs et maîtrise) à l'exception d'un seul ingénieur, sont sortis du rang.

Le développement de la productivité

Le tableau suivant, montre année par année, la production de boîtiers (en pièces) par rapport à l'effectif et se dispense de tout commentaire.

Année	Nombre de Productifs	Nombre de boîtiers vendus
1945	133	133,000
1946	130	204,000
1947	163	311,000
1948	134	288,000
1949	143	342,000
1950	149	424,000
1951	175	547,000
1952	176	530,000
1953	173	517,000
1954	165	648,000

La puissance de la Communauté s'est manifestée dans ce fait : presque inexistante en 1940, elle a conquis en 15 ans la première place grâce à :

- (a) Ses méthodes de fabrication.
- (b) La qualité de ses modèles.
- (c) L'abaissement de ses prix de vente.
- (d) La qualité de sa main d'œuvre.

L'amélioration du standard de vie

La gestion de la Communauté débarrassée de la notion de profit, a permis une répartition plus grande que les salaires habituellement donnés dans la même profession. Cette amélioration se décompose en deux parties :

(a) Rémunération directe

On peut dire qu'en moyenne la Communauté a toujours payé ses membres à des taux supérieurs. Ce taux a été variable suivant les années, les personnes, la qualification, la situation familiales. Actuellement, en raison des difficultés de la profession horlogère, il est encore de 10% supérieur. Dans les bonnes périodes et pour certaines catégories les plus défavorisées, il a oscillé entre 20 et 35% au-dessus des salaires des entreprises similaires.

(b) Rémunération indirecte

Comprend la compensation médicale (frais médicaux et journées perdues). Elle est importante et représente surtout une sécurité.

L'encouragement familial pour l'intéressement de l'épouse et des enfants est également appréciable.

On ne peut chiffrer celà, étant donné la variabilité de cet encouragement.

Il est *au minimum* de 1,000 Frs. par enfant et par an.

Une rémunération indirecte appréciable provient des économies réalisées par l'achat des denrées, aliments, vêtements et objets à l'économat (coopérative de consommation de la Communauté). De même la colonie de vacances, le jardin d'enfants, l'assistance médicale sont autant de rémunérations appréciables qu'indirectes.

(c) *Le problème du logement.*

Le problème du logement est le problème clef de la condition ouvrière.

La Communauté l'a résolu partiellement en créant une société d'habitations à loyers modérés. Cette société (contrôlée par la Communauté) a construit 200 maisons.

Ces maisons (dont le financement a été assuré par l'Etat) deviennent la propriété de leurs occupants au bout de 18 à 25 ans.

Chaque mois, l'occupant de la maison verse à la Société une somme mensuelle (égale à peu près à une location) et il rembourse ainsi le prix d'achat de sa maison.

Actuellement, 60 foyers de la Communauté ont construit ou fait construire leur maison.

Nous disons *construire* parce qu'au départ, pour souscrire une maison (dont le coût varie de 2 à 3 millions) il faut un apport de 280,000 Frs. La Communauté, pour certains, prête l'argent nécessaire, mais la plupart font cet apport en "heures de travail" sur le chantier, suivant la formule "castor" très développée en France.

La réponse communautaire aux problèmes posés par l'entreprise capitaliste

L'entreprise communautaire n'a pas la prétention de résoudre tous les problèmes. Elle apporte une réponse valable à pas mal de problèmes posés par la structure capitaliste :

- (a) Abolition du salariat.
- (b) Participation à la gestion.
- (c) Education et formation de l'homme.
- (d) Intégration de l'ouvrier dans sa communauté professionnelle.
- (e) Amélioration du climat de l'entreprise.
- (f) Amélioration du standard de vie.

Les problèmes qui restent posés

- (a) *Le problème de la propriété sociale et indivise des biens de production.*

La propriété sociale et indivise des biens de production est parfois mal comprise. Ces biens appartiennent au travailleur dans la stricte mesure où le travailleur fait partie de la collectivité. Du fait du nombre limité de communautés excluant les chances de passage d'une Communauté à l'autre, le travailleur qui quitte la Communauté ne trouve pas la contre-partie de ce qu'il perd en rentrant dans les usines capitalistes.

Cela crée des malaises, des incompréhensions, des difficultés en raison même de la constitution et de l'origine de cette propriété sociale. Chaque fois qu'il faut répartir le gain (bénéfice ou profit), il y a toujours discussion lorsqu'il s'agit de fixer le % consacré aux investissements, au fonds de développement et le % consacré à la rémunération directe ou indirecte.

(b) Le problème de la gestion collective.

Le problème de propriété est une question de biens à posséder.

Le problème de gestion est une question de pouvoir à exercer.

Ils sont distincts, mais comme dans le régime capitaliste la possession des biens de production entraîne le pouvoir, cela conduit la Communauté à asseoir le pouvoir de gérer *sur les personnes* et non sur l'argent.

Le rôle du chef sera toujours difficile dans les communautés.

Il doit avant tout être un *meneur d'hommes*, doublé d'un technicien et d'un administrateur éprouvé.

Deux écueils :

—le chef ayant une puissante personnalité développe, par l'usage, encore cette personnalité et entraîne la confiance des camarades, et règle petit à petit les problèmes pour eux, en laissant dans une dépendance totale les autres membres de la Communauté. S'il est honnête, il agit pour le bien commun ; l'épanouissement de la personnalité des autres membres de la Communauté en est entravé.

—le chef dépendant de l'Assemblée Générale pour son élection pratique une démagogie qui dissout l'autorité et entraîne l'irresponsabilité dans la gestion et cela devient une catastrophe pour le bien commun de la Communauté.

(c) Le problème de l'organisation du travail

Malgré tous les efforts tentés, du fait de l'orientation vers des méthodes d'organisation scientifique du travail, la joie au travail, même dans la Communauté est limitée. En effet, la division du travail entraînant les tâches par séries, crée la monotonie et la lassitude. Seule une petite minorité profite de la libération de l'esprit qu'entraîne le travail mécanique, pour penser, réfléchir sur la Communauté.

Le but de la Communauté est lointain pour l'ouvrier spécialisé. Même dans la Communauté, il ne sent pas toujours l'utilité de cette tâche parcellaire.

L'information, la musique fonctionnelle dans l'entreprise, la rotation de l'ouvrier sur des postes spécialisés différents ne suffisent pas à éliminer ce fait que la tâche de l'ouvrier spécialisé manque d'intérêt, est monotone et lassante.

Autre problème que la Communauté ne résout pas :

S'il n'existe plus de classe dans la Communauté, on ne peut affirmer qu'une opposition ne subsiste pas entre dirigeants et dirigés. Là encore, c'est un problème de personnalité, de tâches, de compétence.

Heureusement que l'élection des responsables et leur contrôle tempèrent cette opposition.

Encore un autre écueil : la hiérarchie des salaires.

Du fait de nos positions communautaires, la hiérarchie des salaires donne encore lieu à des discussions, des contestations. Elles ne peuvent être atténuées que par des mesures découlant d'un sentiment de fraternité :

- (a) Limitation des écarts hiérarchiques.
- (b) Ecart hiérarchique justifié par la compétence et l'utilité.
- (c) Hiérarchie largement ouverte à tous ceux qui veulent faire les efforts.

Le problème de la sélection :

La Communauté étant une petite cellule à structure bien spéciale, il est nécessaire, pour le recrutement de ses membres, de faire le choix. Ce choix est fait par les responsables et ratifié par le Conseil.

Il y aura toujours le danger de faire ces choix suivant les critères utilitaires et professionnels ou de s'orienter vers des choix comportant surtout des critères affectifs et communautaires.

Là encore, un problème d'équilibre entre les nécessités de la production et les nécessités sociologiques qui exigent des hommes aptes à la vie en Communauté.

A ce sujet, les tests de potentiel coopératif Infield nous ont beaucoup aidés.

L'expérience des Forges et Aciéries de Bonpertuis

ALEXANDRE DUBOIS

(Forges et Aciéries de Bonpertuis, Isère)

1. HISTORIQUE

Bonpertuis est situé dans une petite vallée industrielle du Dauphiné. On y fait de l'acier depuis quatre siècles. Plus de deux cents personnes élaborent là des aciers spéciaux, principalement des inoxydables pour la coutellerie, dont un tiers est exporté.

L'affaire a été rachetée en 1920 par les actionnaires d'une société anonyme; elle a passé par une phase critique pour arriver à se moderniser; elle n'a donné ses premiers dividendes qu'en 1938. Son capital nominal est actuellement de 150 millions de francs; son actif net est de l'ordre de 350 millions, dont 230 représentent l'apport fait à l'origine par les actionnaires, réévalué; le surplus s'est constitué par autofinancement dans la dernière décade, après reconstitution, dans la décade précédente, du capital primitif très entamé; les rapports annuels approuvés par les actionnaires désignent ce surplus comme *acquêts de communauté*; en effet, depuis 1940, le personnel participe aux bénéfices mis en distribution, et les actionnaires ont admis que la part non distribuée des bénéfices soit comptabilisée sous cette forme.

Cette façon de faire s'inspire de la doctrine de l'Uce-act (union de chefs d'entreprise fondée en 1945 par le président de Bonpertuis) *selon laquelle l'entreprise n'est pas seulement moyen de production, mais réalisation en commun*; d'une part capital et travail doivent s'y marier pour assurer la production; d'autre part l'entreprise est aussi nécessaire aux usagers de ses produits qu'aux producteurs, et il est souhaitable qu'ils s'y intègrent les uns et les autres, dans la mesure où ils y aspirent et s'en rendent capables.

L'intégration des usagers, clients de l'entreprise, est, à Bonpertuis, du domaine d'un avenir encore à peine entrevu. Par contre cette doctrine commence à devenir une réalité pour les travailleurs de l'entreprise.

Les ouvriers qui avaient participé directement aux distributions de bénéfices de 1940 à 1947 avec des fortunes diverses, saisissaient mal le lien entre leurs efforts et les résultats, et, quand les bénéfices ont diminué, le personnel a exprimé le voeu que cette participation soit intégrée dans les salaires. Si on avait donné satisfaction à ce voeu, on aurait dû la réduire jusqu'à la rendre inopérante, ou élever les salaires à un niveau qui, faute d'élasticité, n'aurait vraisemblablement pas permis à l'entreprise de supporter victorieusement la lutte commerciale extrêmement sévère qu'elle a dû subir pendant trois ans sur le marché de coutellerie de Thiers (entre début 1952 et début 1955, les prix des

biseaux inoxydables ont baissé d'environ 30%, compte tenu des astreintes pour améliorer la qualité).

En Décembre 1947, au moment des grèves généralisées en France pour réaliser l'ajustement des salaires au coût de la vie, le président a proposé au personnel de l'usine et fait accepter par les principaux actionnaires le système de rémunération qui fonctionne depuis lors.

2. LA STRUCTURE

A. La participation Prioritaire Uniforme.

La première mesure visait à répondre au voeu légitime des ouvriers sans risquer pour autant d'entraîner par une augmentation générale des salaires une nouvelle vague d'inflation. A cet effet, on a instauré une prime mensuelle dite *Participation Prioritaire Uniforme*, la même pour tous du haut en bas de l'échelle hiérarchique. Elle était calculée de façon à porter le salaire du manœuvre le moins payé au niveau revendiqué comme minimum à l'époque. Ce minimum suivait ce qu'on a appelé depuis *l'échelle mobile*; la prime variait donc chaque mois, augmentant quand l'indice du coût de la vie augmentait, diminuant ou disparaissant si un ajustement des salaires intervenait. Cette "participation" était *théoriquement prélevée sur les bénéfices*, en ce sens que l'entreprise ne s'engageait pas à la servir, mais si elle en suspendait le service, elle s'interdisait alors toute distribution de dividende aux actionnaires et tout versement de participation à la Direction et aux Cadres. Cette mesure instaurait une première communauté de destin; elle a eu un effet salubre immédiat.

B. La rémunération d'entreprise.

La seconde mesure visait à associer le personnel à l'acte collectif de production d'une façon plus étroite et plus tangible que ne l'avait fait la participation aux distributions de bénéfices. Ce fut la *rémunération d'entreprise* (R.C.I.=rémunération au chiffre interne). Chaque mois la R.C.I. est calculée d'après la quantité d'acier vendue. Cette R.C.I. sert d'abord à payer les salaires. Le surplus, s'il y en a, reste la propriété du personnel qui, à son gré, met ce boni en réserve ou se le partage au prorata des salaires. Si par contre cette masse est insuffisante, les salaires sont néanmoins payés intégralement aux ouvriers pour rémunérer leur effort de production, mais le mali est inscrit en compte et doit être résorbé avant qu'une nouvelle distribution puisse intervenir. Ainsi c'est cette masse qui constitue la véritable rémunération du personnel, bien plutôt que le salaire qui ne joue plus que le rôle d'acompte et de clé de répartition. Par exemple à partir de 1952 la rémunération d'entreprise a été, 25 mois durant, inférieure à la masse des salaires payés, mais les quantités produites étaient plus importantes que les quantités vendues, des stocks se sont accumulés et quand ils ont commencé à se débloquer, en Avril 1954, sur une grosse

livraison à l'exportation, le boni a, d'un coup, permis de doubler la paye du mois suivant.

Par le seul fait que le salaire de chacun est alimenté par une rémunération collective, *le personnel se trouve constitué en une sorte de " Société de Travail "* (le terme figure dans la convention collective qui, en 1951, 4 ans après le début de l'expérience, a été signée entre la Direction et le personnel représenté par le Comité d'entreprise, avec l'appui des délégués des syndicats C.G.T. et C.F.T.C.). Le personnel prend conscience peu à peu de l'étroite solidarité qui unit ses membres. L'œuvre de production est son affaire. Le temps gaspillé l'est au détriment des camarades. Les chefs, aux différents échelons, ne sont plus des surveillants à la solde du patron; c'est le personnel qui les sollicite de bien faire leur métier de chef. Aussi, dans le préambule du contrat, si du côté du Conseil d'Administration on a fait préciser que l'autorité de la Direction devait rester décisive parce qu'elle est seule à posséder l'ensemble des éléments de la gestion, le point que le personnel a demandé de souligner en contre-partie, c'est qu'on tienne compte dans toute la mesure du possible des suggestions, individuelles ou collectives, qui émanaient de ses rangs.

Au début de chaque mois se réunit la Commission de rendement (Commission R.C.I.) qui prend connaissance des chiffres significatifs du mois précédent. Ce sont d'abord le montant total de la R.C.I. et le montant correspondant des salaires, et par différence le boni à distribuer ou le mali à reporter; le contrat collectif confère à la commission le pouvoir de contrôler ces éléments qui sont d'ailleurs très simples à établir et n'ont jamais donné lieu à suspicion, étant donné qu'ils sont calculés par des employés qui font partie de la Société de Travail.

Disons ici l'intérêt qu'il y a à ce que la R.C.I. soit *fonction des quantités vendues* et non des quantités produites. Cela souligne dans l'esprit de chacun *qu'on produit pour rendre service à des clients* et que ce sont eux, plus que le patron, qui commandent le travail à faire. Pendant les périodes de récession, cette formule a eu le mérite de soulager la trésorerie de l'entreprise qui, déjà mise à l'épreuve pour maintenir les salaires à un niveau suffisant, n'aurait pas été en état de payer des bonis. D'autre part, elle a beaucoup aidé à faire comprendre au personnel la nécessité d'améliorer sans cesse la qualité des produits et pour cela d'élever la formation technique et surtout la conscience professionnelle. Il arrive, il est arrivé pendant de longs mois, que les quantités produites excèdent les quantités vendues; à ces moments-là, s'il n'y avait plus de boni à distribuer, les salaires continuaient cependant à rémunérer l'effort de production, et par ailleurs des stocks se constituaient, sur la " valeur interne " desquels le personnel était périodiquement renseigné; par valeur interne, on entend à Bonpertuis la valeur du travail incorporé par l'entreprise dans les produits fabriqués; c'est un peu ce qu'en terminologie fiscale on appelle maintenant la " valeur ajoutée "; le personnel a vite compris que cette valeur interne des stocks représentait un boni différé qui lui reviendrait au moment de la vente, pour autant

qu'il y ait vente; et ceci a incité à maintenir une bonne productivité, même quand on vendait peu, et à ne produire pour le stock que des produits de qualité indiscutable.

Précisons comment la R.C.I. est calculée en fonction des quantités vendues. Ce n'est pas un salaire proportionnel au chiffre d'affaires du type Schueller obtenu en multipliant les quantités vendues par une fraction convenue du prix de vente. *C'est le produit des quantités vendues par des "prix internes"*. La convention collective R.C.I. comporte en annexe un barème des prix internes, analogue au barème des prix de vente, mais qui en diffère en ce que, négligeant les autres éléments du prix de revient, matières premières, force motrice, etc. . . . il n'en retient que l'élément main d'œuvre, ou plutôt travail interne total, travail fourni par l'entreprise toute entière, du haut en bas de sa hiérarchie et du commencement à la fin de ses opérations. De la sorte, *l'entreprise s'interdit de faire des bénéfices sur ce facteur main-d'œuvre*. Mais en contre-partie elle évite de faire des pertes: le prix interne, c'est son prix de revient main d'œuvre sur lequel elle peut fermement compter même s'il est momentanément dépassé dans les périodes où il y a mali; ceci est une arme qui a aidé Bonpertuis à soutenir la guerre des prix dans une période de concurrence acharnée, et, contrairement à l'opinion répandue, l'association du personnel a joué à ce moment-là dans le sens d'un abaissement du prix de revient.

Nous avons dit que la R.C.I. est calculée d'après les quantités *vendues* et nous en avons montré les avantages. Mais chaque mois le personnel est tenu également au courant de la valeur interne des quantités *produites*. Car c'est là le gain qu'il réalise véritablement, encore que différé dans le paiement s'il est mis en stock.

La commission R.C.I. a demandé aussi à *connaître chaque mois la valeur interne de la production de chaque atelier et service*. Tous les éléments lui sont donnés pour commenter ces chiffres de production. Ainsi a-t-elle une vue d'ensemble et de détail, efficace, comptable, et peut-elle intervenir par ses suggestions pour aider les cadres à détecter les déficiences de personnel, de matériel ou d'organisation, et à y remédier. On a là une méthode d'information et d'intervention du personnel qui donne à chacun, s'il veut savoir, le moyen de situer avec précision le sens de son effort dans l'œuvre collective de production.

Le personnel prend conscience progressivement de son rôle dans cette œuvre; ce rôle pourrait aller jusqu'à la gérance autonome de la Société de Travail qu'il constitue dans l'entreprise; c'est le vœu de M. Hyacinthe Dubreuil qui serait ainsi réalisé à l'échelon de l'entreprise, cela n'empêchant d'ailleurs en rien la gestion autonome de chacun des ateliers constituant l'entreprise, vers laquelle on tend également dans plusieurs ateliers de Bonpertuis.

C. L'information.

La discussion sur le fonctionnement interne de l'usine éveille les esprits et les rend attentifs aux informations externes, commerciales,

financières, administratives qui sont d'ailleurs données largement. On s'efforce de faire de Bonpertuis une maison de verre. *Les procès-verbaux soigneusement rédigés* des réunions du comité d'entreprise et de la commission R.C.I. qui dépend de lui sont non seulement affichés mais reproduits *dans le journal d'usine* en même temps que les informations statistiques sur la R.C.I.

Un même *rapport annuel* est communiqué au personnel par le canal du Comité d'entreprise et aux actionnaires par l'Assemblée Générale. Il répond en une vingtaine de pages aux deux questions suivantes :

1. Où va l'argent encaissé des clients ? C'est le compte d'exploitation clarifié qui dit comment il se répartit entre les fournisseurs, le personnel (avec décomposition des rémunérations par catégories, Direction, Cadres et Ouvriers), les actionnaires, les impôts, et ce qui reste pour grossir ou diminuer les acquêts de communauté antérieurs.

2. Comment est constitué l'actif net de l'entreprise ? Combien aux immobilisations, combien aux stocks et combien aux valeurs monétaires (créances moins dettes)

où se retrouvent dans chacune de ces trois grandes catégories de biens les résultats "véridiques" de l'exercice ? Quel accroissement ou diminution de chaque poste ?

et comment d'autre part se répartit cet actif net entre les apports d'origine des actionnaires, rigoureusement réévalués, et le surplus qui constitue les acquêts de communauté ?

C'est le "bilan véridique" qui répond à ce groupe de questions.

D. Le partage des bénéfices.

Un autre tableau montre comment sont répartis les fruits de l'exercice entre Capital, Travail, Acquêts de communauté, et Etat.

Cette répartition se fait, depuis 1947, selon les règles suivantes :

Le personnel reçoit sa part sous forme forfaitaire : à cet effet au chiffre interne, calculé comme nous l'avons dit, est ajouté 10% comme forfait de participation.

En contre-partie les actionnaires reçoivent un premier dividende de deux et demi pour cent du capital réévalué.

Si le montant mis en distribution le permet encore après ces premières affectations, vient la participation de la Direction et des Cadres ; elle correspond à une seconde tranche qui est généralement de 10% du chiffre interne également.

Et dans la mesure où elle est payée à ce taux, elle ouvre droit pour les actionnaires à un complément de dividende de deux et demi pour cent du capital réévalué.

Jusqu'à présent le surplus a été mis en réserve aux acquêts de communauté ; il n'est pas exclu qu'une nouvelle tranche puisse être mise en distribution avec nouveau partage entre Capital et Travail sur les mêmes bases.

Avec une telle formule, aucune des parties n'a envie de rogner la part des autres pour gonfler la sienne propre. On cherche ensemble à augmenter le gâteau à partager.

Il s'avère que le personnel est beaucoup plus efficacement intéressé sous cette forme que sous celle de participation directe aux bénéfices. En fait il n'est intéressé aux bénéfices, comme d'ailleurs la Direction, et comme les actionnaires, qu'à longue échéance. Ayant connaissance des résultats du bilan véridique, il a la faculté, lors du renouvellement annuel de la convention collective fixant les prix internes, de s'appuyer sur des résultats bénéficiaires brillants et suffisamment continus pour demander que soit élevé son forfait de participation ; en contre-partie, si un forfait trop élevé de participation du personnel de Bonpertuis ne permettait plus, durablement, de trouver dans les bénéfices résiduels de quoi rémunérer convenablement les actionnaires et la Direction, il y aurait là un argument sérieux pour ramener ce forfait à un niveau qui laisse une part équitable aux autres parties prenantes.

E. La part des consommateurs.

D'autre part un principe a été posé que le personnel a compris et admis : s'il est souhaitable que ses rémunérations s'accroissent progressivement, c'est à la condition que les prix internes, eux, n'augmentent pas (sauf inflation, bien entendu) et même aillent en diminuant, afin de maintenir l'usine compétitive en face de la concurrence, et de faire bénéficier les consommateurs d'un abaissement progressif des prix.

3. L'ESPRIT

Insistons cependant sur le fait que ces mécanismes de rémunération, cette structure nouvelle seraient par eux-mêmes inopérants s'ils n'étaient pas *animés par une équipe de militants* répartis à tous les échelons de la hiérarchie, direction, cadres, employés et ouvriers, de plus en plus confiants les uns dans les autres, dévoués au bien commun, décidés à ne rien sacrifier à la justice et à la vérité, et surtout convaincus de travailler à une action révolutionnaire qui dépasse le cadre de Bonpertuis dans lequel il se déroule, à une expérience qu'il faut apporter aux autres entreprises et qui s'insère dans un effort national et mondial pour refaire une société humaine plus unie et plus fraternelle. Bonpertuis a saisi toutes les occasions qui se sont offertes de favoriser la formation de tels militants ; notamment le Cadippe, association mixte de chefs d'entreprise et de salariés, a contribué à y répandre un esprit nouveau sans lequel la structure nouvelle serait sans doute restée sans grande efficacité.

4. LES RESULTATS

Voici, en manière de conclusion, quelques résultats :

1. *L'entreprise* est saine et vigoureuse. Elle ne le doit qu'à son dynamisme interne. Aucune circonstance particulière ne la favorise. Elle est relativement petite parmi des puissants. Elle trouve son salut

et sa prospérité dans la spécialisation, et cette spécialisation, elle l'a réalisée peu à peu par une avance technique conquise à la force du poignet.

2. *Les actionnaires*, après avoir failli perdre la plus grande partie de leur capital, l'ont vu se reconstituer intégralement. Les dividendes, bien que modérés dans leur taux, assurent aux actions une cote qui les place honorablement sur le marché des capitaux.

3. *Le personnel* s'attache, par une progression lente mais continue, à la vie de l'entreprise. Son état d'esprit change. De plus en plus il s'intéresse à ce qu'il fait. Il devient exigeant pour la valeur des chefs qui à leur tour doivent prendre conscience des nouvelles exigences de leurs responsabilités. La productivité s'améliore, et parallèlement le niveau de vie s'élève; cette progression est, à fin 1955, de l'ordre de 40% par rapport à la période creuse 1952-1953. La conscience professionnelle reprend un sens et la qualité des produits s'en ressent.

Le souci de participer à la vie syndicaliste est vif chez les militants qui font effort à l'intérieur de l'usine pour que l'expérience ne s'enlise pas dans un repli égoïste, et à l'extérieur pour que le syndicalisme dépasse la phase revendicative et entre dans la phase constructive de participation à la vie économique. Dans le même esprit, les dirigeants militent dans le milieu patronal pour que se multiplient les expériences de participation du personnel au développement de la productivité. Direction, cadres et ouvriers se retrouvent dans une action commune, notamment au sein du Cadippe.

A mesure que le personnel prend goût aux informations qui lui sont données sur la marche de Bonpertuis, il désire améliorer sa formation, d'abord en vue d'une meilleure productivité pour de meilleurs salaires, puis peu à peu pour élever son niveau de connaissances techniques, sa culture et enfin pour réfléchir à sa place dans le monde et au sens de son destin. Le besoin ressenti de promotions individuelles pour avoir de meilleurs chefs ne nuit pas à l'aspiration à une promotion collective.

4. *Les Clients* sont satisfaits d'un service qui va en s'améliorant. Les prix des biseaux en acier inoxydable pour coutellerie, spécialité de Bonpertuis, sont inférieurs sur le marché français au prix international. De grands progrès ont été apportés dans la qualité. L'usine se soucie de répondre sans retard aux besoins. Des efforts sont faits pour établir des liaisons entre le personnel et la clientèle. A l'intérieur les esprits sont orientés peu à peu, tant du côté des actionnaires que du côté du personnel, à accepter l'idée qu'un jour Bonpertuis pourrait faire une place dans ses conseils de gestion à des clients qui accepteraient de se lier plus étroitement à un fournisseur dont ils ont besoin et sur lequel ils doivent pouvoir compter pourvu que de leur côté ils substituent à des contrats d'achats successifs à court terme l'engagement d'assurer à long terme du travail à l'usine en garantissant une raisonnable rémunération aux producteurs; on commence à admettre qu'une part des bénéfices leur soit alors, en contre-partie, ristournée,

soit sous forme distribuée, soit par participation à la propriété des acquêts de communauté.

5. Animé de cet esprit, Bonpertuis cherche à apporter dans la vie syndicale et dans *l'organisation professionnelle* une action constructive s'opposant aux tendances égoïstes ou malthusiennes, favorable aux réalisations collectives (recherche scientifique, formation professionnelle, etc. . . .) et à l'expansion économique (sur le marché français, dans la communauté européenne du charbon et de l'acier, et sur les marchés d'exportation). Les dirigeants ne désespèrent pas, malgré le tonnage infime de sa production par rapport à l'ensemble sidérurgique français, d'avoir une influence sur leurs collègues dans le sens d'un service plus désintéressé de la clientèle, d'une intégration progressive des travailleurs et d'une fusion plus complète des intérêts professionnels avec le bien commun national et international.

La Télémechanique Electrique : essai d'étude sociologique sur ses réalisations

H. MIGEON

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Depuis déjà de nombreuses années, la Télémechanique Electrique de Nanterre fait parler d'elle. Plus exactement, on parle d'elle. Plus qu'elle-même ne le désirerait. Mais peut-on n'en point parler ? La présente communication demandée par l'Association Internationale de Sociologie est là pour prouver qu'il est difficile, sinon impossible, de taire cette expérience.

Mais comment en parle t-on ?

Tantôt, on loue ses réalisations sociales, tantôt on les critique. La louange et la critique sont distribuées également car le monde semble être divisé entre ceux qui veulent que des transformations s'accomplissent et ceux qui désirent que rien ne bouge. Et c'est bien l'apriorisme de leurs positions respectives qui leur commande la louange ou la critique.

Ces attitudes pourraient être interprétées comme constituant l'opinion moyenne de nos contemporains à l'égard de cette entreprise. Mais il serait téméraire de l'affirmer. Car n'est-il pas vrai que rien n'est plus difficile en cette matière que de trouver de véritables contemporains.

Dans le domaine économique et social, le contemporain est rare. On rencontre aujourd'hui des hommes du 18ème siècle en abondance. Ils ont lu Quesnay ou Adam Smith. Mais, même sans les avoir lus, ils continuent de recréer autour d'eux le monde tel que les physiocrates le voyaient, ou tel que l'éminent économiste de Kirkaldy l'observait.

Pour ceux-là, le libre échange, la loi de l'offre et la demande, la propriété considérée comme un absolu, le salaire envisagé comme le résultat d'un libre débat entre l'employeur et l'employé... sont toujours des dogmes immuables et éternels, indispensables au maintien de l'ordre social et à l'avenir de l'humanité. En cette année 1955 qui s'achève, ils sont encore innombrables parmi les vivants ceux qui se croient encore en 1780. Il est vrai qu'ils ont la consolation de cotoyer d'autres traditionalistes, les marxistes, qui en 1955 emportent avec eux une doctrine échafaudée aux environs de 1847, c'est-à-dire il y a déjà plus d'un siècle.

La Télémechanique Electrique dérange les uns et les autres, c'est bien certain. Elle n'est pas conformiste.

Mais qu'est-elle ?

POSITION DE LA TÉLÉMECHANIQUE ELECTRIQUE

La Télémechanique est une Entreprise qui a vu le jour en 1925. Son Siège est à Nanterre, dans la Banlieue Ouest de Paris. Elle

fabrique essentiellement des équipements électriques à contacteurs.

Au moment où elle a été créée, l'appareillage électrique était constitué par des panneaux de matière isolante, le plus souvent de marbre, sur lesquels venaient se fixer les éléments. Le perçage des trous, disposés à la demande selon la variété des commandes n'autorisait pas la fabrication en série, tout au moins en série importante. C'est alors que les quatre Ingénieurs qui ont fondé la Télémechanique Electrique ont eu l'heureuse idée de rechercher, à travers l'apparente diversité de cette industrie, les éléments qui se répétaient de commande à commande, puis, les ayant déterminés, de les assembler sur des barreaux d'acier revêtus de matière isolante (tubes de bakélite). Cette découverte a transformé l'industrie de l'appareillage et lui a permis de franchir le seuil qui sépare l'artisanat de la grande industrie. Par ailleurs, le montage des contacteurs sur barreaux a rendu possible l'association de plusieurs barreaux dans un même équipement, et grâce à des asservissements électriques ou mécaniques, de réaliser des dispositifs de commandes automatiques de plus en plus compliquées.

Aujourd'hui, où la mode veut que dans tous les salons, on parle d'automation, il faut souligner le fait que, depuis trente ans, la Télémechanique Electrique, la pratique quotidiennement.

Telle a été l'idée originale qui a donné naissance à l'essor de la Télémechanique Electrique en ce qui concerne la technique. Celle-ci n'a d'ailleurs cessé d'évoluer et le domaine d'application du contacteur électrique n'a cessé de s'étendre.

Actuellement, la Télémechanique Electrique est une affaire qui occupe deux mille personnes, qui possède cinq Usines en France : à Nanterre, à Rueil, à Saint-Germain, à Courbevoie, dans la Banlieue de Paris, à Ménilles, près de Pacy-sur-Eure, dans le département de l'Eure. Elle occupe une place importante au point de vue international. Elle dispose en effet de firmes licenciées ou de filiales à l'étranger :

- la Contactor Switchgear, en Grande-Bretagne (Wolverhampton);
- la Télémechanique Electrique Belge, à Bruxelles;
- la Telemechanische Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft, à Mulheim-Ruhr-Selbeck, en Allemagne;
- la Télémeccanica Elettrica, à Milan;
- la Télémechanica Electrica Española, à Madrid;
- la Télémechanique Electrique-Maroc, à Casablanca
- et enfin, la Somatec, à Rio-de-Janeiro, au Brésil.

Le développement de la Firme a été relativement lent de 1925 à 1944, puisqu'à cette date, elle comptait trois cent cinquante personnes, puis beaucoup plus rapide de 1944 à 1955, puisqu'en dix ans, l'effectif s'est accru de 1700 personnes et que le nombre des Usines est passé de 2 à 5.

La Télémechanique Electrique occupe évidemment une place importante sur le marché du contacteur en France, mais il faut aussitôt dire

qu'elle est loin d'avoir un monopole comme certains le proclament, afin sans doute de minimiser l'importance de ses réalisations sociales. Elle affronte en effet en France une concurrence active et de qualité, et à l'étranger les firmes les plus réputées, américaines, britanniques et allemandes, lui sont opposées.

Enfin, la Télémechanique Electrique, au point de vue juridique, ne semble pas se distinguer des autres Entreprises. Elle revêt la forme d'une Société Anonyme tout à fait classique. Mais, et c'est un de nos thèmes fondamentaux, il faut savoir établir ici une distinction entre la Société de capitaux, pourvoyeuse de capitaux, et l'Entreprise qui les utilise.

La Télémechanique Electrique étant ainsi présentée, il est bien certain que ce n'est pas ce qui précède qui peut retenir l'attention de l'Association Internationale de Sociologie, mais bien plutôt le fait qu'elle offre à l'observateur un exemple de réalisation d'une communauté de travail originale à plus d'un titre.

LA COMMUNAUTÉ DE TRAVAIL

La Télémechanique Electrique s'est distinguée dès l'origine des autres Entreprises par sa structure sociale. Les fondateurs de cette Société n'ont pas innové seulement sur le plan technique mais encore au point de vue social. Dès le départ, ils ont eu l'intention d'*associer* la totalité du personnel aux heurs et malheurs de l'Entreprise.

Cette intention s'est manifestée positivement tout d'abord sous la forme d'un intéressement du personnel au chiffre d'affaires, puis, au bout d'une courte période d'essai, par l'adoption du système de *participation* aux bénéfices.

C'est autour de ces deux idées : de *co-opération* de la Direction avec le personnel, de *participation* aux bénéfices que s'est édifiée petit à petit la structure très particulière de la Télémechanique Electrique, structure qui offre d'ailleurs maints aspects intéressants pour la sociologie.

Il est d'ailleurs plus facile de philosopher sur ce qui existe que de se livrer à des réflexions plus ou moins conjecturales sur ce qui n'existe pas encore. La Télémechanique Electrique prise dans son ensemble, se présente comme un fait sociologique de haute signification ; il faut la considérer comme tel et essayer de partir de ce fait pour dégager quelques principes généraux susceptibles d'application par ailleurs.

Afin d'y parvenir, nous allons procéder à quelques observations qui nous paraissent indispensables :

1. Les professeurs François Perroux et Pierre Lassegue ont reconnu que les groupes humains pouvaient faire appel à l'un des trois types ci-après d'organisation :

L'organisation sociétaire ;

L'organisation associationniste ;

L'organisation communautaire.

Chacun de ces types se caractérise comme suit :

Dans *l'organisation sociétai*re, on trouve des chefs au sommet et des exécutants à la base. Le principe qui gouverne ce type d'organisation est la *contrainte*. Les relations humaines sont celles qui peuvent exister entre le chef et le subordonné. Le moyen d'action est l'injonction, l'ordre ou la loi selon l'importance du groupe.

Ce type d'organisation est extrêmement répandu.

Les Etats, même s'ils se disent démocratiques, ont le plus généralement une organisation qui relève de ce type. Quant aux entreprises, elles appartiennent toutes, sauf exception, très rarissime, à cette structure.

Il est bien certain, qu'une structure de ce genre ne favorise pas le bon développement des relations humaines et tend à faire vivre la Direction et le Personnel dans une constante opposition et, au mieux, dans une neutralité teintée d'ignorance réciproque.

Dans *l'organisation associationniste*, on trouve comme principe, non plus la contrainte, mais *l'accord*, le libre concours des volontés. La confrontation des intérêts, la recherche d'un équilibre sont des facteurs d'harmonie pour le groupe. Le moyen par lequel se réalise cet équilibre est le *contrat*, écrit ou non écrit. Les conventions collectives constituent à ce titre un exemple intéressant.

Les organisations de ce type se caractérisent par de meilleures réalisations humaines que les organisations sociétales. Pour confronter leurs intérêts et aboutir à l'établissement d'une convention, il faut tout d'abord que l'on reconnaisse que les parties peuvent s'affronter sur un pied *d'égalité* et qu'elles discuteront *librement* entre elles. Petit à petit, l'organisation associationniste s'étend et, en France, un certain nombre d'Entreprises adoptent de telles structures. La Télémechanique Electrique constitue précisément une excellente illustration d'organisation associationniste avec toutefois une particularité qui tient au fait que les rapports entre la Direction et le Personnel ne sont pas réglés par une convention *écrite*, mais uniquement par la *coutume*, coutume déjà vieille d'un quart de siècle.

Dans *l'organisation communautaire*, le principe est autre : c'est le "consensus" interne. C'est-à-dire l'adhésion explicite ou tacite de tous les participants au Groupe. Chacun reconnaît alors qu'il vit *par* et *pour* le groupe. Chacun est convaincu que son propre destin est inclus dans la destinée du groupe. Chacun croit pouvoir s'épanouir pleinement au sein du groupe. Tout participant est donc persuadé que son bien propre pourra être aussi bien satisfait que sera atteint le bien commun du groupe. L'organisation communautaire est donc fondée sur la *fraternité* et sur *l'amour*. L'image de la perte de l'appartenance à la communauté, si elle est sensible, rend exactement compte de ce que cette appartenance peut représenter dans la conscience de chacun des participants. Dans la mesure où les personnes qui font

partie de la Télémécanique Electrique, ressentent qu'ils perdraient beaucoup à ne plus appartenir à ce groupe humain, elles apportent la démonstration que cette entreprise progresse en direction de l'organisation communautaire. Il est probable qu'en fait pour beaucoup de membres de son personnel ce sentiment d'appartenir à une communauté est très vivace. A ce point, l'homme ne se contente plus seulement de confronter ses intérêts avec ceux de la Direction, il va au delà et se *donne* au groupe.

La classification proposée par Monsieur François Perroux n'a pas qu'un intérêt didactique. Elle présente l'avantage de bien marquer la *progression* à suivre pour s'avancer dans la voie d'une amélioration des rapports humains. Passer de l'organisation sociétaire, qui est encore celle du *Maître et de l'Esclave*, à l'organisation associationniste, dans laquelle on *collabore*, à l'organisation communautaire, dans laquelle on *participe* constitue socialement une ascension.

C'est cette voie que la Télémécanique Electrique essaie de parcourir. On peut être certain qu'elle a franchi l'étape de l'organisation associationniste, et qu'elle est déjà fortement engagée dans l'étape communautaire.

2. Depuis le début du 19ème, un problème social divise le Monde et oppose le Capital au Travail. Entendons-nous bien, il ne s'agit pas ici du Capital considéré seulement comme *facteur de la production*, mais du Capital *titulaire de droits* et élément déterminant d'un certain ordre social.

Latente au cours des premières années du dernier siècle, cette opposition s'est exprimée d'une manière éclatante à partir de 1847 lorsque Marx et Engels ont publié leur Manifeste.

Depuis lors aucune solution satisfaisante n'a été trouvée. Le Capital a tout d'abord accaparé pour lui-même dans l'Entreprise la totalité des droits et des avantages. Puis, le marxisme a pris la thèse contraire et a exigé pour le Prolétariat pris en bloc une situation symétrique, en n'esquivant d'ailleurs pas toutes les conséquences de cette prise de position jusque et y compris " la liquidation des capitalistes en tant que classe ".

En fait, pour les travailleurs, enjeu éternel de cette lutte, il n'y a pas tellement de différences de situation entre les deux systèmes. Que le capital de telle entreprise privée soit transféré à l'Etat, que d'une manière plus universelle, la propriété des moyens de production soit attribuée en bloc à l'Etat, comme cela se passe en U.R.S.S., cela ne change pas considérablement la situation de l'ouvrier. Dans l'un et l'autre cas, il demeure *étranger* à l'entreprise dans laquelle il vit.

Sans doute a-t-il été fait quelque bruit autour des idées qui se sont cristallisées en France dans la formule de l'association du Capital et du Travail. Mais cela importe peu car nous pensons que la nature des choses est telle, que, *de gré ou de force*, le capital et le travail sont

toujours associés et que le fait de l'affirmer ne fait pas avancer les choses d'un pas.

En réalité, le problème est ailleurs. Et la question fondamentale qui se pose est de savoir quels sont les droits que l'on reconnaîtra, d'une part, au Travail, d'autre part, au Capital.

Mais avant de tenter un tel départage, est-il encore nécessaire de préciser la nature des droits susceptibles d'être revendiqués simultanément par le Capital et le Travail.

L'expérience démontre que les droits qui peuvent être ainsi débattus sont de trois natures :

- le droit à l'entretien ;
- le droit au partage des fruits ;
- le droit à la gestion.

Jusqu'à de très récentes années, depuis l'origine de l'ère industrielle, le capital s'est approprié d'une manière exclusive la totalité de ces droits en ne partageant entre lui-même et le travail que le *droit à l'entretien*.

Ce droit prend la forme du premier dividende ou de l'intérêt statutaire pour le capital et celle du salaire pour le travailleur. Pour ceux qui douteraient encore que le salaire, pour le plus grand nombre, ne couvre que les frais d'entretien du salarié, qu'ils méditent sur le sens exact de ces expressions aujourd'hui courantes : budget *minimum* vital, salaire *minimum* interprofessionnel garanti, et ils se rendront compte qu'elles correspondent bien à ce qu'il est nécessaire de donner au minimum en calories, et en vêtements pour que le travailleur soit capable de continuer de travailler. C'est bien là une notion d'entretien.

Par contre, le capital a revendiqué pour *lui seul* le droit au partage des fruits—c'est le superdividende du capitaliste—et le droit à la gestion. Les Conseils d'Administration ont toujours en effet été composés exclusivement de capitalistes.

Cependant, au cours des trente dernières années, une évolution s'est produite, et l'exemple de la Télémechanique Electrique, dont la création remonte, avons-nous dit, à 1925 n'est pas sans avoir agi en ce sens. En effet, il a été admis que des hommes qui travaillaient ensemble dans l'entreprise avaient le droit de prétendre à une certaine part dans les fruits de l'exploitation. Cette position a donné naissance à la politique d'intéressement du personnel.

Timidement, tout d'abord, on a accordé au personnel, un surplus de salaires sous la forme de primes individuelles, puis au cours de ces dernières années, il a été admis que les primes collectives offraient un intérêt supérieur surtout si on les considère du point de vue social. Les inventeurs de systèmes ont aussitôt donné libre cours à leur imagination : salaire proportionnel, primes à la productivité, intéressement aux économies de main d'œuvre, aux économies de matière, . . . etc., ont vu le jour.

Plus rares ont été les Entreprises qui, telle la Télémechanique Electrique, ont été logiques et ont appliqué le principe du *partage des bénéfices*. Après une courte période de tâtonnements, cette entreprise pratique en fait depuis 25 ans la participation aux bénéfices et *distribue régulièrement 50% de ses bénéfices au personnel*, l'autre moitié est réservée à la Société elle-même et c'est sur cette dernière moitié qu'elle prélève les sommes nécessaires à son autofinancement et à la distribution des dividendes à ses actionnaires.

Les distributions s'effectuent d'ailleurs *mensuellement* selon un système très simple et parfaitement compréhensible pour le personnel. Ce processus oblige évidemment à établir un bilan mensuel, à le commenter au personnel et à permettre à celui-ci de vérifier son exactitude directement auprès des Services de Comptabilité. Grâce à ces dispositions, le personnel est véritablement associé à l'Entreprise, il vit de sa vie, et il collabore sans arrière pensée avec la Direction afin d'améliorer la prospérité de l'ensemble.

Quant au *partage de la gestion*, c'est une question qui soulève encore plus de controverse que les précédentes. Et cependant, peut-on penser qu'un homme, ouvrier ou employé, puisse réellement s'intéresser à la marche de l'entreprise s'il n'a pas la possibilité de comprendre les motifs des décisions prises par la Direction et par les cadres, si on ne lui laisse pas une certaine latitude pour exprimer son opinion et peser dans une certaine mesure sur sa marche. Si la participation aux bénéfices est une participation surtout matérielle, puisqu'elle s'exprime par une somme d'argent, la participation à la gestion vise à faire participer *intellectuellement* le plus grand nombre à la vie de l'entreprise.

Bien avant que l'ordonnance de 1945 ait imposé aux Entreprises françaises comptant plus de 50 salariés, un Comité d'Entreprise, la Télémechanique Electrique en avait constitué un.

Aujourd'hui, le Comité d'Entreprise est, pour celle-ci, un organe aussi indispensable que le Conseil d'Administration. Il n'existe pas un projet, pas une prévision, pas un programme qui ne soit porté à la connaissance du Comité d'Entreprise. Ses membres ont toujours la faculté de donner leur avis. Par ailleurs, deux membres du Comité d'Entreprise siègent au Conseil d'Administration afin de maintenir la liaison entre les deux organes.

A ce niveau s'établit donc une collaboration effective entre le personnel et la Direction. Cette collaboration est féconde et chaque partie en bénéficie. Le personnel est informé et participe, par ses avis, à la marche de l'ensemble et, de son côté, la Direction recueille avantageusement les idées qui lui sont présentées.

Ce partage de la gestion revêt d'ailleurs dans d'autres pays une forme différente. Il ne faut pas manquer de citer ici la cogestion telle qu'elle est instituée en Allemagne dans les Charbonnages et la Sidérurgie.

L'équilibre que la Télémechanique Electrique s'est efforcée de réaliser entre les droits du Capital et les droits du Travail peut être résumé en définitive dans le tableau ci-après :

Tableau 1

Nature des droits	Droits du Capital	Droits du Travail
Droit à l'entretien	Premier dividende ou intérêt statutaire	Salaire
Droit au partage des fruits	Deuxième dividende ou superdividende	Participation aux Bénéfices
Droit au partage de la gestion	Conseil d'Administration (liaison)	Comité d'Entreprise

Dans ce tableau, le sens du progrès est de haut en bas. La Télémechanique Electrique en a franchi toutes les étapes.

Par ce qui précède, nous croyons avoir montré que la Télémechanique Electrique a progressé doublement, puisqu'aussi bien dans la forme de son organisation que dans la recherche d'un juste équilibre entre les droits du Capital et du Travail, elle apporte une solution originale et humaine qui élimine les plus grands griefs dont on peut accuser le capitalisme, sans tomber pour autant dans son contraire, le marxisme.

La formule qu'elle a adoptée est déjà vieille de vingt cinq ans. Cette ancienneté a permis de méditer plus longuement à l'enseignement que comporte l'exemple de la Télémechanique Electrique et de préciser ce que devrait être la politique d'intéressement, telle qu'elle la comprend et la pratique.

LA POLITIQUE D'INTERESSEMENT

D'une manière encore très générale, hélas, l'âme ouvrière continue de se sentir frustrée, principalement à deux titres, qui, bien que différents, sont néanmoins intimement mêlés :

(a) l'ouvrier se sent "séparé" de l'œuvre pour laquelle on demande son concours ;

(b) l'ouvrier ne "participe" pas régulièrement, *institutionnellement*, aux avantages matériels qui sont le résultat de son travail.

Dans de telles conditions, il suffit que quelques agitateurs, doublés de profonds psychologues, se révèlent au moment propice, pour qu'un mouvement important se déclenche, à la plus grande surprise du public. Mais, là encore, le public ne voit que les agitateurs et ne saisit pas l'importance des sentiments profondément enracinés dans l'âme des classes laborieuses, alors que ce sont précisément ces sentiments qui permettent l'extension soudaine de tels mouvements et non pas seulement

l'action des agitateurs. En l'espèce, les agitateurs ne sont qu'un accident. Ils agissent comme catalyseurs.

Si donc on entend "dominer" la question sociale au lieu de subir ses effets, y compris les morts et les blessés que de tels mouvements ne manquent pas de compter, il faut en arriver à modifier les sentiments de frustration du monde des travailleurs par une action *patiente* et *loyale*. Ce qui conduit à adopter une politique ayant pour effet :

(a) de faire *participer* le travailleur à l'*œuvre* dans laquelle il est engagé.

(b) de le faire *participer aux fruits* de son travail.

Une telle politique se définit alors comme une *politique d'intéressement*.

Dans "intéressement", il y a "intérêt". Et aussitôt, ce mot évoque de prime abord, l'argent et le problème des salaires. Oui certes, le problème de la rémunération est un problème important, *mais il n'est pas le seul*. La participation ne consiste pas seulement à se partager aussi équitablement qu'il est humainement possible de le faire, une somme d'argent, elle vise plus haut : à participer dans l'ordre de l'intelligence, à *comprendre* le sens de l'*œuvre* et à avoir la possibilité, quand les facultés le permettent, à *faire apport de ses idées* pour réaliser et perfectionner l'*œuvre* à accomplir.

Ces quelques réflexions préliminaires permettent déjà de saisir que l'intéressement du personnel est une voie révolutionnaire dans laquelle on s'engage sans esprit de retour. L'intéressement du personnel ne consiste pas simplement à confronter des comptes, à répartir des résultats. Il implique un *état d'esprit* et une *volonté de co-opération* entre tous ceux que la vie avec ses hasards, a réunis momentanément, et, peut-être le plus durablement possible, au sein de l'entreprise, afin d'*œuvrer ensemble*.

Pour mettre en pratique une politique d'intéressement qui est rendue aujourd'hui encore plus nécessaire par les buts que se propose d'atteindre la politique de productivité, il est indispensable d'en saisir la profondeur et de préciser comment cette politique doit s'insérer dans la vie de l'Entreprise.

Il est donc nécessaire :

d'examiner tout d'abord comment se présente aujourd'hui le fait entreprise ;

puis de voir ce que doit comporter cette politique.

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Afin de saisir la nécessité profonde de l'intéressement du personnel, il n'est pas inutile en effet d'autopsier l'entreprise telle qu'elle se présente actuellement.

Supposons que celui qui y pénètre et qui va nous rapporter ses observations, n'ait jamais ouvert un livre d'histoire, ni un cours d'économie

politique, ni un traité de sociologie, encore moins de droit. Nous lui supposerons seulement un sens aigu de l'observation et du bon sens. Notre observateur essaiera donc de déterminer le cadre de l'entreprise, ses articulations internes, la raison d'être des structures, la nature des relations qui devaient s'établir entre les hommes.

Il constatera qu'une Entreprise a tout d'abord un but, une *finalité*. Poussant plus loin ses observations et sa méditation, il parviendra, avec un peu d'effort, à entrevoir que les finalités de l'entreprise sont multiples et qu'il peut être distingué :

- une finalité d'ordre matériel ;
- une finalité d'ordre économique ;
- une finalité d'ordre social ;
- une finalité d'ordre moral.

En effet, l'entreprise s'assigne un but *d'ordre matériel*. C'est en général celui qui est le plus clairement perçu et celui qui est le plus généralement exprimé, ne serait-ce que dans les statuts de la société juridique qui sert de support à l'entreprise. Ce but consiste à " faire ", à " fabriquer ", à " transformer ", à " vendre ", à " rendre des services ", à " commercer ". L'expression et la connaissance de ce but orientent déjà toute une série d'intentions, de pensées et d'actes. Elles permettent de savoir d'une manière très élémentaire, ce que l'on attend des hommes auxquels on s'adresse, en vue de sa réalisation. Au personnel de Renault, du Président Directeur Général au manœuvre, on demande de fabriquer des véhicules automobiles et de les écouler sur le marché. Au personnel de telle autre entreprise de prospection de gisements de pétrole, on demande de découvrir ces gisements et d'en préparer l'exploitation.

L'Entreprise a ensuite une fin *d'ordre économique*. C'est l'évidence. A ce titre, son importance ne saurait être trop soulignée. Elle s'insère en effet comme un maillon dans le circuit économique des biens nécessaires à la vie de l'humanité.

Mais c'est un maillon actif, une véritable pompe aspirante et foulante qui anime le réseau. L'entreprise apparaît ainsi sous toutes les latitudes comme la cellule économique fondamentale. Qu'elle disparaisse et la Société disparaît économiquement. Ce qui conduit à penser qu'une Société sagement organisée doit prendre soin de créer un milieu favorable au développement harmonieux de ces cellules et de ne rien décider qui pourrait leur nuire.

L'entreprise a une fin *d'ordre social*. Mais cette fin n'a malheureusement été perçue que tardivement. L'histoire a voulu que des entreprises se soient créées, qu'elles aient eu très tôt conscience de leur finalité d'ordre matériel, moins fréquemment déjà de leur finalité d'ordre économique, mais qu'elles continuent d'ignorer à peu près complètement cette finalité d'ordre social. La question dite " sociale " n'a pas d'autre origine. Les entreprises se sont constituées pour produire et gagner de l'argent, en commerçants, mais sans plus se soucier des

hommes qui étaient les instruments indispensables de leur activité. Dans l'homme, on n'a vu pendant longtemps et seulement que " l'agent de production ", on a passé la " personne " sous silence. Mais la personne humaine a fini par se révolter contre un tel état de chose et elle continue de le faire.

Fait remarquable, cette finalité *d'ordre social* est rarement exprimée. Elle est encore trop exceptionnellement détectée, elle est constamment *latente*. On peut affirmer qu'il est vain de s'efforcer d'oublier que cette finalité existe, elle saura, et d'autant plus intensément qu'on décide plus fortement de n'en point parler, se manifester sous des formes qui sont parfois, hélas, violentes et tragiques. Quand on convie les hommes à travailler ensemble, le bon sens le plus élémentaire consiste à ne pas oublier que l'homme existe.

Le fait d'affirmer que l'entreprise a aussi une finalité *d'ordre moral* provoque bien souvent quelques sourires. Et pourtant, peut-on penser que des réunions considérables d'êtres humains pendant la plus grande partie de leur existence, peuvent ne pas poser des problèmes relevant de l'éthique. C'est peut-être au fait que notre Société a été impuissante à trouver l'éthique qui aurait permis de sublimer les efforts qu'elle accomplit si prodigieusement dans l'ordre matériel depuis un siècle et demi, qu'il faut attribuer ce sentiment de vuidité de notre civilisation présente. Les notions de solidarité, de charité, au sens le plus étendu du mot, implicitement incluses dans celle de travail humain, pourraient constituer le fondement d'une éthique nouvelle à condition que la Société toute entière y participe, loyalement et pleinement.

Ces diverses finalités s'imposent simultanément à l'entreprise et concourent toutes à l'accomplissement de son destin. On ne peut se limiter à poursuivre l'une d'entre elles et ignorer les autres. Une telle attitude recevrait sans tarder sa sanction. Elle serait souvent très grave pour l'avenir de l'entreprise.

Et, cependant, il s'en faut que la perception des chefs d'entreprise, des cadres et des salariés soit suffisamment pénétrante pour les bien distinguer et en saisir l'enchevêtrement. On appréhende bien la fin matérielle, déjà plus malaisément la fin économique, insuffisamment la fin sociale, et à peu près pas la fin morale.

Or, peut-on penser convier des hommes à faire un effort collectif sans qu'ils soient instruits des fins qu'on leur assigne. Cela équivaut à rassembler pour un banquet des hommes qui ignoreraient le motif de la réunion.

Notre observateur, parvenu à ce point, en concluerait aisément qu'il importe au premier chef de porter précisément à la connaissance de tous les hommes, les fins que l'on se propose d'atteindre. L'information apparaît ainsi comme une des toutes premières démarches indispensables à accomplir dans la voie de la coopération.

Poursuivant ses investigations, notre enquêteur s'apercevrait bien vite aussi que les hommes qui travaillent dans l'entreprise ont des fonctions différentes mais complémentaires, que chacune d'elles peut se distinguer mais que néanmoins, toutes sont *reliées*, qu'il existe une trame invisible mais toujours présente qui établit et maintient de tels liens, que cette trame a un point de convergence qui est le chef d'entreprise et que c'est lui qui assume en définitive la conduite de l'entreprise dans la voie de ses diverses finalités.

Au bout de quelque temps, notre observateur constatera aussi que l'entreprise étant parfaitement organisée, aucune des fonctions n'est inutile et que l'on ne peut ôter un homme de son emploi sans porter un préjudice—plus ou moins grand—à l'ensemble.

Tous les hommes: "producteurs", "techniciens", "commerçants", "administratifs", sont utiles à tous. L'entreprise exige ainsi une harmonie totale dans la distribution des fonctions, une convergence complète des efforts et une volonté constante dans la poursuite des buts. Rien d'ailleurs ne peut mieux faire comprendre les règles internes de l'entreprise que de comparer sa vie à celle de notre propre corps qui demeure une merveille d'harmonie et de coordination de ses diverses fonctions.

En fait, l'observateur en conclura que l'entreprise est une "*communauté d'interdépendance*".

Qu'est-ce à dire ?

Une communauté d'interdépendance est une réunion d'hommes vivant *pour* les autres et *par* les autres.

La communauté d'interdépendance s'oppose à la "communauté de ressemblance", qui, elle, est constituée d'hommes qui ne sont réunis que par un seul intérêt commun, une cause à défendre. L'association de pêcheurs à la ligne, le Syndicat de Saliariés ou de Patrons sont de bons exemples de communautés de ressemblance. La qualité de pêcheurs à la ligne, le désir de pêcher, la qualité de salariés, la qualité de patrons, constituent dans ces communautés le seul lien entre les hommes. Ce lien étant exclu, ces hommes ne sont alors nullement solidaires les uns des autres: ils peuvent même s'opposer les uns aux autres dans d'autres communautés, la communauté de ressemblance ne leur impose ni complémentarité organique, ni unité.

La communauté d'interdépendance est bien autrement exigeante pour les hommes qui la composent. Elle leur impose la complémentarité des fonctions, le respect des liens organiques, la solidarité, l'entraide mutuelle, car nul participant ne peut se suffire à lui-même dans une telle communauté, et a contrario, tout participant est utile à tous les autres.

De telles communautés ne peuvent vivre et prospérer que si *l'esprit d'unité* anime tous les participants, ce qui exige d'ailleurs que le chef d'entreprise et ses collaborateurs les plus immédiats sachent faire

pénétrer cet esprit d'unité jusqu'aux limites de la communauté et en soient eux-mêmes la vivante expression.

Les communautés d'interdépendance sont peu nombreuses. La *famille, l'entreprise, la nation*, sont à peu près les seules.

Chose remarquable, dès que l'esprit d'unité disparaît, ces communautés se disloquent. C'est la discorde et la séparation dans la famille, c'est la lutte des classes au sein de l'entreprise, c'est la révolte dans la Nation. Il suffit de jeter un regard autour de soi pour en être convaincu.

Ainsi, le maintien de l'unité est la règle d'or de cette communauté d'interdépendance qu'est l'entreprise. Mais maintenir l'unité afin d'obtenir la convergence harmonieuse des efforts n'est pas une tâche aisée. A l'intérieur et à l'extérieur de l'entreprise des influences agissent sur les hommes qui la composent et font qu'à tout instant l'esprit d'unité est en jeu. L'action des partis politiques, des syndicats, pénètrent dans l'entreprise, les conditions économiques et sociales du dehors réagissent sur la vie interne de l'entreprise. Le salarié est soumis à leurs influences et apporte avec lui des sentiments dont l'enracinement ne doit pas être recherché seulement à l'intérieur de l'entreprise. La vie interne elle-même est fertile en germes de division. L'organisation qui spécialise et qui compartimente, fait que les hommes réunis se séparent dans la monotonie et l'exclusivité des tâches, même quand celles-ci ne sont pas subalternes. Le comportement des salariés entre eux, des cadres à l'égard des subordonnés provoque aussi de nouvelles tensions qui, si l'on n'y prend garde, ruinent le meilleur climat d'unité.

On peut donc dire sans exagération que l'unité dans l'entreprise se défait et se refait chaque jour. Aussi exige-t-elle tous les soins du chef d'entreprise et de ses cadres.

Comment les réaliser ?

- par l'information sincère et loyale ;
- par la formation des cadres dans un même esprit ;
- par le tact apporté dans la prise des décisions ;
- par la manière d'introduire dans le groupe les décisions indispensables ;
- par le travail en équipes à tous les échelons dès que les problèmes se posent.

Plus particulièrement, il faut penser qu'une décision malencontreuse peut détruire en un seul instant dix ans d'efforts dépensés pour réaliser l'unité et qu'en conséquence, il ne faut pas manquer de se poser en toute circonstance la question de savoir si la décision que l'on a mûrie ne va pas finalement nuire à l'unité de l'entreprise. Si la réponse est oui, mieux vaut alors ne pas prendre la décision, car elle a toutes les chances d'être maléfique. " Ne rien faire qui divise " doit constituer une règle impérative pour le chef d'entreprise et ses collaborateurs immédiats.

D'autre part, il ne suffit pas de se résoudre à prendre une décision, faut-il encore examiner la procédure par laquelle elle sera portée à la connaissance des subordonnés. Dans la plupart des cas, il sera indiqué de ne pas procéder par injonction, mais par suggestion. Et, à ce titre, le travail en commun entre tous les intéressés à la décision est souvent un facteur de réussite. Apparemment, il semble que l'on y perd en rapidité. En fait, c'est l'inverse qui se produit, car, au cours de ce travail, les esprits s'orientent et ils se trouvent prêts à entrer dans la voie des applications au moment où la décision est enfin prise. La décision n'est alors plus que le point final d'une longue préparation psychologique dont l'intérêt principal est de renforcer l'esprit d'unité.

Enfin, il n'est pas possible de faire régner l'esprit d'unité dans un groupe humain si la *justice* n'est pas satisfaite.

Dans sa Somme Théologique, Saint Thomas d'Aquin fait opportunément remarquer que, de toutes les vertus, *seul, la justice est constitutive de l'ordre social.*

Or, rien n'est changé depuis Saint-Thomas.

Ainsi, le maintien de l'unité apparaît comme le *but et la justice* comme le *moyen*.

Mais la justice, contrairement à l'opinion ordinaire, *c'est le droit des autres*, et non pas ce qui comblera son propre droit. La justice c'est le mouvement qui doit nous porter à nous mettre à la place de " l'autre ", dans le but d'apprécier si sa condition est supportable et si elle exige un redressement. *La justice, vue sous ce jour est en réalité le fondement de l'ordre social et de la politique d'intéressement.*

Et notre observateur, arrivé au terme de son exploration, en viendrait à conclure que les lignes fondamentales d'une politique humaine de l'entreprise sont les suivantes :

- information*, quant aux buts poursuivis ;
- formation*, afin d'augmenter la valeur humaine et une plus profonde compréhension de l'esprit d'unité ;
- prudence et intelligence* dans la prise des décisions ;
- élaboration en commun* des décisions dans des équipes de travail.

Mais notre observateur ne manquerait pas aussi de souligner que le ciment qui permet de rendre solide tout cet édifice, est finalement la *justice*, et que, cette dernière ne peut trouver sa meilleure expression que dans une politique d'intéressement dont il convient à présent de préciser les aspects fondamentaux.

Les deux sentiments principaux de frustration qu'éprouvent les travailleurs, sont, avons-nous précisé plus haut :

- (a) le sentiment d'être " séparé ", d'être étranger en quelque sorte de l'œuvre à accomplir ;
- (b) le sentiment d'être frustré des résultats de ses efforts.

De là, naît cette conviction enracinée au plus profond de leur âme que la justice n'est pas et ne peut pas être satisfaite dans nos structures sociales actuelles.

A cette conviction, il faut pouvoir opposer les deux pièces maîtresses de la politique d'intéressement, savoir :

- la participation intellectuelle et morale à la vie du groupe ;
- la participation matérielle sous la forme de partage des fruits.

Telles sont les deux voies dans lesquelles il faut s'engager si l'on veut— sincèrement—réaliser une politique d'intéressement.

Intérêt intellectuel et moral, intérêt matériel vont de pair et ne peuvent être séparés. Augmenter les salaires par la distribution des sommes d'argent au titre des primes de productivité, ou au titre d'un partage des bénéfices, ne suffit pas. Il faut encore en expliquer les motifs, les bases de calcul, en faire saisir les éléments contrôlables, ce qui amène nécessairement de proche en proche à intéresser intellectuellement et moralement les salariés à la vie de l'entreprise, à les faire "participer" au sens le plus étendu du mot.

Cette participation au sens large, cet intéressement dans sa forme la plus noble, apparaît de plus en plus de nos jours comme le moyen par excellence d'apporter plus de justice dans les rapports humains au sein de l'entreprise, et, par cela même, de consolider l'unité du groupe, unité indispensable en vue de réaliser un effort soutenu et persévérant pour le développement de la productivité.

C'est ce que le Comité National de la Productivité a pensé. Et dans un rapport discuté le 12 Décembre 1951, à la question suivante :

Est-illégitime que la rémunération du travailleur varie avec la productivité ?

Il était répondu qu'il convenait tout d'abord de distinguer deux cas :

Dans le premier cas, l'accroissement de la productivité est obtenu *uniquement* par une meilleure application du *personnel* à l'œuvre de production.

Dans le deuxième cas, l'accroissement de la production est obtenu *uniquement* par l'introduction dans l'entreprise de *nouveaux moyens* de production.

Ces deux cas étaient choisis à dessein à l'extrême des possibilités afin d'avoir la certitude qu'en pratique la réalité se situerait dans leur intervalle.

Ensuite, les réponses faites dans ce rapport, ont été les suivantes :

" Reprenant le premier cas, il est incontestable que, dans cette hypothèse, c'est le personnel qui engendre le surcroît de productivité. Il est alors évident qu'il serait absolument *contraire à l'esprit de justice*, d'admettre que le personnel ne participe pas, sous une forme ou sous une autre aux fruits résultant de cette productivité supplémentaire. Dans un tel cas, il doit s'établir sans aucun doute

un lien de proportionnalité entre le système de rémunération et la productivité.

“ Dans le second cas, la productivité est réalisée grâce à l’apport de moyens nouveaux. Certains seraient tentés de soutenir la thèse que ces moyens étant réalisés grâce à un capital nouveau injecté dans l’entreprise, le personnel ne saurait prétendre en recueillir une partie des fruits. Une thèse de ce genre est difficilement soutenable, aussi bien lorsque ces moyens sont réalisés par autofinancement, que s’ils se trouvent réalisés uniquement grâce à l’apport de capitaux frais, car un “ capital machine ”, qui n’est pas animé par une main d’œuvre laborieuse et intelligente, ne saurait porter tous ses fruits. Donc, dans ce même cas, il a été de l’avis du Comité que le Personnel devait retirer une partie des fruits de la productivité ”.

En considérant le problème de plus haut, n’est-il pas évident—même en U.R.S.S.—que le capital—même s’il est d’Etat—ne peut se passer du travail et que le travail ne peut se passer du capital.

L’un soutient l’autre et réciproquement. Au démarrage de l’Entreprise, puis dans ses moments critiques, et encore lorsqu’il s’agit de franchir un nouveau pas dans la voie de l’expansion, c’est le capital qui fait toutes les avances. Mais, par contre, c’est bien le travail qui permet incessamment de faire renaître le capital dépensé et qui accomplit et consolide les progrès. Il garantit donc le présent et ouvre les portes de l’avenir. La collaboration entre le capital et le travail est inscrite dans la nature des choses, mais le droit positif se refuse encore à reconnaître l’évidence de cette nature. Cependant, petit à petit, cette évidence commence à se révéler. A ce titre, il n’est pas inutile d’observer que la récente Constitution du Brésil a inscrit dans ses dispositions, l’obligation d’intéresser le personnel des entreprises. La mesure n’aura sans doute pas une portée considérable, mais le fait que la constitution d’un Etat en ait incorporé le principe, est néanmoins remarquable. Récemment en France, le décret du 20 Mai, 1955, relatif à divers allègements fiscaux a amorcé une tentative en vue de promouvoir une politique de participation du personnel des entreprises aux résultats à attendre de l’amélioration de la productivité, en accordant, sous certaines conditions aux entreprises, un allègement des charges fiscales et des charges sociales. Si les moyens employés pour promouvoir cette politique ne rencontrent pas une unanime adhésion, il n’empêche que l’idée chemine et qu’il y a à retenir de ces textes, l’affirmation du principe de l’intéressement.

Quelle est la forme qu’il convient de donner à cette participation ? Là, les solutions sont diverses.

Le Comité National a donné sa préférence aux formules collectives et a laissé de côté les primes individuelles “ non pas que celles-ci ne peuvent concourir à un accroissement global de la productivité, mais parce-que ces primes individuelles n’ont pas pour objet principal de

faire naître le climat de coopération que l'on entend réaliser et dont le point d'aboutissement est précisément l'intégration du personnel à la vie de l'entreprise".

Parmi les formules collectives, il convient de citer les primes de productivité aux multiples modalités, les formules de salaire proportionnel et les participations aux bénéfices. Le choix à exercer parmi ces diverses formules est une question qu'on ne saurait trancher a priori. C'est à chaque entreprise de décider de celle qui lui convient le mieux, compte tenu de son équilibre financier et de son rythme interne.

Tout ce que l'on peut faire observer, c'est qu'en réalité, à plus ou moins brève échéance, toutes ces participations s'imputent en définitive sur le bénéfice, soit par anticipation lorsqu'il s'agit de primes de productivité, ou d'intéressement aux économies de main d'œuvre, de matières, de frais généraux, ou encore d'intéressement au chiffre d'affaires, soit a posteriori, s'il s'agit de participation aux bénéfices.

Ce qu'il importe également de noter, c'est que l'intéressement pécuniaire doit être un "surplus" et doit s'ajouter à la rémunération "normale" de la qualification professionnelle considérée, sinon son effet stimulant ne serait plus sensible et l'intégration recherchée ne saurait être atteinte.

Mais la participation aux fruits ne constitue malgré tout qu'un moyen. Distribuer de l'argent en plus sans tenter de faire comprendre comment il naît et comment on le distribue serait déjà une erreur. Mais on se priverait encore d'un moyen puissant d'information et d'éducation, ce qui serait une faute.

En effet, une prime d'intéressement ne doit pas seulement être un supplément de salaire, mais elle doit constituer avant tout un *centre d'intérêt* pour le personnel. C'est le point autour duquel se concentre l'attention et les interrogations du personnel. Il convient donc de mettre à profit cet état d'esprit pour faire mieux comprendre le mécanisme interne de l'entreprise et les influences réciproques des divers facteurs qui conditionnent son équilibre. En procédant de la sorte, on entrera dans la deuxième voie de l'intéressement, la participation intellectuelle et morale à la vie du groupe.

Pour s'intégrer, l'homme doit pouvoir reconnaître que sa propre destinée est incluse, tout au moins partiellement, dans la destinée du groupe; que ce qu'il veut être peut s'inscrire et se développer dans l'évolution de ce groupe, que ses facultés qui composent sa personnalité peuvent y trouver leur plein épanouissement.

En conséquence :

la compréhension de la finalité de l'entreprise ;

le sentiment que chacun peut emporter, d'avoir une certaine part intellectuelle et morale à la vie de l'entreprise.

sont d'une extrême importance au point de vue de la réalisation de l'unité et du maintien de sa cohésion de l'entreprise.

Un auteur américain réputé, M. Rosenstock-Huessy a su mettre l'accent sur ces problèmes et sur la manière dont la justice devrait être satisfaite dans ce domaine infiniment plus subtil que le précédent.

Monsieur Rosenstock-Huessy fait tout d'abord observer que, même si les conditions matérielles de travail sont bonnes, même si le système de rémunération est excellent, même si l'intéressement pécuniaire du personnel est réalisé dans un esprit de justice, il existe à l'intérieur de l'entreprise une séparation entre deux groupes de personnes. D'un côté, il voit les personnes qui appartiennent au groupe qu'il dénomme "Front of new ideas" dans lequel entrent les Directeurs de l'Entreprise et les cadres supérieurs et moyens, et de l'autre, le "Front of daily repetition", qui englobe toutes les autres catégories de salariés et en particulier, les ouvriers et employés subalternes.

Il attribue au "Front of new ideas" le privilège de connaître les voies dans lesquelles s'engage l'entreprise, de pouvoir influencer son destin, de participer aux satisfactions de la découverte, de la création, du commandement ou de la gestion. Mais à l'inverse, il constate que les hommes des tâches quotidiennes et répétitives du "Front of daily repetitions" sont privés de semblables satisfactions et qu'en fait, ils sont littéralement murés dans la prison de leur tâche journalière.

Ces observations de M. Rosenstock-Huessy sont très pertinentes, mais encore faudrait-il les nuancer. Certains travailleurs ne souffrent pas de la monotonie de leur labeur. Bien au contraire, ils seraient tourmentés de participer à des opérations qui exigeraient d'eux un effort qu'ils ne peuvent accomplir, mais il est certain que d'autres, nombreux, surtout en France, ne demandent qu'à s'élever et à faire preuve d'intelligence et d'habileté.

De ce côté, la participation peut obtenir de remarquables résultats et les moyens à mettre en œuvre à ce titre sont principalement :

- l'information.
- la formation.
- le travail en équipe.
- la promotion.

L'information permet à chacun de reconnaître sa place dans l'ensemble, de saisir les liens qui l'unissent aux autres participants du groupe, de découvrir les voies qu'il convient de suivre. Elle détruit la sensation d'isolement si pénible à beaucoup, et elle comporte déjà une haute faculté d'intégration.

La *formation* va plus loin. L'information demeure toujours superficielle. La formation atteint les profondeurs de l'être en même temps qu'elle accroît sa qualification et qu'elle donne à chacun de nouvelles possibilités de s'élever.

Le *travail en équipe* à tous les niveaux permet justement de donner au plus grand nombre, les satisfactions du "Front of new ideas".

La discussion bien conduite d'un problème est toujours féconde non seulement dans ses résultats immédiats, sur le plan du métier, mais

encore au point de vue psychologique. Les hommes qui travaillent ensemble et qui échangent leurs idées, se connaissent mieux, s'estiment davantage. Ayant eu la latitude de s'exprimer, ils ont la sensation d'avoir apporté à la collectivité quelque chose d'eux-mêmes, sans compter que les idées ainsi recueillies peuvent avoir un intérêt incontestable pour l'avenir de l'entreprise.

Enfin, la *promotion* doit venir couronner l'ensemble de ces mesures. Elle est à la fois le stimulant et la récompense. A tous ceux qui sont capables d'un effort réel et qui appartiennent au " Front of daily repetition ", elle ouvre l'accès au " Front of New Ideas ". De sorte que ce dernier Front ne demeure plus le champ réservé à une catégorie de privilégiés, mais le réceptacle des meilleurs éléments de l'entreprise.

Le travailleur ainsi traité n'est plus le salarié auquel on achète son travail et que l'on ignore dès qu'il l'a achevé. C'est un homme que l'entreprise prend en charge et que l'entreprise s'associe.

La politique d'intéressement, contrairement à une opinion très courante, ne consiste donc pas à imaginer seulement des formules nouvelles de rémunération et à en surveiller l'application. La concevoir de cette façon, c'est en restreindre singulièrement la portée et la limiter dans ses buts. Elle vise donc à *intégrer l'homme* d'une manière aussi complète que possible dans le groupe. Ses moyens sont la participation aux résultats de l'exploitation et la participation à la vie intellectuelle et morale du groupe.

Elle s'adresse à tous les hommes qui appartiennent à l'Entreprise. Elle exige d'eux que, petit à petit, ils transforment leur comportement vis à vis du groupe, et, cette exigence s'étend du manœuvre *au chef d'entreprise inclusivement*. Celui-ci doit en effet de mieux en mieux comprendre qu'il s'agit moins pour lui de faire fortune que de gouverner des hommes et de s'en faire aimer. Ce qui est finalement la plus haute mission qu'un homme peut assumer ici-bas.

Volontairement, dans l'exposé qui précède, nous avons voulu laisser de côté les dispositions de détail qui ont permis de mettre en place la conception qui s'est élaborée au cours des vingt-cinq dernières années, à la Télémécanique Electrique.

Nous avons pensé que des sociologues seraient plus intéressés aux motivations d'une politique, ce que nous avons essayé de souligner dans le chapitre consacré à la Communauté de Travail et surtout à la philosophie qui se dégage des réalisations obtenues, philosophie qui s'exprime dans le chapitre réservé à la Politique d'Intéressement.

Le but de cet exposé est moins de solliciter des imitations que de provoquer des réflexions et d'amener d'autres chefs d'Entreprises et des sociologues à progresser dans le sens d'une civilisation plus humaine.

Il est urgent d'ailleurs d'y songer. Les sociologues, les juristes, les chefs d'Entreprise se sont fait distancer par les savants et les techniciens.

Depuis un siècle et demi, et d'une manière de plus en plus accélérée, ces derniers découvrent, inventent, réalisent; ce faisant, ils transforment nos conditions de vie et bouleversent notre monde. Il faut donc que nos institutions s'adaptent sans relâche et avec la même vitesse, que l'aspect social et moral de ces transformations ne soit pas négligé. Sans quoi, il est à craindre que la civilisation elle-même, ce sens de l'homme et de ses liens avec la Création, ne disparaisse et qu'à force de découvertes, on construise un monde en définitive invivable.

NOTE.

- ¹ MM. Sarazin, Le Gouellec, Pierre et André Blanchet.

Influence of Supervisors on Behaviour in the Work Situation under Various Forms of Organisation

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Very little experimentation with different forms of supervision has been reported. This is rather surprising, as the question of what form of industrial supervision best fills the demands of management, supervisor and worker has been much discussed. During the last few years a few attempts have been made to find out by field experiment how productivity, absenteeism and other behaviour in the work situation are related to various forms of supervision. The influence of different supervisors has been investigated by J. M. Jackson as well as—by other authors—that of various general tendencies of different supervisors to act in an authoritarian, democratic or laissez-faire manner. This research has been conducted in the field. Different forms of supervision, however, such as functional supervision and group leadership contrasted to each other have been investigated only to a small extent.

In this paper I intend to give an overview, first, of an investigation I have made in Sweden on the behaviour of experimental and control groups supervised in different ways but otherwise working under the same conditions. Secondly, I will report briefly on the influence of various forms of supervision on groups of learners, newly formed. Finally, I intend to give a preliminary report on an investigation aiming to find out whether a foreman's influence can be measured generally, with measures such as behaviour of his subordinates, production variations, presence on the job, cost of running the department and so on.

In the first investigation, the subjects were supervisors and telephone operators in a department handling outgoing long distance calls at the Stockholm Telephone Station. The repercussions of the experimental change—from an extreme form of functional supervision with large departments to group leaders with small groups—on various problems have been studied.

The organisation of first line supervision of operators at the Stockholm Telephone Station had—without co-ordinated efforts from management—become functional. In this connection, this means that the operators had to turn to different supervisors on different matters. One supervisor handled, e.g., personnel; a second, traffic; a third, monitoring; a fourth, training. This development led to a very impersonal relationship between operators and supervisors. At the request of the operators, a system of job rotation had been introduced. The supervisors were also rotated, and this led to the individual operator losing the feeling that she belonged on a specific job or to a certain

group of operators. She did not know her co-workers, nor her supervisors. There had been some discussion whether operators and supervisors should be assigned to particular sections. The supervisors did not desire this change, saying that it would mean limited and monotonous work for them. The operators also opposed it, thinking that they would be very closely watched and controlled.

As a consequence of the size of the departments (the number of operators working there is very large; around 130), the opportunities of contact were regarded as insufficient both by supervisors and operators. Supervisors knew too little about the qualifications of each operator.

Regarding the rôle of the Trades Union the following is worth mentioning in this context. There are two organisations of the employees in existence at the station. Something less than one sixth of the employees are not organized. Both unions have bargaining rights and the discussion of grievances usually ends in compromises agreeable to both parties. The discussions between the representatives of both groups are conducted in an atmosphere of mutual respect.

A fair statement, according to my opinion, of Management's goal in personnel matters is that it desires as good a matching of job and worker as possible, considered and measured from as many as possible of the points of view applicable to personnel conditions. Management of the company is very interested in the opinion of supervisors, unpromoted employees, customers of the company, and the community as a whole, regarding personnel conditions within the company.

In 1951 the specific problems felt as acute by Management can be grouped in the following categories: There was a shortage of applicants for employment. The rate of turnover had increased considerably and absenteeism had become a major problem. There was also a shortage of volunteers for supervisory training.

From the point of view of organisation, several problems existed at the beginning of the experiment. In this connection the most important one was that communication between Management and operators and vice versa, via the first line supervisors was poor.

This by no means complete outline of the problems had of course no panacea, but one of the most profitable methods of solution would, according to Management, be a change in the form and organisation of supervision.

It was decided to study the effects of the change from functional supervision to group leadership. In this connection group leadership means that the operators in a smaller group (about 20 members) turn to *one* supervisor on all matters. As this change would reach 1,900 operators, Management decided that an experiment should be made, to ascertain if the change-over would lead to desirable results. The experiment would also be useful, because it constituted an opportunity for the operators and supervisors to acquaint themselves with the new form of leadership. It was viewed with suspicion by both groups.

To begin with, I want to identify the frame of reference within which the investigation was conducted. It is important to do this as, e.g., the choice of variables to be observed is difficult. It is dangerous to accept those, and those only, that are proffered by management—if this is the group that has engaged the psychologist's services. Let me quote a few instances. Much of the results of the Western Electric investigations has been vitiated by Roethlisberger's and Dickson's preoccupation with output as observed by Management only. Another instance is Mayo's and his associates' study of some airplane factories in California in which only absence was studied. It may perhaps be said that these are not variables but to some extent criteria. But we need be extremely cautious in accepting Management's or workers' criteria exclusively. I have had opportunity to follow closely an investigation of absence data for clerical personnel in Sweden. It is obvious, at least in this investigation, that the fact that it was a management group that initiated the study has influenced the plan of research: what data were collected, how the questionnaires were formulated and so on. It might happen that we, due to this acceptance of Management's point of view, may not obtain all relevant data.

The frame of reference elements consist mainly in accounting objectively observable behaviour. They also include use of operational definitions, consisting as far as possible of words clearly designating performable and observable operations. The basis of the research is approximately representative sampling and replication of samples, if feasible. Only one factor is (consciously) varied, while no attempt has been made to control others. The variables selected for observation are those regarded as important in a "managerial" frame of reference. Hypotheses are formulated in areas regarded as testable in the same frame of reference.

The concept of the frame of reference seems to me to be useful in the discussion of the background for the selective action that has, so to speak, set the stage for this investigation.

Within this frame of reference which, as can be seen, takes some of its elements from Management and some from the psychologist's point of view, 32 specified working hypotheses were formulated. Of these a few turned out in the final study to be untestable with the data that the investigation provided. Others could be tested, but the testing gave no definite information whether the hypotheses were tenable or not. Finally, a larger group, about half of the hypotheses, were verified. It is worth mentioning in this connection that the hypotheses were formulated before the investigation was commenced. This is an important point, indeed. An investigation that yields material for the formulation of hypotheses necessarily is a descriptive study. It cannot be an explanatory one.

It seems extremely difficult to arrange an experiment in an industrial situation in which a majority of the factors affecting the outcome of the experiment are controlled. One factor was changed knowingly in

the present experiment, the form of supervision. A number of other factors that could possibly influence the results can be enumerated. The duration of the experiment, the length of work periods and shifts, changes in the method of work, types of calls handled, quality and quantity standards accepted by the operators, changes in seasons, vacation periods, warm summer days, cold, damp and draughty wintertime, age, and the experience of the operators, interest shown by the workers in the outcome of the experiment, time required for the change in the form of supervision to make itself felt. Other factors are changes in salary, changes in contact with other operators, the influence of observation techniques, reflections of changes in management's attitudes as well as in those of the unions to which the operators belong, and changes in lighting, ventilation, noise, etc.

If it is thought that a change in one factor goes together with the variation in the variables studied it should be controlled. This is of course a counsel of perfection with such a number of factors as in this by no means complete enumeration.

The primary characteristic of the experimental design is the use of two contrasting sections, one as experimental section and the other as control section. In these sections two sets of operators work in shifts. The change in the form of supervision was to be introduced in the experimental section, a group leader being placed in charge of each of the experimental groups, while no change in the existing form of supervision would be made in the control section.

The experimental design employed a number of methods for gathering data regarding the variables selected. One method was observation of behaviour in the actual work situation with the aid of special observers placed, one in the experimental section, and one in the control section. In this way supervisors', group leaders' and operators' behaviour has been observed, classified and recorded.

Another method employed is observation of the behaviour of the participants in a number of conferences held in connection with the experiment. The material for this consists of conference minutes, reflecting opinions expressed by group leaders, observers and operators. Thirdly, interviews consisting of a planned and an un-planned part were held with group leaders, observers and operators at the terminal date of the experiment. The questions used in the planned part of the interview were selected to test the working hypotheses.

Finally, a series of specific measurements were obtained. Group leaders' and observers' knowledge of operators was studied. Frequency and incidence of operators' absence were recorded. Operators' intimacy with other operators in the experimental and control sections were investigated as well as frequency and duration of so called "breaks" taken by operators. A special set of measurements was taken with respect to quality of operators' work. The quantity of work performed by the operators was also investigated.

One important consideration is the choice of group leaders for the experiment. The group leaders selected were chosen by Management as good supervisors but not extremely so. As a matter of fact they were regarded by Management as setting a standard of supervision that could by training be reached by other supervisors with the same general qualifications.

As a result of the experiment and the ensuing discussions Management decided to introduce the form of supervision that here has been called group leadership. The experimental results indicated that this kind of supervision would be more efficient than functional supervision, with regard to e.g., training of operators, integration of supervisory activity, the improvement of inspection and increase in group leaders' knowledge of operators.

The experiment also proved that the new form of supervision was well received by the operators who had participated in it, in spite of the strong objections to it prior to its initiation. The operators came to seek contact with the group leader to an unexpected degree. Moreover, operators' feelings of fatigue, monotony and pressure were not increased by the new form of supervision.

In addition, Management had definite economic reasons for adopting the new form of supervision. Under this form, it is considered possible to allocate responsibility to the group leader in charge of the section, something that could not be done with the system of functional supervision.

The period of changing over to the new form of supervision was filled with intense training for the supervisors accustomed to the old form of supervision. They were given six weeks' full-day training courses in order to be trained in the new ideas behind group leadership. This training was at first intended to take place in two years, but due to the fact that both supervisors and telephone operators wanted the change to take place as fast as possible, this period of re-training was shortened to a little more than one year.

In the investigation reported on we had in the main pre-formed groups to work with. The groups at work in the experimental and control sections were, so to speak, frozen in their placement on these jobs. In another, following experiment, we took new learners, or those who had recently left the central training department within the company and had been placed in the departments where they were to work as full-fledged operators. These youngsters had formerly been placed under the surveillance of functional supervisors, which meant that they more or less worked on their own. Gradually, a type of group leadership was introduced for these girls. Thanks to the system we had planned, we could follow the effect of the new form of leadership on newly formed groups with girls who had entered and left the group at various stages. This meant that we could follow the effect of introducing a group leader on girls who had no experience of functional

leadership or several months experience of the same thing. All the intermediate stages were represented in the investigation.

Quantity, quality and other objective measurements of the subjects' behaviour were electrically recorded. We had banks of electric counters, 180 in all, that recorded all relevant measures electrically. These banks of counters were photographed automatically each half hour. The films were developed and projected in front of the punched card operators, who punched data directly from the projected film. This made errors almost unlikely, and there were no errors in transcription. Of course, the punched cards were checked twice. This is an unusually reliable source of data.

Thanks to these precautions, it is possible to follow the development of bad habits on the job, the main thing being avoidance of work by delaying and lengthening the time spent on each particular call. We can thus follow closely how long it takes for an operator to develop these bad habits and how fast they can be remedied by the supervisors, if at all. We have found that after three weeks of working under the old form of supervision it is very difficult to remedy the situation. The girls have got set in their habits and no efforts of the group leader seem to have any effect at all. This shows the importance of forming the new groups as soon as possible and under a group leader to prevent the development of unwanted working habits.

The results are in full accordance with learning theory in psychology. It is a sound idea to try to prevent bad habits from developing. If this cannot be done, the effort required from the learner to unlearn the previous bad habits and learn the new desirable habits is so considerable, that one can hardly expect this effort to be made, even if the subjects clearly see the results as desirable. In this context they would hardly be expected to do so as, from their point of view, they get by with less effort.

During the last few years I have been making a study aiming to find out whether foremen's influence on the behaviour of their subordinates as well as their influence in general can be measured with measures such as behaviour of their subordinates classified under various headings, general data like production, presence on the job, cost of running the department and so on.

In principle, there is of course nothing new in this experiment. A number of studies have been made in individual firms and in specific situations where the influence of the foremen has been determined or where one has been trying to determine it. But my problem is to my mind a rather new one. In the type of research I have mentioned, investigations have been made in specific instances where a measure has been shown to be reliable and valid when correlated with a measure used as a criterion. As I see it, it is very difficult to generalise from the findings in these studies. We do not know whether these criterion measures are generally applicable. My study aims to find out whether

the foremen's influence can be measured with general measures. As far as my data indicate now, it seems that we have tended to regard too many measures as useful, relevant, reliable, and valid in too many instances. I have up to now failed to find a single measure that has these desirable qualities in all the firms and departments as well as in various branches of industry that I have studied.

I have studied the opinions expressed regarding certain questions by superiors, by the foremen investigated as leaders of their departments, by other foremen in the same firm and by the subordinates of the foremen investigated.

These interviews have as their central point the behaviour of the foremen studied. The main functions of the foreman have been classified as introduction, instruction and information of subordinates, planning and distributing work, conferences with the superiors and with other foremen, inspection, improving work methods, maintaining desirable environmental conditions, attending to personnel problems, and reporting. These functions, then, form a nucleus for all the interviews. Their performance by the individual foreman is determined by each interviewee by the method of pair comparison. Each person interviewed is given a main question regarding these functions. Thus he is to say, e.g., whether a certain foreman performs one of the functions in a pair better than the other.

The central position of the functions throughout the interviews at various levels makes it possible for us to see the investigated foremen's behaviour from the various aspects of superiors, other foremen, subordinates, and the foremen themselves.

Another important problem is whether the giving or withholding of certain information changes the behaviour of foremen. This has been, up to a point, investigated in other research. What I am referring to now is the type of information that belongs to the every-day work situation.

Management has long tried to make foremen interested in the economic results of their departments. For this purpose several approaches have been tried, among others giving the foremen full information on the economic outcome of their management.

Incidentally, this is a very difficult subject to study. We have tried to assemble data in the various firms where we have been working regarding the costs of running a department. We are of course not interested in all the costs, but only in those that are possibly influenced by the foreman's management of his own department. This is a very moot question, indeed, and we have been forced to include in our investigation a greater number than any superior would think could be influenced by the foreman. We have been forced to discard one type of cost after the other, and, what is still worse, to regard various possible comparisons between various departments as unfair and not permissible under the circumstances. We have been left with only one big firm with many branches where a comparison can be reasonably

made between the various departments and—a main point, this—the data as such, and the costs, are accounted for in the same way.

I need not bring to the attention of the reader the difficulties of studies similar to this one. In order to be enabled to make comparisons between various departments we have to have a number of conditions fulfilled regarding the field of our research. The products have to be uniform. Long uninterrupted series in the particular departments are highly desirable. The products of various firms have to be similar, at least within the same branch of industry. The comparison between industries is of course difficult. This applies particularly to the finding of a production measure that can be used in various firms. We also want several similar organisational units in the same enterprise. When it comes to statistics we want easily determinable and individual performance records with regard to quantity as well as quality. We also need careful personnel and cost data maintained for some time. All these desiderata cause the research to be restricted to rather big enterprises, well organised, with lots of information running in various directions within the firm; in other words, enterprises not at all representative of ordinary business.

The Effect of Increasing Size on Organisational Structure in Industry

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Since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, there has been a nearly constant tendency for industrial establishments to increase in size. Both the average size of working groups and the maximum size in each kind of establishment have tended to rise. The pattern is much the same whether we look at manufacturing enterprises with all their branches, or at individual factories, or at sections or shops within factories.

The steadiness of this trend in the U.S. may be illustrated by the following figures:¹

Table 1.

Year						Average Workers per Manufacturing Establishment
1849	..	..	..	..	..	8·6
1899	..	..	..	..	..	23·2
1909	..	..	..	..	..	26·6
1919	..	..	..	..	..	36·0
1929	..	..	..	..	..	46·7
1939	..	..	..	..	..	55·1
1949	..	..	..	..	..	56·5
1952	..	..	..	..	..	60·0

The development of giant factories in the past fifty years is equally impressive, as the following figures show:²

Table 2.

Year				Total Manufacturing Establishments	Giant Establishments (more than 1,000 workers)	Giant Establishments %
1900	..	..	..	512,191	443	·09
1919	..	..	..	290,105	1,021	·35
1929	..	..	..	210,959	996	·47
1952	..	..	..	267,000	2,161	·81

In 1952, moreover, 587 of the giant establishments, more than one out of four, had a working force of more than 2,500.

Similar conclusions can be drawn from the examination of whole enterprises. For example, General Electric, which had 11,000

employees and was the largest firm in the electrical industry in 1900, was still the largest firm in 1954 and had grown to 210,000. General Motors—the largest single private employer in the United States—had 576,000 employees in 1954, more than twice the maximum of the largest American companies before 1940.

Neither the causes nor the consequences of this steady expansion have been thoroughly investigated. As I have pointed out elsewhere,³ a similar process of aggregation has been raising both the average and the maximum sizes of most large scale organizations during the past century. Among these are government agencies, educational institutions, transportation systems, stores and markets, armies, cities, and, of course, states. Within the limits of possibility increases in size seem to be indefinitely advantageous. The limits of possibility at any given time and place are fixed by (a) the size of the population, (b) the technology of communication and control, and (c) the demand of competing large scale organizations for a share of the same resources.

However, this tendency towards aggregation does not work unchecked. The presence of giant organizations in any field of activity seems to create a functional need for a certain number of small scale organizations of the same type. Side by side with the largest corporations, we find small, autonomous enterprises producing precision tools and specialty products, and competing effectively with the industrial giants in both price and efficiency. While the progress of industrialization has meant a steady increase in the size of average units, the maximum size of units, and the number of large-scale units in every branch of industry, there is no visible tendency towards the complete diminution of each branch of manufacturing into a single enterprise. Instead, the terminal condition appears to involve a single giant enterprise producing slightly less than half of the total output, two or three smaller companies, each a giant in its own right and producing an appreciable fraction of the total output, and several score to several hundred small manufacturers whose combined output approximates that of a single giant.

This is now the approximate situation in such fields as automobile equipment, motors and generators, rubber, steel and iron, and chemical products—precisely those in which technical progress has gone furthest.

These brief remarks must serve in place of a full description of this important and almost unexplored phenomenon, since we are concerned here with the *consequences* of the increasing size of industrial units. These may be presented in the form of hypotheses. Each hypothesis is supported by some empirical evidence but can not yet be regarded as verified.

1. *The stability of industrial units increases with increasing size.*

Twenty years ago, F. Stuart Chapin reported on the mortality of business firms engaged in manufacturing in Minnesota. He found that the turnover—measured either by the number of organizations

opened, or the number closed—decreased sharply with increasing size.

Table 3. *Five-year Turnover Ratios of Manufacturing Enterprises in Minneapolis, St. Paul and Duluth, 1926–30.*

Net Worth ..	\$500,000 and over		\$75,000–\$500,000		\$10,000–\$75,000		\$2,000–\$10,000		Total	
	Closed	Opened	Closed	Opened	Closed	Opened	Closed	Opened	Closed	Opened
Turnover ..	16·5	3·1	15·1	10·2	35·8	29·2	66·3	74·8	62·0	55·9

Using other data, he found that “for a firm whose net worth was \$500,000 and over, the average length of life was 33·2 years, which may be compared with an average length of life of 5·2 years for firms under \$2,000 of net worth”.⁴

Lipset and Bendix present very similar results for a later period, covering the entire United States.⁵

Table 4. *Entrance and Discontinuance rates: Number of New and Discontinued firms per 1,000 firms in operation, 1945–1948.*

Size of Firm ..	..	Entrance				Discontinuance			
		1945	1946	1947	1948	1945	1946	1947	1948
0–3 Employees ..	..	155	206	143	115	72	76	88	111
4–7 Employees ..	..	86	124	88	75	34	35	48	53
8–19 Employees ..	..	55	74	51	41	35	32	41	46
20 or more Employees ..	..	33	38	26	22	26	24	29	29
Total, all firms ..	..	134	176	123	99	63	64	76	94

It appears from various evidence that—aside from the greater longevity of the enterprise itself—there is a tendency for the average tenure of employees to be greater in large enterprises than in small enterprises of the same type. Typically, the larger enterprise offers greater inducements by means of welfare plans, fringe benefits, and the possibility of alternative employment opportunities within the same organization.

For executives and managers, the greater stability of the large scale organization sometimes approaches—under current American conditions—the minimum possible turnover—that in which there are no terminations from the conclusion of the probationary period to the mandatory age of retirement except for death or natural causes.

On the other hand, for manual workers in these same establishments, the turnover rate tends to be much higher, and at times to approach the other extreme possibility, in which no worker remains with the same employer throughout his entire career. The irregularity of employment for the rank and file proceeds from a variety of causes: the sensitivity of advanced industries to technological change; the necessity

(which smaller establishments can sometimes avoid) of varying output with each variation in the volume of the total market; the impersonality of recruitment and supervision, which makes rapid turnover technically feasible; and the virtual interchangeability of personnel which is achieved by job standardization in large scale mass production.

2. *The proportion of workers not directly engaged in production increases with the size of the organization.*

Most of the evidence for this hypothesis is indirect. It consists of case studies of particular plants,⁶ and the observation that the proportion of productive workers has steadily declined wherever the average size of establishments has risen. The figures for American manufacturing industry are as follows:

Table 5.

Year						Workers Directly Engaged in Production %
1899	..	..	..	..	..	93
1909	..	..	..	..	..	89
1919	..	..	..	..	..	86
1929	..	..	..	..	..	87
1939	..	..	..	..	..	82
1949	..	..	..	..	..	80
1952	..	..	..	..	..	79

Terrien and Mills, in a recent paper, propose that "the relationship between the size of an administrative component and the total size of its containing organization is such that the larger the size of the containing organization, the greater will be the proportion given over to its administrative component". They tested this hypothesis in the school districts of the state of California and the results, for each type of district, support the hypothesis.

Table 6. *Administrative Component in School Systems of Different Size, Mean Percentage.*⁷

Size Designation				Elementary School Districts %	High School Districts %	Unified School Districts %
Small	..	..	..	9.5	11.4	13.7
Medium	..	..	..	12.6	12.3	14.3
Large	..	..	..	13.9	17.6	15.6

This is rather indirect evidence, and it is surprising that the widely held belief that the component rise of indirect labor with increasing

size has not been better tested. Nevertheless, the hypothesis is eminently probable.

There are several reasons for the greater proportion of supervisory, technical and staff workers in the larger organization. Such functions in small plants are often merged with productive jobs and cannot be separately distinguished. The necessities of large-scale communication and control create new functions, such as the keeping of standard personnel records, which are not essential in small establishments. Since the larger organizations were often more advanced, they are likely to participate more completely in the general tendency towards automatization. Touraine, in his recent study of the Renault factories, discusses at considerable length the transformation of productive work which he supposes to be an essential trend of modern industry.

“ . . . cette réunion des tâches de conception et d'exécution dans un secteur de la production sous un même commandement manifestent, à l'échelle de l'usine, la réaction contre la séparation des tâches d'exécution et des tâches indirectement productives que signalait l'évolution du contrôle et du laboratoire et qu'indiquaient déjà le rôle grandissant de l'entretien et de la réparation et les transformations de la maîtrise ”.⁸

A less “ rational ” reason for the high proportion of workers in the large industry who are not directly engaged in production may be the resistance of large scale establishments to detailed analysis of costs. In the very largest American companies, where a considerable portion of the product is internally consumed, where most development capital is borrowed within the company itself, and where the kinds of services chargeable against production vary among units of the same type, it is literally impossible to determine the influence of certain indirect, or staff, services upon the costs of production. When we add the inherent tendency to bureaucratization which manifests itself in any large stable hierarchy, it is reasonable to conclude that some proportion of the tertiary workers in industrial organizations are economically parasitical.

3. Large organizations of different types will resemble each other more closely than small organizations of different types.

This appears to be the case whether we compare industrial with non-industrial organizations such as political parties, government agencies, newspapers, voluntary associations, hospitals, and schools, or whether we compare enterprises in different branches of manufacturing. Moreover, the principle applies not only to companies but to sub-divisions of the same company. In general, the larger sub-divisions will tend to resemble each other more closely than small sub-divisions of the same type regardless of the kind of activity involved. In very large scale operations, such fairly complex innovations as the decentralization of manufacturing divisions making different products,

or the introduction of internal public relations programs, or the addition of market research to the gamut of specialized services will tend to occur at about the same point of development for enterprises as far apart as steel mills, publishing houses and meat packers. It is not too fanciful to think of a single organizational type towards which all giant industrial establishments and perhaps all other giant organizations as well, may be said to progress.

As we consider horizontal differentiation, we notice that there is a tendency for staff functions to achieve recognition and a degree of autonomy in a set order. All manufacturing enterprises, including the newly founded branches of existing organizations, engage in more than production. Planning, bookkeeping, storage and supply, and personnel services, must be performed in some fashion if the productive process is to function at all. Each of these major categories develops ramifications in a more or less uniform way. Thus bookkeeping eventually comes to include budgeting, tax records, cost accounting and at a later stage, such refinements as cost forecasting and internal audit. The storage and supply function expands to include receiving and inventory departments, inspection, packing and shipping, and eventually quality control, and materials co-ordination. The planning function soon comes to include the development of new products, the design of tools, the setting of standard rates, the improvement of work methods and procedures, plant layout, and at a later stage, such esoteric matters as the development of scientific theories upon which new product developments can be based. Personnel services finally require distinct bureaus concerned with recruiting, promotion, job classification, recreation, insurance and retirement, labor relations and so forth. At later stages of development the personnel system will include specialists who operate internal conference networks and publish plant newspapers.

Each of these experts has an identification which cuts across industry lines and is based chiefly on common professional elements which appear in many different branches of production. A constant effort is set in motion by the development of staff functions and functionaries towards the introduction of standard and rationalized procedures to replace the customary and peculiar practices of each industry.

Vertical differentiation also tends to be standardized by forces which arise from the sheer scale of a large enterprise. As Kephart has shown in a recent paper,⁹ if we take into account not only relations between individuals but also relations between individuals and combinations, then the increase of a group in number from five to six members increases the number of possible relationships from 90 to 301. For practical purposes, five persons appears to be the maximum number among whom all possible pair and combination relationships may be developed.¹⁰ Twenty persons are about as many as can be expected to develop all possible pair relationships, and this marks the approximate limits of the primary group. The number of individuals who

may associate with a single individual, at a moderately high interaction level, falls between 300 and 500, depending upon the type of organization involved. The largest group which may be referred to an interaction criterion based on a single subject consists of a "constituency"—the population who personally recognize a prominent figure. This ranges—in industrial establishments—from 2,000 to about 20,000.

The simplest working groups are based upon the collaboration of intimates. These give way in time to larger but still primary groups of close associates. Large working units, in the main, can not grow beyond the span of interaction of a single leader. Compound establishments may be as large as the constituency of the chief executive without becoming unmanageable. Beyond this order of magnitude, lines of authority become increasingly rigid and inflexible.

In modern industry, the pyramiding of interactive systems has been carried very, very far. Nevertheless, the inherent limits set by group size have an important and evident effect upon industrial organization. In the largest American enterprises, in recent years, there has been a general movement towards decentralization and the almost complete autonomy of operating sub-divisions.¹¹ Close observation of this process suggests that decentralization usually occurs when an organization has become too large to be a single constituency for an individual. At the other extreme of the scale, another conspicuous tendency has been the substitution of small executive committees for individual executives in giant enterprises. This seems to take place when the top level of management no longer forms a primary group, and therefore seeks representation on a primary group which exercises authority by delegation.

Vertical differentiations may also be examined in a different way, if we consider the length of the chain of command, as a critical element in organizational structure. Once again, there seem to be quite definite numerical limits for each type of situation. Communication of detailed information cannot readily be extended beyond five or six successive echelons. Even the most formal bureaucratic communication tends to break down when more than ten echelons must be traversed. These considerations furnish another and supporting explanation of the organizational uniformity which accompanies a certain scale of operation. We are just at the very beginnings of sociological understanding in these matters, but the main lines of investigation are increasingly clear.

NOTES

¹ Based on data in Table 970, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, Washington, Bureau of the Census, 1954.

² Data from Bureau of the Census, *Abstract of the Twelfth Census*, Washington, 1904; *Abstract of the Fifteenth Census*, Washington, 1933, and *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1954.

³ Theodore Caplow, *The Sociology of Work*, University of Minnesota Press, 1954, chapter I.

⁴ F. Stuart Chapin, *Contemporary American Institutions: A Sociological Analysis*, New York and London, Harper and Brothers, 1935, pp. 68–69.

⁵ Adapted from Table 21, p. 501, Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, "Social mobility and occupational career patterns", *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 57, no. 5, March, 1952.

⁶ See, among others, the cases appended to Robert Dubin, *Human Relations in Administration: The Sociology of Organisation*, New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951. Frans van Mechelen, *Arbeider, Loon en Ondernemingsgemeenschap* (study of a Flemish iron foundry), Antwerp, "T Groeit, about 1950; Elliott Jaques, *The Changing Culture of a Factory*, London, Tavistock Publication, 1951.

⁷ Data from Frederic W. Terrien and Donald L. Mills, "The effect of changing size upon the internal structure of organizations", *American Sociological Review*, vol. 20, no. 1, February, 1955.

⁸ Alan Touraine, *L'Evolution du Travail Ouvrier aux Usines Renault*, Paris, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1955, p. 172.

⁹ William M. Kephart, "A quantitative analysis of intragroup relationships", *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 55, no. 6, May, 1950, pp. 544-549.

¹⁰ For a more general approach to this problem, see my paper, "Definition and Measurement of Ambiences", *Social Forces*, October, 1955.

¹¹ A good description of current trends is found in L. Bethel, F. S. Atwater, G. H. E. Smith and H. A. Stackman, Jr., *Industrial Organization and Management*, McGraw-Hill, 1950, second edition.

Automation: Some Implications for Industrial Relations

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I. INTRODUCTION

The study of the effects of technological change upon social structure is an old and time-honoured area of social-scientific consideration. A renewed interest in problems of this nature is currently being generated by some recent technological advances which can be summarised in the term "automation." There is a rather widely held conviction in the United States, which was evident in the recent congressional hearings on this subject, that the effect of automation upon the structure of our industrial society may well be comparable to the effect of the industrial revolution of the 18th century. While there is a growing body of literature on the subject of automation, few of these publications could be described as disinterested or unbiased presentations. It is our conviction that the social scientist has an important rôle to play in presenting and clarifying the social issues raised by this new technology. The present paper is concerned primarily with the effects of automation upon the general structure of industrial organisation and industrial relations. This limitation of the problem is a result of the necessity of confining the discussion to the space allotted and does not reflect any conviction on the part of the authors that the social implications of industrial automation are thus limited.

The term "automation" has come to be used to describe a variety of differing automatic machine processes. These machine processes may be roughly classified into three types. These types are:

(1) The integration of conventionally separate manufacturing operations into lines of continuous production in which the materials handling, positioning of the product, and operation of each machine process are automatic.

(2) The use of "feed-back" control devices or "servo-mechanisms" where there is an automatic device for comparing the way in which work is *actually* being done with the way in which it is *supposed* to be done and an automatic device for making any necessary adjustments.

(3) The development of analog and digital computers capable of recording and storing information and of performing both simple and complex mathematical operations on such information.

While each of these technological developments represents quite different types of automatic machine processes, the introduction of each into industrial use is going on at an accelerated rate and it is with the cumulative *effect* of these automatic processes that we are concerned in this paper. The term "automation" as it is used here, then, will refer to all or any one of these three types of technological advances.

II. PRIMARY EFFECTS OF AUTOMATION

W. F. Ogburn uses the terms "primary" and "derivative" to classify the effects of technological change. Primary effects are the immediate results of any technological innovation, and derivative effects are the changes which occur as a result of these primary or initial effects. Three of the important primary effects of automation are: great increases in productive potential, a decrease in labour needs per unit of production, and a basic change in the relation of the worker to the job.

The exponential nature of technological growth is an established and frequently cited characteristic of social change. It appears to-day that, spurred by developments in the electronics industry during World War II, we are on the threshold of an almost unprecedented era of technological change of which one of the primary characteristics is a dramatic increase in the productive potential of the new machine processes. A chemical company in the United States has recently opened a magnesium mill which is capable of producing more magnesium sheet and plate than the total previous national capacity. A musical record company has installed new automatic machines with which four men turn out eight times as many records as 250 men had previously produced. An automobile engine part which was once produced at the rate of thirty-eight an hour by five men and two machines is now produced by one man at one machine at the rate of 750 per hour. Such instances of increased capacity for production, which could be multiplied by hundreds, are made possible largely by the development of automatic control devices and rapid in-line transfer machines which allow machining and assembly operations to be conducted at full machine capacity being no longer subject to the limitations of human judgment and speed.

The decrease in labour needs and labour cost per unit of production has been a long range trend in industrial development. Forty-three automobile workers in 1954 were capable of producing as many automobiles as 100 workers produced in 1914, the year mass production techniques were introduced into the automobile industry. Automation has already accelerated this pattern of decreased labour need in relation to production. Comparing the two year averages for 1947-48

and 1953-54 in the automobile industry, production workers increased 7.6 per cent., non-production workers increased 19.7 per cent., while total production increased 68.9 per cent. There can be little doubt that automation will continue to decrease greatly the amount of labour required for a given level of production. The very rationale for the introduction of automatic machine processes by industry is that they significantly decrease the labour cost per unit of production. Some of the issues which will determine whether or not this decreased labour need relative to a given level of production will result in labour displacement are discussed later in the present paper.

The third primary effect of automation listed above was the change in the relationship of the worker to the job. This changed relationship is a result of some basic changes in the production process in automated industries. The primary function of previous industrial machinery has been the replacement of human energy or "muscle-power" by machine power. The essential processes of machine operation, quality control, and machine adjustment were still the function of the human operator. The substitution of electronic devices using the feed-back principle for this human "brain-power" is a significant departure from the previous relationship of the human operator to the machine.

Another production change affecting this relationship is the process of re-integration. Almost from the beginning of the industrial revolution and certainly since the advent of mass production techniques, changes in the process of production have been in the direction of a division of the total process into ever smaller components so that each worker was responsible for a *decreasing* portion of the production of the end product. With the introduction of automated machine processes this trend has been reversed. The integration of many machine operations into one machine *increases* the proportion of each worker's responsibility for the production of the end product. The average general machinery investment per production worker in the United States in 1952 was 9,000 dollars. The average machinery investment for a production worker at some of the new automated plants is as much as 100,000 dollars. The primary function of the worker in automated industries changes from that of operating the machine and checking its performance to that of responsibility for skilled maintenance of a self-operating, self-regulating, integrated machine process.

III. DERIVATIVE EFFECTS

A technological change which greatly increases the productive potential of each worker and which produces basic changes in the nature of the job could be expected to have some important secondary or derivative effects upon the issues and nature of industrial relations. Both the general wage structure and methods of payment are bound to be affected by automation. One of the prerequisites for effective utilisation of automation in the economy is that, along with increased *mass production*, *mass consumption* on a larger scale must be made possible

through increased purchasing power. Some of the increasing productive potential of labour will undoubtedly be reflected in higher real wage rates. Because more frequent adjustment of the wage structure may be necessary, such contract provisions as "escalator" clauses and annual improvement factors which relate wage levels to increases in price level and to output may be more generally used.

In addition to wage levels, automation will have an effect upon the form of payment. The use of incentive systems such as piece rates, for example, is no longer feasible when production is reduced to a continuous flow process in automated industries. There will also undoubtedly be increased union pressure for wage guarantees as a result of increasing automation. The guaranteed annual wage or supplemental unemployment compensation plan which was won by the U.A.W.-C.I.O. in the automobile industry in the United States in last year's contract negotiations was a direct product of the Union's concern regarding the effects of automation.

It was the union's contention that a wage guarantee would have the effect of regulating the introduction of automated machinery by making management responsible for continued payment to displaced workers. It would also have the effect of cushioning the period of unemployment for those workers who were displaced while they were seeking a new job. Other forms of payment supplemental to wages, such as severance pay, increased paid vacations, and relocation pay, will also probably constitute an increasingly large proportion of total payment to labour as a result of automation.

In addition to increases in wages and supplemental benefits, some of the increase in productive capacity may be translated into shorter working hours. A thirty-two hour work week with no decrease in pay has already been listed as a bargaining objective of the UAW-CIO automobile workers in the United States. Shortening of working hours in the past has resulted largely from increases in productivity. Over the period of the past 50 years the average annual increase in output per man-hour has been from two to three per cent. and during the same period the average work week has decreased from around sixty to around forty hours. The combination of the increased productive potential promised by automation and the feeling among many union leaders regarding the necessity for "sharing the work" when faced with the possibility of unemployment should make a shortening of working hours an important bargaining issue in automated industries. It is understood by these Unionists that a reduction in income should not accompany the reduction in hours.

The probable development of a shorter work week poses the question of possible qualitative changes in the nature of leisure and attitudes toward the job. Most leisure now might be considered "recuperative" leisure, i.e., time used to relax from the job completed and to prepare for the job forthcoming. With shorter working hours made possible through automation, there will be the *opportunity* for workers to engage

in more meaningful leisure activities. Certainly the more highly educated workers will be in a better position to be active in community programmes of a social and perhaps political nature which may in itself have an effect upon social structure.¹ There may also be a gradual cultural redefinition of "leisure" and the "job." For example, leisure activities have long been important status symbols in American society. If the three day week-end, longer paid vacations, and earlier retirement becomes a reality for a majority of production workers, this type of symbol of status will undoubtedly lose much of its significance. Also, a work week of thirty-two hours or less would be expected to produce changes in attitudes toward the job. It would seem likely that a cultural tradition stressing importance of the job and importance of success in the job would be affected by a situation where as much time was spent in leisure activity as in economic activity.

In addition to changes in wages and hours, some other issues in labour-management relations may be affected by the introduction of automation. Existing contract clauses governing seniority may be no longer effective in automated industries. Seniority rules under which the unit of seniority is a particular process or department, such as machining, grinding, or assembly operations, are no longer meaningful when these separate processes are integrated into one machine in one department. There will undoubtedly be union pressure for enlarged seniority units on a plant-wide, company-wide or even industry-wide basis in order to protect job opportunities for union members whose particular jobs have become unnecessary in the automated plant.

Systems of job classification will also need revision in automated industries. Both union and management have become accustomed to thinking in terms of narrow and rigid job classifications based upon the principle of job specialisation and increasing division of the production process. The re-integration of these processes will require broader and more flexible job definitions as more varying skills are required of the worker on the automated job. These new job definitions may upset the traditional jurisdictions of some unions. Maintenance jobs on many of the new machines, for example, require both electrical and mechanical skills which have been traditionally under the jurisdiction of separate unions in the automobile industry in the United States.

The question of managerial responsibility for re-training of workers may also become an important issue in industrial relations. Of the current working force in the United States of about sixty million, less than ten million can to-day be classified as skilled workers and in most cases these skills are limited to one particular operation of a complex trade. The integration and increasing complexity of automatic machine processes require more generalised skills of a higher order. It has been estimated that between a third and a half of the total work force will soon need skills of this type. Several training programmes designed to re-train skilled workers are now in operation in the automobile industry. However, in corporations where programmes of this

type are not initiated by management, the question of managerial *responsibility* may be raised.

Apart from the specific issues in industrial relations, automation may have an effect upon the relative power positions of unions and managements. The increase in the proportion of the work force which is composed of skilled technicians may tend to increase the union's bargaining power. In such a situation the position of each worker becomes more strategic both in terms of his ability to stop production and in terms of his increased responsibility stemming partly from the increase in machinery investment per worker. In addition, the number of workers in the total labour force possessing the particular skills required for the maintenance of automated machinery may be small for some time to come. On the other hand, it has been suggested that because of the increase in skill and responsibility and because of closer and more frequent contact with a larger number of supervisors, workers may become more "management-minded."

Another factor to be considered in this connection is the cost of strikes in automated industries. Most automatic machinery is very expensive and, in industries like the automobile industry where annual style changes occur, they may have to be frequently changed or replaced. If the cost of automatic machinery has to be amortized over a short period of time, the continuous operation of these machines would be necessary in order to make their use profitable. Strikes or any other disruption of production schedules will become very costly and there will be increased pressure for a peaceful solution of collective bargaining issues.

Perhaps the most important question posed by automation is the possibility of widespread technological unemployment. This problem can be considered at two levels: the long range effect of automation upon the total labour force, and the immediate effect within an automated industry.

It is, of course, impossible to predict with any degree of confidence the long range effect of automation upon employment. Technological innovations in the past have in general created more jobs than they have eliminated and have simply resulted in the movement of large numbers of workers into new areas of employment such as the service areas (Colin Clark's tertiary and quaternary industries). Whether or not this historical pattern can continue in the face of the rapid increases in the productive capacity of each worker brought about by automation is a moot question. There are some factors to be considered which may tend to balance optimistic views based upon historical precedent. According to recent Fortune Magazine and C.I.O. estimates, the present high productivity rate alone means that the economy must annually provide jobs for an additional one and a half million persons. In addition to this, the annual increase in size of the national labour force is approximately 700,000 persons. In the current labour force, two of the largest categories of employment are manufacturing

and clerical workers. It is precisely these functions, however, which are becoming increasingly automated. The capacity for these areas to absorb new workers is already decreasing. If continued automation produces further substantial decreases in the labour requirements in manufacturing and clerical positions, an almost unprecedented era of economic expansion may be required to absorb these workers plus the two millions mentioned above. Whether or not such a period of expansion will occur can, of course, only remain to be seen.

In terms of the immediate effect of automation within a particular industry there can be little doubt that there will be some displacement of workers. The early history of the Industrial Revolution is replete with instances of temporary technological displacement of workers and many more recent examples could be cited. The extent of this "short-run" unemployment problem will be determined partly by economic conditions and partly by the rate of introduction of automated machine processes. The important question is how easy it will be for displaced workers to find re-employment in jobs with a comparable wage scale or where they can utilise whatever skills they may have.

Recently a company that employed about 3,000 hourly paid workers making parts in Detroit for a major automobile company was forced to close down completely, partly because the automobile company decided to make the same parts in its own new automated factory about 300 miles from Detroit. Using a sample of these 3,000 workers, the problems they encountered in finding re-employment were studied. The important variables affecting the length of period of unemployment were age, sex, race, and skill level. It was found that as many as one-fifth of even the more highly skilled white male workers had to wait as long as six months before re-employment, and that for a majority of workers the hourly rate on the new job was lower than the old rate. Problems of temporary displacement of this type may be expected to be magnified in automated industries as the need for unskilled labour decreases and many old skills become obsolete.

IV. SUMMARY

We have surveyed here some of the implications of automation for industrial relations. Many other types of problems might have been included—problems such as those relating to the probable increase in concentration of capital resulting from the very large initial cost of automated machinery and the improved competitive position of those corporations able to make this initial expenditure; problems resulting from industrial relocation made possible by a decreased need to locate with reference to labour supply and the effect of such relocation upon urban manufacturing centres; problems for our educational institutions stemming from the greatly increased need for skilled technicians and from decreased job opportunities, which results in increased school enrolments; and problems of general governmental policy toward regulation of the effects of automation,

The introduction of a change in technology of the magnitude automation represents necessitates complex programmes of planning and co-ordination of interdependent processes—both economic and political as well as mechanical. Intelligent social planning, however, can only be based upon an adequate understanding of the issues involved. Much systematic study of the issues posed by automation is necessary if we are to attain the benefits of this “second industrial revolution” while avoiding the cost in human suffering at which the first industrial revolution was purchased.

NOTE

¹ We say “highly” educated (meaning high school or above) because studies by one of the authors (Sheppard) indicate that a prerequisite of greater organisational and community participation is a sense of self-confidence and self-adequacy which is highly correlated with education.

PART TWO

Changes in Property Relations

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1. PROPERTY—LEGAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL DEFINITIONS

Sociology is concerned with the function of property in society rather than with its legal definition. There is, however, in this as in any other field, a give and take between legal concept and social function. There is a variety of legal definitions of property and ownership. A conceptual difference in approach, as between the Anglo-American and the civilian systems, should be mentioned at the outset. The civilian systems, going back to romanistic conceptions, have traditionally defined property as the dominion of a person over a thing. They have thereby restricted property to the fullest form of control over certain tangible things—movable and immovable—to the exclusion of the many other types of legal control and power. In this respect, the Anglo-American legal tradition comes far closer to the sociological meaning of property than the continental tradition. "The English lawyer does not find it incongruous to say that the claim for the repayment of a loan, a mortgage upon another man's land, or a share in a limited company, belongs to a person's "property".¹ By contrast, the civilian systems put property and ownership into the category of "Sachenrecht", and they usually define ownership as the most comprehensive right of enjoyment and power of disposal over a thing, by comparison not only with more limited forms of control, but also with legal dominion over shares, claims, assets, powers of management, etc.² For a sociological consideration of the changes in property relations, such a limitation would be arbitrary and unduly limit the scope of inquiry. When we think in sociological and economic terms of the function of property in society, we think not only of the owners of land or chattels, but equally of the owners of patent rights, of shares, of the controllers of plants and industrial concerns—who may or may not be in the technical sense owners of assets or land or shares. We think, in other words, of property as a "bundle of powers",³ of the degree of control that a physical or corporate person exercises over an aggregate of tangible things, be they land, shares, claims, or powers of disposal. To the Anglo-American lawyer, this is a familiar approach. On the one hand, he conceives of the ownership of a share or a patent not as property of the pieces of paper, the documents that may incorporate them, but of the claims, rights, liabilities and obligations that flow from them. On the other hand, he can think of ownership not as an absolute but as a relative concept. The law of trust and land law have made him think of ownership as something divisible and also as something relative rather than absolute. It may even be argued that

there is in Anglo-American law no such thing as "ownership" in land. The reason for this is not so much that in legal history nobody but the king owned all the land, and everybody else took a more limited type of tenure from him. Even if this is today regarded as a historical fiction, it may still be that there are only various forms of "estate" in the land, ranging from the near absolute fee simple to limited tenancies, each giving a more or less absolute degree of possession towards others.⁴

Whatever the niceties of legal definition, there can be little doubt that for a sociological understanding of property relations in contemporary society, we have to take property in the wider sense, comprising tangibles and intangibles, the power to make contracts as much as the physical dominion over a thing or a complex of assets. This, indeed, is the gist of Renner's celebrated analysis, first made over a half century ago, of the institutions of private property. But bound as he was by the conceptual training of a civilian lawyer, he had to argue that the increasing significance of contracts of service, the power of mortgagees, the controllers of industrial assets, etc., had denuded property in the narrow sense of its function. In the wider sociological meaning—more familiar to the Anglo-American lawyer—there has simply been a shift in emphasis from certain types of property to other types of property. A practical application of this conception is the interpretation of the "due process" clauses of the United States Constitution by the Supreme Court. For many decades that Court held that the prohibition to take "life, liberty and property" without due process of law meant a substantive as well as a procedural prohibition to interfere, and that "property" included freedom of contract as well as property in the narrow sense. Hence, it held that statutes limiting the maximum number of hours or imposing minimum standards of wages, were an unconstitutional interference with "due process". Ideologically and socially, this was a misinterpretation, but conceptually it implied an understanding that the power to make contracts may be a far more important aspect of "property" than the ownership of a few acres of land.

2. VARIOUS ASPECTS OF PROPERTY AND PROPERTY RELATIONS

Property denotes the most complete form of control—whether over things, assets, claims, persons—that the law permits. Implicit in such a grant of control, within the limits of the law, are two aspects: the power to enjoy and the power to dispose. In a primitive and essentially self-supporting society, property also coincides broadly with the sphere of work of an individual—at least if we include with the head of the household his family. "Property, . . . the central institution of private law, fulfilled, in the system of simple commodity production, the functions of providing an order of goods and, in part, an order of power".⁵ In a broadly accurate simplification, the owner of a farm or a workshop in such a society owns the land, the stock, the tools,

which he needs to live or to produce in exchange for certain elementary commodities. Hired labour or trade in commodities are generally ancillary rather than essential complements of property. The power, enjoyment and the capacity to work are not too far apart from each other.

Although even pre-industrial society shows an increasing tension and separation between these different functions of property, the decisive break comes with the industrial age. In the earlier phase of industrial society, the power aspect of property becomes immensely extended. The ownership of physical assets, or of funds invested in production, enables the early entrepreneur to multiply not only his power over things—factories, commodities, or products—but also over men. The power to make contracts, to hire and fire becomes, perhaps, the most important function of property. In the earlier days of industrialism, before trade unions were legitimate and powerful, this power enabled the owner of industrial assets to become, in Renner's analysis, a "commander". He exercises, by arrogation or toleration, a quasi-public authority over people and social relationships that ought to belong to public authority only, and in the theory of democracy, only to a public authority responsible to the people as a whole. There are industrial empires, parallel to autocratic political empires, although this relationship is disguised by the theoretical equality of contract under the civil law, an equality that is as little concerned with the differences of economic power between the parties as the law that in Anatole France's famous phrase, in majestic impartiality permits rich and poor alike to sleep out on embankments. We will refer later to the counter-moves against this power aspect of property. For the present we shall have to pass on to another phase in the development of modern industrial society, a phase characterized by the increasing divorce of control from ownership.

The American writers, Berle and Means,⁶ take up the analysis roughly at the stage where Renner leaves it. Modern industrial society is increasingly dominated not by the owner, but by the manager; the Executive Board replaces the entrepreneur. The big corporation, with its vertical and horizontal subsidiaries or participations in other undertakings, with its net of more or less dependent suppliers and, more recently, with its tax-exempt charitable foundations which shield the assets from income tax and estate duty, but leave the managing power over the business in its hands, replaces the individual empires of the earlier capitalist entrepreneurs.⁷ The characteristic feature of these modern industrial corporate empires is that ownership, i.e., the legal control over the majority of the physical assets or of the shares, is only in a minority of cases necessary to exercise the power formerly attendant upon it. Indeed, the more widely scattered the ownership of shares, the more secure is the control of the managers, who may own only a minority of the shares or assets, or perhaps none at all. The power and enjoyment aspects of property have become divorced.

The claim, so often made, that wide dispersal of shares among small owners is a sign of industrial democracy, is, of course, fictitious. The great majority of small shareowners do not exercise their potential powers of control, which lie either dormant or are delegated by proxy. In any case, they will seldom be brought to agree, unless they are led by a powerful manipulator, who seeks to take over control from the existing Executive. The average small shareholder becomes a *rentier*, a receiver of dividends, not very different from the bond or debenture holder, who receives fixed interest. For a sociological analysis, we may therefore have to extend the concept of property and of property relations even further, and say, somewhat paradoxically, that, at least in industrial and commercial life, the powers of property have largely passed to those who, without necessarily being owners, can compel a variety of small or scattered owners of shares or assets in an enterprise to comply with certain directions, be this the result of diffusion of ownership, of lethargy, of skilful manipulations, or a combination of all these factors.

3. SOCIAL RESTRAINTS ON PROPERTY

The counter moves against the unrestrained power flowing from property in the wide sense are varied and powerful. For purposes of discussion we may briefly classify them as follows :

(a) *Redistribution of Wealth*

Inequality of property means, generally, inequality of wealth. Formerly, land was the main symbol of property, and also the main symbol of wealth. In the industrial age the ownership of land takes on the whole second place to the ownership of movable and intangible assets which can be accumulated more easily and in vaster dimensions. In the late 19th century it looked as if an unchecked accumulation of industrial wealth would eventually lead to the virtual expropriation of the great majority of the people, for the benefit of a very few. The most commonly used legal instrument for the partial redistribution of this wealth has been taxation and, in relatively few cases, expropriation. Through progressive income tax rates, through succession duties, and other instruments of taxation, and in some cases through the differentiation between earned and unearned income, a great portion of the accumulated property is being redistributed. It serves to finance, wholly or in part, education, social insurance, health services and other public services now almost universally recognized as essential in the practice of contemporary nations.

In addition, compulsory insurance schemes, public health services and the like are now commonly used to provide minimum standards of living, and a greater equality of opportunity. They are not used to provide complete equality of property. The most completely socialised of contemporary states, the Soviet Union, has increasingly

emphasized incentive, and differentiation of incomes according to skill, or other criteria that create a new kind of class structure, although it is not so far hereditary, and private property is not permitted to become a source of economic power. Political, military, professional or managerial status is a more important source of power than property.

(b) *Restraints on the Use of Land*

No reasonably well-ordered society can permit the unrestricted use of land by its owner. In the classical definition of Kant, adopted with some variations by most legal philosophers, law is the aggregate of the conditions under which the arbitrary will of one can be reconciled with that of another under a general inclusive law of freedom. From this have developed not only the restraints which in the common law are summed up under the law of nuisance, but also certain elementary public restrictions regulating building lines, providing elementary safety standards, etc. The scope and significance of what were formerly "give and take" restrictions between neighbours, or injunctions for the protection of the public using the highways, have immensely widened in recent decades. Professor Williams has given a brief survey of the various ways by which the adaptation of property law and property relations to changing social needs is being effected in the United States. Changing interpretations of the common law by the courts go together—though not always at an equal pace—with an increasing range of statutory prohibitions and statutory directions. The courts have, for example, extended the concept of "husbandry" and of waste by owners of possessory interest in land. But the main adaptation must obviously be effected by public regulation. Zoning legislation is used to regulate the utilization of urban land and the height, bulk and area of structures. Forty-two out of forty-eight States in the United States of America now have enabling legislation authorizing municipalities or other public agencies to regulate sub-division practices. In this way, administrative orders may require sub-dividers to provide adequate public utilities, roads, playgrounds, schools, etc. Such public-law regulations are translated into private-law covenants among the sub-dividers. The counterpart of such positive directions is the illegality—now firmly established in the practice of the United States courts, and less firmly so in Canada—of the so-called racial covenants by which restrictive covenants prohibiting the sale or lease of land to persons of "non-Caucasian" race have been held unenforceable.

The extent and severity of restrictions upon the utilization of private ownership in land is not entirely a matter of political philosophy. It is largely determined by natural and economic conditions. It is, for example, far more developed in the western part of the United States where water shortage and the conservation of grazing

lands is a vital issue, than in the East. The creation of soil-conservation districts, which may issue compulsory regulation for the use of land, has been sustained as a legitimate use of the police power of the states. A landowner may be required to conform with certain grazing control orders in order not to exhaust the land. Legislation, such as the Forestry Practices Act of the State of Washington, under which state officials can control the cutting of timber on private land so as to ensure reforestation, has been upheld by the courts. Perhaps most remarkable of all, in certain areas such as the Columbia River Basin, no owner can possess or control more than a certain area, if he wishes to qualify for water supply from the irrigation project. This means that even in definitely non-socialist countries such as the United States, in certain areas and for certain purposes, legislation sustained by the "police power" has put definite limitations not only on the quantity of private land ownership, but also on the modalities of its use.

In Great Britain, post-war land legislation has generally gone further. Land development values have been appropriated by the state, as an asset belonging to the community rather than to the individual land owner. A public authority is the administrator of these development values, and it pays compensation out of a global fund. This is one aspect of the planning of town and country development, which is also expressed in town and country planning legislation, and in the New Towns Act. The latter, designed to develop, through special public development corporations, a number of satellite communities meant to relieve the congestion of the big cities, and in particular of London, includes the expropriation of private land among its legal weapons. Another far-reaching public power over land, designed to safeguard agricultural production in an over-populated country, is the power, under the Agricultural Act of 1947, to dispossess inefficient farmers, under the recommendation of a county committee.

The extreme weapon, expropriation and nationalization of land, is, however, not often resorted to in countries other than those that adopt complete socialization as their philosophy. The total or partial expropriation of land from large landowners for the benefit of the state or of the peasants has played a decisive part in the Soviet revolution, in the agrarian revolutions of Mexico, and in East Germany under Soviet occupation. In the U.S.S.R., however, only a minority of agricultural land is owned by the state as such. The great majority of the farms are owned and operated by collectives. Generally, it may be said that the question of technical ownership as a social device for the control of land is probably less significant than various other forms of public control regulating the use of land. In this respect, the revolution of the last half century has been as phenomenal in extent as it has been universal. There are still some countries in which the landowner, and especially

the large landowner, enjoys a semi-feudal position and is almost free from restraint. But they are definitely in a minority. The trend of the times is against them. More important, probably, than social philosophy for the future development of property rights in land will be the outcome of the race between world population and world resources. If the increase in population, which has been scarcely slowed down even by the carnage of the last World War, outstrips the increase in productivity or the utilization of untapped resources such as the sea for food, if soil erosion, deforestation, exhaustion or waste of water resources, etc., are not sufficiently checked and controlled, the need for drastic restraints on the private ownership and use of land will become far more imperative even than it is at present.

(c) *Restraints on the Use of Industrial Property*

Public restraints on the use of industrial property—which is technically a complex of assets that comprise land, movables, shares, bonds, etc.—has on the whole an older history than that of public restraints on the use of land as such. From the middle of the 19th century onwards, control measures against the abysmal excesses of squalor and exploitation that went with the early unchecked phase of expanding capitalism and industrialization, led to a growing number of legislative restraints. Today there is, in all industrial countries, a vast range of statutes and regulations that impose on the industrial entrepreneur minimum standards of health and safety, that put restraints or prohibitions on the employment of women and children, that impose a maximum ceiling of working hours or, in a minority of cases, minimum wages. Another series of legislative measures make certain compulsory insurance schemes a public law duty.⁸ As has been reported earlier, the United States Supreme Court for many years regarded such statutes as an unconstitutional interference with absolute freedom of contract that it considered protected by the due process clauses of the Constitution. But this interpretation has been definitely abandoned for the last 20 years. Penalties, of varying scope and effectiveness, provide the sanctions on non-compliance with these public duties.

4. RESTRAINTS ON THE USE OF PROPERTY AS AN INSTRUMENT OF POWER

The inequalities of status and wealth which result from unequal distribution of property, are as old as human history. Hence, the natural law theories which, like those of Locke, Hegel or the Founding Fathers have derived the natural right to property from the mixing of a man's sweat with the soil, have always had a hollow ring when applied to the patent and innumerable examples of accumulation of property by loot, inheritance, interest or other ways unconnected with personal labour. While the history of feudalism, the merchant princes of the Renaissance, the colonial empire of the East India Company,

and many other examples afford ample illustration of such accumulations, it is the industrial age which has multiplied and brought to the fore the possibilities of using accumulation of property as an instrument of power not over slaves or subject peoples but over legally "free" labourers. It is in the area of counter-moves against the unrestrained power of the capitalistic entrepreneur, of the industrial commander, that the most dramatic and significant developments have taken place. They are so manifold and so complex that only the most important can be briefly indicated, as a basis for further discussion:

(a) *Collective Bargaining and the Restoration of Equality of Contract.*

In the early phase of progress from status to contract, as classically formulated by Sir Henry Maine, the increasing mobility of capital and labour was accompanied by a stark inequality of bargaining conditions, under the cover of legal equality. There have been two major ways of mitigating or countering this state of affairs, state intervention and collective bargaining. Reference has already been made to the now customary but limited intervention of the state in matters of minimum standards of health, safety, etc. In regard to the essential terms of the labour contract itself, state intervention has in democratic countries been concentrated on industries and occupations with notoriously weak organization, such as agriculture. (In England, minimum wages are prescribed for example, in agriculture and catering). Apart from this, there are conciliation and compulsory settlement procedures of many varieties. They go furthest in Australia and New Zealand where arbitration courts can, in major disputes between the parties, lay down compulsory minimum wages and maximum hours. In the majority of democratic states, the powers of the state in the settlement of labour disputes go very much less far than this. They yield to emphasis on the autonomous settlement by reasonably well-balanced collective organizations of employers and labour.

In totalitarian systems, both of the Communist and the Fascist variety, the state is bound to take a determining hand in the fixing of standards of labour. In other systems, the state does so only under the pressure of one or other exceptional emergencies. The legislation of totalitarian states protects the worker in his job in a manner not dissimilar to that of other countries, and it fixes standards of wages, holidays, etc., through state-appointed arbitrators. In Communist countries the same functions are fulfilled through organizations that are called trade unions but are none the less under the policy direction of the state. Totalitarianism cannot permit genuine collective bargaining through autonomous organizations, which constitute a powerful social force and which may differ from Government policy.

In the democratic countries, collective bargaining is a paramount means of countering the original inequality of contract. In the

advanced industrial countries, it may be said that generally, and with the exception of certain regions and occupations, the restoration of equality of bargaining has been attained. The time is past, at least in the industrially developed countries, when trade unions had to fight for social and legal recognition. Today they have to fight against increasing attacks on the exemption from anti-trust and anti-monopoly legislation. As is increasingly the case in the industrialized countries, one union often represents a trade on a nation-wide basis, with powers of collective bargaining for the trade that are either legally exclusive (as in the Canadian and American legislations where National Labour Relations Boards recognize the majority union as exclusively entitled to represent labour or is *de facto* in a controlling position. This gives rise to new problems. The individual worker who, on the whole, has immensely benefited from collective organization, now finds himself occasionally in a position of powerlessness against arbitrary exclusion, which means deprivation of livelihood. This has led some English courts in recent years to abandon the traditional attitude of non-interference with the jurisdiction of autonomous organizations, and to emphasize the quasi-public position of trade unions as justification for closer legal scrutiny over disciplinary decisions by the Court, which can, in fact or in law, control the livelihood of a worker. A very recent House of Lords decision has awarded damages to a musician arbitrarily expelled from his union. On the whole, the immense extension of collective bargaining has led to a position described in a recent book by the American economist Galbraith as "countervailing power".

(b) *Anti-Trust Legislation*

As collective bargaining is the chief weapon by which labour has largely restored or attained the position of rough equality with the employers, so anti-trust legislation is the effective weapon by which both smaller entrepreneurs and the consumers, through the state, seek to restore some measure of equality of contract and competition. There are two main objectives of anti-trust legislation: the prevention of undue concentration of economic power in the hands of one enterprise, or a series of enterprises linked by joint or interlocked controls;⁹ and the prevention of exclusionary or otherwise restrictive dealings and associations that operate against a newcomer or any firm outside the charmed circle.

Until recently, only the United States and Canada believed in this type of restraint on industrial power in any significant way. Although some other countries like Germany had, after the first World War, adopted anti-cartel legislation, it remained weak and ineffective. It is only since the last World War that a growing number of countries have adopted varying forms of anti-trust legislation to curb exclusionary or excessive economic power.¹⁰

It would be a fair generalization to say that effective anti-trust legislation can considerably slow down and mitigate the drive towards bigness and the domination of the national (and in many cases international) economy by a relatively few powerful corporations. It can, however, hardly basically reverse the trend which is encouraged by modern defence needs, technological resources, efficiency and cheapness of large-scale standardization, and other factors. Anti-trust legislation has not been as successful in protecting either the small competitor or the consuming public against the overmighty entrepreneur as collective bargaining has been in the restoration of equality of bargaining as between employers and labour.

(c) *Co-operative Ownership*

Co-operative societies have long been significant in Europe, including Great Britain, but they have been relatively unimportant in North America. The importance of consumers' co-operatives has been overwhelmingly greater than that of producers' co-operatives. In some countries, e.g., Great Britain, consumers' co-operatives have resorted to the production of certain consumers' goods such as foodstuffs, but nowhere have co-operatives succeeded in assuming a major share or function in industrial production. They have been more significant in some countries on the Continent in the organization of agricultural credit (*Landwirtschaftliche Kreditgenossenschaft*). Recently, co-operatives have become more significant in some sectors of the North American economy. Co-operatives have played a vital part in the electrification of rural areas in the last 20 years. More recently, co-operative ownership of houses has developed in the United States and Canada. The rapid spread of co-operatively-owned apartments in the big cities is a partial answer of the lower income middle class to the greatly increased cost of house-ownership. These co-operatives are a type of private limited company. The owners have shares in the enterprise, whose asset is the house. Just as private companies impose limitations on the alienation of shares, so the acquisition and disposition of shares is dependent upon the consent of the members. On the whole, however, the co-operative ownership is probably a relatively minor answer to the problem of concentration of power through property.

(d) *Co-determination (Mitbestimmungsrecht)*

Professor Fischer reports on a development that is one of the very few novel social and legal ideas of the post-war world, and that is so far confined to the coal and steel industries in West Germany. The idea of "Mitbestimmungsrecht" is the partial answer of the West German trade-union movement to the problem of capitalist control over the resources of the nation. It is definitely an alternative to socialism, for the structure of the enterprises in which "Mitbestimmungsrecht" operates remains unchanged. They

still are privately-owned companies. But the composition of the control organ, the "Aufsichtsrat" has been modified in a complex manner so as to give roughly equal representation, together with the nominees of the capital owners, to the representatives of the trade-union movement and of the Works Council of the plant concerned. As Professor Fischer points out, the basic idea is partnership. Whether the appointment of labour nominees to the management of an industrial enterprise does or will in fact substantially change the principles by which it is conducted, let alone the structure of the national economy, is very doubtful. Suffice it to stress the relevance of this concept to our problem. The claim to "Mitbestimmung" is based on the idea that the (often dormant) ownership of shares in an enterprise does not give the sole claim to control. In a modification of the theory of Marxism—and of some other economic theories—that labour represents the main value of the product, it is claimed that labour has at least a right to equality of participation in the control of the enterprise. This is, in theory at least, a partial answer to the changes referred to earlier in this paper, and the transformation of the average shareholder from an active participant to a passive recipient of dividends; in part, it is an answer to the increasing power of the managers in industry. In practice, however, the effect of this so far limited experiment on the social psychology as well as the power structure of the West German economy appears to be very limited.

(e) *Public Ownership*

We turn to what is historically one of the oldest of the answers to the excessive power of poverty; public ownership. The transfer of the means of production to public ownership is, of course, the Marxist answer to the power of private capitalism. The theory has found its most significant and comprehensive application in the Communist systems, which have transferred the bulk of industrial production to the state, while agricultural production is being collectivized. However, many other countries have seen in a more selective transfer to public ownership a major answer to the dangers of private monopoly. Both Great Britain and France have, after the last World War, socialized major parts of their basic industries: in Great Britain, coal, electricity, gas, railways and, to a limited extent, road transport; in France, coal, electricity, gas, the press, and certain selected manufactures. On the whole, the manufacturing industries have remained outside the sphere of public ownership. In essentially anti-socialist countries such as the United States and Canada, public ownership is in the main confined to public utilities, such as the Tennessee Valley Authority or the Hydro-Power commissions of the Provinces of Canada. Where socialization is complete or near-complete, as in the U.S.S.R., the resulting danger of excessive size and unwieldy bureaucracy is being met by

decentralization into semi-autonomous public corporations, and the constant encouragement, through publicity, rigid accountability and disciplinary measures, of efficiency and competitiveness between the state enterprises—as a substitute for the profit motive. In other countries, where public enterprises operate side by side with private enterprises, as in Great Britain, their position is as far as possible equated with that of private enterprises, in the way of legal liability, accountability, etc. On the whole, world opinion seems to consolidate around the middle line: public ownership is recognized as necessary and beneficial in certain fields where it utilizes and develops resources for the public benefit that would otherwise lie dormant or be operated at excessive cost to the public. There is no serious demand for the denationalization or transfer to private ownership of Australian railways, the British coal mines or the Ontario hydro-power resources. Nor does anybody seriously deny the enormous benefits that the Tennessee Valley Authority has brought to a formerly depressed region. However, in that case, political ideology and the pressure of private power interests are powerful enough to thwart at least its further development.

On the other hand, the belief in the panacea of public ownership and enterprise has waned. The British and French experiences, for example, have shown that socialization does not magically reduce prices, increase efficiency or eliminate labour problems. Outside the extremes of either ideology on the left and on the right, public enterprises are nowadays seen as a partial, but not as a comprehensive, answer to the evils of unrestricted private property, and of the power it conveys.

(f) *The Private Corporation as a Public Servant*

We should finally refer at least briefly to a fairly novel but significant development that is not unnaturally most articulate in the United States. The predominance of the big anonymous corporation as against the individual entrepreneur is not contested. It is, in fact, undeniable. It is, however, asserted that the modern corporation cannot, and is not any longer primarily an instrument for the accumulation of the greatest possible private profit, but that it is increasingly, by structural changes and the pressure of public opinion, a public service organisation. This is due, on the one hand, to what Galbraith in his recent book on *American Capitalism* (1952) has described as the “countervailing power” of labour unions against employers, or of large retailers as against producers. Such “countervailing power” is strong enough to compel the other side to comply with certain rules of behaviour. On the other hand, Adolf Berle¹¹ has pointed out that it is an elementary necessity and self-interest of the big corporations to use their resources for general and technical education, for public amenities and for other social purposes. This, it is said, is so because the modern big corporation

executive is rather more of an administrator than the old-type entrepreneur; because Government, Congress, public opinion and competitors critically watch the behaviour of the big enterprise; lastly, the incidence of modern taxation makes it an increasingly common practice to confer large assets upon charitable and tax-exempt foundations which must dedicate themselves to charitable purposes. The assets of the largest of the giant Foundations, the Ford Foundation, are estimated as well in excess of two billion dollars. Certainly, the Foundations are now influencing the direction of education, of technological and scientific developments and of public institutions in a major way. It would, however, be very dangerous to assert that this is a substitute for public control of property and, especially, of large corporate property.

CONCLUSIONS

The summary survey given above shows clearly enough that, with the general exception of chattels for personal use, property is, today, seen no longer as exclusively conferring certain rights and privileges, but equally as imposing obligations. The social uses of property, and the dangers of power attendant upon property, have become the increasing concern of legislators, although it has been shown that legislation is by no means the only way in which the powers and privileges of property have been mitigated. Compared with this development, it is relatively insignificant whether we choose to regard the right to private property as a "natural right" or not. Nowhere has private property been completely abolished. Nowhere is it left in the position of privilege and command that it enjoyed a century ago, or even at the beginning of this century.

NOTES

¹ Kahn-Freund, *Introduction to Karl Renner, The Institutions of Private Law and their Social Functions*, Routledge & Kegan Paul (1949), at p. 19.

² See, for example, the definitions in the French *Code Civil*, Art. 544; in the German *Bürgerliche Gesetzbuch*, para. 903; and in the Swiss Civil Code, Art. 641.

³ Kahn-Freund, *loc. cit.*, p. 19.

⁴ See in this sense, for example, Hargreaves, in a Critique of Cheshire's *The Modern Law of Real Property* at 19 Mod. L.R. (1956), pp. 14 ff. The American Restatement of the Law of Property (1936) defines estate as "ownership measured in terms of duration".

⁵ Kahn-Freund, *op. cit.*, at p. 26.

⁶ *The Modern Corporation and Private Property* (1932).

⁷ According to an estimate made by Prof. Adelman in 1951, 135 corporations owned 45 per cent. of the industrial assets in the United States.

⁸ The minimum degree of international standards achieved in this field is reflected in the International Labour Code, last published in 1951 by the International Labour Organization and containing the conventions and recommendations adopted by that organization.

⁹ The name "anti-trust" derived from the vesting of stocks of different enterprises in one holding company in trust for the enterprises, a device that led to the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890.

¹⁰ For a recent comparative survey and analysis of these legislative measures, see Friedmann (ed.), *Anti-Trust Laws, A Comparative Symposium*, Toronto (1956).

¹¹ *The Twentieth Century Corporation* (1954).

Les rapports de la propriété au XXème siècle au point de vue juridico-sociologique

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Les rapports de la propriété sont en réalité des rapports sociaux, dominés par des normes juridiques. Dans certaines communautés primitives on ne rencontre que des formes diverses d'une maîtrise réelle, d'ordre physique, de l'homme sur les biens; pas de droit de propriété. Dans la société actuelle la propriété est dans tous les pays une *institution de droit*, quoique la place qu'occupe la propriété ne soit pas partout la même.

Les rapports réels de la propriété relèvent de cette partie du droit objectif, qui, en tant qu'ensemble de normes juridiques, règle le droit (subjectif) le plus complet qu'une personne puisse exercer sur un bien. C'est pourquoi ils sont l'objet de la sociologie du droit. La tâche de la *sociologie juridique* est d'étudier les situations et les rapports de la propriété dans la société suivant la méthode empirique, dans ses relations sociales et en connexion avec les phénomènes non-juridiques.

Il existe une action réciproque entre la réglementation juridique de la propriété dans un ensemble de règles de droit écrites et non-écrites d'une part et les relations inter-humaines dominées par ces règles d'autre part. Le règlement de droit lui-même et son développement au XXème siècle ne seront indiqués ici que d'une façon sommaire, l'essai en question étant juridico-sociologique et non juridico-historique ou de droit-comparé. On s'efforcera néanmoins d'indiquer quelques caractéristiques et tendances du développement du droit, choisies principalement dans les pays de l'Europe occidentale et aux États Unis. Une sociologie d'un fragment de vie juridique dans la société, in casu concernant la propriété, se rapporte nécessairement également aux normes du droit elles-mêmes.

Le développement du droit ne s'accomplit pas de manière identique dans tous les pays. Les réglementations du droit diffèrent dans certains pays. Cela ne veut pas dire qu'avec ces différences dans la réglementation du droit de la propriété, les situations juridiques réelles concernant la propriété diffèrent également. Les lois peuvent différer, tandis que les rapports réels sont totalement ou presque égaux et vice versa.

Au XIXème siècle, dans beaucoup de pays, la propriété était de droit entièrement ou en grande partie libérée des charges et des liens antérieurs, imposés par la communauté (féodalisme, sippe, clan, mark). Libre obtention, libre usage et jouissance, libre usufruit et libre

disposition par le propriétaire étaient au premier plan. La liberté de tester devint de règle.

Il ne subsistait que peu de restrictions du pouvoir absolu du propriétaire sur la propriété, notamment sur les immeubles, comme l'expropriation d'utilité publique moyennant une juste et préalable indemnité, le remembrement rural, le droit de voisinage, etc. Du reste, il existait une conception principalement individualiste du sens de la propriété, qui laissait beaucoup au bon plaisir du propriétaire individuel, possédant un droit presque intangible. Ce règlement du droit de propriété était considéré comme le plus favorable à la prospérité générale; et il y réussissait malgré certains désavantages évidents et nuisibles.

Au *XXème siècle*—et en partie déjà au *XIXème siècle*—on peut constater dans de nombreux pays un accroissement des restrictions juridiques sur la propriété individuelle de la part de l'autorité publique; en partie dans le droit écrit (codification, lois, arrêtés; législation centralisée et décentralisée), en partie dans le droit non-écrit (*jurisprudence*). Les restrictions deviennent plus serrées. L'on estimait ainsi servir les intérêts d'autrui et de la communauté (intérêt général). La volonté individuelle du propriétaire est vue d'une façon moins autonome. La propriété est considérée d'un angle moins absolu ("relativisme"). L'exercice du droit de propriété s'oriente moins sur la notion subjective et le bon vouloir du propriétaire et davantage sur l'équité objective et le bon sens. L'accent tombe sur les devoirs du propriétaire envers autrui et la communauté. Ainsi changent les conceptions du droit en ce qui concerne la propriété. Léon Duguit alla même aussi loin—trop loin et trop partialement—que de voir la propriété uniquement comme "fonction sociale" et de nier l'existence d'un droit (de propriété) subjectif.

Les réglementations du droit moderne, relatives à la propriété, "rongèrent" à la longue le droit de propriété. Le droit de propriété est plus ou moins "*socialisé*". Le Code Civil français de 1804 est décrit comme: "ce code de propriétaires qui ne s'occupe que de la richesse et non du travail qui l'a créée" (Picard); comme "un code de propriétaires et de rentiers" (Ripert); comme "un code de la bourgeoisie" (Raoul de la Grasserie); ou comme: "un code des plus forts" (Marx). Ces qualifications ne sont plus valables pour le droit de propriété en vigueur dans la plupart des états modernes.

Pour le propriétaire, les nouvelles *ordonnances* et *défenses* du droit restreignent sa liberté de jouissance et de disposition. Contrairement au principe de la liberté de contrat, l'on interdit parfois au propriétaire de conclure certains contrats. L'autorité impose parfois au propriétaire certains renouvellements ou prolongements de contrat. Le pouvoir d'administration et de libre disposition du propriétaire est soumis davantage au contrôle de l'autorité. La position juridique de l'usager est souvent renforcée au détriment de celle du propriétaire. Le faisceau

des droits du propriétaire diminue ou devient moins intensif. Le droit de propriété est considéré comme moins autonome.

Les nouvelles conceptions du droit se modifiant aboutissent à la longue à un changement des règlements de droit concrets et sont reconnues par des adhérents de différents crédos religieux et politiques. Les différences par rapport à la formation concrète du droit sont graduelles, selon qu'une vision plus statique ou plus dynamique est adoptée. Les conceptions sont en même temps déterminées par l'esprit du temps (pensée socialisante aussi parmi les catholiques à Vienne en \pm 1920) et par les nécessités économiques et sociales (tendance socialisante actuelle aussi du parti catholique italien).

Les conceptions de droit en ce qui concerne la propriété se modifient en conséquence au XXème siècle et des changements dans les normes du droit au sujet de la propriété se produisent. Par quels facteurs réels (économiques, sociaux, politiques, climatologiques, géographiques, moraux) ces changements furent-ils influencés ? Quelles sont les forces sociales qui contribuèrent à les former ? Quelle fut la puissance de ces forces cohérentes, dont l'effet ne fut certainement pas mécanique, ni direct ? Existe-t-il un rapport fonctionnel ou de causalité ? Les réels rapports vitaux se transforment dans la conscience humaine en conceptions du droit et en normes du droit. L'esprit de justice et l'intelligence créatrice réalisent cette transformation. De quelle manière ce procès créateur se déroule-t-il (nommé par Sinzheimer: "transformatie-proces") ? Voilà différentes questions de la sociologie *génétique* (Gurvitch; Sinzheimer) ou *dynamique* du droit (Horváth; Kraft).

Parmi les différentes forces sociales mentionnées ci-dessus la *technique* prédomine. A mesure que l'*industrialisation* se développe, avec les changements techniques, les rapports de la propriété se modifient. La formation et la *concentration* de la masse ouvrière inhérentes conduisent partout à des réglementations du droit en faveur des travailleurs salariés, considérés comme économiquement faibles vis-à-vis des employeurs, des propriétaires des moyens de production. Viennent ensuite des règlements du droit en faveur d'autres groupes d'économiquement faibles, tels que les locataires, les métayers, les acheteurs à tempérament, etc.

Le mouvement des *transports* se trouve étroitement lié à la technique moderne. Après la mise en service des chemins de fer et des tramways au XIXème siècle, les nouveaux moyens de communication (divers véhicules motorisés, avions) conduisent à une nouvelle réalité sociale (construction de réseaux routiers, de ponts, établissement d'aérodromes, etc.) et à une extension des restrictions de la propriété privée, surtout de la propriété immobilière: expropriation pour cause d'utilité publique, interdictions de bâtir et autres limitations de la propriété. Au développement de l'industrialisation et à une plus grande concentration et une circulation plus intensive et plus étendue sont liés un accroissement de la *densité de la population* dans de nombreuses régions

et l'*urbanisation* dans plusieurs pays. Les problèmes de l'agrandissement des villes, du logement, de la santé publique, etc. mènent à divers changements du droit de la propriété (permissions de bâtir, alignements, etc.). L'organisation et la technique créent de nouvelles relations inter-humaines et donnent naissance à une plus grande "interdépendance" (Duguit). Les rapports humains s'intensifient: "intégration". L'"unification" s'agrandit. Ainsi naissent des rapports de la propriété d'orientation différente en tant que relations sociologiques entre les hommes comme propriétaires.

En liaison avec la technique, l'industrialisation, la concentration, la prolétarianisation, l'extension de la population, etc. intervinrent, dans différents pays, des déplacements du *pouvoir politique* et des changements dans l'*ordre de l'état*. Ceux-ci amenèrent aussi à plusieurs reprises des changements du droit de la propriété dans les lois et les décrets. Par le développement du suffrage universel e.a. certains groupes de la population—c.à.d. les économiquement faibles—exercèrent une plus grande influence sur le gouvernement de l'état et en même temps sur la législation dans l'état. On ne peut plus dire des règlements juridiques, ni en ce qui concerne la propriété, que c'est "l'opulence qui les dicte" (Linguet 1767). Aujourd'hui la législation est moins un "palladium de la propriété" (Montesquieu en 1748). Par le jeu des facteurs politiques, une "démocratisation" et une "nivellation" se produisirent (G. Ripert).

Des *crises économiques* précipitèrent le développement social et en même temps les conceptions et les règlements du droit au sujet de la propriété; notamment la crise de 1929, qui commença aux États Unis et se répandit dans beaucoup d'autres pays du monde. Certaines nouvelles conceptions et normes de la propriété, qui étaient destinées à des conditions économiques et sociales anormales (au sujet de prix, salaires, loyers, métayages), subsistèrent plus tard, lorsque les relations furent de nouveau normales (New Deal, Roosevelt).

Dans certains pays la *révolution* en tant qu'événement social aboutit à une rupture définitive et de principe avec l'ordre du droit existant concernant la propriété. Dans l'URSS la révolution d'octobre 1917 amena un changement par étapes subites des normes de la propriété. Pendant une courte période le droit de la propriété, à vrai dire le droit privé entier, fut aboli; plus tard, pendant la N.E.P. (1921), il fut rétabli en partie. En Russie Soviétique l'agriculture entière (sovchozes et kolchozes), toute l'industrie, les transports, le crédit et le commerce avec l'étranger sont maintenant socialisés (propriété socialiste des moyens de production), à côté de la propriété privée, constitutionnellement garantie dans la constitution de 1935 (article 10). Le droit de succession privée fut rétabli et s'est développé depuis. L'épargne est encouragée. Il existe à nouveau une grande divergence entre fortunes et revenus des citoyens.

Les *guerres* amenèrent dans beaucoup de pays de nouvelles normes du droit en matière du pouvoir du propriétaire, qui s'opposèrent

aux notions de droit existantes. Des conceptions, s'écartant de la tradition, furent adoptées, qui pénétrèrent parfois, également dans des temps normaux, dans d'autres domaines du droit.

Dans quelle mesure, avec les modifications des conceptions de droit, "la réalité juridique" fut-elle transformée (Sinzheimer: sociologie du droit "descriptive")? Avec ou sans un changement des règles de la propriété écrites, la *situation juridique* se modifia (Renner), c.à.d. la conduite sociale dans le domaine des rapports de la propriété. La fonction sociale des normes juridiques de la propriété et leur action changèrent. Par exemple: les normes juridiques écrites et non-écrites concernant les inconvénients (mauvaises odeurs, fumée, suie, tapage, vibrations, etc.) furent valables dans une réalité sociale différente. La vraisemblance du maintien du droit devint plus étendue.

Ainsi le droit d'expropriation se rapporta à d'autres relations sociales que celles d'il y a un demi-siècle. Cela est également valable pour des règlements concernant l'abus de droit, d'abord non-écrits, qui furent codifiés plus tard dans un nombre de pays (l'Allemagne 1900; la Suisse 1907; l'URSS 1923; l'Italie 1942; projet de nouveau Code Civil aux Pays-Bas), où les limites du droit de la propriété d'un individu sont déterminées par des règles de ce qui est dû à autrui et à la communauté.

Les relations concrètes dans le domaine de l'habitation se modifièrent à divers points de vue. Elles conduisirent souvent à une plus grande séparation entre la fonction de propriété et de gestion. Les propriétés des collectivités de droit privé (associations de construction d'immeubles, coopératives, sociétés anonymes, fondations, propriétés d'appartements) et également des corporations de droit public (communes) se multiplièrent. A l'égard des prix d'achat et de loyer, de la durée et de l'expiration des contrats de location, les propriétaires dans certains pays doivent se soumettre aux directives de l'autorité ("contrat dirigé"; Jossierand). La socialisation de la propriété ou du pouvoir de disposer des terrains et bâtiments est la plus prononcée, là, où la propriété privée est considérée ne plus avoir de fonction sociale.

Le changement de fonction de l'institution de la propriété se montre principalement chez les "institutions connexes" (Renner) de la propriété. Tandis que la propriété fut d'abord considérée uniquement en proportion: sujet—objet, elle est à présent plutôt considérée comme celle du propriétaire, vis-à-vis d'autres personnes qui utilisent sa propriété en vertu d'un contrat ou d'un droit réel. Notamment par location (logement, organisation industrielle) et métayage (culture), là, où d'autres vivent et travaillent sur la propriété ("vitalisation"). Tandis que la propriété du bien est statique, l'usage en est plutôt dynamique ("dynamisation"). Au près des garanties (nantissement, hypothèque), la propriété est considérée comme moins isolée. Du fait de l'existence de la législation du travail, le propriétaire a moins de l'"Ausbeutungsmacht" (Horváth). Le pouvoir social proprement dit des propriétaires sur d'autres personnes change. La collectivité intervint davantage dans certaines relations du propriétaire avec son

entourage et celles d'individu à individu. D'autres connexions et rapports prirent naissance ("interdépendance"). Les relations, autrefois plus personnelles, tombèrent dans le domaine des affaires et se "commercialisèrent" (loyer, métayage, contrat de travail).

On tient compte davantage de la signification du travail. Vis-à-vis la propriété se place au premier plan le fait concret de l'homme et sa famille, en tant que travailleur dans la société (Radbruch, Sinzheimer, e.a.); ce qui détermine en certains domaines une infiltration sociologique dans le droit privé moderne. L'interprétation téléologique et sociologique (en tant que tendance, but et fonction sociale) des prescriptions de la loi augmente. Ici de même la propriété privée a de facto moins d'effets nuisibles qu'autrefois.

La propriété des biens meubles prit le pas sur celle des biens immobiliers. Les biens meubles obtinrent une plus grande valeur sociale et une plus grande importance qu'au XIX^{ème} siècle. Les capitaux patrimoniaux et étrangers se développèrent dans les entreprises industrielles et commerciales. Avec le développement et la plus grande importance de la société anonyme, le capital monétaire fut agrandi (valeurs: actions, obligations, certificats, etc.). La forme moderne de la société anonyme amena une séparation entre la gestion et la propriété; entre le capital de la s.a. et celui des actionnaires (Berle et Means; 1932).

Il devient plus facile pour le plus grand nombre—ouvriers, la classe moyenne d'autrefois et d'aujourd'hui, fonctionnaires—d'acquérir des biens, e.a. par des systèmes de paiement à tempérament, nouvelles formes de crédit et d'autres formes de garanties. Il devient possible d'obtenir plus que le strict nécessaire; plus de confort, plus d'aisance, une autre manière de vivre. Et par suite un plus grand groupe de personnes s'intéressent à la propriété, développent une certaine mentalité de propriétaire, d'où leurs pensées s'orientent davantage sur l'acquisition et le maintien de leur propriété, ce qui n'est pas le cas chez les non-possédants. En même temps a lieu, variant ici et là, une certaine nivellation avec de facto une plus grande égalité. On constate une tendance vers la dispersion de la propriété. Les impôts déterminent des réactions sociales et économiques dans différents pays, en ce sens que le capital national subit une re-distribution.

En liaison avec la production et la distribution des biens se modifie le pouvoir de libre disposition des propriétaires de matières premières, de moyens de production (machines, outillage), de marchandises et de produits, en tant que chefs d'entreprises. Ce changement s'accomplit sous l'influence de forces sociales, telles que: guerres, débouchés plus étendus, crises économiques accompagnées de chômage et stagnation. On régularise la concurrence. Elle devient moins libre par suite de règlements et de pouvoirs qu'exercent les chefs d'entreprises eux-mêmes (trusts, cartels, règlements sur la concurrence, groupes économiquement influents), ou par suite de mesures gouvernementales. L'ordonnance, le planning, le dirigisme, l'économie liée et l'économie

dirigée conduisent parfois à des restrictions de la liberté d'entreprise. Il se constitue de plus nombreuses entreprises gouvernementales et semi-gouvernementales, occasionnant un glissement de la propriété individuelle vers la propriété collective.

La société anonyme, en tant que forme du droit de l'entreprise, remplaça la propriété du chef d'entreprise individuel par la propriété de la collectivité des actionnaires (version du XIX^{ème} siècle). Au XX^{ème} siècle la séparation entre cette propriété et le pouvoir de libre disposition fut encore accentuée dans différents pays par des clauses oligarchiques, des règlements électoraux, etc. Ici encore une certaine "relativisation" de la propriété.

Malgré d'importants changements quantitatifs et qualitatifs, accompagnés de nombreuses restrictions—surtout dans le domaine des biens immobiliers—de la sphère entourant la propriété de l'individu, la propriété privée est restée une institution très importante dans la société moderne: favorable à l'individu et à la société. En jugeant l'utilité économique et sociale et la justification éthico-sociale de la propriété, l'on doit faire une distinction d'après les différents objets. Par exemple une distinction entre les biens meubles et les biens immobiliers, le pouvoir de la propriété de ces derniers étant plus restreint que celui des biens meubles. En ce qui concerne les biens immobiliers, on peut faire une distinction entre le propriétaire qui habite lui-même sa maison ou qui exploite lui-même son terrain rural et le propriétaire qui en laisse l'usage à des tiers. Le possédant de sa propre maison et le paysan indépendant sentent leur propriété plus "la leur" que celui dont la propriété est habitée ou exploitée par d'autres. Le métayer sent la terre et la métairie davantage les siennes que le bailleur qui demeure dans une ville éloignée. Dans ces cas la propriété a souvent obtenu une place sociale, une fonction et une appréciation différentes.

Ainsi diffèrent également fonction, utilité et intérêt des objets de consommation (maisons, mobiliers, vêtements, alimentation, outillage) des objets de capital et de production d'une part et d'autre part. Chez ces derniers objets il s'agit de la valeur pour la production ou la circulation. Ils forment plutôt un ordre de grandeur mathématique (amortissement) et ils sont plus impersonnels. Les actions présentent un caractère impersonnel, étant sujet à des fluctuations de conjoncture et de bourse et étant aliénables (au porteur). La propriété de consommation par contre est plus personnelle. Chez celle-ci le "propre" dans la propriété se démontre davantage. La possession de biens, destinés à un usage régulier et continu, crée des liens plus forts dans la vie journalière de l'individu. Le centre de gravité réside davantage chez l'individu.

On rencontre plus souvent une intégration individu—objet chez la propriété de consommation que chez la propriété de production et de transport. Des facteurs irrationnels y jouent un rôle: affection, attachement envers ces biens de consommation. Du fait que la position sociale de l'homme en dépend partiellement, ils forment un

stimulant. Ils encouragent également l'initiative, la responsabilité et la dignité de l'homme comme personnalité. Ils renforcent l'atmosphère personnelle. Ainsi la propriété en tant qu'institution sociale réglée du droit privé. Demeure dans sa nécessité un "corollaire de la liberté de l'homme" (Savatier).

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The Continuing Evolution of the Law of Land

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Few divisions of the law of the common-law countries are as slow to change as the law of land. The conservatism of the members of the legal profession engaged in the practice of this branch of the law has been noted time and again. The legislatures typically have been slow to act in making legislative changes, and the judiciary has proceeded at what to many has appeared to be a snail's pace in adjusting the law of land to the needs of contemporary society from generation to generation.

Expressions of belief in the immutability of the law of land are found in great number in legal literature. Perhaps typical is the following comment by Blackstone: "So great moreover is the regard of the law for private property that it will not authorise the least violation of it; no, not even for the general good of the entire community. . . . Nor is this the only instance in which the law of the land has postponed even public necessity to the sacred and inviolable rights of private property."¹

Some persons, discouraged by the delays in finding legal adjustments of the law of land to changed conditions may suggest that Blackstone's dictum describes the contemporary law of land. Some little support for this pessimistic viewpoint may be found in the language of the reported decisions of a number of cases.²

A casual perusal of the history of the law of land reveals, however, a continuing evolutionary process. The law of land may be slow to adjust itself to contemporary needs—the desiderata of stability and a degree of certainty, especially important in title examination and in advising clients on the acquisition of interests in land, being of special significance in this area of the law—but the process of change is never ending. The erosion of long settled concepts and institutions proceeds sometimes slowly and sometimes more swiftly. The law of land must of necessity evolve in the process of an adjustment to its social, political and economic environment.

There is nothing new and startling in the observations of this paper. The evidence of change in the law of land has frequently been observed and commented upon.³ This paper seeks merely to examine some of the contemporary evidence of the ongoing evolution of the institution and suggests certain of the changing environmental conditions which are occasioning changes in the law of land.

As might be anticipated on an *a priori* basis, the evolution of the law of land is fairly rapid in the case of abrupt changes in social conditions, such as those resulting from public calamity or war, major economic depression, or legislative or constitutional interdiction of previously permitted conduct. Mention of only an instance or two will suffice to illustrate this phenomenon.

Evidencing the impact of war on the law of land is the extensive rent control legislation imposing major restrictions on the ability of a landlord to evict tenants which followed closely upon the entry of the United States in World War II. Similar evidence is found in the greater willingness of American courts to permit termination of leases under the contract doctrine of "frustration of commercial purpose", which, to a considerable extent, was imported into the law of land during the war when restrictions upon the sale of consumer goods or non-availability thereof made many commercial leases valueless to the tenants.⁴

The prime example of the impact of a major economic depression upon the law of land is provided by the extensive legislation characteristic of the period of the early nineteen thirties, during our last major depression, restricting the rights of creditors against land which was the security for debts. Although in the main, the changes in the law of the land thus illustrated were statutory changes, in important regards the changes were by the development of the common law applicable to such situations.⁵

The most noteworthy example from the United States of legislative or constitutional interdiction of previously permitted conduct was the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of certain alcoholic beverages by the 18th amendment to the Constitution and supporting legislation. Out of this experience came significant changes in the judicial construction of common lease forms—a greater willingness to find that leases of premises for the sale of such beverages were for a "restrictive" rather than a "permissive" purpose—and consequently greater liberality in relieving tenants of their obligations under such leases on the ground of impossibility of performance.⁶

In the case of environmental changes of a more evolutionary character, the adjustment of the law of the land to the changing environment proceeds at a more measured pace. This may be illustrated by changes in the law of land accompanying changes in the institution of marriage. In a society in which married women have gained social, political and economic rights unknown in earlier days, and in which one out of three marriages ends in divorce, the common law relating to marital rights in land was inappropriate. In our law we have witnessed substantial changes in the control which a married woman may exercise over her own land and in the rights of one spouse as to the lands of the other spouse. Historic dower and courtesy interests have been largely eliminated from the law of land or changed in very substantial respects in most of the states.⁷

Similarly, changing patterns of land utilisation have been reflected by changes in the rules as to what constitutes waste by owners of possessory interests in land. Such changes have been made not only by legislation but also by the developing common law (as, e.g., the development of the good husbandry concept and the continued expansion of the concept so as to include increasing varieties of land uses).⁸

In the light of this analysis, we may note certain aspects of the change in the social scene which are contributing to the on-going evolution of the law of land. If the lawyer engaged in the practice of this phase of the law is properly to perform his duties to a client, he must be widely informed as to the evolutionary pattern of the social scene and have a mind open to observe the significant conditions of the society in which he lives.

Among the aspects of the changing social scene which have affected the development of the law and which will undoubtedly influence its future development are the following:

1. Increasing urbanisation of living in the United States. In 1790 the population was 94.9 per cent. rural; the percentage was reduced to 60.3 per cent. by 1900, 43.8 per cent. in 1930, and to 37.3 per cent. in 1950, according to census figures. The land law developed primarily in a rural society. Urbanisation and increased density of living patterns has required the development of techniques of land use control both by governmental authority and by private action.

A century ago, public regulation of urban land uses was limited in the main to the suppression of nuisances and the prevention of catastrophes such as fire or collapse of buildings. Citizens' groups in major urban areas towards the turn of the century began to interest themselves in the improvement of the appearance of our cities and in the institution of some measure of city planning. Beginning in 1909 with the enactment in the state of Wisconsin of enabling legislation for city planning, there has been a steady increase in planning activities. In 1952, official planning agencies existed in 721 reporting cities out of the 1,011 reporting cities containing more than 10,000 population, and unofficial planning agencies existed in an additional 75 of such cities.⁹

Zoning controls in the United States, which began for practical purposes in 1916 with the enactment by New York City of a comprehensive zoning ordinance, spread rapidly, particularly after the Supreme Court in the case of *Euclid v. Ambler Realty Co.*¹⁰ in 1926 sustained the validity of such an ordinance. Every state now has zoning enabling legislation and at least 90 per cent. of the cities with populations exceeding 10,000 now regulate through such ordinances such matters as the use of urban land and the height, bulk and area of structures erected thereon.¹¹

The scope and character of governmental regulation of land use are constantly changing with the increasing willingness of the courts to sustain as "reasonable" exercises of the "police power" new and more comprehensive regulatory measures. A short span of years has witnessed a major change in the judicial approach to these regulatory measures. Only a few years ago, for example, attempts to regulate land use in terms of minimum lot size and minimum floor space for homes were generally held to be unreasonable and invalid; more recent cases have generally sustained such regulations as a valid exercise of the police power.¹²

The increasing pressure of a growing population upon the available supply of land has had its effect upon private land use controls, the operation of which may, in some instances, serve to prevent the utilisation of particular parcels of land in the most efficient or socially desirable manner. By the enactment of statutes of limitation and marketable title acts in a number of the states, the impact of older private restrictions on the use of land has been significantly curtailed. The judiciary has played its rôle in this process in a variety of ways, such as by finding that by virtue of a change of conditions of the neighbourhood the private restrictions are no longer enforceable, by the policy of strict construction of instruments restricting use of land, or by a readiness to find a waiver or abandonment of the restriction by the person or persons entitled to the benefit thereof.¹³

2. Substantial changes in the home ownership pattern in the United States. The census of housing reveals that the percentage of owner occupied non-farm dwelling units in the United States rose from 36 per cent. in 1900 to 46 per cent. in 1930; it declined to 41 per cent. in 1940 but rose sharply again to 53 per cent. in 1950. The decline in the thirties was obviously due to the impact of the great depression. Non-availability of rental housing in the late forties, coupled with government assistance or encouragement to home ownership in the form of favourable mortgage policies on new construction, particularly for veterans, and income tax advantages of home ownership as opposed to rental of housing, brought about the substantial changes in the percentage figures. During the decade, 1940-1950, the absolute number of renter-occupied non-farm dwelling units increased by almost one million, but the increase in owner-occupied units was more than eight million.

During the last decade we have witnessed a tremendous expansion of co-operative ownership of apartment buildings in our major urban centres, and the evolution of a substantial body of law governing the relations of apartment "owners" to each other, to the corporate body and to the land. Governmental lending or mortgage insuring agencies have been able, through control of financing, to exercise considerable influence as to the character of new construction and private land use restrictions.

3. Increasing industrialisation in the United States has led to the growth of large industrial plants and heavy industry. The difficulties of maintaining comfortable and pleasant residential communities, free from noxious odours, smoke, fumes, and the physical hazards of industrial enterprises, have increased many-fold. At the same time we have had to face the problem of providing ample land for industrial use.

Our early zoning practice involved the system of creating a progression of use districts, the less restrictive ("lower" use district, e.g., industrial) permitting the uses allowed in the more restrictive ("higher"

use district, e.g., residential). In many instances, employment of land in "lower" use districts for "higher" uses led to an early exhaustion of appropriately zoned land for industrial purposes. Moreover great political pressures were built up under this system since frequently, after an industrial district had acquired a number of residences, the residents began to object to certain of the more unpleasant or noxious industrial practices. In some instances, industrial plants located in such a lower use zone were faced after the passage of a few years with nuisance actions by reason of the fact that the lower use district had been taken over in part for a higher use. We are moving away from this system of zoning in large measure as a result of this experience towards one of allocating rather than restricting uses of land. Under this system, land is zoned for industrial purposes only, rather than for industrial and any higher uses. Many of the difficulties created under the scheme of restrictive zoning are thereby eliminated.

The tasks of preserving the quality of streams and lakes from industrial pollution for the benefit of the general public and of insuring an adequate supply of water for our urban population and for industrial and agricultural uses have become critical. We have been witnessing in recent years increasing intervention by administrative agencies, acting under legislative grants of authority, in matters of land and water user, the effect of which has been to abridge in major respects the traditional riparian and other rights of the "owner" of land. The pressures of the needs of industry, agriculture, and an increasing population upon available water supplies have led to the enactment in a number of the states, particularly in the south and west, of comprehensive new legislation governing rights of user of stream, underground, and surface water.

4. The automobile industry has had an important impact on the evolution of the law of land use. The automobile has made feasible the development of extensive suburban communities. With this have come dispersion of service business and small industrial establishments, increased traffic problems which have called for solution, and controls on land use by individual and community action. Some 42 states now have enabling legislation authorising municipalities, county planning commissions or other public agencies to regulate subdivision practices.¹⁴ By virtue of such controls, subdividers may be required to install adequate road networks and public utilities for the developing community and may be required to dedicate space for parks, playgrounds and schools. Private restrictions in the form of covenants or servitudes regulate minutely such matters as minimum lot size, minimum floor space, type and even style of construction.

The need of a safe and adequate network of roads sufficient for the increasingly motorised population has led to legislation restricting access to certain highways. Aesthetic considerations, as well as those of safety, have resulted in the regulation of the use of property abutting highways for advertising purposes. The increased automobile population

of our cities has led to the requirement of provision of offstreet parking facilities as a prerequisite to the granting of a building permit for residential or commercial structures.

5. The needs of a growing population and of an expanding industrial economy have occasioned heavy demands upon the fertility of the soil and on available natural resources. This has given rise to numerous "conservation" measures which in effect abridge the "property rights" of landowners as such rights were conceived in the nineteenth century, and to controls on agricultural production and on the conservation of soil. Only a relatively brief period ago, our state courts permitted landowners who drilled a well into a producing natural gas formation to make such use of the gas as they wished, including the waste of such gas by flaring or dissipation into the air. Both by legislation and by judicial intervention, such profligate waste of natural resources has been curbed. The privilege of a landowner to drill into a producing oil or gas formation has been stringently limited by the requirement of a permit and by regulation of well locations and spacing, methods and rate of production, and by controls governing permitted utilisation of the oil or gas when produced.

6. A growing concern in democratic values is evident which has in certain areas collided with traditional "rights" of property owners to impose restrictions on use and occupancy of their premises. Within the past decade, the Supreme Court of the United States has held that the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States bars state action in the form of judicial enforcement in equity of racial restrictive covenants affecting land use.¹⁵ A still later opinion, holding that an award of damages against a covenantor for breach of a racial restrictive covenant would also constitute state action in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment, has further circumscribed the ability of individual landowners to restrict the use and enjoyment of land by particular minority racial, religious or national groups.¹⁶ Evidencing the growing concern with democratic values have been the provisions of legislation by the Congress and by some of the state legislatures prohibiting, in the case of housing built as part of urban redevelopment programmes with the assistance of public moneys or other public assistance in the form of street closings or tax benefits, any discrimination in the selection of tenants on the basis of religion, race or national origin. We can reasonably expect that a major consequence of such land use control will be an accelerated integration of minority racial, religious and nationality groups into the general society.

As has been indicated indirectly in the foregoing, the character of the permitted land use controls by public authorities has been determined in our courts in the light of constitutional guarantees against the taking of "property" without due process of law. The states, and, in some cases, the federal government, by virtue of the so-called "police power", may impose such restraints on the use of property "as

the common welfare may require", but the power to impose such restraints "is limited to enactments having direct reference to the public health, comfort, safety, morals and welfare".¹⁷ A restraint on the use of property not related to the exercise of this police power is an invalid "taking" of property unless compensation is made under the power of eminent domain.

It has been suggested that the legal profession represents the most conservative group in our population, and that the judiciary is the most conservative group in the legal profession. Despite this, we have witnessed in the past few decades in the United States a major expansion of the content of the "police power" by our courts. Representative of contemporary judicial opinions sustaining as valid public regulation of land use is that of *Miller v. Schoene*.¹⁸ This case concerned the validity of an order of the state entomologist, acting under the Cedar Rust Act of Virginia, requiring the cutting down of a large number of ornamental red cedar trees as a means of preventing the communication of a rust or plant disease with which they were infected to the apple orchards in the vicinity, without compensation for the value of the standing cedars or the decrease in the market value of the realty caused by their destruction. The opinion written by Justice Stone observed that "the state was under the necessity of making a choice between the preservation of one class of property and that of the other wherever both existed in dangerous proximity. It would have been none the less a choice if, instead of enacting the present statute, the state, by doing nothing, had permitted serious injury to the apple orchards within its borders to go on unchecked. When forced to such a choice the state does not exceed its constitutional powers by deciding upon the destruction of one class of property in order to save another which, in the judgment of the legislature, is of greater value to the public. It will not do to say that the case is merely one of a conflict of two private interests and that the misfortune of apple growers may not be shifted to the cedar owners by ordering the destruction of their property; for it is obvious that there may be, and that here there is, a preponderant public concern in the preservation of the one interest over the other. . . . And where the public interest is involved preferment of that interest over the property interest of the individual, to the extent even of its destruction, is one of the distinguishing characteristics of every exercise of the police power which affects property."

Contrast this language with that contained in the excerpt from Blackstone earlier in this paper! Therein we see an acceptance by the judiciary that the law of land is evolutionary in character, and that interests of the individual in land must yield to the interests of the general public. We observe an acceptance of the proposition that rights in land are not absolute or immutable, but that they are affected by changing social economic and political conditions. We note the acceptance of the fact of the continuing evolution of the law of land,

NOTES

¹ Blackstone, *Commentaries*, II, pp.139-40.

² Certainly there is considerable evidence of the conservatism of the judiciary as regards changes in the law of land. See, e.g., the opinion by J. Andrews, in *Van Horne v. Campbell*, 100 N.Y. 287, 3 N.E. 316 (1885), in which he quoted approvingly from the earlier writings of Hargrave that executory interests in land were not a genuine branch of our law, but an indulged superindulgence to it; not a regular production of our general system, but an excrescence, not a legitimate offspring of our common law, but a privilege gradually insinuated into our jurisprudence. At the time this opinion was written, executory interests in land had been lawful for almost 350 years.

A generation later, in the opinion written by J. Olney, speaking for the court in *Werner v. Graham*, 181 Cal. 174, 183 P. 945 (1919), equitable servitudes, although reluctantly acknowledged to be enforceable under some circumstances, were said to be "opposed to our rule that the owner of land may not create new and heretofore unknown estates". Hence only a limited class of such covenants were said to be enforceable and, moreover, such covenants were to be strictly construed. At the time this opinion was written, equitable servitudes had been recognised as enforceable for some eighty years and were widely employed.

A recent writer has referred to "the optimism of earlier thinkers who considered the land law the perfection of human reason", contrasting thereto the view of the modernists that "the rules governing land are a ragbag of antiquarian and inconsistent utterances, without any potential coherence". He further declared that "the practice of this branch of the law (real property) promotes the utmost conservatism. All emphasis is placed upon ritualistic conformity to traditional procedures. . . . The property lawyer is generally not concerned with broad problems of human rights but with the technical task of creating symbols appropriate to the formal transfer of interests in land. It is a natural consequence that he should place an inordinate emphasis upon minutiae rather than upon substance and that he should be professionally conditioned against the investigation of problems of principle". Payne, *The English Theory of Conveyances Prior to the Land Registration Acts*, 7 Ala. L. Rev., 227, 228 (1955).

³ See, e.g., Pound, "The End of Law as Developed in Legal Rules and Doctrines", 27 *Harv. L. Rev.*, 195 (1914); Noyes, "Property and Sovereignty", 1 *Journal of Legal and Political Sociology*, 72 (1943); Hallowell, "The Nature and Function of Property as a Social Institution", *Id.*, at 115 (1943); Moore, "The Emergence of New Property Conceptions in America", *Id.*, at 34 (1943); Philbrick, "Changing Conceptions of Property in Law", 86 *Univ. Penn. L. Rev.*, 691 (1938); See also the papers by Harold L. Reeve and Myres S. McDougal, and the commentaries by Charles M. Haar, in "The Influence of the Metropolis on Concepts, Rules and Institutions Relating to Property", in *The Metropolis in Modern Life* (Fisher, Ed., 1955).

⁴ See 2 Powell, *Real Property* (1950), Par. 221, n. 49.

⁵ See, e.g., the discussion of judicial control of foreclosures in *Suring State Bank v. Giese*, 210 Wis. 489, 246 N. W. 556, 85 A.L.R. 1477 (1933).

⁶ See Lewis, "Prohibition and the Use of Leased Premises", *Law and Bank.*, 159 (1932); Note, 32 *Minn. L. Rev.* 837 (1948).

⁷ See Haskins, "Estates Arising from the Marital Relationship and their Characteristics", 1 *Amer. Law of Prop.* (1952).

⁸ See Williams, *Cases and Materials in the Law of Property*, 502-508 (1954).

⁹ Fisher and Fisher, *Urban Real Estate*, 436 (1954).

¹⁰ 272 U.S. 365 (1926).

¹¹ Fisher and Fisher, *Urban Real Estate*, 440 (1954).

¹² Compare in this regard *Senefsky v. Lawler*, 307 Mich. 728, 12 N.W. 2d 387 149 A.L.R. 1433 (1943), with *Lionshead Lake, Inc. v. Township of Wayne*, 10 N.J. 165, 89 A. 2d 693 (1952), appeal dismissed, 344 U.S. 919 (1953).

¹³ See Williams, *Cases and Materials in the Law of Property*, 590-634 (1954).

¹⁴ Fisher and Fisher, *Urban Real Estate*, 437 (1954).

¹⁵ *Shelley v. Kraemer*, 334 U.S. 1 (1948).

¹⁶ *Barrows v. Jackson*, 346 U.S. 249 (1953).

¹⁷ *People ex rel. Schimff v. Norwell*, 368 Ill. 325, 13 N.E. 2d 960 (1938).

¹⁸ 276 U.S. 272 (1927).

Problems Arising from Workers' Co-determination in the Federal German Republic (Western Germany)

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I

In the Federal German Republic, the workers' right of joint decision is governed by two laws, viz. : the Works Councils Act 1952 (*Betriebsverfassungsgesetz 1952*) as far as industries other than the coal and steel industries are concerned, and by the Co-determination Act 1953 (*Mitbestimmungsgesetz 1953*) for these two particular industries.

The Works Councils Act provides for the election of a Works Council representing both workers and staff of the undertaking. These two groups can nominate candidates separately, or nomination can take place jointly. Candidates may be members of a Trade Union or non-members. The candidate polling the highest number of votes—viz. : in industry usually a worker—is elected Chairman of the Council ; in all these cases, however, the Deputy Chairman must be a salaried employee. In large undertakings the Chairman (in some cases also his deputy) need not attend to his ordinary duties, but is a full-time Works Councillor. The other members of the Works Council attend to their duties as Councillors in addition to carrying out their normal tasks. In small and medium-sized undertakings this may also be the case as regards the Chairman of the Council. In large concerns the Works Council has its own offices ; in many cases staff is employed specifically on the Council's business. Whilst they are so engaged, full-time works councillors are paid wages equivalent to their average earnings prior to election, irrespective of whether they are paid by the hour or do piece work. In this way they will benefit from general wage increases, but they are—whilst in function—deprived of the chance of personal promotion and/or advancement. This has been known to impede the recruitment of new candidates for the Councils.

The Works Councils Act also provides that undertakings with 100 or more employees and/or possessing special economic significance must have an Economic Committee. As distinct from the Works Councils, Economic Committees are not elected by the employees, but their members are appointed ; in each case, half the appointments are made by the Management, and half by the Works Council. One result of this method is that the same person or persons are often members of both the Works Council and the Economic Committee. The parity in the composition of the latter is designed to ensure that expert knowledge and guidance should be available when dealing with

certain policy matters, such as rationalisation measures, staff and personnel policy, investment policy, etc. It is also permissible to divide the Economic Committee into several sub-committees for particular branches of the work. It is a matter of regret that German industry has not made the full use of the chance to set up Economic Committees that was envisaged by the legislator.

In the case of the larger type of Limited Liability Company (all "Aktiengesellschaften" and the more important "Ges.m.b.H.") the employees are, under the Works Councils Act, entitled to nominate one-third of the membership of the Board of Directors. The first representative of the employees must be one of the Company's workers, whilst the second representative must be a member of the Company's salaried staff. Both are appointed by the employees or the Works Council, as the case may be. If the number of directors exceeds 6, a third employees' representative is appointed by the Trade Unions. This raises the vexed question of employee directors who are not themselves employees. The right of the unions finds a parallel in the practice of companies to appoint to their Boards of Directors not only representatives of the shareholders but also men drawn from public life. One objection to the Trade Union representative on the Board of Directors is the strong central position of the German T.U.C. which enables directions to be issued to these representatives from Headquarters, and this may in individual cases conflict with the interests of the Company.

The Co-determination Act governing the coal and steel industries provides that the Works Director is the representative of the employees, and that he takes his place with the technical and commercial directors as a Joint Managing Director of the Company.¹ The Works Director is usually appointed by the Union who normally do not select an employee of the Company. The Works Director represents the interests of the workers additionally to the Works Council, but at the same time he must, as a Managing Director of the company, bear in mind the overall interests of the undertaking. This dual rôle may cause certain difficulties if the personal character of the Works Director is not particularly suitable for such a position. Once a term of duty is over, a Works Director who has lost the confidence of the employees may not be nominated again. This rule can also cause trouble with men of weak character, but generally speaking no such difficulties have so far been encountered. The question whether the rules governing the appointment of a Works Director should also apply to the new Holding Companies about to be set up in the mining industry, is still in dispute; presumably the decision will be in favour of such appointments being made.

This description of the legal basis of "Co-determination" only covers the essential elements by way of introduction; it does not claim to be a complete synopsis of workers' representation in accordance with the two above-mentioned Acts, in West German industry.

II

The problematic aspect of the West German regulations as contained in these two Acts is their intellectual approach. They are based on the existence of an antagonism and on lack of confidence as between management and employees. The Works Council (*Betriebsrat*), in particular, is intended to be a sort of opposite number to the board of Directors. It meets without the members of the Board being present—they can only be invited to the meetings from time to time. Conversely, the Board always deals with its business in the absence of the Council members. Whenever questions of mutual interest have to be dealt with, Management and Works Council meet as opposing parties. An attempt has been made to deal with the existing lack of confidence of the workers in the actions of management by stipulating certain legal minimum requirements, e.g. the obligation to publish and explain the yearly accounts.

The result of this antagonism is in some companies an effort to render ineffective the Works Council, or get the better of the Council, if the mentality of the employer tends towards such a course and local circumstances allow it to be pursued. There is no need for a Works Council to be elected—and an elected Council does not have to operate—if the employees agree to such a course. In firms managed on the patriarchal principle one often meets this state of affairs ; but wherever “I-am-the-boss” is the basis of the relationship, there the Works Council is elected in conscious opposition to the management, and operates accordingly. In such cases the two parties may work alongside each other, but they will never co-operate in an atmosphere of mutual confidence. This sort of approach often leads to a “Keep-them-busy-policy”, the management allocating to the Works Council certain tasks which do not involve it too deeply in policy questions. Such a policy, however, may also carry the germs of future conflict.

This antagonism in the legal basis also goes a long way to explain why so many industrialists, particularly the heads of small and medium-sized undertakings, have an entirely negative approach to the institution of the Works Councils. They fear that the existence of the Council may hamper them in their right to freely determine policy. Council and Trade Union may conclude, on their part, that it is the employer's wish and desire to leave the employees in the dark as to the situation in the firm.

On the other hand the legislator does, in the Works Council Act, by introducing the conception of the Economic Committee, try to create a basis for co-operation between management and employees in the spirit of mutual confidence ; and the same object is aimed at in the Co-determination Act by creating the function of Works Director. According to the Works Council Act, the object of the Economic Committee is to facilitate the co-operation between management and employees. However, Economic Committees have only come into

being as the result of current legislation (i.e. the Works Council Act 1952) whilst Works Councils as such have already come into existence in the years following the first world war on the basis of the (then) Works Councils Acts. This explains the predominance of the attitude of opposition in the Works Council ideas over the attitude of co-operation which is the basis of the Economic Committees ; and that is also the reason why no extensive use has so far been made of the possibility to set up these Economic Committees. On the part of the Trade Unions there are also various objections to the Economic Committees, particularly to the parity principle of their membership.

The principle of opposition in the set-up and frequently also in the activities of the Works Councils does, on the other hand, oblige the Unions to take a close interest in the Councils, and in the training of their members and of candidates for membership. These efforts are to be welcomed because Council members who understand the basic functions of the undertaking can function much more effectively than others who do not know much about such matters. On the other hand there is a danger that such Trade Union courses of instruction may from the very start be held in a spirit of opposition, thus aggravating the existing lack of confidence. For the same reasons the Unions endeavour to see that, as far as possible, only Unionists are elected Councillors, or—when non-members have been elected—to bring about their adhesion to the Union subsequently. In this way the Union endeavours to perpetuate its influence on the Works Council.

III

A special problem is presented by the fact that the German word "Mitbestimmung" (lit. co-determination) covers a multitude of conceptions.

In the first place we must distinguish between co-determination (i.e. the workers' right to influence decisions) within the undertaking, and co-determination on a wider economic plane. A sign of efforts in the latter direction is the desire to set up Federal, State ("Land"), and District Economic Councils. The legal basis for the setting up of such bodies is at present under consideration, but has not yet reached a final stage. One will have to make up one's mind whether these councils should be formed and constituted in a form resembling parliaments, or whether other points of view have to predominate. Thereafter one will have to decide on the allocation of tasks, and the limitation of competence, between Parliament on the one, and the Economic Councils on the other, hand.

Within the concern, a distinction must be made between "Mitsprache" (joint consultation), "Mitwirkung" (joint action) and "Mitbestimmung" (joint determination). Joint consultation may be intended purely and simply as the employees' right to information from their employer or as joint consultation proper (i.e. taking part in discussions

in which the employer and the Works Council are represented). The right to joint action arises in all cases where a framework has been created by legislation or within a Trade Association, so that only executive measures have to be considered and determined by management and Works Council alike. Finally, wherever in business life a decision has to be taken freely, there arises the right of joint determination proper.

Contrary to joint consultation (which confers no such right), joint action and joint determination afford each partner a right of veto, viz.: if one partner refuses to give his consent, the other can do nothing for the time being. The right of joint consultation does not prevent the execution of a plan even if no agreement has been reached between the partners to the discussion, as it is purely advisory. How the employer must act where the differences of opinion cannot be smoothed out is, in joint consultation, a question of tact and has to be determined in the light of all prevailing circumstances ; it is not determined by a veto.

Co-determination within the firm has its applications in the personnel, social, and economic fields of business activity. Within the same firm these three different forms of joint determination may be effective simultaneously. The "Personnel" aspect covers all questions of staff policy (using the word "staff" in its wider sense) viz.: engagement, postings and transfers, promotions and dismissals, commendations and reprimands, wage and salary arrangements, and personnel administration. The "social" aspect covers human relations at work, factory regulations and working times, the formation of groups in the works and the exchange of opinions, time allowances and job grading, as also social provisions, accident prevention, voluntary contributions and assistance on the firm's part, etc. The "economic" aspect is derived from all questions of organisation in the technical and commercial fields and from the position of the firm in the market and in the Capital market.

All these various forms of "Mitbestimmung" must not result in obstructing the responsibility of management throughout the business. Therefore the problem of "co-determination" must be seen and applied *not* as a means of obstruction, but as a means of loyal co-operation ; as a medium of informing the employees about the fortunes of the Company ; and thus as a method of forming opinions within the undertaking in the spirit of mutual co-operation.

IV

In this sense the problem of joint determination has been solved in German industry where firms have assumed the character of partnerships. The basic idea of partnership and joint determination is the recognition of a justified desire on the part of the "working partners" not only to be fully informed about the fortunes of the firm, but

also to assist by discussion and advice in the solution of all problems arising in the course of business. In this way the development of industrial partnership fits in with the sociological development of our time, which looks upon the worker no longer as an object to be organised and rationalised, but as a human being who deserves to be given a say in the joint responsibility of the firm. Seen in this light, industrial partnership is neither an end in itself nor one of the major problems of our age ; it is a partial solution within the framework of a much wider task, viz. : to enable the worker once again to assume a personal responsibility and to carry out an individual task ; and that he can do only if he understands the wider implications of his work and the interests and tasks of his organisation, i.e. those things the understanding of which a far-reaching division of labour has temporarily prevented him from understanding, thus instilling in him a " couldn't-care-less " attitude.

To put joint determination into practice in industrial partnership, groups of " partners " are formed in partnership firms, such groups following closely the natural groupings within the firm and consisting of 15 to 30 members each. Only where the total number does not exceed between 30 and 50 is it possible to do without such groups, because only in such cases is the community as a whole effective. Each group of partners elects its representative (who may be known by a variety of titles). In medium-sized firms these elected representatives of the individual groups form the Partnership Committee. However, to be effective such a Committee must not be so big as to make efficient work impossible. In large concerns a Partnership Committee is therefore set up for each department of the firm, and there come therefore into existence several such committees. They, in turn, elect from amongst their members the representatives who together form the Central Partnership Committee.

It is not only the elected partners' representatives who work in these Partnership Committees. Alongside them work the representatives of the management, in the same way as we have seen it in the case of the Economic Committees set up as the result of legal provisions. The Economic Committees have been strongly influenced by the voluntary Partnership Committees. Occasionally the constitution of the Partnership Committee is already laid down in the partnership agreement ; often the employer himself or several members of the management, and the Chairman or several members of the Works Council, are members of the Committee. It usually turns out that all distinction disappears between the elected partnership representatives and the elected Works Councillors by reason of partnership representatives who have proven their worth also being elected to the Works Council.

The Management nominates for the Partnership Committee the various experts, such as time and motion study men, foremen, office managers, personnel officers, welfare officers, finance officers, etc. The number

of management representatives is usually equal to the number of partners' representatives. It is not the object of this parity in constituting individual groups of partners and partnership committees as between management and partners to counter the possible formation of parties. It has been observed that in the partnership committees it is usually the personality of individual members and their expert knowledge and character which are decisive. In this way there is no formation of fronts but it is the common task and mutual confidence which are decisive for joint determination in the partnership.

In some cases the Partnership Committees have formed special sub-committees for certain tasks. The Management delegates their respective experts, whilst partners' representatives are delegated according to specialised knowledge or inclination. If necessary these partnership representatives can attend special courses and so acquire the basic knowledge in the relevant specialised subjects. Usually lectures or courses of the People's Universities (*Volkshochschule*) or private courses of lectures which are open to the public, are made use of. This avoids the impression that this further education is undertaken only in the interests of the employer. The cost of such special education is borne by the Partnership firm. It depends on the peculiarities of the individual partnership firm for which matters sub-committees are set up; they may be—to give a few examples—for questions of technical work planning (attendance at time and motion study courses); for questions of calculation and book-keeping (accountancy courses); for questions of buying and selling (Salesmanship courses) or for questions affecting staff and social matters (so-called ASB courses; *Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Soziale Betriebsgestaltung*), for questions of capital investment, etc. The work in the sub-committees adds to the right of joint decision in the partnership an air of confident and confidential co-operation which brings about an optimum of willing acceptance of joint responsibility in the partnership.

V

The divergent development of joint determination within the industrial partnership leads to the question to what extent joint determination based on legal provisions can be extended and developed. In the first place it should be noted that a watering down of the legal-right to co-determination is in no case possible, because the provisions have become law enforceable in favour of the employee. Contractual changes of the legal provisions can, therefore, only be in the direction of extending the rights granted by law. According to German jurisprudence collective bargaining within an undertaking is only permissible where the legislator has specially provided for it. That is the result of the fact that the employees of an undertaking are not a body corporate, and therefore they cannot enter into a contractual relationship. Within the framework of the Works Councils Act,

the ability of the Works Council to enter into contracts affecting social provisions has, however, been created (paras. 56 and 57). In this way additional tasks can be laid down by agreement between Management and Works Council.

The possibilities to add to the (legal) provisions assumes quite a different character where individual agreements are concluded between the employer and his collaborators. This is, e.g., the case with the partnership agreements already referred to. In these cases there is no question of collective agreement between the "employees" (thus a fictitious partner to the agreement) and the employer, but the agreement is with every "partner" individually. There can therefore be no legalistic difficulties as to the legal validity of the partnership agreement; and the scope of joint determination within the partnership can therefore safely be extended into the personnel and economic fields; and it depends on the special circumstances obtaining in the firm and the willingness to negotiate shown by employers, Works Councils, and "partners", to what extent joint determination can be extended.

The question must also be examined to what extent collective wage agreements can extend the legal right to co-determination. According to para. 1 of the German Law regulating collective wage agreements (Tarifvertragsgesetz), the parties to such agreements may, in such agreements, regulate questions concerning the internal rules of undertakings. That leads to the conclusion that the legislator did not wish to exclude or restrict the right of employers' organisations and Trade Unions to regulate by means of collective wage agreements questions of supplementing or extending the legal right to co-determination.

One can say that as far as Germany is concerned, it was not the intention of the legislator to lay down definite limits for the material aspect of industrial co-determination by means of the Works Councils Act. This applies to the personal and social spheres, and also to the economic sphere. As regards the latter it should, however, be noted that collective wage agreements can only regulate the internal relationship between employer and employee. External relationships cannot be regulated in this way. This, then, does constitute a very definite limit to the measure in which industrial co-determination can be extended by means of collective wage agreements. Other external legal relationships which are in contradiction to wage agreements within the concern do not *ipso facto* lose validity, but they cannot be justified by reason of the wages legislation. In such cases, therefore, the individual agreement with each collaborator is required—as in the case of partnership agreements—if the legal right to co-determination is to be extended.

These considerations regarding the possible extension of the legal right to co-determination are of importance if the Works Councils Act is not to lead to an unhealthy state of inflexibility; because the employees' right to have a say in policy cannot, when all is said and done, be

enforced by the paragraphs of an Act of Parliament—it demands co-operation based on mutual confidence between employer and employed or—if one prefers—between the employer and the legal representatives of the employees, i.e. the Works Council. Seen in this light, “Mitbestimmung” is much more than the functioning of certain institutions prescribed by law and of regulations governing elections.

In order that this may be achieved it is often necessary to make local arrangements which must have their basis in the individual problems of an organisation concerning its structure and personnel. Whether such a local arrangement takes the form of additional powers and possibilities for the Works Council, or the Economic Committee, or some other form of internal co-operation between employer and employees, of which partnership joint determination is one, must depend on the individual circumstances of each particular undertaking. In this way every employer has the chance to find that form of internal “Mitbestimmung” which is best suited to the circumstances prevailing in his undertaking.

NOTE

¹ German company law distinguishes between *Aufsichtsrat*, the Board of Directors, and *Vorstand*, an inner committee in whose hands the actual management is placed; Transl.

Radical Changes in Property in the U.S.S.R. in the Twentieth Century

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The history of the development of human society shows that all considerable social changes in the economic and political system of life, in the world outlook of people, etc., are conditioned, directly or in the end, by the changes in the form of property in the means of production which dominates in the given country.

In the nineteenth century a bourgeois property spread impetuously in the majority of countries, more and more eliminating the feudal and small private property. In the twentieth century a process of mass ruining of small private owners continues in the agriculture and industry of the capitalist countries; that is, the process of absorbing small and often medium businesses, by large capitalist enterprises. Important changes also take place in large-scale bourgeois property itself: the twentieth century was marked by the rapid growth of monopolistic unions of capitalists. Much greater, especially during wars, become the specific weight and rôle of state property in capitalist countries. But here we shall make a reservation that the existence and growth of state enterprises in these countries by no means imply that an entirely new form of property, the socialist form, arises. State property in capitalist countries is only a special form, a variety, of bourgeois property and therefore the state enterprises in these countries are capitalist, state-monopolistic.

The most important change of property in the twentieth century is that which occurred in the Soviet Union and which is developing in the countries of people's democracy. Here private property is not modified, but eliminated and replaced by an entirely new and historically more elevated form. The twentieth century is the century when the downfall of bourgeois property domination began and new socialist property became consolidated in a number of countries.

* * * *

In Russia, before the October Revolution, more than two-fifths of all agricultural lands belonged to the landlords, Tsarist family and monasteries, and large and medium industry was capitalist. The conservation of landlords' latifundia hindered the development of the productive forces and technology not only in agriculture, but also in industry and other branches of the national economy of Russia. The ruling classes took little care of the interests of the country, doomed it to economic,

political and cultural backwardness, kept the people in ignorance and in lack of rights. Following their mercenary interests, they drew the country into the world imperialist war, which brought Russia to the edge of economic ruin. From the inevitable fall and imminent danger of becoming a colony of the economically more developed countries Russia was saved by its working class, which in October 1917 eliminated the political domination of the bourgeoisie and landlords and established a new, Soviet, power. This revolution, which for the first time in history put into power the working people themselves, was the starting point for the radical change of the whole life of the country.

The October Socialist Revolution eliminated the crying injustice of land-ownership: the feudal property in land. Taking into account the wishes of the peasant masses, the Soviet Power declared that any other private property in land was eliminated and gave the land into the property of the Soviet State, that is, made it the public possession. The landlords' land was given to peasants for use free of charge and thereby the peasants were liberated from their servitude to the landlords.

Within the period from October 1917 to the end of 1918 the U.S.S.R. made large and medium bourgeois property in industry, trade, banks and transportation the property of the Soviet State by means of socialist nationalization of the capitalist enterprises. The latter, thus, became the people's property. Nationalizing the capitalist enterprises, the working class of the U.S.S.R. proceeded from the objective laws of progressive development of society which had been cognized by Marxist science. The manufacture of products can develop at the rate necessary for the society only when the form of property in the means of production, and the form in which products are appropriated, correspond to the character and level of development of the productive forces of the society and to the dominating form of production. In its time bourgeois property triumphed because it gave scope to the growth of the productive forces of society and to technical progress, while feudal and small private property hindered this technical progress. At the present stage of development of society, products are manufactured with the aid of complicated instruments of labour which require the joint activities of a great number of workers in large-scale enterprises ; the productive forces and production have now a social character, while the appropriation of products remains private, capitalist. The social character of productive forces and production now also imperiously demands the establishment of social property in the means of production and in the manufactured products. The result and the expression of the profound contradiction between the social character of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation, are the insufficient use of the contemporary technical possibilities of production, the permanent enormous unemployment, the periodical overproduction crises and the extremely limited purchasing power of the masses in

the countries where bourgeois property dominates. The interests of the overwhelming majority of society, the working masses, are sacrificed to please the mercenary interests of the small group of owners of the means of production.

* * * *

The rise of socialist property in the means of production in the U.S.S.R. was the basis for the radical change in all the relations of production in the country. The relations, in which some people dominate over others, and the owners of the means of production appropriate gratuitously part of the product created by the labour of hired workers, which reigned before nationalization were replaced in the nationalized enterprises in the U.S.S.R. by relations of friendly collaboration and socialist mutual aid between people free from exploitation. The purpose and motives of managing the enterprises were radically changed; the narrow purpose of capitalist production: personal gain at the expense of others and provision of maximum profit for the owners of the means of production gave way to another purpose: to ensure maximum satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural requirements of the whole society.

The consolidation of social property in the means of production in the state enterprises of the U.S.S.R. made it possible to put an end to the domination of spontaneity and anarchy in the national economy and, for the first time, to manage the economy of the country on the basis of a single plan in conformity with the interests of the working people. With the elimination of bourgeois and consolidation of social property in the means of production the attitude of workers towards labour changed, and their labour activity grew immeasurably. All this gave to the Soviet people the possibility of ending, in an extremely short period of time, the age-old backwardness of the country and of making a leap in their progressive development. From an underdeveloped agrarian country the Soviet Union became an industrial power with highly developed technology in all branches of the national economy.

The working class helped its ally, the labouring peasantry, to rebuild its economic life. The voluntary unification of the peasant masses into collective farms ("Kolkhozes") signified a wide development in the U.S.S.R. of the cooperative-kolkhoz form of social property. The victory of social property in the country provided a radical change in the whole life of peasants, their full liberation from exploitation and oppression on the part of kulaks, usurers and merchants. The artisans and handicraft workers, who had been divided before, united into producers' cooperation. The capitalist forms of economy were fully eliminated in town and country; social property in the means of production began to dominate in all branches of the national economy, which signified the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R.

Thus the social socialist property in the U.S.S.R. exists in two forms:

(1) *state property* and (2) *cooperative-kolkhoz property*.

On this basis in the U.S.S.R. there are also two kinds of socialist enterprises: (1) state enterprises and (2) cooperative, collective enterprises.

In state ownership are the land, waters, factories, plants, mines; railway, water and air transportation; banks; means of communication, large agricultural enterprises organized by the state ("Sovkhozes," machine and tractor stations, etc.); state-owned commercial and storing enterprises; as well as the communal service and the main housing fund in towns and industrial centres. *The cooperative-kolkhoz* property is constituted by social enterprises in kolkhozes and cooperative organizations with their livestock, etc., by products manufactured in kolkhozes and cooperative organizations, as well as by their public buildings.

The state property in the U.S.S.R. is a more developed form of socialist property than the cooperative-kolkhoz property form. The state property, as the national possession, implies the widest nationwide, socialization of the means of production and of the products, whereas the cooperative-kolkhoz property is a group property and implies socialization in more narrow limits, that is in the limits of a particular kolkhoz, or small industrial artel or consumers' society.

The state property is a dominant and leading form of socialist property; in the U.S.S.R. nine-tenths of all the national production funds fall to its share; it embraces the leading branch of national economy—socialist industry; in ownership of the Soviet state are all the lands and the main implements of agricultural production: tractors, combines and other machines.

The results of the development of the national economy in U.S.S.R. irrevocably refuted the statements made by the antagonists of socialism that the working class, the working people, are incapable of directing and developing the economy. The working class of the U.S.S.R. and the collective farm peasantry multiplied by many times the wealth available in the country before the October Revolution. Thus, for example, in 1954, the main funds of Soviet industry were 24 times greater than those of 1913 (at the same prices).

* * * *

Socialism assures to the working people a wide development of their *personal property*. The antagonists of socialism claim that with elimination of private property everything will become common and that no personal property will exist. That such statements are groundless is now obvious. Socialism eliminated a social order under which property was concentrated in the hands of few persons, who performed no work, while the producers of material wealth, who constitute the majority of population, had in their personal ownership only the most miserable means of existence. Socialism not only does not eliminate the personal property of the working people, but gives a full scope to its development. The source of personal property of the citizens of the

U.S.S.R. is labour. Personal property does not extend to the means of production, but comprises only the objects of consumption. The means of production (machines, raw materials, fuel, etc.) remain in collective ownership, while the objects of consumption are distributed among working people by means of wages, collective-farm working-days and Soviet trade in conformity with the quantity and quality of labour spent by each, after which they become their personal property. The personal property of the citizens of the U.S.S.R. are their earned incomes and savings, household possessions, articles of everyday home life, and objects of personal consumption and comfort. The building of individual houses and cottages, purchase of cars, etc., are widely encouraged. The deposits of the population in the savings-banks grow steadily.

A special kind of personal property under socialism is the property of a kolkhoz farmstead. Every kolkhoz farmstead has in use a plot of land ranging in size from one quarter to half a hectare and, in some regions, up to one hectare, allocated from the socialized lands. In the ownership of a farmstead are the dwelling house, a definite quantity of dairy and beef cattle, poultry, farm buildings for keeping the cattle, small agricultural implements used for personal subsidiary farming, and the products of this farming.

Together with the growth of public production also grows the personal property of the citizens of the U.S.S.R. The right to personal property, as the right to its inheritance, is guaranteed by the Constitution and by the whole legislation of the U.S.S.R.

Finally, in the U.S.S.R. there are insignificant remainders of *small private property* belonging to individual farmers, artisans and craftsmen, who for the time being prefer to manage their production as before, individually. This property rests on the labour of the small owners themselves and does not become capitalist. *Capitalist and landlords' feudal property* does not exist in the U.S.S.R.

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The domination of socialist property in the means of production determines the characteristic features of the economy of the U.S.S.R. The whole wealth in the U.S.S.R. belongs to its creators, and the words—"national wealth"—for the first time in history have here their real meaning. In the U.S.S.R. the whole national income belongs to the people and is distributed in the interests of working people. The social property in the means of production provides full realization of the rights which the Constitution guarantees to the Soviet people: the right to labour, the right to rest, the right to material maintenance in old age and in case of sickness and loss of ability to work, and the right to education. The citizens of the Soviet Union are forever saved from crises and over-production which bring so much suffering to the working people of the capitalist countries. For more than a quarter of a century already the Soviet Union has had no unemployment, and unemployment

cannot occur in a society in which social property, providing high rates of production growth, is established.

The Soviet people rapidly eliminated the severe after-effects of the Second World War which caused a great damage to the economy of the U.S.S.R., and now confidently go forward on the way to communism. The material and cultural standard of life of the Soviet people grows systematically and steadily. During the years of the Sixth Five-Year Plan (1956–1960) all the workers and employees in the U.S.S.R. will be given a seven-hour working day, and the workers in the principal occupations engaged in the underground work in coal and mining industries, as well as young people from 16 to 18 years of age, will work for only six hours a day, the wages of workers and employees remaining unchanged.

The antagonists of socialism claimed that with the elimination of bourgeois property, private initiative and competition, people would lose any interest in developing production and that progress would cease. That such statements are groundless is now obvious; social property brought to life other more effective stimuli for production growth and for technical progress, than the financial stimulus of personal gain at the expense of others based upon private property.

In the U.S.S.R. the attitude towards the individual, and his position in society, are determined, not by his property status and his financial power, not by his origin, nationality or sex, but exclusively by his personal abilities and personal labour as a citizen. Socialism, as the new economic system, is lasting because it corresponds to the fundamental material interests of working people. The distribution of income in socialist society is effected according to labour; every worker receives more from society, the greater the quantity of labour he gives to society and the higher his level of skill is. The extremely high rates of production growth, the continuous and rapid technical progress under socialism are explained first of all by the fact that the producers of wealth—working people—are vitally interested in the growth and improvement of the production, in increasing the income of the enterprises. Here all the profits this brings go for the benefit of working people, whereas, when bourgeois property dominates, the production growth and technical progress lead, on the one hand, to a further increase of the capitalists' gains and, on the other hand, to more frequent and profound economic crises, a growth of unemployment, superhuman intensification of labour, and a reduction of working-class solvency. Under socialism the fact that people realize that they work not for the capitalist, but for themselves and for their society multiplies the forces of the worker, his readiness to give more and better quality products. Labour is surrounded here by honour.

Contrary to the system of private property in the means of production, which separates people, drives them into relations of domination and submission, mutual competition, collision and acute conflict of interests, social property unites people and provides a profound community of

their interests. The difference between the two forms of socialist property: state and cooperative-kolkhoz lies in the basis of the existence in the U.S.S.R. of the two classes: working class and kolkhoz peasantry. Both these classes live by their labour, do not appropriate gratuitously the products of labour of other people. Both in town and country production is directed to a single purpose: to provide maximum satisfaction of the constantly growing requirements of the whole society. Thus, the inviolable union between the working class and peasantry in the U.S.S.R. has a lasting foundation: community of their economic interests. Also common are the interests of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and Soviet intelligentsia. A profound community of interests has also been created by socialist property in the relations between different peoples, different nations of the Soviet Union. The community of economic and political interests constitutes a lasting foundation of that friendship among peoples which is so characteristic of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet people takes care of protecting socialist property, of strengthening it in every way and of multiplying it. "Every citizen of the U.S.S.R. must protect and strengthen socialist property as the sacred and inviolable basis of the Soviet system, as the source of wealth and power of the Motherland, as the source of prosperous and cultural life of all the toilers"—says the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

PART THREE

Changes in Agrarian Organisation

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INTRODUCTION

Change is the fundamental characteristic of human societies. This is precisely what distinguishes them from the animal kingdom because, while the latter remains invariable in its structure and functions throughout the course of time, the former are constantly changing their mode of life. It is true that the formation of social communities provides the same essential permanence as that of, for example, bees and ants ; ever since they appeared on the face of the earth they have organised themselves into hierarchical groups under a government and a religious symbol. In all communities—both ancient and modern, both primitive and most civilized, we find a nucleus of institutions which appear to be eternal: the State, the Church, the Army, Class Distinction, Economic Organization, Ethics and Culture; however, these institutions are not identical for each of the various peoples on the earth, and they vary from people to people with greater or lesser rapidity, adopting new forms over the course of history. This means that, even when they do not change fundamentally, they change in their modes of expression and function. This change is the pulse of human societies, it is their very life; for that reason alone it merits the careful attention and study given to it by the science of sociology.

Even in their day, the Greek philosophers, Plato and Aristotle, wrote of the phenomenon of social change; they tried to determine its fundamental features—at least with regard to political organisation—by reducing the transformations undergone by the State to a sequence repeated indefinitely with the inflexibility of a law of nature.

Among the ancient Romans it was Lucretius who, when describing the origin and evolution of humanity in his poem “*De Rerum Natura*”, used the term “social change” for the first time.¹ Very much later, the great Arab historian and sociologist, Ibn Khaldun, studied the evolution of rural societies, the nomadic desert tribes who, when they conquered cities, acquired a sedentary status and gradually lost their warlike nature in the soft and luxurious life of the towns, until they themselves were conquered by other warring peoples and so on, *ad infinitum*. Vico, in his work now known under the name of *Scienza nuova*, also attempted a cyclical explanation of the social change which develops over various ages: the age of the gods, when everything is explained by divine intervention, the age of the heroes, dominated by the great leaders, and the era of the common man, which finds inspiration in liberty and democracy—three ages which

follow each other in an endless succession, even if on higher planes each time, like those of a spiral coil rising into infinity.

Turgot, in his celebrated speech (lecture) of 11th December, 1750, entitled, "On the successive stages of the human mind," says that the latter changes from the religious to the abstract and progresses from there to the scientific stage and Condorcet, in his *Sketch for a Historical Picture of the Progress of the Human Spirit*, divides the history of civilization into ten stages, from the era of the barbarians to the French Revolution.

These are the immediate antecedents of the theory of the three stages of Auguste Comte, the genius who created the science of sociology, who gave social change a position of preponderant importance, dividing it into the following periods: theology, metaphysics and the positive, during which man explained the world and life firstly by means of religion, secondly by means of abstractions and finally by discovering the laws governing phenomena. This evolution in the human mind projects itself into social life, producing the correlative changes therein.

At the present time, only three great thinkers, Spengler, Sorokin and Toynbee, still hold cyclical theories of social change.² Modern sociology tends to abandon all simple explanations of the evolution of human societies, all idea that these develop in accordance with a fixed pattern or law of progress, in favour of considering social change as a complex phenomenon which presents itself in one or more aspects of collective life, motivated by external or internal causes, and that it can lead to the improvement as well as to the decline, to the advancement as well as to the regression of the peoples.

It is principally the North American sociologists who have made a study of social change. Practically speaking, it is Ogburn who has contributed most to the study of this phenomenon with his book *Social Change*.³ In all the manuals and introductions to sociology by U.S. authors, his book occupies pride of place. L. L. Bernard makes the various aspects of social change the main theme of his work *Introduction to Sociology*.⁴ Gillin and Gillin define it as follows: "Variations in the accepted forms of life whether caused by alterations in geographical conditions, cultural equipment, structure of the population or of ideologies; whether due to communications or invention within the group itself".⁵

Defined in this way, social change acquires extraordinary importance, "we cannot deny," say the authors quoted, "that many of the problems and difficulties weighing upon modern social life are connected with the changes which in one form or another are affecting communities in our time". In effect, growth or alterations in the ethnic composition of the population of a country; the appearance of new social theories or religious doctrines, mechanical invention, legislation, the spread of culture among the masses, etc., etc., not only produce changes in the sectors of society directly connected with these events, but have repercussions in other sectors on a national or international plane, frequently

causing tension, disagreements, often serious crises which could be foreseen and averted if the causes and effects of the social changes were fully understood. Unfortunately, this territory has not been explored to any great extent and for this reason it seems to us a brainwave of the organisers of the Third World Sociological Congress to have selected, as the theme of the Congress, social change in all its manifestations and to have divided the various aspects of the aforesaid phenomenon into sections each of which will be the subject of special study.

It is nevertheless necessary not to lose sight of the fact that the aspects of social change adopted to form the sections which will be entrusted with its study, obey an exigency which is purely methodological as, in reality, the phenomena of change are found to be closely related with each other.

For example, variations in the economy of a human society produce, in their turn, modifications in education, in ethics and in family life; changes in the volume and density of the population influence the systems of organisation of land ownership, industry and commerce; a new political ideology not only changes the constitutional structure of a State but also affects both economy and culture.

Accordingly, the study of each individual aspect of social change is as important as that of their inter-relationship.

I

It is the task of Section II of the Third World Sociological Congress to discuss changes in economic structure and it is our task, within that wide field, to discuss changes in agrarian organisation, in order to analyse the problems arising in the 20th century. Unfortunately, we were not given definite points for the development of this question which might have made it possible to obtain useful sociological generalizations by the comparative method. Nevertheless, the papers submitted have added very considerably to our knowledge of the question.

Three papers refer to the changes which are occurring in the agrarian organisation of India, as a result of the influence of Western civilization and culture and of the political events which rendered India independent of British rule.

Dr. S. C. Dube, of Cornell University, U.S.A., in a clear, interesting and systematically developed study, under the title of "Social Structure and Change in Indian Peasant Communities", presents a general panorama of the Indian population in this century. He considers that India is a predominantly agricultural and rural country, since of a population of 375 million inhabitants, 249 million, according to the 1951 Census, are occupied in agriculture and live in villages.

The population of an Indian village is united by three different bonds of solidarity (a) family ties, (b) the caste system, and (c) territorial affinities.

The caste system is the most important and overrules family and territorial ties; in order to understand the extent and depth of its influence, it is only necessary to know that internal relationships within the castes are subject to rules governing matrimony, meals, physical contact and occupations and that these rules are obeyed because they are considered to be of divine origin.

Castes have remained as exclusive groups throughout the ages, since strict endogamy is observed.

The caste system in India has a vertical structure which is manifested hierarchically and a horizontal structure embracing the relationships which unite groups belonging to the same caste in different villages, and which permits them to act in unison at any given moment. Furthermore, they combine in local and regional associations.

The most important castes, from the social and economic point of view, are the agricultural castes.⁸

The caste is, according to Sorokin, "the most stable and most influential type of social group in any society. States and Empires have risen and fallen and other groups have appeared and disappeared but the caste system still endures. It is the basic group of Indian society and the most important, and it determines the socio-cultural position and character of the individual in India. Considering that one quarter of the human race lives in India the important rôle performed by the caste system constitutes a significant factor in the entire history of humanity".⁷

The influence of the castes in social relationships is, accordingly, very great in India, although sometimes of a negative character. "The taboos of the Indian caste system", asserts Max Weber, "inhibit social intercourse much more than the Funy-Schi system of Chinese belief in spirits hindered trade".⁸ Nevertheless, according to this same author, "the railways will gradually render caste taboos illusory".

The interesting paper by Dr. S. C. Dube on present-day India confirms the study made by the great German sociologist at the end of the last century. In effect, according to S. C. Dube, the social structure of India is subject to considerable changes under the impact of Western culture and civilization. Modern systems of transport and communications, modern technology, industrialization and Western-type education during the last 10 years have combined to produce the following obvious changes :

(1) The social position of the individual in India is dependent upon his caste; but at present that system of class distinction is being superseded by another rival system by which the individual's position in society is determined on his own personal merit.

(2) This change in class distinction is more apparent when a person moves from country to town since, on establishing himself in the city, he has to accustom himself to urban customs.

(3) There is a noticeable weakening in the authority of the individual castes in rural India.

(4) A certain individualism has developed within the family.

(5) Western forms of life and modern technology have been accepted by the upper strata of society as they have the opportunity of acquiring them.

(6) On the other hand the lower strata are, in a way, conservative because of their lack of education and poverty.

(7) Notwithstanding the relative conservatism of the lower classes, it appears that the social structure of the village is in a state of dissolution and disintegration.⁹

The work of Dr. Tarlok Singh of the New Delhi Planning Commission complements the information given by Dr. Dube.

Dr. Tarlok Singh discusses the "Landless Labourer and the Pattern of Social and Economic Change" and explains in detail in this valuable work the effect upon India of what is known as "the impact of the West". This impact is particularly noticeable in the villages and has developed slowly and indirectly.

(a) The products of Western industry introduced into the villages of India by pedlars diminished the demand for home-produced goods. Many craftsmen who used to make such local products became redundant and turned into farm workers without land of their own.

(b) Western ideas on ownership and finance changed the self-sufficient spirit in the village for an acquisitive, profit-seeking spirit, with the exploitation of the weak by the strong under the guise of legality. Wealth and self-seeking replaced the community spirit in the scale of values.

(c) These conditions created an internal capitalism represented by foreigners and by Indian traders and landowners who promoted the feudal conditions by means of latifundism and monetary loans.

(d) New techniques diminished the opportunities for work in a growing population, thus accentuating the effects of Western economic influence and Indian capitalism.

(e) As a result of all this, in the last 60 years, the population dependent upon agriculture has increased. It is calculated that it increased from 193 to 250 million between 1931 and 1951.

(f) Under Western influence, the bonds created by the social castes are tending to decrease, and in some castes have disappeared altogether; but this has created the problem of providing work for men who were formerly employed within the strict caste system.

The increase in the number of agricultural workers in India without land of their own is a problem which requires early solution. For this reason a democratic planning scheme is being put into practice and is founded on various definite points which tend to explain what should

be done. Dr. Tarlok Singh is working on this.¹⁰ But can a Sociological Congress embark upon the study of these questions which properly belong to politics? We think not; the rôle of sociology should be defined as the study of prevailing social conditions for the purpose of obtaining scientific theories capable of serving as a basis for action; but sociology cannot indicate the precise terms for this action since they are dependent upon political conditions and the economic and social potentialities of each individual country.

Dr. A. R. Desai, of the Department of Sociology of the University of Bombay, with his work on "The Impact of the Measures Adopted by the Government of the Indian Union on the Life of the Rural People," confirms the concepts we have just put before you. He describes firstly the changes which took place in Indian society under the influence of Western culture and civilization during the period of British rule and the effects—mostly negative—of the measures adopted by the present Government of the Indian Union to reconstruct the country on new social and economic bases. The study of the effects of these measures certainly comes within the scope of sociology since they form part of the social structure of India and the failure of many of them shows how daring and dangerous it is to prescribe them.

The study now being made by Dr. Desai of the results of the contact between Western culture and civilisation and Indian culture, under British rule, to a large extent confirms and also complements the information given by Doctors S. C. Dube and Tarlok Singh:

(a) Western culture dealt a mortal blow to the rural organization of India, based on an autarchical village community, with common ownership of land.

(b) It destroyed the collectivistic spirit and introduced individualism and competition.

(c) It introduced private ownership, letting out of land and individual cash taxation.

(d) In this way, agrarian economy based on the satisfaction of the needs of the family changed to an economy based on satisfaction of the demands of the market.

(e) It destroyed the self-sufficiency of rural life, at the same time ruining the small village industries by the introduction of machine-made products.

(f) The mass of craftsmen—deprived of their crafts by the articles imported from modern British factories—turned to agriculture, thus increasing the volume of labourers without land and accentuating the pressure of the rural population on the land. The size of small holdings diminished, and uneconomic properties increased in number.

(g) It increased the power of moneylenders, tradesmen and land-owners over the poverty stricken farmers.

(h) It increased the number of tenants and intermediaries (farmer-tenants, sub-tenants, sub-sub-tenants, etc.) supported by those who actually cultivated the ground.

(i) It decreased the power of the caste and reduced the size of the family.

(j) All this produced considerable impoverishment of the masses and internal lack of balance in the rural structure of India. To remedy this situation the Government of the Indian Union has put various measures into practice: (a) measures of a political nature establishing universal suffrage which gave rise "to considerable social and political quickening in rural India"; (b) measures of an economic nature such as irrigation projects, the introduction of better seed and fertilizers, reforms in letting arrangements to protect the tenant and cut out intermediaries, protection of the peasants against abuse by creditors, economic development of rural zones and the creation of cooperative societies and assistance to the small rural industries.

But these and other measures have failed because they only benefit those farmers who are in a sound economic position. No measures have been taken to allocate land to rural workers who have none, or to provide them with employment. The protective measures are easily circumvented; the cooperative societies only favour the clever farmers.

The plans for rural economic development do not favour those who have nothing and, on the other hand, the subscriptions required to put them into operation overburden them.

To sum up, according to Dr. Desai, the governmental measures adopted in India have produced changes in the rural community which tend to intensify the opposition between classes in the rural communities and also between castes, thus causing tension, antagonism and clashes.¹¹

What sociological conclusions can be obtained from the three studies we have mentioned? What can the sociologist advise in regard to the changes which are taking place in the rural community of India?

The experience of the Indian people, like that of other peoples, as history shows, supports the following generalization: whenever peoples of different culture and civilization come into contact, the most advanced tends to dominate and exploit the least developed. When these latter gain their independence, their upper classes who succeed in assimilating the civilization of their rulers, replace them in ruling and exploiting the masses.

The failure of the measures adopted by the Government of India to help the rural working class in the face of the changes in agrarian economic structure brought about by British rule and Western culture and civilization, in the same way as similar failures suffered by other peoples, serve as a basis for this further generalization: the upper classes of a country, who hold the economic power, tend to circumvent

all the protective measures devised by the Government to help the working classes or to turn these same measures to their own profit.

From a strictly scientific point of view this is what, in our opinion, the Third World Sociological Congress can prove by way of general conclusions on the interesting studies submitted by Doctors Dube, Singh and Desai with regard to the changes in agrarian economic structure in India.

Although it is certain that sociology must study prevailing conditions, it does not follow from this, affirms the talented French sociologist, Emile Durkheim, "that we should give up trying to improve them : we would feel that our speculations were not worth the trouble if they had no more than a speculative interest". "Science," he adds, "can help us to find the road we should follow and to determine the goal towards which we blindly struggle".¹²

With the support of the abovementioned theories the sociologist can recommend, also in a general way, that in all those countries where peoples of different civilizations come into contact with each other, the Governments should not adopt empirical action in favour of the economically and politically weaker rural classes, but action planned on the basis of investigations and research carried out by scientists experienced in the social sciences so that the political action guides the changes in agrarian economic structure efficiently, preventing abuses, social inequalities and injustices.

II

Dr. S. M. Akhtar, Professor of Economy in the University of Punjab studies, in his work on "Experiments in Land Reform in Pakistan", the changes which are occurring in that country in the organization of land ownership. These changes are the result of the misery and discontent of the rural masses which compelled the governments of the various provinces to dictate measures for their assistance. According to Dr. Akhtar, in Western Pakistan 60 per cent. of the cultivated land belonged to owners living elsewhere. These lands were cultivated by tenants; but between these tenants and the owners were numerous intermediaries who exploited the true cultivators of the earth. In Eastern Bengal, for example, there were up to 50 intermediaries on each plot or allotment.

The owners could dismiss the tenants whenever they liked. This insecure position, the small acreage of land at the tenant's disposal and the lack of assistance and credit, resulted in a large mass of farmers living in lamentable conditions. In order to remedy these conditions a decree was passed in Western Pakistan in 1950 which gave permanent right to the land to the tenant who cultivated it for three years in succession; however, the owners discharged the tenants before the three years were up in order to prevent their becoming permanent tenants. The law failed for this reason and because of the ignorance of the

beneficiaries who were unaware of the rights conferred upon them by the law.

In Punjab a law was passed in 1952 in an attempt to convert tenants into owners and which granted an inviolable acreage of land to the owner farming his own land; but this law also was ineffective. The tenants prefer to pay the owner 50 per cent. of the produce from the land in order not to excite his ill-will towards them and a definite ruling regarding determination of a guaranteed fixed acreage has been postponed indefinitely in order to prevent dismissal of tenants.

In the provinces on the North-Western frontier, the voluntary tenant was granted safeguards on the possession of the land for three years, and so-called occupying tenants rights of ownership. An indemnity was paid to the owner. It appears that this law is working satisfactorily.

In Eastern Bengal the reform was more radical since, in 1950, the land was nationalised, the owners being indemnified partly in cash and partly in bonds payable in 40 years' time, but with an annual interest of 3 per cent. In this way the tenants become tenants of the State to whom they pay the corresponding rent. The farmer holds full rights of possession and may sell the land he owns to another farmer. Enforcement of the law has been slow because of shortage of staff and lack of means.¹³

As is seen, in Pakistan there is a true anarchy in agrarian legislation which produces irregular changes in the organization of land ownership. In general, and based on the experience of Pakistan, India and other countries, it may be said that when the person who cultivates the ground has no rights of ownership or possession over it, he is un-faillingly exploited to his own detriment and to the detriment of society as a whole, since the latter has to pay much more for farm produce in order to cover the requirements of both the exploited and the exploiter. Accordingly, all Agrarian Reform should begin with the concept of granting rights of ownership of land, except in exceptional cases, solely to the person who farms it.

III

A factor of change in the agrarian economic structure of a country which is different from the other factors hitherto discussed is that studied by Dr. K. Twum Barima of the College of Technology of Kunasi, in his interesting essay entitled, "Some Problems of Agricultural Evolution in the Akan Community of the Gold Coast".

In the Akan tribe on the Gold Coast land was and still is owned by whoever is in power. There was no individual property because the Akan lived within a harvesting economy: anyone who cultivated a piece of land and afterwards abandoned it only retained the right to return to farm the same land he had hitherto cultivated.

When the Akan became sedentary, the land continued to belong to those in authority; but permanent possession of the land belonged to

separate families. Family ownership developed with the change from collectivist economy to agricultural economy. This change was due to the influence of European traders who introduced the cultivation of maize, the cassava and citrus fruits; but the rapidity of the change was mainly due to the introduction of the cacao tree. "In view of the increasing demand", says Dr. Twum-Barima, "the Akan peasant is growing it to such an extent that he has become the foremost world producer".

Cultivation of cacao on the Gold Coast produced the following changes:

(a) Permanent and excessive migration from those zones where cacao cannot easily be grown to the territories most favourable to its cultivation.

(b) Creation of permanent family rights over the land cultivated.

(c) Disputes arose over boundaries and ownership.

(d) Property divided up to an extraordinary extent under demographic pressure.

(e) The breaking up of property produced concealed unemployment. That is to say, each plot is cultivated by an excessive number of persons, so that everyone does very little work and wastes many hours with nothing to do. There is a great deal of concealed unemployment in the country; "large masses of human beings apparently engaged in agricultural production but in reality wasting time in vain efforts at farming".

(f) "The process of evolution of property among the Akan has ended in the establishment of millions of small, dispersed, unprofitable properties".¹⁴

The case of the Akan community on the Gold Coast is similar to that of other countries and leads us to the conclusion that breaking up the land is a cause of uneconomic cultivation; it creates misery and a low standard of education in the peasant and causes discontent among the rural population as a whole.

IV

Another aspect differing from those already discussed in relation to change in agrarian structure is that studied by Dr. H. J. Heeren in an interesting work on the problems of the colonization of Indonesia. Particular reference is made to the question of assimilation of the colonists by the native population and, even although at first sight this subject does not seem to be related to the central theme of Section II of the Congress, there is in reality a connection because the mutual understanding between those concerned with agriculture in a determined region, or their differences, necessarily have a repercussion on the system of ownership and agricultural production.

Dr. Heeren analyses three different cases of colonisation: that of the central zone of Sumatra by repatriates; that of the South of Sumatra by demobilised soldiers and that of other zones in Southern Sumatra by Javanese peasants.

(a) The first case deals with Javanese coolies who left Indonesia and did not return to their own country when their contract abroad terminated. The organization used to establish the repatriates was a mixture of a limited company and a productive cooperative society. It established such colonists in Tongar, in central Sumatra, and the land allocated to them was divided into very small individual plots so as to make them uneconomic in order that they would be farmed collectively at a fixed salary.

According to Dr. Heeren, this colonisation scheme committed three errors: (a) a careful selection of colonists according to sex and age group was not made; 55 per cent. of the colonists were more than 55 years' old and there were too many men; (b) the collectivist organisation of the colony which converted the colonists into salaried workers placed them on the knife-edge of disaster in the event of loss of crops; and (c) no attempt was made at a careful selection of the social situation in the region in which the colony was created, as the repatriates had assimilated many Western ways and ideas abroad and, on the other hand, the native population jealously guarded its ancestral customs.

"This is an example," says the author, "of a colonisation scheme which was defeated by cultural differences".

(b) The colonization of the South of Sumatra by demobilized soldiers from the Indonesian armed forces was undertaken on a large scale. From 1951 to 1953 more than 22,000 colonists settled in various colonies in mountainous Western Sumatra.

The majority of these colonies were unsuccessful because they committed the following errors: (a) no attempt was made at a careful selection of the colonists, from the points of view of age and background; 70 per cent. were persons under 30 years of age who came from an area with a bad reputation. "This explains the belligerent unbalanced attitude in the group." (b) The colonies were left to the care of the military leaders in each group, thus creating a dangerous duplication of authority: the government and the military leaders. These latter were not always capable of administering a colony. (c) The question of land rights was not satisfactorily settled and this gave rise to many quarrels between veterans and natives. (d) The number of colonists who could find employment in the South of Sumatra was not accurately calculated and this created various agricultural problems.

Dr. Heeren makes a very important distinction from the sociological point of view between the ecological and social capacities of a region in regard to colonisation.

Very few colonies of veterans in Sumatra met with any success.

(c) The third type of colonisation in Sumatra studied by Dr. Heeren is that of Javanese peasants who are constantly being sent to the outer isles by the Transmigration Department "to relieve the density of the population in Java".

Recruitment of colonists was made by force because the Government intended at first to move the surplus population at the lowest possible cost; to manage this, they sent the colonists to the colonisation centres at harvest-time, in order that they would obtain work and be self-supporting. This system was abandoned and at present land is distributed among the immigrants and they are given economic aid for the first year. To avoid quarrels, colonists are being settled in places where they hardly ever come into contact with the native population.

In the three types of colonisation there has been a very low degree of assimilation up to the present among the different groups who are thrown into contact with each other.¹⁵

The work of Dr. Heeren and the experience of other countries in colonisation suggests the necessity of establishing as a general principle that any artificial movement of population and its establishment in a place different from its origin, requires careful advance planning. When planning, it is necessary to take into account the agrarian factor of distribution of the land and organization of the property system; the economic factor for the maintenance and development of the colonies from the material point of view and the education factor in order to bring about the most effective assimilation of the higher educated group with the lower.

We think that colonization is the solution indicated to settle problems of shortage of land and those of racial or cultural heterogeneity of the population of a country, or those of surplus population in some parts of the country, as it makes it possible to pre-select and prepare the most suitable places in terms of their ecological and social advantages, for colonization purposes.

V

Among the works corresponding to this Section of the Third World Congress of Sociology, there are two which seem to depart altogether from the subject in hand, namely: changes in agrarian structure. We refer to Dr. H. Z. Ulken of the University of Istanbul on the repercussions of mechanised agriculture in Turkey and to the paper written by Doctors E. Abma and H. Lijfering of Holland which deals with the "Institutionalization in Agricultural Organisations in the Netherlands". These two studies do not properly refer to changes in the possession or ownership of the land; however, the modern idea of agrarian matters, which has been exhaustively explored by Italian jurists specialising in the subject, is so wide that it comprises not only questions connected with land distribution and organization of systems of land ownership, but it also includes everything relating to agriculture: stock farming, irrigation, credit, insurance of harvests,

organization and planning of agricultural works and institutions, etc., etc.¹⁶

It is indisputable that when agricultural machinery is first introduced into a country where the farmers have hitherto used antiquated implements for tilling the ground and draught animals (instead of machines), this fact produces considerable changes in agrarian structure, this latter term being understood in its fullest sense, as agricultural activities in general. For this purpose the above-mentioned study by Dr. Ülken is of particular importance, since it analyses the effects of mechanisation of agriculture in Turkey, based on personal observation and statistics covering a period of 10 years.

The introduction of machinery in agricultural work produced the following changes in Turkey, according to Dr. Ülken:

(a) A large number of families unconnected with agriculture changed their occupations and turned to farming.

This change of occupation obliged a large number of families to emigrate from town to country. The families from the cities devoted themselves personally to handling the agricultural machinery. This demonstrated that it was the incentive of less work and increased harvests which motivated this unprecedented emigration from town to country.

(b) However, the mechanisation of agriculture, in its turn, caused unemployment since it displaced many hired labourers.

Those left without work emigrated to the towns in the high proportion of 82 per cent.

(c) Mechanisation resulted in a closer commercial relationship between town and country.

This in its turn caused various disputes.

Dr. Ülken's study ratifies one of the most important social effects of mechanisation: the displacement of workers. The change produced by the machine in the methods and systems of production leaves a large number of persons without employment, creating extremely serious problems, especially in those countries in process of industrialisation as, in such countries, the craftsmen thrown out of work by the machine emigrate to the country and, if in the country, they are also made redundant by the machine, the result is an enormous number of unemployed thus increasing the social maladjustment to a dangerous level.

Any mechanization, but especially that of agriculture, must develop in accordance with a carefully thought-out plan in order to prevent unemployment.

VI

Doctors E. Abma and H. Lijfering coined the phrase "Institutionalization in Agricultural Organisations in the Netherlands. "Institutionalisation" is a phenomenon which occurs to a greater or lesser extent in most groups.

It is the tendency of any social movement or collective idea to transform itself into an institution in order to achieve its aims in a permanent and systematic manner and with the greatest possible efficiency. However, after the institution has been set up, and over a period of time, a series of changes occur within its framework which so far increase its power over its members as to deprive them of practically all participation in its operation.

This is demonstrated by the aforesaid authors in their study of cooperative societies, farmers' unions and cooperative unions in the Low Countries.

"Institutionalisation" offers a number of negative aspects. (a) It decreases the interest of individual members in the institution by delivering total management of same into the hands of the managing body. (b) This increases the power of the leaders and they end by misusing their power. (c) The original system of management, based on co-operation, is replaced, to an ever-increasing extent, by a bureaucratic system. (d) This causes disputes when the interests or mistakes of those in authority clash with the interests of the members *en masse*.

If these general principles—which appear incontestable—are accepted, perhaps the remedy would lie in advising that every institution's statutes should contain rules making it obligatory for individual members to participate in the guidance of the institution and measures for implementing the responsibility of those in authority.

The authors of this interesting essay conclude by affirming that the study of the "institutionalisation" of Western cooperative societies may be very useful for planning similar societies in underdeveloped countries and that, in these countries, the efforts to introduce techniques and the organization should come from the authorities as the native population is not sufficiently qualified.¹⁷

In 1926 in Mexico the Government introduced the cooperative credit system in rural districts by an artificial method, as the majority of Mexican peasants cannot read or write and many of them do not speak Spanish, the official language. In these circumstances, the drafting of the statutes and the organization and management of the cooperative societies was left in the hands of those peasants who were able to read and write, advised by employees of the Banco de Crédito Ejidal. The result could not have been more disastrous, because over a period of 30 years some hundreds of millions of pesos were lost because of the abuses by those in authority in the cooperative societies and because of the peasant inability to understand the co-operative system. In general, it may be stated that an institution must not be transplanted from one social milieu to another without the necessary adaptations being made, especially when underdeveloped societies are involved, as the negative aspects of the "institutionalisation" so knowledgeably described by Doctors Abma and Lijfering are then considerably increased.

VII

Dr. G. P. Hirsch of Oxford University is studying the agrarian structure of Great Britain from 1835 to the present day, and finds that there have been considerable changes in same without the system of land distribution being intentionally transformed. For this reason, he has given his work the title "Static Structure with a Changed Content".

Great Britain's agricultural system changed from the economy represented by self-sufficient groups to the market system and this change originated the transformation of the primitive communal property system into the private ownership system; furthermore, communal work was replaced by hired labour and the old systems of cultivation by the agricultural machine.

While these changes were taking place, agrarian structure—meaning the organization and distribution of landed property—remained unchanged and static. The farm labourer did not share in the profits which mechanized farming and the increase in agricultural production brought to the landowners. Then began a silent revolution, a movement of a large part of the rural population away from agriculture. The day labourers rendered redundant by the machine began emigrating to the towns but, as a result of modern transport systems, many country people who changed their occupations continued living in the country and went to work in the towns. At present there is evidence of a marked tendency among the inhabitants of Great Britain's rural districts to do their shopping and seek their entertainment, etc., in the city, and not locally, as formerly.

All this, in Dr. Hirsch's opinion, indicates a social lack of balance giving rise to various problems, the only one of which he mentions is that relative to the sub-population of the marginal country zones of Great Britain in the hilly districts. He certainly considers that there is a link of interdependence between the various aspects of social change in rural life and that when all these aspects are modified in a balanced form, they will not cause any problem at all.

Dr. Hirsch's theory seems to us to be of great sociological value and we feel that it may be used as a basis for any policy intended to introduce changes in the agrarian structure of a country or a region, or to prevent the consequences of those caused by the free play of social factors.

VIII

Finally, we come to two interesting studies submitted by Latin-American authors: Doctors Bernardino C. Horne and Jorge Patrón Irigoyen.

Dr. Horne, in his work entitled "Les lois agraires et la structure sociale en Argentine" describes the various changes which have taken place in that country since its origin. In earliest times it was inhabited by

the native Indian and agrarian property was communal. During Spanish rule, large private estates were created but the conquerors' legislation respected the native agrarian system. That is to say, two different agrarian structures existed side by side throughout the entire colonial epoch.

After obtaining her independence from Spain, Argentina was left with enormous stretches of very thinly populated land. A large-scale migratory flow was then encouraged which completely altered the country's physiognomy. Foreigners and Europeanized creoles predominated in numbers and formed the ethnic and cultural unit of the Argentine population.

This migratory flow was encouraged by the allocation of land for sale or for rent. Latifundism arose and a peasant class appeared which embraced 69 per cent. of the population of the country. There is, accordingly, a rural majority in which the middle class predominated.

However, the Argentine governments neglected to form an agrarian policy and the farmers, lacking resources and the inducement to stay in the country, began emigrating to the towns, thus producing a change in the agrarian structure of the country, since the rural population diminished until, in 1937, it formed barely 37 per cent. of the total population.

After the second world war, the rural population decreased still further, until it represented only 30 per cent. of the population.

In the last 10 years the Argentine government has adopted a new agrarian policy in order to improve rural conditions. More than two million hectares have been distributed among thousands of farmers; but as, at the same time, the country has become industrialised, the phenomenon arose of a large number of peasants emigrating to the towns. Between 1943 and 1947, 20 per cent. of the rural population emigrated to the towns. In 1947, of an active population of 6,267,000 inhabitants, there were 3,439,000 industrial workers. The decrease in the rural population encouraged latifundism. At the same time the social power of the rural class transferred itself to the industrial working class.¹⁸

Variations in the agrarian structure of the Argentine Republic are an example of lack of balance caused by the rapid change in one aspect of the economic structure—the industrial—while the agrarian aspect remained relatively static.

IX

In ancient Peru, according to the interesting thesis written by Dr. Jorge Patrón Irigoyen, the fundamental Agrarian unit was the Ayllu, a tribal village where property was communal and the land farmed collectively. After the conquest, the Spaniards established the system of private ownership but respected the existence of the native Ayllu. The agrarian structure of the country changed but the agrarian organisation of the vanquished Incas remained unchanged. Nevertheless,

the introduction by the Spanish of draught animals and new farming methods influenced and assisted native farming although, at the same time, the Spanish colonists deprived the natives of their best land.

When Peru regained her independence, a further change arose in the agrarian structure: there was a decided growth in the Latifundism which sprang up in the time of Spanish rule. The property of the native communities continued to be plundered on frequent occasions.

In the 20th century, towards 1919, the political constitution of Peru recognised the existence of the native communities, respected their system of ownership and protected their land against plunderers. The new Constitution of 1933 reaffirmed the legal existence and legal status of the aforesaid communities and guaranteed their rights of ownership, declaring their property imprescriptible and non-transferable. The Constitution obliged the State to expropriate privately-owned land in order to give to the Indian communities enough land to provide the means for subsistence.

The native Peruvian community subsisted through the Colonial epoch as a result of the sound economic and social structure prevailing under the native organization and even when much of it fell into decay during the period of independence, the new legislation inaugurated in the first decade of the 20th century imbued it with renewed strength. At present, it is calculated that there are 4,000 communities in the Republic of Peru with a population of four million natives. These communities are responsible for one-fourth of the total agricultural production of the country.

At present, the agrarian property of the native Peruvian communities is not collective as a plot is allocated to each family for an indefinite period and remains in that family from generation to generation. Possession of the plot is only lost because of failure to cultivate it or as a penalty when the owners have committed unlawful acts against the common good.

Apart from the land under cultivation, the Peruvian native has available within his communities common pasturage for rearing his livestock.¹⁹

The native agrarian structure of Peru is an example of an institution which has remained practically invariable throughout many political and economic changes due to the fact that the culture upon which it is based has also remained almost the same in its fundamental structure throughout the course of time. The changes occurring in the Inca Ayllu have been superficial and have not changed his essential nature.

However, this phenomenon of relative permanence of an agrarian structure in a changing world is harmful as it impedes the progress of those living within it.

As in the case of Peru, there are other countries in Latin America where peoples who are the products of Western civilization live side by side with the native population.

X

An extremely interesting survey—because it comes from a country in which a gigantic social experiment is now taking place and which is attracting the attention of the entire civilised world—is that written by Professor M. Moiseyev of the Moscow Economic Institute. The subject of this work is the system of reforms which is taking place in agriculture in the author's native Russia as a result of the great socialist revolution which radically changed its political régime.

We already knew of the law passed on 26th October, 1917, which abolished rural private property in Russia and that successive laws, among them the Agrarian Code of 1928, respected individual ownership of the land, but granted privileges on such a scale to collective work that it became practically impossible for the individual farmer to subsist. Faced with this situation, the peasants began to form a type of association known as a "kolkhoz", and these were in three categories: (a) those in which only the farm implements were communal; (b) those comprising only collective ownership of the land, implements and livestock but not the crops; and (c) those entirely collectivized.²⁰

According to Professor Moiseyev, class (c) predominates in the U.S.S.R. at present and the system of complete collectivization of agriculture is constantly developing. He says that this is demonstrated by the fact that, in 1932, two hundred thousand "kolkhoz" comprising 61½% of all rural landowners were organised and, in 1937, the figure rose to 93%. Nevertheless, Professor Moiseyev gives further figures at the end of his work, and these must be considered as up-to-date; he says that: "instead of the twenty-five million scattered peasant holdings existing formerly, there are today ninety-three thousand "kolkhoz".

Not only has the system of land ownership changed in Russia but also farming methods, because, at the same time as the small individual farms belonging to the peasants were made into great agricultural units, the mechanisation of agriculture was also accomplished. The State created enormous depôts where agricultural machinery was made available to the "kolkhoz".²¹

According to M. Moiseyev, the "kolkhoz" is run cooperatively but, in actual fact, the cooperation is a special kind since each peasant receives only, from the general produce from the collective farm, payment for the days in which he worked in the same during the year and that payment is made according to the share in the said produce appertaining to each "kolkhoz", after payment of the hire of machinery, production costs and tax. Also, an adequate amount is set aside for the economic expansion of the "kolkhoz" and for the support of the old and infirm, as well as a sum for the organisation of cultural programmes.

The produce from the "kolkhoz" is sold to the State and payment to the peasants is made partly in cash and partly in kind.

The "kolkhoz" is managed democratically. However, production plans are laid down by the State and each collective farm has to establish its own programme based on these plans.

According to Professor Moiseyev, the changes made in agrarian economic structure and in agriculture have produced, in their turn, the following social reforms:

(1) Exploitation of one man by another is now a thing of the past.

(2) Farms of more than ten hectares have disappeared, as have also antiquated implements.

(3) The use of modern technique and agricultural machinery in the cultivation of land belonging to a "kolkhoz".

(4) Specialisation of agricultural work, as a result of the mechanization of agriculture.

(5) A constant improvement in the farmer's skill as an agricultural worker.

(6) Disappearance of the burden of manual labour.

(7) Increase in agricultural productivity.

(8) Disappearance of class differences.

(9) Social uniformity among the peasants.

(10) Disappearance of over-population in agriculture.

(11) Full employment for both men and women in rural areas.

(12) All workers receive the same remuneration.

(13) Disappearance of illiterate peasants in the village.

(14) Millions of adults take courses in the agricultural technical schools.

(15) The establishment of an ample system of clubs, dance halls and reading rooms, etc., in rural districts.

(16) Disappearance of the cultural difference which used to exist between country and town.

(17) Increase in the monetary earnings of the collective farmers.

Professor Moiseyev's interesting work also contains, in addition to the description of the reforms in agrarian structure and in agriculture in Russia since 1917, a whole series of dogmatic affirmations which do not properly belong to sociology. His work clearly demonstrates a truth which is already known: that the better distribution of land and efficient organisation of agriculture and of social relations bring about an increase in agricultural production and the material and cultural betterment of the country people; but this does not necessarily mean that all these things can only be achieved as a result of collectivization of land, labour and farm implements and under the direction of the State.

It is true that cooperative organisation in the capitalist world suffers many failures but it also enjoys not a few successes. Furthermore,

the "kolkhoz" does not appear to be infallible since Professor Moiseyev also says that there are still some "with a low level of production and showing little profit". The system in general is not completely satisfactory since the author adds that "the general volume of agricultural production does not yet completely satisfy the country's requirements".

It is also true that in many capitalist countries agriculture does not satisfy the requirements of their respective populations; but this is not the fault of the capitalist system but is dependent upon a series of errors, injustices and departures from its principles, all of which can be corrected by means of a properly organised social policy. In the U.S.A.—which is a capitalist country *par excellence*—the agricultural production is not only enough to satisfy the requirements of the population, but enormous quantities of wheat, maize and other agricultural produce are exported to make up for the deficiencies in the agriculture of other countries. In the U.S.A. the economic and cultural position of the rural workers is very satisfactory as a direct result of their flourishing agriculture.

XI

The changes in agrarian structure studied by the thirteen papers submitted to this section of the Third World Sociological Congress are extremely dissimilar and teach us that these changes are very varied, that they can arise from various causes and that they have repercussions in very diverse aspects of social life. As agrarian structure is the fundamental basis of subsistence of the majority of countries in the world, the study of the changes recorded in same is of the greatest importance as these changes may cause disagreements, friction, lack of balance, often serious crises, which taken together imperil the internal social stability of peoples and endanger international peace.

Accordingly, it seems to us essential to recommend the systematic scientific study of the changes in agrarian structure in each country and its correlation with other social changes, in order to determine causes and effects and, by the comparative method, to find the constant and prevailing factor in both with the object of defining, if possible, the principles governing them. But this will only succeed if a large-scale international programme of properly financed and managed investigations is organised and carried out, which will surely redound to the benefit of Sociology as a science and of its pragmatic applications.

NOTES

¹ Joseph B. Gittler, *Social Dynamics*, McGraw Hill Book Company Inc., New York, Toronto, London 1952, p. 241, *et seq.*

² Joseph B. Gittler, *op. cit.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ L. L. Bernard, *Introduction to Sociology*, New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1942.

⁵ Gillin and Gillin, *An Introduction to Sociology*, The Macmillan Co., 1942, p. 482.

⁶ S. C. Dube, *op. cit.*

⁷ P. A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture and Personality: their Structure and Dynamics*, Harper, New York and London, p. 258.

⁸ Max Weber, "Economía y Sociedad", *Fondo de Cultura Económica* (Economy and Society), Mexico, vol. II, p. 112, etc.

⁹ S. C. Dube, *op. cit.*

¹⁰ Tarlok Singh, *op. cit.*

¹¹ A. R. Desai, *op. cit.*

¹² Emilio Durkheim, *La División del Trabajo Social*, Ed. Daniel Jorro, Madrid, 1928, p. 35.

¹³ S. M. Akhtar, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ Dr. K. Twum Barima, *op. cit.*

¹⁵ Dr. H. J. Heeren, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ Lucio Mendieta y Núñez, *Introduction to the Study of Agrarian Law*, Porrúa Hnos. y Cía, México.

¹⁷ E. Abma and J. H. Lijfering, *op. cit.*

¹⁸ Dr. Bernardino C. Horne, *op. cit.*

¹⁹ Dr. Jorge Patrón Irigoyen, *op. cit.*

²⁰ Guido Miglioli, *La Colectivización de los campos soviéticos*, Ed. Claridad, Buenos Aires, p. 26, *et seq.*

²¹ M. Moiseyev, *op. cit.*

Théorie de la rente foncière et sociologie rurale

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I

Dans le domaine de la sociologie rurale, le moindre contact avec les faits détruit une opinion pourtant communément reçue.

Dans le temps, l'agriculture a précédé l'industrie; dans l'espace, encore aujourd'hui, un océan de production agricole entoure quelques continents et quelques îles de vie urbaine et de production industrielle. On se figure donc généralement la vie rurale et la structure agraire comme plus simples que la vie "moderne" des villes et des usines.

En fait, la sociologie rurale a affaire à des réalités d'une extrême complexité. D'autant plus complexes que des mouvements contradictoires l'agitent. Non seulement le sociologue rural se trouve devant des structures datant de divers âges de l'histoire (par exemple devant des structures se rattachant historiquement au Moyen-Age) mais il se trouve devant des formes et structures en décomposition, mêlées à des formes et structures nouvelles.

Il n'y a pas grande chose de commun entre le village du Nord-Est de la France (de forte structure communautaire, mais profondément remaniée par la grande agriculture moderne) et le village individualiste mais stagnant ou dépérissant du Midi. Il n'y a pas grande chose de commun entre le village français en général, et le village du Sud de l'Italie ou de l'Espagne, véritable ville agraire, d'où partent (chaque matin, ou chaque début de semaine) des milliers d'ouvriers agricoles qui vont travailler sur des "latifundia", souvent très loin de leur domicile.

Entre les branches de la sociologie, la sociologie rurale se trouve aujourd'hui peut-être plus que les autres mêlée à la vie, à l'action pratique, à l'efficacité. *Les réformes agraires*, à l'ordre du jour dans une grande partie du monde, ne peuvent s'accomplir sans les sociologues, parce qu'elles posent des problèmes sociologiques. Par exemple, au cours des tentatives (bien incomplètes, bien insuffisantes jusqu'ici) de transformer la structure agraire du Sud de l'Italie, il a fallu faire appel aux sociologues pour étudier comment l'ouvrier agricole des gros villages peut devenir un petit agriculteur détenant une exploitation individuelle. Autre exemple; en Hongrie, dans la plaine, les paysans traditionnellement passaient l'hiver dans une ville agraire (Szegeđ, etc.) puis au printemps réoccupaient leurs exploitations extrêmement dispersées ("tanyas"). Comment mettre fin à cette tradition, à ce

demi-nomadisme, et les fixer au sol, et regrouper en villages modernisés les "tanyas" ?

Nous ne faisons ici allusion qu'à des structures proches de nous. Si nous parlions de l'Asie (Inde, Chine, etc.) ce serait encore bien plus compliqué.

La sociologie rurale décrit donc des phénomènes complexes. Elle tente de les pénétrer en profondeur. Mais bientôt, elle découvre des sédiments, pour ainsi dire, qui ne relèvent pas de la description, qui appartiennent à un autre domaine. Notamment à l'*histoire*. Le sociologue, s'il veut comprendre et connaître, doit se doubler d'un historien. Comment comprendre la structure agraire de l'Italie du Sud sans l'*histoire* ?

Mais les faits historiques eux-mêmes ont besoin d'une analyse et d'une explication. Où la trouver ? ou du moins dans quelle direction ?

La thèse ici soutenue, est la suivante: la sociologie rurale, en pénétrant en profondeur dans les faits sociologiques et historiques, se trouve devant des faits et des lois économiques, et finalement devant une théorie d'économie-politique, la théorie de la *rente foncière*, seule explicative des faits historiques et sociaux, de la structure constatée et décrite précédemment.

II

La théorie de la *rente foncière* naquit en Angleterre. Marx et Engels la considéraient comme un très grand apport des économistes anglais "classiques" à la science, et cela, parce que, "*dans la seule Angleterre existait un mode de production où la rente foncière s'était effectivement séparée du profit et de l'intérêt*".¹

Marx a repris et développé la théorie de la rente foncière élaborée par James Anderson, par Adam Smith, et surtout par Ricardo. Il l'a profondément modifiée, et d'abord en critiquant la fameuse loi de productivité décroissante du sol (les progrès techniques de l'agriculture moderne ont confirmé cette réfutation). Marx a montré que la notion de rente *différentielle* introduite par Ricardo devait elle-même se différencier, en ce sens qu'il existe plusieurs rentes différentielles (la rente A venant des différences naturelles entre les sols: fertilité inégale, situations diverses par rapport aux marchés et voies de communication—la rente B provenant des différences de productivité des capitaux successivement investis sur le même sol).

D'après Marx enfin, aux rentes *différentielles* s'ajoute la rente *absolue*, prélevée par le propriétaire du sol, même si le sol reste en friche (improductif); cette rente absolue n'a donc aucun rapport avec le prix des produits agricoles, ni avec le profit du fermier capitaliste investissant son capital sur le sol.

Marx a confirmé une vue importante de Ricardo: le propriétaire foncier (historiquement d'origine féodale, bien que la bourgeoisie ait en beaucoup d'endroits du globe relayé et remplacé les féodaux "latifundiaires") tend à prélever la totalité de la rente, en ne laissant à

l'exploitant qu'un minimum: profit moyen de son capital, salaire du travail accompli. C'est ainsi que Marx a répondu d'une manière nouvelle et scientifiquement approfondie au grand problème posé par Ricardo: comment se distribuent les "revenus" selon les classes de la population.

Fait curieux. Les économistes contemporains laissent souvent de côté la théorie de la rente. Elle a pourtant joué un grand rôle dans la formation du "marginalisme". Mais les marginalistes se contentent d'indiquer le rôle joué par les entreprises "marginales" (petite agriculture) dans la formation des prix agricoles. Ils laissent de côté l'essentiel: la source des "revenus" et leur répartition.²

La notion même de rente foncière s'est obscurcie. En Italie, où les Instituts de recherches agraires sont particulièrement actifs et bien équipés, il n'est plus guère question officiellement que de "revenu foncier"; et l'on étudie ce revenu globalement par hectare de terre, de sorte que l'on ne connaît ni son origine ni sa répartition (ce qui va aux propriétaires et ce qui va aux diverses catégories d'exploitants).

Ces derniers temps, en France, l'étude de la rente foncière a repris vitalité et actualité. Pourquoi? parce que les problèmes paysans se posent avec une acuité croissante. La Société française d'économie rurale a publié deux études: *Rente foncière et revenu agricole* et *Le problème de la rente du sol*. Etudes assez confuses, se rattachant à Ricardo sans tenir compte de la critique marxiste. Les auteurs de ces travaux pressentent l'importance de la question, mais se heurtent à un fait simple: la rente foncière proprement dite (celle des propriétaires fonciers) ne représente en France que 2% du revenu national. Comment donc peut-elle avoir une influence sur la structure agraire? Comment se relie-t-elle aux questions qui agitent les paysans français?

Pendant ce temps, la théorie de la rente foncière est étudiée et approfondie mais dans des pays plus éloignés, en Chine notamment (où l'économiste et sociologue Tchen-Po-Ta vient de publier un remarquable travail sur la question).

III

En effet, telle qu'elle se trouve dans Ricardo, et ensuite chez Marx, la théorie de la rente foncière est aujourd'hui incomplète et inutilisable. Et c'est dans l'œuvre de Lénine qu'il faut chercher le complément indispensable et la forme scientifique moderne—applicable à d'immenses régions—de la théorie.

Marx a décrit et analysé l'introduction dans l'agriculture du capitalisme de la libre concurrence. Or le capitalisme a changé de structure: il s'est transformé en capitalisme de monopoles. Marx, d'autre part, a considéré (comme Ricardo) la classe des agrariens d'origine féodale, comme classe dominante, mais spécialement parasitaire, à côté de celle des capitalistes; or, depuis cette époque, sans disparaître dans de nombreux pays (Italie, Espagne, pays musulmans, Inde, etc.) cette classe de propriétaires fonciers s'est partiellement fusionnée avec celle des

capitalistes. Enfin, l'industrialisation de l'agriculture s'est accentuée par places, sans d'ailleurs pour cela supprimer les vestiges du passé tels que la propriété de type "latifundiaire", ou la petite propriété. Cependant, plus qu'autrefois, il faut distinguer les problèmes de la *propriété* et ceux de l'*exploitation*. On a vu surgir ici ou là, mais notamment en France (dans la région parisienne et le Nord) un type social nouveau : le grand fermier capitaliste, parfois possesseur de terres et parfois non, qui dirige une entreprise industrialisée et prend en location des terres appartenant à un grand nombre de petits et moyens propriétaires ayant abandonné l'agriculture.³

Dans ses travaux sur la question agraire, Lénine⁴ tenant compte de beaucoup de faits nouveaux, parvient aux conclusions suivantes :

(1) Dans la structure agraire des pays capitalistes ou soumis au capitalisme, coexistent des formations appartenant à tous les âges de l'histoire, à tous les moments successifs du développement social (communauté rurale ou archaïque, plus ou moins décomposée—structure féodale, différente dans les pays occidentaux, musulmans, asiatiques—petite propriété, d'origine parfois antérieure au capitalisme, et parfois liée au capitalisme, comme en France où la Révolution de 1789 a donné une partie de la terre aux paysans—grande exploitation et grande propriété capitaliste).

A cette liste, nous devons ajouter aujourd'hui la coopération de divers types (capitaliste, semi-capitaliste, semi-socialiste, socialiste).

Dans les pays capitalistes, et quelles que soient les inégalités de développement, la propriété et l'exploitation de type capitalistes tendent à se subordonner les autres formes d'exploitation et de propriété. A cette proposition, Lénine donne la valeur et la portée d'une *loi objective*.

(2) L'introduction du capitalisme dans l'agriculture se traduit par un *double monopole* (ce mot désignant la prédominance d'un groupe, d'une classe, et non d'un seul homme). Au monopole d'origine féodale s'ajoute le monopole capitaliste ; ces deux monopoles, suivant les pays et régions, se combattent, ou se combinent ensemble, ou s'allient. Mais malgré la variété des combinaisons ils existent à peu près partout et exercent une puissante pression sur les autres formes d'exploitation et de propriété.

(3) Le double monopole (avec ses combinaisons variées) remanie donc à la fois la structure agraire et la distribution du "revenu", c'est-à-dire de la rente foncière.

Le grand agriculteur capitaliste, propriétaire ou exploitant, arrive non seulement à prélever le profit moyen du capital investi, mais une part considérable et parfois la totalité de la rente. Plus des surprofits permanents, obtenus par les bas salaires des ouvriers agricoles, par le faible coût de production des entreprises puissamment mécanisées, par la manipulation des prix sur le marché, les contingentements et tarifs douaniers, les conditions de crédit, etc.

IV

Cette théorie explique de façon satisfaisante un grand nombre de faits que constatent économistes et sociologues.

Elle explique pourquoi la rente foncière au sens étroit (rente du propriétaire non capitaliste) est tombée en France à 2% du revenu national, alors que le revenu de ceux qui bénéficient de la rente au sens défini ci-dessus (y compris donc les exploitants capitalistes) est beaucoup plus élevé. On manque d'ailleurs de chiffres précis, car les statistiques ne permettent d'atteindre que le revenu global des exploitants de toutes catégories. Mais on voit les efforts des économistes qui, devant les faits, créent de nouvelles notions, très confuses, destinées dans leur esprit à remplacer la notion classique de rente foncière (par exemple la notion de "rente technique" pour l'exploitation capitaliste industrialisée, ce qui dissimule la véritable nature du revenu, sa source et sa distribution, ainsi que la véritable structure agraire du pays).

A notre avis, la théorie marxiste développée s'applique et se vérifie de façon générale.

Contentons-nous ici de mentionner quelques faits empruntés à la structure agraire de la France :

(1) Dans certaines régions comme la Bretagne, le monopole d'origine féodale reste puissant et parfois prédominant (encore que battu en brèche depuis quelques années par la croissance d'une grande agriculture capitaliste). Dans une telle région, les "nobles" agrariens et les propriétaires bourgeois acheteurs de domaines féodaux occupent encore de fortes positions. Ce qui n'empêche pas, bien entendu, l'existence d'une poussière de petites propriétés et de petites exploitations en fermage autour des grands domaines. La pression démographique aidant, la rente foncière au sens strict—allant au propriétaire foncier—est forte. Les villages sont très peuplés, dominés par le "château". Un certain caractère archaïque s'y maintient, avec forte influence du clergé catholique. L'excédent démographique émigre de façon définitive ou non (marine, travaux saisonniers). Cependant, des tendances nouvelles dues à l'agriculture mécanisée et à une certaine industrialisation combattent le traditionnalisme.

(2) Dans la région parisienne, le Nord et une partie de l'Est, le monopole capitaliste domine. C'est là que l'on peut étudier ce type social nouveau, déjà mentionné : le puissant exploitant capitaliste, possesseur d'une "usine à blé" et à betteraves, souvent associé au capitalisme industriel et financier (fabrication du sucre, de l'alcool, etc.). Parfois il est propriétaire, parfois non ; mais presque toujours il est locataire de champs appartenant à de nombreux propriétaires petits ou moyens. Fait curieux : les propriétaires ne sont que de petites gens devant leur locataire. Dans cette région, la concentration de l'exploitation devient énorme et dépasse de beaucoup la concentration de la propriété. De nombreuses exploitations englobent le territoire d'un village entier, et même s'étendent au delà. Les villages se dépeuplent.

Des ouvriers agricoles (logés ou non dans l'exploitation) ont remplacé l'ancienne population de paysans exploitants, d'artisans. Ces ouvriers sont souvent d'origine étrangère, mal payés, vivant dans des conditions déplorables. Cependant, une " élite " nouvelle se forme : mécaniciens et conducteurs de tracteurs, spécialistes, techniciens de l'élevage scientifique, etc.

(3) La moitié Sud de la France représente dans l'ensemble, et de plus en plus nettement, une zone sous-développée, dont la structure agraire se décompose. L'examen détaillé montre, dans le retard général, une grande diversité. Dans certains secteurs, le monopole féodal reste puissant ; le métayage (mode de tenure arriéré et semi-féodal) persiste, par exemple, dans le Sud-Ouest. Dans d'autres secteurs, et même dans une partie du secteur viticole, la petite et moyenne propriété résistent mais végètent lamentablement. Enfin, dans les secteurs de cultures spécialisées (vigne, fruits, légumes, et primeurs, fleurs) s'instaure la grande exploitation capitaliste, mais parfois sur une surface réduite. Il est clair que dix hectares de primeurs ou de cultures florales constituent une grosse exploitation exigeant des capitaux considérables. (Or, dans les statistiques, ces exploitations sont groupées avec les petites exploitations de polyculture familiale, ce qui gêne considérablement l'interprétation des données numériques !)

De toutes façons les secteurs où prédominent la petite exploitation, la petite propriété, la polyculture familiale, sont en pleine décadence. Les statistiques font apparaître une baisse du revenu global des départements considérés, allant jusqu'à 7% en vingt ans pour le Sud-Ouest.

Les villages se dépeuplent, pour des raisons multiples (faible natalité, départs, émigration définitive).

Dans cette région qui d'une façon générale s'appauvrit, la richesse se concentre dans quelques villes où vivent les propriétaires du sol donné en métayage, ou des exploitations modernisées les plus importantes. Ces villes sont en même temps des marchés (Toulouse, Perpignan, Montpellier, etc.), et des centres administratifs.

Il se passe donc un processus complexe et contradictoire, que seule la théorie de la rente foncière permet d'expliquer.

V. CONCLUSION

Les considérations théoriques et les faits concrets ci-dessus mentionnés semblent donc confirmer scientifiquement la position indiquée au début de cette étude.

Le sociologue rural se trouve devant des phénomènes extrêmement divers, dans lesquels il doit s'efforcer de mettre de l'ordre. Il commence par décrire, mais bientôt se trouve devant des problèmes qui dépassent la simple description, qui exigent un autre instrument d'investigation que l'empirisme. En pénétrant en profondeur dans les phénomènes pour atteindre leurs lois, il se trouve devant un processus à la fois

historique, économique, et social. Pour connaître ce processus objectif, il lui faut une théorie.

Dans le domaine de la sociologie rurale, cette théorie existe : c'est celle de la rente foncière, développée à partir des économistes classiques par les marxistes.

NOTES

¹ Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, II, 10.

² Signalons cependant quelques travaux intéressants aux U.S.A., Notamment "The Concept of Economic Surplus" (*American Economic Review*, December 1945, pp. 851-869), par Boulding; et "Technical Progress, Costs and Rents", par G. F. Bloom (*Economica*, IX, 1942, pp. 40-52); H. W. Singer, "An Index of Urban Land Rents and House Rents in England and Wales, 1845-1913" (*Economica*, IX, 1941, pp. 221-230, etc.).

³ J'ai étudié ce "type" social dans plusieurs villages de Seine-et-Marne, de l'Aisne, de l'Oise (région nord et nord-est de Paris).

⁴ Lenine, *Oeuvres*, 4th edition russe, t. IV, pp. 89-141; t. V, pp. 87-202; t. XXII, pp. 1-89, etc.

Experiments in Land Reform in Pakistan¹

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We shall use the term land reform to include all measures taken by the state to improve the structure of property rights in land and the conditions of its use. Thus it will include changes in property rights and in the terms of tenancy with a view to improving the productivity of the soil and the status of the cultivator. Land reform in this sense has followed two broad lines :

(a) Legislative measures aiming at imparting security of tenure, fixing reasonable rents and prohibiting in other ways exploitation of the tenant by the landlord.

(b) Changes in the rights of ownership, mainly in the sense of abolition of all interests which stand between the state and the actual tiller of the soil. Measures of the first type have been introduced both in East Pakistan (East Bengal) and West Pakistan, while those of the second type have been taken only in the former and still await to be taken in the latter.

TENANCY REFORM IN EAST PAKISTAN

Bengal (of which most of the Pakistan Province of East Bengal was a part until the Partition) was the first among the provinces of India to resort to tenancy legislation to protect the interests of the tenant class. By the Permanent Settlement of 1793, the land revenue was fixed in perpetuity at 10/11 of the rental as it was at that time. The *Zamindar* (landlord) had to collect it and pay it before the appointed hour otherwise the estate was liable to be auctioned. The Zamindar was therefore very strict in such collections. Though it was intended that the rights of the tenant would be secured, this was not effected until the middle of the 19th Century, when the first Act (The Bengal Rent Act of 1859) was passed. This was later amended by the Tenancy Act of 1885. This Act provided that every cultivator who had held land in a village for 12 years acquired thereby an occupancy right in it. Most of the tenants (locally called *ryots*) acquired rights of occupancy and thus could not be ejected from their tenancies, except in execution of a decree of a competent court. Further, their rents could not be enhanced at shorter intervals than five years. In 1907 by an amending Act landlords were given greater facilities for the collection of rents but safeguards were introduced against enhancement of rents by collusive compromises. In 1928 another Tenancy Act was passed which gave the right of transfer of holding to the tenant subject to the payment of a fee but also gave the landlord the right of pre-emption. The Act also protected the rights of under-tenants since in many cases these were the

real cultivators. Then followed the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1938 which abolished illegal exactions and cesses imposed by the landlord on the tenant, gave the tenant the right to recover his alluvial land within 20 years on payment of four years' rent, conferred the same right on the under-ryot which had been enjoyed so far only by the occupancy tenants, and reduced the rate of interest payable on arrears of rent to $6\frac{1}{4}\%$. The Pakistan Province of East Bengal inherited these laws.

In the meantime the Permanent Settlement came under the fire of criticism due to many undesirable developments that had resulted from it. It was condemned by a Commission in 1940. This movement ultimately culminated in the passing of the East Bengal State Acquisition and Tenancy Act of 1951 which provided for its abolition. We shall come to this matter, which relates to the second category of measures of land reform, later in this paper.

TENANCY REFORM IN WEST PAKISTAN

West Pakistan until the middle of October last, consisted of three major provinces (Punjab, North West Frontier Province and Sind) called the Governor's Provinces, Baluchistan, administered directly by the Central Government through an Agent-to-the-Governor-General, and a number of states headed by hereditary rulers and enjoying a high degree of internal autonomy, but under the control of the Pakistan Government in external matters. Bahawalpur was the largest of these states. Now this whole region has been integrated into one unit which is a Governor's province with a parliamentary form of government on the same pattern as the previous governors' provinces. We shall, however, discuss the land reform measures with reference to separate provinces because the laws concerned were passed by Provincial legislatures to suit local conditions.

At the time of independence the position with respect to land tenure in West Pakistan was as follows. About 60 per cent. of the cultivated area was under tenancy and a high proportion of it was owned by large absentee landlords. The proportion varied from province to province. As regards the three major provinces, estimates for which are available, in the Punjab about 62 per cent. of the total cultivated area (about 14.6 million acres) was being cultivated by tenants-at-will, 6 per cent. by occupancy tenants and remaining 32 per cent. by peasant proprietors. In the North West Frontier Province of the total of 2.6 million acres 47 per cent. was under tenants-at-will, 11 per cent. under occupancy tenants and 42 per cent. was directly cultivated by owners. In Sind 80 per cent. of the total area (5.4 million acres) was under tenants-at-will and 20 per cent. was cultivated by peasant proprietors. The small owner-cultivators and occupancy tenants who were practically owners had their problems of small and fragmented holdings, meagre financial resources, etc., but the position of the tenants-at-will was the least enviable. They had no security of tenure beyond one year. Their

only claims recognized by law (in the Punjab and N.W.F.P. only) were to uncut crops sown by them and to the cost of preparing land which they might have failed to sow due to ejection. These rights had been granted to them under the Tenancy Act of 1887 which applied to the Punjab and N.W.F.P. In Sind the tenant did not have any rights granted by law.

TENANCY LEGISLATION IN SIND

It was thus in Sind that the move for tenancy reform originated so far as the areas constituting West Pakistan are concerned. It was as early as March, 1942, that a Committee was appointed to go into the question of granting tenancy rights to the *Haris*—the name given to tenants-at-will in that province. The Committee favoured the conferment of tenancy rights on *Haris* who had personally cultivated four acres of land annually for the same landlord for a continuous period of eight years. The *Hari* thus protected could not be evicted except on specified grounds. No action, however, was taken on this report. Another Committee was appointed in March, 1947, and reported in January, 1948. By this time Pakistan had become a separate state with Sind as one of its provinces. The Committee had “most serious objections to the grant of permanent land rights in holdings defined by meters and bounds”.² The majority, however, was of the view “that Government should legislate through a Tenancy Rights Act to take powers to regulate *Batai* (crop sharing) practices of cultivation and to grant rights to *Haris*”.

In 1950, the first Tenancy Act was passed (The Sind Tenancy Act, 1950) and later amended. It abolishes illegal charges, fines, etc., and gives permanent rights to cultivators who have cultivated a “Survey Number” or at least four acres of land for a continuous period of not less than three years. If he has cultivated different pieces of land for the same landlord he is entitled to cultivate as much land as constitutes a “family holding” as defined in the Act. All tenants other than permanent tenants remain tenants-at-will and have security of tenure only for one year.

It is doubtful whether the Act has given any substantial security, even to the so-called protected tenants. In the first place, as a Minister of the province said recently, “a Zamindar would not allow a tenant to cultivate a particular piece of land for more than two years, for that would entitle the peasant to permanent tenancy rights, which contingency must be avoided”. Further, even those few who would get such rights would be unable to assert themselves in practice because of their ignorance and illiteracy and the landlords’ political and social influence. The *Hari* Committee in fact recognized that even after acquiring permanent rights the landlord could harass the *Hari* “to an extent which may lead to the voluntary abandonment of his rights”. Sir Malcolm Darling in his recent survey³ found *Haris* ignorant of the rights conferred on them by law and the landlords turning them out and

illegal cesses still being charged by the landlord. Thus tenancy legislation has not done much to improve things for the tenant in Sind.

TENANCY LEGISLATION IN THE PUNJAB

In the Punjab a Tenancy Laws Enquiry Committee was appointed by the Government in 1949, the Chairman being one of the biggest landlords of the province. The main recommendations of the Committee related to the grant of adequate security to the tenant-at-will, abolition of occupancy tenancy and of illegal exactions.

The first post-partition Tenancy Acts in the Punjab were passed in 1950. They were promulgated by the Governor because the province was being administered under the emergency section 92-A of the constitution. The Punjab Tenancy Act of 1950 sought to abolish the various cesses which the landlords were claiming from their tenants. The Punjab Protection and Restoration of Tenancy Rights Act (1950), was necessitated by a large number of evictions which took place in the Punjab early in 1950 as a reaction to the enactment of the Sind Tenancy Act. The Punjab landlords feared a similar measure conferring occupancy rights on their old tenants. The Punjab Act placed restrictions on the rights of private owners of agricultural land to evict their tenants summarily. It set aside with retrospective effect all such evictions. Grounds for eviction were specified. In 1952 the Punjab Tenancy (Amendment) Act, 1952, was passed by the provincial legislature (now restored) which aimed at turning occupancy tenants into owners, fixed the landlords' share at 40 per cent. of the gross produce instead of the generally prevailing 50 per cent. and regulated the "self-cultivated" area which could be held by the landlord and to which the provisions of the Act do not apply.

There have been practical difficulties in the implementation of the provisions of the Act. Those relating to the abolition of occupancy tenants provide for division of the land concerned between the landlord and the tenant in proportion to the produce shared by them. The tenant not only wants to have his share of the land but also insists on continuing as tenant on the landlords' share and thus on enjoying the protection the Act gives to the tenants. The provision regarding the reduction of the landlords' share to 40 per cent. instead of 50 per cent. is marred by the further provision that the tenant shall be liable to a proportionate share of Government dues. In some areas the provision is not being implemented. The tenants rather than earning the ill-will of the landlord prefer to give him 50 per cent. of the gross produce. Further confusion is caused by the provision regarding the fixing of "self-cultivation". Areas thus reserved are exempt from the provisions of the Act. From such areas the landlord can eject tenants and substitute agricultural workers to carry on the work on terms agreed upon by the parties. According to this provision no person owning more than 100 acres of land can have in his possession for personal cultivation any irrigated cultivable land exceeding 50 acres, or 75 acres

of semi-irrigated land or 100 acres of unirrigated land. Each landlord is required to declare areas which he wishes to reserve for his personal cultivation. The last date for such a declaration is being extended again and again. The reason for such extension is the fear of widespread evictions of tenants from such areas on the part of the landlords, which might create a critical situation. Since personal cultivation has not been declared and areas reserved for personal cultivation are exempt from the provision of the Act fixing 40 per cent. as share of the landlord, the result is that this share is not being enforced in practice.

On the whole, therefore, the Punjab Tenancy Reforms have not produced satisfactory results. On the contrary they have created tensions between the landlord and the tenant. The tenant feels that he is, for all practical purposes, the owner of the land, since it is difficult to evict him. He grudges payment of even the legitimate rent. The landlord on the other hand feels that he has been practically dispossessed of his property rights in land. Who has the upper hand in this struggle, depends upon whether the landlord is a big Zamindar or a small man. If tenancy is to continue the rights of property in the land must belong to the landlord and it should be possible for him to change a bad tenant without undue trouble. The tenant on the other hand should have a reasonable degree of security in order to induce him to make investments in the land. The other alternative is to abolish tenancy altogether and pay off the absentee landlord, making the tenant the owner in return for a reasonable price.

TENANCY REFORM IN N.W.F.P.

In the North West Frontier Province also the first tenancy law was passed in 1950. This Act granted security of tenure to all the tenant-at-will for three years and conferred full proprietary rights on the occupancy tenants. Where such tenants were paying a cash rent the landlords were to be compensated for their loss. Where the rent was in produce the land was to be divided in proportion to the share of the produce accruing to each party. The provisions of the Act are being carried out satisfactorily. Occupancy tenants have become proprietors through paying compensation to landlords where the latter were receiving rents in cash and through parcelling of land where rents were a proportion of the produce, and without compensation where nothing was being paid to the landlord. Since the landlord can change the tenant after three years (and no landlord would change a good tenant) the relations between the parties have also not been spoiled as has happened in the Punjab. The problem of large absentee landlords, however, still remains unsolved. The tenant is still his creature and is not living a self-respecting independent existence. Moreover, incentives for adequate investment are lacking both for the tenant and the large landowner.

No tenancy laws exist for other areas of West Pakistan. Now that the entire region has become one province, the tenancy laws will presumably

be consolidated and a uniform law evolved. But the question is, whether tenancy legislation is the final solution of the problems created by the feudalistic elements in the agrarian set-up of the country. It appears that more radical changes in the structure of rights in land are indicated.

A feeling is growing in the country that absentee landlords are an anachronism and that there must be a reasonable ceiling on the amount of landed property held by any one individual. Some would like to nationalize land altogether and turn the tenants on private estates into state tenants. It is not possible for us to go into the details of the possible schemes which could replace the present system. In East Pakistan, however, a more radical step has been taken, to the consideration of which we now return.

LAND REFORM IN EAST BENGAL

The Commission which reported in 1940, under the Chairmanship of Sir Francis Floud, recommended the termination of the Permanent Settlement and its replacement by a "Ryotwari System" under which all intermediaries between the cultivator and the state—which sometimes were as many as fifty—would be abolished. These intermediaries had arisen because of the large margin between the rents collected from the cultivator on the one hand and the meagre land revenue fixed in perpetuity as long ago as 1793 on the other, when the productivity of land was extremely low and so was the price of the produce. The system not only robbed the state of its legitimate share of revenue but also was a serious barrier in the way of all agricultural progress. The Commission claimed that when Government became the sole landlord, it would be in a stronger position than private landlords to initiate schemes for consolidation of holdings, to create and maintain economic holdings, to provide for grazing land, to take steps to prevent the transfer of agricultural land to non-agriculturists, to introduce a rational system of assessment of rents, and to undertake measures for improving the general economic position of the cultivator. Thus the results expected from land reform were not primarily the increase in the revenues of the state, but the opening up of possibilities of a more progressive agriculture and a more prosperous peasantry. The views of the Commission were ultimately accepted and led to the framing of the Bengal State Acquisition and Tenancy Bill of 1947. But before it could be passed partition of the country took place. Immediately after partition, however, a fresh Bill was framed on the same lines and this ultimately became the East Bengal State Acquisition and Tenancy Act (1950). It received the Governor-General's assent in 1951.

This Act provides for a radical reform of the land tenure system of East Bengal. Under its provisions all rent-receiving interests between the cultivating tenant and the state are to be acquired by the state. Big Zamindar estates, including the estates under the management of the Court of Wards, of which collection-papers are well maintained,

can be acquired immediately under summary procedure provided in chapter II of the Act. The remaining rent-receiving interests may be acquired on an area basis under chapter V. The latter method of acquisition involves the preparation (or revision) of records of rights through comprehensive surveys carried out for the purpose. As soon as the intermediary interests have been acquired, the tenants holding the land become the tenants of the state, to whom henceforth the rents are payable. The outgoing rent-receivers are entitled to compensation calculated according to the provisions of the Act. The Rules framed under the Act lay down procedure for the fixation of rents and preparation of compensation assessment rolls. The compensation is to be a multiple of the estimated net income from the land accruing to the dispossessed intermediary. The compensation is to be paid partly in cash and partly in non-negotiable bonds carrying 3 per cent. interest payable in not more than forty annual instalments. The Act further provides a ceiling for the possession of land on the part of an occupant. This is either 100 standard bighas (about 30 acres) or 10 bighas per family member, whichever is greater, plus an additional area, not exceeding 10 standard bighas, covered by the homestead. Land in excess of these limits is to be acquired by the state in return for a compensation, for distribution among cultivator families owning uneconomic holdings and landless agriculturists. The Act further regulates the terms and conditions of holding lands on the part of the tenants of the State. They would enjoy full occupancy rights, with right of transfer provided it is made to a bona-fide cultivator. Sub-letting is forbidden. Provision is also made for the scaling down of debts incurred by the rent-receivers, payment for which cannot exceed half the compensation money. Restrictions are put on sub-division of holdings and provision made for their consolidation under certain conditions.

It will be seen that the Act is a very progressive measure and if implemented would open up possibilities of agricultural progress in the province on the lines visualised by the Floud Commission. But the trouble has been that the pace of implementation has been extremely slow, particularly as regards the comprehensive acquisition on area basis. Less than 5 per cent. of the area has been settled so far and even for this area practically no compensation has yet been paid to the outgoing intermediaries. It has been easy to acquire larger estates under summary provisions, particularly of those Zamindars who have migrated to India. Even in such cases, while rents have been collected and used as part of the ordinary provincial budget, no compensation has been paid. The main bottleneck has been the lack of trained personnel to carry on the surveys and assessments, etc., necessary for implementing the Act on area basis. Finance has been another bottle-neck. The province has been in need of funds for various purposes and the additional revenues collected from the acquired estates have been used up for purposes other than the implementation of the Act. The province applied for a loan of Rs. 15 crores from the Central Government. So

far no decision has been made on this matter. A more rational approach would have been to have a separate budget head for the implementation of the Act and the first charge on the additional revenues collected under the Act should have been the payment of compensation to the outgoing rent receivers. It is hoped that this principle will be followed in the future. The provincial Chief Minister recently assured the people that the implementation of the Act would be expedited with a view to completing the job in about two years' time. It is doubtful, however, if the pace can be quickened so much because of a serious lack of trained personnel to carry out the various processes involved in implementation.

NOTES

¹ East Pakistan Area	54,501 Sq. Miles	Population	42.06 Million (1951).
West Pakistan Area	310,236	"	33.78 " "
TOTAL Pakistan	364,737	"	75.84 " "

² Report: Hari Enquiry Committee (1948), p. 55.

³ M. L. Darling: *Labour Conditions in Agriculture in Pakistan*, Govt. of Pakistan, 1954, p. 48.

Social Structure and Change in Indian Peasant Communities

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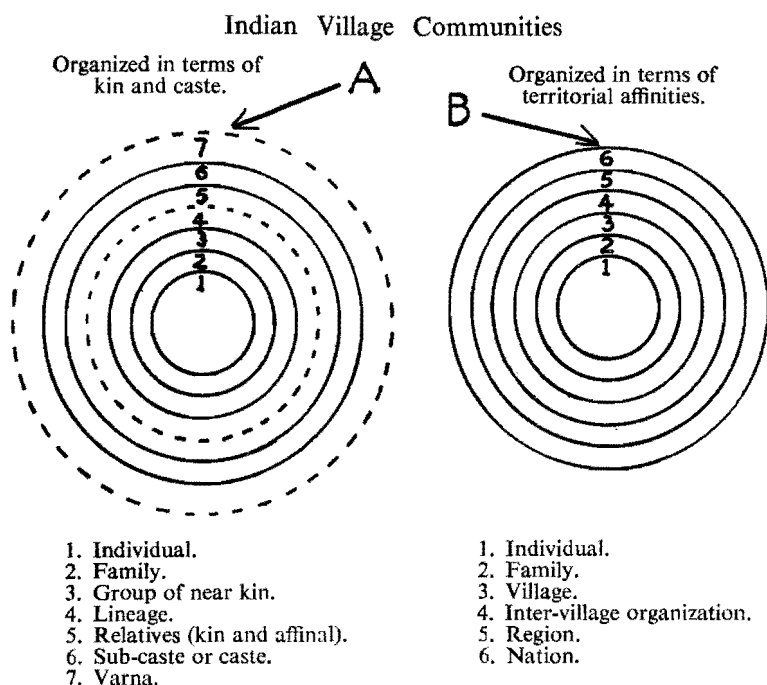
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It is estimated that at present nearly three-quarters of the human race live in villages. In India, a predominantly agricultural and rural country, 295,004,251 people, forming 82.7 per cent of the country's population, are village dwellers, who live in about 558,000 village settlements. Out of a total population of 357 million, 249 million have been classified in the 1951 Census as "agricultural classes", and of these, 240 million, or 96 per cent, live in villages. The rest of the rural population consists mainly of artisan and occupational castes whose economy and activities are largely integrated with the economic and socio-religious life of the peasant communities. Traditional ways of life and thought and traditional structure of society have persisted in the agrarian communities of the land with a remarkable tenacity and strength, although they have not remained wholly uninfluenced by the currents of modern socio-economic forces and technological factors. In this paper I shall outline the social structure of Indian village communities, list some of the more important factors of change, and attempt a broad analysis of the major trends of change.

For an understanding of the structure and problems of Indian village society we have to view the village both as a distinct isolable entity, and as a link in the chain of a wider inter-village organization. An individual village derives some of the characteristic features of its organization from the great national tradition of India, while the traditions of the region or the culture area in which it is located also contribute substantially toward shaping its value-orientation, ethos, and general pattern of life. Notwithstanding these national and regional influences, there is much that is individual to the village ; its pattern of inter-group adjustment gives a certain degree of distinctiveness to the village. The Indian village is thus sufficiently isolable, but it is not an isolate, and has therefore to be viewed as a community within a larger community.

The interplay of several different kinds of solidarities determines the structure and organization of Indian village communities. Kinship, caste, and territorial affinities are the major determinants that shape the social structure of these communities. An individual belongs to a family—nuclear, compound or joint ; and the family belongs to a lineage as well as to a large group of relatives having kin or affinal ties with it. These units belong to an endogamous sub-caste or caste ;

in some instances we find a number of endogamous sub-castes grouped together as a caste. Non-Hindu religious groups in villages tend to function as separate castes. Most of the Hindu castes are fitted into one of the four major divisions of Hindu society, called *varna*. Solidarities provided by kin and caste tend to merge, but those of territorial affinity belong to a different level. An individual and his family belong also to a village, which is often multi-caste in its composition. The village itself is a part of a network of neighbouring villages, the region, and the nation. The structural model of Indian peasant communities can be presented in the following diagram :



In the above diagram dotted circles show the comparatively less effective units of social structure. Non-Hindu groups also fit this scheme. In Diagram A, rather than being described as a "sub-caste" or "caste", they should be called "religious group", and of course they are outside the *varna* organization of Hindu society.

Caste is perhaps the most important single organizing principle in these communities, and it governs to a very considerable degree the organization of kinship and territorial units. In this system of segmentary division of society, the different segments are kept apart by complex observances emerging from an all pervading concept of ritual pollution. The caste divisions are regarded as divinely ordained and are hierarchically graded. The difference between the different

segments is defined by tradition and is regarded as permanent. In inter-group relations the caste structure works according to a set pattern of principles : hierarchy and social distance manifest and express themselves in rules and regulations that are calculated to avoid ritual pollution and maintain ritual purity. Marriage, commensality, and physical contacts particularly are governed by strict rules. It has been pointed out earlier that castes are endogamous. Matrimonial alliances outside the caste are viewed with disapproval and are forbidden by tradition. Complex rules of commensality specify the castes from which a particular caste may accept different kinds of food. Foods are classified into several categories, depending on the degree to which they are susceptible to pollution. Certain types of food get polluted by the touch of a caste lower or simply different from one's own, and one should avoid such foods in certain circumstances as they are then believed to have a polluting effect. Some kinds of food, however, are pollution resistant, and are not defiled by the touch of even very low caste persons. These may be consumed without any fear of pollution even if they are touched by untouchables. Between the easily pollutable and the unpollutable foods there are several intermediate types : foods which are not defiled by the touch of castes having varying degrees of social distance from one's caste, but which become polluted if touched by castes having more than the permitted degree of social distance. In general, polluted food should be refused in order to avoid pollution. Everyday inter-action between the different castes is also governed by caste rules : persons from some castes should never be touched, while physical contact with some others should be avoided under special conditions, such as a state of ritual purity. Caste largely determines occupational choice : with the exception of a few "open" occupations which may be pursued by anyone irrespective of caste, a large number of crafts and occupations are caste monopolies and can be practised only by certain castes. In its functioning an individual caste generally illustrates a distinctive way of life, for different castes have different sets of prescribed norms of conduct and expectations regarding standards of behaviour. These norms and expected standards of behaviour cover such aspects of life as observance of rules of purity (especially those of bathing and washing at appropriate hours), public conduct, and even dress and speech. Another important feature of caste may also be noted in this connection. In new situations demanding group decisions and group action in recent years, caste has shown its dormant strength and has proved itself a cohesive force. Most local, and even some state and national, elections were fought along caste lines, and in these the contestants depended to a great extent on the support of their caste fellows. Within a village the caste system manifests itself as a vertical structure in which individual castes are hierarchically graded and kept permanently apart and at the same time are linked and kept together by some well-defined expectations and obligations which integrate them into the village

social system. The horizontal ties of a caste, too, are important, for a village caste group has strong links with its counterparts in other villages, and in several spheres of life they tend to act together. In order to be able to discharge the control functions implied in the complex norms associated with the system, castes have local and regional organizations and associations which have the authority to enforce the rules and customs of the caste.

The great diversity of forms in the family and kinship organization of Indian peasant communities makes the task of presenting a general account of them somewhat difficult. Contrary to common belief the basic unit of social organization in these communities is not the large joint family, but the nuclear family and the smaller joint family in which only a part of those who should have constituted the ideal larger joint family live together, and even the latter generally breaks up when minors attain maturity and a degree of economic self-sufficiency. Recent village studies have shown that large joint families are relatively few in number and they too are largely confined to the upper i.e., the priestly, trading, and agricultural castes. In some parts of north Indian plains it has been observed that a house is shared by a number of people having close lineal ties, who live not as one family, but as distinct nuclear families organized as separate hearths or *chulhas*. However, very special ties are recognized between a family and the local group of near kin, i.e., all other families lineally related to it up to the third generation. The solidarity between this cluster of families expresses itself on ceremonial occasions and in times of stress and calamity. In the hour of need they must support each other, and mutual consultations among them in regard to all major decisions are regarded as desirable. Informally the local group of near kin functions as an effective agency of social control. The larger circle of relations has more or less the same functions, though physical distance between the different constituent units naturally makes its functioning less effective. The outlook of the people has been distinctly kin-oriented, and in an hour of need or stress they almost instinctively look to their kin for sympathy and support.

The village as a unit of social structure cuts across the boundaries of kin and caste and unites a number of unrelated families within an integrated multicaste community. Structurally the village communities can be divided into three main groups: the "single settlement" village, in which the community shares a common and compact settlement site, the "nucleated" village which has a central settlement as the nucleus around which there are a number of smaller satellite settlements, and the "dispersed" village community, in which the community consists of a series of dispersed homesteads having well defined ties with one another. Both have a number of common features. They are stable populations generally, with a common past and a number of shared values. They recognize and emphasize their individual identity, and in certain situations act as one unit. Their economy is

built largely around agriculture ; economically and socially the agricultural castes are the most important, while the non-agricultural occupations are subsidiary to agriculture. Land is greatly loved and valued, and the community as a whole shares some common problems and acculturative influences. Being largely caste-structured, the community finds itself integrated in terms of traditional patterns that define the interactions between the different segments of the community in the fields of economy, socio-religious life, and village administration. Operating under traditional arrangements, artisan and other occupational castes render services to the agriculturist in their respective fields of specialization; in return the agriculturist gives them a stipulated share of the crops when they are harvested. Socio-religious life, especially ceremonials and rituals connected with birth, puberty, marriage and death, are so organized that they require participation by a large number of castes at various stages. As the rites progress, at different points small fees have to be paid to the castes that are assisting. For these purposes there are established patron-client relationships under which families of occupational castes are affiliated with families of agriculturists ; for services in the socio-religious field even non-agriculturists are covered by these traditional arrangements. Among the occupational castes themselves there is often a barter of their traditional services. A similar integration of various castes and their functions is seen in the organization of village administration and village rituals, in both of which the different castes often have well defined position and functions. A common organized authority of the village gives it a still greater unity, and besides maintaining law and order tries effectively to secure observance of village norms. This invariably consists of influential and responsible members of different castes living in the village.

A word may here be added about other forms of authority. Besides the common village authority referred to above, the head of the family and the head of the caste are also recognized to possess authority and responsibility in the village, and in some parts of India the heads of different castes largely constitute the common authority for the village. Individual castes have their regional councils which often draw their membership from a large number of villages. While the respective spheres of authority for the village council and the caste council are not well defined, in general it can be said that severe breaches of caste rules and norms are heard by caste councils, whereas minor village disputes come before the village council.

This somewhat general outline of the social structure of Indian peasant communities should be taken as a structural model. While few village communities will present exactly the same picture, a large number of them will be found to possess the major characteristics and features delineated above. This structure has been exposed to a number of influences, and the urge for change has come both from within and from without. The western impact on India has brought

in its wake a new administrative pattern resulting in the evolution of a set of executive, judicial, and legislative institutions, and these, along with modern technology, particularly modern systems of transport and communications and industrialization, have given greater national cohesion to the land. Western-type education too has been a significant influence. Nationalist revival manifesting itself partly as a series of movements for internal reform, such as the Arya Samaj and Gandhian campaigns, has set in motion a series of important changes. Nation-building activities of the government in the British days, and intensification of community developmental activities after attainment of national independence too have proved to be powerful influences. Social legislation, greater education, state developmental activities, and a wide series of urban influences are working on the agrarian communities and bringing about change and modification in their social organization and outlook.

As an outcome of the interplay of these forces and factors the social structure and organization of Indian village communities are beginning to change. A number of trends have become visible in recent decades. The first of these is the shift from an ascribed status system to an achieved status system. Ascriptive aspects of social organization have not vanished altogether, but now there is more room for recognition of individual achievements. The society being largely caste-structured, the ascribed or caste status of a person still contributes materially toward determining his status, but there are unmistakable signs that a rival system is growing, which takes sufficient account of an individual's distinctive qualities and attainments in ranking him.

This points toward a weakening of caste structure, as it indicates some change in one of the basic characteristics of caste ; and this indeed is so, although it will be rash to conclude from it that all aspects of caste are becoming weaker. A second major trend of change is that while there is a general loosening of caste structure at one end, there are signs that it is consolidating at the other end in some rather unexpected directions. Rules regarding commensality, social contacts and participation, occupational choice, and general observance of ritual purity have been considerably relaxed. A dual standard of behaviour is gradually coming to be recognized, according to which expected standards of behaviour in these spheres in the rural areas are quite different from those in an urban setting. Adherence to traditional forms is desirable and necessary in the village, but persons going from village to city can take moderately to city ways, although they cannot bring back many of these to the village. Notwithstanding this general relaxation in the rigid operation of caste rules, caste still retains its endogamous character, and even powerful movements of social reform have had little success in changing it in this respect. As pointed out earlier, caste has assumed certain new roles, such as providing solidarity to the caste group to meet new, culturally alien situations. Evidence of casteism in local and state elections has

already been cited, and that illustrates the new direction in which caste has shown its strength.

A third change noticeable practically all over rural India is the general weakening, and even total breakdown of formal authority structure of individual castes. Although in recent years there has been some revival of national, regional, and local caste organizations, mostly on an *ad hoc* basis in the form of conferences, in general we find that caste councils exercising important functions of social control which were effective and powerful five or six decades ago have either weakened very greatly or have ceased to exist. Few cases of the breaches of traditional norms of caste are heard by them, and they rarely exercise their coercive authority. Caste sustains itself and maintains its structural unity through a self-regulatory mechanism of social control. This at once is a sign of a weakening and of the internal strength of caste structure.

The fourth trend concerns family and kin group. In recent years there has undoubtedly been a change from a kin-oriented outlook to an interest-oriented outlook, and a gradual breaking up of large effective kin groups has been in evidence. However, even under conditions of semi-urbanization, caste and kin groups have continued to perform important functions of socialization and social control. In the absence of properly developed secondary groups, primary groups continue to operate. Growth of individualism within the family and kin group does not as yet symbolize the total loss of regulative and controlling authority of these units.

Looking at the direction of overall changes taking place in the peasant communities, one is impressed by another striking trend : while higher levels of the community take to modernization, the lower levels take to Sanskritization. Western ways of life and thought and modern technology have been taken up by the upper crust of society, possibly for two reasons—they had the educational and economic resources to acquire them, and they read a “value” in them. Castes of the lower levels always looked upon the norms of the higher groups, fashioned rigidly along the lines of the teachings of classical Hinduism, as respectable, and now with the opportunity of being able to change their position they are moulding their pattern of life according to them. Paradoxical as it may look, they are accepting the rigid regulations of the very order whose injustices and inequities they are claiming to fight.

Finally, on the basis of field experience limited to certain areas, doubts have been raised about the structural continuity of the village itself which has been described as a “disintegrating” and “dissolving” structure. Data on village studies piling up from different parts of India do not appear to lend support to this view. Limited migration to cities and acceptance of new vocations have not upset the intricate weave of the fabric of peasant socio-economic life based upon the organization of interdependence through patron-client affiliations. In many cases it has helped to maintain it by removing from the village

scene the superfluous element, whose presence there may have disturbed the comparative harmony of the traditional system. As the limited area of agricultural land in the village can support only a certain number of people, any addition to this maximum is likely to upset the balance of village life. Migration to cities has thus sometimes avoided developments that may have threatened the structural continuity of the villages. Because the primary groups of kin and caste have continued to be effective units of social control even in semi-urbanized areas, there is no immediate threat to their position in the village communities, and consequently the latter are likely to continue to be organized on their basis. Even with the growth of rural towns, these structural features are not likely to change beyond recognition.

Impact of the Measures Adopted by the Government of the Indian Union on the Life of the Rural People

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The paper represents an attempt at a brief review, in a very broad outline, of the changes that have been taking place in the rural life of India under the impact of the various measures of the Indian Union Government.

The choice of the subject has been prompted by the following considerations :—

INDIAN SOCIETY IN TRANSITION

Indian society has been experiencing one of its greatest transitions in history since the advent of the British rule. Its technological foundation, its economic structure, its social institutional framework based on the caste-system and the joint family, its political organization, its ideological orientation and cultural value systems have been undergoing a qualitative transformation. As the British rulers generated changes in Indian society basically to serve their own interests, these changes were not uniform or symmetrical and, therefore, created specific types of contradictions and antagonisms within Indian society.

After the withdrawal of the British from India the Indian people have entered a new phase of existence ; independence has released their initiative and creative energies. The government as well as other agencies have been evolving and operating various schemes to bring about changes in the social, economic, political and cultural life of the people. The study of these changes is fascinating and instructive as it gives glimpses of the social change affecting one fifth of mankind.

Among the various agencies attempting to alter the social life in India at present the state has acquired signal significance as a factor ushering change. It has been effecting social changes by creating, to use Talcott Parsons' phraseology, "situations in which people must act" as well as by operating on "' subjective ' elements—their sentiments, goals, attitudes and definitions of situations".

STATE OF INDEPENDENT INDIA—ITS GOAL

The constitution of the Indian Union has already formulated the goal towards which Indian society is to develop. A secular state, based on universal franchise and with the welfare of its citizens as its prime objective as provided in the fundamental rights and directive principles embodied in the Constitution, is the national ideal which has emerged in free India.

However, to evolve a truly secular state in a country which is a citadel of the most stubborn religious prejudices ; to create a social and cultural atmosphere for the intelligent exercise of franchise by citizens who have been living under the traditional, authoritarian social system based on joint family, caste and other semi-feudal social institutions ; to develop a welfare economy in a country where the entire productive system has been underdeveloped and fragile and has been, further, increasingly deteriorating ; to implement such directive principles of the Constitution as right to work, right to social security, right to education, when even the task of preserving the extant meagre amenities and opportunities of employment has become difficult ; and to fashion appropriate social institutions with a view to transform a poor, stratified, predominantly illiterate community into a prosperous, culturally advanced democratic people—this is a task of herculean dimension.

THE LEGACY OF BRITISH RULE

Before we survey the measures adopted by the government of the Indian Union to realize this goal, it is necessary to visualize concretely the type of rural social structure which it inherited from the British rulers and which became the basis on which it operated.

(a) The British rulers, as is now well-known, had dealt an almost fatal blow to the rural organization which existed for centuries on the foundation of an almost independent and autarchic village community, collectivist in spirit, based on the village possession of land and unity of agriculture and industry, producing for local needs and functioning through three main institutions viz. the Joint Family, the Caste and the Village Panchayat, and paying tribute to the state or the intermediary collectively and in kind out of the actual produce.

(b) They introduced situations “ which were external to the social system as a whole ” and “ independent of the internal institutional structure, or the immediate situations in which large masses of people acted ”, by almost destroying the collectivist though hierarchic foundations of the social order and by introducing the individualist, competitive *gestalt* within it. They introduced private property in land through *Zamindari* and *Ryotwari* land tenures. They substituted in place of payment of revenue in kind by the village community on the basis of a definite share from the produce, one in cash from the individual, with the inevitable result that the motif of the entire agrarian economy shifted from production for use to production for market, first to secure cash for the payment of revenue and secondly to adjust to the new setting introduced by the British. Thus the agrarian economy was enmeshed into the web of the Indian and world market. By ruining village artisan industries through pushing their own machine-made goods, they destroyed the self-sufficiency of village life. They undermined the authority of the caste and the village *panchayat* by

bringing the village under the rule of laws made by the centralized state and depriving the old institutions of their penal powers.

(c) While Britain thus destroyed the old economic and social equilibrium by introducing capitalist economic forms in India, no new equilibrium emerged, since she thwarted free economic development in general, and industrial development in particular, which would have militated against imperialist economic interests. The Indian rural scene as a result of this underwent a transformation based on increased impoverishment of the mass of the rural population, an increasingly deteriorating agrarian economy, sharp changes in rural class structure and fossilization of rural, social and cultural institutions.

(d) This resulted in the lop-sided and unbalanced position of agriculture in the national economy, mass ruination of artisans, over-pressure on land, increasing diminution in the size of the holdings, growth of sub-division and fragmentation of land leading to the alarming increase of uneconomic holdings, low yields, rise of massive indebtedness of the peasant population, extending grip of money lenders, traders, landlords and substantial farmers over poor peasantry, steady passing of land from cultivators to creditors and resultant growth of absentee landlordism and rise in the number of landless labourers. In the *zamindari* areas, the letting and sub-letting of land resulted in the extensive growth of functionless non-cultivating rent-receivers creating a chain of intermediaries (tenants, sub-tenants and sub-sub-tenants) whose cumulative burden had to be borne by the actual tiller of the soil.

(e) In the social sphere, the operation of the laws which transformed land into a commodity capable of being bought, sold, mortgaged leased and partitioned, in the economic context described above, engendered centrifugal tendencies in the joint family and led to its increasing disintegration. According to the Report of All India Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee, the average size of the rural family has dwindled to 5.01 persons. The consequences of the shrinking of family in terms of human relations, emotional and attitudinal imbalance deserve to be stressed.

(f) The caste system experienced a peculiar jolt under the impact of the British rule. Caste ranking and economic status have been closely co-related. "Caste rank is particularly manifest through ritual symbols; a group which was economically well off could acquire ritual hallmark to raise its relative position in the hierarchy".¹

The impact of the British rule and the developments that took place under it were different on different castes. Some of the upper castes of the old social order acquired control over land and became land owners. Some of these took to trading, moneylending and such other business. A number of the intermediate castes, as a result of the operation of the laws of market economy, acquired lands and developed into substantial farmers or rich tenants. Many other castes and sub-castes,

having lost their occupational security and having no alternative means of employment, took to agriculture, becoming small farmers or agricultural labourers, or vegetated in their traditional occupations. The scheduled castes, depressed classes and aboriginal tribes were more and more transformed into agricultural labourers, agrestic serfs or bond-tillers.

Thus, in the rural area, as a result of the dynamic but increasingly deteriorating economy, a profound socio-economic transformation took place during the British rule. Certain castes acquired a monopoly of economic power and resources. Certain other castes belonging either to upper or intermediate categories struggled to wrest control from the successful caste groups. Other castes suffered a further decline in their economic status. The agrarian area became a vast cauldron of fiercely competing units where the old hierarchy of caste system based on birth, status and ritual hallmarks, was being transformed into a new hierarchy based on the increasing monopoly of wealth, power and culture. However, it should be noted that this competition predominantly operated within the matrix of the caste structure. Castes were competing with castes. There were shifts of power from some of the upper castes either to other upper castes or to some of the intermediate castes. The economically weak lower castes, though they became further weaker in this conflict, also initiated and developed struggles for the removal of their disabilities and the betterment of their conditions. It was unfortunate that this historical process of occupational changes of castes and their new correlations was not properly observed and its significance evaluated till very recently.

RURAL INDIA—A STATISTICAL PICTURE

A brief statistical picture of conditions in the rural area will assist us to understand the nature of the legacy inherited from the British period by the government of the free Indian Union.

Next to China, India is the world's most populous country, having a population of 357 million human beings. Out of these 357 millions nearly 295 millions or about 83 per cent. of the total population live in 558,089 villages. Nearly two-thirds of these villages are tiny hamlets with less than 500 inhabitants.

The available cultivable land per capita is only 0.9 acres. It indicates the enormous pressure of population on land. About 75 per cent. of the total sown area is under food crops. The gross value of these crops is only almost equal to that of cash crops though the latter are sown on merely 25 per cent. of the land. About 35 per cent. of the total produce is sold by the cultivators. In nearly two thirds of these transactions the commodity is delivered to the trader in the village itself. "The marketing of agricultural produce is largely in the hands of a body of men who, as distinguished from Government and Co-operatives, represent private interests, and who control both the sources of credit and disposal of the produce. Often enough, therefore, the

cultivator's position is that of having to bargain, if he can, with someone who commands the money, commands the credit, commands the market and comes with transport".² This point is emphasised to highlight the immense power of the new class of creditors and traders in an underdeveloped rural economy which is switching from production for subsistence to a market economy. In the peculiar environment based on the hierarchic caste system, the combination of superior caste prestige and this economic hold needs to be properly understood.

The following is the picture of the rural class structure as it emerged after the British withdrawal :—

Agricultural land Owners :	22·2 per cent.
Agricultural Tenants :	27·2 per cent.
Agricultural Labourers :	30·4 per cent.
Non-Agriculturists	20·2 per cent. ³

The inequality of the cultivators' holdings is also considerable. " Holdings below one acre formed about 17 per cent. ; those between 1 and 2½ acres about 21 per cent. ; and those between 2½ acres to 5 acres another 21 per cent. These accounted respectively for 1·0, 4·6 and 9·9 per cent. of the total area. At the other end of the scale, 16 per cent. were in the group 10 to 25 acres accounting for 32·5 per cent. of the area and another 5·6 per cent. above 25 acres covering about 34 per cent. of the area."⁴ And further,

" The large cultivator cultivates 58 per cent. of the total sown area. The medium cultivator, numerically two fifths of the cultivators, has less than a third of the sown area under him. There is an even steeper descent when we come to the small cultivator, his sown area is just a little more than a tenth of the total area sown by the cultivators "⁵

Land concentration, predominance of uneconomic holdings, a third of the agricultural population reduced to the level of agricultural labourers, a large portion of the non-agricultural rural population also living in a precarious condition, dependent on the prosperity of agriculture, and, further, a substantial section of even the agricultural owners and agricultural tenants on medium or small sized farms desperately struggling for survival on meagre agricultural production—such has been the picture of rural social life in India.

Provision of employment for millions of peasants who are unemployed but whose unemployment is disguised, as also for the ruined and unemployed non-agricultural section of the rural people; adequate wage for the agricultural labourers; proprietary rights and economic units of cultivation for the tenants ; and economic holdings for the lower and middle strata of peasantry, along with proper credit facilities, marketing opportunities, suitable conditions for growing crops in a manner which would enable them to compete favourably with the prosperous and rich farmers—these are some of the fundamental requirements of a vast section of the rural people. In

addition to these, they need to be provided with better seeds, fertilizers, adequate supply of water and better transport and marketing facilities. In short, the fundamental task confronting the new government was to provide proper opportunities to all agricultural producers to compete on equal terms in the market.

As Chester Bowles very aptly sums up "Land inequality is a bottleneck clogging the creative energy of the people ; a bottleneck that must be broken "6 and further " Land reform is not a solution of course ; it is the first essential step to agricultural improvement, to consolidation of fragmented holdings and to the development of village co-operatives".7

MEASURES ADOPTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE INDIAN UNION

The government of the Indian Union has adopted a number of measures to reconstruct rural social life. They can broadly fall into the following categories :

(a) *Measures affecting Political Life, their Impact :*

The granting of universal franchise to the people by the state has been one of the most significant events. Millions of individuals, irrespective of caste, rank, sex or any other differentiation, have secured the right to vote. Thus the entire rural population has been brought into the political whirlpool. Of the two hundred million voters, the overwhelming majority belong to the rural areas. The picture and some of the results of the first election are now available. Implications of such elections in generating various currents have now become more distinct. The very organization brought into being for conducting elections in 1951 had great impact on the rural people. Ninety thousand polling stations were established ; 224,000 polling booths built. A systematic campaign was launched to explain the mechanics of voting to the people. Balloting was spread over one hundred days. Voting by party symbols printed on voting papers of different colours was evolved to suit the illiterate masses. Symbols having caste or religious significance were not permitted. About 1,800 candidates contested the 497 seats in the House of People, and over 15,000 candidates for the 3,283 seats in twenty-two assemblies. Numerous parties organized their propaganda campaigns. The four largest parties had secular politico-economic programmes. Numerous minor parties on provincial level sprang up. A total of 106 million people voted in the elections.

This single measure of the government generated powerful social and political ferment in rural India, the implications of which are too profound to be fully comprehended. It exposed the rural populations to the battery of ideas formulated in their programmes by various political parties and groups. It created a new type of social and cultural climate and process. Political discussions, meetings, processions and demonstrations were unprecedented events, new phenomena in the life of the countryside. The election processes

agitated extensively for the first time the almost inert life of the rural people and created a new mobility, physical, mental and emotional, among them. It created conditions for the rise of numerous institutions of political, economic and cultural significance, some of them progressive, others reactionary (caste, communal, semi-feudal social and economic, and others). During the elections, economic issues came to the forefront and divergent class interests were revealed. Even propaganda carried on to work up caste sentiments had to resort to distinct economic appeals. Even voting on the basis of caste loyalties disclosed that specific castes usually aligned with specific political and economic parties. It is unfortunate that sociological and anthropological literature which is mounting up in India has not paid proper attention to this aspect of the contemporary rural life almost electrified by the elections and resultant mass political awakening of the rural people.

The effects of this development on different age groups, different sexes, different castes and provincial groups, as well as on different classes have to be assessed. It has created a situation, a climate, in which various ideologies and outlooks, passions and emotions, will ally, clash, modify one another or even result into various amalgams. In centuries of its existence, the rural community never lived such rich turbulent life, never experienced such unique events. The entry of the rural millions in the orbit of active politics as a result of the grant of universal suffrage and elections is a veritable new point of departure in the history of rural society pregnant with incalculable possibilities.

(b) Measures affecting economic life :

The government of the Indian Union has taken various measures to reconstruct the economy of India on the basis of what it describes as the principle of Mixed Economy. To reconstruct rural economy it has adopted measures which can be broadly classified into the following categories :

(a) Measures to extend and improve the extant agriculture

- (i) Reclamation of certain lands for cultivation.
- (ii) Construction of major and minor Irrigation Projects, some of them of multi-purpose nature.
- (iii) Production of improved seeds, fertilizers, and tools as well as insecticides.

(b) Measures to reform land relations

- (i) Vesting of the estates of the intermediaries (*Zamindars*, *Taluqdars* and others) barring certain properties such as home farm lands, homesteads and others in the state on the basis of payments of compensation to the intermediaries.
- (ii) Placing of limitations on future acquisitions of lands by different classes of people.

- (iii) Tenancy Reforms designed to reduce rents, give security against eviction, and give tenants an opportunity to acquire permanent rights over the land by payment of fixed compensation subject to landlord's right to resume cultivation of a certain area for his personal cultivation.
 - (iv) Restrictions on sale and mortgage, letting and sub-letting of lands.
- (c) *Measures to protect farmers from the oppression of Creditors*
- (i) Numerous measures to regulate private moneylending.
 - (ii) Measures to scale down debts, etc.
- (d) *Measures to bring about an all round development of rural areas, resulting in the strengthening of the national economy as a whole*
- (i) Establishment of Community Development Blocks and National Extension Services.
- (e) *Measures creating new organizations to assist the process of the betterment of the life of the rural people*
- (i) Establishment of co-operative societies, Vikas Mandals, Gaon or Gram (Village) Panchayats as well as Nyaya Panchayats.
- (f) *Measures to assist some of the small-scale and cottage industries in Rural India.*

We shall briefly indicate the effects of these measures on rural life of the people as well as their impact on different classes of rural society.

No measures have been evolved which would provide employment on a sufficient scale to solve even to a reasonable extent this major problem of the rural society, or which would give better conditions of living or land to the agricultural workers comprising about one third of the agrarian population. As David G. Mandlebaum has rightly pointed out "The lowest castes, those who are mainly landless labourers, often gain nothing at all from the irrigation projects and the redistribution of land. They have nothing to begin with, nothing which can be improved, no means of getting an economic start and so they remain economically as well as socially disadvantaged. The gap between them and other villagers frequently widens rather than diminishes on account of development projects."⁸

As irrigation facilities, seeds, fertilizers and improved tools, are not given gratis but are to be paid for, the advantages of these facilities are taken predominantly by those who have financial resources to purchase them. As the community Project Evaluation Report points out the advantage is taken mainly by substantial farmers.⁹

The measures to abolish intermediaries suffer from two basic defects. The compensation to be paid to the intermediaries runs to 550 crores. It is a huge burden on the community. These measures also permit large

tracts of land to remain in the hands of *Zamindars* and others as personal property. Further, as the compensation to be paid by tenants is very heavy, only substantial tenants can purchase proprietary titles over the lands taken from the intermediaries.

With regard to tenancy legislation it may be observed that "About 50 per cent. of tenants on small plots, where fleecing by landlords can be as serious as on large, were not covered" and further, "tenancy regulations are unworkable because the landlord is still left in a powerful position", and still further "Ever since tenancy legislation has been first talked about, the alert landowners had been carrying out widespread evictions in order to remove many of the occupancy claims".¹⁰

Measures adopted to check the ravages of the moneylenders have hardly borne fruit. The report of the Rural Credit Survey very convincingly brings this out. These measures have been effectively circumvented and the moneylender is still supreme as he alone holds the key to finance necessary for meeting both the consumption and the production needs of the lower strata of the rural society.

Institutions established by the government like Co-operatives, *Vikas Mandals*, *Gram Panchayats* and *Nyaya Panchayats* are also assisting in practice only the richer sections of the rural population and are further controlled by them. The Community Project Evaluation Report very significantly discloses this in the following words: "When one considers the pattern of membership in village organizations, be they co-operative societies, *Vikas Mandals*, *Gram Panchayats* or *Nyaya Panchayats*, one clearly finds that the membership is confined to the larger cultivators and that the smaller cultivators as well as agricultural labourers have practically no stake in the organization of the village".¹¹

With regard to the Community Development Projects and their impact on rural life, the Evaluation Report has brought to light the following facts:—

(a) The advantages of improvements are taken predominantly by substantial farmers. (b) The contributions to be made by the village people are felt as very burdensome by the lower sections of the people. (c) The organizations emerging in these areas for bringing about rural change are dominated by upper sections of the rural population, the poorer ones having "no stake in them". (d) The initial enthusiasm born of great hopes in the projects is slowly declining among the lower strata of the population.

GROWTH OF SOCIAL CLEAVAGE IN RURAL AREAS

To sum up, as a result of the government measures to reconstruct economic life of the rural people, great changes have taken place in the socio-economic structure of the rural society. Some of the old classes (feudal and semi-feudal) have been largely crippled; some (substantial farmers) have been strengthened. Middle and lower sections have not benefited. The process of economic disintegration of these sections is advancing.

(i) The measures have resulted in transforming many *zamindari* type of landlords into a class of substantial farmers and capitalist agriculturists. (ii) By numerous tenancy and other laws referred to above, the government is helping to create a class of prosperous peasants out of substantial tenants or a section of the medium-sized cultivators.

This class of prosperous peasants only can take advantage of the numerous facilities, such as improved seeds, better fertilizers, irrigation, efficient tools, better roads and also improved marketing facilities, thereby improving their production and sale of the product.

On the other hand, the vast mass of unemployed persons, large sections of the owners of uneconomic holdings, the mass of poor peasants and agricultural labourers, either remain unaffected by these measures or are adversely affected.

A sharp conflict of interests and a resultant social cleavage are developing in the rural areas as a result of the measures of the government, Central and State. On one side there are prosperous peasants, landlords, village moneylenders and traders and the richer sections of the rural people. On the other, the middle and small cultivators, the mass of land labourers and ruined non-agrarian population.

As observed earlier, social castes and economic classes are closely correlated. As a result of this, the conflicts of these classes even take the form of conflicts of castes. Thus rural areas are seething with new caste tensions, sometimes visible in elections, sometimes in economic struggles, sometimes in the struggles in local organizations.

These new patterns of tensions are slowly emerging in the open. The tensions are becoming more widespread and are moving unfortunately in the direction of sharper conflicts.

CONCLUSION

The rural life of India is undergoing transformation under the impact of Government Measures. The types of changes that are taking place have been narrated in their broadest outline. What will be the direction and tempo of these changes? Will the democratic political objective fit in with the newly emerging class and social antagonisms in Rural India? Will Indian rural social life experience another round of tensions and antagonisms? Can these contradictions be resolved without changing the very motif and mode of production? What institutional transformation will be required to establish both economic prosperity and social harmony in the rural life? These are some of the fundamental questions posed before all social scientists.

The rural change that is generated by the Government measures is tending to sharpen the contradictions among various classes in the rural society and in the context of caste and other institutional background is slowly unleashing tensions, antagonisms and collisions, the implications of which have to be properly comprehended if the direction of the development of one-fifth of mankind is to be assessed and influenced.

NOTES

- ¹ David G. Mandelbaum, *Indian Villages*, page 15.
- ² *All India Rural Credit Survey*, Vol. II, p. 102.
- ³ *Rural Manpower and Occupational Structure*, Government of India, p. 9.
- ⁴ *Ibid*, p. 4.
- ⁵ *All India Rural Credit Survey*, Vol. II, p. 22.
- ⁶ Chester Bowles, *Ambassador's Report*, p. 187.
- ⁷ *Ibid*, p. 187.
- ⁸ David Mandelbaum, *Indian Villages*, p. 15.
- ⁹ *Evaluation Report, Second Year's Working of Community Projects*, Vol. 1, pp. 139-141.
- ¹⁰ Chester Bowles, *Ambassador's Report*, pp. 184-185.
- ¹¹ *Evaluation Report on Second Year's Working of Community Projects*, Vol. I, pp. 140-141.

The Landless Labourer and the Pattern of Social and Economic Change

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I

Among the most critical of the problems which face under-developed countries is the position of that section of the population commonly described as landless or agricultural labourers. Conditions in different countries are not of course identical, but many of the processes at work and the practical problems are common enough to permit a fairly general analysis of the nature of the conflicts involved and the possible directions in which developments could occur. In this paper some illustrative facts are taken from India, but the experience from which inferences are drawn extends over a wider field.

The 'level of development' of a country is a complex of several different social, economic and political elements and, just as there are vast dissimilarities between one under-developed country and another, within the same country several different levels of development are to be found. The problems of landless labourers are related therefore both to the growth of the economy of which they form part and to the existence of varying levels of development within the economy. The factors which determine the rate of economic development of a country and those which influence relative internal levels are in part independent, in part dependent on one another. In the past there was little conscious attempt to relate the two. In the conditions of India and other countries similarly placed it is the purpose of planning to achieve a high rate of economic development and at the same time to ensure that various sections of the population do not long remain at such varying levels of development and standards of living and culture as to render the entire social structure unstable.

This is the crux of the problem of development in Southern Asia. There may be several measures of success or failure, but from many points of view, the future of landless labourers will serve as one of the surest tests and may well prove to be a decisive factor in determining the approach and methods which will eventually prevail. It is not generally appreciated how large a stake the community as a whole has in what becomes of landless labourers in the next few years. Many of the major challenges with which India and several other countries are confronted express themselves in their most concentrated form in the conditions and immediate prospects of landless labourers. Current challenges may be better understood if seen against the background of

the social processes which have been in operation during several decades. These could perhaps be grouped conveniently under four heads—impact of the west, development of internal capitalism, growth of population and increasing disintegration of the rural social structure.

II

In relation to landless labourers all these processes together converge at two principal points—place in the social structure and employment opportunity. The impact of the west upon the village came slowly and indirectly. Western goods, supported as they were by the prestige of alien rule, gradually broke down the self-sufficient and inter-dependent character of the village economy. New goods introduced in the village through the pedlar and the merchant reduced the demand for village-produced goods, bringing a steadily increasing proportion of artisans into the ranks of agricultural labourers. Western ideas of property, born of the nineteenth century *laissez faire* and competition, along with the growth of the money economy, introduced something new into the village—the acquisitive spirit, the element of exploitation under legal cover of the weak by the strong, wealth and income as the scale of values and the decline both in the sense of social obligation and in the claims of the community upon the individual. Seeds sown under the influence of the west flourished through indigenous agencies and developed a life of their own. New towns sprang up and old ones expanded through export of new materials and import of manufactured goods, development of communications and the growth of settled administration. In these conditions, an internal capitalism grew up, its three main elements being foreign interests engaged in trade and industry, Indian merchants who took to industry and found steady support in nationalism, and rural capitalism expressed through the growth of moneylending as well as landlordism. Establishment of oil mills, rice mills, and flour mills in rural areas and trade in products of new industries seeking out the rural market reduced traditional work-opportunities, both full-time and part-time. Rural capitalism reinforced feudalism and turned sections of peasant owners into tenants and tenants into casual labourers.

The growth of population accentuated the economic effects of both western economic influence and of indigenous capitalism. During the past sixty years or more the population dependent on agriculture has increased, not diminished. Between 1931 and 1951 the population dependent on agriculture is estimated to have increased from 193 to 250 millions. The increase in trade and industry has fallen considerably short of the increase in population. New techniques destroyed existing work opportunities to an extent greater than those they created. In this phase the classes benefiting from change were largely different from those injured by it, who were more numerous and stood lower in the social and economic scale. For a long time this aspect was not

clearly perceived and it was the benefits of new developments which received greater public attention. Mahatma Ghandi had the insight to see through the situation, but its leading facts had not been adequately ascertained by social scientists. Precise information is still lacking in many ways. In India, information showing the present position has recently become available through the Agricultural Labour Enquiry carried out by the Ministry of Labour in 1950-51 which studied the conditions in 800 villages of 104,000 families, of whom 11,000 were agricultural labourers. A few facts thrown up by this enquiry may be cited briefly to illustrate the social and economic situation which now exists in India's villages, a situation which has parallels in varying degrees in several other countries in Asia.

The size of a problem turns in part on the definitions which are followed, and few definitions are altogether complete. In the Agricultural Labour Enquiry an agricultural labourer was a person who for more than one-half of the total number of days on which he actually worked during the year worked as an agricultural labourer. On this definition, of the rural families studied, 30.4 per cent. were agricultural labourers, one-half of them being without land, and the rest being in possession of a little land. As many as 85 per cent. of the agricultural labourers have only casual work, mostly in connection with harvesting, weeding, preparation of soil and ploughing. The average annual income per family was Rs.447 (or £31), which was eked out in various ways. The average per capita income was Rs.104 (or £8) per annum, compared to the national per capita average in the same year of Rs.265 (or £20). The extent of employment varies under different conditions in various parts of the country, the average being 218 days in the year, 189 days in agricultural work and 29 days in non-agricultural work. Thus, there is work for wages for about seven months in the year, total unemployment for rather more than three months and some kind of self-employment for less than two months. As 15 per cent. of the 'attached' agricultural workers have employment for 326 days, the average for the rest is only 200 days in the year. The reason given for being unemployed on more than 74 per cent. of the days on which casual workers have nothing to do was merely "want of work". Some 16 per cent. of the agricultural labourers have no wage-earning employment at all during the year. This is a measure of the chronic unemployment which exists in addition to the under-employment mentioned above.

The Agricultural Labour Enquiry was concerned primarily with certain economic aspects, but the social disabilities and the subordinate social position of the bulk of agricultural labourers are in themselves no small part of the problem. A proportion of agricultural labourers are dispossessed peasants and artisans partially or wholly without work in their own trades. The vast majority, however, belong to castes which have long been in the lower ranges of the social structure and were expected to remain there permanently. Gradually, as a

result of reform movements and changing attitudes to caste, the social handicaps have tended to diminish and in the case of some castes even to disappear. This trend has, however, served to throw into sharper relief the economic problem of finding adequate work opportunities for the mass of the people in the villages. Elimination of social disabilities remains only a partial and incomplete process unless employment can be found for all who are willing to work. As at present organised, the village economy is incapable of fulfilling this condition. A substantial section of farmers live on the margin of subsistence. The obligations which bound farmers and village servants and labourers together in the traditional village society have disappeared to a considerable extent. Old values are under constant challenge and traditional occupations which implied a low social status, such as the removal of carcasses or sweeping are often, given up by castes associated with them. Thus, the bulk of agricultural labourers are no longer an intrinsic and essential part of the scheme of production and of social life in the village. This brings the whole social order to the point at which radical departures become inevitable, but the direction is far from certain.

III

What new relationships will take the place of the old? On what basic principles will the new scheme of society be based? What will be the instruments and processes through which the change-over will take place? What manner of transition to a new social and economic order will it be possible to achieve? These are open questions in India and several other countries in Asia. They do not admit of simple answers and the course of events may be shaped to no small extent by a whole range of factors beyond the scope of planning. Yet, fundamental issues are involved and they need to be uncovered. The surprises of history are only sometimes the result of our inability to see the elements of a situation in time: more often, they flow from failure to take the practical steps needed.

In India and other countries in Southern Asia, the solution of most problems, whether social, economic or political, will turn on the measure and the manner in which the conditions of an expanding economy come to be established. The experience of western countries since the early nineteenth century and the more concentrated economic development in the Soviet Union and in countries in eastern Europe have valuable lessons and the technical and scientific knowledge of the west is an important asset, but much of the philosophy of social action has to be thought out afresh. Institutions and incentives cannot be transplanted and there has to be a conscious effort to fuse the techniques built up in the west with the cultural background and the aspirations of the common people. Problems of mass poverty in India and other countries in similar circumstances are due to various factors which can be traced back over a long period. They can be solved only through

sustained and continuous endeavour, through patiently building up new institutions serving the welfare of the entire community, and through the harnessing of modern knowledge. More prosperous countries can no doubt assist, but in each country the effort and the bulk of the resources must come from the people themselves. Concepts such as class war become meaningful if the effort ends in failure; at this stage, however, they are not necessary tools of social and economic change.

The requisites for the solution of a problem as large and complex as that of landless labour in circumstances such as prevail in India are therefore peaceful and continuous development, a rapid rate of economic growth and early changes in the social structure. The attempt to achieve these three aims at the same time through democratic means lends to India's planning special interest and significance and also puts the entire approach to test under circumstances which, though difficult enough, are yet favourable if considered against the background of the rest of Asia. The approach and the methods are still no more than an outline; as concrete problems are faced, out of the clash of opinion, clearer definition emerges, sometimes as doctrine, more often by way of empirical programmes undertaken in the spirit of experiment. Behind many of the problems round which the method of democratic planning is taking shape are the following basic issues :

(1) Economic growth requires technological progress. Unless the economy is expanding sufficiently rapidly—a situation which is only now in the process of arising—technological progress leads to unemployment, not only among those following the older techniques but also in organised and established industries. To integrate technological change into the scheme of development and to ensure that inequalities and disparities are not created by it are problems of primary importance ;

(2) A high rate of economic development demands a high rate of capital formation. In some western economies private savings—the savings of private firms who are free to make large profits and of private individuals who are free to earn large incomes—account for a considerable proportion of the capital formation which takes place. To create these conditions in Southern Asia or to let them continue to the extent they exist would lead, in the judgement of experienced observers, to such reactions as would seriously reduce the possibility of democratic methods being given time enough to prove themselves. On the other hand, complete ownership of means of production and state control of all trading activity provides no doubt for a great deal of capital formation but exacts a stern price in other ways. In Southern Asia a middle way is to be sought—expansion of public savings, building up of a large co-operative sector, mobilisation of the savings of peasants, workers and other persons of small means, and a degree of direction of savings which arise in the organised private sector. Where precisely is the

line to be drawn now and in the future between the different elements of this composite approach ? The question bears on the magnitude of capital formation and, more pointedly, on the agencies chosen for achieving economic development. What should be the relative place of the public sector, the co-operative sector, the organised private sector and the small, independent entrepreneur? The proportions are not static, but ordered development implies a firm sense of direction and steady progress towards the accepted goals.

(3) In a relatively static society, for most individuals their occupation is a way of life. In the making of a progressive society, incentives have a vital rôle. What makes an individual give of his best ? Every social system has to evolve its own scheme of incentives according to its cultural background and its leading aims. Incentives constitute a complex subject but in practical terms one could perhaps think of them as falling into five main groups : (1) the incentive of property, (2) the incentive of income, (3) the incentive of social recognition, (4) the incentive of power and (5) the incentive of social obligation and philanthropy. In different fields of life one or the other combination of these incentives may be found to produce the results which a community desires. What should be the place of each of these incentives in the pattern of social and economic development of India and other similarly placed countries ?

(4) Equality of opportunity is a feature common alike to the free enterprise system of North America and the Welfare State which has grown up in Western Europe and to the Soviet economy. This characteristic is yet missing in India and in most other countries in Asia. Equalisation of opportunities depends no doubt to some extent on the rate of economic growth and the size of the national income, but it cannot wait until a country is rich enough to afford a fair chance to all its citizens. The responsibility for bringing about equalisation of opportunity rests squarely upon the State. There are several aspects of this process which could be distinguished such as, for instance,

- (a) changes in property relationships, as in land reform and other direct measures for redistributing existing wealth ;
- (b) transfer of resources from the more well-to-do sections of the community to the less well-to-do through expansion of social services and concessions such as scholarships, etc ;
- (c) Measures to ensure that a relatively larger proportion of the additions to the income of the community goes to those sections of the population which are at present at a disadvantage ; and
- (d) changes in status and human relationships through the operation of political, social and economic forces.

IV

The questions which have been posed above could admit of a variety of answers. Certain strands may be observed in most of the developed economies, but historical factors and the cultural and economic background have played a large part. They furnish an explanation of differences in emphasis and in the rates of economic change, for instance in North America, Western Europe and the Soviet Union. India and other countries in Asia, now set on a course of development, have an opportunity to create social and economic patterns suited to their own needs and conditions. They have a more difficult task than the western countries because their problems are more complex and they have less time in which to solve them. Their primary aims are, firstly, to secure economic growth and social change through peaceful and democratic methods and, secondly, so to organise the process of development that landless labourers, small peasants and others of small means receive early relief and have a creative, positive rôle in the building up of the economy. One cannot say how far these aims will be realised. It may nevertheless be possible to suggest the lines on which, in view of the economic, social and political problems which face countries in Southern Asia, they are most likely to fulfil their objects. Their economies are vulnerable in many ways, above all from within, so that they need to conserve their resources in personnel and social goodwill no less than in material terms. They can neither spread their development over too long a period nor see it taking place in a cycle of jerks forward and backward. From this aspect the paths which India and other countries might choose, in so far as choice lies with them, might be briefly suggested.

These countries seek development, not in isolation, but as part of an inter-dependent world economy. This very fact has important implications for them as well as for the more advanced economies of the west. Secondly, since so large a proportion of their population lives in villages and depends on the land, increase in agricultural production and reorganisation of the rural economy have for them a significance at least equal to that of industrial development. In the third place, for them the developmental process represents not only the pursuit of economic objectives but also a choice of the methods of social change. The process will succeed in the degree in which the social and economic aims are in harmony with one another and are effectively supported in terms of political and administrative action. These considerations will largely determine the answers to the various questions which have been suggested earlier.

The problem of landless labour, to which attention has been given in this paper, is symbolic of the lack of adequate employment opportunities which marks underdeveloped economies in Asia. Fear of increasing unemployment therefore exerts a dominant influence on the approach to technological change. It is recognised that technical

progress lies at the root of economic expansion and technical and scientific knowledge has to be fully harnessed for basic industries and large construction works as well as in the service of the small man, be he peasant or the artisan or the independent organiser of small-scale enterprise. The utilisation of new techniques has, however, to be a process conceived and planned primarily from the point of view of the interest of the community as a whole, and their social consequences have to be provided for in advance. The adoption of new techniques, which entails expenditure of the community's limited capital resources, has to be regulated, so that those following the older techniques have time and opportunity to improve their methods and organisation and are not merely thrown out of work with little else to turn to. In the sector of modern industry, the presumption must be in favour of advanced techniques except where overall policy requires protection for a transitional period in the interest of those engaged in village and small industries or sudden displacement of labour is likely to upset labour-management relationships and even affect the total volume of production. To the extent the public and the co-operative sectors expand, the gains of technical progress go directly to the community, thus increasing its ability to undertake further investment. An important factor in the psychological resistance which technological changes frequently arouse comes from the fact that they intensify the conflict of interests within the economic structure; instead, in a planned society, they should be undertaken so as to enlarge the economic base and increase the production potential of the community as a whole and therefore its capacity to create greater employment. This approach to technological change involves apparent compromises which are less easily understood in the west, but they are an aspect of basic policy for minimising social tensions in the interest of ordered development.

Forms of economic organisation which grow up in one period are often challenged in the next. In a democratic society, as new interests begin to express themselves, economic institutions have to respond to new claims. In India, as in several other countries, until political freedom was gained, many of these claims were held back mainly because the interests they represented were not sufficiently organised. Once the urgent political problems of freedom are out of the way, the scene shifts and economic and social questions come to the forefront. There are at least two tests which economic institutions such as the managing agency system or the joint stock company or the entrepreneur have to satisfy both in respect of the past performance and the promise for the future. Have they brought about or will they be able to bring about a rate of development sufficient to meet the growing needs of the economy? How far do their operations lead to greater equality of opportunity or to greater disparities in wealth, income and status? On these tests, despite their contributions, the indigenous capitalistic systems which have developed during the past several decades have been found to be wanting. It is therefore natural to re-examine the fundamentals of

economic organisation in relation to the problems of mass poverty, growing population and widespread lack of work.

It is common judgement that while private enterprise has a part to play, especially in the development of small and medium industries, the State has to undertake heavy industries, the manufacture of a great deal of machinery and the development of natural resources. As the years go by, over a large field, forms of public management may be expected to replace private management. Although the rôle of the State is central to all planned development, it is hoped to build up an economic system in which forms of organisation are diversified and there is a great deal of decentralisation of initiative and resources. Changes in the existing pattern will necessarily be in the direction of an expanding public sector. The combination of economic and political power which occurs when most activities in which men engage are under the control of the State is to be avoided. Instead, between the public sector and a reorganised private sector a large co-operative sector has to be envisaged. This should embrace much of agriculture, rural trade and village and small industries and might be large enough to account for one-third to one-half of the national output. Closely allied to the co-operative sector is the establishment of institutions to provide credit, technical advice and common services to assist small and medium-sized activity in industry and trade. In this scheme of organisation there is perhaps enough internal balancing between different kinds of public and private management and the relative claims of individual initiative, group organisation and State control.

The direction of investment and the distribution of income resulting from such a structure may well be on the lines desired. It has, however, to be seen whether a mixed economy with the balance strongly tilted in favour of the public and the co-operative sectors can, taking all aspects together, provide a sufficiently high rate of capital formation, call forth the degree of effort associated with a system based on profit, and ensure such increase in national production as will succeed in eliminating the spectre of poverty and unemployment. Before these questions can be answered more experience of working the new institutions is needed, but it is useful to remind ourselves of the test of practical achievement to which all ideas and institutions must sooner or later submit. At present, too little is known, for instance, of the rôle of incentives in relation to economic development—incentives not only of entrepreneurs and men of property but of rural and urban workers, of consumers and of technicians and managers, all of whom have a vital share in building the future.

The question of incentives comes close to the foundations on which an economic system rests. In the life of a community all the incentives which were listed earlier—property, income, social recognition, power and social obligation and philanthropy—are needed, but the institutional structure in different countries could place greater emphasis on

some than on others. Property and income are related concepts, one being convertible into the other. In the rural sector, with the progress of land reform, there is considerable redistribution of property and, consequently, of incomes. In the villages, one expects to see a steady growth in economic activities undertaken not only on the basis of mutual aid but also in terms of community ownership and operation of land and other resources. Redistribution of land affects large numbers of persons in rural areas. The question, however, arises whether changes in property relationships have not also to be extended to the urban sector. Here the forms of property are more varied and the problem is much more difficult to handle ; there is also a greater degree of hesitation. On the whole, although detailed steps need to be worked out, it is difficult to avoid the broad conclusion that the principle of limitation of property or wealth which any individual can hold has to apply equally to the rural as well as the urban sector.

The strength of the incentive to property may diminish as development proceeds, but the incentive of income or of reward for work done is likely to become more important and more potent. Of all the incentives it is the most universal and requires a well-considered approach. In a society which lays stress on equitable distribution, the higher incomes cannot be too far out of step with the average. The principle of limitation has therefore to apply to incomes, but the means of enforcing it are likely to be indirect rather than direct. Of the other incentives, social obligation and philanthropy need to be specially stressed. They are both important because they are the basis of co-operative self-help and voluntary service, which are among the leading social values of a truly democratic society. In an expanding economy, along with changes in property relationships, nothing is so important for the welfare of peasants and landless workers as the organisation of co-operative community effort. The value of the social recognition as an incentive is much greater than is commonly appreciated and here useful lessons can be drawn from the experience of the Soviet Union and of countries in Eastern Europe since the war.

For the mass of the population and especially for those who count among the have-nots of society all public policies are ultimately reflected in the measure in which in practice equality of opportunity comes to be realised. The extension of social services and, in particular, of educational opportunities is the positive side of the programme. Without reduction in disparities in wealth and income, however, progress in the direction of equalisation of opportunity will be slow, probably much too slow to be felt. Limitation of property and incomes is also necessary if more equal human relationships are to be brought about and barriers between man and man reduced. There is no conflict between the democratic approach and essential reforms in the social and economic structure. Indeed, in the conditions of India and several other countries in Asia they are both essential aspects of the same process.

Planned development places a great deal of initiative and responsibility on the State and its administrative apparatus. In any underdeveloped country, social forces, economic policies as well as political pressures turn largely on one or the other phase of the developmental process and various aspects are inter-related. The key to the solution of any major problem is continuity of action on every plane. This is specially true of a problem like landless labour whose far-reaching implications have been briefly explained in this paper. Continuity of action turns largely on the working of the political system, so that a crucial test of the democratic approach in India and other countries in southern Asia lies in its ability to sustain over many years, with the general support of the people, adequate developmental effort and stable policies for economic and social change. It is not possible to say yet whether this test will be met successfully, but while the endeavour proceeds, especially in India, it is well for students in the more advanced countries to appreciate the differences in the pattern of development and in the outlook upon technological change, property, enterprise and incentives which flow from conditions which exist in Southern Asia, and to consider how the search for economic stability and rapid social change as part of a well-knit world economy can be best assisted.

Les lois agraires et la structure sociale en Argentine

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La République Argentine occupe un territoire de presque quatre millions de kilomètres carrés qui présente une diversité de terrains et de climats le rendant apte aux productions les plus variées et accessible aux hommes de toutes les parties du monde.

C'est pour cela que le régime agraire a exercé, et exerce encore, une influence énorme dans la formation et l'orientation de sa population. La structure de celle-ci se fit avec l'apport des indigènes, des Espagnols, et des immigrants d'autres nationalités qui vinrent après l'organisation définitive de la nation.

Pour la précision de l'exposé et le bon ordre du sujet, nous l'avons divisé en quatre chapitres, selon les époques principales de la formation du pays.

(a) *La Colonie* : Le territoire était habité par des tribus d'Indiens d'origines et de types divers. Deux courants fondamentaux donnèrent leurs caractéristiques aux modes de vie et de travail de ceux-ci : celui des Incas et celui des Guaranis. Les deux étaient agriculteurs, attachés à la terre, avec des régimes d'exploitation collective ou commune. Les "Lois des Indes" appelèrent ces régimes : "mixtes, de biens communs et de propriété privée". Ces lois recherchèrent la défense des Indiens, de leurs terres et, de leur organisation, pour qu'ils ne fussent pas dépouillés et puissent continuer leurs cultures parmi lesquelles on comptait la pomme de terre et le maïs.

Les Espagnols vinrent sur ce continent avec un esprit de conquête plus que de colonisation. Quelques exploitations, dirigées par des Pères Missionnaires, furent créées en respectant les coutumes locales ; ils introduisirent la culture du blé et apprirent l'élevage des animaux domestiques aux indigènes.

Les propriétés agricoles commencèrent à se former, par adjudications de terres à des Espagnols riches. Le Titre XII du Livre IV des Lois des Indes érigeait diverses règles en lois spéciales au sujet des terres qui, à l'origine, appartenaient au Roi. La première Loi disait : "Que l'on donne des terres aux nouveaux colons et qu'ils dirigent les indiens . . .". La 12ème Loi disait : "Que les terrains destinés à l'élevage soient éloignés des villages et des cultures des Indiens". Diverses règles du Droit Indien s'attachèrent à protéger les droits des indigènes. Cependant ces règles furent violées et les Indiens dépouillés progressivement de leurs terres.

Les Espagnols lancèrent les exploitations capitalistes d'élevage des animaux. A leur côté apparut un salariat paysan, composé d'Espagnols pauvres, d'Indiens, de métis, de créoles. Dans les petits villages qui se formaient, ces paysans se consacraient à divers travaux manuels et créèrent ainsi une importante classe de travailleurs. Les travaux agricoles se faisaient dans des communautés et des corporations, dans lesquelles il n'y avait pas à proprement parler d'ouvriers ou de salariés. Le travail s'effectuait en commun et son produit se divisait entre tous, réserve faite de la contribution pour le Dieu et pour les Chefs.

En outre, de la classe de travailleurs ainsi définie, se détache un "groupe intermédiaire" qui envahit toutes les activités secondaires; artisans, vendeurs ambulants, petits commerçants, agriculteurs, mineurs.

Parallèlement, la classe capitaliste: petite minorité de commerçants, membres du gouvernement, militaires, etc., occupe de vastes étendues et commence ainsi la formation des grandes propriétés. L'accaparement de la terre est le fait prédominant qui, né de la Colonie, se projette à travers toute l'histoire du pays, jusqu'à nos jours.

Les portes étaient fermées à l'immigration. Les quelques immigrants qui pénétrèrent le firent clandestinement. Pour cette raison les soldats épousèrent les indiennes. De ces unions naquit le type natif dans lequel s'allie l'indolence de l'Indien à l'arrogance et à l'audace espagnoles.

Juan Agustín García définit la psychologie du créole par trois caractéristiques: culte du courage, résistance à toute autorité et foi dans la grandeur du pays.

Un recensement effectué à Buenos Aires en 1810 fait apparaître pour la capitale une population de 28,258 habitants, parmi lesquels 1,570 Espagnols, 124 Anglais, 61 Italiens, 198 Portugais, 13 Français, et le reste Indiens ou créoles.

La population du pays s'estimait à 300,000 habitants, desquels seulement 2% étaient blancs.

(b) *L'Indépendance*: En 1810 le peuple se souleva et proclama l'Indépendance. La lutte, qui dura environ 10 ans, troubla la croissance du pays.

Quelques mesures agraires furent adoptées. Par exemple le décret du triumvirat, inspiré par Rivadavia en 1812, qui disait que "le peuplement étant le principe de l'industrie et le fondement de la félicité des états... le gouvernement offre sa protection immédiate à tous les individus de toutes les nations qui voudraient fixer leur domicile dans le pays", leur assurant tous les droits, etc.

On leur offrit des terres, des facilités et les mêmes droits que ceux des natifs.

L'Assemblée de 1813 décida d'aliéner des terres publiques pour encourager le progrès.

En 1816 débuta la politique d'adjudication des terres pour établir une ligne de villages sur les frontières, contre les Indiens du Sud qui n'étaient pas agriculteurs. Ces établissements furent protégés militairement par des fortins. Malgré ces mesures, la population augmenta

très peu. L'insécurité de la politique intérieure et les luttes pour l'indépendance rebutèrent l'immigration. En 1819 on estimait la population totale à 527,000 habitants.

En 1826 fut sanctionnée la loi emphytéotique, une des lois agraires les plus intéressantes et la plus avancée qu'ait eue le pays. En vertu de cette loi, les terres publiques se donnèrent en location. Elles ne furent plus aliénées. Cette loi amena une période de progrès, car nombreux furent ceux qui obtinrent des adjudications de terres et se mirent à travailler les champs. Mais cette loi fut abandonnée rapidement.

A l'époque de Rosas s'affirme la politique de donation des terres, par grandes étendues, en récompense des campagnes contre les Indiens ou de tout autre service.

Ceci n'influe pas en faveur du progrès, ni de l'augmentation de la population rurale, mais, au contraire, l'accaparement des terres par un petit nombre, se fait au détriment de la population. En outre, l'immigration est absolument interdite. Le pays ne croît plus, il se paralyse.

L'élevage se fait sous forme rudimentaire. Les champs se peuplent d'animaux qui retournent à l'état sauvage. On les abat pour récupérer la peau, seule partie qui ait quelque valeur dans le pays. En conséquence l'industrie des salaisons se développe, pour préparer la viande pour l'exportation.

L'agriculture reste stationnaire. On importe du blé.

(c) *Nous arrivons ainsi à l'Organisation Nationale.* La population à cette époque, calculée en 1853, était de 1,050,000 âmes. La grande majorité était créole et indienne; une minorité espagnole et quelques étrangers la complétaient.

Après la chute de Rosas, commence, avec l'ordre et la Constitution Nationale, une période définitive de progrès. On ouvre les portes à l'immigration. Le recensement de 1869 donne déjà un million huit cent trente mille deux cent quatorze habitants. En 1878, seulement 7,802 se destinaient à l'agriculture.

La Campagne du désert amena l'extinction des Indiens et la conquête des meilleures terres de la province de Buenos Aires.

Les immigrants venaient en un courant permanent que la Loi d'immigration et de colonisation de 1876 augmenta encore.

Les renseignements statistiques suivants nous révèlent l'ampleur du torrent immigrant: en 1869 il y avait 164,784 étrangers; en 1895, plus d'un million, soit environ 25% sur une population de 4 millions; et en 1914, sur une population de plus de 7 millions déjà, il y avait 3,297,216 étrangers et 16% d'excès du nombre des hommes sur celui des femmes.

A partir de 1853 on commença à organiser des colonies par initiatives particulières. Ainsi furent fondées les colonies de Baradero, d'Esperanza et de San José. Cette dernière constitua un essai intéressant de colonisation sociale qui orienta plus tard les lois agraires modernes de la province de Entre Rios en 1934 et de la Nation en 1940.

Le pays croît et une classe rurale se fixe à la terre—69% des habitants vivent aux champs—et transforme le pays par ses productions multiples

de viandes, céréales, et autres cultures. Cependant la minorité de grands propriétaires fonciers dirige les ressorts de la vie nationale. La terre est toujours répartie entre eux et les dirigeants.

Une classe moyenne de petits propriétaires et de fermiers, donne au pays une physionomie nouvelle. La révolution populaire de 1890 se fit contre les grands propriétaires et les grands éleveurs.

Durant tout ce temps, de 1853 à 1914, le manque d'action agraire importante et de politique de distribution des terres, retarda le morcellement de celles-ci et le progrès. Pour cette raison un grand pourcentage des immigrants vint grossir la population des villes. D'autres se fixèrent aux champs comme fermiers, ce qui fit que ceux-ci arrivèrent à représenter 60%. Par contre, le nombre des propriétaires diminua, fait curieux dont l'explication se trouve dans l'inaction de l'Etat qui ne remit pas de terres morcelées aux paysans.

Selon les recensements, en 1888 il y avait 77.1% de propriétaires; en 1895, 60.1%; en 1914, 50.5% et en 1937, 37.9%.

(d) *Les Dernières Années.* La guerre de 1914 paralysa l'entrée des immigrants, mais eut pour conséquence la création de notre industrie. Une classe ouvrière commença à agir dans les villes et, unie à la classe moyenne surtout rurale, porta au pouvoir en 1916 l'Union Civique Radicale, parti du centre.

L'après-guerre amena dans le monde le réveil de la classe rurale, dépouillée de ses terres. De là surgirent les Réformes Agraires, avec un sens nouveau de la propriété comme fonction sociale et de l'homme qui la met en valeur par son travail.

Cet état d'esprit eut quelques échos dans notre pays, mais ne provoqua aucune législation adéquate. La division de la terre fut plus spéculative que sociale. L'agriculteur occupait le terrain, par possession ou par location, mais les produits de la terre n'avaient qu'une faible valeur, car il n'existait aucune organisation ni aucun moyen pour le défendre. C'est pour cela que de nombreux paysans, comme les journaliers, qui ne gagnaient que des salaires insuffisants s'en furent à la ville. La classe rurale en arriva, pour ce motif, à se réduire à 26 ou 30% de la population.

De 1930 à 1943, que domine la classe possédante en raison d'un soulèvement militaire, l'immigration est de nouveau arrêtée. En 1940, pourtant, par la pression ou l'initiative des partis du centre et de la gauche, la loi agraire no. 12,636 est sanctionnée qui est une des plus modernes et avancées du monde. Elle consacre, pour la première fois dans le pays, la propriété comme fonction sociale qui n'est pas exposée à la spéculation et considère l'homme comme sujet actif de cette fonction. Cette loi est appliquée timidement, jusqu'à la révolution de 1943 avec laquelle commence une période d'action plus intensive. Les portes sont ouvertes à l'immigration sélectionnée et des terres distribuées selon la loi citée, avec tous les autres avantages que celle-ci accorde. Au cours des dix dernières années, des terres, pour un total de plus de deux millions d'hectares, ont été divisées en parcelles et livrées, en propriété, à des millions de colons, sans préjudice des

distributions en propriétés et en parcelles des terres fiscales des Territoires Nationaux. Ceci, uni à la défense des valeurs agricoles par la détermination anticipée des prix minima des produits, a fixé au sol partiellement une classe moyenne rurale stable, qui demande à être élargie.

Selon le recensement de 1947, il y avait 1,617,000 personnes qui se livraient à des activités agricoles, parmi lesquelles 465,000 " patrons " et 1,152,000 " salariés ".

D'autres chiffres nous permettent de voir la façon dont est réparti le sol entre les producteurs et révèlent l'urgente nécessité de l'application d'une ample et profonde Réforme Agraire dans la République Argentine. Les propriétaires ayant un minimum de 2,000 à 3,000 Ha. contrôlent 70% de la surface totale; ceux ayant de 200 à 2,000 Ha. représentent 20% du total; le reste de 10% est occupé par des propriétaires, fermiers et métayers disposant de moins de 200 Ha. et représente 80% du nombre des exploitations.

Pendant cette période, on a remarqué également le développement de l'industrie nationale, qui a accentué l'exode rural vers la ville, pendant plusieurs années. Ce phénomène est actuellement contenu par l'amélioration des conditions de travail à la campagne et par la mécanisation croissante des travaux.

Cet exode et l'augmentation des classes " populaires " se confirme par les chiffres suivants, du recensement de 1947. Sur un total de population active de 6,267,000 habitants, il y avait 3,439,000 ouvriers, parmi lesquels 2,583,000 correspondaient à des ouvriers et des apprentis urbains et 935,000 à des ruraux. La classe moyenne salariée prit également une importance extraordinaire, atteignant jusqu'à 1,079,000 employés.

D'après les derniers recensements et compte tenu des corrections nécessaires, on peut affirmer, selon G. Germani, qu'en quatre ans, de 1943 à 1947, le déplacement de la population vers les villes, atteint pour l'ensemble du pays, de 900,000 à 1,000,000 de personnes, ce qui représente presque 20% de la population rurale à cette époque.

Ce fait a posé des problèmes de tous ordres dans les villes et à la campagne. L'industrie, en absorbant une grande partie du prolétariat rural et de nombreux petits agriculteurs et fils de ces derniers, a permis, quoique cela paraisse contradictoire, le développement d'une économie sociale agricole. La mécanisation dont nous avons parlé, transforme le paysan en entrepreneur technique qui obtient ainsi des rendements meilleurs et plus rémunérateurs. L'Etat dut, par l'intermédiaire du crédit, lui faciliter des terres et des capitaux, pour qu'il puisse accomplir sa tâche. Cette action est organisée par l'intermédiaire de coopératives qui permettent la solution des problèmes dans leur ensemble et évitent l'action des spéculateurs particuliers, véritables fléaux de la paysannerie.

Le développement industriel des dernières années a été si intense que la valeur de sa production surpasse celle de la production paysanne. Un grand pourcentage de l'industrie, peut-être 70%, s'alimente des produits des champs, végétaux et animaux; une autre partie sert

directement les intérêts ruraux, comme par exemple l'industrie des tracteurs et des machines agricoles en général; une faible proportion enfin dessert les activités générales et s'approvisionne en matières premières importées, jusqu'à ce que se soit affirmée l'industrie sidérurgique propre, actuellement à ses débuts.

Ce phénomène économique révolutionnaire, plus intense dans ce pays que dans d'autres, pour être un pays neuf et en formation, a logiquement entraîné une transformation complète de ses classes sociales. En effet, on note un accroissement important de la classe ouvrière, une altération ou un changement dans la classe moyenne, une diminution de la classe capitaliste ou possédante, avec la perte par cette dernière de sa prédominance.

L'étude exacte de la structure sociale actuelle nous donne, selon l'auteur cité plus haut, le tableau suivant de la population, active argentine: classe haute 0.7%; classe moyenne indépendante 6.6%; classe moyenne salariée 32.9%; classe ouvrière 69.8%, de laquelle 70% vit dans les villes.

La classe ouvrière unie à certains secteurs de la classe moyenne, comme les employés publics ou privés, les petits agriculteurs, propriétaires, et fermiers organisés en syndicats et coopératives, modifie le tableau général du pays. Depuis 1943 existe le plein emploi et le niveau de vie et de consommation du peuple s'est élevé.

La terre est toujours au pouvoir d'une minorité, car l'on n'est pas arrivé à une distribution semblable à celle d'autres pays, ni à une réforme énergétique; le changement de structure se réalise lentement et progressivement; la minorité possédante a perdu sa prédominance, mais conserve ses privilèges.

La classe paysanne moyenne, la classe ouvrière, unies par des intérêts communs, constituent la majorité et maintiendront leur hégémonie, principalement parce-que ce sont des secteurs de la population parfaitement organisés. Les syndicats et les coopératives, comme je l'ai remarqué dans une étude présentée au Congrès de Sociologie de Mexico en 1954, sont les institutions ou noyaux sociaux de base de toute organisation économique et politique future; de véritable "contrôles sociaux" qui influencent et modifient les règles de la conduite humaine, qui constitue en définitive le sujet le plus important et le plus intéressant qui se présente dans l'étude de tout problème du point de vue de la sociologie.

En Argentine, la campagne et la ville commencent à marcher la main dans la main, grâce à cette organisation, qui sera permanente et plus forte que tout courant politique qui ne répondrait pas à la réalité ou qui manquerait d'un profond sentiment social.

The Native Peruvian Community in the Twentieth Century

JORGE PATRÓN YRIGOYEN

(Peru)

ANCIENT HISTORY

The discovery and application of the Carbon 14 method, ultra-violet rays, dendrochronology, aerial photography and the general advancement and progress of the ethnological sciences now prove that the historical horizon of Peruvian civilisation goes back more than four thousand years. This civilisation is therefore one of the oldest in the world and through the ages has produced cultural achievements equalling those of any other civilisation.

In the majestic and grandiose setting of the Andes Cordillera and the limitless stretches of beach bathed by the Pacific Ocean, the Peruvian achieved his greatest successes. With his marvellous system of terraces he converted to agricultural land the lofty, stony masses of the Andean Chain, up to heights of over 15,000 ft. above sea-level, heights at which no European can live. With his system of canals and irrigation, he converted the sands of the Pacific Coast into gardens which witnessed the development of the brilliant civilisations of Chavín, Chimú, Paracas and Nazca and where, as in the Sierra, potatoes, maize, and kidney beans were grown, those three magical products of the peruvian soil, which centuries later put an end to the periodic famines of Europe and which are today the sustenance of thousand millions of men.

Immense cities, majestic temples, imposing fortresses, textiles which have never since been surpassed in hue and quality, gold ware, "huacos" as beautiful as Greek amphora and unequalled roads are irrefutable testimonials to the creative ability of the ancient man of Peru. And as if this were not enough, the Empire of the Incas, the heirs and successors to those civilisations and to the Andean civilisation of Tiahunaco, created a political and social system before which the Utopias of Moro and Campanella dwindle into insignificance.

In the Inca empire, there were no poor, no beggars, no unemployed. For each male child born, the parents received a "topo" (a league and a half) of land and for each female child half a "topo". Immense communal stores or "tambos" of provisions, clothing and tools provided a form of insurance against periods of poor harvests or disasters due to the forces of nature.

As early as the reign of the Inca Pachacutec, the Empire was governed by means of a legal system which recognised civil reparation, individual punishment, alternative punishment, increases in punishment for repetition of an offence (Paul Minnaest. H. Urteaga) a system which

European law laboriously arrived at only at the end of the last century and the beginning of the twentieth.

THE AYLLU

Peruvian civilisation may well be called "South American" since it comprises the territories of the present Republics of Ecuador, part of Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Northern Argentine and sections of Paraguay. All the ancient and modern chroniclers and historians agree that the origin of Peruvian civilisation is to be found in the Ayllu, a primitive tribal community with a marvellous collective "elan" which produced in the past the great civilizations to which we refer and which endure today in the native communities.

THE SPANISH INVASION

In 1533, there disembarked at Tumbes, like creatures from another planet, moving from place to place in "floating houses", tall, fair-skinned, bearded men (the Peruvian Indian is clean-shaven), speaking an incomprehensible tongue, mounted on "animals which ate metals", themselves iron-clad, possessors of gunpowder, that atomic power of the age, handling terrible death-dealing weapons in the form of guns and arquebuses. Thus the Spanish conquerors, with Francisco Pizarro at their head, disembarked at Tumbes, which is today a tract of desert but at that time was a fertile land, thanks to the Inca irrigation schemes which in that region alone watered an area of 135,000 hectares.

Thus came about the impact between two worlds. The Spaniard could not understand the Inca, who was a thousand years ahead in social organisation. He thought of Peru only as a vast gold mine, and in accordance with Pizarro's promise "Go to Peru and make your fortune" devoted himself to the gold fever, to that Peruvian gold which, obtained in large quantities, was to impoverish Spain.

Then began three centuries of destruction of all the treasures of the native civilisation, both material and social. But the old collective and unifying spirit of the ancestral Ayllu saved the Indian race from total destruction.

THE REPUBLIC

The battles of Junín and Ayacucho (6th August and 9th December, 1824) sealed Peru's liberty and with it that of South America in general. A new chapter opened in the millennial history of Peru. The grandees of the Republic and their immediate successors, imbued with the liberal and individualist ideas of nineteenth century Europe tried with their legal documents to ignore, disintegrate and destroy the native community. The régime of despoliation changed its name but remained essentially the same.

Now it became the turn of "latifundistas", the bosses, the sub-prefects, the priest, the "comisario" and the "tintillero", to throw

themselves into the crusade of robbing the Indian of his best lands, of changing him into a labourer, a navvy, a peasant, or social pariah. But the Indian, like Anteo, grappled with mother Earth, with the loving "Pachamama" who imbued him with a love for Nature and the collective and telluric spirit which allowed him to survive throughout the centuries.

THE NATIVE COMMUNITY IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The frightful bloodshed of the First World War showed Americans that cultural and historical values were not a monopoly of the Old Continent. We began to turn our eyes to ourselves, to "discover America", and we found that the New World had eternal cultural and moral values too. As a result of this picture of the world, seen from the Peruvian stand-point, the Political constitution of Peru proclaimed in 1919, established in article 41 that: "The property of the State, of public institutions and native communities will only be transferred by public title, in the cases and in the form established by law". The Constituent Assembly which dictated this article was, to good purpose, presided over by one of the great American sociologists, Dr. Mariano H. Cornejo, author among many other works, of *Sociologie Générale*, published in Paris in 1908.

In this way and after four centuries, the native community recovered its legal entity, and it is not only respected but also protected by law. It is only right to affirm here that the Republican Judicial Authority always recognised it as a "de facto" entity.

The first half of this century has passed away, and in the face of the disruption of foreign philosophies, recognition of the aboriginal races increased throughout the whole of America and Peru. It was for this reason that the Peruvian Political Constitution of 1933, which is still in force today, devoted a special Chapter—no. XI—to the Native Communities. Its six articles—207 to 212—reaffirmed the following: the legal existence and legal entity of native communities; the guarantee of their imprescriptible and inalienable property; the corresponding land register; the fact that municipalities or any other authority are forbidden to interfere in their government or the administration of their incomes; the obligation upon the State to endow them with sufficient land, expropriating for the purpose land privately owned; and, finally, the obligation upon the State to provide special legislation in accordance with the special circumstances of the native.

In its turn, the present Civil Code, proclaimed in 1936, devoted a special section to the native communities—articles 70 to 74—in which the following concepts are established: that native communities must be registered; land registers must be formed; that a census be held every five years; that deputies be elected; that the communities be forbidden to rent or transfer the use of their lands to neighbouring landowners; that their lands are indivisible until such time as special

legislation ordered by the Constitution and the Code is set up. Subsequently, a Department for Native Affairs and an Official Register of Communities were set up.

The present régime, presided over by General Manuel A. Odría, founded the Ministry of Labour and Native Affairs, a number of departments of which deal exclusively with the protection of the community's property, with the settlement of their differences and with the development of an organic plan for ethnological studies, teaching of Spanish, improved technical methods, the supply of manure, seed, fine cattle and farm implements. The Ministry periodically publishes the well-known journal "Perú Indígena" (Native Peru), in which it reports on the work done and publishes articles on scientific investigation.

Dependent upon the Ministry of Public Education is the Ethnological Institute of the National History Museum. In addition, the University of San Marcos has created the Institute of Ethnology which is devoted to the study of Peruvian life and to the training of those who will in the future be responsible for the modernisation of Peruvian agriculture, without losing sight of the ancient pattern. The University of Cuzco also has a special Department devoted to the study of native affairs.

All this governmental and educational work has begun to bear fruit. This is the great change in social thought in Peru. The native community which was antagonised and persecuted even until the last century is today protected and encouraged. A new national conscience has been born which clearly sees that the native agricultural problem is the essential problem of Peru.

SIZE AND NUMBER OF THE NATIVE COMMUNITIES

It is calculated that at present there are 4,000 native communities in Peru, with a total population of more than 4 million Indians. Of these communities, 1,392 have been properly registered. It has not yet been possible to produce the land register of the communities' agricultural possessions, but statistics show that these are responsible for one-fourth of the country's agricultural production and that, in spite of having been robbed of their best land, the yield per hectare is equal to that from privately owned farms.

However, the importance of the communities is not confined to the above facts. In addition, as a result of their collective work, the adult males go down to the Coast after sowing their own crops, where they supply casual labour for the enormous sugar plantations like "Casa Grande"—the biggest sugar mill in the world—and the vast cotton estates; the poorly paid labour of their strong arms is thus responsible for the very existence of Coastal agriculture.

The same is true of the mining industry which, without the work of the natives, could not exist. The native communities are, therefore, the very backbone of Peruvian economy.

STRUCTURE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE COMMUNITIES

In olden days the communal lands were divided up afresh each year. They were divided into "lots". First of all the lands which were to lie fallow were set aside, and then the "plots" for common cultivation, the fruits of which were used for the communities "public" costs, such as fiestas, the purchase of objects or articles not produced by the community, payment to the "tintillero" in the eternal Court cases concerning water and land and the construction and maintenance of the communal road which linked the community with the nearest town.

Nowadays plots are left for an indefinite time in the possession of the respective families, thus forming a kind of usufruct for them. Such plots are only withdrawn from the usufructuary when they are not cultivated or because of the perpetration of acts prejudicial to the common good. Apart from this cultivated land, the pastureland is available to all as grazing land for cattle.

The government of the communities is democratic, uncomplicated and effective. On the 1st of January, the entire community meets in the public square and proceeds to elect its leaders. Those who have the vote are the heads of families, widows in the event of the father's death, the wives in the husbands' absence and, finally, unmarried women when they are at the head of families. The vote is taken in public and only one vote per voter is allowed. The following officials are elected for a term of office of one year :

- (a) The Agent (Varayoc) who is the highest authority and is the community's legal representative.
- (b) The "Fiscal" (or attorney) who exercises within the community the functions of the censors in the Roman Republic.
- (c) The District Treasurers, who collect the contributions which each family is obliged to pay in accordance with the communal needs. The District Treasurer guards the money or payments in kind he has collected and spends it in consultation with the Agent, or, when large expenditure is contemplated, in consultation with the General Assembly, the supreme authority.
- (d) The "Mayordomo" or Sexton, who receives from his predecessor, in the presence of the Assembly, the community's "treasure", such as vestments for the clergy, wearing apparel, cloths, curtains, candelabra, gold and silver offerings, tunics, chalices and monstrances of gold and silver enriched with precious stones, which he guards with zealous care and scrupulous honesty throughout the year, so that these articles of worship and religious interest are preserved for centuries in the bosom of the community.
- (e) The bell-ringer or town-crier, who is responsible for convening the people by means of a bell, horn, shell or drum, so that, on determined days, they may fulfil tasks of a communal nature, such as the construction or repair of the communal road, church,

school, planting or harvesting of the community land, agricultural work on the land allocated to families whose male members are prevented from so doing, because of illness or absence (military service), and for the collective building of houses for newly-married couples. The bell-ringer, who is a communal authority, is authorised to report to the "Fiscal" any who fail to help in the communal work.

COMMUNAL AGRICULTURE AND STOCK-FARMING

In view of the vertical topography of the lands of the Cordillera, the communities cultivate a wide variety of crops ; in the hot valleys it is possible to grow sugar cane and cocoa, while in the peak land, 4 or 5 thousand metres above sea level, quinoa, that marvellous cereal which is capable of withstanding the most severe frosts and the food value of which is greater than any other known vegetable product, is cultivated.

Cattle farming is the occupation and intimate love of the Indian. Certain communities in the stock-rearing regions of Central and Southern Peru own herds of, in some cases, 6,000 to 15,000 head of cattle. For preference, they breed animals of Peruvian origin such as llama, vicuña, paco-vicuña, alpaca, goats, ewes and small horses known as "chuscos" which are at home at very high altitudes. With the fine wool from these animals, the Indians weave beautiful cloths with the unsurpassed skill inherited from their forbears.

Among the most progressive communities in Peru are those of the Rio Mantaro valley, by virtue of their advantageous position in relation to mining areas of world-wide importance—Cerro de Pasco and La Oroya—linked with the capital, Lima, by the highest wide-gauge railway in the world (4,870 metres above sea level) and also by the Carretera Central, one of the highest known highroads, which climbs to 4,885 metres.

We shall limit mention here to the community of Muquiyauyo which owns the electrical plant supplying light and power to the town of Jauja and the districts of Concepción, Mito, Muqui, Sincos and Huaripampa. This is a true credit cooperative society, a real aid to the neighbouring communities. The town of Muquiyauyo has finer buildings than the capital of the province and also modern school premises. Every community, large or small, maintains its own school, and many communities have Scholarship students at the National Colleges of Secondary Education.

THE NATIVE PERUVIAN COMMUNITY AS A MODEL

One of the most outstanding changes in agriculture in the present century has been its mechanisation. As a result of the technical progress made, the land can now produce double, and in some cases three times as much, as in the last century. However, in order that mechanisation may benefit the entire society and small farmers in

particular, it is essential that the latter combine their small farms, since at present the price of a tractor is higher than that of a small farm and the value of a helicopter for spraying purposes is greater than that of a small estate. It is therefore essential that the small farmers should devise a collective system in order to enjoy the benefits offered by twentieth century science.

It is possible that in this ancient pattern of the Peruvian native community, the fruit of the knowledge of Men of the Soil, the solution may be found.

Some Problems of Rural Collective Settlements in Indonesia

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The following paper will describe some of the problems encountered in establishing rural settlements of a collective or co-operative nature by different social groups in Indonesia. Particular emphasis will be placed on the question of the absorption or assimilation of the newcomers amongst the autochthonous population of the different areas. Thus an opportunity will be provided of comparison with existing studies on immigrant absorption elsewhere. In the past, such studies have mainly concentrated on European immigrants and their assimilation in overseas countries like the United States, Canada and Australia, or, more recently in France and Belgium.¹ A number of studies dealing with this problem in Israel,² have become of particular importance. While readily acknowledging the great value of these studies in the development of a conceptual framework, it must nevertheless be stated that by their very nature they have not been free from one-sidedness and unconscious bias. While concentrating on European immigrants in a predominantly European environment, these studies have tended to overlook a number of problems of importance among Asian migrants in an Asian milieu.

1. THE SETTLEMENT OF SURINAM JAVANESE IN CENTRAL SUMATRA³

The history and development of Javanese coolie immigration in Surinam has been amply described by several scholars. It is known that this colony came to include a substantial group of Javanese, who for some reason or other did not return to their country of origin after expiration of their contract. However, they could not rise above the lowest strata of society and partly as a consequence of this they never became assimilated in Surinam. There was even a feeling of nostalgia prevalent, which found its expression in the unanimous adoption of Indonesian instead of Dutch citizenship in 1951. Postwar political developments led to the establishment of two parties within the group, one of which favoured return to the fatherland as a final solution to its problems. In 1954, a pioneer group of about one thousand arrived in Indonesia and was eventually settled in a place called Tongar, in the Northern part of the Minangkabau area of Central Sumatra.

As to the selection of the immigrants, it can be stated that they were mostly of rural origin, had a high rate of literacy, and included a rather high number of technicians. The age distribution, however, was unfavourable, since 12% were over 55 years old, and only 51% in the

productive age group. The usual feature of a surplus of men was of course present. As to the religion of the members, the Christians with 13% were more strongly represented among the immigrants than among Surinam Javanese society in general, a fact which was to have grave consequences for subsequent assimilation.

The system of settlement followed here can best be described as a mixture between a limited company and a production co-operative. To become a member one had to buy shares in the "Foundation for return to the Fatherland", whose final objective was to make profits by the collective cultivation of market crops. In order to gain this objective, individual holdings were kept as small as possible. The greater part of the area was to be worked collectively at fixed wages. The disadvantage of the system was that it put a heavy burden on a budget which lacked revenue in the first half year. Thus when the first rice harvest eventually turned out to be a failure, a catastrophe was near. Members began to leave the settlement, and the first leavers were the technicians, for whom there was not enough work in the settlement itself, but who could easily find a job in the "outer" society.

More important than these technical and organisational mistakes which probably occur in any settlement, were the problems of relationship with the autochthonous Minangkabau population. Foremost among these was the question of the land rights. Before arrival of the Surinam group, the local Minangkabau *adat* group had agreed to put part of its territory at the disposal of the government agency arranging the repatriation. A prerequisite to this was the complete incorporation of the Surinam group into the local *adat*. However, it turned out that too many differences existed between the two cultures to attain anything like full absorption. Instead, a number of tensions developed, caused, e.g., by the difference in religion already mentioned. But in other respects as well the Surinam group differed from the autochthonous Minangkabau. The former had gone much further in accepting such Western culture traits as dancing, drinking, and gambling, which were anathema to the strictly Islamic Minangkabau. The number of inter-marriages remained low, since the Javanese were not prepared to leave their settlement in order to move in with their wives' relatives as required by Minangkabau marriage law. Again, the two groups began to form specific stereotypes about one another, with the more sophisticated and polygot Surinam Javanese looking down upon the "backward, conservative" Minangkabau. In this connection it may be asked why this particular part of Sumatra was chosen to receive the immigrants. Another island with a more Westernised population would perhaps have provided fewer difficulties. We have here a striking instance of a settlement whose chances for success were jeopardised because the cultural difference between immigrants and receiving culture were too great to be overcome in a short period. The government has therefore not yet granted permission for the remaining group in Surinam to join the settlement.

2. THE SETTLEMENTS OF DEMOBILISED SOLDIERS IN SOUTHERN SUMATRA

The settlements of demobilised members of the Indonesian armed forces provide very interesting examples of large-scale planned migration. Most of the settlements concerned were founded between 1951 and 1953, and to-day they include over 22,000 persons. In these, as well as in the Surinam settlement, experiments with co-operative or collective ideas have been tried out, mostly with generous government support. All the settlements, with one exception, are situated in the mountainous Western part of South Sumatra or Lampung.

As elsewhere, the rehabilitation of the armed forces, particularly of the guerillas who played an important part during the revolution, was a difficult problem in Indonesia. Since a return to their old environment was considered impossible, settlement in one of the islands outside Java seemed to offer the best opportunity to guide them back into normal civilian society. It is clear, however, that these ex-guerilla fighters did not in every respect constitute the most ideal material for migration.

The geographical origin of the groups we were able to study was remarkable. Almost all originated in Western Java, mostly in the districts East of the capital. These areas do not possess too good a reputation, mainly because the absence of the old Indonesian village communities has led to a relatively high rate of criminality. The age composition, moreover, was heavily weighted: 70% were under thirty years of age! This partly explains the unbalanced and aggressive attitude of the groups. Another important aspect of the groups was their dependence on authority: their leaders were deeply revered and blindly followed. As charismatic military leaders are not always suited to guide the difficult work of building up a settlement, disappointments were bound to arise. These feelings usually led in time to the splitting-off of part of the original group and the forming of new organisations. Where this process repeated itself several times, disintegration was evident. Where, on the other hand, the leadership was firm, it formed the main factor in a settlement's success.

In almost all of the more successful settlements provisions were made for communal ownership of the land, which was worked collectively. The collective organisation usually reserved a part of the harvest to cover expenditure, while the rest was sold only after a sufficient stock had been reserved to last the year through. Unfortunately there were several cases in which the harvest failed, and members did not have sufficient rice to last to the next season. In these cases the organisations had to fall back on government support, which on the whole had been generous. It is clear, however, that in this way mismanagement could easily be covered up, and accusations of corruption were soon rife everywhere. The prerogatives of the organisations went far: they not only designed members' houses and working schedule, but even acted as police and civil service. In fact, they often interposed themselves between the government and the individual members, and the

accusation that they were "states within a state" was not without justification.

Economically the results of these settlements have not always been satisfactory. In general the idea was to concentrate on staple crops instead of the usual rice, but the selling of these products was made difficult by the lack of good roads to nearby markets. In this way the agricultural basis of the ex-fighters' settlements became rather unstable. The real test for them will undoubtedly come the moment government support is discontinued. The effect of this will be the loss by the organisations of one of their greatest holds on their members: the distribution of money. Some of the groups of them will survive, others will eventually prefer returning to Java.

The relationship between the veterans and the autochthonous population has been a source of continuous conflict. The principal reason again has been the right to the land. The difference with Minangkabau has been, that in Lampung the influence of the old *adat* and its institutions is not nearly as strong. Partly this was the result of pre-war government policy, partly too, it arose because the influx of Javanese immigrants began to outnumber the autochthones. The veterans' organisations, which prided themselves on their better revolutionary record, in most cases acted as if the *adat* institutions were completely non-existent and occupied their territories without any recompense whatsoever. Another source of tension has been the marriage *adat* of the area. According to old custom, boys were allowed to visit the girls in their houses at night, but the immigrants were excluded from this privilege. As a result, intermarriages between veterans and autochthones have been few. As most of the settlements showed the usual unfavourable sex ratio this is especially to be regretted. A consequence was the development of child marriages and very high divorce rates within some settlements. Even from primary schools, girls were sometimes fetched by their parents in order to be married off, the parents hoping to gain the labour of a son-in-law. In addition, extra-marital contacts were frequent.

In Southern Sumatra with its thin, widely-dispersed autochthonous population, geographical as well as social contacts must necessarily be limited. Yet it would be wrong to conclude that unlimited numbers of new settlers could be placed here. In particular warnings must be expressed against fantastic estimates of future colonisation based exclusively on the size of the area of waste lands. It seems fruitful to make a distinction between ecological and social absorptive capacity. The latter we would define as the number of settlers acceptable into a given area without the emergence of very great social tensions. It will thus tend to be smaller than the ecological absorptive capacity. Tactful government supervision may increase it.

In this respect, the ex-fighters' settlements have been particularly unlucky. At first, the veterans were left completely to themselves and to the leaders of their organisations, so that a kind of dual administration existed side by side with regular government institutions. Of

course, this led to various conflicts, and in the end the special veterans' administration had to be abolished altogether. New representative organs, in which veterans and autochthones will be represented on an equal footing, are not yet functioning.

3. THE SETTLEMENTS OF JAVANESE PEASANTS IN SOUTHERN SUMATRA

Numerically, both the settlement types mentioned before are not yet very extensive when compared with the settlements of Javanese peasants, organised by the Transmigration Service. This government branch has continued the work, started before the war, of sending groups of Javanese peasants over to the Outer Islands, mainly in order to alleviate the population pressure in Java. It is necessary therefore to introduce here a short survey of pre-war migration in Indonesia,⁴ particularly because its guiding principles have not been basically changed since. The main idea was to send over as many people as possible at as little cost as possible. This was accomplished by sending them in the months shortly before the harvest, when there was a lack of labour and the immigrants could easily find work and earn enough rice to carry them through the difficult first year. During that time they were accommodated with those settlers sent out earlier. In this way government costs were reduced to the clearing and opening of land and the construction of roads and irrigation works, as the costs of the voyage were to be borne by the settlers themselves. This system put a heavy burden on the migrants' backs during the first year, and this was one of the reasons why compulsory forms of recruiting had to be adopted. This again led to a neglect of the principles of selection. Village heads saw in transmigration an easy way of getting rid of their unwanted villagers, such as sick and old people.

After the war and the revolution, the work was carried through, but in a somewhat amended form. As there was no lack of volunteers the principle of forced recruiting could be abolished. Also, government support during the first year was extended to cover all costs, including rice and other necessities. Another difference was that migrants were sent the year through, and not only in the months before the harvest. Yet it was found nearly impossible to expand the number of migrants this way, and the figures after the war have not yet reached those of the pre-war period. While during the year 1952, a total of 17,000 persons migrated, this figure reached a peak of 39,000 in 1953, only to drop back to 24,000 in 1954. Of these, the greater number were sent to areas already opened up before the war. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that areas handed out to individual settlers have been twice as large as was usual before the war. This was to facilitate the cultivation of market crops, as against the "subsistence farming" disapproved of in Java.

It was, however, found that the increased wealth of the migrants was not always put to the best use. In the new villages remarkable systems of feast-giving with potlatch-like tendencies developed, which compelled

villagers to spend great amounts of money on the presentation of gifts, while the number of working days was reduced. It was found that this system tended to devour the greater part of a year's earnings. People were induced to sell their rice reserves and ended up deeply in debt. The deeper causes of this development are rather obscure, but the desire not to seem poorer than the autochthonous population may have played a rôle. Another cause may have been a certain anxiety to acquire status in the new country as quickly as possible.

In this way it became clear that the individualistic system of settling which the Transmigration Service envisaged, led to an excessive expenditure as well as to other uneconomic features. In order to combat this, co-operative societies have been founded, which were to handle in particular the selling of the rice surplus. Thus by inner necessity these settlements began to acquire certain characteristics until now only to be found among the veterans' societies described earlier. The final outcome of this process, however, cannot yet be predicted.

Of all settlements described those of the Javanese peasants had least of all contact with the autochthonous Sumatran population. In fact, the expression "enclave-policy" is often used to designate the settling of the Javanese immigrants in completely empty areas. Tensions between the two groups could in this way hardly occur, while the tricky problem of land rights had been settled by the government before the war. With the gradual extension of the settlement areas, however, the assimilation problem will present itself here as well.

These three types of settlements in Sumatra provide very clear instances of social contact between different cultural groups. Until now only a slight degree of assimilation between these groups themselves has been reached. It is very problematical too, whether the groups themselves see assimilation as an ideal to be striven after. Although the immigrants from Java now numerically outnumber the Lampung autochthones, the latter still look at them as foreigners whose presence they dislike and whose customs they do not understand. It would seem therefore that one of the difficulties of assimilation between ethnic groups in some Asian countries is the strength of ethnic group loyalties which stand in the way of full absorption and sometimes even lead to segregation. Furthermore, the advantages to be gained by assimilation are not at all clear to the groups concerned. Should the Sumatran learn Javanese, or the other way around, or should they both drop their mother tongues in favour of the national Indonesian language? What *adat* should be followed in cases of interlocal marriage? When considering these questions it seems clear that such concepts as assimilation and absorption need further clarification. In particular, experiences in Israel and other countries with accepted national language, religion and central cultural values, have been somewhat misleading. In these countries complete absorption is looked upon by most groups concerned as the final ideal. In the settlements in Sumatra described here this has

not been the case, as moreover the government is not prepared to enforce a solution in one direction or another. It can therefore be stated that we have here a case of the reverse extreme of complete absorption, i.e., segregation. The immigrant settlements and the Sumatran autochthones have until now remained in a state of social and cultural isolation which does not show any sign of speedy change.

NOTES

¹ A. Girard et J. Stoetzel, "Français et Immigrés", *Travaux et Documents*, cah. 19, Paris, 1953; "Français et Immigrés. Nouveaux documents sur l'adaption", *Travaux et Documents*, cah. 20, Paris, 1954; R. Clémens: *L'assimilation culturelle des immigrants en Belgique*, Liège, 1953.

² In particular the work by S. N. Eisenstadt: *The Absorption of Immigrants*, London, 1954.

³ These and other settlements were studied during the years 1953-1954 by research teams of the Institute for Social Research of the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences, University of Indonesia.

⁴ Mainly following Karl Pelzer: *Pioneer Settlement in the Asiatic Tropics*, New York, 1945.

Some Problems of Agricultural Evolution in the Akan Community of the Gold Coast

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LOCATION, PHYSICAL AND CLIMATIC CONDITIONS

The Gold Coast occupies some 92,000 square miles of territory on the mainland of West Africa. From roughly 5° north of the Equator where its shores are washed by the waters of the Gulf of Guinea, it extends in a northerly direction, some 350 miles as the crow flies, to its northern boundary at the 11° latitude. It lies roughly within 3° west and 1° east longitudes. Large portions of it fall within the wet tropical rain forest belt where two rainfall peak periods make possible a two-crop season year. From the southern regions the rainfall rises from a total of 25 inches in the coastal grasslands to 75 inches in the forest hinterland. It is at its maximum in the south-western corner where the annual average precipitation is about 85 inches.

From the forest zone one enters an interesting transition belt where forests gradually give way to heavily wooded grasslands north of Ashanti which in turn thin out into the northern savannah and grasslands.

The Akan who make up by far the predominant community fill out practically the whole of the southern Provinces, with the exception of a small triangular portion to the extreme south-east which is inhabited by the Ga Adangbe and Ewe. They also inhabit the whole of the middle provinces administratively designated Ashanti. Thus they occupy about half of the entire expanse of territory and constitute in numbers about half the population of the country.

The Akan territory is gently undulating, rising gradually to form an escarpment which runs from almost the south-east corner in a north-westerly direction across the western frontier to the French Ivory Coast. It is well watered and constitutes the scene of greatest activity in cocoa production. North of this escarpment the soils are generally of a different formation derived from Voltain sand-stones. They support a natural vegetation of wooded grasslands though in the transitional zone high forests may be encountered where a little cocoa thrives. In this region food farming forms the basis of agriculture, and Maize (*ZEA MAIS*), Yams (*DIOSCOREA SPP*), Rice (*ORYZA SATIVA*), (mainly upland), Groundnuts (*ARACHIS HYPOGAEA*) are produced almost on a commercial scale, that is, there is usually a surplus over the needs of the family and such surpluses are available for sale on the markets,

THE CHANGING SCENES OF AKAN AGRICULTURE.

It has often been said that the Gold Coast is an agricultural country and will remain so for many years to come. It is, however, interesting to note that agriculture as a regular and ordered economic pursuit is still very young in the Gold Coast. The country has passed through within the space of probably a century or less, many and varied phases of economic activity, agriculture as an organized activity and animal production being very recent. The first phase is common to all primitive societies and may be called the *collecting stage*. Men lived entirely on what nature provided out of its bounty. Agricultural activity then consisted in merely collecting from nature, berries, fruits, roots, wild DIOSCOREA species common to West Africa, oil palm fruits and nuts and edible fungi. This must have been the case to within a few centuries of our time.

The second phase marked the beginnings of agriculture in an unsettled community. The art of deliberate clearing and planting as far as the peace of the countryside would permit began in this period; but, hampered by internecine tribal wars and feuds, progress was very slow. Descriptions of this period abound in Akan folklore. Pictures of the incidence of frequent famines which must have laid waste the countryside and often set one tribe against the other, the secrecy with which farming operations were conducted and the frequent attempts to conceal farm sites are often painted in the Akan unwritten literature—the folklore.

“ . . . And there was a great famine in the land and ANANSE (the hero of Akan folklore, and cunning personified) went out in search of food. After a whole day's labours he came across a bunch of unripe palm nuts. He cut it and settled down to crack the nuts and extract the kernels for food. But one after another the kernels slipped down a hole in the ground and disappeared until in desperation he decided to follow the last nut down the hole. He did, and lo and behold he saw a cottage underground with an old lady and a large yam farm ! ” Again, “ Mr. Squirrel walked a great distance on vines and trees into the deep forest and made himself a large yam farm in a period of great famine. Ananse hunting for what food he could find for himself and his family stumbled upon Mr. Squirrel's farm and having tried in vain to locate the road which led to the farm, for Mr. Squirrel travelled on vines and trees and therefore cut no path to it, Ananse immediately built a road from the farm to his cottage and took possession of it thereby ”.

Many stories have this theme. The concealed or the “ subterranean ” farm both indicate the unsettled nature of the countryside the incessant raids and predial larceny which made it necessary to have the few and small farms in areas not easily discoverable or accessible. Farms are heard of in this period of Akan history but the indication is that they were few and far between. Deliberate farming was still in its infancy. The crops one comes across in Akan folklore are usually the ubiquitous oil palm, the wild yam and practically nothing else. This shows the scanty resources in indigenous food plants in the Gold Coast and particularly in the Akan Forest Belt.

Following after this was the Agricultural Stage which could only have been entered upon after the communities had come to settle and a certain measure of peace had been established. This cannot date

back more than a few scores of years in the Gold Coast. Many food crops had been introduced by the early European and Levantine traders and the maize, groundnuts, cassava (*MANIHOT UTILISSIMA*), citrus fruits and many more valued crops had gradually found their place in the agriculture of the country. The vernacular names of some of these bear testimony to the fact that they have foreign origin. For example the Twi name for cassava is *BANKYE* which is *EBAE NKYEE* which rendered in English is, "it has not been here long". The Pine Apple (*ANANAS SATIVUS*) is called *ABROBE* which is *ABROFO ABE*, meaning, "Whiteman's palm". The Lime (*CITRUS MEDICA*) must have reached the Akans long before the sweet orange (*CITRUS AURANTIUM*). Thus the Sweet Orange is called *ABRONKAA* which is *ABROFO ANKAA* or Whiteman's lime. And so it goes on through the whole catalogue of Tropical Crop Plants with which the Akan is now familiar and has come to accept and regard as his own.

However, before these introduced plants had had time to be developed on a commercial scale the Gold Coast, was drawn into the vortex of world trade and the requirements of industrialised Europe dictated other lines of production. Palm oil was needed at first for lubrication and later for soap manufacture. Natural palmeries, abundant in the Gold Coast, afforded a cheap source of supply; and palm oil and palm kernels collected from wild trees went out into the factories of Europe. No attempts were made to put down plantations, large or small, nor were there deliberate plantings of this valuable crop. The development of the motor car and the pneumatic tyre created an increasing demand for rubber. Once again the Akan forests of the Gold Coast provided a large variety of trees and vines whose sap could be manufactured to the desired product. The necessity to lay down rubber plantations never arose, for the natural groves were enough to supply produce, the income from which adequately met the few wants of the native inhabitant at the time.

CACAO

All the export crops so far were obtained for the effort of merely collecting them from nature's bounty. But a new crop was to come which called for a different line of action and treatment. The Gold Coast was not its original home. It had been introduced from elsewhere and demanded greater effort than the indigenous crop plants required. Every cacao tree had to be planted and nurtured before it could grow and yield fruits. The demand for it grew by leaps and bounds and the Gold Coast farmer, seeing an opportunity of benefiting from this new crop, redoubled his productive efforts and soon gained for himself the enviable position of the greatest single cacao producer in the world. The story of the development of cacao in the Gold Coast, practically all of it centred in the Akan territory and largely owned by him, is an epic. Development, due almost entirely to native initiative and industry and the ability of the Gold Coast African not

merely to judge the growing economic importance of this crop, but to anticipate and respond to the growing demand for it on a world market over which he could not exercise any direct control, is evidence of his keen business acumen and good sense of judgment. From a meagre first shipment of some 86 lb. in the closing decade of the last century the Gold Coast beat all records in 1936 with a total export of some 300,000 tons, a little less than half of the world's total output—and all this in the space of half a century!

It is interesting to note that so far there has been no foreign capital in this business and the basis of Gold Coast production is entirely peasant proprietorship—a feature which makes the achievement even more laudable.

A new era dawned with the introduction of cacao. With it almost permanent migration from the less suitable areas into environs more congenial to the crop started. With it land acquired a money value and purchases of at least usufructuary rights for life or in perpetuity commenced and increased. It was a tree crop and occupied land permanently. Thus new problems, hitherto unknown, arose. Tribes from the littoral went into Akan land to take advantage of the new prospects which cacao offered. Thus land, which in the Akan community had never been owned by any individual but been held in trust by the occupant of the "Stool" (the traditional symbol of authority) for the "dead, the living and the multitudes yet unborn", began to acquire a new characteristic—the ability to be held in permanent ownership not merely by members of the clan or even the tribe but by members of extra-tribal units. Land and boundary disputes arose and grew in number and in dimension and have never since abated.

Thus the first problem we encounter in our Agricultural evolution is economic and we may now restrict ourselves to a study of the nature of this problem.

LAND OWNERSHIP AND TENURE

The ultimate ownership and control of land in the Akan community has always been vested in the "STOOL". In large parts of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast this is vested in a special land priest quite distinct from the paramount Chief and known as the TINDANA. He it is, in the North, who allocates land for farming and building purposes to the members of the tribe and aliens who seek to reside or farm in the area. Among the Akan the Paramount Chief with his council divided their territory among the principal Divisional Chiefs who act more or less as caretakers of the land for the central authority, the Stool. Each divisional chief in turn divided his portion amongst the various sections of his division. These sections were in charge of lesser chiefs or clan heads or village headmen. The individual members of the community were entitled to work as much unoccupied land of their particular section as they were able to bring under cultivation. The system in some ways was not unlike the old feudal system

of Europe in the Middle Ages¹; except that here every individual citizen was a free man ; the land he cultivated became his own in the sense that he had the right in perpetuity to farm it. Thus the "right to original cultivation" has always been the common privilege enjoyed by Akan citizens in their native states.

There were usually no limits to the amount of unoccupied land which an individual citizen could possess and once an Akan had expended his labour and capital on the land it became his property until his death when it passed on to his successors as "family property". It must here be emphasized that property in land merely consisted in the right to farm it. The right to timber and minerals still remain vested in the "Stool" which even to-day is entitled to a one-third share of any treasure discovered on the land. When land is unoccupied in an Akan territory it remains "STOOL" property and any citizen has the right to cultivate it. Thus Francis Thomas Dove in evidence in 1913 before H. C. Belfield said, "As far as I know, it is contrary to the native idea that land could possibly be without an owner".

A non-native, however, must seek the permission of the clan head if he wishes to farm on uncultivated clan land, or of the local chief and his elders, if it happens to be "STOOL" land. In some Akan states he may be allowed to purchase the usufructuary rights to farm an area. In others, as in Ashanti, even usufructuary rights may not be sold except in very special cases of hardship on the part of the grantor chief. In such cases sale can be effected only with the knowledge and consent of the "Golden Stool", and permission to farm may be secured by passing through the customary process of approaching the caretaker chief and his council and offering the customary "drink".² Such an approach will always have to be through one of the local people. Thus in a report on "The Economic Agriculture of the Gold Coast in 1889", submitted to the Colonial Office, it is stated that definite dues for usufructuary rights over land from non-natives of a district consisted of "a flask of rum, a head of tobacco and a shilling". These then constituted the customary "drink" in a particular state with which the writer was familiar.

Where the right to farm had been purchased no rent was payable by the buyer. But where a man had been granted land on which to farm, on the payment of "drinks", a system of tributes operated and a certain amount assessable on the number of bearing trees, if the crop was cacao, or on the acreage, was chargeable annually to the grantee. ". . . stranger farmers in Ashanti have taken up holdings and at first were giving one-third share to the grantor chief or stool," says an official annual report in the nineties. This rate in Ashanti has been reduced considerably of late and in some cases may be remitted entirely when the immigrant farmer succeeds in making himself a useful and trusted member of the community. He becomes naturalised. On the demise of an immigrant farmer the property

passed on to his next of kin if such relations presented themselves, but in the absence of any claimants it reverted to the ownership of the clan head or the "Stool".

A farm made by a local inhabitant can be disposed of at will without previous permission from the chief but with the knowledge and consent of the clan or the family group, to the ownership of which such a farm will naturally and customarily revert on the demise of the farmer. The property then becomes "family property". An immigrant who has been allowed to make a permanent farm or, where possible, has purchased the usufructuary right over a piece of land may not dispose of it without the knowledge of the Chief who is normally in such cases entitled to a third of the proceeds of such transactions.

Before the introduction of permanent crops when purely subsistence farming was the rule these complicated arrangements were unnecessary. Permanent interest in plots of land for farming purposes were not pursued particularly in the savannah and grassland areas. On the whole, their interest in a particular piece or parcel of land usually lasted the length of the rotation period after which the land was abandoned and reverted to bush but it was usually the rule that the farmer or one of his relations exercising the right of original cultivation came back to work the area after many years of rest. The pressure of population on land was very slight and therefore was not in demand and had practically no economic value. Thus in H. C. Belfield's *Report on Gold Coast Lands* referred to above, an important and enlightened Paramount Chief is reported to have said the following in evidence, "No sales of land took place in former days because there was no demand". Now the population has increased considerably and the pressure on suitable lands in convenient locations is great. Hence land acquired an economic value. The Paramount Chief's evidence continues, ". . . but the custom (of 'sale' of land) has grown up and has been recognised by the chiefs and tribes in order to conform to the requirements of European traders". I should say, "the requirements of the times," since European traders can have no right to farm in the Gold Coast. Even in Ashanti where usufructuary rights may not normally be sold the "customary drink" payable by the prospective immigrant has risen within the past twenty-five years from a few bottles of gin or their equivalent to quite large sums of money. Beckett in his monograph "Akokoaso" describing a "sale" of land in another Akan State in 1936 listed the following expenses as forming a necessary part of the customary procedure—

£2 to the Chief for silk loin band, 1 sheep, 2 bottles of rum in lieu of consideration money, £1 to each of the 7 elders and the Queenmother. In addition to this one sheep and four bottles of rum were necessary for certain customary rights and the cutters of the boundary traces charged a fee of 10% of the value of the land. Thus 4 to 5 acres cost a total of £61 5s.

This system of landholding appears very complicated and rather confusing as customs of the various Akan states with regard to land tenure are not uniform. The element of uncertainty looms large in the system and whatever the social benefits it may confer on the nationals, economically, it cannot be said to be satisfactory in the light of modern developments. It is true that it has worked satisfactorily in the past and the principle of ultimate ownership of land being vested in the central traditional authority, the "Stool", has acted as an insurance against complete alienation of British West African lands by the Crown and saved the native population the humiliation of being confined to "native reserves"; yet it has its weaknesses. Holdings tend to be small and uneconomic with the result that a man's time is not usually fully employed in productive exertions. Thus the amount of concealed unemployment remains high and difficult to reduce. The individualist nature of the Akan militates against the idea of combining small-holdings in plots of economic size to be run co-operatively, to be purchased by an individual or a corporation or made over to an enterprising member of the family.

The introduction and adoption of scientific methods of production, so necessary at this stage of development, is very much hampered in the country, because, among other things, the feeling of security in the Akan system is never so complete as to encourage free investment in the land. The amount of land disputes due mainly to the absence of registration of land titles and to this complicated system of landholding constitutes a perpetual warning to the enterprising farmer and places checks on his freedom to develop his estate.

This is one of the greatest economic problems facing the country's agriculture to-day. With the necessary safeguards the position could be improved with great advantage to agricultural progress.

LABOUR

A problem which does not appear to present an easy solution is the problem of the amount of concealed unemployment in the country. This has, in a large measure, been caused by the peculiar land-holding system in the country which suited the tempo of development and the economic conditions of the past. Money economy was then not well developed and the basis of our economy was subsistence farming. Self-sufficiency in at least agricultural production was the rule. Times have changed or are changing rapidly and as standards of life improve society calls for a whole variety of services which must be provided at an economic rate. It is quite fashionable these days to take up the refrain of the universal tune of rural exodus and forget that in underdeveloped communities, such as the Gold Coast, the real danger to the national income does not often rest with the modern tendency to quit rural life for urban pursuits, but it often lies with the masses of people apparently engaged in agricultural production but in reality wasting their time in fruitless endeavours in agriculture. This

concealed unemployment is very wasteful of the national productive effort and it may be eased by providing other avenues of employment which will draw the surplus population from the land into more productive services and occupations.

The problem which must be faced with calculated determination is not how to return the urban population into agriculture but how to provide productive urban occupations to the ever increasing population. It is when by this process of rural exodus there results a reduction in agricultural production and therefore agricultural prices rise that the people remaining on the land will seek to improve production by the adoption of improved methods, and the right type and grade of labour is then more likely to be drawn into the industry.

PEASANT PROPRIETORSHIP IN AKAN AGRICULTURE

During the evolutionary process of her agriculture the Akans have been landed with literally millions of small-holdings, usually scattered and most of them uneconomic to run. The basis of Akan agriculture is thus largely peasant proprietorship. The tendency in the new areas is towards larger farms of anything up to 20 acres or more which are worked in some cases by the family with the help of some hired labour or entirely by hired labour. This has been made possible in the new cacao areas mainly because of the high prices of the produce. Much of the wealth accruing to the farmer is happily finding its way into the industry in the sense that more and more money is being used in cacao production. This is desirable. A close study of the form which these investments take, however, reveals a process which cannot have a salutary effect either on the industry or on the agricultural resources and potentialities of the territory. The farmer, due to the prosperity he now appears to enjoy and his eagerness to invest his money in real estate as being the only form of secure investment apart from building, ploughs his money back into the industry. This takes the form of making new farms and not in the improvement of old farms or of productive techniques. Because of the peculiar land-holding system described which makes it easy for citizens of Akan states to possess unoccupied lands within their state, there is always a rush to the areas favourable to cacao production. Thus, usually, there are mass movements of the inhabitants from one region to another every two or three years whenever suitable lands are discovered. And the people carry with them wanton destruction of forest resources which is immediately followed by bad and uneconomic farming methods because in their desire to possess more land in the form of more holdings which are necessarily scattered, the attention the young farms deserve can never be given them.

The result is that these farms are never properly managed and most of them soon degenerate into secondary bush. These patches of secondary bush so common in the new cacao areas remain unattended and yet inaccessible to others who might be desirous of putting

them together under cultivation, because of the inhabitants' right to original cultivation. That is, with permanent crop farming the right of possession which an Akan man exercised over a piece of original forest on which he has expended his labour is now much more fully asserted.

Soon the farmer's financial resources run out but he clings tenaciously to his lands, usually fruitless, which he has thus acquired. In some cases his attachment to his lands may be due to his love of possession or his acquisitive nature, the hope that times might look up again, his peculiar family and clan loyalties, or disability to dispose of land which he does not "own". Even if such lands were offered for "sale" buyers of the right to farm them would seldom be forthcoming because of the expensive and protracted litigation usually consequent upon land purchase in the Akan community. And this is due to the peculiarly complicated clan system which makes everybody personally interested in everybody else's business, and the system of Akan land ownership.

The direct outcome of this is that the community's productive agricultural effort is spread out over a large and unwieldy area causing a considerable and unwarranted reduction in production per unit area and per man.

It is now held in theory in high places that estate production will remedy this situation. This is doubtful. Cacao appears to be a crop which can with the necessary scientific outlook be produced satisfactorily on peasant farms. Once established a peasant farm may be just as economically operated as an estate. The labour requirement of a cacao farm is largely seasonal and the maintenance of a large labour force necessary for the good running of an estate may make estate cultivation a less economic proposition than a peasant farm of an economic size. If this economic holding could be worked out for the community and the peasant educated to appreciate the usefulness of simple scientific methods of planting, treatment and maintenance, the industry would continue to enjoy prosperity as long as world demand remains at an economic level.

SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH AKAN AGRICULTURE

The rapid development of the cacao industry in the Gold Coast which has, within the memories of people still alive, changed almost completely the subsistence economy of the people to a money economy must have attendant upon it great sociological and other problems. The traditional outlook on land and its ownership in the Akan community is being subjected to the severest shocks. Some of the economic implications have been described but the sociological problems are just as severe. Towns and villages have sprung up in the countryside only to have their growth arrested with the destruction of the farms by the Swollen Shoot Disease. A series of cocoa towns which flourished and bustled with activity in the first period of the inter-war

years are now sleeping towns with no bright prospects of waking because of the ravages of the cocoa virus. History is repeating itself and in the west Ashanti regions, where one is reminded of the story of the "Conquest of the West" in America, towns and villages are rapidly developing and trade and commerce follow where cacao blazes the trail.

The amassing of wealth by certain families and the general rise in the standard of life as a result of agriculture, trade and commerce have not been without their effects on traditional authority and institutions. The Akan Chief, sanctified by the elevated position he occupies in society, must according to tradition not engage in mundane pursuits while all around him his elders, councillors and subjects, and even the descendants of the slaves of his ancestors, grow in wealth and independence and throw off their traditional loyalties and obligations. In a society where money has unfortunately become the common determinant of prestige and social worth at the cost of other human virtues and values, the institution of chiefship which enshrined the art, the music and dance, the entire cultural heritage of the people is threatened.

It has been here demonstrated that the development of a people's agriculture is not a simple process. Its effects are deep and far-reaching and involve problems which touch the many and varied aspects of life. In the last analysis it is the effect on the human element that matters. Schemes of agricultural development carry within themselves the seed of a complex of problems. Rapid changes in the course of human history are bound to create untold difficulties, for different aspects of life have different rates of progress and development; and emphasis on any one aspect rather than on a co-ordinated picture of human activity cannot but result in fresh and seemingly insoluble problems when the tempo of life is particularly activated. In all development programmes then it is always wise to hasten slowly.

NOTES

¹ But the Akan System is happily without most of the disadvantages and obligations imposed on the farmer by the Medieval Feudal System.

² The "Customary drink" is either a drink of an accepted kind or its value in money approved by the convention of the area, and it may be anything from a few shillings to a few pounds sterling.

La répercussion sociale de l'agriculture mécanisée en Turquie

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En 1953 l'UNESCO avait décidé d'appliquer une enquête sur la répercussion du machinisme en agriculture dans les Pays du Proche-Orient. A cet occasion, M. Tristram avait visité notre pays, en restant une semaine à Adana. Simultanément, une équipe de chercheurs parmi les étudiants de la Faculté des Sciences Politiques d'Ankara avait fait le sondage sur le même problème, dont le résultat est publié en 1954. Un résumé du rapport était traduit en anglais par l'Organisation de Sécurité Mutuelle. Nous avons une autre étude faite en 1936, sur la production et le niveau de vie des agriculteurs turcs. Cette étude contient une comparaison entre la Turquie et certains pays agraires, tels, Bulgarie, Danemark, Iran, ou les pays industriels, comme l'Allemagne, l'Angleterre, l'Amérique du Nord. Le résultat moyen de cette étude peut-être présenté dans la liste suivante :

	nourriture	logement	chauffage, etc.	habit	autres	somme
Les pays agraires						
La Turquie	58	6	12	18	6	100
L'Iran, la Bulgarie	59	9	10	15	7	100
Danemark	33	15	4	11	37	100
Les pays industriels						
L'Allemagne, l'Angleterre	49	21	7	7	16	100
L'Amérique du Nord ..	33	25	5	16	21	100

Etant donné que dans les pays agraires les matières de nourriture sont bon marché, tandis que les produits industriels sont chers, il faut que la dépense pour la nourriture soit minime. Mais le résultat obtenu—58-59%—démontre que ces pays agraires, y compris la Turquie, avaient besoin en 1936 d'un redressement sensible de niveau de vie. Il faut considérer d'abord la relation entre la dépense de nourriture et l'augmentation de la population. Il ne faut pas oublier que cette enquête était appliquée dans une époque où *la machinisation agricole n'existait pas*.¹ Après 17 ans d'intervalle, le résultat de la seconde enquête nous montre l'influence et la répercussion sociale de la machinisation agricole en Turquie.

Selon le rapport de 1954, l'emploi des machines agricoles a des répercussions sur la famille agricole et sur la communauté rurale. On étudie d'abord l'influence de la machinisation sur la famille agricole et sur les métayers, puis, son influence sur le changement des relations entre les communautés rurales et urbaines, enfin, son influence sur l'augmentation des conflits surgissant de la propriété agricole. Ces trois sujets ont été pris en considération dans les trois enquêtes mentionnées.

A. L'influence de la machinisation sur la famille agraire.—Selon les résultats obtenus des enquêtes sur la famille, toutes les familles incluses dans cette enquête ne pratiquaient pas l'agriculture avant l'introduction des machines agricoles. Cette liste nous montre la différence les ruraux agraires et non agraires avant l'achat des machines.

Les régions	Ceux qui pratiquent l'agriculture	Ceux qui ne la pratiquent pas
L'Anatolie centrale	96.7	2.3
La Méditerranée	97.1	2.9
La Mer égéenne	95.4	4.6
Le Marmara	98.3	1.7
Le Sud-Est	84.5	15.5
La Mer Noire	98.3	1.7

Le maximum des non agraires se trouve au Sud-Est de l' Anatolie. Cette situation montre que certaines personnes ne vivant que par la location de leur terre ont une tendance à vivre par l'agriculture après la machinisation. En d'autres termes, la machinisation a poussé ces familles non agraires à la vie agricole. Ce phénomène est une des répercussions sociales principales de la machinisation.

Une autre enquête sur cette population non agraire nous montre que la plupart sont venus des grands villages et des villes. La liste présentant les anciens lieux de travail avant la machinisation nous atteste ce résultat.

Les régions	Dans les villages	Les grands villages et les villes
L'Anatolie centrale	18.8	81.2
La Méditerranée	42.3	57.1
La Mer Égéeenne	51.6	48.4
Le Marmara	75.0	25.0
Le Sud-Est	83.3	16.7
La Mer Noire	0.0	100.0
Le moyen	38.6	61.4

La machinisation de 38.6% de la population vivait dans les villages. Ce résultat nous montre que la population vivant en village, mais s'occupant des travaux non agraires, et la population urbaine s'occupant des travaux non agraires, ou vivant par la location de leur terre sont introduits à la vie agricole après la machinisation. Le maximum des familles transformées en agraires après la machinisation se trouve sur le bord de la Mer noire.

Pour les anciennes professions des familles transformées en agraires, nous pouvons donner cette liste:

Les professions	le nombre	Les professions	le nombre
Les artisans et les petits industriels	21	Chômeurs	2
Les négociants	18	Médecins	2
Les fonctionnaires	7	Zootéchniciens	1
Les élèves	7	Le journaliste	1
Les chauffeurs	4	Le machiniste	1
Ceux qui vendent les bétails	3	Le fabricant	1
L'ouvrier	3	Le propriétaire de bercaïl	1
Professions libres	1	La somme	73

Par la comparaison de cette liste avec la liste sur ceux qui dirigent les machines, nous constatons un autre fait très intéressant. La plupart du 96% des familles qui étaient fermiers avant la machinisation se servaient de leur machine eux-même, ou bien les faisaient fonctionner par leur proche-parents. De 5015 familles contenues dans l'enquête, le nombre de ceux qui utilisent la machine touche à 3501. 885 personnes sont des chauffeurs—salariés, et les autres, c'est à dire, 2616, des fermiers. Ces nombres nous montrent comment la machine a pénétré dans la structure de la famille agraire et dans quelle mesure ces familles se sont accoutumées à la machine.

Un autre résultat de la machinisation de la famille agraire est l'augmentation des personnes qui travaillent effectivement dans l'agriculture. Selon les résultats obtenus par l'enquête de famille, les gens qui ne travaillent pas étaient 10%. Après l'achat des machines le nombre de ceux qui ne travaillent pas est abaissé à 7%. Cette constatation est très importante au point de vue de l'influence des machines sur la vie sociale.

B. Nous avons montré que la machinisation a provoqué la location, par contre, elle a amoindri le fermage et le métayage. Cependant, la location des terres par des fermiers après l'achat des machines n'est pas un indice de l'augmentation des locataires. Car, l'enquête appliquée ne nous révèle pas comment étaient utilisées les terres louées par ces fermiers, et certains rubriques concernant à ce sujet manquent dans les questionnaires des chercheurs. Par contre, nous constatons le rabaissement du métayage et du fermage, L'enquête nous éclaire aussi la situation des chômeurs provenant de l'emploi des tracteurs, où sont installés, et ce qu'ils font. D'autre part, les métayers et les fermiers qui sont en chômage à cause des machines, nous sont partiellement inconnus. Mais nous savons déjà combien sont restés dans les villages et combien sont installés dans les grands villages et les villes. Nous constatons que la majorité de ceux qui restent en village travaillent comme ouvrier ou sous d'autres formes dans les travaux agricoles. Surtout, il est confirmé par l'observation de l'enquêteur que dans la région Sud-Est ils ont commencé à pratiquer l'agriculture.

La liste suivante nous donne le nombre de ceux qui sont devenus chômeurs et où ils se trouvent actuellement.

Les régions	le nombre	la popula- tion du village	%	ceux qui restent en village	ceux qui vont en ville
L'Anatolie centrale ..	1,152	72,439	1.6	1,084	68
La Méditerranée ..	9,268	74,496	12.4	6,887	2,381
La mer Egéenne ..	3,271	133,239	2.5	3,270	1
Le Marmara ..	1,396	69,115	2.0	1,367	29
Le Sud-Est ..	1,977	31,126	6.4	1,269	708
La Mer noire ..	199	39,524	0.5	114	85
Le moyen ou la somme	17,263	419,939	4.1	13,991	3,272

La liste montre qu'après la machinisation le nombre de chômeurs de métoyage et de fermage monte à 17,263, ce qui représente les % 4, 1 de la population des villages étudiés. Le plus grand nombre se trouve dans les régions de la Méditerranée et du Sud-est. Le plus grand nombre des chômeurs qui sont déplacés pour s'installer en ville se trouve sur le bord de la Mer noire et dans l'Anatolie centrale.

C. Les changements dans les relations entre les villages et les villes. I.—On aperçoit une augmentation des relations entre les grands villages et les villes. Bien que la grande majorité des familles agraires conduisent leur machine personnellement ou les font conduire à un membre de leur proche-parent, les relations inévitables avec les villes pour s'assurer de l'essence, des accessoires et des autres objets sont sensiblement accrues. Surtout, la nécessité d'aller aux centres des préfectures pour la réparation des machines en est la cause principale. En outre, l'emploi des tracteurs comme un moyen de transport a contribué à resserrer les relations entre les villages et les villes. II.—Il y a aussi un attachement agrandi au point de vue de l'offre de certaines matières surproduites. L'enquête d'exploitation nous révèle que le rapprochement entre les villages et les villes se réalise dans les deux sens du village à la ville, et de la ville au village. Cela veut dire que l'organisation d'achat de l'Office des produits agricoles est élargie: en même temps, un grand nombre d'acheteurs, officiels ou privés, vont directement au village, au lieu d'attendre les paysans et leurs produits. Tous ces phénomènes ont augmenté la fréquence de relations entre les villes et les villages.

D. Certaines répercussions de la machinisation sur la vie rurale. I.—Ceux qui viennent s'installer en village.—Selon le résultat de l'enquête faite chez des préposés des villages depuis 1949, on a aperçu un mouvement de population vers les villes. Ce mouvement est accentué non seulement par les villes, mais aussi par d'autres villages et par la vie nomade. Cette liste nous en donne une idée générale.

Les régions	Ceux qui s'installent	La population des villages	La proportion %
L'Anatolie centrale	2,143	72,439	2.96
La Méditerranée	6,542	74,496	8.80
La Mer Egéenne	8,452	133,239	0.63
Le Marmara	1,856	69,115	2.74
Le Sud-Est	1,896	31,126	4.85
La Mer Noire	2,181	39,524	5.53
Somme ou moyen	23,070	419,939	5.41

La plus grande émigration interne est en Méditerranée. Par contre, sur le bord de la Mer Egéenne la proportion est très basse. Un autre résultat statistique de l'enquête nous montre qu'il y a une augmentation progressive de ce mouvement et le plus grand nombre est atteint durant ces deux dernières années. Par exemple, en 1948 le nombre des émigrés n'étant que 1,873, en 1952 elle a atteint le nombre de 9,446. Selon

l'enquête, la plupart des émigrés sont les habitants des autres villages. Les citadins sont relativement restreints.

L'enquête des préposés du village nous donne une idée sur l'origine et les professions des émigrés. Voilà la liste :

Les années	Ceux qui viennent des villes	Ceux qui viennent des autres villages	Les réfugiés	La somme
1948	120	1,665	88	1,873
1949	111	1,774	158	2,043
1950	187	2,022	346	2,555
1951	218	2,690	3,692	6,883
1952	524	3,672	5,250	9,446
La somme ou moyen	1,160	11,823	9,766	22,749

La liste nous montre qu'un peu plus de la moitié des émigrés sont venus des autres villages, et un peu moins de la moitié sont des réfugiés, tandis que les citadins sont très restreints.

2. Ceux qui viennent s'installer en ville : l'enquête des préposés des villages nous instruit aussi sur ce problème. D'après cette enquête, le nombre des émigrés—exclusivement pour des villages étudiés par les enquêteurs—qui s'installent en ville sont 3,449.

Les régions	les émigrés	la population des villages choisis	La proportion %
L'Anatolie centrale	253	72,439	0·35
La Méditerranée ..	665	74,496	0·89
La Mer Egéenne ..	453	133,239	0·35
Le Marmara ..	290	69,115	0·42
Le Sud-Est ..	1,616	31,126	0·11
La Mer Noire ..	172	39,524	0·44
La somme ou le moyen	3,449	419,939	0·82

La population émigrée des villages vers les villes n'est que 0.82%. Mais cette proportion rehausse sensiblement au Sud-Est. Si nous étudions l'émigration interne survenue pendant la période de machinisation, nous voyons qu'en trois premières années la quantité des émigrés étant fixe, tandis qu'en deux dernières années elle est rapidement accélérée. Nous pouvons dire, pour conclure qu'une interprétation exacte de ce mouvement de population entre les villages et les villes est encore impossible dans ces conditions de statistiques très limitées.

E. Les conflits surgissant à l'occasion des différends entre plusieurs propriétaires agraires.—La machinisation, et par suite, la concentration des exploitations ont relevé les conflits des propriétés agraires, en même temps, elles ont augmenté leur nombre. Selon les résultats de l'enquête des préposés, les 44% des différends de propriétés agraires sont arrivés à cause de l'emploi des tracteurs. D'après les réponses des préposés, dans ces villages a surgi en 1952, 6,304 différends de propriétés agraires. La liste nous montre que le plus grand nombre se trouve en Anatolie centrale et en Méditerranée. Dans la région de

la Mer noire la proportion est sensiblement inférieure. La même enquête nous instruit sur la nature et les classes des différends.

Les régions	Entre les habitants d'un même village	Entre les paysans et le village	Entre les paysans et les villages voisins
L'Anatolie centrale	35.2	36.3	14.0
La Méditerranée	61.0	2.8	6.0
La Mer Egéenne	66.0	12.9	4.9
Le Marmara	79.3	7.6	4.7
Le Sud-Est	48.2	6.2	17.2
La Mer Noire	76.3	2.6	19.1
La somme ou le moyen ..	53.3	14.8	8.9

Les régions	Entre les paysans et l'Etat	Entre les paysans et les citadins
L'Anatolie	14.4	0.1
La Méditerranée	8.2	22.1
La Mer Egéenne	7.1	9.1
Le Marmara	8.4	0.0
Le Sud-Est	6.8	21.6
La Mer Noire	0.0	0.0
La somme ou le moyen ..	9.6	11.4

En outre, nous apprenons par la même enquête le statut et l'état social des personnes en conflits. D'après la liste préparée sur ce problème les 13% des conflits étaient entre les proche-parents, les 35% avec un habitant du même village, les 13% avec l'Etat. Dans la région méditerranéenne les conflits entre les parents sont relativement supérieurs. Dans la Mer Noire les conflits entre les habitants d'un même village est le plus haut. Quant aux conflits avec la personnalité morale du village, le plus grand nombre est en Anatolie centrale. Enfin, le plus grand nombre des conflits avec l'Etat est au Sud-Est et en Méditerranée.

Pour avoir une idée plus claire sur la répercussion de la machinisation en Turquie, il fallait d'abord étendre l'enquête aux autres régions du pays et venir jusqu'à nos jours. Ensuite, il fallait appliquer une autre enquête psychosociologique pour étudier les changements des capacités intellectuelles des paysans surgis après l'introduction des machines et directement par leurs effets pour les comparer avec le niveau intellectuel des paysans qui ne connaissent pas la machine ou qui ne la sont pas accoutumée. Ce second point était pris en considération par M. Tristram, mais son séjour très court en Turquie n'était pas suffisant pour l'approfondissement d'une telle étude. J'espère qu'avec la collaboration des universités turques cette enquête sera prochainement réalisée.

Un des points les plus importants des enquêtes que nous avons traité ici, est le problème de l'émigration interne. L'émigration périodique du travail, l'émigration provenant de l'insuffisance économique de certains régions, l'émigration volontaire par la puissance de

l'entreprise, etc., sont essentiellement différente de celle que ces enquêtes étudient. Il ne faut jamais prendre le sujet d'un point de vue exclusif : le point de vue de propriétaire du sol, le point de vue des fermiers chômeurs déplacés, le point de vue des citadins menacés par le cumul des populaces, etc. . . . sont mêlés avec les considérations unilatérales idéologiques subjectives. L'élargissement et l'approfondissement de ces enquêtes de répercussions sociales peuvent seul nous donner une idée claire et nous instruire sur plusieurs aspects de ce problème complexe.

NOTE

¹ Pour la première fois le tracteur et la machine batteuse étaient introduit sous le règne de Hamit II, en 1904 à la préfecture de Konya par les soins du Ministère des Forêts et d'Agriculture; 3 ans après par Abidinpacha à la préfecture d'Adana; mais, depuis 50 ans, sans considérer certaines entreprises personnelles ou officielles, il n'était pas répandu à tout le pays. Cela veut dire que la machinisation systématique de l'agriculture ne commence que depuis dix ans, et surtout, depuis l'adoption de la politique de l'agriculture mécanisée.

Institutionalization in Agrarian Organisations in the Netherlands

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1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper we focus our attention on a change in the character of some agrarian organizations in the Netherlands, a type of change which indeed manifests itself in many other contexts: institutionalization. The simplest definition of institutionalization is "the establishment of institutions".¹ But then we are immediately confronted with the problem of defining the concept of "institution". Most authors define it as an organized whole of established and standardized behaviour patterns with coercive power, as a result of those human activities which aim at the satisfaction of essential needs or interests of society.² In contrast to daily language, in which terms like "public institutions", "remedial institutions", etc., indicate associations of people, in sociology it is customary to make a clear distinction between associations and institutions, and to regard institutions as standardizing and controlling parts of culture.³ But on account of the vagueness of the concept of institution, it denotes, even in sociological parlance, at one time the generalized major components of society (from family and business systems to arts and ethics), and at another time pure associations such as fraternal orders, trade societies, etc. Thus, institutionalization as defined above calls for a further explanation of institution.

But there is another way of defining institutionalization. No matter what conception of institution one has, typical of institutions is their established character; typical is likewise their relative independence of the participants and the compelling character of an organized system of rules. Therefore we can redefine institutionalization as the process by which social phenomena get institutional characteristics. By institutionalization of associations we mean the development of associations towards formalism, but we have to keep in mind that institutions can develop which from the beginning bear an institutional earmark.

The idea that institutions are transitory things, that "before they are institutions they are institutions in process",⁴ is also expressed by the term "institutional cycle" or "life cycle of an institution".

Hertzler, following Angell, distinguishes four periods in the institutional cycle: (a) period of incipient organization, (b) period of efficiency, (c) period of formalism, (d) period of disorganization.⁵ The transition from period *a* to *c* one might call the process of institutionalization. But, while some institutions arise gradually out of social movements, others possess their formal character already in the period of incipient organization. It might be useful to pause a moment at the difference between social movement and institution.⁶ A social movement indicates action for something that is new, not yet generally accepted, tries to introduce changes within the existing order, whereas an institution is an established part of that order. A social movement is highly dependent on the interest and active sympathy of its participants, an institution on the contrary shows a relative independence. A social movement has in its early period of existence no definite forms of organization and almost no traditions, an institution has a high degree of organization and routine behaviour patterns. It stands to reason that every successful social movement becomes institutionalized. Its objectives are accepted, its adherents expand in number, the means by which its aims are pursued become standardized, special functionaries are appointed. In as far as a social movement plays a useful rôle socially, the positive side of the institutionalization is its increasing efficiency.

The drawbacks, however, are often more apparent, to such an extent that it is tempting to confine the use of the term institutionalization to describing the negative sides of the development from movement to institution. In particular one has to think of the loss of interest among the participants in the course of affairs and the growing power and independence of the leaders. The original leadership based on cooperation takes on more and more the character of a bureaucratic leadership by domination. In the next three paragraphs we will sketch the development of some agrarian associations in the Netherlands to institutions, while the concluding section of this paper will contain a summary of the results and dangers of institutionalization.

2. INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF FARMERS' CO-OPERATIVES

Considering the origin of the first co-operative associations one is undoubtedly entitled to speak of a co-operative movement. Co-operation was an ideal that at the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of this century occupied many farmers, not only as a means of fighting against the iniquities of private enterprise, but also as a new and better method by which farmers could control the trade in agrarian products and farm requisites. It was a movement to reform the existing system of buying and selling along peaceful lines, but driven by a strong ideal. For the founding of co-operatives the active assistance of many farmers was necessary. The corrupt practices in the trade of fertilizers and forage, as well as the poor prices the farmer received for his produce, formed a fertile soil for dissatisfaction and made many farmers champions of co-operative association. The situation then existing fulfilled

exactly the conditions for the genesis of a social movement, as defined by Blumer: "Social movements can be viewed as collective enterprises to establish a new order of life. They have their inception in a condition of unrest, and derive their motor power on one hand from dissatisfaction with the current form of life, and on the other hand, from wishes and hopes for a new scheme or system of living."⁷

The co-operative movement everywhere in the country gave rise to small, independent, locally operating co-operatives, with simple equipment and primitive working methods. Many purchasing and selling societies were run without warehouses, nor did they employ personnel, while most of the co-operative dairy factories were very small, so that members could control developments themselves. But such simple working methods could not be maintained when co-operative societies began to include all kinds of business in their activities, as for instance the processing of fodder, the buying and selling on foreign markets, the building of warehouses, factories, milling-plants and slaughter-houses and even scientific research and extension work. This expansion was made possible both by uniting similar types of co-operatives into central organizations and by the appointment of a staff of experts and a large number of personnel. It meant that the farmer by means of his co-operatives took affairs in his own hands and had to bear the responsibility for it, but at the same time he transmitted actual management to appointed personnel and partly lost knowledge of and control over the course of things. Moreover, the joining of local co-operatives into central organizations meant their subjection to a common system of rights and duties and the loss of a part of their independence. But the success of the co-operative movement was assured: co-operative associations have obtained an established place in the economic order and cannot be ignored nowadays.

If, however, we ask ourselves what is left of the idealistic content of the movement, of the "concerted action or agitation" among the first members, of their loyalty and readiness to make sacrifices for the common cause, we must conclude that the original character of a movement has disappeared. A pilot-study in "co-operative mindedness" in the municipality of Zelhem in the eastern part of the Netherlands threw an interesting light on the co-operative attitude among the farmers there, and new research seems to confirm that this attitude is general even in other parts of the country.⁸

Zelhem lies in a region where farmers are said to be co-operative minded. In the whole district one can find only co-operative dairy factories and all dairy farmers are members of a co-operative dairy society. These co-operatives, however, are institutionalized to such an extent that they are hardly regarded as special types of dairy plants. The farmer is no longer proud of his own achievement, does not have a real interest in it, does not identify himself with it, does not even have a notion that he can influence the course of things. The annual meeting of the co-operative society in Zelhem, which has a membership of

about one thousand, is attended by no more than a few dozen members, for the greater part elderly farmers who in fact have disposed of their farms to a son, but who still are members. They are attracted by an attendance fee, by a drink and a cigar, and many meetings are concluded with a film or a lecture with slides. The important issues, however, are left to the board; only a few members dare to speak in public at meetings.

With the credit co-operative the situation is about the same. This too has become a social institution; one does not doubt its usefulness, but as long as things run smoothly, one takes it for granted. Neither the dairy co-operative nor the credit society are highly dependent on their members; their position is so strong that nobody can do without them. But there is no question of co-operative zeal or enthusiasm for them among the members.

The purchasing co-operative is in a different position, because it has to compete with a rather strong private enterprise. Therefore it is more dependent on the loyalty of its members and its meetings are attended by more people. Yet, the degree of patronage even among the members is not always a matter of principle, but of geographical distance or tradition. It is the small and still young machinery-societies which in Zelhem most enjoy the active co-operation of the members. But the number of members here is limited and they conduct business themselves.

That there is no question of a strong sense of co-operation, at least among the majority of the farmers, is proved from their answers to the question concerning the position in which they place the co-operatives in the economic order of buying and selling agricultural products. In the first place they are not able to distinguish the underlying co-operative principle from special co-operatives. Co-operatives in general do not have a meaning to the Zelhem farmer. But secondly, they think that no co-operative should have a monopolistic position, that co-operatives should always compete with private enterprise, since otherwise they slacken in efforts for good prices and service. Competition with private enterprise is seen as a necessary condition for an efficient functioning of co-operative enterprises. Members do not see that they themselves by means of their votes can stimulate co-operative activity instead of leaving private enterprise to act as a corrective; their ignorance in matters pertaining to co-operative association is too great. Even if they know a little about local circumstances, their knowledge about the meaning and influence, or even the existence of central organizations of co-operative societies is practically non-existent; as appeared in Zelhem, 85% of the farmers knew nothing about these organizations. Even the members of the local boards, appointed as they often are on account of family descent, are not always well informed.

Resuming, we may state that many co-operatives are no longer driven by the ardour and sympathy of their members, but have turned into a power independent of membership and are ruled by management

and a board of prominent farmers. The interest of the members extends no farther than the election of governors and good prices; in matters of policy and economics they put confidence in management and the governing board, but they are not personally interested. In particular the younger farmers, who did not experience the struggle between private enterprise and the first co-operatives and who only by tradition and agricultural education have acquired some knowledge of the background of co-operative association, are said to be little interested, though they in general are in favour of co-operatives. Thus co-operatives have become institutions with very little contact between members and governors, and a high degree of independence of members; they are institutionalized.

3. ASPECTS OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION IN THE FARMERS' UNIONS

The origin of present-day farmers' unions lies in a movement among the landed nobility and the urban landowners in the first half of the nineteenth century to raise agriculture out of its backward state by means of promoting a scientific way of thought and fighting conservatism. The agricultural societies, to which the movement gave rise, pursued their objectives by offering prizes for essays on agricultural topics, rewarding inventions and improvements, publishing magazines, but the best results were expected from organizing agricultural exhibitions. However, the societies did not appeal to the practical farmer, both on account of the composition of membership and the scientific character of the activities.

Gradually, however, the activities of the agricultural societies shifted to those objects which were of more direct interest to the farmer. The percentage of real farmers among the members mounted rather quickly and the bond which united the members changed from one of common interest to one of like interest.⁹ Agricultural societies had turned into farmers' unions for the promoting of farmers' interests. With that the character of a social movement was lost and the first signs of institutionalization made their appearance. The unions had their offices, salaried secretaries and other personnel, but had not as yet cause to complain of a lack of interest among their members. On the contrary, as long as union activities were concentrated upon technical issues, the members participated with enthusiasm.

But when activities expanded more and more in a farm technical direction, specialized associations sprang up and took over the care of special tasks. Then the character of the farmers' unions shifted from a farm technical association to a union which dealt mainly with social and economic problems. Wage and price policy, agricultural legislation, foreign trade, and so forth, instead of cattle-breeding and control of animal and plant diseases now formed the chief task of the unions.

This development did not mean that the unions had become of less importance to the members. The farmer's strongest motive for being a union member is the necessity of being organized, of having an

organization which can function as a mouth-piece in a time when union is strength. What he expects of his union is not so much farm technical information, as the furtherance of his interests on a governmental level.¹⁰ This does not mean that he shows more interest in social and economic problems than in farm technical questions. Social and economic problems are too abstract and too remote from the routine of daily work to be really appealing to the average farmer. The meetings of the local unions are attended rather well, if the topic of the evening is technical, but poorly if on a subject such as statutory trade organizations. As a result, the average member cannot acquire sufficient knowledge of the real issues and must trust these to the governing board. So present-day farmers' unions have become recognized institutions through which the farmer can make his influence felt, but in which, without much contact, his wishes and opinions are made and formulated by the governing board.

4. THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE "LANDBOUWSCHAP"

This passive attitude of the members demonstrates itself clearly, if we trace the history of the collaborating unions since 1945. There are in the Netherlands 23 provincial or regional unions, federated into three national unions, a neutral one, a Calvinist one and a Roman Catholic one. In their practical dealings they do not differ very much and it stands to reason that they, if at all possible, strive after collaboration. When during the occupation the Germans liquidated the unions, the leading men continued to keep contact and developed a plan for a formal co-operation between the three farmers' unions and the three unions of farm labourers. Immediately after the liberation the Foundation of Agriculture, an institution based on private law and composed of the six unions mentioned, came into existence, almost before the unions themselves had been re-established. The tasks of the Foundation were to advise Government on issues pertaining to agriculture and to prepare the transformation of the Foundation into a statutory organization, a public corporation, authorized to issue by-laws in agricultural affairs. This last point contains the most important difference with conditions before the war. Concerted action, co-operation with the farm labourers or contacting Government were not new phenomena, but what was new was the effort to unite all agrarians, farmers and farm labourers, into one corporation and to empower this agency to prescribe rules and regulations pertaining to all who are engaged in agriculture.

The considerations which gave rise to a statutory trade organization differ for the various religious denominations within the organized agricultural world. As common incentives, however, we may mention the fear of too much government interference and of red tape as a consequence of increased government control. The unions were not so much against intervention in the free play of social forces as against intervention by the Government.

Meanwhile the statutory trade organization in agriculture, called "*Landbouwschap*", has begun to function. It is a corporation which in order to exercise its authority, must include all people working in agriculture. One likes to consider the *Landbouwschap* as a community (*Gemeinschaft*) of agrarians intended to relieve the Government partly of its task by issuing by-laws.

The term "community of agrarians" might suggest that at least some feeling of a mutual bond should exist which occasioned the moulding of a "we, workers in agriculture" into concrete form. However, there is no question that the average agrarian has ever even to a small extent contributed to or felt a need of the establishment of a statutory trade organization. For the *Landbouwschap* is built, not upon individual members but upon the six organizations of farmers and farm labourers, which, however, represent not more than about 50% of the participants in the *Landbouwschap*.¹¹ This means that about 50% of the participants in the *Landbouwschap* had no share in the founding of the *Landbouwschap*. But the same also holds for the great majority of the members. One only needs to gauge opinion about the *Landbouwschap* to discover that more than ninety per cent do not know what it stands for.¹² An investigation among the leaders of a number of local unions of farmers clearly demonstrated that even those who may be considered to belong to the prominent men in their community, showed only in exceptional cases some insight into the character of the *Landbouwschap*.¹³ Consequently, the *Landbouwschap* is not the product of spontaneous action, nor the concrete expression of a social movement among farmers and farm labourers, but the result of the endeavour among the leading men in the organized agrarian world to obtain independence of the Government. This does not mean that the average farmer is opposed to the *Landbouwschap*, but his attitude is characterized by passivity and confidence in the leaders, maybe also by apathy. It also means that the *Landbouwschap* cannot be an organization with strong "we-feelings", a community. Though democratically founded, to many participants its authority appears to have a character of coercion. Moreover, it is improbable that it can express the opinions and wishes of the participants, not only because they do not give signs of sympathy for the organization, but also because no provisions are made for direct influence.

Thus the *Landbouwschap* is a typical example of a corporation which already in its period of incipient organization is institutionalized, an example of an institution which sprang forth not from a movement, but from the activity of already existing institutions.

5. CONSEQUENCES AND DANGERS OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION

As we have noted already, institutionalization is a phenomenon of frequent occurrence which has to be considered as the consolidation of the success of new movements and initiatives. The correct and smooth functioning of social institutions is of positive value, but one

may wonder to what degree the average person concerned must continue to bear responsibility for the course of things. Joining an organization means the acceptance of some responsibility, which, however, is forfeited again, if all activities are left to the leaders and if these leaders are backed by nothing more than the loyalty and confidence of their members. The stimulating influence, which can emanate from the active participation of the members, disappears, while the rulers get so much power that they are tempted to go their own way and easily forget their responsibility towards their followers. Soon the leading men hold the view that they have a right to the faithful support of the members, who may act as docile followers of their plans and ideas.

As long as in such a situation the decisions of the rulers are in harmony with the wishes of the rank and file no tensions will arise which threaten the organization, even though contacts between leaders and followers are few. When, however, decisions do not fall on good ground, when the leaders miscalculate the docility of the followers and go too far in their self-sufficiency, then tensions may develop which are not easy to remove. At the meetings, the proper place of contact between the opinions of leaders and followers, the first group dominates, the latter one does not dare to speak, because they feel themselves "strangers" in their own organization. This makes it difficult for the leaders to gauge the effect of their activities upon the members. If tensions and resentments arise, they will not be expressed within but outside the organization and if the result is collective resistance, the opposition probably will be enacted outside the organization, causing loss of members and eventually leading to disorganization.

The problem of institutionalization is not limited to agrarian corporate life, but permeates all sections of social life.¹⁴ The problems of the relations between leaders and followers are more complicated than was indicated above, but certainly we may state that the way in which fruitful interaction between leaders and followers can be attained is one of the big problems of a society based on democratic principles.

The study of institutionalization of Western co-operatives can be of much use to the planning of the development of co-operatives in under-developed countries. The efforts to introduce Western techniques and Western organizations must of necessity be made from the top, since spontaneous action on the side of the indigenous population is often not to be expected. The leaders must be ascribed more power, new activities must be introduced in institutionalized forms, because there is no social movement underlying these developments, but finally responsibility must come to rest with population itself, for whose own welfare the development took place. To attain this end, however, will be even more difficult in under-developed countries, where the population has never been accustomed to responsibilities of this kind. This makes the study of the institutionalization and its effects on the relations between leaders and followers and on the division of responsibilities still more urgent.

NOTES

¹ The term institutionalization is used by many sociologists, but not in a clearly defined meaning; neither is it defined in Fairchild's *Dictionary of Sociology*, 1944.

² This is one possible definition among many other definitions. In the *Dictionary of Sociology* a social institution is defined as: the sum total of the patterns, relations, processes and material instruments, built up around any major social interest.

³ The difference is especially emphasized by MacIver; see f.i., MacIver and Page, *Society, an introductory analysis*, 1950.

⁴ See the chapter on Institutions by E. C. Hughes in: *An Outline of the Principles of Sociology*, ed. R. E. Park, 1939, p. 286.

⁵ See J. O. Hertzler: *Social Institutions*, 1947, p. 79-82; see also his article on the "institutional cycle" in the *Dictionary of Sociology*.

⁶ A social movement is defined in the *Dictionary of Sociology* as: "A concerted action or agitation, with some degree of continuity, of a group which, fully or loosely organized, is united by more or less definite aims, follows a designed programme, and is directed at a change of patterns and institutions of the existing society".

⁷ Herbert Blumer on social movements in: *An Outline of the Principles of Sociology*, ed. R. E. Park, p. 255.

⁸ *Boer en Coöperatie in Zelhem, een sociografische studie* by E. Abma, D. H. Franssens and E. W. Hofstee, 1956. (The Farmer and his Co-operatives in Zelhem, a sociographic study.)

This study was done in 1951. The results of the investigation on agrarian organizations of all kinds in other communities (1953/1954) are not yet published.

⁹ A valuable distinction, made by MacIver; see MacIver and Page, *Society*, p. 32.

¹⁰ Preliminary results of the study on agrarian organizations, 1953-1954.

¹¹ *Boer en Standsorganisatie, een regionaal-quantitatieve analyse*, by E. Abma, 1955. (Participation of Farmers in Farmers' Unions), Bulletin 2, Department of Rural Sociology, Agricultural University, Wageningen.

¹² Preliminary results of the study on agrarian organizations, 1953-1954.

¹³ G. W. van Logtestijn, *De toekomstige verhouding tussen de Centrale Landbouworganisaties en het Landbouwschap* (unpublished thesis, 1954).

¹⁴ The most well-known example is to be found in the life of the trade unions.

The Collective Farm System in the U.S.S.R.

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Radical social and economic changes have taken place in the agriculture of the U.S.S.R. As a result of the October Socialist Revolution the small private farms, scattered over the vast territory of Russia, were replaced by large collective farms, which, gaining strength, have fundamentally altered the economic, social and cultural conditions in the life of millions of rural folk.

The collectivization of the small farms was objectively conditioned by the historical development which preceded collectivization. The development of society's productive forces inevitably leads to concentration of production and the substitution of small enterprises in industry and agriculture by large-scale machine production. History knows two ways of transition from small to large-scale farming.

Under capitalist conditions the transition to large-scale machine production in agriculture is effected through a gradual concentration of land, cattle, farm implements and other means of production in the hands of rich farmers at the expense of numerous small farmers who lose their lands and means of production. This way ruins the masses of the farmers economically and oppresses them spiritually.

It was along this line that agriculture developed in old Russia. The situation was complicated by the feudal survivals based on big land-ownership. In old Russia 30,000 landlords owned 70 million dessyatins of land, an average of 2,333 dessyatins per estate, while 10·5 million small peasants owned only 75 million dessyatins or an average of 7 dessyatins per household. Taking advantage of the peasants' need of land the landlords exploited them by exorbitant rents, share-cropping, etc. This impeded economic and social progress, caused frequent crop failures accompanied by mass starvation of the peasants. On the eve of the October Revolution the ruined poor peasants comprised 65 per cent of the entire Russian peasantry.

After the October Socialist Revolution Russian agriculture developed along essentially different lines. The victory of the revolution offered new opportunities for the transition to large-scale machine production by voluntary association of peasant households in large collective farms, rather than by the expropriation of the small peasant property and the concentration of production in big privately-owned farms. The masses of the peasants were now in a position to avoid poverty and attain universally high economic and cultural standards.

Co-operation under capitalist conditions cannot radically improve the living standards of the whole peasantry despite the personal strivings

of many individual co-operators. Day-to-day facts show that, where private ownership and competition prevail, co-operation is utilized by rich farmers for their own enrichment at the expense of the poor peasantry. Only in a new social and economic system, where the political power and the principal means of production (nationalized industry, transport, banks, etc.) are in the hands of the working people, do the co-operative associations of peasants become the form of large-scale socialist production. Only under these conditions does co-operation become a powerful means of putting agriculture on a new economic basis, a means of economic and social progress for the entire peasantry. With the aid of the workers' and peasants' State, the peasants willingly and gradually unite their small households into large collective farms, extensively utilizing modern machinery. The theory of the socialist transformation of peasant production through co-operation was elaborated by V. I. Lenin.

The shift to the collective-farm system in the U.S.S.R. was effected gradually. In the beginning the peasants merely strove for greater incomes and organized marketing agricultural co-operatives. In 1925 the marketing agricultural co-operative embraced some 5.4 million peasants; in 1929 the figure reached 20.5 million. Impressed by the advantages of co-operation the peasants increasingly turned to this method of production, combining and jointly tilling their lands and buying machines they could not buy single-handed. The amalgamation of households and the use of machinery enabled the peasants to improve the agricultural techniques, to facilitate labour and raise its productivity, thus raising their own living standards. Their own personal experience increasingly convinced them of the advantages of large-scale farming.

The Soviet Government and the industrial workers encouraged the gravitation of the peasantry towards the collective farms and launched mass production of tractors and modern agricultural machinery; the Government undertook to serve the collective farms with this new machinery, while the town helped the country with specialists and organizers of large-scale farming.

From the end of 1929 the gravitation of the peasantry towards collective farms acquired a mass character. By 1932 there were already some 200,000 collective farms uniting 61.5 per cent. of the peasant households. In 1937 this figure rose to 93 per cent. Collectivization of the peasantry resulted in the socialist system of agriculture.

The organization of large-scale collective farming offered extensive opportunities for the introduction of modern agricultural machinery. The horse-drawn and manual implements were replaced by up-to-date machinery. On the eve of mass collectivization in 1929 there were only 34,900 tractors in agriculture; in 1934 their number increased to 276,400, in 1940 to 684,000, while in 1955 the figure rose to 1.5 million. Combines, tractor-drawn ploughs, cultivators, seeders and other machines poured into the countryside. Thus the socio-economic

upheaval combined with the technical revolution, and large-scale collective farming was given an adequate material and technical base.

In elaborating the scientific plan for reorganizing small-scale farming into a large-scale co-operative economy Lenin pointed out the necessity of the Government's aid to the co-operatives. In conformity with this plan the Soviet Government renders the collective farms all possible aid: it grants them large tracts of land, serves them with up-to-date machinery, trains numerous specialists and organizers of large-scale agricultural production and extends the network of scientific institutions for serving the collective farms.

According to the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. the land is secured to the collective farms for their use free of charge and for an unlimited time, whereas in pre-revolutionary Russia the peasants spent annually more than 700 million gold rubles for rent and purchases of land. The collective farms now cultivate close to 450 million hectares of land, whereas the land tillers in pre-revolutionary Russia only had 135 million hectares of arable at their disposal. The collective-farm system put an end to the process of detaching the land tiller from the land, the process of dispossessing the peasantry, inevitable under capitalism.

The Soviet Government has undertaken to equip collective farms with new machinery by organizing state machine and tractor stations (MTS) for serving the collective farms. 158 of these stations were organized in 1930; in 1934 their number increased to 2,900 and in 1940 to 7,069. In 1955 there were more than 9,000 machine and tractor stations in the U.S.S.R. serving all the collective farms in the country. In 1954, 82 per cent. of the essential field work in the collective farms was done by the MTS's.

The establishment of state machine and tractor stations and the concentration of up-to-date machinery in these stations gave the collective farms and the national economy the following big advantages:

(a) They spared the collective farms big annual expenses connected with purchasing and maintaining agricultural machinery. The 1955 state budget allocations for the machine and tractor stations have been fixed at 32,600 thousand million rubles, i.e., 362,000 rubles per collective farm;

(b) They ensured agricultural-machine service to all collective farms equally and on equal conditions. Because of the MTS's all collective farms in the U.S.S.R. use up-to-date tractors and agricultural machinery, whereas in capitalist countries, in which tractors are very extensively used, some farmers have no tractors;

(c) They enabled the collective farms to employ tractors and other machinery in greater measure and, hence, more effectively. Today each MTS has more than 140 tractors, close to 40 grain combines, hundreds of tractor-drawn ploughs, seeders, cultivators, cotton, flax and sugar-beet harvesters, and serves an average of 10

collective farms. The concentration of modern tractors and other machinery in these stations makes for their more effective and economical operation and maintenance.

The Soviet Government constantly improves the work of the machine and tractor stations. According to the sixth five-year plan the agriculture of the country is to be supplied in 1956-60 with 560,000 grain combines, 250,000 maize-harvesting combines, 1,650,000 tractors and a great quantity of other agricultural machinery; the plan also envisages the construction of numerous repair shops, garages, barns and sheds, fuel stations and homes in the machine and tractor stations. The machine and tractor stations have been charged with integrated mechanizing of all branches of agriculture in order to raise considerably the productivity of agricultural labour.

The agricultural artel is the principal organizational form of collective farming in the U.S.S.R. According to the Rules of the Agricultural Artel the following is considered collective property: agricultural implements, draught animals, seed reserves, fodder for the collectively-owned cattle, farm buildings and all plants for the processing of produce. Collective public ownership of the means of production and of the produce is thus the basis of the agricultural artel.

In the artels the production of grain and industrial crops is fully collectivized, there is well developed collective animal husbandry and production of potatoes, vegetables, fruit, etc. The agricultural artel is a large, mechanized, socialist agricultural enterprise.

The agricultural artel offers every opportunity for correctly combining the public and private interests of the collective farmers, facilitating the education of the recent individual farmers in the spirit of collectivism. Collective farming is the basic principle in the Soviet agricultural artels, but the collective farmers are also allowed small personal subsidiary husbandry. The collective farmer retains personal ownership of his home, a fixed number of productive cattle, poultry, the buildings required for the maintenance of the cattle and poultry, and small agricultural implements. In addition the collective farmer is granted the use of a household plot of 0.5 hectare (in some regions 1 hectare). In accordance with the Artel Rules the collective farmers in grain and industrial-crop regions may personally own 1 cow and 2 sows with their litters, up to 10 sheep and goats, and an unlimited number of poultry, i.e. they may have more cattle and poultry than the poor or even many middle farmers had before collectivization. In cattle-breeding regions the collective farmers may personally own even more cattle.

The husbandry of a collective farmer depends on the state of development of the given collective farm and on the personal work done by the farmer on the collective farm; therefore the collective production is the basis of the collective farmer's material well-being. The collective farmer earns his principal means of subsistence—grain and other products, fodder for his personal cattle and the greater part of his

pecuniary income—at the collective farm, while his subsidiary husbandry and the household plot provide him with vegetables, milk and other products in addition to what he receives at the collective farm. The subsidiary husbandry and household plot thus help the collective farmer more fully to satisfy the consumption requirements of his family.

Collective labour and the collectively-owned means of production form the basis of collective farming. Originally the collective-farm means of production resulted from the collectivization of the draught animals and the implements owned by the peasants who joined the collective farms. In later years the *artel* means of production expanded through the accumulations made by the collective farms themselves. During the first stage the collective farms scarcely owned collectively any productive cattle, animal-husbandry buildings, orchards, vineyards, etc. Today every collective farm has hundreds, and some of them thousands, of heads of cattle, pigs, sheep, goats and poultry, good cattle-barns, collective orchards and vineyards. Many collective farms have built water-supply systems, artificial reservoirs, electric power stations, cultural-services buildings and other structures.

The means of production and the service buildings owned by the collective farms form the material basis of their indivisible funds. The indivisible funds of the collective farms are constantly replenished by the 15–20 per cent. deductions from the farms' pecuniary incomes, the setting aside of certain amounts of produce and other sources. By 1940 the indivisible funds of the collective farms considerably increased and constituted some 22,000 million rubles. In 1953 this figure increased by 2.5 times again. More than 90 per cent. of the indivisible funds is now composed of the accumulations made by the collective farms since their establishment.

The produce of the collective farms is their collective property and the collective farmers dispose of the fruits of their labour themselves. The collective farms realize part of their marketable produce by sale. The collective farmers are no longer subject to market crises, price fluctuations and the economic oppression of private marketing monopolies. The Soviet State procures and buys the collective-farm produce, guaranteeing a regular market at stable prices. The collective farms sell part of their surplus produce directly to consumers through collective farm markets. The returns on the produce sold constitute the principal source of the income of the collective farms and the collective farmers. In 1953–55 the Soviet Government took certain measures to improve the system of state procurements of the collective-farm produce and raised the procurement and purchase prices. As a result the collective farms and their members earned 25,000 million rubles more in 1954 than they did in 1952.

The produce and pecuniary income of the collective farms is distributed in conformity with the nature of the collective farms as a co-operative form of farming. Out of its income the collective farm

pays for the services of the MTS and the fixed taxes, and compensates for its own material production expenses. Part of the income is added to the accumulations for the expansion of the collective property, for cultural aims and for the pension fund.

The remainder of the produce and pecuniary income of the collective farms belongs to the collective farmers and is distributed among them in accord with the amount and quality of work done by each farmer on the collective farm. The collective farmers are paid on the basis of the workday units. This unit was engendered by the practice of the collective-farm movement as a special method of measuring the labour effort and its remuneration in collective production. The general meeting of the collective-farm membership fixes the daily work quotas in different types of work and evaluates them in terms of workday units in accordance with which the work of each collective farmer is recorded and subsequently paid for. The income in natural and money form is distributed among the collective farmers according to the number of workday units each farmer earned. The collective farmers with a higher productivity of labour are paid additionally in kind and in money. The correct application of the workday units system and the additional compensation give the collective farmers a personal material incentive to work better on the collective farm, to develop and improve it.

The collective farm, as a co-operative enterprise, is managed on democratic principles. The collective farmers themselves decide all issues connected with the organization and development of the collective farm. The general meeting of the artel membership is the highest body on the collective farm. It elects a chairman, a managing board and an auditing commission; it approves the production plans, the debit and credit estimates, the annual report of the managing board, the contract with the MTS, the work quotas and their evaluation, and the inner rules and regulations of the artel. The chairman and managing board are the executive bodies of the artel, responsible to the general meeting of its membership.

Thus the development of the collective farm depends on the initiative of its members. The Soviet Government extends every manner of help to the collective farms and the collective farmers, aimed at developing their activities. Hence the operative system of agricultural planning.

The collective farmers themselves draw up the annual and long-term plans for the development of their collective economy. The principle of collective-farm planning is the volume of marketable produce envisaged by the state plan for the development of agriculture. Depending on the assignments for produce deliveries to the state and the requirements of the collective farms and its members the collective farms with the participation of the MTS's decide on the size of areas to be planted, the crop standards, the number of heads of different types of cattle and the productivity of animal husbandry,

the system of agrotechnical and zootechnical measures to be employed. The plans for areas under crop and for the development of animal husbandry are discussed and decided on at the general meetings of the collective farmers. This system of planning is aimed at stimulating the initiative of the collective farms and collective farmers in developing the many branches of collective-farming with due regard to the natural and economic conditions of the various regions of the country.

* * * *

The establishment of the collective-farm system has led to radical socio-economic changes in the countryside, gigantic in their scale and historical in their significance.

The old system of agriculture, based on private ownership of land and the other means of production, was replaced by a socialist system of agriculture, where the means of production are owned collectively. There is no more exploitation of man by man. The elemental development and anarchy, inherent in private economy, were supplanted by a planned development of collective farming.

The 25 million scattered peasant households have been replaced by 93,000 large collective farms. The dwarfish farms with an average of less than 10 hectares of land each and antiquated implements, incapable of advancing production, have been supplanted by large collective farms with an average of 4,500 hectares of land, using up-to-date agricultural machinery.

The nature of agricultural labour has changed. The work of small individual farmers, using almost exclusively manual implements, has been replaced by united, collective labour, using up-to-date machinery. This has provided the basis for specialization of labour in the collective farms and the machine and tractor stations. The collective farmers constantly improve their skills and learn new trades; millions of highly skilled workers have been trained in the collective farms and the MTS's. Backbreaking manual work is receding into the past and the productivity of agricultural labour has rapidly increased. The productivity of agricultural labour in the U.S.S.R. is three times as high as it was in pre-revolutionary Russia.

The social appearance of the countryside has changed beyond recognition. The class differentiation in the village, inevitable in the system of private ownership, has disappeared. The poverty of the agricultural workers, concomitant with the system of parcelled agriculture, has been abolished. The former peasants, whose living depended on private ownership and who were divided into different property groups and antagonistic classes, have been supplanted by new, collective-farm peasants, whose economic basis is their collective property and who are socially united. The extensive overpopulation of the former countryside is a thing of the past. The collective farmers, men and women alike, are given every opportunity to work, improve their skills and receive equal remuneration for their work.

A thorough-going cultural revolution was wrought in the countryside. Peasant illiteracy has been wiped out. 68 per cent. of the population was illiterate in 1920; the percentage was even higher in the rural areas. Not only has illiteracy among the peasants been abolished, but compulsory 7-year schooling and, to a large extent, secondary education have been introduced. Millions of adult collective farmers are annually trained in specialized secondary schools, in schools of mechanization, in agronomical and zootechnical schools. A wide network of clubs, libraries, reading rooms, cinemas, radio and other cultural and educational institutions are functioning in the countryside. As a result the deep cultural gulf between the town and country has disappeared.

The collective-farm system has transformed the agriculture of the U.S.S.R. into an advanced economy equipped with up-to-date machinery. Unlike stagnant small-scale farming, Soviet collective farming is rapidly forging ahead. From 1926-27 to 1952-53 the marketable produce of agriculture has increased as follows: grain—from 10.3 million tons to 40.4 million tons; potatoes—from 3 million tons to 12.5 million tons; meat (live weight)—from 2.4 million tons to 5 million tons; milk—from 4.3 million tons to 13.2 million tons.

The growth of production has led to a substantial increase in the pecuniary income of the collective farms. It rose from 5,700 million rubles in 1933 to 20,700 million rubles in 1940, 49,600 million rubles in 1953 and 63,300 million rubles in 1954. Along with the growth of the total pecuniary income of the collective farms the part, used for remunerating the collective farmers, has also increased. The income of the peasants (in terms of each individual worker) increased in 1955 by 50 per cent., as compared with 1950, and by 122 per cent. in comparison with 1940. This greatly improved the living standards of the collective farmers.

The collective-farm system has thus radically transformed the very foundations of production and the life of millions of peasants on socialist principles and has spared them economic ruin and class exploitation. It has paved a wide road for all workers of the countryside to a well-to-do and cultured life.

The collective-farm system did not come into being without errors or difficulties. There was a lack of experience and skill in managing a large-scale economy, a shortage of technical means, etc. The war inflicted great damage on the collective farms. Even today there are collective farms with a low level of production and a small income. The total volume of agricultural production does not as yet satisfy the growing requirements of the country. A programme for increasing the gross grain harvest to 11,000 million pounds per annum, for doubling the production of animal husbandry and for extending all other branches of agriculture has been elaborated and successfully administered with the aim of improving the economy of the collective farms and satisfying the requirements of the people. In fulfilling this

programme 33 million hectares of virgin soil have already been ploughed, the areas under maize have been extended from 4.3 to 17.9 million hectares, the numbers of cattle have been increased and their productivity raised in 1955.

The history of mankind shows that it requires many decades for a new social system to gain momentum and develop its capacities for social progress. Modern capitalism took centuries to develop its forces and display its advantages over the preceding feudal system.

The collective-farm system is young. Only 20 years have passed since its establishment and four of these were years of an uncommonly destructive war; the young system came through the war with honours. Nearly 5 years were required for repairing the damages wrought by the war to the productive forces of agriculture. Thus, the collective-farm system has only had 10 years for the peaceful development and unfolding of its powers and possibilities. Ten years are an incredibly short historical period for organizing a new socio-economic system in so complicated a branch of economy as agriculture. But even during this short period the collective-farm system has demonstrated its superiority over the former system of agriculture.

The creation of the collective-farm system in the U.S.S.R. is one of the greatest social accomplishments of the 20th century. The experience of this great reorganization is now available to all the peoples who have taken the road of social progress. Already now the working people of the Peoples' Democracies in Europe and Asia are utilizing this experience for the development of their agriculture.

Static Structure with a Changed Content: The Agrarian Situation in Great Britain since 1835

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Changes in the conditions of life in the rural environment are based on and/or involve :

A. FOLK

- (a) population growth or decline
- (b) population mobility
 - (i) occupational : from occupations in primary to secondary and tertiary industries.
 - (ii) residential : from a rural area to another rural area, in the same country, or from a rural area to an urban area, in the same country, or from a rural area to another country.
 - (iii) social : up or down the social ladder.

B. WORK

- (a) the general economic structure of a country.
- (b) the organisation and techniques of agricultural production.
- (c) the agrarian structure, e.g. the pattern of farm units and the system of land holding and rights in land.

C. PLACE

- (a) the pattern of settlement.
- (b) town-country relationships.
- (c) land use.

It is suggested that there exists an intimate and inter-dependent relationship between all these factors. If developments in the different spheres proceed in a balanced way no problems will arise.—It must be added here immediately, however, that not even a guess can be ventured at present as to what degree of movement in each of the various fields would bring about such a balance.—If changes do not occur in a balanced way two different results may be the outcome. Firstly, the unbalance itself may be the cause of problems. Or, secondly, if conditions in one of the spheres remain more or less static, developments in one or more of the others may occur at an accelerated pace

in an attempt to produce the necessary balance in this way but in so doing creating problems.

Developments in Great Britain may serve as an illustration. Before 1835 changes went on in all the above-mentioned spheres with one important exception: there was complete absence of social mobility. The changes took place more or less *pari passu* and at a leisurely pace. Only a few points need to be high-lighted to present the picture.

The chief aim or purpose of agriculture altered from the mere growing of food for one's own and one's family's needs (subsistence farming) to the preservation of the homestead in an enhanced condition for future generations (Hofidee) and, later, to making money (commercial farming). Accordingly family labour was replaced by family labour plus capital and eventually by capital plus hired labour. Similarly the type of power used altered from manpower (including, of course, womanpower) to man- and animal-power and subsequently to manpower plus steam. At the same time the organization of agricultural production developed from a collective to a highly individualistic system. The agrarian structure moved from open field farming through the instrument of enclosure to farming on individual holdings; and, correspondingly, the system of landholding by mere right to use land under communal bonds gave way to freehold tenures with the right to alienate *inter vivos* and by last will. All these changes went hand in hand with residential and occupational mobility, e.g. out of agriculture and away from rural areas to handicrafts and the towns. (The first statute passed against migration from the land dates from 1351 !)

Only in the sphere of social mobility did development lag behind—with the result that serious social problems arose concerning the farm workers who were not allowed to share the higher returns obtained from the more productive agriculture. The consequences of this unbalance are still with us to-day.

After 1835—particularly after the turn of the twentieth century—it was a different sphere which remained static while all the others changed rapidly and with ever increasing speed. This time it was an important part of the agrarian structure which did not alter, namely the pattern of individual farm units and the acreage occupied by the various sizes of agricultural holdings. This can be seen clearly from Table 1.

It should be stressed in particular that over the last 60 years there has been no increase of the larger units.¹ The average size of holdings changed very little during this period (from 62·9 acres in 1895 to 65·3 acres in 1954). The median acreage distribution declined only slightly (from 168·5 acres in 1913 to 163·7 acres in 1954).

Despite the fact that the total number of agricultural holdings declined between 1895 and 1953 by approximately 60,000 owing to the transfer of agriculturally used land for other purposes, another static

Table 1—*Number and Acreage of Holdings in various Size-groups*

(a) <i>Numbers</i>		England and Wales		Scotland	
		1895	1953	1895	1953
Size	(acres)	per cent.		per cent.	
1-5 ..	..	22.2	22.3	25.3	23.4
5-50 ..	..	45.8	41.5	42.6	43.8
50-100..	..	12.9	15.8	12.3	13.4
100-150	}	15.5	8.2	16.3	7.8
150-300		8.8	8.7		
300 and over ..	..	3.6	3.4	3.5	2.9
All sizes ..	..	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(b) <i>Acreage</i>		per cent.		per cent.	
1-5	1.1	0.9	1.4	Not available
5-50 ..	..	14.2	13.0	12.4
50-100..	..	15.0	17.4	15.0	
100-150	}	42.1	15.4	45.0	
150-300		28.0			
300 and over ..	..	27.6	25.3	26.2
All sizes ..	..	100.0	100.0	100.0

factor in the agricultural structure was the total number of people who classed themselves as "farmers" in the decennial censuses since 1881 (Table 2). The increased number of farmers in 1921 can be explained by the creation of a number of smallholdings after the first world war, the occupiers of which described themselves as "farmers".

Table 2—*Total Numbers of Farmers (male and female)*

Year	England and Wales		Scotland	Great Britain
	'000	'000	'000	'000
1881	224	55	279	
1891	224	54	278	
1901	224	53	277	
1911	229	51	280	
1921	264	51	315	
1931	248	46	294	
1951	270*	47*	317*	

* These figures are based on a 1 per cent. sample and include farm managers.

Equally static has been the pattern of recruitment of farmers since the introduction of the commercial system of farming. There is evidence that about three-quarters of the present-day farmers in Great Britain hail from farming families. They followed their fathers after

an apprenticeship, often started at an early age, on their father's farms and then continued until they took over from their fathers to farm on their own. It has been estimated that only between one-tenth and one-eighth came from the ranks of hired farmworkers. Social mobility inside the agricultural industry is severely restricted and only a few farmworkers have prospects of advancement as employees on the so-called 'agricultural ladder'. The farming occupation has been, and still is, largely restricted to persons who are born into it.

In contrast to the lack of change in the structural pattern of agriculture we find rapidly increasing change in all the other spheres.

So a "silent revolution" has taken place with regard to the system of landholding. Since the beginning of this century owner-occupier-ship of farms has trebled (Table 3a).

Table 3a—*Number and acreage of crops and grass of agricultural holdings of over 1 acre owned* by their occupiers.*

Year	England and Wales		Scotland		Great Britain	
	Holdings	Acreage	Holdings	Acreage	Holdings	Acreage
	per cent.		per cent.		per cent.	
1908	12·8	12·2	8·2	12·2	12·0	12·2
1927	36·6	34·1	17·0	26·2	33·5	34·5
1950	42·4	38·0†	27·1	35·7	39·9	37·7

* Owned or mainly owned.

† Crops and grass and rough grazing.

Table 3b—*Holdings of over 1 acre of different sizes owned by their occupiers.*

Size group	Year	England and Wales	Scotland	Great Britain
(acres)		per cent.	per cent.	per cent.
1-5	1908	15·8	6·6	14·3
	1927	42·2	7·7	35·8
	1950	55·6	17·5	48·6
5-50	1908	13·2	7·2	12·3
	1927	35·6	15·7	32·6
	1950	45·2	25·6	41·8
50-300	1908	9·7	9·7	9·7
	1927	34·5	23·9	32·9
	1950	32·6	35·2	43·0
300 and over ..	1908	15·3	18·3	15·8
	1927	38·4	34·3	37·8
	1950	32·5	44·6	44·0

This increase in the number of owner-occupiers occurred almost imperceptibly and not as the result of an intentional policy. As repeated legislation provided the tenant with increasing protection after 1875 there was no economic or social advantage to be gained by becoming

an owner instead of remaining a tenant. Moreover, the increase has not been uniform if the various sizes of holdings are taken into account. Particularly important and significant is a backward move towards tenancy of holdings of over 50 acres in England and Wales since 1927 (Table 3b).

The number of paid workers in agriculture rapidly declined over the whole period as shown in Table 4 for male persons.

Table 4—*Male Persons (excl. farmers) in Agriculture*

Year	England and Wales	Scotland	Great Britain
		'000	
1881	925	122	1,047
1891	842	116	958
1901	721	106	827
1911	763	104	867
1921	663	94	757
1931	566	90	656
1951	412*	66*	478*

* Provisional figures.

Only in the decennial period 1901–11 was there any increase. This was, however, followed immediately by a heavy decrease in the subsequent period (1911–21). The developments in the agricultural labour force over the last 30 years are given in greater detail in Table 5.²

Table 5—*Agricultural Labour Force*—Great Britain*

Year (Month of June)	Regular			Casual			Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
							'000
1924	662	82	745	124	55	179	924
1939	546	55	601	72	39	111	711
1949	603	82†	685	117	53	170	855
1955	508	54	562	104	66	170	732

* Includes family and non-family labour but not farmers and their wives.

† Includes numbers of the Women's Land Army.

It will be observed that the decline in numbers of workers was interrupted owing to the last war. But when more normal conditions had returned by 1949 the downward trend was resumed immediately and it is worth noting that the total number of regular workers is now well below the 1939 level though that of casual workers is still above it.

The result of this movement out of agriculture is that to-day of all gainfully engaged persons in Great Britain only 4.6 per cent. are working in agriculture. It must, however, not be thought that the occupational mobility was confined to agriculture. It affected all

so-called "rural" occupations as is illustrated by table 6 which shows data for three typically rural counties in Wales.

Occupational mobility—particularly that out of agriculture—very often involved residential mobility as there were not sufficient other employment chances available in rural areas for those who left, or had to leave, agricultural employment or who could not find a job in farming. Thus all the surplus agricultural population had to move to the towns. It must be stressed that the total number of people living in rural areas (i.e. in Rural Districts as constituted for Local Government purposes)

Table 6—*Persons Employed in certain "Rural" Occupations in all Rural Districts of Cardiganshire, Montgomeryshire and Radnorshire*

1901 Census				1951 Census			
Occupations	Males	Females		Occupations	Males	Females	
Agriculture (excl. horticulture)	17,602	2,470		Agricultural occupations (excl. horticultural occupations)	13,356	1,957	
Agricultural machine-owners, drivers, etc. ..	41*	—		Agricultural machine-owners, drivers, etc. ..	661	3	
Forestry	132*	—		Foresters and woodmen ..	686	1	
Conveyance of men, goods and messages	1,119	19		Persons employed in transport, etc.	1,694	202	
Metals, machines, implements and conveyances	756	4		Workers in metal manufacture, engineering and allied trades	986	16	
In and about and dealing in the products of mines and quarries	1,183	2		Mining and quarrying occupations	233	—	
Carpenters, joiners ..	977	—		Carpenters, joiners ..	455	1	
Masons, masons' labourers	753	—		Masons, masons' labourers	169	—	
Bricklayers', bricklayers' labourers	130	—		Bricklayers, bricklayers' labourers	274	2	
Textile fabrics	315	199		Textile workers	14	7	
Tailors	450	13		Tailors	31	10	
Milliners, dressmakers and seamstresses	—	1,364		Makers of textile goods and articles of dress (excl. tailors)	7	118	
Boot, shoe, slipper, patten, clog-makers	379	1		Boot and shoe makers ..	79	1	
Domestic offices or services	365	6,499		Persons engaged in personal service (excl. gamekeepers)	319	1,953	

* Urban and Rural Districts.

has not significantly declined in the last 60 years (see Table 7). The reason for this phenomenon has to be found in the increasing number of people who work in the towns but who continue, or go, to live in rural areas. Further, many areas adjacent to big towns which are for all practical purposes urban areas have not yet been incorporated formally into urban districts but are still officially classed as "rural".

Table 7—*Urban-Rural Populations, Great Britain*

Census Year	Urban '000	Per cent.	Rural '000	Per cent.	Total '000
1891 ..	23,350	70.7	9,678	29.3	33,028
1951 ..	38,886	79.6	9,955	20.4	48,841

The main point to be made on the basis of Table 7 is that the urban population increased during this period from about 23 to 39 millions, but that the size of the population remained relatively static. The result of this development is that the rural population has sunk to a minority status entailing all those consequences which are encumbent on such a status. In order to understand the position fully it is necessary to realize that more than 35 per cent. of the people in Great Britain live in only six towns with over 1 million inhabitants (Table 8).

Table 8—*Distribution of Population—Great Britain 1951*

	England and Wales	Scotland	Great Britain
<i>Urban areas—</i>		per cent.	
Over 1,000,000 ..	36.7	21.4	35.1
100,000–1,000,000	15.2	16.2	15.2
10,000–100,000	24.8	21.8	24.5
Under 10,000 ..	4.1	10.5	4.8
<i>Rural districts</i> ..	19.2	30.1	20.3
All areas	100	100	100

A primary settlement pattern developed between the sixth and the latter part of the eighteenth century—a distribution of hamlets, villages and market towns, and later of farmsteads, based on an agricultural economy. In the succeeding period, which still continues to-day, the national change from an agricultural to an industrial economy, the rapid increase of the nation's population, and the development of modern transport have had the effect of superimposing a haphazard distribution of new settlements over the old.

The relationships between the early market centre and its surrounding rural areas were relatively simple. With the possible exception of the County Town with its administrative function, each market centre fulfilled the same elementary function and the countryman had little need to go beyond the nearest centre. Today, however, the relationships between town and country are complex. Not only do

thousands of people live in the country and travel daily to work in the towns, as mentioned before, but, with improvement in agricultural wages, better educational opportunities and the decline of village industries, the majority of country people now seek the facilities for shopping, entertainment and cultural activity offered by the towns. In contrast to the early market centres, towns nowadays differ widely in the range and quality of the facilities they provide.

In step with all these changes in population and settlement pattern there has been a complete alteration in the organization and techniques of agricultural production during this century. Every aspect was involved and affected, but in the confines of this paper it is possible only to pick out one salient point, namely the decline in the horse population and the simultaneous increase in mechanisation (Tables 9a and -9b).

Table 9a—*Horse Population*

Year (month of June)	England and Wales	Scotland	Great Britain
1901	1,316	'000 195	1,511
1953	282	51	333

Table 9b—*Agricultural Mechanisation—England and Wales**

Type	Year	'000
Tractors (track-laying and wheeled)	1946	180
	1954	393
Electric motors	1946	48
	1954	134
Mouldboard ploughs (tractor drawn)	1946	156
	1954	285
Combined seed and fertiliser drills ..	1946	16
	1954	33
Milking machines	1946	40
	1954	91
Hay, corn and straw elevators ..	1946	38
	1954	61
Combined harvester-threshers ..	1946	3
	1954	21
Pick-up hay and straw balers ..	1946	2
	1954	20

*Corresponding figures for Scotland for 1954 not yet available.

It must be emphasized again that all these changes in the 20th century occurred inside a more or less static framework of the agrarian structure, inside an unchanged structural pattern and lay-out of individual farm enterprises. This unbalanced development is the core of social problems which appear to be most clearcut in the marginal farming areas of Great Britain, in the uplands and the hill country. The problem is that of underpopulation in a framework created by and suitable for different circumstances.

The solution of these problems can only be brought about by a drastic change in the structure of agriculture : by the creation of a framework which is in unison with its content. This will in all probability involve a reduction in the number of individual farm units and thus of those occupying them. At the same time it will involve the pattern of settlement and with it re-location of industry. In the larger sphere it will mean a change in town-country relations. In this respect the problem will have to be approached no longer with a rural bias and from a purely rural angle but from a point of view which combines the urban with the rural as necessarily complementary parts of a whole. In the last resort, however, the problem is essentially a psychological one ; to make the people involved understand and accept that changes in the *content* of agriculture and rural life in general must go hand in hand with changes in the agrarian *structure* and with the creation of a new functional pattern of settlement together with changes in the structure of institutions like local government.

NOTES

- ¹ For further details see :
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- ² For further details see :
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 (Table 6).