



**"WORKERS AND THE LABOUR PROCESS:
A CASE STUDY OF A SWEDISH-OWNED
INDUSTRY IN BRAZIL"**

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Project description

Project title "Workers and the Labour Process: A Case Study of a Swedish-owned Industry in Brazil"	Commencement of project July 1980
	Duration of project 3 years

Project summary The main purpose of this project is to describe the organization of work, production techniques and working conditions at a Swedish enterprise in Brazil; the views about these conditions among actors such as management, employees and the union; and the process of adjustment of the Swedish enterprise to local conditions, against the background of Swedish "industrial culture". The following aspects will be included in our description of the views held by actors with regard to organization of work, production techniques and working conditions: (a) how management evaluates and explains its praxis; (b) how the union views the praxis of management in these questions; (c) how they view relationships between union and management; (d) the views of the employees on these questions as these views relate to their background, their function in the labour process and their attitudes. Both qualitative and quantitative techniques of data collection and analysis will be used (secondary data, survey, interviews of management and union, observation). This study is the Brazilian part of a more comprehensive study of one company industrially active in Sweden as well as in Brazil (Saab-Scania at Sao Bernardo and Södertälje).

Total project cost	Fiscal year 1st	2nd	3rd	4th	Funds requested for 1980/81 from SAREC
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WORKERS AND THE LABOUR PROCESS: A CASE STUDY OF A SWEDISH-OWNED INDUSTRY IN BRAZIL

Application to SAREC from Leda Gitahy

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Torsten Björkman and Pablo Suarez)

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by Torsten Björkman

corresponding technical systems of production in Sweden.

(d) Both the trade-union and management should support the project so that information can be freely obtained from both sides.

(e) The Brazilian enterprise should be located in the Sao Paulo region, and preferably in Sao Bernardo (a suburb of Sao Paulo where the Metal Workers Union has indicated its interest in our project and promised to support our research).

According to these criteria our best choice would be the Saab-Scania enterprise in São Bernardo, and in Södertälje.

3. The Background

Why is Brazil and São Paulo in particular interesting from a Swedish point of view? São Paulo is often called the fourth industrial city of Sweden due to the fact that Swedish affiliates there had about 30,000 employees in 1975 (Brundenius, 1977:6); 1971 the Swedish Metal enterprises had 17,000 employees in production units and in addition about 10,000 employees in units for sales, assembly and service (Jansson & Olsson, 1978:13). Swedish direct investments in Brazil increased 11.2 times between 1969-1976, from 17 to 191 million dollars (Brundenius, 1977:6). In terms of investments Sweden occupies the tenth place in Brazil after countries like the USA, Western Germany, Japan, Switzerland, Canada, Great Britain, France and the Netherlands (Brundenius, 1977:6). This implies that Brazil accounts for more than half of the total amount of Swedish investments in developing countries (de Faria & Wiegler, 1979:21).

These circumstances naturally have increased the interest for Swedish enterprises in Brazil among Swedish researchers, particularly among economists such as Birgitta Swedenborg and Claes Brundenius who are studying the effects of Swedish enterprises in Brazil from a macro economic point of view. But the Swedish trade-

union movement is also very interested in this branch of Swedish industry. A representative of the Swedish Metal Workers Union have visited Brazil and published a report by Jan Olsson & Rolf Jansson about union activities and Swedish enterprises in Brazil.

But in spite of these contributions knowledge about Brazil in Sweden, and about Sweden in Brazil are very limited.

In a Brazilian perspective "São Paulo is the industrial heart of Brazil, accounting for about half of employment in manufacturing in 1970" (Humphrey, 1977:36). The establishment of multi-national companies in Brazil increased after the Second World War at the same time as economic growth was rapid, particularly 1955-1960. This wave of industrialization was the result of the so-called Plano de Metas (the economic policy of the Kubitzchek government under the slogan "fifty years in five"). "Foreign capital was encouraged to turn its attention to the manufacturing sector, and there was a considerable expansion of the consumer durables and capital goods industrie. This development had a profound impact on the Brazilian economy, and provided the basis for the industrial expansion throughout the sixties" (Humphrey, 1977:30).

However, Brazil then encountered one of its recurrent economic crises. 1963 the growth of GNP was 1.5 per cent and inflation 70-88 per cent. "Entrepreneurs complained over the lack of long-term capital and about high wage costs which lead to a virtually complete lack of investments" (Brundenius, 1977:1). At this time there were a number of big strikes and student demonstrations in towns and cities, and agricultural workers started to organize themselves in unions. On this point it should be indicated that labour law and the right to organize covered agricultural workers only during the government of Goulart 1961-1964. During that period trade unions generally increased their political influence. In-official collaboration between unions was pursued openly in spite of the fact that such collaboration was illegal according the labour law.

However, on March 31 1964 the populist government under Joao Goulart was toppled in a military coup. The economic policy of the new government was characterized by wage reductions in order to reduce the costs of enterprises, by mini-devaluations in order to stimulate export industry, while restrictions for the establishment of foreign companies and state interventions in free enterprise were minimized. This resulted in the so-called "Brazilian miracle" (1969-74). The establishment of multi-national firms in Brazil increased markedly during this period.

Otherwise this period was characterized by the so-called Acta 5 (exempting laws from December 13 1968) which were introduced after the strikes of industrial workers and the student demonstrations in 1968.

But in 1974 there were signs of crisis: The growth rate started to sink, the price index increases rapidly, inflation mounts (75-76 per cent in 1979, according to Jornal da Republica, December 6 1979), the deficit of trade increases and in 1978 the foreign debt reaches about 40 milliard dollars. At that point protests and criticism emerged from many different quarters - also from industrial management and entrepreneurs - and as a result the government has started reassessing its policies. Democracy and de-escalation of internal tension are now official goals of the government. At the same time the labour movement has become more militant, and in May 1978 there is the first big strike after 1968. This was in the São Paulo industrial area and included 300,000 metal workers. The strike started in the Saab-Scania factory in São Bernardo, and rapidly spread firstly to other big automobile companies, and further to other branches of industry. Strikes re-occurred in March 1979 when 200,000 metal workers demanded higher wages and legal rights to form unions, with free collective bargaining and security of employment for union representatives. These strikes indicate a relatively high organizational level, at least as far as Brazilian conditions are concerned, since unions there are semi-state in character without the right to independent organization and freedom of expression.

We now hear more frequently about "the new working-class" the "new union movement", and a "new consciousness".

But the strikes of metal workers are but one expression of a wave of strikes and protests within all those sectors which were disadvantaged by the previous government policy, including primary school teachers, employees in municipal and governmental functions, bus and taxi drivers, bank employees etc. This wave of protests can be interpreted as a response to the social costs of the so-called Brazilian miracle, that is to the failure of the government policy of 'growth first and distribution later'. We will now summarize some of the conditions relating to these political and economic circumstances, with a particular emphasis on the predicament of industrial labour.

Between 1960-1970 industrial production increased with 2 million new jobs according to the 1970 census, but compared to the potentially available labour force this was only a fraction. This circumstance, together with the weak position of unions, contributed to maintain considerable deprivation, particularly for unqualified labour. Security of employment virtually disappeared in 1966, and a forced rotation of labour as well as periodic hiring and firing of workers became normal in Brazilian industry. In 1969 less than 30.6 per cent of São Paulo's industrial workers had stayed for less than one year in one and the same enterprise (DNMO, 1969:64) - and as a consequence the workers involved did not obtain the wage adjustments to which they had been entitled if they had worked for more than eleven months.

According to some studies (Humphrey, 1977, and Rainho, 1978) threats of dismissal has been used by enterprises to discipline labour and to increase labour intensity. In Brazilian industry hourly wages are much more common than piece-rate payments but in order to keep a job you have to fulfil the norm. Rainho (1978: 270-274) indicates that a fear of dismissal brings about a rather tough tempo of work which in its turn gives rise to even more demanding norms in a kind of vicious circle. Humphrey (1977:112)

points out that workers are reluctant to reject overtime "because many workers said that a worker who refused do overtime would be dismissed when the next cut comes". According to Humphrey productivity and the intensity of work has increased considerably in the automobile industry. According to him "the official management position was that work-speeds were not reduced without improvements in machinery or working methods, but this was denied by other personnel" (op.cit.: 108). Furthermore, he quotes a statement that "one of the supervisory staff" in one of the enterprises which he was studying, as saying: they [the workers] are working more now, one doing the job of another. I had to let another two go yesterday [i.e. dismiss them] , but the work is the same. It's the management that gives the orders. Economically, there's no sense in it. Before we had timings, but not any more. Nothing is altered and the timings to on falling ... each manager wants to cut down even more. Work study lowered the timings and the management did the same. [To prove his point the supervisor goes to his desk and gets out two sheets of paper. He explains the figures to me. On one sheet are the times allowed for the complete set of operations for a particular type of vehicle on one section of the line, as prepared by work study and operative for the current month and four months ahead. On the other sheet are the times allocated by the management and the body and assembly plant for the same operation.] "Look, here's the time from a work study and there's the time for management: the management want ... [5 per cent less time on the assembly of one model and 4 per cent on another] . And they want us to work at 102 per cent efficiency." (Humphrey, 1977:109).

Humphrey found the same situation in AF 2 (AF 1 and AF 2 are two of Ford's factories in São Paulo), "and it was described by one of the managers in the following terms:

'Before we had timing. That was fair. But not any more. The times are arbitrary and lower than before. If there are ten people doing a job, they are already thinking that it's too many and that they ought to take two off. Sometimes it just won't do. Everyone

leaves here nervous." (op.cit.:109).

As regards the living-conditions in São Paulo there are some studies (São Paulo Crescimento e Pobreza, 1976) showing a general reduction of their living-conditions. A lowering of real wages and an expansion of the labour market which did not correspond to the growth of the labour force lead to an increase in child mortality - the curve was pointing downwards up till 1964 and increases sharply thereafter (São Paulo Crescimento e Pobreza, 1976:49). Housing conditions deteriorated. Discrimination based on sex, age and colour increased on the labour market. In 1969 as much as 36.6 per cent of the labour force in the São Paulo area was less than 25 years of age, and 54.5 per cent was below 30 years (DNMO, 1969:69).

Another noticeable fact is the increasing number of accidents at work. In the São Paulo area there had in 1973 been about 712,000 employees struck by accidents, whereas there were as many as 780,000 in 1974 - a fourth of all employed at that time. It has been maintained that the ratio of work accidents by work-days increases with about 10 per cent per annum (São Paulo Crescimento e Pobreza, 1976:55). The same study suggests that causes of these accidents at work relate both to the life of workers outside factories (poor food, extended travelling between home and factory, poor health), and within working-life itself: the tough tempo of labour, enforced overtime, bad and unhealthy work environments etc. These conditions are becoming permanent as a result of the powerlessness of unions and the soft attitude of the state in relationship to entrepreneurs. The law of labour security is deficient, and the law is sporadically or not at all applied.

As regards trade-unions the government after 1964 has only applied legislation from 1943, CLT (Consolidação das Leis Trabalhistas), with very small amendments. The first important amendment was to make legal strikes impossible (Law 4.330 of July 1964), and to eliminate the law on security of employment and to introduce the so-called FGTS (Fundo de Garantia per Tempo de Serviço).

The structure of trade-unions, according to CLT, is a copy of Mussolini's "Carta del Lavoro", and this implies that trade-unions are part of the state apparatus. The main task of trade-unions, according to the law, is to provide social services to their members. According to a decree from 1931 they are defined as "consultant and technical organizations which can aid the federal government". The government controls the assets of trade-unions and labour representatives must be approved by the Department of Labour. The government can nullify a union-decision as well as trade-union elections, and dissolve their boards and even appoint union functionaries. Each branch of the economy organize their own workers on a local, regional and national level but no common federal organization of labour is allowed. The law of 1943 has been interpreted differently by different governments. Humphrey describes the development after 1964 in the following manner (1977:45): "Given that the mechanisms of the Estado Novo still existed, the Ministry of Labour merely had to exercise its power. In the first nine months after the coup, the Ministry took direct control of 425 Unions and 8 Federations, and the list included most of the major unions at all of the important Federations. The vacated union offices were filled by either members of the unions who had been anti-populist or officials of the Ministry." Furthermore, he describes the repression against union militants, and police interventions in connection with strike-attempts.

Ever since 1945 union autonomy in relationship to the state has been a demand within the labour movement (Maranhão, 1979), but for the so-called "new trade-union movement" this will be one of the main demands.

But if the relationship between trade-unions and the state has been a constant source of weakness in the labour movement, it has at least resulted in a politicization of union struggle. Union members had to follow the political development of the country closely. The term "the new trade-union movement" or "the true trade-union movement", and the expression "union opposition" is used to indicate the kind of leaders and militants who in spite

of all the difficulties are seen as faithful to the interests of workers. The "new labour movement" was born within the so-called "dynamic sector" of the economy, particularly among metal workers in the São Paulo area where the labour movement was most weak up till 1964. The term "new" is used in contradistinction to the "old", that is the labour movement before 1964 which had its main strength among employees within state enterprises (for instance transport, oil, steel, and chemical industries) and more traditional industries in the private sector (for instance textile, food industry etc.); the term "true" is used in contradistinction to the "yellow" union leaders or "pelegos" as they are called in Brazil ("pelego" is the sheep skin which is used between the saddle and the horse to make riding softer).

All this has lead some researchers as for instance Almeida (1975) to start discussing the relationship between structural traits of industry and the trade-union movement.

Swedish companies in Brazil and their employees belong to the so-called "dynamic sector" within the Brazilian economy. To study working conditions within this sector is important both for Swedish and Brazilian sociology of work. Close descriptions of working conditions and the organization within the dynamic sector is missing. A closer study of these conditions may serve as a basis for predictions regarding the future of industry and may also serve as a basis for continued and expanding research in this general area. To study how one and the same company operates under various social and economic conditions can provide a basis for discussion and conclusions regarding the role of "economic calculus" as against "social and cultural norms" in this context.

4. A Survey of the Literature

In all known forms of society human labour and its social organization and distribution has been a fundamental element. In addition, the technical division and organization of labour always exists

within the framework of certain social relations of production, and to some extent shapes these relations.

The classical economists (particularly Adam Smith in The Wealth of Nations) were the first to theoretically scrutinize the organization of labour in the capitalist system of production. In a later phase of the industrial revolution their work was continued by men like Andrew Ure and Charles Babbage (Braverman, 1977:81).

But the most influential literature regarding this problem area did not emerge until the latter part of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century when enterprises had grown considerably in size and increasingly had become monopolistic. Here we should take account of two traditions: on the one side Karl Marx with his main work "Capital" and which had a particularly strong influence on the labour movement, and on the other hand Frederic Taylor's work which initiated the so-called movement of scientific management and greatly influenced the organization of work in modern industry as a whole.

Scientific management of the movement toward rationalization of work was an attempt to apply scientific methods with regard to the increasingly complex problem of controlling work in the rapidly growing capitalist enterprises.

In spite of the fact that Taylorism failed to concern itself directly with technology and its development (technology and tools were considered as given), it is interesting to notice how scientific management and the research carried out in the "laboratories" of the industry itself influenced scientific developments in engineering as well as in sociology. David F. Noble (1977:xxvi) in his book America by Design says that "these engineers who had been trained in science and weaned upon large-scale corporate enterprise fused the imperatives of corporate capitalism and scientific technology into a formal system."

Harry Braverman has pointed out the great significance of Taylorism in the structuring of the modern enterprise, and of other institu-

tions in capitalist society which involve labour processes. He shows that later schools of thought in the sociology and psychology of work, as for instance the "human-relations school" in the first instance "has devoted itself to the problem of adjusting workers to the production process, such as this process has been designed by industrial experts of planning". (Braverman, 1977:82).

Braverman quotes Hugo Münsterberg and Elton Mayo; but it is primarily within functionalism and behaviourism that you can find the theoretical bases for the adjustment paradigm which characterized the Swedish sociology of work as it unfolded between 1945-1965 (Björkman, 1978:5).

Different theoretical traditions offer different explanations of the various designs of the labour process, and also provide different interpretations of the calculus of profitability, technological development and its implications for capitalist society. Everybody seems to agree that enterprises must be profitable and that this is an aspect of their very nature, but as regards the implications of profitability for the shape of our societies, there is considerable disagreement. For Veblen for instance "the critical contradiction of industrial capitalism was that between business and industry, the price system and the engineer, between the irrational dictates of the market and the supremely rational imperative of science (tied to the primitive and noble instinct of workmanship)" (Noble, 1977:xx).

For Max Weber and Jacques Ellul "not alone capitalism, but the modern technical and administrative apparatus of production forged by capitalism would enslave modern man" (Noble, 1977:xxi).

Functionalism and behaviourism never question the basic postulate of profitability. For these schools of thought the striving for profit, gain or rewards is a constituent element of human nature itself. George Caspar Homans' "homo economicus" illustrates this image of man, and relates closely to the adjustment paradigm. The human relations school and its distinction between morale and satisfaction where morale is an expression of the identification

with the enterprise and its aims is based on an assumption of harmony. Society is supposed to develop in a manner virtually free from conflict. It is interesting to compare this assumption of harmony with Taylor's argument justifying the managements "right to lead and obligation to exactly determine how work should be performed" (Braverman, 1977:85), or Ure's vision of workers, machines and capitalists as it was quoted in Capital: "Ure says of a machine used in calico printing: 'At length capitalists sought deliverance from this intolerable bondage' namely the in their eyes burdensome terms of their contracts with the workmen 'in the resources of science, and where speedily re-instated in their legitimate rule, that of head of the inferior members' ... with regard to the intervention of the self-acting mule, he says: 'A creation destined to restore order among the industrious classes ... this invention confirms the great doctrine already propounded, that when capital enlists science into her service, the refractory had of labour will always be taught docility'" (Capital, 1978, Volume I:411).

The contradiction between labour and capital although taken into account in the works of many authors, attained crucial significance in the theory of social development only in the work of Marx. Marx viewed work within the capitalist mode of production both as "a labour process, human action with a view to the production of use values, and a process of the production of self-expanding value, of valorisation. In every society there are to be labour processes, but valorisation is a process specific to capitalism (Brighton Labour Process Group, 1976:2). Marx' theory of the labour process is also related to his theory of exploitation, and to his theory of class. The concept of class is built on the concept of exploitation, and the concept of exploitation is based on the notion of appropriation of surplus labour which in capitalism takes the form of surplus value which in its turn depends on forms of ownership, that is private ownership of the means of production.

In our century the movement of rationalization has been continuously growing. It came to Sweden at the turn of the century from the

USA. However, as from the 1920's it is primarily the German movement of rationalization which dominates up till about 1945. The main difference between these two versions of the movement of rationalization is that the American school was concerned mainly with individual and with the study of movements, whereas the German movement (REFA) was concerned with the whole labour process, and had a more physiological approach to the individual (Hans de Geer, 1977).

The 1950's was a period of growth euphoria. Industry as a whole is rationalized, and MTM is introduced with the support of trade-unions. A welfare society should be created through increasing productivity, and on the societal level through a more fair distribution of the result of production.

However, toward the end of the 1960's the adjustment paradigm and the rationalization movement itself is being questioned in Sweden. In his paper "From Human Adaptation to Environmental Change" Torsten Björkman has discussed this development of research on working life (see appendix).

We will not here discuss whether the emergence of "socio-technique" should be considered a new development or rather a change within the rationalization movement as maintained for instance by Stefan Agurén and Jan Edgren (1979:6) in "Annorlunda fabriker". Nor will we discuss whether socio-techniques has emerged as a response to the growing disenchantment of workers with time-studies or as a step forward in technological development to attain more effective production systems. We will only indicate that these questions have aroused a lively debate of a rather speculative character due to the absence of significant and relevant research findings.

Braverman (1977:44) considers these reforms "which are often described as attempts to make work more humane" as "a new management style rather than a change in the position of workers". According to him the main purpose of these reforms is "to create an illusion that workers themselves make decisions whereas in reality this decision-making only offers the worker a choice between a certain

number of determined and limited alternatives decided by management."

Andy Friedman (1979:4) criticizes Braverman for his one-sided view of this development, and for "neglecting to see the resistance of labour as an effective force which brings about adjustments in the capitalist mode of production". According to Friedman the struggle of labour may have other effects than the final transformation of this mode of production. Friedman suggests that the resistance and struggle of workers and the counter-moves of entrepreneurs and managers caused thereby must be seen as a process through which labour organization itself is shaped. From this point of departure he sees Taylorism or direct control and "self-determination under responsibility" as two alternative management strategies shaped not only by the immediate aims of capital but also by the extent of labour resistance and struggle. "Even if 'self-management under responsibility' does not imply a transformation of the capitalist mode of production, it cannot simply be considered a simple extension of the strategy of 'direct control' (that is nor as a neo-Taylorism or as a neo-Fordism, as Palloix maintains)", writes Friedman (1979:14).

Consequently Friedman distinguishes between different socio-technical experiments in terms of how they have come about, in order to determine if changes in the relative control of capital and labour were progressive as seen from the point of view of labour. He compares experiments at Volvo and Saab in Sweden with similar experiments at the Fiat plants in Italy. In the case of Fiat where changes came about as a result of the successful struggle of labour the control of management over the labour process as a whole was weakened whereas in the Swedish case the control of management was strengthened (Friedman, 1979:7).

But after the contributions of the classical theorists, and apart from the contributions of the rationalization movement and the human-relations school, there have been very few advances indeed in the study of the labour process within capitalism, at least up till the end of the 1960's.

This also holds for the Marxist tradition. The labour process has not been studied extensively, at least not among Western Marxists. Gramsci is virtually the only Marxist who in some of his works has dealt with Fordism. In socialist countries the labour process has been extensively discussed, but mainly in relation to the socialist mode of production. This literature is very little known in Western countries, and will not be covered here. Among Western Marxists there have been extensive discussions of the class structure, the political sphere, imperialism, the labour movement, alienation. But rather little about the shape of production and labour within factory walls.

The Frankfurt school (Habermas and others) which builds on Weber, Marx and Luckacz devotes most of its attention to problems of alienation and the inhuman traits of capitalism but very little attention to the labour process as such.

Within phenomenology which due to its methodological individualism results in a complex and fragmentary view of reality we find rather odd myths for instance about science as a self-generating mechanism independent of humanity and society at large reminiscent of George Orwell's computer in 1984.

But from the end of the 60's the study of the labour process is attracting more and more attention. It is difficult to determine exactly how and why this interest develops, but a survey of the literature would seem to indicate that this new interest has arisen in the USA, England, West Germany and Scandinavia in the context of the debate about alienation, technology and automation. Previous assumptions about harmony and about the technical and social development as such were now questioned. Something was felt to be wrong in the so-called welfare societies. The 1968 demonstrations and revolts, wild cat strikes, the anti-war movement in the USA, the hippie movement and the emergence of ecology movements are all symptoms of a new discontent. As a result sociologists have gone back to the classical authors to find answers to the question why we have the kind of world we have today, and in what direction we are travelling. Historical explanations have

again attracted attention. In France, Italy, Spain and Latin America it was the debate about worker democracy, the role of unions and worker control over production and the discussion about the transition from capitalism to socialism which finally lead to an interest in studying the labour process as such. In those countries the assumptions of harmony so characteristic of the American tradition had never been particularly popular among sociologists, and the historical approach had never been lost out of sight completely.

We will now refer to some publications which exemplify research on working-life during the last twenty years. In Scandinavia we could mention for instance Lysgaard (Norway, 1961), Lindhagen and Nilsson (Sweden, 1970), Korpi (Sweden, 1978) who treat the relationship between the labour process and worker consciousness. In West Germany Horst Kern (1979) has treated the relationship between industrial rationalization, working conditions and political and union consciousness. In the USA Harry Braverman (1974) has become a minor classic in the study of the labour process, and Aronowitz (1974) has written on the shaping of American working-class consciousness. In England writers like Hobsbawm (1964 and 1975), A. Friedman (1977), Brighton Labour Process Group (1976) and Bigflame (1976) are working in the same area of interest. In Italy Tronti (1976), David la Valle (1976), A. Milanaccio and L. Ricolti (1976), R. Aglieta, Bianci and M. Brandini (1970) and Cella (1972) can be mentioned in this context. In France there are writers like A. Touraine (1955), E. Seguire and Ollier (1972), Friedman and Naville (1973), Rolle (1971), Linhart (1976), Palloix (1976), Durand (1971), Gorz (1976) and Betellheim (1974).

Latin American sociology has not devoted much attention to the labour process in industry, but this topic was extensively discussed in Chile under the regime of Allende in connection with the organization of new forms of labour control within nationalized industries. Reflections of this discussion can be found in a book by Sergio Ramos (1972).

Latin American sociology has predominantly been devoted to the

study of macro social processes. During the 60's the spokesmen of the so-called dependency theory rejected the conventional view of economic development as a linear process from underdevelopment to development. The dependency theory was path-breaking not only within Latin American sociology but within development research generally. Industrial countries were no longer seen as a model for emulation by developing countries. The development of the capitalist world as a whole was seen as a unitary but unequal and complementary process. F. Cardoso, himself one of the foremost spokesmen of dependency theory, has more recently criticized some of the conclusions from this theory which were so popular in the 60's and 70's, but which according to Cardoso in his book Autoritarismo e Democracia were based on simplified and deficient interpretations of dependency theory.

As regards Brazilian sociology of work its main focus has been the formation of the working-class and the history of the labour movement. Most of these publications are from the 60's and the 70's, and they left quite a number of questions unresolved. In recent years we can find an increasing interest in studying the working-class, particularly among those who wish to "rediscover our history", a kind of movement which resembles the approach suggested by Sven Lindqvist in his book Gräv där du står. But researchers encounter many difficulties as for instance lack of economic resources which prevent more wide-ranging empirical studies, different bureaus of statistics producing non-comparable data, and also difficulties of obtaining research clearance for the use of archive materials, the lack of registers on available materials. Some historians try to save whatever can be saved from the basements of libraries where materials are subject to humidity and other sources of slow but inevitable material destruction.

Other difficulties relate to the use of interviews and questionnaires. The situation of political repression during the 70's has made people apprehensive of such methods; if they do not simply reject to answer such questions they are likely to answer

them in an uncontroversial manner. A public opinion poll made three months before the election 1974 "showed that the government party would gain the support of a majority of the electorate in São Paulo. However, in the election the opposition took 70 per cent of the vote in the city of São Paulo to 90 per cent for the government party" (Visão, 21.1 1975, quoted by Humphrey 1977:81). It would seem far-fetched to attribute such a major shift in party allegiance only to the election campaign itself. It is more reasonable to assume that the respondents in the public opinion poll were reluctant to give honest and forthright answers to an interviewer whom they did not know. When Humphrey made his interviews in a large automobile factory 1974, one of the workers made the following comment: "You say you are doing research. Perhaps you are, perhaps you are not. You could be from the police or the management. Or you could be what you say you are. I don't know" (Humphrey, 1977:87).

In "Operario, Operaria" ("Workers: men and women") Arakcy Martins Rodriguez discusses problems connected with the use of interviewing methods when the group of study consists of repressed groups who feel themselves downtrodden, and feel their views to illegitimate in relationship to a well-dressed and well-educated interviewer to whom they wish to give the "right" answers.

In spite of such difficulties it would seem possible to make reasonably good surveys under proper conditions. Luis Flavio Rainho's (1978) thesis on production workers in the ABC area (São Bernardo, São André, São Caetano - suburbs to São Paulo) reconstructs the daily life of workers inside and outside the factory. On the basis of reports from the workers themselves. On this basis he analyzes their consciousness and their opportunities for organization. In order to accomplish his study Rainho lived with the workers for three years, read the same newspapers as they did, listened to the same radio programmes, watched the same television shows, and even made the workers participate in the research process itself, so as to make it possible to pick up systematic information about their various problems. Rainho's theoretical approach was based on Marx,

Lukács and Gramsci. With regard to the role of the researcher Rainho quotes the following statement by a worker: "It is important that university students come to live with the people, to become a sort of messenger on what we are, feel and think" (Rainho, 1978:10).

Also Frederico (1978) and Arakcy Martins Rodriguez (1978) have studied class consciousness, and the formation and structuring of the cognitive processes involved among different groups of industrial workers in São Paulo. These three researchers find a widespread anxiety and apprehension among workers with regard to their total life situation. Arakcy describes this as a basic element which is found among all those interviewed and which relates to their absurd everyday life. Even though they work hard, and have done so for most of their lives, their income is insufficient even for their most elementary needs. This is incongruent with their sense of having done a decent job. Workers feel that their situation must be changed in some manner, and this view is based on a feeling of moral righteousness. However, not everyone is thinking in terms of class struggle; a life beyond the death or to win the stakes or on lottery are other ways of rationalizing one's deep-seated anxiety.

Mauricio Vinhas (1970) has used census data to analyze the growth of the industrial working-class and its distribution among different branches of production.

Boris Fausto (1976) has analyzed the working-class in Rio and São Paulo for the period 1850-1920.

José Albertino Rodriguez (1966), Azis Simão (1966), Leoncio Martins Rodriguez (1970), Juarez Brandão Lopez (1964), Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1969), Francisco Weffort (1972) are other prominent researchers whose publications have even become required literature in courses on the sociology of work.

To summarize their work would go much beyond the scope of this application, and we will therefore be content with just mentioning

their names.

There is a long list of interesting studies on the Brazilian working-class (see the list of literature in the appendix). We find that this literature treats a large number of areas like the emergence of labour law, the trade-union movement and its history, the relationship between trade-unions and the state, and the emergence of populism, the living conditions of workers, various social and political movements, ideologies and doctrines within the labour movement, the attitudes of workers with respect to enterprises, unions and society etc., but there is relatively little, apart from a few references, about working conditions as such, and about the labour process and the organization of work within industry.

Another shortcoming in this literature is that it fails to define precisely some of the basic concepts used. For instance in discussing structural change within industry a distinction is made between "traditional" and "modern" industry, about the relationship between new forms for the organization of the labour movement and the organization of modern industry, but virtually never we are told exactly what this implies, since there is a lack of information about the organization of work within different branches of industry. What exactly is implied by the difference between "traditional" and "modern" industry or between "qualified" and "unqualified" workers are not precisely rendered in spite of the fact that these distinctions often are made in studies of "class consciousness" or of "attitude". Humphrey (1977:88) has shown in his thesis that certain assumptions made by Almeida (1975) are based on erroneous information about the automobile industry. But more lately more attention has been paid to these deficiencies. Boris Fausto (1976) is one of those who devotes considerable attention to the organization of work in his study of industrial workers in the period 1820-1920. At the Campinas University Michael M. Hall has initiated a project on the working-class between 1920-1945 where working conditions and the organization of work will be given due attention.

As regards the rationalization movement in Brazil it is difficult to determine exactly how it has developed. So far we have not fully surveyed the Brazilian literature in business administration within the framework of the present project. Within the literature on sociology of work we have found only a few references. In spite of this we know that Taylorism was applied in the largest textile mills already at the turn of the century. As regards international economic influence England was dominant up till about 1930 when the USA took over the dominant role which has remained up till now. English companies built railroads, ports and the electrical industry which later on was sold to the Brazilian state. But this does not exclude other types of influence. Brazil is an immigrant country where it is indeed very difficult to trace the threads in the general cultural texture. (Immigrants have come to Brazil from countries as different as Japan, China and West Germany as well as from southern Europe, and the Arab countries. This has added to the cultural and ethnic heterogeneity which was there already during the colonial era when the indigenous Indian population and African slaves, Portuguese and even Dutch elements had made their contributions to the general demographic composition of the Brazilian people. A Brazilian citizen cannot be identified as any particular racial or ethnic type. Any person can walk on the streets of Sao Paulo without appearing to be a "foreigner").

As we have mentioned earlier labour law and the structure of trade-unions have been inspired by the Italian "Carta del Lavoro". Anarchism dominated the labour movement up till the 20's when the Communist Party was formed by previous anarchists. Over 90 per cent of industrial workers in Sao Paulo were immigrants from Italy, Spain and Portugal in the early decades of the 20th century. This changed in the 30's when an increasing number of industrial workers were recruited from Brazilian rural areas.

As from the period of Estado Novo, the Vargas dictatorship, 1945, and the period of democratization the Conservative PSD and the Workers PTB was formed. The alliance PTB-PSD signifies the period of populism. To illuminate and explain all these political com-

plexities in a multi-faceted country like Brazil has occupied Brazilian social scientists for many years. The questions are many and to trace them in a systematic manner is not easy.

As from 1955 many multi-national firms have been established in Brazil. With regard to their norms of work and organization Rainho (1978:260) says that they were imported from the mother companies without being adjusted to Brazilian conditions. (He has investigated the ABC area, where automobile factories like Volkswagen, Ford, Toyota, Chrysler, Scania, Mercedes, etc. are situated). In spite of this there are good reasons to assume that some kind of adjustment does take place to local conditions. If you read the general descriptions of working conditions in Swedish and Brazilian industry you find both differences and similarities.

The main purpose of this study is to describe this process of adjustment to local conditions against the background of Swedish "industrial culture" and to explore the basis and causes of this adjustment process.

5. The Purpose of the Study

This study is planned as the Brazilian part of a larger project which will compare the organization of work, production techniques and working conditions within one company industrially active in Sweden as well as in Brazil. We will apply for funds for the Swedish part from the Swedish Working Environment Fund (Arbets-skyddsfonden). The two sub-projects will be designed as comparable studies, but also so that they can serve a scientific purpose as separate projects. The project as a whole as well as its parts can be considered exploratory case studies.

The purpose of the Brazilian study is thus to describe the organization of work, production techniques and working conditions in the Saab-Scania enterprise in Sao Bernardo, and the views on these conditions found among the actors involved (that is management,

the employees and the union). The term organization of work refers to different organizational solutions with regard to the design of the process of work (for instance layout), and the distribution of functions and the process of hierarchization. The term production technique refers to degree of mechanization and automation. The term working conditions refers to forms of worker remuneration, worker protection, health care and personnel policy.

The organization of work, the production technique and the conditions of work are considered as variables which means that we assume that they vary between different countries, and perhaps different companies. But we also assume that there is a transfer of the experience of the Swedish mother company from Sweden which influences the Brazilian affiliate, its organization and "praxis".

Claes Brundenius (1978:104) makes a distinction between three different kinds of MNF-investments abroad: (a) market-motivated investments - that is investments "motivated by the needs of defending or increasing an old market or opening up new ones"; (b) investments in raw-material resources; and (c) investments motivated by the desire to take advantage of low wages. Brundenius suggests that most Swedish investments in Brazil are market-motivated. As a result "they have an option between setting up a sales company and/or building a plant which might be either an assembly plant (with imported assembly parts) or at once building a full-scale integrated plant (with little or no imported inputs)." (Brundenius 1978:104).

Saab-Scania's plant in São Bernardo can be considered "a full-scale integrated plant with little imported parts (except for the gear-box)". Therefore we can expect to find similar "technical systems of production" in São Bernardo and in Södertälje. Recent Brazilian industrial research (Humphrey, 1977) indicates, however, that social and economic conditions (for instance the shape of the labour market, labour law, competition between private companies, the relationship between union and enterprise) influences the choice of alternative solutions with regard to questions such as

organization of work, production technique and conditions of work. Therefore we assume that the plants in São Bernardo and in Södertälje differ in important respects - and in the larger project it is our intention to study these differences.

The description of the organization of work, production technique and conditions of work in Saab-Scania's plant in São Bernardo can therefore help us to find out how much of Saab-Scania's experiences in Sweden have been exported to Brazil - particularly with regard to Saab-Scania's concern with "human relations": the experiments with self-managing groups in Trollhättan (Karlson, 1978) and at the engine factory in Södertälje (Agurén & Nordstedt, 1974), and Swedish worker protection (security norms, work environment, automation of heavy, dangerous and dirty jobs), personnel policy (introduction to work, employment security, human relations activities etc.) and finally, worker-co-determination (MBL) in management union relationships.

Our intended description of the views of the actors involved on organization of work, production technique and working conditions will imply the following aspects: (a) how management evaluates and explains its praxis; (b) how the union views the praxis of management in these questions; (c) how they view relationships between union and management; (d) the views of the employees on these questions in relationship to their background (for instance sex, marital status, education, social mobility, age, etc.), their function in the process of work (for instance job design, wages, etc.), and their attitudes (for instance their political attitudes, image of the world, attitude to the union and to the company, their views on what it means to work in a foreign company, what they know about Sweden etc.). This description can provide a basis for further discussion of how the transfer of political and economic-industrial culture takes place, and of the relationship between organization of work in large automobile factories and the so-called "new trade-union movement".

6. Methods of Research

Both qualitative and quantitative techniques of data collection and analysis will be used in this project. Our plans for data collection are the following:

- (a) To collect secondary data (data from other studies, archives, libraries, official statistics, statements by key-persons, and in the press) with regard to the shape of working-life in the ABC area and particularly with reference to the Saab-Scania plant.
- (b) To visit the union and management to collect information through their archives, and to carry out open-ended interviews to gain information about the structure of the company, norms, various views etc.
- (c) To carry out a pilot study with interviews of management, union and various categories of employees (for instance office clerks, technicians, and various categories of employees in direct production) in order to obtain a picture of the everyday life on the plant and to provide a basis for a more comprehensive study.
- (d) To carry out a survey among the employees on the basis of a representative sample. Here we will use a general questionnaire but with the possibility of designing specific questions for different categories of employees in order to cover their specific problems. The pilot study mentioned under (c) will serve as a basis for decisions on how to design the overall questionnaire as well as the specific questions to be asked from various categories. An important problem in this context is the problem of language; one and the same word can mean different things to different groups who have their own language and terminology. The "translation problems" caused by this variation in the meaning of various terms must be seriously considered in our study. Again, we hope that the pilot study will help us to discover problems of this nature, and to find the solutions. Sample size cannot yet be determined, but we will attempt to design the sample in such a manner that it will be possible to break down our data into sub-

groups and still maintain a reasonable confidence in our statistical estimates.

(e) A special questionnaire will be used for management, and another one for the union board where they will be asked questions regarding their views on and explanations for the prevailing organization of work, production techniques and working conditions within the plant, and their inter-relations.

Standard statistical procedures of a multi-variata nature such as factor analysis and path analysis will be used in analyzing the data collected.

The overall analysis will be carried out on four different levels:

(a) Description of the plant and its structure, including the organization of work, production technique and working conditions. In this context we will also consider the history of the plant (its establishment, expansion, performance record, for instance the development of productivity and of wages, the development of work norms, labour turnover etc.

(b) A description of the employees and the management. Here we will try to answer questions on "who they are", that is their background, their attitudes, image of the world, participation in union activities, etc. Here we will also describe the board of the union and its history.

(c) Here we will try to "reconstruct the plant", that is to "man" the structure which was described on levels (a) with the people we studied at level (b). Here we will thus relate the objective and subjective aspects of working-life and discuss the concrete problems which occur within the plant as reflected both objectively and subjectively. Here we also hope to catch a glimpse of how the special traits of Brazilian society penetrates into the plant. What combinations do we find between patterns of sex, age, education, skin colour, and class on the one hand and the technical structure on the other? What is the distribution between "Swedes" and

"Brazilians" within the plant hierarchy, and their relationships to each other?

(d) At this level we will analyze the relationship between the plant and the Brazilian society. This implies a discussion of the influence of factors such as labour law, the labour market, the commodity market, competition between different companies, inflation but also the social and cultural norms of Brazilian society. Since unions extend beyond the single company, the relationship between the company and the unions will also be illuminated at this level.

At all these four levels we will try to make comparisons with other studies of working-life in Sweden (for instance Karlsson, 1978, Korpi, 1978, Agurén & Nordstedt, 1974), and studies about automobile industry around the world (for instance Walker & Guest, 1952, Beynon, 1978 and IWC Motors Group, 1978). We will also carry out comparisons with studies of other automobile plants in the ABC area (for instance Humphrey, 1977, Rodriguez, 1970, Würtele, 1979, Rainho, 1978). Since we will cover this literature on the ABC area before launching our project, it will of course also influence our own choice of variables. Some degree of comparability with other automobile plants in the ABC area will thus be assured. In this manner we will also be in a better position to discover to what extent trends at the Saab-Scania factory in Sao Bernardo reflects general trends in the automobile industry around the world, specific tendencies relating to the Swedish company or to Brazilian local conditions with respect to the transfer and adaptation of political and economic-industrial culture.

7. Time-schedule

I. July-December, 1980: Survey of the literature, and collection of basic material, contacts with the company and with unions.

The main purpose here is to collect information about the structure of working-life within the automobile industry in the ABC area, and

to this end we will at this stage mainly consult archives and libraries.

Institutions where libraries and archives will be studied are:

1. DIESE (Departamento Intersindical de Estatística e Estudos Socio-Economicos). This is an institute for research financed by the trade-unions, and located in Sao Paulo. It provides studies of wage movements, price changes and other matters of interest for the labour movement, as well as bulletins, occasional papers and reports. Furthermore, it produces an index of inflation in Sao Paulo.

2. Sindicato dos Metalurgicos de São Bernardo e Diadema. This is the metal workers union in Sao Bernardo.

3. ANFAVEA (Associação Nacional de Fabricantes de Vehiculos). This is the organization of car manufacturers.

4. Fundação Getulio Vargas. Faculdade de Economico e Administração de Empresas. This is the Faculty of Business Administration in São Paulo.

5. Associação de Comercio Sueco -Brasileria. This is the Swedish Chamber of Commerce in Sao Paulo.

6. IBGE (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografico e Estatistico). This is the Central Statistical Bureau of Brazil.

In addition we will consult the following research institutes which are devoted to sociology of work:

1. CEDEC (Centro de Estudos de Cultura Contemporanea) in Sao Paulo.

2. CEBRAP (Centro Brasileiro de Analise e Planejamento).

3. The Social Science Faculty at the Sao Paulo University, and at the Campinas University.

II. January-June, 1981: Processing of the collected basic materials and the writing of a first report. The beginning of the pilot study.

III. July- December, 1981: Conclusion of the pilot study. Analysis of its results. Writing of a second report. Preparations for drawing a representative sample and the design of questionnaires for interviewing.

IV. January-June, 1982: Data collection for the survey and data analysis.

V. July 1982 - June 1983: Data analysis and the writing of a final report.

As a background to an evaluation of this time-schedule it should be emphasized that research in Brazil and particularly in Sao Paulo is very time consuming due to large distances and deficient public transportation as well as to deficiencies in other organizational aspects such as the functioning of telephones and the difficulties of arranging appointments with people etc. Resources are always limited. For instance in libraries and at archives there is usually no resources for photo-copying which means that you have to do the copying yourself by hand. We must realistically expect to get bogged down in a lot of small practical details in the course of our research work.

8. The Significance of the Project

The study of the organization of work and working conditions in a Swedish company in Brazil is of great interest both from a Swedish and a Brazilian point of view (for unions, researchers, management and public opinion in both countries). In Sweden there has been a growing interest in questions regarding organization of work in recent years, and this is also the case in Brazil even though there, there is a virtually complete lack of case studies about these matters. A study of Saab-Scania in particular

in Sweden as well as in Brazil offers unique possibilities of illuminating 'quality of working life' efforts in industry and their degree of universality.

Since we will devote a significant part of our various reports to a historical survey of the growth and formation of norms in working-life in Brazil and in Sweden, our reports will hopefully contribute to increase the knowledge about Swedish conditions in Brazil, and about Brazil in Sweden. We are also considering writing two versions of the final report - one for the Swedish and another for the Brazilian public, that is both in Swedish and in Portuguese.

The fact that the project will be based both at the Institute of Sociology, University of Uppsala and at CEBRAP in Sao Paulo will hopefully also increase the possibilities and opportunities for further research collaboration between Swedish and Brazilian research institutes in the near future.

9. Additional Information

The project is part work on a doctoral dissertation for Leda Gitahy who is a doctoral student at the Institute of Sociology, University of Uppsala. The project will be carried out under the leadership and supervision of Pablo Suarez, research fellow at this institute of sociology, and with Professor Ulf Himmelstrand and the research fellow Torsten Björkman as supervisors. In Brazil Professor Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Professor Juarez Brandão Lopez at CEBRAP have offered to supervise Leda Gitahy in the course of the project. Torsten Björkman will serve as a consultant in questions relating to working-life in Sweden. As regards research permission we have already contacted the union in São Bernardo which has promised to support the project. Saab-Scania in Sweden has already been contacted and we expect an answer to our request within the next few months.

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São Paulo", Símbolo, São Paulo.

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Fernando H. CARDOSO (1972): "Empresário Industrial e Desenvolvimento Econômico no Brasil, São Paulo, DIFEL.

Fernando H. CARDOSO (1975): "Autoritarismo e Democratização". Paz e Terra, São Paulo.

G.P. CELLA (1972): "Divisione del Lavoro e Iniziativa Operaia". De Donato.

Ely CHINOY (1955): "Automobile workers and the American Dream". New York, Random House.

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Eli DINIZ (1978): "Empresário, Estado e Capitalismo no Brasil 1930 - 1945", São Paulo, Paz e Terra.

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- R. MARANHÃO (1979): "Sindicato e Democratização", São Paulo, Brasiliense.
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- J.A. MOISÉS (1978): "Greve de Massa e Crise Política", São Paulo, Polis.
- J.A. MOISÉS (1979): "O ciclo das greves do final dos anos 70" (1979) mim, CEDEC.
- B. MOTTEZ: "A Sociologia Industrial", Sao Paulo, DIFEL.
- L. MOUTINHO (1974): "A mulher operária", mim, São Paulo University.
- "Mål och metoder i teknikvärdering" (1978), IVA Rapport 142, Stockholm.
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- P.S. PINHEIRO (1975): "Política e Trabalho no Brasil", Rio, Paz e Terra.

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- "Produktionslivets förnyelse (1978), Arbetarskyddsfonden, Stockholm.
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- S. RAMOS (1972): "Chile: ¿Una Economia de Transicion?" CESO, Santiago.
- A.M. RODRIGUES (1978): "Operário, Operária", São Paulo, Símbolo.
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- L.M. RODRIGUES (1966): "Conflito Industrial e Sindicalismo no Brasil", São Paulo, DIFEL.
- L.M. RODRIGUES (1968): "Sindicalismo e Sociedade", São Paulo, DIFEL.
- L.M. RODRIGUES (1970): "Industrialização e Atitudes Operárias", São Paulo, Brasiliense.
- L.M. RODRIGUES (1974): "Trabalhadores, Sindicatos e Industrialização", São Paulo, Brasiliense.
- P. ROLLE (1971): "Introduction à la Sociologie du travail", Paris, Larousse.
- L.B. RUBIN (1976): "Worlds of Pain", New York, Basic Books Inc Publishers.
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- "SÃO PAULO 1975 CRESCIMENTO E POBREZA", São Paulo, Edições Loyola.
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- A. SIMÃO (1966): "Sindicato e Estado", Sao Paulo, Dominus.
- "SINDICALISMO E POLÍTICA " (1978) em Contraponto no. 3, Rio.
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- "Teknik för framtiden STU-perspektiv 1979", information nr 122-1979, styrelsen för teknisk utveckling, Stockholm.
- A. TOURAINE (1955): "L'évolution du travail ouvrier aux usines Renault", Paris.
- A. TOURAINE et al. (1970): "Los trabajadores y la evolución técnica", Barcelona Nova Terra.
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- L.J. Werneck VIANNA (1974): "Sistema liberal e direito do trabalho" em ESTUDOS CEBRAP 7.
- L.J. Werneck VIANNA (1978): "Liberalismo e Estrutura Sindical", São Paulo, Paz e Terra.
- M. VINHAS (1970): "Estudos sobre o Proletariado Brasileiro", Rio, Civilização Brasileira.
- F.C. WEFFORT (1972): "Participação e Conflito Industrial: Contagem e Osasco 1968", CEBRAP caderno no. 5.
- W. WÜRTELE (1979): "Volkswagen no Brasil" na Revista de Cultura e Política An I no. 1, CEDEC.

APPENDIX 1: Curriculum Vitae (Leda Gitahy,
Torsten Björkman and Pablo Suarez)

CURRICULUM VITAE

Name: LEDA MARIA CAIRA GITAHY

Date of birth: June 26, 1949

Citizenship: Brazilian

Address: (a) In Sweden:

Flogstavägen 81 B/221

752 63 Uppsala

(b) In Brazil:

Rua Moura Brasil 73

05507 S. Paulo - SP

Phone: 210 2739

1. STUDIES

(a) Graduate Studies

1976 - 1979 Doctoral Programme, Department of Sociology,
Uppsala University (50 credits).

(b) Undergraduate Studies

1979 Bachelor of Social Sciences, Uppsala University (Sociology: 60 credits; Economic History: 40 credits; Spanish: 20 credits)

1970 - 1973 Sociology, University of Chile (24 courses/credits).

1969 History, University of Sao Paulo.

1968 Art, Alvares Penteado Foundation University (S. Paulo).

1965 - 1967 History of Art, Alvares Penteado Foundation University, (S. Paulo).

(c) Other (Seminars and brief courses)

1978 Brazil at the edge of the 80's (symposium). Latin America Institute, Stockholm University.

1976 - 1978 Brazilian Studies (seminar). Latin American Institute, Stockholm University.

1977 Scandinavian symposium "The Agrarian sector in Latin America" (17-20 nov), Uppsala.
NOSALF - Latinamerika Institutet, Lantbruksuniversitetet.

- 1976 The State in the Third World (symposium).
AKUT-gruppen, Uppsala University.
- 1976 Seminar on South Africa. Peace and Con-
flict Research Center, Uppsala University.
- 1970 Agrarian Reform (course). Agrarian Reform
Institute (ICIRA), Chile.

2. RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

(a) Publications

- 1970 La Organización Sindical del Sector Afuerino.
(Trade Union Organizations among "Afuerino"
Peasants). Santoago de Chile: FEES (co-author)
- (b) 1971 "La formación de los Consejos Comunales Campesinos
de Quillota y Puchuncaví" (The development of
peasant country councils in Quillota and Punchun-
caví). Santiago de Chile: Agrarian Reform Insti-
tute (ICIRA), mimeo.
- 1979 "Kvinnans Situation i Brasilien" (The situation
of women in Brazil). Uppsala University (course
paper, mimeo).

(c) Appointments

- 1970 - 1971 Assistant, FEES, Santiago de Chile.
- 1971 - 1972 Assistant, Institute of Agrarian Reform
(ICIRA), Santiago de Chile.
- 1972 - 1973 Assistant, INACAP, Santiago de Chile.

Note: As an assistant at FEES, ICIRA and INACAP, I par-
ticipated in the following research projects:

- 1/ Trade Union Organizations among "Afuerino" Peasants
(FEES, 1970 - 1971).
- 2/ Problems of the Timber Industry in Valdivia and Osorno.
(Chile). (FEES, 1970).
- 3/ The Peasants and the Agrarian Reform. (FEES, 1971).
- 4/ Planning among Peasants. (ICIRA, 1971 - 1972).
- 5/ Labour Participation in the Management of Enterprises
in the "Social Property Area". (INACAP, 1972-1973).

Torsten Björkman (1939 05 03 - 1278) (Hans, Olof, Torsten, Wilhelm to be exact
List of Qualifications:

I. Publications

Allmänhetens inställning till det privata näringslivet (Public Opinion and
the Private Enterprise System), coauthor Joachim Vogel, 1969

Medinflytande - vision och verklighet (Codetermination - Utopia and Reality),
coauthors Bert Lindquist and Stjepan Udovic, 1971

Hur fungerar informationen inom ASEA? (Information Exchange in a Big Company),
1972

SIAR-report: Funktionsorganisationens första mandatperiod (Report from an
experiment with new personnelrepresentation at Statskontoret(The National Swedish
Office for Administrative Rationalization and Economy)), 1972

Två år efter organisationsförändringen - en uppföljning av statskontorets försök
med ny organisation (Two years after the organizational change at Statskontoret),
SIAR-report, coauthor Lisbeth Rhodin, 1973

SIDA-studien - en undersökning av försöksverksamheten med förvaltningsdemokrati
(Report from experiments with increased personnel influence at the Swedish
International Development Agency), 1973

Socialdemokratin och industriell demokrati 1918-24 i Arkiv för studier i arbetar-
rörelsens historia, nr 6 vol 2 1974

Information och arbetsmiljö inom ASEA (Information Exchange and Working Environ-
ment at ASEA), 1975

Planeringens gränser (Limits to Planning) (et al), Forum, Stockholm, 1976

Arbetslivsforskningens handlingsutrymme (Working Life Research and problems
of access and censorship), 1977 (forthcoming as a book from Tiden, 1980)

Arbetslivsforskningens information och dokumentation (The I&D function at the
Swedish Center for Working Life), committeereport, 1977

Försämrade arbetsmiljöer eller ökad medvetenhet - en kritik av spegeltesen

(Are the Working Environments getting worsen or the Job Adjustmnet in a State
of Transformation - a Crtitique of the 'Mirror-thesis'), STAM-report, coauthor
Karin Lundqvist, 1978

De lönsamma arbetsmiljöerna (Profitable Working Environments) in Sociologisk
Forskning nr 2/1978

Fungerar miljön inom ASEA? (An Evaluation of the Working Environment at ASEA)
coauthor Karin Lundqvist, 1978

Den arbetssociologiska traditionen i Sverige 1952-77 (The Swedish Sociology
of Work- Tradition, 1952-77), 1979

Manuell och mental automation (Manual and Mental Automation), 1979

+ six company reports from the STAM-project with Karin Lundqvist as coauthor

II. Teaching

I have created four courses in the doctoral programme at the Social Science Faculty of the University of Uppsala

Arbetslivet i framtiden (Working Life in the Future) 1976/77

Arbetsmiljökurs för doktorander (Working Environment Course for Candidates for the Doctorate) 1977/78

Teknik, Organisation och Samhällsförändring (Technology, Organization and Societal Change) 1978/79

Strategiteori (Theories of Strategy) 1979/80

III. Occupational Experience

I have worked as a Management Consultant for eight years at Konsult Kollegiet and SIAR. At the University of Uppsala I have been 'forskarassistent' since 1976

IV. Commissions of trust and the like

Member of the Board of 'Sveriges Sociologförbund', 1970-72, thereafter its auditor

" Editorial Board of 'Sociologisk Forskning', 1973-75

" Sociology of Work-Group

" 'Tvärsem', an interdisciplinary association of researchers and practitioners in the field of Working Environment

" 'Delta' a Swedish equivalent to the international conferences on Participation and Self-Management, the first held in Dubrovnik 1972

Uppsala 80 01 10

Anders Rydén

M E R I T F Ö R T E C K N I N G

Pablo Suárez

1. Tjänster

- 1976.01.01 - 1981.12.31 Forskarassistent, Sociologiska Institutionen, Uppsala Universitet.
- 1975.12.01 - 1975.12.31 Vk. Forskarassistent, Sociologiska Institutionen, Uppsala Universitet.
- 1974.05.21 - 1975.11.30 Forskare (AMS-arkivarbete med uppdrag att bedriva egen forskning vid Sociologiska Institutionen, Uppsala Universitet).
- 1964-65 samt 1967-73 Olika befattningar som lärare och forskare vid Chiles Universitet. "Det är svårt att i samtliga fall översätta till motsvarande svenska befattningar, men de sista fem åren innehade han någon form av professur = universitetslärartjänst." (Ur: Sociologiska Institutionens Ordinarie lärares "Yttrande angående sökande till tjänst som forskarassistent i sociologi").
- 1970 Projektledare, Public Opinion National Center (Chile).
- 1965 Projektledare, Chile-California Technical Cooperation Project.
- 1961 - 1963 Olika befattningar som assistent vid Chiles Universitet.

2. Studier och examina

- 1975.10.16 Kompetensintyg motsvarande filosofie doktorsexamen (enligt beslut av Samhällsvetenskapliga Fakulteten vid Uppsala Universitet).
- 1970 Licenciado en Sociología, Chiles Universitet.
- 1965 - 1967 Doctoral Programme, University of Warsaw and Polish Academy of Sciences.
- 1960 - 1964 Sociologi, Chiles Universitet.

3. Forskning och publikationer

(a) Böcker

- 1978 Praxiología, Planificación y Acción Social (Praxeologi, Planering och Social Aktion). Mexico: Sinaloa Universitet.
- 1970^(x) Las Dimensiones de la Sociedad: introducción a la meta-sociología (Samhällets Dimensioner: introduktion till metasociologin). Chile: Centrum för Humanistiska Studier, Chiles Universitet.

(b) Uppsatser och forskningsrapporter

- 1980 "Alternative Coding Procedures and the Factorial Structure of Attitude and Belief Systems", i David J. Jackson och Edgar F. Borgatta (eds.), Factor Analysis and Measurement in Sociological Research: a multi-dimensional perspective. London and Beverly Hills: SAGE Publications, Studies in International Sociology. Forthcoming.
- 1980 "Attitude Consistency and Validity-Reliability Assumptions: an exercise in methodological self-criticism", i Quality and Quantity (forthcoming). En tidigare version presenterades vid 9:e Världskongressen i Sociologi, Uppsala, augusti 1978.
- 1976 "Understanding Fascism: some data on the 'terror campaign' of 1970 in Chile". Paper presenterat vid IX Nordiska Sociologkongressen, Lund, augusti 1976.
- 1974 "The Process of Cognitive Practice: some metasociological queries". Sociologiska Institutionen, Uppsala Universitet.
- 1972 "Problemas Praxiologicos de la Acción Social" (Praxeologiska problem inom social aktion). Paper presenterat vid ett internationellt symposium arrangerat av Konrad Adenauers Fond i Jarabacoa, Dominikanska Republiken, september 1972.
- 1972 "El Uso del Análisis Factorial en la Construction de Tipologías y su Utilización en Sociología" (Om användbarhet av faktoranalys i typologikonstruktion inom sociologin). Paper presenterat vid den Latinamerikanska Sociologkongressen i Santiago, Chile, augusti 1972.
- 1971 "Praxiología, Planificación y Acción Social" (Praxeologi, Planering och Social Aktion). En förkortad version av boken med samma titel. Paper presenterat vid ett internationellt symposium arrangerat av Konrad Adenauers Fond i Ambato, Ecuador, juli 1971.

(x) "Suárez' arbete, Dimensions of Society, har betraktats som motsvarande doktorsavhandling. Det har blivit föremål för en ingående recension av prof. Przeworski". (Ur: Sociologiska Institutionens Ordinarie lärares "Yttrande angående sökande till tjänst som forskarassistent i sociologi").

- 1968 "Sobre el Uso del Análisis Factorial en la Construcción de Escalas de Desarrollo Económico-social" (Om användbarhet av faktoranalys i konstruktionen av skalor av socio-ekonomisk utveckling). Chiles Universitet, Centrum för Humanistiska Studier (mimeo).
- 1967 "Estabilidad Política, Legitimidad y Opinión Pública i Chile: un análisis teórico" (Politisk stabilitet, legitimitet och allmän opinion i Chile: en teoretisk analys). Chiles Universitet, Centrum för Humanistiska Studier (mimeo).
- 1965 "Un Estudio Sociológico sobre el Equipamiento Comunitario en la Zona de Palena" (En sociologisk studie av samhällets "utrustning" i Palena). Chile-California Technical Cooperation Project.

(c) Föreläsningsanteckningar och undervisningsmaterial

- 1977 Factor Analysis: guide-notes. Sociologiska Institutionen, Uppsala Universitet.
- 1973 Los Fundamentos del Conocimiento Científico (Vetenskapens grunder). Chiles Universitet.
- 1969 Problemas de Meta-sociología (Metasociologiska problem). Concepcions Universitet.
- 1968 Principios de Meta-teoría (Introduktion till metateorin). Chiles Universitet.
- 1967 Introducción a los Estudios Universitarios: Estructura del Conocimiento (Inledning till universitetsstudier: vetenskapens struktur). Chiles Universitet.

(d) Övrigt

- 1978 "Teaching Methods in the Teaching of Method: problems and alternatives for the course in method within the Doctoral Program at the Department of Sociology, Uppsala University". Sociologiska Institutionen, Uppsala Universitet.
- 1973 "Report on the Academic Activities at the Research Area of the Department of Politics and Social Action during 1972". Annual Convention of the Department of Politics and Social Action, University of Chile (på spanska).
- 1972 "Report on the Academic Activities at the Research Area of the Department of Politics and Social Action during 1971". Annual Convention of the Department of Politics and Social Action, University of Chile (på spanska).

- 1971 "Proposals for the Organization of Scientific Research at the Department of Politics and Social Action". Annual Convention of the Department of Politics and Social Action, University of Chile (på spanska).
- 1970 "Proposals for a New Curriculum for the School of Sociology". First Convention for a New Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Chile (på spanska).

4. Undervisning

(a) I Sverige (Forskarutbildning, fr o m 1976)

Kurser: 1. Metod
2. Klassteori

Handledning: 11 doktorander

(b) I Chile (Licenciatsnivå, 1965 samt 1967-1973).

Kurser: 1. Sociologi (allmänt)
2. Inledning till universitetsstudier
3. Socialteori
4. Politisk Sociologi
5. Inledning till Sociologisk Analys
6. Metasociologi
7. Metod

Handledning: Handledare till 9 licenciatsavhandlingar.

APPENDIX 2: A Survey of the Swedish Literature
by Torsten Björkman

FROM HUMAN ADAPTATION TO ORGANIZATIONAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE

- how and why the focus of interest has shifted in working life

research in post-war Sweden +)forthcoming in "Economic and Industrial
Democracy: An Industrial Journal
nr 2 1980

Torsten Björkman

University of Uppsala

I. The Breakthrough and Breakdown of the Adaptation Paradigm

An interest in sociology is detectable in many disciplines before its institutional introduction to our country at the end of the forties. The Uppsala school of philosophy (dominant in Sweden during the twenties and thirties) was concerned with sociologically relevant problems, for instance the study of judicial conscience. Another of our local schools with some international reputation the Stockholm school of economics, with Gunnar Myrdal and Bertil Ohlin as its most prominent spokesmen, showed interest in many of the central topics of sociology, the study of peoples' movements and their importance in a modern democracy in particular.

The breakthrough occurred at quite another part of the long sociological front though, namely in the sociology of work. And that was not the work of the academic community. The most influential group of sociology-amateurs was not to be found in the universities but among the employers. During the second world war there developed a fraction of "young turks" in the ranks of prominent managers. A more proper designation would have been "young americans" cause they turned out to be very instrumental in the americanization of swedish working life practices during the post war period. These managers, commercial attaches and so on, of whom Iveroth, Browaldh, Wallander and Waldenström are the most well-known to-day, were impressed by the new behavioural science methods in general (gallup-polling, IQ-testing etc) and the Human Relations school in particular.

Outside the universities the new methods of psychology and sociology were applied on a large scale in the forties. Schoolchildren and armyconscripts were intelligence-tested. The public opinion was surveyed. 1941 The Swedish Gallup Institute was founded (a forerunner to SIFO, nowadays led by the well-known swedish sociologist Hans Zetterberg). The success of the Gallup Institute was factual after a pretty accurate forecast of the 1944 elections to the swedish parliament. The fattest contract ever in the history of the institute was carried through during spring and summer 1948. On the initiative

of Bertil Ohlin, the chairman of the liberal party the attractiveness of the program of that party was tested on the electorate. During the intense and fateful election campaign of 1948 (a struggle of strength between the bourgeois and socialist parties in swedish politics) the leadership of the liberal party knew on which issues to concentrate (bureaucratic interventions into daily life especially the ration-cards, the troublesome state-apparatus ("Krångel-Sverige")) and over which parts of the socialdemocratic agenda they should avoid fighting (old-age pensions and the governement child allowance to mention a few examples). The results from these series of investigations were not made public which later on led to a debate on "research-ethics" in the swedish parliament and some consequential legislation.

To the success-stories of this period belongs the PR- and HR- campaigns organized by the swedish ESSO subsidiary. The message that should be brought to the swedish public was the unwiseess of socializing the oil companies. Great attention was paid to win the ESSO-employees for the sake of the company and make them active as opiniontransmitters and if possible opinion-leaders. American experts on "relations" were advisors in design and management of research and propaganda work. From a company perspective the outcome seemed rewarding as measured by opinionpolls of the employees as well as of different samples of the swedish population. The questionnaires dealt with topics such as; oil imports, motorism, state intervention, the importance of profits and a "free-enterprise system" etc.

To get a fuller picture of the cultural surroundings where sociology was first established we should also recall that the swedish economy was in a very favourable position during the late fourties and early fifties. Having been neutral in the second world war Sweden was in the possession of an undamaged industry when most of Europe had to rebuild. The expanding economy was certainly one cause of the haughtiness of swedish post war R&D policy. Sweden adopted a "super-power strategy" and tried to become avant-garde in a vast number of fields, nuclear energy, aviation, automation and so on. The antiquated swedish university system was the object of a thourough over-hauling which resulted in a "new-deal" of research funds and "modern" disciplines. One of those "modern" disciplines that were installed in the late fourties was sociology (the first professorship at the University of Uppsala in 1947).

At this point I think it's necessary with a digression about attempts to kindle the unions' interest in the sociology of work. I find the unsuccesful attempts made by Fritz Croner illustrative. - The Nazi repression in Germany and later

in the majority of the European countries, had turned many leading continental intellectuals into refugees. The physicists who ended in the USA: Einstein, Fermi, Teller and so on, are well-known examples of this intellectual emigration from central Europe. That many social scientists: Freud, Lewin, Lazarsfeld, Marcuse, Adorno, Lederer etc, fled to the Anglo-Saxon countries is also pretty well-known. A tributary of this stream of refugees ended in Sweden: Meidner, Israel, Bronner, Wächter, Katz, Croner etc, and later made very substantial contributions to the development of the social sciences. - Croner came to Sweden short after the Nazi seize of power. A disciple of Emil Lederer, he was a prominent german sociologist already in the twenties. Contrary to what might have been expected he introduced american not german sociology here in Sweden. Among the more receptive listeners to his sociology seminars in Lund during the thirties was Torgny Segerstedt, a young "philosopher" later to become the first regular professor of sociology in Uppsala (in 1947). - Croner made heroic exertions to interest the unions for the sociology of work. The result was meager: income statistical investigations, taxonomies of job descriptions, surveys of the background characteristics of the union membership. The spirits of the times was in favour of the employers not the employees.

The earlier mentioned "young turks" founded "Studieförbundet Näringsliv och Samhälle" (SNS) in 1948 inspired by optimistic travel reports from the Committee for Economic Development in the USA. SNS was designed from a similar blueprint. In the very same year, 1948, the managers from SNS and Segerstedt agreed on the first broad sociological study in Sweden (in due time published as "Människan i industrisamhället" (Man in Industrial Society), 1952) to test some of the theses of Human Relations:

- the general importance of informal groups at the work-place
- the identification with the company objectives as a prerequisite of adaptation and job satisfaction
- the positive correlation between 'morale' and productivity.

This range of phenomena would prevail for two decades as the "normal" research problems of swedish sociology of work. All the pioneers of the field devoted their research efforts to the clarification and elaboration of the study of employee-adjustment to the conditions of working-life. This generalization holds for what Segerstedt, Lundquist, Westerlund, Boalt, Bronner, Pfannenstill, Dahlström, Swedner, Erixon and many others did in the fifties, to a lesser extent it stands for the sixties too. - The impression of a dominant paradigm is more overwhelming still if we include other "hyphen"-sociologies. In those subdivisions of the discipline they studied adaptation and satisfaction too: the satisfaction with one's housing conditions, the marital adjustment etc.

In the last decade the nick-name "satisfaction-research" is used to characterize all of those studies. As far as sociology of work is concerned, it isn't quite to the point, because the proponents of the tradition themselves distinguished between morale and satisfaction, morale being the more important phenomenon (in full accordance with Elton Mayo's Human Relations theory).

'Morale' was seen as a measure of the identification with the company and with the objectives of management, which bear witness of the pioneers own morale, their employer-identification and their consensus assumptions. - In 1952 Segerstedt and Lundquist write in the "Classic" of the paradigm:

"It is fair to assume that participation and similar things were of less importance than safety, working-hours and supervision, during the infancy of the industrial society. The emphasis that now is put on morale is a result of the improvements in workroom and working-hours that have been obtained by the political democracy. Because of these improvements attention has shifted to topics related to "morale" (my translation) .

In Segerstedt's and Lundquist's frame of reference similarities in symbolic environment (the nearness to the "norm source") is far more important than dissimilarities in objective working-life environment. - Little did they know of things to come: the mass movements for improved working conditions and environmental protection, the new outbursts of fury towards supervision and control systems, the continued demands for fewer working-hours.

The importance given to "morale" was accompanied by policy recommendations. Make the symbolic environment of employers and employees more similar by information and participation! Participation should be improved by the new works councils for information that reluctantly were set up as a consequence of a general agreement between the Swedish Employers' Confederation (SAF) and the Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions (LO) from 1946. In the fifties the works councils got much publicity. The councils were often described as something radical and as an important step towards "industrial democracy". In some quarters they were synonymous with industrial democracy.

The sociological research that dealt with the works councils didn't bring any support for the mass-media belief in their importance, on the contrary the studies showed that the councils had aroused little interest at the work-places and that the employee evaluation of the councils democracy-improving capability more often was negative than positive (see Dahlström, Edmund: Information på arbetsplatsen (Information at the work-place), 1956)

From the end of the second world war to the end of the fifties the Human Relations school was quite popular among many employers. When the Swedish Employers' Confederation celebrated its 50th anniversary in 1952 the employers "gift" to Swedish working-life was the creation of a Swedish Council for Personnel Administration (PA-rådet). It was led from the Confederation's work council-department, which I think is very typical of the spirit of the times. For many years the Council was the stronghold of the Human Relations school. A whole generation of swedish personell administrators has been trained at the Council.

The PA-council either sponsored or executed the majority of the swedish studies in sociology of work up to the middle of the sixties. The predominant profession at the council was not the sociological though. Soon it became evident that another profession was more in line with the general outlook of the employers in explaining the causes of the working-life conditions. That profession was the psychological and the preferred level of explanation the individual. Among the psychologists of the PA-council in the fifies and sixties the tendency to "individualize" the working-life problems was prominent. The problems were mainly blamed on the employers: personell turnover was caused by "misfits", accidents by "accident-prone" persons for instance. Even group properties were seen from an individual level: groupcohesiveness was a correlate to the situation adapted "leader-type" and so on. Of course selective testing was a general "problem-solving" recommendation. The sociologists didn't act as a countervailing force. Instead they were often equally individualizing but with aggregated data, or as one of the councils sociologists wrote in 1958 about the would-be miners of Kiruna (the very same mine that in 1969-70 was the scene of the most influential strike in Sweden since the second world war):

"The information given by the report on which conditions that correlate with high productivity can be of practical use to the company as a guide in personell recruitment.....to get people.....who intend to stay at this place (Kiruna) and thereby don't cause the company the losses and trouble that goes with short periods of employment." (my translation)

Despite the servility of many of the human relations sociologists the employers lost interest in their recommendations. One of the early enthusiasts, Tore Browaldh, formulated the disillusionment in this way in 1960:

"The only things that have been "discovered" are well-known facts but presented in a hardly digestable technical jargon."

The managing director of SNS was equally negativistic already in 1956:

"The Human Relations Movement became a movement in employer circles thanks to the assumption that there is a clear-cut and complete correlation between "better" human relations on the one hand and higher productivity on the other. To my mind this is a naive assumption."

The subdued enthusiasm of the employers led to fewer contracts and less research activity among the sociologists of work. Many left the field temporarily, some definitively. The self criticism among human relations sociologists became more frequent. The true meaning of the satisfaction measures was questioned by Edmund Dahlström in the late fifties. He hinted that the whole approach might be superficial and theoretically sterile.

The beginning of the sixties was a hard time for the human relations school, but it was not the break-down. As far as sociologists are concerned the walls of the school came tumbling down as late as in 1969, according to some psychologists the school is still standing.

The most ambitious propagandistic effort of the Human Relations school, the "Mental Health Campaign" in 1969, coincided with the introduction of the Frankfurter school in some of our academic circles, an example of the "irony of history". The stage was set for a dramatic contest.

The Mental Health Campaign had the backing of almost every important organization of Swedish working-life. The ambitious aim of the Campaign was to change the attitudes towards work among the majority of the employees of Sweden. The proposed method to achieve this was study-circles round cooperative problems at the work-place. The talk in the circles should be guided by the-reading of some Human Relations books (written by the psychiatrists Mindus and Åmark) and with the help of a special discussion-manual prepared by the Campaign "head-quarters". The whole Campaign was very much in line with some UN-sponsored ideas concerning "mental health," that is "mental health" seen as synonymous with the adjustment to the total life situation.

In opposition to this Campaign a Frankfurter school inspired book appeared with the telling title: "Konsten att dressera människor" (The Art of Drilling Human Beings), 1969. It is foremost the psychiatrists heading the Mental Health Campaign that stand in the pillory in the mentioned book, but also some of the leading sociologists and psychologists of the time. The accusations against the sociologists included the charge of being pseudoprogressive and manipulative. The Frankfurter school, Marcuse, Habermas et al, regarded the

workers as alienated and as objects of indoctrination, and so did the author-collectivity behind "The Art of Drilling Human Beings". Given their point of view it becomes a central research task to better the consciousness of the workers and confront them with the real conditions under which they live. A research that tries to prove that the working life conditions are fine, if agreeing responses are obtained on superficial satisfaction-questions, is in this perspective detestable. Instead of being interpreted as signs of health the high percentage of "very-satisfied" respondents should be viewed as proof of the diffusion of false consciousness.- The accusations towards Dahlström, Gardell and some other sociologists were unfair. Already in the fifties they had expressed doubts and criticisms of the adaptation paradigm. But contrary to their "whispering" remarks from the fifties the criticism in the book of 1969 was delivered with full force in a very persuasive way. This "counter-book" sold better than the official Campaign material.-The frankfurter school scored its first victory on the swedish stage.

II. The Socio-Technical Approach

The end of the sixties is a "Sturm und Drang"-period in swedish sociology. Our discipline is shaken down to its very foundations. Most values that are possible to revalue are in fact revalued: Positivism, empiricism, subjective sociology in general, satisfaction research in particular, the identification with the employers' perspective. - The american household-gods of swedish sociology, which means Homans, Parsons et al, are overthrown and ridiculed. The old classics are recalled to life. Many a sociologist makes a disciplinary castling from socialpsychology to polemics with economics, managerial economics and political science. The study of the present and modern is supplemented by historical approaches. After a tentative start with the frankfurter school, marxism is gaining ground, foremost the althusserian version. Even those sociologists who do not want to elaborate on marxian themes start arguing against them.

The feat of swedish sociology of work that has got the most publicity internationally, the sociotechnical experiments and the "new" factories in the automobile industry, has quite another prehistory than the student revolt and the "Sturm und Drang" of the academic community, though. As has been the case so often even this change in the swedish sociology of work was initiated by the employers.

The joint industrial councils didn't match the influence aspirations in the unions. The growing discontent was manifested at the 1961 Congress of LO (The Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions, the congresses of which are held at intervals of five years) - The employers responded with investigations of their own making. The official end product was the document: Samarbetet i framtidens företag (Cooperation in the Companies of the Future), 1965. To the insights gained belonged that the work organization had to be changed to reach lasting effects on employee 'morale' and motivation. The Human Relations recipe of personell selection, information and democratic leadership was regarded as inadequate. Some circles at SAF (The Swedish Employers' Confederation) got interested in increased employee participation at the work group level in general and in sociotechnical analysis in particular. To the pioneers belong Eric Rhenman, professor of Business Administration, who in 1964 came to similar conclusions as Emery and Thorsrud in "Industrielt Demokrati", that representative democracy didn't motivate the rank and file, as work-place participation does. Another pioneer was Rolf Lindholm, who led some organizational experiments at Fagersta, a steel company, that were similar to the contemporary norwegian experiments at Christiania in more respects than the simple one that both "trial-areas" were wire-drawing shops.

In 1966 the Agreement over the joint industrial councils was revised, not brought to an end (that was a wide spread expectation). Partly as a concession to the more radical opposition a special promoting institution was created, URAF, with the officially stated purpose of initiating experiments in work-organization that would lead to increased employee-influence.

In 1966 the employers rearmed their organization par preference, SAF, with another department, the "technical" one. An important mission in the first years of the department was to work out means to halt the increasing wage-drift among employees with piece-wages. One proposed solution was a shift from individual to group based wages, that is group bonus according to group performance not (the individual piece wage). - This very same Technical' Department was contributing in warming up employer enthusiasm for the socio-technical approach. In the critical period 1968-70 when employee discontent climaxed in labor turnover, recruitment problems and wildcat-strikes, the sociotechnical school became very fashionable among employers as a remedy to a very wide range of evils.

The technical department was mainly filled by production engineers who were behavioral science amateurs. There was a short honeymoon when the employers sponsored sociotechnical experiments involving university based researchers. During the honeymoon the support of URAF was "engaged" which helped the experts from the Council (PA-rådet) quite a lot (that council was and still is owned by SAF but has gained a considerable independence from its mandator. As is usually the case the honeymoon was short.

A radical version of the sociotechnical approach was promoted by a government sponsored Delegation of Industrial Democracy in the state-owned companies. - The idea of "autonomous groups" was interpreted literally by some union representatives as well as by some social scientists. In a few experiments the foremen were seen as a redundant category. The sociotechnical experiments were declared as a first step towards a more true democratization of Swedish working life. In that short intense period round the decade shift even the new left was impressed by the "work-groups without foremen". The autonomous groups were regarded by some as a beginning of workers' control and the "autonomy" of the working class. - This debate and these ambitions sensitized the employers over the issue of the relevance of sociotechnical analysis. - There were more concrete reasons though for the widening gap between the employers and many sociologists of work.

A conflict of great importance to the future relations between the employers and the sociologists of work took place over the so-called SM-project at LKAB in 1970, a conflict in the shadow of the big strike during the winter 1969/70. Edmund Dahlström and Bertil Gardell, some of Sweden's most respected sociologists of work, started a carefully prepared study of the employer-employee relations at LKAB. The reputation of LKAB before the strike was that of a very advanced company as far as codetermination is concerned, to the general public substantiated by facts as state-ownership and socialdemocrats as directors. - During the strike many company policies were revealed that cast doubt on that characterization. The consultant Kenning was given the standing of chief company ideologist and his commandments on how the company should be run were the very opposite to "industrial democracy". When the researchers tried to argue against Kenning they were accused by the managing director of having sided with the strikers, etc. To make a long story short, the project was "interrupted".

A similar conflict occurred at another state-owned company, The Swedish Tobacco. That crisis was solved temporarily by government intervention to protect the attempt to democratize the work organization. In the long run the managers took revenge and cancelled the different "democracy"-projects in the state-owned company group, one by one.

The employers' interest in sociotechnical experiments is not accompanied by any high regard of sociologists of work or behavioural and social scientists in general. - The "struggle for life" has caused the death of most projects in which the unions and/or sociologists have played major roles. The "survivors" are employer supported experiments initiated by production engineers, managers or equivalent categories. Projects with a clear-cut efficiency orientation in which themes of influencechanges, workers' rights and the like are played pianissimo.

In a widely distributed book: "Nya arbetsformer" (New ways of working), 1974 the employers' experts (at SAF:s Technical Department) cavil the sociologists of URAF and the sociologists of The Industrial Democracy Delegation. They are described as outsiders who lack knowledge of the aims and ways of production. They are characterized as either too scientific or too political and as an annoyance to all "practitioners". The SAF-guided projects on the other hand are described in this way:

"If the visitor to- the succesful company asks for written documentation of the arrangements made to promote cooperation in the production sphere, he/she will very likely get an answer like this:

Cooperation in the production-process? We have no papers documenting that, neither do we talk about cooperation, but we think we have one. - Some years ago, when we hadn't reached as far in our development, we used to have a lot of papers on cooperation and we talked of cooperation every day."

Still SAF's Technical Department "knows" that this is a succesful company. When university researchers show interest in investigating these claims of success, they have in a majority of cases been denied access to the companies. The lack of papers documenting the whole thing tends to be chronic.

The internationally well-known alternative work-organizations at the Volvo Kalmar Plant, some of the SAAB-SCANIA plants and a number of other work-places, have almost without exeption been evaluated by the employers' own experts. The evaluations are very general and vague and amateurish. The same is true of the most comprehensive study inititated by SAF so far. This project is called: "Nya fabriker" (The New Plants, six reports in swedish in 1977). It has been carried out in a clandestine way by the respective companies' own experts and consultants from the Technical Department at SAF. When the project was near completion, the support of the unions was sought, a traditional way of handling things. But this support was denied (which is documented in the ASF-report: "Produktionslivets förnyelse", (The Regeneration of the World of Production), 1978), a clear break with tradition. What more, at a big conference

with the labor market parties in Uppsala in 1978, the aspirations and the proposed solutions in "The New Plants"-reports were severely criticised by high union representatives. Since then a new abridged and slightly revised version of the reports has been published with the descriptive title: "Annorlunda fabriker" (Plants that are Different), 1979.

Things ain't what they used to be. The R&D situation in Sweden has changed fundamentally since the end of the sixties. The old employer-hegemony in R&D is broken, especially in the sociology of work domain. Starting in 1972 a Swedish Work Environment Fund has financed a growing number of research projects that predominantly deal with problems of foremost interest to the employees and the unions (the total number of ASF financed projects is till now round 1000). This coincides with the emergence of a younger generation of researchers that find a union perspective more natural. - In this situation many employers have retreated to the anti-intellectual practice of denying researchers access to the work-places. The majority of "working-life" researchers with official funding have experienced either access- or censorship-problems mostly with local employers, according to a survey from 1977.

III The Environment Paradigm

The most important changes in the swedish sociology of work don't seem to have been caused by the researchers themselves. That role has been played by intervening actors from other scenes, especially the parties from the labor market. - An illustration is provided by ^{the} first appearance of L0 in working life-research at the end of the sixties. L0 initiated membersurveys of the discomforts experienced in the working environment. - The comparable employer-debut in the end of the forties resulted in "satisfaction-research". The change of mandator and financer changed the focus of interest from satisfaction to discomfort.

The-political purpose of the first L0-studies was to substantiate the demands for a revision of occupational health statistics and -insurance legislation, and moreover to emphasize the need for improvements of the working environment. The research was planned by an "amateur" not a sociologist, L0:s medical expert Erik Bolinder, and carried out in 1968. The first and most influential of the reports was titled "Risker i jobbet" (Hazards at Work), 1970. A psychosocial "counterpart" was "Stress på svenska arbetsplatser" (Stress at swedish work-places), 1971. - The statistical procedures were changed, insurance legislation likewise. Sweden got a new Work Environment Act in 1978. The message of the L0-reports was heard.

In academic circles the subjective satisfaction research came under heavy criticism towards the end of the sixties and fell in disrepute. Some of the criticism was inspired by the Frankfurter school, some by newweberians like Titmuss. To the latter category belongs Sten Johansson of Låginkomstutredningen (The Swedish Low Level Income Investigation) who delivered the most influential theoretical critique of subjectivism. His line of arguing against subjective data starts as follows:

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 "To ask the individual if his needs are satisfied does ~~it~~ give any measure of that person's level of living (factual living conditions) but a measure of the effectiveness of the social mechanisms in the individual's ¹³ environment in regulating his/her level of aspiration. " (my translation)

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 He is in favor of grounding the welfare-analysis on objective conditions. The relationship of conditions and experience is consequently not made an object of study. Of practical/financial reasons he had to rely on interview responses but most of the questions were of a factual sort. - Sten Johansson's "objective" approach has been imitated by many. With the help of it enormous amounts of data on the working environments of Sweden have been collected during the seventies by the Swedish Central Bureau of Statistics and by the unions' own departments of research and investigation.

From the Frankfurter school we first got alienation studies, "demystifications" of official dogmas and unveilings of false consciousness. Although looked upon critically the subjective level was interesting to the "frankfurterians". From that beginning some of the proponents of the school have turned into action researchers (the same thing has happened with some of the "ex-socio-technicians"). - A special kind of action-research in close cooperation with the unions (of friend and foe alike called "enpartsforskning" (one party research)) has become characteristic of the Environment Paradigm. Two project groups in particular have been prefigurative in Swedish Environment research in the late seventies:

-DEMOS (at the Swedish Center for Working Life). In cooperation with local union organizations in trades like newspaper-printing and industries like steelworks they have studied the possibilities of democratization of planning and production management. This has implied a close study of the trend towards increasing automaticity of the production systems and the constraints this puts on the employee influence of the local level.

- Arbetsmiljögruppen (at The Institute of Technology in Stockholm). They have studied some historically important trades in Sweden like textiles and mechanical engineering as well as highly automated plants in general (for instance dairies) with a special emphasis on the local unions' possibility to exert influence over the creation of new working environments (their architectural qualities, the choice of production techniques, etc).

Typical of the period has been the closing down of old plants situated in "one-company towns". Action research groups have in some of these cases in a short time organized thorough investigations of the "qualities" of the existing establishments as well as of the alternatives open to local unions and authorities. This has helped to make action research quite popular.

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The evolution of the Environment Paradigm has been much swifter than that of the Adaptation one. It has been promoted by strong union demands and has been well in line with the two big new peoples' movements of the postwar era, those of environmental preservation and women's liberation. - On some issues these movements and the unions can find compromises (opposition towards continued division of work, banning of cancerogenous chemicals etc) on other issues the antagonisms are visible (veto on nuclear power stations, the speed of the automationprocess). The Unions so far, have tended to be most concerned about short term employment effects.

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The Union Mandators of Working Life Research in Sweden are very much in favor of an integrating, interdisciplinary paradigm like the Environment one. The first Working Environment studies like that made by LO in 1968 started with the Physical Environment. The same is true of the general history of sciences; the environment concept was first used in biology and the medical sciences. But once the concept was introduced in the Social Sciences the concept has grown like a cancer cell. Almost everything can be seen as environment. At present the essence of the Paradigm is its inclusiveness. Neither Human Relations nor Production Technology will suffice to explain the conditions of Working Life. The sociotechnical combination of the Social (HR) and the Technical (Production Technology) systems is below the mark of the Environment Paradigm, according to which the Environment is determined by many more "systems", the economic, the legal etc. This corresponds better to the way in which Swedish Working Life has been changed in the seventies; legal renewal has played a major role. But the most important difference becomes evident when we take a closer look at the respective policy recommendations. According to the socio-technical approach the mutual "optimization" of the social and technical systems is the goal. Its a compromise formula. The policy recommendations of the Environment Paradigm have the Environment as its object. The "reform thrust" is directed towards the Environment. The Environment shall be changed fundamentally in accordance with "human" requirements.

Integration of fragmentized disciplines has been one of the main official aims of the Paradigm, but given the broadness of the environment concept many have felt the calling. One of the more obvious "secondary" effects has been heightened professional competition. That professional competition has ~~opened~~ open old wounds - the outcomes of former professional power struggles. The Adaptation Paradigm was first a "property" of the sociologists of work but they "lost" it to the psychologists. The solutions immanent in that Paradigm could be better provided by the psychologists: personnel testing and selection, introduction programs, training in cooperation, programmes of overcoming resistance to change etc. The psychologists gladly accepted the limitations to the individual and group levels. - The Sociotechnical approach was an innovation made by behavioural scientists. But in a few years time, production engineers were the guardians of the sociotechnical heritage in Sweden. Their strongest qualities have been the shared valueorientation with the employers and their professional knowledge of how to manipulate the "technical" system. They, not the psychologists or sociologists, were capable of creating technological alternatives with more inherent organizational choice.

Periods of "perfect" competition tend to end with winners, the monopolists. In professional competition one way of restricting competition has been to get hold of the research institutions of the sector. This can only be done with the support of the strongest research mandator. Once upon a time the psychologists took over the PA-council. In recent years sociologists with the help of the unions have got a pretty good representation at two important sector-institutions SOFI and The Swedish Working Life Center. - The relative importance of the PA-council has dwindled but many of its former psychologists are now established at the National Board of Occupational Safety and Health. This institutional background can explain some otherwise absurd debates in Sweden in the late seventies, for instance the debate over what shall be meant by the "Psychosocial environment": Psychologists have stressed the importance of the "subjective", perceptions and experiences, ego-strength or in short, psychology. Sociologists have argued that their knowledge bears most weight when it comes to analyzing the psychosocial environment alternatively they have proposed the cancellation of the whole concept (which is heresy in a country where the new legislation on the Working Environment rests on this concept).

The most obvious theoretical weakness of the Environment Paradigm is its vagueness, a quality it has in common with the Human Relations "theory" as well as with the sociotechnical "analysis". Consequently one of the "normal" problems of the Paradigm is to work on integrative theory. This puts a premium on interdisciplinary theories like General Systems Theory and Marxism. Systems theory

is too abstract to be very powerful in generating policy recommendations. The policy implications of marxian research projects are often very specific on the other hand, but quite often the recommendations are too radical to be in line with traditional union policies. - Marxian research in Sweden has mostly dealt with the macrolevel: state intervention, class structure and so on and been of the french, althusserian kind. The marxian studies of the Working Environment are of a late date. Obvious international influences come from Braverman in the USA and Kern, Schumann, Mendner et al in Germany. - Marxian projects exert a strong influence within the Environment Paradigm and may become its leading theoretical school. - The other probable alternative is repression of the "radical" projects and the lack of an integrative environment theory in the social sciences. This latter alternative would eventually lead to the dissolution of the whole Paradigm and renewed disciplinary specialization found other concepts and interests.

- 1) From an interview with Sten Hultgren, whom I interviewed in 1974 in another research context, the eventual repetition of some of the old Swedish Polls. Sten Hultgren was responsible for "the Ohlinsurveys" at the Gallup Institute of that time, he was later to become its managing director
- 2) Svenska Reklamförbundet (The Swedish Sales and Advertising Federation)
Företagets Public Relations (Company Public Relations), 1949
- 3) Croner, Fritz: Ett liv i vår tid (A life in our time), 1968 - an autobiography
- 4) Lewin, Leif: Planhushållningsdebatten (The Planned Economy debate), 1967
Söderpalm, Sven Anders: Direktörsklubben (The Club of Managing Directors), 1976
- 5) Segerstedt o Lundquist, page 394
- 6) Erixon, pages 59-60
- 7) Företagsledare om företagsledning (SNS-publikation), pages 30-1
- 8) Sociologi och svensk industri (SNS-publikation), page 34 (The Managing Director was Hans Thorelli)
- 9) Mentalhälsa - en aktion för ökad förståelse och samhörighet inom arbetslivet
(Campaign material: Mental health - a campaign for improved understanding and togetherness in Working Life), 1969
- 10) For instance Bengt Abrahamsson against Caspar Homans and Göran Therborn against Talcott Parsons. To mention versions of their respective critiques published in English; Abrahamsson's article in the Nov. issue of Am. Journal of Sociology, 1970 and Therborn, Göran: Science, Class and Society, 1976
- 11) Kennings' commandments:
17th A chief must show unconditional loyalty towards his superior
20th A chief must be prepared to change his opinions to support his superior
etc Samspelet i en organisation och principer för ledarskap (Cooperation in an Organization and Principles of Leadership), LKAB, 1968
- 12) SAF: Nya arbetsformer, pages 22-5
- 13) Johansson, Sten, 1970, page 26

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LITERATURE

This article is a rewritten and shorter version of a report in Swedish "Den arbetssociologiska traditionen i Sverige, 1952-1977", including this chronological bibliography of the Swedish Sociology of Work - Literature in the main tradition from Work Adjustment to Working Environment.

I The Adaptation Paradigm

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Kostnadssammanställning

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Total kostnad (kr)

Såväl sökes hos SAREC (kr) för 1990/91

Löner (specificeras i punkt 1) (beräknade i 79 års löner)	263.200	87.700
Lönekostnadspålägg (löp) (inkl semesterlönetillägg 1,2%)	105.900	35.300
Utländsk personal i utlandet	125.600	35.900
Resor (specificeras i punkt 2)	45.000	15.000
Material (specificeras i punkt 3)	10.000	10.000
Övrigt (specificeras i punkt 3)	39.500	9.000
SUMMA	589.200	192.900

1. Förteckning över medverkande personer

Sökandens och medverkande personers namn, examen och födelseår	Anställnings-månader	Arbetstid i % av heltid	Lönegrad el motsvar.	Lönekostnad
Leda Gitahy, fil.kand, 1949	36	100	F 10	215.200
Torsten Björkman, fil.kand (expert, arvoden), 1939	-	-	240 tim à 200 kr	48.000
Lokalanställd forskningsassistent	36	50	högst F10	107.600
- " - - " - år 2	12	50	" "	18.000

2. Specificering av resor

Resplan med angivande av resmål	Biljettkostnad	Traktamente
3 resor T/R till Sao Paulo	36.000	-
Inrikes resor i Brasilien	9.000	-

3. Specificering av kostnader för utrustning och övrigt

	Belopp (kr)
Skrivmaskin, bandspelare, räknare	10.000
Telefon, papper, kuvert, porto, kopiering, böcker, band	27.000
Survey, ca 600 individer år 2, tryckning av formulär, kodning, stansning, datorbearbetning, utskrifter	12.500

I ANSÖKAN FÖRUTSÄTTTS ATT SAREC TILLSKJUTER MEDEL FÖR AVTALSENLIGA LÖNEÖKNINGAR

Ansökan utgör fortsättningsanslag hos SAREC	Projektnummer	Hittills erhållet belopp från SAREC
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Adress Sociologiska institutionen Uppsala universitet Box 513	Postnr 751 20	Ort Uppsala	Telefon (även riktnummer) 018/15 54 00
Underskrift			Myndighetens förvaltningsavgift i % 2 %

Datum	Sökande Leda Gitahy	Huvudman
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