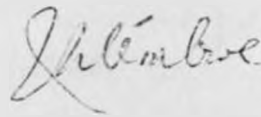A STUDY OF THE PROBLEM OF
WORKERS' PARTICIPATION IN MANAGEMENT:
A CASE STUDY IN KENYA"

ABEL KABANGO KATEMBWE

A Thesis Submitted in Part Fulfilment
for the Degree of Master of Business
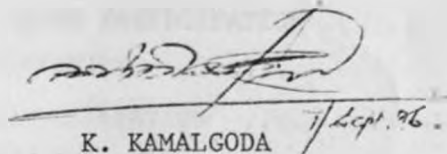Administration in the University of
Nairobi.

1976

This Thesis is my Original Work and
has not been Presented for a Degree
in any other University

ABEL KABANGO KATEMBWE
CANDIDATE

This Thesis has been Submitted for
Examination with my Approval as University
Supervisor

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A B S T R A C T

The rapidly growing awareness that in one way or another the concept of workers' participation has to be operated in virtually all organisations makes it one of the most important concepts in human relations. Governmental agencies, businesses, educational institutions - among others in many countries have employed workers' participation in decision-making to improve not only productivity, but a host of other relations relating to human and technological phenomena.

The purpose of this study was three fold. First, it was intended to place workers' participation into its perspective and arrive at a workable definition. Second, the study was to examine the development and operation of the concept with special reference to Yugoslavia and the United Kingdom. Lastly, the operation of the concept was to be examined in a company operating in a developing country - namely Kenya.

Two major and two corollary hypotheses were investigated. Major hypotheses were: Workers' participation in management may not be a workable concept in a less developed country; and, only collective bargaining functions as workers' participation in Kenya. The first corollary hypothesis was that given the high rate of unemployment in Kenya and the prevailing low educational standards, workers are not likely to assert themselves further than fighting for the basic terms and conditions of service. The second corollary hypothesis was that with the historical hierarchical structures, members of management in a typical Kenya company do not favour the idea of workers sharing in the decision making processes of the company.

The study was based on a company in Kenya. A questionnaire was distributed to the entire management and responses were obtained from 31 individuals. Data pertaining to workers were derived from interviews based on another questionnaire, held with a sample of 50 workers. Major hypothesis (ii) could not be upheld. The evidence also did not support the corollary hypotheses. However, major hypothesis (i) was conditionally upheld.

An analysis of the data collected in this study therefore led to principal conclusions which may be broadly outlined as follows:-

(i) Collective bargaining is not the only method through which workers can influence managerial decisions.

(ii) Management attitudes were fairly favourable towards the idea of workers sharing in the decision - making processes of the company.

(iii) Although workers currently would appear not to have adequate potential to participate in decision-making, their attitudes towards participation were positive despite their limited opportunities to participate.

(iv) Under appropriate circumstances, the not too poor performance of certain aspects of the existing participative practices can be improved.

(v) The forces which usually encourage the growth of participative practices were weak. The means of communications are poor and inadequate. There is no suggestion scheme in the company. The Works Council is now defunct. Decision-making is concentrated in the top and upper management of the company. These characteristics may not be uncommon in other companies in Kenya and for that matter in most organisations in developing countries.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

1.1   Introduction

        The idea that workers should share in the decision-
making processes of an organisation holds a great deal of
contemporary meaning for governments, businesses,
universities and other complex organisations. However, this
word 'participation' does not refer to a concept which can be
clearly defined in scientific terms. As a result of this
definitional problem, various countries and organisations
have emphasized different aspects of workers' participation
in implementing the concept. Schregle states:

        "The main conclusion resulting from an
        examination of the numerous and often
        diverse efforts made so far throughout
        the world to institute workers' participation
        at the enterprise level seems to be that
        workers' participation is no longer a question
        of 'whether' but of 'how'. [1]

        All governments in Less Developed Countries have been
encouraging rapid industrialisation in order to boost a
rise in standards of living. While the demands of most
workers are still basically to get an adequate wage in
order to meet the essential needs, this position may not
continue. In Developed countries, for instance, the relationship
between work and the satisfaction of material needs has
changed significantly. Carpentier [2] argues that living standards
in these countries have improved to such an extent that

1.   Johannes Schregle, "Workers' Participation in Decisions within
      Undertakings", International Labour Review, Volume 113,
      No. 1, January – February 1976, p. 15.

2.   Carpentier, J., "Organisational Techniques and the
      Humanisation of Work", International Labour Review,
      Volume 110, No.2, August 1974, pp.100-101.

priority is now given to inter alia the quest for personal
and social satisfaction with a view to self-development and
self-fulfilment, including participation in work related
decisions.

In addition, in Less Developed Countries, while the
majority of people with little or no education are involved
in manual jobs and may not be aware of opportunities for
voicing their feelings, it is not unrealistic to expect that
the reverse will happen with improved standards of living.
Education is slowly but increasingly spreading to a larger
proportion of the population. Economic incentives will reach
a point when they will cease to be the most important aspect
in the life of a worker. His general awareness will increase
and he will press for improvements in the working environment.
Sociological and psychological incentives will assume
significant importance as personal aspirations and needs
become predominant.

In reference to the developing countries, one writer is
quoted saying that industrialisation or technical development
is a method of providing under-developed regions with work
opportunities which will allow them to achieve adequate
economic and social standards.[3] But he notes that some forms
and conditions of work inhibit personal and social progress,
and restrict the social opportunities of workers for social
integration. He further states that although some of these
work methods enable vital economic growth in the short run, they
may rapidly give rise to various problems of social and cultural
development. Lischeron and Wall [4] quote one writer saying that
participation is the most vital organisational problem of our
time as the feeling of well being and a sense of self-realisation
of individuals of an organisation are related to participation
and its consequences.

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3. Ibid., p. 112.
4. Joe Lischeron and Toby Wall, "Attitude Towards Participation
   Among Local Authority Employees", Human Relations, Volume 28,
   No.6, p. 499.

Workers' participation, apart from the social considerations above, has gained increasing interest because it is also closely associated with economic and political phenomena. There is a close connection between productivity and workers' participation. Keith Davis in support of this assertion states:

> "...... as more recent inquiries would
> seem to show, from workers' determination
> to retain control of their conditions
> of employment the fact remains that
> any attempt to increase participation
> by the workers may well unmask reserves of
> energy that they have hitherto carefully
> concealed. It is legitimate to assume
> that organised participation ....
> would influence productivity indirectly
> by reducing the causes of strife or directly
> by acting on motives other than a desire
> for gain that certainly affect the behaviour
> of workers and their organisation."[5]

The idea that workers should share in decisions which govern the life of an enterprise has become more of a political issue. In an International Labour Organisation publication [6] it is stated that while in a democracy the worker has exactly the same political rights as any other citizen, it is paradoxical that the same worker is not normally entitled to have a say in decisions taken within the undertakings in which he works, and which vitally affect him in his job. Further still, it is being increasingly questioned whether really the owners of capital should automatically be vested with the right to exclusively make all decisions. In a wider context, the decisions made by an economic organisation affect not only the workers, but also the community at large.

---

5. Keith Davis, "The Case for Participative Management" in Huneryager, S.G. , and Heckman, I.L. (Eds.), Human Relations in Management, South-West Publishing Company, Ohio, 1967, p.615.

6. ILO: Labour-Management Relations, No. 33, International Labour Office, Geneva, p.9.

As a way of concluding, ethical, social, cultural, political
and economic considerations all seem to point to an important
fact: Workers' participation in management is of paramount
importance in current affairs and may continue to be a subject of
controversy in many countries.

1.2   Objectives of the Study

The purpose of this study was three-fold. First it
was intended to place workers' participation in its perspective
and arrive at a workable definition. Second, the study was to
examine the development and operation of the concept with
special reference to Yugoslavia and the United Kingdom.[7]
Lastly, the operation of the concept was to be examined in a
company operating in a developing country - namely Kenya.

1.3   Hypotheses

Major Hypotheses:

(i) .Workers' participation in management may not
be a workable concept in a Less Developed Country.

(ii) Only collective bargaining functions as workers'
participation in Kenya.

---

7.   These two countries were selected for purposes of this study
     because of the following reasons:-
     (a) Yugoslavia is an example of a country where there is
          virtually complete workers' control. This can be said
          to be one extreme case of workers' participation since;

          (i)   Self-management embraces the entire social life
                 and is not limited to industry alone, part of
                 industry or any other fields of activity.
          (ii)   The workers in undertakings do not share authority
                 with anyone.
          (iii) the means of production are socially owned.
          (iv)   the legal foundation and guidance for the
                 implementation of self-management are provided by
                 law.

     Britain can be said to be on the other extreme side of the
     scale. There is very little legal provision for workers'
     participation.

     (b) Both countries have had more than two decades of
          experimentation and experience with workers' participation.

     (c) There exists substantial literature on the two countries
          and there is continuing controversy and debate on participation.

Corollary hypotheses:

(i) Given the high rate of unemployment in Kenya and the prevailing low educational standards, workers are not likely to assert themselves further than fighting for the basic terms and conditions of service.

(ii) With the historical hierarchical structures, members of management in a typical Kenya company do not favour the idea of workers sharing in the decision-making processes of the company.

1.4 Justification of the Study

It is stated in the constitution of the International Labour Organisation that labour is not a commodity.[8] The workers' need for meaningful and satisfying work as well as participation in decisions that affect their working environment has been evidenced by many studies. For instance, the studies of 'Job Enrichment' in the Olivetti Company [9] in Italy showed that "the ability to undertake more demanding work and the interest displayed in such work are so widespread as to eliminate any doubts in this respect."

The participative situation is presumed to afford employees a broader knowledge of plant occurrences and enables to directly or indirectly influence these occurrences. Such a situation which permits employee influence leads to higher involvement which in turn might fortify identification with the organisation. [10]

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8. See the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, Annexe: Declaration Concerning the Aims and Purposes of the International Labour Organisation, p. 21.

9. See Novarra, F., "Job Enrichment in the Olivetti Company," International Labour Review, Volume 108, October 1973, pp. 283 - 294.

10. Arye Globerson, "Spheres and levels of Employee Participation in Organisations", British Journal of Industrial Relations, Volume II, No. 2, July 1970, pp. 252 - 253.

Lischeron and Wall [11] are convinced that the problems of
participation exist in all organisations irrespective of their
differences. They assert:

> "Most commentators agree that employees
> desire and gain satisfaction from increased
> involvement in matters of direct relevance
> to their own work activities. More
> importantly, the research findings
> have been useful to those concerned
> to introduce participation at this level." [12]

The author is not aware of work which has been carried
out in Kenya specifically relating to the question of workers'
participation, apart from perhaps collective bargaining which
is the dominant method through which workers and their
representatives can have a say in areas that were previously the
domain of management. Collective bargaining has its own
drawbacks, in that as it is being practised through representatives, and
workers experience only a form of remote contro' of the bargaining
process.

Collective bargaining may be said to be relatively
removed from the workplace in Kenya because trade unions are
organised on an industrial basis. By 1972, the 30 major
trade unions which formed the Central Organisation of Trade
Unions (COTU) were organised on an industrial basis. [13] Most of
the negotiations take place at a higher level in the union
hierarchy, leaving the worker not really feeling the impact
of participation. There is therefore a need for supplementing
this method by other forms of workers' participation which
should be within closer reach of the worker.

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11.   Joe Lischeron and Toby Wall, op. cit, p. 499.

12.   Ibid., pp. 500 - 501.

13.   J. Douglas Muir and John Brown, "Trade Union Power and the
      Process of Economic Development: The Kenyan Example",
      Relations Industrielles, Volume 29, No. 3, September 1974,
      p. 482.

One such form is joint consultation through institutions
such as Works Committees and Works Councils. These forms
are not without difficulties in the Kenyan situation. Muir
and Brown [14] in a brief historical review of the Kenyan labour
movement note that the setting up of institutions such as
Works Committees by the Kenya Colonial Government in early 1950s
was an attempt to deter the development of trade unions. It
is likely that attempts by managements to revive such institutions
may be interpreted to have the same intentions. It is not
known under what conditions workers' participation would best
work in a Kenyan situation.

Workers' participation has found expression in national
legislation of countries with varying political, economic
and social systems. For instance, in India the Industrial
Disputes Act of 1947 required the setting up of Works Committees
in all units employing 100 or more people. [15] In Tanzania,
an Act of 1964 provides for a system of Workers' participation
in management by setting up of Works Councils. [16] This shows
the importance that is attached to the concept of workers'
participation.

In general, most countries accept and recognise the
usefulness of the operation of the concept of workers'
participation, but express it differently in terms of emphasis
and institutionalisation. Although this concept is accepted
and implemented in many parts of the world, and despite its
benefits, it is not precisely known why there are low levels
of participation in Less Developed Countries. If for instance
the Kenya Government wanted to institutionalise the idea of
workers sharing in the decision making processes of under-
takings, or if a company on its own wanted to implement a
participative scheme, the question remains as to how a

14. Ibid., pp. 478 - 479

15. Subbiah Kannappan, "Workers' Participation in Management:
     A Review of Indian Experience", International Institute for
     Labour Studies Bulletin, Number 5, November 1968, p. 155.

16. ILO Labour - Management Relations, No. 33, op. cit., p. 6.

meaningful scheme would then be designed to meet the desires
of the workforce. The author hopes to derive some implications
from the study which can have a bearing on policy formulation
and implementation with regard to this particular aspect.

1.5   Limitations

It is appropriate at this point to consider and state
the limitations of this study. This research study was
limited to only one Kenya company. No doubt it could have been
further enriched if more companies were involved and if the
companies **were of a diverse** nature, such as manufacturing,
banking, transport, agriculture - among others.

However, it should be noted that investigations gathering
material for academic purposes in undertakings are something
new in the Kenya context. The only investigators who go into
companies are usually government officials particularly from
the Ministry of Labour. These officers are generally treated with
suspicion and a feeling of alienation exists between such
officers and the companies.

Several companies were approached by the researcher.
But in fact only one company permitted the researcher to carry
out the investigation despite university assurances that the
material collected would be used purely for academic purposes.

The time available and the financial resources could not
permit a wider coverage of employees in the company. The
researcher was not permitted to interrupt the workflow of the
company. For instance, the factory workers on the 7 a.m. to 3 p.m.
shift had to be interviewed only when they were about to leave
the factory. Such a time was not very conducive to interviewing
as most workers would be tired and hurrying to go home.

The company branch at Mombasa was not included in the
study due to financial constraints. The sample of workers drawn
from the workforce in the factories and the headquarters may
therefore not be representative of the entire workforce.

In the framing of the questionnaires, it was not possible to give exhaustive questions. This may have forced some respondents to give answers which were not closest to their opinions. But wherever possible, open questions were asked.

Since the degree and extent of participation are likely to vary from company to company, the findings cannot be claimed to be representative of all companies in Kenya. Indeed, since this work is of a pioneering nature, the findings cannot be said to be conclusive. However, the author has the confidence and belief that the investigation will reveal and present some insight into the problem of workers' participation in a typical Kenya company.

1.6 Methodology [17]

This section sets out to give an outline of the methods which were used to achieve the objectives of the study. Apart from reviewing literature which was solely based on library research, the author reviews the present status of workers' participation in Yugoslavia and the United Kingdom.

The investigation which lasted four weeks involved the use of two questionnaires,one of which was administered en a sample of workers who were selected using stratified sampling. The second questionnaire involved the entire management personnel. The management questionnaire was self-administered while that of workers involved face-to-face interviews between the researcher and the respondents.

In addition, informal interviews were carried out between few top executives and the researcher. It has to be noted however that there was a definite reluctance to let the latter have access to company documents. Only very few documents were made available for scrutinising.

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17. The question of methodology is given extended treatment in Chapter Four. See page 62.

1.7   Organisation of the Study

In Chapter Two, the author attempts to present the
varying definitions and interpretations of the concept of
workers' participation, its emergence and development as
well as the rationale or motivations behind its implementation.
In addition some "objectionable features" and negative views
related to workers' participation will also be considered.

Chapter Three deals with the operation of workers'
participation in Yugoslavia and the United Kingdom, in order
to highlight some of the conceptual and operational issues
raised in the literature review. Attention is specifically
directed on the aims or motivations of operating the partici-
pative system, the amount of participation allowed and the
main forms it takes in the two countries. A brief historical
review of workers' participation in each country is presented.

Chapter Four gives further elaboration of the study
design and its limitations, presents the findings and discusses
the implications.

Chapter Five, which is the last chapter, presents
a summary of the study, makes recommendations and suggests
possible areas of further research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 What is Participation?

It was stated earlier that the concept of workers' participation
has no specific meaning. But generally speaking, it implies
practices which increase the scope for the employees' share
or influence in decision-making at different tiers of the
organizational hierarchy with concomitant assumption of
responsibility.[1] Walker defines it as:

> "The concept of workers' participation
> in management has two aspects: one is
> concerned with managers and workers
> as groups of people, identifiable in
> terms of their positions in the enterprise[2] ..... [3]

According to the above definition, participation can take
place at the group level - thereby combining efforts of trade
unions and employers or any other institutions based on cooperative
effort and principles. In the first case, the form of partici-
pation would be through collective bargaining. While collective
bargaining is a well-developed institution in Western Developed
Countries, this tradition is still lacking in many respects
in Less Developed Countries.

Collective bargaining introduces and involves workers
into the practice of interaction with management. But the
basic characteristic of this method is not based on mutual interest

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1. Subbiah Kannappan, op.cit., p. 154.

2. The word 'enterprise' is used to refer to any work organisation
   whether public or private set up to provide goods and services.

3. Walker, K.F., "Workers' Participation in Management: Problems,
   Practices and Prospects", International Institute for Labour
   Studies Bulletin, No. 12, p.8.

and common objectives. So there is a need to distinguish
it from other forms of workers' participative systems. If this
is acceptable, then there is a fundamental disagreement visible
in the literature of workers' participation. One argument
which lumps collective bargaining together with other forms of
participation is that any method which is designed by workers
to curb excessive managerial authority can be presumed to be a way
of involvement and participation in management. It is regarded
as a method of participation by workers and their representatives
because first of all, part of the reasons behind the growth
of trade unionism has been to oppose unilateral decision-making
by management. Secondly, it involves agreement between the
two parties. Conditions and terms of service are thus fixed in
such a way that involvement, cooperation and participation are
encouraged.

In addition, it can provide an effective solution to the
practical problems involved in determining terms of employment
for large numbers of individuals. Globerson [4] says that partici-
pation will exist where employees not only influence their
direct job descriptions, but also where they are involved in the
life of the enterprise above and beyond their direct job duties.

The opposite argument which seems to separate collective
bargaining from the other methods of participation is that
collective bargaining is one distinct aspect of the Industrial
Relations system. Tabb and Goldfarb explain:

> "the main difference between a participative
> industrial relations system and other
> systems lies in the special manner of
> cooperation among participants of the system
> (whether the source is the situation, force,
> law, ideology or a combination of them) that
> finds its expression in the operation for
> common objectives". [5]

---

4. A Globerson, op. cit., p. 52.

5. Tabb, J.Y. and Goldfarb, A., Workers' Participation in
   Management, Expectations and Experience, Pergamon Press,
   Oxford, 1970. p. 37.

Here the emphasis is on common objectives. It can be said
that in Yugoslavia, for instance, the legislation specifies
that the industrial relations system is to operate for 'common
objectives' and the basis of cooperation is the law. Or in
joint-consultation, decisions are made jointly by all
participants of the system. Both these systems are labelled
as 'participative'. In both cases the workers as individuals
or through their representatives participate in the decision-
making processes.

The various meanings of workers' participation can
therefore be narrowed down by looking at the methods through
which workers can participate in management. The first
method is where workers' participation in management can mean
a situation where workers or their representatives can have
a say in fields which previously have been regarded as the
sole and exclusive prerogatives of management. In this
instance, collective bargaining is a distinct form of workers'
participation. At one time in the history of the U.S.A.'s
management-labour relations, decisions pertaining to work and
employment terms were unilaterally made by management. The aim
of the National Labour Relations (Wagner) Act was to induce
employers to recognise trade unions and also to give them
equal bargaining power with management.[6] A trade union in the
U.S.A. can block or veto managerial decisions. The necessity
of distinguishing collective bargaining from other forms of
participation appears to stem from the fact that while the
original intentions of legislations in labour-management
relations have been to encourage the unions to share and
cooperate in the handling of decisions and problems which
immediately affect the worker, the usual tendency has been the
emphasis on the clash of interests between workers and
management which represents the owners of capital.

---

6. ILO: Labour-Management Relations, op.cit., p.1.

Second, the method which can be regarded as giving
meaning to workers' participation is that through which workers
are associated to management purely on the basis of mutual
interest. The desire here is to associate workers in the
solution of problems arising in the day-to-day existence of
the undertaking and to generate understanding by workers of
these problems. Even here, some instances have been known where
members of management attempt to restrict the subject matter
to welfare questions and not to production or financial or to
other economic questions. This second method is usually
referred to as joint-consultation.

The majority of countries do separate ownership and
management functions. Walker [7] argues that schemes through
which workers participate in the profits or benefits of the
enterprise do not necessarily give workers any part in the
managerial functions. He further states that:

> "It should be noted that workers' participation
> in ownership of the enterprise is quite
> distinct from their participation in management.
> Participation in public ownership of an
> enterprise in his capacity as a citizen does
> not in itself give the worker any participation
> in the managerial process. Nor does employee stock
> ownership give the worker any more say in the
> management of the enterprises than any other
> shareholder. Workers' participation in ownership
> as shareholders or as citizens may be a condition-
> ing factor contributing to the adoption of
> a participative structure, but does not in
> itself constitute participation in management." [8]

7. Walker, K.F., op.cit. p.11.

8. Ibid., p. 11.

The third method is where all workers or their
representatives have been given the right to participate
in management decision-making in virtually all functions.
That is, workers or their representatives not only
decide on conditions and terms of employment, but also
decide on welfare matters as well as technical matters
which previously might have been unquestionably traditional
areas of management alone.

Considering all   three methods, collective
bargaining and joint-consultation are the most common forms
of workers' participation and can co-exist in the same under-
taking. The third method of workers' participation is highly
restricted to very few countries. An example is Yugoslavia. [9]

2.2. Investigating Workers' Participation

Workers' Participation cannot be measured in quantitative
terms. Indirect measures and criteria have to be employed in
order to examine its nature in an undertaking. This is usually
done through the study of attitudes of workers and members
of management. But it is known that sometimes the responses
in form of attitudes may be in contradiction to what they
actually do in practice. [10]   Brown considers an attitude to be:

> "a mental and neural state of readiness organised
> through experience, exerting a directive or
> dynamic influence upon the individual's response
> to all objects and situations with which it is
> related". [11]

---

9. See World Employment News, Department of Employment
    Gazette, pp. 254 - 257.

10. For instance, a study of British automobile workers found that
     many of them had entered the industry in search of higher pay,
     despite their preferences for greater job autonomy. See
     Goldthorpe, et. al., The Affluent Worker - Industrial
     Attitudes and Behaviour, London, Cambridge University Press, p.35.

11. J.A.C. Brown, The Social Psychology of Industry, Penguin
     Books Ltd., England, 1954, p. 161.

Lischeron and Wall [12] claim that there is so little data
which is directly related to employee desires for participation
that as a result the authors considering this issue have been
forced to turn to evidence of such tangential relevance as
attendance figures for trade unions. It is, however, the view
of the author that it is not so much that there is little data,
but that it is because of the complexity of the concept and
problems of measurement which force them to use indirect criteria
related to the concept. Such criteria are identifiable in
writings on workers' participation. For instance, Arye Globerson
gives an example of such measures:

> "If employees are given systematic information
> about the running of the plant, or if they are
> asked to take part in a suggestion scheme - a
> certain degree of participation is already
> manifested". [13]

Another author in the same tone states:

> "The crux of the case for an expressed or
> demonstrated readiness to participate as a
> 'measure' of attitude is partly its
> simplicity - a man either has thought of personally
> participating or has not - and partly its logic.
> For whatever opinions a man may express about
> the machinery or purposes of joint consultation,
> say, if he is willing to let his name go forward
> for election, or even if he says no more than that
> he has thought personally of standing for
> office, he demonstrates a very different
> attitude of mind from that of the man who says
> he has never thought of himself in that light
> at all". [14]

12. J. Lischeron and T. Wall, op. cit., p. 501.

13. Arye Globerson, op. cit., p. 252.

14. Banks, J.A. , Industrial Participation; Theory and Practice:
A Case Study , Liverpool University Press, Liverpool,
1963, p. 11 .

Such criteria may be vague, but they appear to be about
the only possible avenue for studying workers' participation
in management. Studies of attitudes of workers and members
of management can be particularly important in a situation
when one thinks that participation should be introduced but has
no information and data upon which it may be founded. But if the
system of workers' participation is already in operation,
then the measures and criteria can be expanded to include
physically observing some of the forms of participation.

For instance, a study by Kolaja in two Yugoslav factories
reveals:

"The major fraction of both workers' councils as
I observed them, was informative and educational.
Management was informed by worker members of the
council about attitudes of the rank and file,
and worker members were exposed to managerial
problems ...... The worker members of the councils
or their managing boards participated actively when
personnel questions were discussed; their participation
fell short of the professed definition of workers'
management when technological development as well
as financial and marketing issues were discussed." [15]

In another study by Harriet Holter [16], in some Norwegian firms
it was found that relatively few of the employees felt
under those circumstances a need personally to expand their
field to include decisons at the top management level.

Some of these studies, though limited, have mainly dwelt on
describing the experiments in participation which have been
carried out in various countries. Some participative schemes

15. J. Kolaja, Workers' Councils: The Yugoslav Experience,
    Tavistock Publications Ltd., London, 1965, p.77.

16. Harriet Holter, "Attitude Towards Employee Participation
    in Company Decision Making Process", Human Relations,
    Volume 18, No. 4, November 1965, p. 298.

have failed [17] because they have typically been 'imposed', either by politicians, trade union leaders, or management, and have not specifically been designed to be compatible with the expressed needs of the workforce.

Furthermore, the social distance between workers and management can be so glaring that the success of a participative scheme may be doomed to fail. For instance, Kannappan in reviewing the Indian experience notes that the social distance between managements and workers' represent-atives had assumed such extreme forms in Indian Industry that this was a fundamental weakness in the promotion of acceptance of the Works Committees. He adds that:

> "A number of problems also stemmed from defects of managerial organisation, which included grave shortcomings in communication procedures and internal delegation of authority ....[18]

The form of participation, particularly joint consultation is likely to raise some problems of interpretation, since this method involves workers acting in an advisory capacity unlike in collective bargaining. In the Indian experience, the workers in joint bodies such as Works Committees pressed for a good deal more than was expected. They wanted to give greater weight to their opinions, while management over-emphasized the advisory nature in order to preserve their discretion.[19]

It is the view of the author that the attitudes of workers towards participation in management plays a significant role in the operation of the concept. One writer quite emphatically states:

17. See Lischeron J. and Toby Wall, op. cit., p. 502.
18. Subbiah Kannappan, op. cit., p. 159.

19. Ibid, p. 166.

> "The critical factor appears to be the
> workers'attitudes .... if there is little
> interest and pressure for workers'
> participation among workers, little difference
> is made by their having high capacities and
> high relative power or by high acceptance of
> workers' participation on the part of
> management". [20]

It is equally true that if, indeed, workers had the desire to
participate in management decisions, negative attitudes by
management can to a large extent affect the amount of participa-
tion. These two views are well summed up by Huneryager and
Heckman:

> "But it must be emphasized that participation
> is not a one-way street. Participation requires
> a joint response on the part of both superior
> and subordinate. Both have to share a zone of
> interest, recognising that theirs is a joint
> endeavour. In today's technical world, the
> manager and worker cannot walk separate paths.
> The success of one depends upon the success of
> the other". [21]

2.3 Emergence and Development of the Concept

2.3.1 Ideas and Movements

The history of workers' participation initially found
expression in such terms as 'Workers' Control' and 'Industrial
Democracy' which essentially refer to the government of industry,
and a number of schemes aimed at reorganising industrial
management. [22]   One way of looking at the growth of the concept is

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20. J. Lischeron and Toby Wall, op. cit., p. 500·

21. Huneryager, S.G. and Heckman I.L. , Human Relations in
     Management, South-Western Publishing Company, Cincinnati,
     Ohio, 1967, pp. 584 - 585.

22. Clegg, H.A., A New Approach to Industrial Democracy,
     Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1960, p. 3.

to consider its emergence through the writings of the nineteenth
century thinkers and revolutionary movements such as Anarcho-
Syndicalism in France, Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)
or "Wobblies" in the U.S.A. and to a lesser extent to the Shop
Stewards Movement and Guild Socialism in the United Kingdom.

The movements in France and the U.S.A. advocated for a
revolutionary situation and were Marxist-Socialist oriented.
They were concerned not only with the question of work as a
mediating factor in man's relation to his environment, but also
with the destruction of capitalism and the disposition of power
in the revolution.[23]

Syndicalism as a philosophy of labour emphasized the class
struggle, voluntary organisation by workers and their direct
action. It was an anti-capitalist doctrine that sressed the
autonomy of working groups. [24] The French political theorist
Pierre Joseph Proudhon advocated a self-governing workshop.
Syndicalism developed first in France in the 1890s. As a
result of continual discussion within the French socialism in the
1880s and 1890s, many unionists broke away from the competing
socialist parties because, they claimed, these parties were not
representative of the working class interests.

Syndicalists argued that direct action by workers themselves
through their unions would lead to worker emancipation. They
wanted a social revolution which could introduce a new classless
society where workers would not only own but run the undertakings.
But at that time, the trade unions were not developed and very
few workers belonged to any unions. With the onset of World War I,
the French Unions supported the Governments' War efforts when
mobilisation started in 1914. After the War, the syndicalist
movements collapsed and never recovered. But their philosophy had

23. Clegg, I., Workers' Self-Management in Algeria, Allen Lane,
     The Penguin Press, London, 1971, p. 8.
24. See Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 21, Encyclopaedia Britannica
     Inc., p. 565.

its influence felt in other parts of Western Europe (especially
Italy, Spain, the United Kingdom), the U.S.A. and Latin American
Nations. [25]

In the U.S.A., syndicalist ideas helped in the creation
of the IWW in 1905. [26] This was a revolutionary union whose
objectives were to organise the working class industrially not
only for the everyday struggles against employers but for the
final overthrow of capitalism. The IWW as a union primarily
emerged out of dissatisfactions with craft unionism and the
conservative nature and policies of the American Federation
of Labour (A.F.L.).

The I.W.W. became a militant expression of class war in the
U.S.A. It made appeals to wage earners irrespective of occupation,
colour, and sex, altogether attempting to link up the immediate
struggle with the necessity for overthrowing capitalism. This
however was not to be done through political action, but through
labour's economic means alone. [27] It opposed intervention by
government and emphasized boycotts, go-slows and other direct
actions but did not advocate violence. The I.W.W. eventually
declinedas a result of internal controversies, splits and general
state of hostility. Since 1930 when membership was probably not
more than 10,000 members, this movement has maintained a low
profile. This movement, however, had an impact on the labour
movement in the U.S.A. It posed a challenge to the AFL which now
took more interest in the organisation of labour, improved
conditions among many groups of workers and made it easier for
negro workers to organise into unions. "The long-run significance
of the organisation for the labour movement lay in the IWW's
demonstration that unskilled labour could be successfully organi-
sed into industrial unions. [28] In the United Kingdom, syndicalist

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25. Ibid., p. 565

26. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Volume 12, p. 215.

27. Ibid., p. 215

28. Ibid., p. 215

ideas had spread from France before World War I.[29]

2.3.2 Management Schools of Thought

A second way of looking at the emergence and development
of workers' participation is to consider how management thinking
and practice has been changing, eventually to culminate into the
general acceptance that workers ought to have a say in decision-making.

The practice of management has been going on for centuries.
But the Industrial Revolution led to the growth of enterprises
into complex organisations. The traditional methods of managing
became obsolete and there was an obvious need to organise a body
of knowledge to help provide guidelines for rationalising the
work processes.

The so-called classical theories began in the period when
the Protestant ethic was prevalent. The belief was essentially
that man's life on earth and entrance into heaven were predetermined
by God. Accordingly, efforts to improve the conditions of
workers were futile. By the turn of the 19th century, this ethic
became too inadequate to meet the prevailing conditions, and
more fundamentally lacked any guiding principles. A new school
of thought - scientific management - emerged. It was represented
by theorists and practitioners such as Taylor, the Gilbreths,
Gantt, Babbage, Gulick and Urwick - among others. Taylor is
regarded as the father of this school.

They advocated a rational study of management in order to
improve it. Argyris [30] quotes one writer who summarises the
principles involved. First, they wanted to separate planning from
doing or performance. As opposed to the prevailing situation at

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29. The author proposes to review the history of workers'
    participation in the United Kingdom in Chapter Three. See page 43.

30. Chris Argyris, Personality and Organisation, Wiley, New York,
    1964, p. 131.

the time when workers relied on rules of thumb to perform their
tasks, they wanted management to take over the responsibility of
planning. Planning was to be based on motion and time study and
other data related to production. Secondly, management was
to scientifically determine one best method of performing a
particular task. Thirdly, the planners were to be trained
on the application of scientific principles of management and
control standards.

        We can infer from the above that Taylorism was primarily
concerned with division and specialisation of labour, work
measurement and efficient effort expenditure. This school proved
inadequate because of shortcomings which stemmed from the assumptions
underlying the philosophy. It assumed that material rewards
are closely related to work effort, that workers inherently
dislike work, and that man is basically lazy, indifferent and
unreliable. Therefore, tight and close supervision was to be maintained
on workers if production was to increase. In a pragmatic way,
Taylorism met its objectives of high production which was necessary
for the increasing international trade at that time.

        Taylorism became unpopular with unions and met heavy criticism
from other thinkers. A major criticism is well stated by Etzioni:

> "Although Taylor originally set out to study
> the interaction between human characteristics
> and the characteristics of the machine, the
> relationship between these two elements
> which make up the industrial work process,
> he ended up by focussing
> on a far more limited subject: the physical
> characteristics of the human body in routine
> jobs .... Eventually Taylor came to
> view human and machine resources not so much
> as mutually adaptable, but rather man
> functioning as an appendage to the industrial
> machine". [31]

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31. Amitai Etzioni, <u>Modern Organisations</u>, Prentice Hall,
     Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1964, p. 21.

This philosophy was very r.gid and it kills worker initiative
and creativity. Surely, what machines do as inanimate objects
is not a result of their free will but as a means to achieve
certain objectives for the human beings. Yet Taylor did not
distinguish between the two.

Taylor's drive for increasing the productivity of
human effort assumed away workers' participation because
it was believed that workers were incapable of rational
thinking. So the process of thinking, planning and making
decisions were made prerogatives of management. If a complex
situation developed, it had to be referred to higher management.
Under such assumptions, therefore, workers' participation
in decision making was unheard of.

Criticisms arising out of Taylorism were to prompt
a rethinking of better theories. Dr. Mayo of Harvard University
who became the Director of Hawthorne Studies in Western
Electric Company, and who is associated with the Human Relations
school of thought, de-emphasized the idea of a worker as a mere
factor of production and instead emphasized the socio-psychological
phenomena operating in the workplace. Miller and Form in their
book [32] have summarised the major findings of the Hawthorne
experiments:

(i)   Work is a group activity.

(ii)   The social world of the adult is primarily patterned about
        work activity.

(iii)   The worker is a person whose attitudes and effectiveness
        are conditioned by social demands from inside and outside
        the factory.

(iv)   Need for recognition, security, sense of belonging
        is more important in determining workers' morale
        and productivity than the physical conditions under
        which he works.

(v)   Informal groups within the factory exercise strong
        social controls over the work habits and attitudes
        of the individual worker.

32. Derbert Miller and William Form, Industrial Sociology,
     Harper and Row, New York, 1951.

(vi)   Group collaboration does not occur by accident;
it must be planned for and developed. If group
collaboration is achieved, the work relations
within the factory may reach a cohesion which
resists the disruptive efforts of adaptive
society.

These conclusions are important in two ways. First,
they are directed to the employee as a human being who is
not only guided by personal material and immaterial gains, but
by a larger environment surrounding him. Second, the concept
of group activity is introduced. And it is this which has the
most direct relevance to workers' participation. When a man
belongs to the group in an undertaking, he begins to feel
that he is a true part of the organisation.

The contribution by Mayo and others in the Human Relations
School is well expressed by Butteriss:

> "The humanist approach assumed that the
> most satisfying organisation would be the
> most efficient. It was suggested that the
> workers would not be content in the cold, formal
> rational organisation that satisfied economic
> needs. Instead management should encourage
> better communications and allow participation".[33]

Associated with the Human Relations School of
thought are the motivational theories which have been
a result of studies in socio-psychological areas. One of the
theories which has gained prominence is the theory of human
needs as developed by A. Maslow. Different people differ in
their needs, however, Maslow hypothesized that certain needs
appear to recur in an orderly hierarchical fashion. Maslow's
hierarchy of needs covers physiological, safety, social, esteem
and self-actualisation needs. He stipulated that the hierarchy
expands with higher needs emerging as a result of the satisfaction
of lower order needs.. The hierarchy is illustrated

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33. Butteriss, Margaret; Job Enrichment and Employee Participation -
    A Study; Institute of Personnel Management, London, 1971, p. 14.

below: [34]

FIGURE I   MASLOW'S HIERARCHY OF NEEDS

LOWER ORDER	SELF-ACTUALISATION ESTEEM (RECOGNITION) SOCIAL (AFFILIATION) SAFETY (SECURITY) PHYSIOLOGICAL	HIGHER ORDER
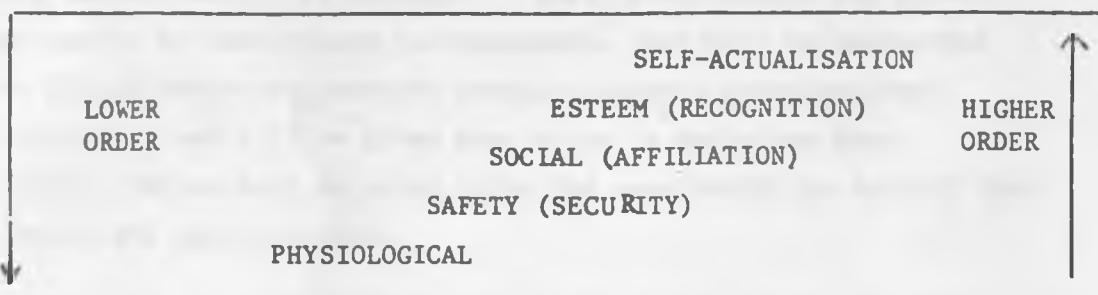
What then is the significance of Maslow's hierarchy
of needs as far as workers' participation is concerned?
According to him, when an employee begins to feel more materially
secure, his needs for self-expression and self-fulfilment
become prominent. Hymon Johnson has this to say:

> "in certain industrialised societies where
> food is abundant and medical facilities are readily
> accessible, we might assume that the physiological
> needs are satisfied among workers to a relatively
> large extent. According to Maslow's scheme, then
> human organisation behaviour in such societies
> might be dominated by sociogenic motivation
> and the 'higher order' needs". [35]

Butteriss concludes that in suitable circumstances and proper
management, the majority of men can be self directed. It can be
said that Maslow's arguments had a substantial impact on managerial
thinking and in particular, with regard to a worker's role
in an organisation.

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34.   Maslow, A. "A Theory of Human Motivation", Psychological
      Review, Volume 50, July 1943, pp. 370-396.

35.   Johnson, H.T., "A Non-individualistic Note on Traditional
      Motivation Theories in the context of African Organisations",
      Working Paper, No. 240, Institute for Development Studies,
      University of Nairobi, p. 9.

Maslow's thinking shows that a work situation should be able to provide more than the material needs. It should provide opportunities beyond his basic needs. Through workers' participation, workers are capable of satisfying their social and esteem needs. As McGregor [36] says, when chances are given to people to participate in management, they will be encouraged to direct their own creative energies towards organisational objectives and will be given some voice in decisions that affect them as well as being given the opportunity to satisfy their social and egoistic needs.

The last school of thought to be considered is the systems model which combines the social and technical factors of production. A system is generally defined as an organised, unitary whole composed of two or more inter-dependent parts, components and subsystems, and delineated by identifiable boundaries from its environmental supra-system. This school of thought provides a way for management and organisation theories to include all the diverse knowledge from relevant underlying disciplines. The system, besides being composed of subsystems and having boundaries which delineate it from broader sytems, receives inputs, transforms them and returns output to its environment. In case of a business; money, people and other resources are inputs to the system. But this system is behavioural in the sense that it is composed of people with activities that are defined in terms of their orientations, power, values and goals. But because a business is constrained by an external environment, and since the latter changes, it is necesaary to incorporate into the system such values as full and free communication, reliance on consensus to manage conflict, an atmosphere that permits emotional expression. Butteriss [37] believes that a democratic organisation becomes a functional necessity whenever a social system is competing for survival under conditions of change.

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36. McGregor, Douglas; "The Human Side of Enterprise" in Huneryager S.G. and Heckman I.L. (Eds.), Human Relations in Management, South-Western Publishing Company, Ohio, 1967, p. 364.

37. Butteriss, Margaret, op. cit., p. 22.

This section has dealt with some of the factors which
have helped to give increasing interest to the concept of workers'
participation in management. We have seen that scientific management
shut out any possibility of workers' participation in management.
The shortcomings of this management philosophy provoked social
scientists to take a second look at human nature and motives.
The Human Relations school, by emphasizing the needs of the
individual, sowed the seeds of workers' participation as we
understand it today. The systems view strengthened this by
pointing out that workers are a component of a social system, and
cannot be disregarded. There is now a general consensus that
the sociability of man in a workshop situation and workers'
views are of paramount importance in organisational performance,
success and survival.

2.3.3. Other Factors

It is true to say that no country of modern times can
exist in isolation. There has been a relaxation of the
'cold war' since most Western capitalist countries do, to some
extent, tolerate communist parties in their political systems.
The emergence of socialism as a world force has increased the
realisation that labour is not a commodity. The importance
of labour was manifested in the setting up of ILO in 1919. One
writer says that a specific trend today is towards participation
and self-management in work situations.[38]

Technological and economic factors have played an important
part in the development of Welfare of mankind. But;

> "writers such as Hetman have demonstrated
> that technology is not the prime factor in
> change and social progress ..... they insist
> that it should be considered a variable which is
> subordinate to social objectives. They are thus in
> agreement with the conclusions of O.E.C.D., which
> in 1971 recommended that growth and technological
> innovations should be turned to better advantage

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38. Carpentier, J., op. cit., p. 101.

so as to fulfil the aspirations of the
workers". [39]

Indeed, that these technological and economic factors
are being questioned is not surprising since we find experiments
being conducted in some parts of the world to restructure the
work organisation so that it can be meaningful and satisfying
and participation is one of them.

For instance in the 1940s, the Harwood Pyjamas Company[40]
introduced changes in the technique of making pyjamas. Group
decision-making was encouraged and subordinates were actively
involved in the process of introducing change. As a result
of these changes and employees' participation, a better product
emerged and the time of production was shortened - among others.
Consequently, the management of the plant became firmly convinced
of the value of workers participation in changes which affect
them.[41]

In U.S.A. an experiment by Morse and Reimer in an insurance
company, was carried out to change the levels of decision-
making and bring it nearer the employees. "The introduction
of self-determination among the employees on the autonomous
divisions increased their sense of self-actualisation ......
After participation had been increased, those who were involved
said they were most satisfied with their supervision, the company
and the job". [42]

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39. Ibid., pp. 101 - 102.

40. See Coch L. and J.R.P. French Jr., op. cit.

41. J.R.P. French Jr., I. C. Cross, et. al.,
    Personnel, November - December 1958.

42. Butteriss, Margaret; op. cit. p. 44.

2.4   Rationale Behind Participation

Before examining the rationale or motivations behind
the operation of the concept, it is appropriate to first
consider the problems involved in measuring benefits which
emanate from a participative system, because whatever the rationale
may be, it will be aimed at achieving certain objectives which should
be beneficial. An organisation will be judged by how well it
meets its primary objectives - that is, accomplishment. One
cannot decisively say that highly autocratic management will
not achieve its objectives. The complexity of participation
and its effects were revealed in the Scanlon Plan [43] which
was adopted at the Linwood Plant of the Pressed Steel Company
in October 1963. Gray [44] observes that the impact of the suggestion
scheme could not be realised in the long run because of other
intervening variables. For instance, the bonus scheme was
inadequate, and the re-deployment system was unpopular. The
suggestion scheme could not be effectively operated not because
this participative system was inherently weak, but because of these
other factors.

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43.   This plan is named after its author Joseph Scanlon.
       It is an approach suggested to secure widespread employee
       participation in order to obtain industrial peace and
       higher productivity. The plan consists of two parts:
       (i) a wage formula or incentive, and (ii) a new form
       of suggestion scheme. This plan has been popular in the
       U.S.A. The wage formula is aimed at relating industrial
       earnings to overall efficiency. The suggestion scheme is
       related to every phase of production, not just to complaints.
       The basic idea is to improve company efficiency. A
       successful Scanlon plan is supposed to have the following
       results: (1) More and better suggestions, (2) Higher
       Productivity and profits, (3) Decreased resistance to
       change, (4) Better union- management relations,
       (5) Greater cooperation, (6) Increased motivation.

(44)   R. B. Gray, "Scanlon Plan - A Case Study", British Journal
       of Industrial Relations, Volume IX, No. 3, November, 1971,
       pp. 291 - 313.

But over a period of time, Huneryager and Heckman 45 have observed that the giant companies today which rank foremost in terms of profits, assets, research and development, are the ones which have genuinely implemented the involvement of workers in management in order to satisfy some of their higher needs. In this section, an attempt will be made to examine the various motivations behind the implementation of the concept of participation. These motivations can be broadly classified as economic, political, social and ethical.

2.4.1 Productivity

Participation of workers in management is regarded as a major factor in increasing productivity. According to Davis;

> "In spite of the difficulty of developing participation, it has enormous potential for increasing productivity, bettering morale and improving creative thinking". [46]

This idea is crucial for organisational performance. But it cannot be stated that there is a direct relationship between participation and productivity. Increased productivity may be a result of other variables such as technological progress, the speed with which new knowledge spreads and the funds available for investment. However, the close connection between these two is supported by the ILO:

> "productivity of labour depends to a very
> great extent on the general atmosphere
> within the undertaking. Whatever the type
> of industrial or economic system, there can
> be a deliberate 'go-slow' by labour. Whether
> this is to be explained on strictly economic
> grounds in terms of an attempt
> to prevent the raising of output standards
> and thus reducing any possible unemployment or

45. Huneryager S.G. and Heckman I.L., op. cit., p. 582·

46. Keith Davis, op. cit., p. 615.

".......... a desire to master a certain system
of social relations and defend it against
attack from outside it would seem legitimate
to conclude that organised participation .....
would influence productivity indirectly by
reducing the causes of strife or directly
by acting on motives other than a desire for
gain that certainly affect the behaviour
of workers and their organisation." [47]

Usually the reasons why participation contributes
to the more efficient use of human resources have been summarised
by Walker.[48] First, workers have ideas which can be useful.
Second, effective communications upwards are essential to
sound decision-making at the top. Third, workers may accept
decisions better if they participate in them. Fourth, workers
may work harder if they share in decisions that affect them.
Fifth, workers may work more intelligently, if through participation
they are better informed about the reasons for, and intentions
of decisions. Lastly workers' participation may foster more
cooperative attitudes amongst workers and management, thus
raising efficiency by improving teamwork and reducing the loss
of efficiency arising from industrial disputes. In addition,
participation may act as a spur to managerial efficiency.

The studies of Coch and French [49] which were carried
out in Harwood Manufacturing Corporation, showed that resistance
to change can be done away with by the use of group meetings in
which management effectively communicates the need for change
and stimulates the group participation of planning changes.
Participation also helps in the training of future managers
in the sense that workers can get to know the company better
and those who deserve promotion can go higher up in the
organisation to exploit their potential. It can be argued that
a country which is seriously concerned with localisation of
manpower can be helped by workers' participation because workers

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47. ILO: Employers' and Workers' Participation in Planning,
    Geneva, 1971, pp. 42 - 43.
48. Walker K.F., op. cit., p. 6.
49. Coch L. and French J.R.P. Jr., "Overcoming Resistance to Change" in
    Cartwright, D. and Zander, A. (eds), Group Dynamics, Research and
    Theory, Tavistock Publications Ltd., London, 1968, pp.336-350.

can get to know what happens in the undertaking in which they work.

2.4.2 Worker Alienation

It is said by supporters of workers' participation
that it mitigates alienation and promotes personal fulfilment.
Blauner [50] in his study concludes that the historical development
of mechanised technology and rationalised work organisation
has resulted in social alienation, powerlessness, and estrangement.
He argues further that a modern worker is exposed to all sorts
of controls and manipulations, directly or indirectly, and
that the worker cannot assert himself as a subject to change
or modify this domination. He says that bureaucratic structures
encourage a great deal of specialisation and division of labour
which culminate in the loss of sense of purpose and depersonalisation.

Workers' participation is frequently supported on grounds
of human rights. The Declaration of Human Rights (1948), Article 22,
says that everyone is entitled to the realisation of the economic,
social and cultural rights which are indispensable for his dignity
and the free development of his personality.

Workers' Councils in Yugoslavia, co-determination in the
Federal Republic of Germany and joint consultation in the United
Kingdom are believed to have been created to give more meaning
to work by restoring control over decision-making directly or
indirectlythrough representation.

2.4.3. Democratisation

An argument advanced in favour of workers' participation
and which is controversial is that when the system is undertaken,
workers in an undertaking will be democratised. The idea of
industrial democracy is related to the question of workers' rights.
It was stated earlier that workers' participation has assumed a

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50. Blauner, Robert, Alienation and Freedom, University of Chicago,
1964, pp. 1 - 3.

political dimension. In most countries, the organisation of labour into unions is thought to contribute to the democratic way of life. One writer states that whereas the idea of democracy in a political sense is a broader term, it has relevance to the concept of industrial democracy.[51] The argument is that the worker should enjoy the same degree of democracy on the job as he does in his political life.

For instance in Yugoslavia, workers' self-management is a basic institution in the political and economic system because it is thought that economic democracy is a precondition for political democracy. Walker says that 'participatory democracy';

> "stresses the personal participation of the
> governed in all decisions which affect them.
> In this view, for a democratic polity to
> exist it is necessary for a participatory
> society to exist, and industry is seen as a
> political system in its own right, offering
> an area of participation."[52]

The above arguments show that industrial democracy and political democracy are interdependent.

2.4.4 Workers' Interests

Participation is regarded as a means of defending and promoting the interests of workers. Transformist movements such as Anarcho-Syndicalism and Guild Socialism basically wanted the interests of workers to be protected.

The extreme of workers' participation in Yugoslavia, and the whole emergence of socialism and trade unionism in the world have the interest of workers as the central theme.

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51. Derber, M., "Industrial Democracy as an Organising Concept for a Theory of Industrial Relations", in Gerald Somers (Ed), Essays in Industrial Relations Theory, Iowa State University Press, Iowa, 1969, pp. 179-190.

52. Walker, K.F., op.cit., p. 6.

Kendall [53] says that the movement of 'workers' control' in Britain aims at moving towards a socialist organisation of society so that working class centers of authority can be established to counter the hostility of a capitalist society framework.

Walker [54] states that workers' participation in management involves either the taking over of managerial functions in the interests of workers, or workers' intervention to alter managerial decisions which are perceived as detrimental to workers' interests.

2.5 Arguments Against Workers' Participation

Let us now consider the arguments put forward by those opposed to the idea of workers sharing in the decision making processes in undertakings. Most of the arguments raised do not entirely dismiss the operation of the concept. Rather they attempt to refute some perspectives of the claimed advantages of participation, the degree or the form which the idea should assume.

2.5.1 Quality of Decisions and Technology

We have seen earlier that participation is likely to boost efficiency and productivity. One contrary argument is that decisions taken by participative processes are less satisfactory than those taken otherwise. Participation is also likely to take more time and effort which should be devoted to other activities. In addition, Strauss [55] thinks that there are extra costs to be incurred, especially those of introducing the scheme such as retraining of supervisors and job redesigning.

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53. W. Kendall, "Workers' Control and the Theory of Socialism", in Coates and W. Williams (Eds); How and Why Industry must be Democratised, Nottingham, Institute for Workers' Control, 1969, p. 112.

54. Walker, K.F. op. cit., p. 5.

55. G. Strauss, "Some notes on Power Equalisation" in J.H. Leavitt (ed): The Social Science of Organisations: Four Perspectives, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. Prentice Hall, 1963, pp. 41-48.

On the question of technology one argument goes th.t in
a modern business enterprise, a worker is exposed to a given
technological framework in which he has to perform his duties. In
most cases, this framework demands less of his imagination and
creativity. Management in such a case does not need a worker
who does his tasks faster than the assembly line, but one who
performs adequately. The weakness of this argument is that it
takes us back to the days of Taylor when labour was considered
as merely another factor of production. In such a case the
job lacks variability and provides little opportunity for
initiative and ingenuity. Where there is little attention
required and a workers' inability to control his workpace, there
is likely to be an inadequate sense of accomplishment, lack of
autonomy and little chance for self-advancement. The total
resultant effect may be low productivity. Blauner, in his study,
concludes:

> "when work provides opportunities for control,
> meaning, and self-expression, it becomes an
> end in itself, rather than simply· a means
> to live .... It is almost the
> expression of an inner need rather than the
> grudging payment of a debt imposed by external
> sources.[56]

2.5.2 Industrial Democracy and Private Enterprise

An objection comes from critics who want to see a clear
separation of political democracy and industrial democracy. In
this case, the argument is that workers are not completely
denied the chance to have influence on the decision-making
process. But the idea of management sharing authority with workers
is strongly disapproved. An ILO publication [57] quotes one French
author who says that the philosophy of political democracy
cannot be borrowed and applied to a business organisation.

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56. Blauner, R., op. cit., p. 53 and p. 56.

57. ILO: Labour-Management Relations, op. cit., p. 17.

He argues that the government of a country cannot be likened to the management of an enterprise. Whereas a government has the power to make laws, impose taxes and enforce them using state resources, the latter has neither of these. That to offset their absence, management should be completely free and independent of those to whom it gives orders. This author was obviously stating his convictions against state socialism and restating the old management prerogatives.

At the Technical Meeting[58] held in Geneva (20th - 29th November 1969) to discuss Yugoslavia and the Federal Republic of Germany with respect to the right of trade union representation and participation of workers in decisions within undertakings, this same objection was raised. Some of the participants stated that any limitation of managements' rights to manage was likely to entail fundamental changes in the structure of private enterprise. They advocated a clear demarcation of management functions, those of trade union and other forms of workers' participation.

In addition, opponents of workers' participation claim that management is a highly skilled job, and while it may be proper that workers' views should be sought on matters of general policy and taken into consideration, authority and responsibility should be exclusively retained by management. The main reason for this is that most workers in general have low levels of education and so lack articulation and **farsightedness** in problems of management.

The 'objections' to workers' participation which have been stated above seem to have flaws that make them unacceptable within the framework of this study. First, the argument that decisions made by workers are likely to be of low quality may be true. But it is equally true that if management is committed to the idea of workers'

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58. See ILO: International Labour Review, Vol. 99, January-June 1969, Geneva, pp. 9-10.

participation and takes positive steps to encourage workers' education
and training, workers can be able to take satisfactory decisions.

Strauss' point of increased costs as a result of introducing
a participative scheme and the retraining of supervisors should
be measured against the benefits of participation rather than
being considered in isolation.

Another objection was that industrial democracy can lead to
the difficulty of issuing orders by management and can undermine
the insitution of private enterprise. Workers' participation
implies that there is some zone of joint decision making. And as
we stated earlier, decisions jointly made are likely to be more
accepted than those unilaterally made by management. The
emphasis put on the idea of issuing orders is therefore
unwarranted. In addition, if ownership is separated from management
(as most countries do), then the threat to private enterprise
does not arise.

The last objection considered above was that the workers
in general lack the necessary skills to effectively participate
in management functions. And that joint decision-making may
encourage irresponsibility among participants since no single member
can be held responsible for wrong decisions taken. If workers'
participation in management fortifies identification with the
enterprise, then workers will feel obliged to share responsibility
for the entire operation and business of the organisation.

CHAPTER THREE

OPERATION OF WORKERS' PARTICIPATION IN YUGOSLAVIA
AND THE UNITED KINGDOM

3.1 A Historical Review

3.1.1 Yugoslavia

We have seen that the ideas on the concept of workers'
participation started in the second half of the 19th century.
But the unique system of self-management in Yugoslavia as we
understand it today can be said to have really started as late
as 1948, when Yugoslavia broke away from Stalin. On 2nd July, 1950[1]
a law was enacted which reorganised the way undertakings were to be
administered. The growth of the system of self-management can
appropriately be broken down into three phases:[2]

(i)   1947-1952: The economy was managed by state administration.

(ii) 1953-1964: The construction of the system of workers'
                  and social self-management and its
                  definition in the Constitution of 1953 and 1963.

(iii) 1965 and After: Further consolidation of the self-management
                  socialist society.

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1.   Some authors state that the law which was entitled, "General
     Law on Management of Government Economic Enterprises and
     Higher Economic Associations by Workers' Collective" was
     passed on 2nd July 1950. For example, See Neal, F.W.,
     Titoism in Action, University of California Press, Berkeley,
     1958, p. 120; and Macesiah, G., Yugoslavia, The University
     Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1964, p. 69. Others who
     differ on this date such as Gorupic D., and Paj, I. , "Workers
     Participation in Management in Yugoslavia", IILS Bulletin, No. 9
     p. 130; and Hoffman and Neal, Yugoslavia and the New
     Communism, Twentieth Century Fund, New York, 1962, p. 246 state
     the 27th June as the date when this law was passed.

2.   Gorupic, D. and Paj, J., "Workers Participation in Management
     in Yugoslavia", International Institute for Labour Studies,
     Bulletin, No. 9, p. 132.

(i)   1947-1952: <u>State Administration</u>

During this period, social ownership of the means of production meant state ownership. The economy was completely planned and directed by the federal government in Belgrade. The state had the powers to hire and fire workers and determine workers' rewards. This meant that undertakings were essentially fully controlled by the state and were left with no freedom of action.

> "All important decisions regarding the operation
> and development of the undertaking were taken outside
> it by the appropriate organ of the state
> administration, and its role was confined
> to making proposals, observations, and reports
> upwards, and orders and tasks from top downwards".[3]

One writer says that under this system, workers, although they were assumed that they owned the factories through the proletarian state, had no voice in their operations.[4] Even the managers did not have any real initiative in most matters because of complete state controls.

(ii) <u>1953-1963 Self-Management</u>

Yugoslavia became opposed to state ownership because although this was a form of socialism, "no progress towards communism could be made unless there was development away from state-ownership".[5] State ownership then in its lowest form could degenerate into 'bureaucratic state capitalism' where workers would be exploited by the states' retention of the surplus value of their production in the same way as under capitalism.

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3.   Ibid., p. 133.

4.   Neal, F.W. <u>Titoism in Action</u>, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1958, p. 119-120.

5.   Ibid., p. 119.

So there was a movement away from a centrally planned economy so that the productive system was no longer relying on state machinery, but on producers themselves. The new law governing economic enterprises created workers' councils in each factory with authority to manage the plants. Neal defines the relationship of an undertaking to the state in the following manner;

> "According to the law, factories, mines, transport,
> commercial .... as the common property of
> the whole nations, are in the name of the social
> community administered by their working staffs
> within the framework of the state economic plan
> and on the basis of rights and duties established
> by law or other legal prescription".[6]

All the detailed functioning and running of the under-taking were handed directly to the members of the enterprises.

(iii)   1964 and After: Consolidation of Self-Management

Yugoslavia's outlook took on a more international dimension. The Dinar (Yugoslav currency unit) was devalued in order to boost the country's international trade, customs tariffs were reduced from 23.3 per cent to 10.8 per cent.[7]   Subsidies were also drastically reduced.   More independence was granted to undertakings so as to compete effectively with other firms in the country as well as on the international scene. As far as planning by the enterprise is concerned;

> "For while the Federal Government's annual
> social plan is the basic instrument, ...
> individual enterprises and economic chambers
> representing groups of enterprises all have
> their own plans, more or less independent of
> each other legally. The Federal Plan itself

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6.   Neal, F.W., op. cit., p. 121.

7.   Adizes, Ichak. Industrial Democracy; Yugoslav Style, The Free Press (The Macmillan Co.,) New York, 1971, p. 22.

is in part a plan for other plans - since lesser
planning units are expected to coordinate their
efforts with it - and in part a summary
of other plans". [8]

Enterprises were allowed to apportion their revenue for purposes
of personal incomes and re-investment.

What were the underlying principles in self-management?
In Yugoslavia, the right of workers to participate in management
decision-making is first of all based on ownership. According
to Marxist theory ownership of the means of production is the
determining factor in any society. Yugolavia did not consider formal
ownership as adequate. They (Yugoslavs) wanted control as well.
Traditionally, the management prerogatives in all societies has
been based on the ownership factor. Whether the undertaking is
individually or state-owned, its management is principally geared
towards the satisfaction of the individual interests or public
interests respectively. The Yugoslav system has its operation
at the grass roots of the economic system - The "Work Collective".
In a work collective, workers perform their duties as a community
of workers. They work to increase the wealth and assets of
their undertakings. They enjoy constitutional rights to
manage and to appropriate the results of their labour.

In this economic system, the economy and the position of
workers vis-a-vis the means of production as effected in practice is
"he who controls the means of production is also the owner of
that productive unit". [9] The principle behind this sytem is well expresse
by President Josip Broz Tito in support of self-management:

"Under state ownership ..... the worker's
attitude toward his job was that of a
wage labourer and he was not directly
interested in higher efficiency or better
performance by his enterprise. He continued
to be alienated from the means of production

8. Hoffman, G. W. and Neal, F.W., Yugoslavia and the New Communism,
    Twentieth Century Fund, New York, 1962, p. 246.

9. Butteriss, M.; op. cit., p. 8.

and could not change the conditions of production".[10]

The second principle on which the concept of workers' self-management is based, is labour itself. Labour as a human factor is special in the sense that humans are moral beings in an economic system and have the right to self-determination and self-management as inalienable rights. Tito mentions this point above.

3.1.2. The United Kingdom

Workers' participation as an idea started with the late nineteenth century thinkers. Marxist and Socialist philosophy was harnessed by the Christian ethic. The Christian thought, however, was not opposed to private property. Anarcho-syndicalist ideas gave further impetus to the concept of workers' participation. Syndicalism which spread from France and other countries was less accepted however than in the United States. Syndicalism was too drastic a doctrine for the British people and instead a mild form in the name of Guild Socialism emerged.[11] Essentially the latter doctrine advocated for workers' control through the use of gradual means where the repertoire of management prerogatives would be eroded. In early 1920s, this movement collapsed. The fiasco of the General Strike in 1926 is believed to have dealt a heavy blow to the British labour movements' militancy.[12]

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10. See Jenkins, D., Job Power, William Heinemann Ltd., London, 1974, p. 93. President Tito was delivering a presidential speech at the Sixth Congress of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia in Belgrade 1968.

11. Clarke, R.O., "Workers' Participation in Management in Great Britain", International Institute for Labour Studies Bulletin, No. 9./ p. 1

12. Marshall, H.D., Collective Bargaining, Random House, Inc., New York, 1971, p. 35.

Prior to this period there had been a shop stewards movement. Membership of trade unions rose rapidly before 1900 but slowed down up to 1910, when it grew fast. The period of the shop steward movement was characterised by a sharp rise in union membership (from 2.5 to over 4 million members) and intense union activity, which was not without major strikes. The outbreak of World War I saw an inevitable and increasing interest by the British Government which wanted to rally union support in the national war efforts. Trade Union officials were allowed to sit on various committees and councils. The war, therefore, was an important factor in the growing acceptance of trade union participation in matters beyond the traditional collective bargaining.

Related to the above development, the British Government established a committee under the Chairmanship of J.H. Whitley in 1916 to report on the relations between the employers and the employed.[13] One of the most important recommendations of the Committee was that collective agreements should be made at an industrial level. The basic principles of the British industrial relations system today are in the main the recommendations of the Whitley Committee. It also recommended the setting up of Works Councils which were representative of management and workers at individual establishments.

The Second World War, and the Nationalisation Acts from 1946 involving Bank of England, Coal and Steel, Electricity and Gas stipulated the constituting of Consultative machinery. These factors altogether changed the power balance between management and workers, and raised questions relating to management prerogatives such as making decisions unilaterally. Up to today, joint-consult-ation has remained subordinate to collective bargaining as a form of workers' involvement in decision-making.

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13. Barou, N. British Trade Unions, Victor Gollanez Ltd., London, 1949, p. 118.

The concept of workers' control is currently being given serious consideration in Britain. Routledge said:

> "The whole topic of industrial democracy
> in the state corporations is under review.
> An inter-departmental working party headed
> by the Treasury is taking soundings and has
> raised some trade union eyebrows by the
> number of questions asked on security and the
> freedom of access to information". [14]

A bill to put into effect The Trade Union Congress (TUC) plans for joint union-employer control of industry is about to be introduced in parliament. In fact legislation to increase workers' participation in the Post Office Corporation management will be introduced in the next parliamentary session. [15] The United Kingdom has a long tradition of attempting to involve workers in the management of undertakings, and the present interest in workers' participation reflects the past efforts.

It is appropriate to consider the aims behind the present and past interest in the operation of the concept of workers' participation. It should be pointed out that apart from Nationalised Industries, workers' participation is not legally sanctioned. Butteriss states:

> "At the present time the Conservative,
> Labour and Liberal Parties are interested
> in 'cooperation and participation' -
> often only vaguely defined. In some cases,
> participation is not concerned with the
> normal top management decisions, but rather
> with involving the workers in joint
> decisions on how work will be done and how
> targets can be set". [16]

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14. See Routledge Paul (Labour Editor), The Times of Tuesday, June 15th, 1976, p. 4.

15. The Times, (15.6.76), p. 1.

16. Buttteriss, M., op. cit., p. 8.

It would seem then that the official opinion of the British
Government is to encourage cooperation so as to increase productivity.
This agrees with the views of Strauss and Sayles [17] who think
that the purpose of business is to get the cooperation of
workers in order to fulfil the basic aims of business - to increase
its profitability and productivity.

Some of the aims behind the desire to involve workers
in the life of undertakings can be found in the nationalisation
of industries. The overriding reasons for nationalisation are
economic but there are also social reasons. There are three
major reasons why the British Government (Labour Party) has felt
it necessary to intervene in the industrial sphere. And the
underlying assumption has been that there is a divergence
between social and private interests, and between the way in
which scarce resources are allocated under private and social
interests. [18]

First, the government desired that the industrial production
was sufficient to maintain full employment. So it had to
control the 'commanding heights' of the economy. Second, it was -
intended to increase the volume of exports to maintain external
stability. Third, it was concerned with the pattern of industrial
output not only to maintain high living standards, but also
attain a steadily increasing national product. In sum, nationalisation
was seen as a way of maximising national welfare and avoiding
public exploitation. Clarke has summarised the objectives of those
who urged the nationalisation of industry;

> "they believed that public enterprise
> would be more efficient and more democratically
> managed than private enterprise. It would
> provide better wages and working conditions
> and, with the conflict of interest between

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17. Strauss and Sayles, Personnel: The Human Problems of Management,
    Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1971, p. 733.

18. Dunning, J.H. and Thomas, C.J., British Industry: Change and
    Development in the 20th Century: Hutchison University Press,
    London, 1961, p. 192.

shareholders ...... and workers removed and
public accountability established through
parliament, it would bring about greater
satisfaction and a sense of public service
in the workforce". [19]

In the nationalisation of industry, statutory provisions
for joint consultation were laid down. In the Coal Board,
representatives of workers and trade unions today sit on the
Board. The emphasis is not so much with the conflict between
ownership and self-determination, as it is in Yugoslavia, but
with satisfaction, efficiency and better material well being.

As a way of summarising, differences between the two
countries are ideological rather than economic. In economic
terms, both countries want higher productivity. Yugoslavia's
mixture of state and market forces indicate that there is
definite desire to encourage competition and increased
production. On the question of institutionalisation, Yugoslavia
has embodied its objectives in the law and the constitution.
For Britain, apart from nationalised industries, the system
has been left to work out itself. Where the government has
come out with a document of some sort, the dominant theme
has been 'efficiency'. For instance the primary objective
of joint-consultation is stated in the United Kingdom Consultative
Document on a code of conduct of Industrial Relations Practice:

"It is important for efficiency and for
good industrial relations that
employees should feel that; (a) they are
kept informed on matters which concern
them; (b) their views are sought on existing
practices and on purposed changes which would
affect them". [20]

19. R. O. Clarke, op. cit., pp. 196-197.
20. Appleyard, J.R., "Workers' Participation in Western Europe",
     I.P.M. Information Report, No. 10 Institute of Personnel
     Management, London, September 1971, p. 79.

3.2   Amount of Participation

In considering the amount of participation in the two countries,
we shall ask ourselves three questions: What in general
is the range of managerial functions in which workers
participate? To what degree is participation implemented? How far
is participation spread through the workforce? Individual
enterprises may differ in all these aspects but it can generally be
said that the two countries seem to portray two extreme : concepts
of workers'participation.

The first question concerns the scope of workers' participation
in management. The range of decisions in which workers participate
is very wide in Yugoslavia, while it is limited in Britain.[21]
In the former country the whole philosophy of self management
connotes total independence of workers under appropriate
arrangements, to carry out all processes and functions of
management. In Britain, there are statutory provisions for
consultation in the Nationalised industries, and so it can be
said that there is much wider field for this kind of participation
than in private industries. But it does not mean that it is
any more effective in nationalised industries than in private ones.
Even in the case of Yugoslav enterprises, Kassalow [22] points out
that there have been disappointing performances in the enterprises.
In both countries workers have not taken real interest in managerial
problems.

In the second question, one would neither be correct to say
that workers in Yugoslav   enterprises make decisions unilaterally
nor that in British undertakings members of management make all
decisions unilaterally. In Yugoslavia, the system of self management
is such that workers are not regarded as wage earners but work
partners who manage the enterprises directly.

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21.   Walker, K.F.,op. cit., p. 10.

22.   Everrett Kassalow, Trade Unions and Industrial Relations, Random
       House, New York, 1969, pp. 188-9.

The Workers' Councils in Yugoslavia are representative bodies of the workers, and they consider and adopt all the decisions on matters which have been placed under its competence by the statutes of the enterprises. The Director of the enterprise is appointed by the Workers' Council from applications which follow invitations by the enterprise for the post. Although the Director is independent in his work, the rules governing the enterprise constrain him, and he is personally responsible to the Workers' Council. Indeed, he contrasts sharply with a Managing Director in a British undertaking.

In Britain, for a long time, the word 'management' has been used in synonymity with the right to manage. But the repertoire of decision areas which used to be the exclusive and sole prerogative of management have been falling slowly into the hands of collective bargainers. Neil Chamberlain [23] argues that there is no principle involved in demarcating those areas which belong to management and those which do not. Wages are now accepted virtually in all countries as obvious areas for collective bargaining. He argues that the determination of wages is as important as any other decision area. In fact the wage bill may determine the financial performance of the enterprise. No longer does management make all decisions unilaterally in a typical British enterprise. Where it is stipulated that workers will participate in an advisory capacity such as nationalised industries, management makes the decisions appropriately after hearing the workers' views. But of course, it is not bound to accept all the recommendations.

In collective bargaining, negotiations take place between the representatives of workers (unions) and management or its representatives, and no action is taken without agreement. An important question is: why has Britian not legally specified how far workers should influence managerial functions? A plausible answer is attempted by Schregle:

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23. Neil Chamberlain, "What is Management's Right to Manage?", in Fortune Magazine, July 1949.

> "the possibility of leaving the introduction
> of workers' participation schemes to the
> initiatives and agreement of the parties
> presupposes the existence of organisations of
> employers and workers of approximately equal
> strength and a long tradition of collective
> dealings". [24]

There is little doubt that to a large extent the United Kingdom
fits these presuppositions.

The third question refers to the extent of workers'
participation in management - i.e. how far participation is spread
through the workforce. Both countries employ the representative
system since it is a common fact that it would be meaningless for
a large number of workers making decisons, because meetings
would be unmanageable. The Yugoslav Constitution provides that
where an undertaking has a working population of thirty members
or less, the functions of management will be carried out by the
entire workers. If, however, an enterprise has up to seventy
members, it is free either to have everybody participating or to
elect a number of representatives to constitute a Workers'
Council.

Collective bargaining and joint consultation in Britain
are also based on a representative system in the British enterprises.
For both countries, there is a clear distinction on the
question of individual participation. In the United Kingdom,
participation at a personal level is possible. But in Yugoslavia
it is only the Director of an enterprise who participates as an
individual. This difference depends on the underlying principles of
the two systems. It can be argued that individual participation
is helpful in the sense that it can complement the other formal
schemes such as committees, joint consultation and collective
bargaining. In Yugoslavia, this aspect of participation is
discouraged because collective participation as opposed to
individual participation does not frustrate common interests. Gorupic
and Paj have this to say in connection with the above view:

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24. Schregle, J. op. cit., p. 5.

> "The basic principles of self management
> relations, equality and the need for finding
> common interests encourage decision-making
> through agreement. The obligation to seek
> common interests tend to lead to a change
> in the opinion and behaviour of economic
> agents in joint work. The impossibility
> of imposing one's own interests ......
> compels members to begin to think of
> common interests. While this may mean
> a compromise and partial realisation of
> all the interests that confront and possibly
> conflict with one another, it may lead to
> cooperative activity which achieves more
> than the members could achieve in isolation."[25]

3.3. Forms of Participation

This part elaborates on the institutionalisation of workers' participation in management in both countries. It deals with the methods and machinery used by workers or their representatives to provide for this concept. Self-management in Yugoslavia is seen to be carried out in two types of organisations - a work unit and an enterprise, although the two may not be mutually exclusive. A work unit is the smallest economic institution and it can be part of an enterprise or it can be autonomous, enjoying all aspects of an organisation. Gorupic and Paj define work units as:

> Work units are technically and economically
> integral units which can operate on the
> market and have a certain degree of self-
> management .... The criterion for
> determining these units is the possibility
> of separate recording of costs and results,
> and the possibility of workers within the
> units of influencing product quality, cost,
> utilization of machinery ....".[26]

25.   Gorupic, D. and Paj, I., op. cit., p. 162.
26.   Ibid., p. 142.

In the case of an enterprise, the institutions which
are identifiable within it are illustrated in Figure II below.

FIGURE II   STRUCTURE OF AN ENTERPRISE IN YUGOSLAVIA

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                    ┌─────────────────┐
                    │    DIRECTOR     │
                    └─────────────────┘
                       │          ↑
                 ┌─────────────────────┐
                 │  BOARD  OF  MANAGEMENT │
                 └─────────────────────┘
                       │          ↑
        ┌──────────────────────────────────────┐
        │ WORKERS' COUNCIL AND AUXILIARY BODIES │
        └──────────────────────────────────────┘
                       │          ↑
              ┌────────────────────────┐
              │   WORKERS' COLLECTIVE  │
              └────────────────────────┘
```
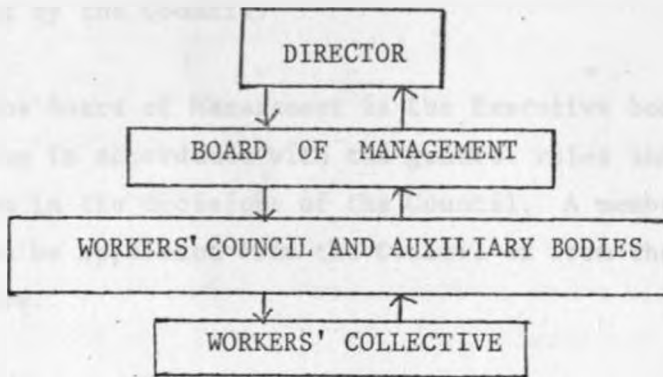
Source: From various literature on self-management.

The actual authority starts from below going upwards.
We shall describe the institutions of/self-managing enterprise
accordingly. This description is largely based on work done by
Gorupic and Paj [27] on Yugoslav enterprises. The Workers' Collective
comprises the entire workforce. Every enterprise with more than
70 workers must elect members to a Workers' Council which will
carry out the self-management functions. The worker in the
whole system ceases to be a mere worker and becomes a worker-
manager. His salary depends on the successes and failures
of the enterprise. The worker in this system has basic rights
which range from being eligible for election to the various
institutions in the undertaking, the right to information
pertaining to the organisation, and to virtually enjoying
all rights of employment. For these rights, a worker has a
price to pay. This price is in the form of basic duties which
range from working as a good labourer on his job, protecting the
property of the enterprise and to strict observance of various
rules on safety - among other things.

The Workers' Council which constitutes members who have
been elected by universal suffrage through secret ballot is the
management body which in actual practice carries out the process

27.   Gorupic, D. and Paj, I., op. cit., p. 129 - 172.

of self-management. Each enterprise has statutes which guide the
Council's functioning. The Council acts on these statutes which
are drafted by the Council itself. There are also auxiliary
bodies such as commissions and committees which are appointed
by the Council to deal with detailed matters but within limits
specified by the Council.

The Board of Management is the Executive body of the
enterprise in accordance with the general rules and regulations
laid down in the decisions of the Council. A member of the
Board can be appointed from the Council or from the Workers'
Collective.

The Director, as stated earlier is appointed by the Council,
and his appointment conditions and terms of service are specified
in the statutes of the enterprise. He runs the business of the
enterprise, executes the decisions of the Council and Board of
Management and represents the undertaking. He does not exercise
voting rights, because it is only the Workers'Collective which
carries the sovereign character of the concept of self-management.
The work unit, as opposed to an enterprise, has a Work Collective,
work unit Board, and Work Unit Council.

The second machinery for workers' participation is the
trade union. But a trade union in a Yugoslav undertaking is
functionally different from a union in capitalist countries.[28]
This has arisen mainly because in the past, trade unions in communist
countries have tended to become political party instruments through
which workers' discipline on the work place could be enforced.
Since Yugoslavia broke away from Russia, the unions have increasingly
become less important organs in the country's industrial relations
system. Kolaja says,

28. Clegg, H.A. op. cit., p. 62.

> "Since the workers or producers have become
> also the managers of the businesses, strikes
> are considered out of place. Thus the labour
> union is also described as having an educational
> role .... it supports the management and
> ...... it is the workers' welfare organisation". [29]

Kolaja did research in two firms in Yugoslavia and found the
labour union in one of them, performing the functions such as
organising ceremonial occasions in memory of the foundation of
the Yugoslav Communist Party, Workers' Council elections, the
New Year's Party for employees'children, group visits to theatres,
group training and lectures; and also discussions of new wage
norms. Although unions supplement the machinery of self-management,
the latter has taken an overwhelmingly dominant position while
unions uneasily enjoy a low profile.

In the United Kingdom, collective bargaining and joint-
consultation are the two major institutions through which workers
participate in management decision making. Collective bargaining
as examined earlier implies that the responsibility for decisions
reached as a result of negotiation is shared between the workers'
representatives and management. Terms and conditions of employment
are thus fixed. Employees' interests are given due consideration
and balanced with the needs of the undertaking. This study does
not go beyond participation of workers in undertakings, but it is
appropriate to note that the trend now is to decentralise the
trade unions and bring collective bargaining to the workplace
(shop floor).

The early British unions were craft unions. Employers tended
to encourage area, regional and industrial or national negotiations.
Agreements reached in such cases were far removed from a single
undertaking. This was aimed at frustrating the power of the union

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29. Kolaja, J. op. cit., p. 7.

at the workplace. So within undertakings, there were inadequate
provisions for processing grievances or even the recognition of
shop stewards who are the lowest officials in a trade union
hierarchy. But the unions are strong at a regional or national
level, but weak on the shop floor.

The necessities of the two World Wars enhanced the powers
of shop stewards till they gained official recognition. During
the inter-war years, collective bargaining which had become dominant
took place at the national level as this was a period of depression
and the primary objective of unions was to fight to mantain
reasonable minimum conditions. But as conditions in the economy
improved, such as full employment, work place bargaining was no
longer opposed by unionists. In fact it was realised, as Clarke [30]
says, that work place bargaining could supplement national
bargaining to put double pressure on employers.

Joint Consultation is not as dominant as collective bargaining.
The responsibility for decisions reached after consultation is
not shared. While workers' advice is sought by employers, they do
not necessarily have to take it. In addition to the two methods
of workers' participation, there are committees in undertakings
such as safety, canteen, sports and other welfare areas where
there is a mutuality of interest. In conclusion, forms of
participation in any country must be considered within the context
of the political and economic set up.

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30 Clarke, R.O. op. cit., p. 180.

CHAPTER FOUR

A RESEARCH PROJECT IN A KENYA COMPANY

4.1 Introduction

An investigation was carried out in Car and General (Kenya)
Ltd. - a company based in Nairobi. The research project lasted
four weeks. This project was designed to provide evidence
concerning the nature of workers' participation in management
in the company as well as attitudes towards workers' participation
among workers and management.

It is appropriate here to attempt a definition of what
management is since this term may cause difficulties and confusion.
Management is usually defined as getting work done through others.
Brech defines management as the process of "planning, motivating
and regulating the activities of persons towards the effective
and economical accomplishment of a given common task". [1] And
the body of people who carry out this process are usually
called managers. But / for unknown reasons, most writers usually
refer to them as 'management.' We shall use this word in
this sense when referring to members of management.

Background information about the industrial relations
backdrop in Kenya, history, structure and major activities
of the company will be presented. These will offer a picture
through which one can understand better the results and the
discussions. The examination of the nature of workers'
participation and the attitudes of workers and management
will help in testing the hypotheses which were formulated.

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1. Brech, E.F.L. Management: Its Nature and Significance,
    Fourth Edition, Pitmans, London, 1967. p. 16.

4.2   Industrial Relations Backdrop in Kenya

It is appropriate to briefly look at the industrial relations system in Kenya of which the company in which the investigation was carried out is a part. Since the dominant form of workers' participation in management in the United Kingdom is collective bargaining, and most of labour legislations in former British colonies and territories are modelled on the British laws [2], Kenya is no exception. But unlike British Unions, Kenya unions since 1955 have been structured on an industrial basis rather than on craft or general unions.[3]

Many writers argue that a strong union movement will retard the growth of developing countries and therefore severe limitations and controls should be imposed on such countries' industrial relations systems.[4] Tom Mboya said in reference to Less Developing Countries:

> "one has to recognise that these countries
> are in a hurry to translate independence into
> something meaningful in the economic sense ....
> If the trade unions appear to become an
> unnecessary obstacle, in the way of new
> governments in this stage of development they
> will stand accused either of being foreign
> agents, or of being just negative. There is
> the temptation for the new Government to
> introduce laws to ensure its programmes are
> not obstructed by either trade unions or any
> other body". [5]

Indeed, later on he confirmed this observation and its implementation in Kenya as Minister of Labour, when he stated that the Kenya Government was not prepared to allow any obstruction in the economic development either from trade unions or any other body.[6]

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2.   Tom Mboya, Freedom and After, Andre Deutch Ltd., London, 1963 p. 191 .
3.   Ibid., p. 191.
4.   Muir and Brown, op. cit., p. 192.
5.   Tom Mboya, op. cit., p. 192.
6.   Tom Mboya, The Challenge of Nationhood, London, Heinemann, 1970,
     P. 66,

The Trade Disputes Act, 1965, therefore.imposes limitations
on strikes. These limitations were further tightened when
the same Act was amended in 1971 by giving wider powers to the
Minister of Labour and the Industrial Court in controlling the
bargaining process.

In general, Kenya's history of industrial relations
and the "system of settling labour disputes has thus worked
with relative efficiency, but there is still room for improvement.
Unofficial or wild-cat strikes occur sporadically in various
industries and a number of disputes stem from misunderstanding
or lack of knowledge in the undertaking". [7]

The desire for cooperation between employers and workers,
and peaceful industrial relations have been a national objective
since independence. On October 15th, 1962, Kenya's Industrial
Relations Charter [8] was signed in Nairobi between the Government
of Kenya, the Federation of Kenya Employers and the Kenya Federation
of Labour. [9]

The main objective of the Charter is stated in the
preamble:

> "Realising that it is in the national
> interest for the Government, Management
> and Workers to recognise that consultation and
> cooperation on a basis of mutual under-
> standing render an essential contribution
> to the efficiency and productivity
> of an undertaking and that progress can only
> be made on a foundation of good terms and
> conditions of employment which include security
> of service and income, ..." [10]

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7. ILO; Employment, Incomes and Equality: A Strategy for Increasing
    Productive Employment in Kenya, International Labour Office, Geneva,
    1972, p. 554.
8. Tom Mboya, Freedom and After, op. cit., p. 257.
9. The name of the central union organisation was changed to Central
    Organisation of Trade Unions.
10. Tom Mboya, Freedom and After, op. cit. p. 257.

Cooperation between the 'actors' was emphasized in the interest of good industrial relations in the country and this laid the foundation for workers' participation.

The workers in the motor trade and allied industries belong to a single national industrial union called "The Amalgamated Union of Kenya Metal Workers". [11] There is also the industrial employers' Association called "Motor Trade and Allied Employers' Association." A collective agreement was signed between the union and Employers on October 16th, 1963. In the agreement, the following objectives are clearly stipulated: [12]

(i)   to provide machinery for the speedy settlement of industrial disputes.
(ii) to provide a channel of communications between the member companies and the employees.
(iii) to provide collective bargaining machinery for negotiation on an industrial basis for those terms and conditions specified in the agreemet.

The negotiating machinery is composed of a Local Negotiating Committee which handles labour-management affairs in every member company. In particular, it deals with claims or grievances affecting only employees of a member company at the particular site or locality. It is only when this committee fails to reach agreement on any grievance or claim that the matter is forwarded to the District Negotiating Committee.

According to the Agreement, only three representatives from each group of workers and management can form this committee (Local Negotiating Committee) at "its principle place of business and in all branches of the company wherever applicable". The fact that only three representatives of workers are allowed to negotiate

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11. The original name of the union was, "The Kenya Motor Engineering and Allied Workers' Union."

12. See Appendix A, "Memorandum of Agreement between the Motor Trade and Allied Industries Employers' Association and the Kenya Motor Engineering and Allied Workers' Union in matters governing recognition, negotiating and grievance procedure", page 106.

at a company or branch level irrespective of the size of the
plant manifests serious limitations of this form of workers'
participation.

The agreement however provides for joint consultative
machinery (Works Council) to be set up in each member company
where management and Workers can be represented. The function
of the Council is only to consult on matters which are in
"normal practice not regarded as subjects for negotiation
between the Employers' Association and the Union".

4.3 The Company

Car and General (Kenya) Ltd. was originally formed in 1936
in the name of Car and General Equipment Limited in Nakuru, Kenya
by J. J. Hughes and G. L. Bellhouse. Bellhouse is the company's
current chairman. The original company was started with a very
small capital of Kenya £270. In 1937 the company was enlarged
and moved to Nairobi under the management of Christopher O'Toole
the father of the current Managing Director of the Company. O'Toole
continued to manage the company until 1957 when he retired and
went back to his country Ireland. Then his son took over his
father's post.

The company was formed to import and distribute motor and
general equipment. During the second World War the company
entered the tyre retreading field in 1942. This quickly grew to
be one of the main activities of the business. By 1950, the
company had expanded considerably but needed additional funds to
finance this expansion. So the company went public. Today, there
are over 1000 shareholders owning shares valued at more than
Kenya shillings 200 million, of which 95 per cent are owned by
residents.

Eventually, the name of the company was changed to 'Car
and General (Kenya) Ltd.' and at the same time branch offices in
Uganda and Tanzania were established under the names Car and
General (Uganda) Ltd. and Car and General (Tanzania) Ltd.

The Uganda subsidiary which apparently had been the most successful, was taken over in 1973 by the Military Government of Uganda. The Tanzania subsidiary continues to operate in Dar es Salaam and Tanga. Dar es Salaam deals with tyre retreading, break lining and finishing, while Tanga deals with tyre retreading.

In 1948, the Mombasa Branch was opened and it has continued to grow with the rest of the company. This branch has a sales office and also handles the clearing and forwarding activities of the company through the port of Mombasa. As at April 1976, the company had 641 employees, 14 of them women.

The organisational chart [13] shows the structure of the company and how it is departmentalised. The departments and further subdivisions depict different formal and functional relationships in the company. There are five departments in the company plus the Mombasa Branch – all of which fall under the authority of the Managing Director of the company. The work of the company has been typically divided and grouped into these departments so that the objectives of the company can be appropriately attained. Each department is further subdivided into divisions and sections.

The tyre and rubber department principally retreads tyres and manufactures a variety of moulded rubber products such as boots, shoe heels and soles. The department of general goods sells and services the following items:

(i) spares and accessories for motor vehicles

(ii) garage equipment

(iii) lawn mowers

(iv) motor-cycles and motor-scooters

(v) chain saws

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13. See Appendix B, "The Organisation Chart of Car and General(K) Ltd." page 115.

The Domestic Appliances Department (D.A.D) sells and services
kitchen equipment, refrigerators, cookers, washing machines, bottle
coolers and so forth. The Accounts Department handles all the
company's financial matters. Lastly, the Personnel Department
is responsible for giving advice on matters relating to staff
such as recruitment , termination, training, industrial relations,
communications, welfare administration and many others.

4.4 Study Design

4.4.1 The Management Questionnaire [14]

A self-administered questionnaire was completed by 31
people out of 40 who are designated as management. These
included the Managing Director, departmental heads, divisional heads
and sectional heads. The target population for answering the
questionnaire was 40 people, but nine of them did not return the
questionnaire.

For each questionnaire, a hard envelope was provided so
that after filling the questionnaire, a respondent would put
it in the envelope, seal and send it to the Office of the
secretary of the Personnel Manager which was the collection
point. Additional interviews between the researcher and a
few members of management were carried out to get further
information about the company relating to workers' participation.

Introductory information for respondents which was
deemed necessary was presented at the beginning of the questionnaire.
The purpose of the investigation was stated so as to reduce
suspicions which were undoubtedly going to arise. The Faculty
of Commerce, University of Nairobi, was identified as the
sponsor of the research. It was also felt important to mention
that every member of management had been asked to fill the
questionnaire.

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14. See Appendix C, "The Management Questionnaire", page 116.

The anonymous and confidential nature of the research was stressed for obvious reasons. Each respondent was asked not to put down his name. The sealing of the questionnaire when filled further ensured that the answers were going to be sighted only by the investigator.

The questionnaire was composed of two parts: Section A consisted of five questions which requested personal data such as sex, age, rank, marital status and the highest level of formal education attained. Section B consisted of 16 questions which were aimed at eliciting the respondents' opinions on different aspects of workers' participation in management. Some of these questions were concerned not only with what was already happening in the company, but also discovering their opinions on certain phenomena if they were introduced. The respondents were asked to tick any answers which were most suitable to them. Some questions had open-ended answers so that respondents could give additional answers which they thought appropriate.

4.4.2 The Workers' Questionnaire [15]

This questionnaire was administered on 50 workers who were selected using stratified sampling, from a total workforce of 481 in the Nairobi based company. These included foremen, clerks, telephone operators, factory workers and others. For financial reasons, the Mombasa branch was eliminated from the investigation. It was not also possible to interview six factory workers on the night and early morning shifts which end at eleven o'clock at night and seven o'clock in the morning respectively. It was decided to substitute these six factory workers

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15. See Appendix D "Workers' Questionnaire", page 123.

with the day shift workers. This was not going to affect
the results in any significant way because the workers on
the day shift would have in any case worked on the other two
shifts. The company has a system whereby workers are rotated
monthly such that all workers have a chance of working on
all the shifts.

The workers were assured that the results of the interviews were
to be treated in confidence and no names would be recorded.
For every section, all the workers to be interviewed were
assembled in a small office provided for the purpose and
addressed by the researcher.

The researcher gathered that never before in the company
had anyone carried out an investigation for academic purposes.
Although most workers appeared curious, they did not show
any reluctance to be interviewed. Only one worker (clerk)
completely refused to be interviewed. Presumably he feared
that I would report the findings to his superiors. Again the
respondents were informed that the sponsor of the research
project was the University of Nairobi.

4.4.3 Further Limitations

This study cannot rule out the possibility that some
respondents may not have fully understood some of the
questions or the issues involved. It is most likely that a
question which asks a worker to state his opinion about an
aspect of labour-management relations which doesn't either
exist or directly relate to his own work situation, personal
experience or life situation, may not provide a meaningful response.

Secondly, some of the questions which were not exhaustive
and sometimes not mutually exclusive may not have elicited answers which
were closest to the respondent's opinions.

Thirdly, although the anonymity and confidentiality
of the respondents' responses were assured and stressed both
for workers and management, some respondents' beliefs regarding
the purpose of the investigation could have influenced the
quality and truthfulness of their responses, particularly
when this was the first time that an investigation of this
kind was carried out. It was surprising that even some
members of management seemed to wonder why a person should
want to interview workers.

Fourth,the investigator did not have a working knowledge
of Swahili. The services of an interpreter were hired because
we anticipated that some respondents would have difficulty
with English. In fact, in only five instances, did we use
an interpreter. But while few workers admitted that they
knew little or no English they appeared embarrassed and shy that
they had to say so. It is possible that there may have been
some respondents who did not know enough English but were reluctant
to admit it.

4.5 Characteristics of Respondents

4.5.1 Workers

Of the 50 workers who were subjects for this study, 46
were male and the rest female. Table 1 shows the age distribution.

Table 1 Age Distribution

Age Bracket (Years)	Number
Less than 17	-
17 - 26	11
27 - 36	32
37 - 46	4
Over 46	3
Total	50

Source: Investigation carried out by the author in May 1976

It can be said that over 60 per cent of the respondents were
falling within the 27 to 36 years bracket. The next largest
number were the youngest lot having between 17 to 26 years
of age. Table 2 presents the length of service distribution.

Table 2 Length of Service Distribution

Length of Service	Number
Less than one year	1
One year or more but less than 4 years	23
4 years or more but less than 8 years	16
8 years or more but less than 12 years	8
12 years or more	2
Total	50

Source: Investigation carried out by the author in May 1976

The majority of respondents (46 per cent) had worked for one
year or more but less than four years. The second largest number
had worked for four years or more but less than eight years.
Only one person had worked for less than one year.

Table 3 Educational Status

Highest Standard Attained	Number
None	5
Primary Four	6
Primary Seven or Eight	18
Form (Secondary) Four	20
Form (Secondary) Six	1
University	-
Total	50

Source: Investigation carried out by the author in May 1976

As Table 3 shows, no worker had ever been to university.
And there was only one who had gone up to Higher School
Certificate. For a long time, education has been the main
key to a good job in Kenya. It is not surprising therefore
to find that the majority of workers have only the Ordinary
Level School Certificate and lower certificates. Five people
admitted not to have had formal education. But four of them
stated that they knew how to write. This is not surprising
because most Less Developed Countries have been waging war
on illiteracy through the establishment of literacy centres.
Of the people interviewed, 45 of them were married while
the rest were single. Most Africans get married at a fairly
young age because in some communities, marriage is regarded
as a sign of manhood. All respondents were Africans.

4.5.2 Management

There were no female members of management. Historically,
women have lagged behind men in the field ot education because
of cultural prejudices against the female sex. For instance,
it would be difficult for a woman to be a supervisor in
a rubber factory where virtually all the workers are men.

Table 4 shows the age distribution of members of
management. Most managers in the company (approximately 74
per cent) were born between 1940 and 1949.

Table 4 Age Distribution

Age Bracket (Years)	Number
Less than 17	-
17 - 26	2
27 - 36	23
37 - 46	3
47 or more	3
Total	31

Source: Investigation carried out by the author in May 1976

Six were born before this period while only two are younger than the rest (i.e. born between 1950 and 1959).

Expectedly, the educational standards were much higher than those of workers. Table 5 presents the educational status of members of management. Most of them (22 out of 29) had had secondary education or higher. The respondents who had

Table 5 Educational Status

Standard	Number
Below Primary Seven or Eight	-
Primary Seven or Eight	7
Form (Secondary) Four	16
Form (Secondary) Six	2
University	4
Total	29

Source: Investigation carried out by the author in May 1976
Note: Two people did not respond to this question.

reached Ordinary Level of education and had risen to managerial positions, had taken some professional courses in areas such as engineering and accountancy. The Company has about four university graduates who have automatically become members of management. This is so because graduates can generally get easy access to managerial posts.

4.6 Findings

4.6.1 Nature of Workers Participation in the Company

One of the objectives of the study was to examine the
operation of the concept of workers' participation in a
Kenya company. Through the use of the questionnaire, informal
interviews and searching through some company files, the
author was able to investigate the nature of workers'
participation in the day to day happenings of the company.
Had there not been reluctance on the part of management
to allow the researcher to get access to some relevant and
important files, this study would have been far more revealing.

The frustrating aspect of research in Kenya enterprises
is that there is always management's near obsession with
'confidential' information, although some information need
not be classified so. And this attitude gives the impression
that management has a lot of information to hide and worsens the
not-too-good public image of most companies particularly the
multi-national corporations.

Car and General (K) Ltd., by nature of its work,
falls in the category of motor industry. So most of the
workers who are unionisable in the company belong to the
Amalgamated Union of Kenya Metal Workers while the employers are
registered with the Motor Trade and Allied Employers' Association.

There is a Local Negotiating Committee in Car and General
(K) Ltd. which handles the labour-management affairs in the
company. When this committee fails to reach agreement on matters
of collective agreements, then the matter is referred to higher
authorities. The company has eight shop stewards who normally act as
workers'representatives on the working floors and in this committee.

As of today, Car and General has no Works Council which is encouraged by the agreement referred to above. But it used to have one which was abolished. The Personnel Manager stated that arrangements would be underway for it to be introduced as soon as possible.

Data on the once functioning Works Council, but now defunct, could not be released. From informal interviews with various members of management, certain typical reasons for its failure were gathered. One typical reason was:

> "Workers could not differentiate between areas
> of collective bargaining and those of the
> Works Council".

One highly placed company executive stated:

> "Workers used the Council for voicing their
> grievances such as inadequate wages, lack
> of transport facilities by the company
> to their homes, leave terms and so forth, which
> of course were not supposed to be discussed
> by the Works Council".

Other reasons stated were mainly that workers were unco-operative as well as lacking interest in the operation of the Works Council. For instance one member of management stated:

> "It was amazing how uncooperative workers
> were. I think workers were deliberately
> stubborn despite the fact that they knew
> that the aims of these discussions were
> designed to cater for their interests
> as well".

There are important deductions which can be made from these statements, given the workers' background. Most workers in Kenya have a poor educational background and there is definitely a wide gap between most managers and their labourers.

One such deduction is that while collective bargaining
appears to be the only method for workers' participation
in the company, it is itself inadequate, because when a Works
Council was introduced, workers' representatives did not
hesitate to use this additional machinery to express their
grievances or claims. Second, workers may have thought
that this was another way of solving all sorts of problems
facing the company, since the issues falling under collective
bargaining may not have/clearly explained and separated from
others. While these factors may have aggravated or perpetuated
the contentious nature of the worker-management relationships
which might have been in existence, the overriding reason
seems to be that either there were not enough channels or
none at all, for solving out-of-place grievances or claims,
or the method of collective bargaining was dealing with a
narrow range of subjects - thus leaving certain matters unanswered.

Certainly, it would seem useless to ask workers to
cooperate with management and seek ways and means of increasing
productivity without first giving satisfactory consideration
to wages and other related issues. A third factor could be that
the relevance of issues which were to be discussed in the
Works Council, to the workers' economic and social welfare was
not fully explained.

Apart from collective bargaining and the now defunct Works
Council, there is currently one Standing Committee - the Canteen
Committee. Although there are as many workers as there are
management on the committee, this committee is always chaired
by a member of management, and usually he is a senior company
executive. In an interview with him, he stated that the Committee
"was not doing well". There are also ad hoc committees which are
set up as and when need arises.

It was found out that there were no arrangements for workers representatives in the Union or committees to get some coaching or training to prepare them for participative roles. Training can help a worker to be more receptive to other people's points of view, to develop tools and capacity to analyse a problem and to acquire certain skills in analysing his own behaviour as well as the behaviour of others. In this way can he be able to be an effective participant.

Finally, it is necessary to make a special mention of the communication system in the company. No where could a notice board for such things as publications, bulletins and circulars be sighted. It was also surprising that the company at this stage has no handbook. Asked about how information is disseminated to workers, the management stated that it is through internal memoranda and word of mouth which are used. This could mean that workers are not getting adequate information which could help workers to participate effectively either personally or acting through their representatives. The company does not operate a suggestion scheme which sometimes can be a useful means of getting workers involved in the occurrences of the company.

Therefore, in the absence of a works council and suggestion scheme, it appears that a worker in Car and General is left with the union (collective bargaining), the standing committee and 'ad hoc' committees as well as himself participating as an individual. Car and General does not operate a suggestion scheme, but some other companies such as Firestone (East Africa) Ltd. operates such a scheme. Firestone is also a member of the Motor Trade and Allied Employers' Association.

In the light of the available evidence, the second major hypothesis cannot be upheld. It stated, "only collective bargaining functions as workers' participation in Kenya".

As we have seen, the Kenya Industrial Relations Charter calls
on employers to institute other means of cooperative efforts
such as joint consultation. And most companies have done this
not only to encourage harmonious labour-management relations,
but also to increase production.

4.6.2 Management Attitudes

The aim of the management's questionnaire was not only
designed for fact finding purposes, but also to assess the
attitudes of management towards different aspects of labour-management
relations that relate to or have a close connection with the
concept of workers' participation in management. The main
questions which were to be investigated were:

  (i)   whether or not management was aware of the concept
         of workers' participation in management.

  (ii)   whether or not management would be in support
         of workers' involvement in the company's decision
         making processes.

  (iii) whether or not in practice there is any form of
         participation apart from collective bargaining.

  (iv)   If, indeed, there is participation through such methods as
         collective bargaining or committees, does management
         think they are helpful, interesting and worthwhile?

  (v)   Do workers make reasonable contributions during
         their participation?

  (vi)   What are attitudes of management towards workers
         having access to information?

  (vii) Who makes most of the decisions and at what level?
         In welfare activities, who is in control - management,
         workers or both? In the opinions of management
         what should be the nature of participation by workers
         in such activities?

Corollary hypothesis (ii) which stated: "with
historical hierarchical structures, members of management
in a typical Kenya company do not favour the idea of workers
sharing in the decision making process of the company",
should be tested using the findings in respect of the responses
given to the above questions by management.

The respondents were asked what they understood by
the words,"Workers' participation in management". Table
6 presents their responses.

Table 6 Responses to the Meaning of Workers'
Participation

	Percentage
Workers' representatives participate in management decisions	37
Workers representatives sit as real members of management but continue to do their regular work	22
Instead of management, the entire workforce makes all decisions affecting the company	-
I have never heard of the words 'workers participation'	41
	100

N= 27

Source: Investigation carried out by the author in May, 1976

Note: Four people did not respond to this question.

Fourty one percent of respondents had never heard of the
words 'workers' participation in management'. None, however,
thought that the role of management would be taken over by
the entire workforce. A considerable number (37 per cent)
thought that the words mean that the representatives of
workers do participate in making management decisons. No
attempts were made to give any other additional meanings.

Table 7 gives answers to the question of whether participation of workers would be a good thing or a bad thing.

Table 7 Responses to whether or not Participation
Would be a Good Thing

	Percentage
It would be a good thing	63
It would be a bad thing	23
Don't know	14
	100

N = 30
Source: Investigation carried out by the author in May 1976
Note: One person did not respond to the question.

More than 60 per cent were in support of the idea of workers sharing in the decision making processes of the company. It was not surprising that there were some members of management (23 per cent) who thought that workers'participation would be a bad thing. This reflects the traditional beliefs that the workers'role should not stretch beyond their job descriptions for which they were hired. Only 14 per cent were non-committal.

In order to ascertain whether or not there are meetings which have ever been held between management and workers, a question was asked, "Have you ever attended a company's committee meeting or any other meetings where there are both members of management and workers?"

Table 8 presents the results.

Table 8   Responses to whether or not respondents had
           Joint Meetings of Workers and Management

	Percentage
Yes	55
No	45
	100

N = 31

Source: Investigation carried out by the author in May 1976

Over/half (55 per cent)[a] respondents claimed that they had
participated in meetings between workers and management.
Presumably this shows that there are some facilities for
workers and management to interact. Of the people who stated
they had attended such meetings, seventy six per cent stated
that it was a member of management who usually chaired the
meeting. The rest stated that there had been meetings where
chairmen alternated between representatives of workers and
management.

        Table 9 presents the attitudes of management as to whether
such meetings were interesting or not.

Table 9 Attitudes Towards Joint Meetings

	Percentage
Interesting all the time	35
Interesting most of the time but with dull periods	29
Interesting and dull equally	29
Dull most of the time	7
Don't know	-
	100

N = 17   Source: Research carried out by the author in May 1976.

There were more respondents who thought that the meetings were interesting, but a larger percentage (58) detected a dull element in such meetings. Further questioned to give reasons for their answers, those who thought that meetings were interesting gave reasons such as:

> "Each time there is such a meeting, we
> get new ideas from workers' representatives,
> and this helps us to learn about things
> we don't know"

One respondent admitted:

> "We get good suggestions from workers,
> and this enables us to improve our
> standards".

Those who thought that the meetings were dull, gave typical reasons such as:

> "Workers in most cases fail to understand our
> views. Workers stubornly refuse to see the
> points and arguments put forward by management,
> and this leads to misunderstandings and bad
> tempers. Sometimes hot arguments erupt".

One of them stated that workers tend to introduce trivial items in the meetings and this wastes a lot of time.

An additional question was asked whether they thought that the workers' representatives put forward reasonable ideas. Table 10 presents their responses.

Table 10   Responses to the Quality of Workers' Ideas

	Percentage
Very reasonable ideas	29
Fairly reasonable ideas	71
Poor ideas	-
Very poor ideas	-
Don't know	-
	100

N = 17   Source: Investigation carried out by the author in May 1976.

No respondent thought the ideas of workers' representatives
were either poor or very poor. On the contrary the majority
(71 per cent) thought that workers presented fairly reasonable
ideas.

While management may formulate objectives and carry
out certain tasks to accomplish them, it is essential to
communicate and evaluate them continuously to make sure that
they are understood. Workers are humans and will react
positively or negatively to management policies. The question
of communication has to be a two-way process. As much
as management wants to pass on information downwards, this
information must be adequate so that workers can consider
it and respond to it. If management wants to get
feedback, this point becomes even more important. So a
question was asked as to the amount of information they
would like workers to have access to. The results are stated
in Table 11.

Table 11   Response to the Amount of Information
             to be Given to Workers

	Percentage
All information	4
Much Information but not all	18
Some information	78
Little information	-
None	-
	100

N = 28

Source: Investigation carried out by the author in May 1976

Note: Three respondents did not answer this question.

The majority (78 per cent) opted for some information to be passed on to the workers. This means that they still have some reservations on the question of workers sharing the information pertaining to the organisation. As stated earlier, there are no house magazines or notice boards. Workers, most likely, do not get access to information such as the Balance Sheets, Income Statements and others.

A question was asked regarding the level at which most decisions are made in the company. It would appear that most of the decisions are made at the top level in the company as Table 12 shows. Only 11 per cent indicated

Table 12   Levels at Which Decisions are Made

	Percentage
Top Management	70
Upper and Middle Management	19
To a limited extent throughout	7
To a large extent throughout	4
	100

N = 27

Source: Research carried out by the author in May 1976

Note: Four people left this question unanswered.

that decision making percolates to the workers. In fact, in the informal interviews between the author and some members of management, it was ascertained that not only does top management deal with policy matters, but with all the operational matters.

It is thought that if workers talk freely to management in their daily activities, then this is likely to   reflect how workers may participate in the formal institutions. A question was asked:

"In general, how free do workers feel to talk to you about their duties or if you found them drinking coffee in the canteen" ? The responses are presented in table 13. More than a half (58 per cent) were of the opinion that workers feel fully free to talk to management. Sixteen per cent thought that workers don't feel free to talk to management.

Table 13   Responses as to the Freedom of Workers to Talk to Management

	Percentage
Fully free	58
Rather free	26
Not very free	16
Not at all free	-
Don't know	-
	100

N = 31

Source: Investigation carried out by the author in May 1976

As we have seen earlier, another form of participation could be through social and welfare activities in the company. If they are solely controlled by management, workers' participation is likely to be minimal. If however workers have some control, this could mean some amount of involvement. Respondents were asked to state as to who controls these welfare activities, and the results are presented in Table 14.

Table 14   Control of Welfare Activities

	Percentage
Controlled by Management	6
Controlled by workers	10
Jointly controlled by management and workers	84
	100

N = 31

Source: Investigation carried out by the author in May 1976.

Those who thought that these activities are jointly
controlled were 84 per cent. There were, however, more
respondents who thought that workers control such activities
than those who thought it was management. It would seem
that there is some worker involvement and participation
in welfare activities.

But it was felt important to ascertain the opinion
of management as to whether it is desirable that workers
should have involvement in such activities. Nearly all
(94 per cent) answered in the affirmative. They were further
asked whether the workers' voice in such activities should
be decisive or merely advisory. Table 15 presents their
responses.

Table 15   Whether Workers' Role Should be Decisive
or Advisory in Welfare Activities

	Percentage
Decisive	34
Advisory	66
	100

N = 31

Source: Investigation carried out by the author in May 1976.

There were more respondents (66 per cent) who were of the
view that the workers' role in such activities should be
advisory. Thirty four per cent stated that the workers'
participation should be decisive.

Normally, if there are changes in power relationships
in any situation, these changes are bound to be interpreted
in terms of how they are going to affect the participants.
A question was asked, "If workers were to share management
decisions with management, what do you think would be the
effect on you personally?". Table 16 presents the results
in relation to the respondents' educational status.

Table 16   Relationship Between Level of Education
Attained and the Potential Effect of
Workers' Participation on Individuals

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	No. of Respondents				Percent-age
	University	Secon-dary	Lower than Seco-ndary	Total	
My position would not change	4	7	2	13	46
My salary would be lowered	-	-	1	1	4
The profits of the company would decline	-	2	1	3	10
It would be difficult to issue orders	-	6	3	9	32
There would be fewer managers	-	1	-	1	4
My authority and power would decline	-	1	-	1	4
TOTAL	4	17	7	28	100

Source: Investigation carried out by the author in May 1976.

Slightly less than/half of the respondents stated that
their position would not change at all, and 32 per cent
thought that it would be difficult to issue orders. The
latter reflect the attitudes of some managers who equate
management with issuing orders. It is interesting to note
that all graduate managers thought that their positions would
not at all change. This shows the confidence in a Kenya
situation of a graduate because university education is
a recent phenomenon and he still sees himself as too distant
to be affected by workers'involvement in managerial decision
making. Six managers who had attained secondary education
envisaged the erosion of their authority to issue orders.
It would appear that the higher one is educated, the more
liberal he is likely to be since workers' participation is
not likely to be regarded as a threat to his position. In
addition authoritarian sentiments can be detected in the
less educated managers.

Respondents were asked to predict how workers would
react to a participative situation. Table 17 presents their
responses.

Table 17 Opinions Regarding Attitudes of Workers
Towards Participation

	Percentage
Workers could refuse to take part	14
Workers could be indifferent	21
Workers could be in favour	54
Don't know	11
	100

N = 28

Source: Investigation carried out by the author in May 1976

Note: Three respondents did not respond to this question.

Fifty four per cent of the respondents were of the opinion
that workers would welcome the idea of participation. There
was, however, 21 per cent who thought workers would display
indifference.   Fourteen per cent were convinced that workers
could refuse to take part !

Trade unions have been in existence for some time in
Kenya. As stated earlier, collective bargaining is one way
of workers influencing managerial decisions. A question was
asked to ascertain the attitudes of management towards
the role of trade unions in undertakings. If management
has negative attitudes towards this institution, any other
form of workers' involvement is even more likely not to be
supported. So a question was asked as to whether they
thought that, in general, unions promote the good running
of businesses or otherwise. Table 18 presents the results.

Table 18   Attitudes About Unions in General

	Percentage
Unions are helpful	26
Unions are both good and bad	61
Unions only cause problems	10
Don't know	3
	100

N = 31

Source: Investigation carried out by the author in May 1976

Sixty one percent thought unions are good and bad. Only
26 per cent stated that unions are helpful, while 10 per cent
thought that unions only cause problems. The last question
to be asked was concerning supervision. Management attitudes

towards the necessary amount of supervision is likely to
give a hint on how it may react to workers' participation.
The results are presented in table 19.

Table 19 Amount of Supervision

	Percentage
A great deal of supervision	21
A fair amount of supervision	66
Not very much supervision	13
Don't know	-
	100

N = 29

Source: Investigation carried out by the author in May 1976

Note: Two people left this part unanswered.

More managers (66 per cent) stated that there should be a
fair amount of supervision, while 21 per cent thought that
there should be a great deal of supervision.

Certain conclusions seem to emerge from the above
findings. First, the majority of management showed a positive
attitude towards participation by workers in management.
Second, workers' participation in management is not a completely
foreign idea to the company because in some ways workers
in the company participate in some meetings. Third, such
meetings seem to work fairly well and are interesting,
and workers put forward reasonable ideas. Fourth, they seem
to welcome the idea of sharing some information with workers.
Fifth, workers' participation is not regarded by the majority
as a threat to their authority and power. Sixth, most members
of management thought that workers would be willing to take
part in participative activities, and lastly they showed liberal
attitudes in the supervision of their workers.

This evidence would seem to indicate that corollary hypothesis (ii) which stated, "with the historical hierarchical structures, members of management in a typical Kenya company do not favour the idea of workers sharing in the decision making processes of the company" cannot be upheld.

4.6.3 Workers' Attitudes

The findings presented below derive from the interviews held between the workers and the author. As stated earlier, the author aims at examining the nature of workers' participation in management . It was considered important to examine the attitudes towards participation among a sample of workers by looking at some participative variables. The main question whose answers were sought were:

(i)   whether or not workers were interested in the work of the company and to assess whether they were doing work which was satisfying.

(ii) To see whether workers thought they could manage more difficult jobs; and whether they had a desire for further training.

(iii) whether or not a suggestion scheme would be entertained.

(iv) whether or not personal participation would be liked by workers.

(v)   to examine whether adequacy of wages was the most important consideration among others.

(vi) to ask union members who were not union officials whether or not they would like to be union officials such as shop stewards; and to ask the union officials' motivations behind their desire to become workers' representatives.

The findings should be able to prove or disprove the corollary hypothesis (i) which stated: "Given the high rate of unemployment in Kenya, and the prevailing low educational

standards, workers are not likely to assert themselves further
than fighting for the basic terms and conditions of service".
Although some of these measures and variables may appear indirect
and tangential to the crucial problem of participation,
they nevertheless provide insight to the problem.

The respondents were asked to state where their biggest
interest lay. Table 20 presents their responses.

Table 20   Response to Where Workers'Biggest Interest
           Lies

	Percentage
Most interest in work of company	24
Most interest in home and family	54
Don't know	22
	100

N = 50

Source: Investigation carried out by the author in May 1976.

Twenty two per cent could not make up their minds, but the
majority (54 per cent) stated   their home and family
to be their biggest interest. It is possible that some
of these may have chosen their family on emotional grounds
rather than through objective analysis of the considerations
surrounding the alternatives. Likewise, those who opted
for the company may have been influenced by the fact that
they are supporting their families financially mainly because of
Car and General (K) Ltd. - particularly at the present time when
there is a high rate of unemployment. A genuine increasing
interest in the company may stimulate the desire to participate
in the life of an undertaking.

Asked whether or not the jobs they were doing were
satisfying, 60 per cent stated that their jobs were generally
satisfying. The rest stated that their jobs were generally
not satisfying. A relationship between the level of education
and satisfaction (or non-satisfaction) is presented in
Table 21. In the secondary education group there was almost

Table 21   Relationship Between the Level
of Education and Satisfaction on the Job

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	Number			
	Generally satisfying	Generally Not satisfying	Total	Percentage
Secondary	10	11	21	42
Primary	15	9	24	48
None	5	-	5	10
TOTAL	30	20	50	100

Source: Invstigation carried out by the author in May 1976.

an equal split between those who thought that they were
satisfied and those who thought otherwise. Fifteen out of
24 of those who attained primary education claimed that they
were generally satisfied. All those who had had no formal
education stated they were satisfied with their jobs.

These answers have to be treated with caution. Every
Kenyan worker is aware of unemployment miseries, and the meagre
chances of getting another job. People with primary education
may have resigned to doing this job. So they may not see any

reason why their only job should not be satisfying.
Presumably, if they had been asked to state whether they
would like their children to do the same kind of job, they
could have answered in the negative. Chris Argyris is quoted [16]
stating that there are psychological processes which may
explain the frequency of affirmative replies to the question
of whether or not workers would say that they are doing work
which is satisfying. He says that most workers know that
they have not much chance of finding better paid jobs differing
significantly from those they already have. So the only
thing the workers choose is to put up with the jobs they
have, since their satisfaction will be a result of a process
of adaptation which may have taken several years.

The respondents were asked whether or not on their
jobs they can try out new ideas. Table 22 presents their
responses. The fact that most workers (72 per cent) claimed

Table 22 Responses to the Question on Work
Monotony.

	Percentage
The same work all the time	28
Can try out new ideas	72
Do not know	-
	100

N = 50

Source: Investigation carried out by the author in May 1976

that their work was not monotonous is partly because among
the interviewees were mechanics, clerks, and general workers
whose work is not all that repetitive. However, those who stated
that their work was "the same all the time" were mostly machine
operators whose pace and steps of work are largely determined by the
machine.

16. Y. Delamottee and K.F. Walker, International Institute for Labour
    Studies Bulletin, No. 11, p. 11.

The respondents were asked, "Do you think you
could manage more difficult jobs if for instance you are
promoted to the rank of supervisor?". The responses are
presented in Table 23. This was an important question because

Table 23   Responses to readiness to Handle More
            Difficult Jobs.

	Percentage
Could manage more difficult tasks	72
Could not manage	22
Don't know	6
	100

N = 50

Source: Investigation carried out by the author in
          May 1976.

it is a fairly reasonable measure of the desire for increased
participation in the occurrences of the undertaking.
Thirty six out of 50 respondents thought they could manage
more difficult jobs. We cannot rule out the possibility
that some of these people had in mind the prospect of
increased pay. If we assume this away, the results are
surprising because one would have expected workers with
low levels of education to be content with a working
environment which is not too demanding.

Asked whether they felt they should be sent for further
training, 86 per cent answered in the affirmative. The reasons

given for this desire were:-

  (i)   to acquire more knowledge and therefore be able to know
        their jobs better.
 (ii)   to get better pay.
(iii)   to stand better chances of promotion.
 (iv)   to be able to find a good job elsewhere in the event
        that they had to leave this company.

A question was asked, "Can you think of specific things
on which management decides, which in fact you think workers
should decide on and not management?". Almost all respondents
stated they could not think of any example. This can be
explained by the fact that there is a general acceptance
of the classic management-worker role dichotomy among
workers. This could be interpreted as reflecting little
desire for involvement in decision making. But it must
be appreciated that it is difficult for a simple worker
to stretch his imagination beyond this traditional dichotomy,
and envisage a re-arrangement of this relationship.

As stated earlier, the company does not operate
a suggestion scheme. The workers were however asked if they
would like a system whereby they can write to management
and make suggestions on how the company should be run better.
Sixty four per cent stated that they would welcome such a
scheme. Two respondents who had worked in a similar company
elsewhere stated they had experienced this scheme at work and
expressed surprise that it did not exist in Car and General.

Another related question was aimed at eliciting the
opinions of respondents to the idea of their having a private
meeting with senior members of management as individuals
to discuss matters affecting the company. Fifty six per cent
stated that they would prefer such a system. The 44 per cent
who answered in the negative presumably imagined such a

situation impossible considering the wide gap between a
worker and the senior company executive.

The respondents were given five things to choose one
of them which they thought was the most important. Table 24
presents their responses.

Table 24   Opinions Regarding the Most Important
           Aspect of Work

	Percentage
Enough wages	22
Working with friendly people	32
Not losing my job	18
Taking part in making decisions of the company	2
To be respected in the company	26
	100

N = 50

Source: Investigation conducted by the author in May 1976

Only one respondent regarded taking part in the making of
decisions in the company as the most important in the work
situation. It was surprising that the majority of workers
did not choose adequate wages as the most important. Instead,
'working with friendly people' commanded the majority of
respondents (32 per cent). Probably the results would have
been more meaningful if a ranking procedure had been employed,
rather than choosing one. For an ordinary worker, the concept
of a good job does not only focus on adequate wages, but also

on   a friendly atmosphere. Similar results were obtained
by Bereson and Steiner. [17]

Of the 50 respondents, 41 were union members while
nine were not. Five of the union members were shop stewards.
Those who were not union members were asked to mention any
reasons why they had not joined the union. Some of them
stated that they would risk their jobs if they joined the
union. One worker stated;

> " I get very little money from the work
> I do. I cannot afford union fees. In any
> case, if management wanted to sack me, I know
> that the union would not protect me".

An examination of reasons why the shop stewards in the
first instance, wanted to become union representatives,
revealed that all of them joined primarily to play a role
in improving ᵗhe conditions of their fellow workers. The
desire to represent workers can be said to reflect a need
to get more involved in the occurrences in the company. The
non-official members of the union were asked to state whether
or not they had contemplated becoming union officials such
as shop stewards. Slightly more than/half (55 per cent)
stated that they had not contemplated this idea. The rest
said that they had thought of becoming union officials.
Asked to give reasons for their answer the former stated
that they did not want to come into confrontation with
management. The latter said that they wanted to air their
views and press for better conditions before management.

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17. See Bereson and Ç. A. Steiner, Human Behaviour,Harcourt,
     Brace and World Inc., U.S.A., 1964, p. 408.
     For many workers, enough wages were not considered most
     important. More workers opted for working with friendly
     people. They state that this may be an indication that
     money wages are not a sufficient incentive for workers'
     continuous application to their jobs.

According to the findings above, it is difficult to determine whether or not workers want to participate in the decision making processes of the company. But in general, the desire to get more involved and cooperate with management can be detected. First, more workers stated they were satisfied with their work which indicates positive attitudes towards the company. Second, they displayed some independence in their work. Third, more workers expressed the readiness to handle more demanding work, and to go for further training. Fourth, the idea of making suggestions to management was supported by a larger number of workers. And fifth, relatively more workers expressed the desire, as individuals, to interact with senior members of management on company matters.

We can say that more respondents displayed a desire to go beyond their job descriptions and get more involved in the company's affairs. Corollary hypothesis (i) which stated, "Given the high rate of unemployment in Kenya and the prevailing low educational standards, workers are not likely to assert themselves further than fighting for the basic terms and conditions of service", may not therefore be upheld.

4.6.4 Major hypothesis (i)

Can we then say that "workers' participation may not be a workable concept in a developing country"? It was stated earlier that workers' participation is largely determined by management's acceptance of the idea as well as the attitudes of workers towards participation. But there are other important considerations which must be discussed in considering the hypothesis. These important considerations that have a direct bearing on workers' participation were

beyond the scope of this study. First, the external
environment in which a company operates will influence the
implementation of this concept. In the case of some multi-
national companies which are prevalent in Less Developed
Countries, policy decision making takes place outside the
host countries. So such a company may lack the necessary
autonomy to operate a participative system.

Second, the nature of legislation in the country
may affect the workability of the concept. If legislation
is such that it requires large or nationalised companies to
operate a participative system, and leaves private or smaller
companies, there is a high likelihood of workers participating
in management because of face-to-face interaction between
workers and management. But for large companies, there may
be little effort to delegate to the lowest levels in the
organisation.

Third, the nature of technology employed in a company
will determine the workability of the concept. If the
technology is complex in the company, participants would need
to have know-how, technical knowledge and organisational
capability. Otherwise top management and the experts may be
the only effective participants in the organisation. However
in mitigation, Walker says;

> " It must be remembered that no matter how
> complex the technology, workers and unions will
> be concerned with the results of managerial
> decisions, and will try to influence them,
> particularly when management seeks to
> introduce technological improvements that
> reduce employment or affect workers conditions". [18]

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18. Walker K.F., op. cit., p.13.

Fourth, workers' political strength and organisation may play an important part in determining the workability of the concept. Where trade unions, for instance, are a strong force in the political system of a country, it is possible for them to exert a strong action on how the industrial organisation are to be owned, organised and managed. A style of management can be imposed such that they are allowed some participation.

Fifth, the cultural traits may determine the workability of workers' participation in management. African managers are faced with a post-colonial situation and hence are still influenced by the inertia of colonial occupation. It is not unrealistic to state that there is still lack of initiative on the part of most African managers because of their tendency to depend on outsiders. Workers' participation may therefore not be initiated since these managers may not think beyond what they have always done.

In general, it is possible to adduce two non-conflicting views in the case of emergent nations. There is a valid argument that the social, economic and political situations in most of these countries are still such that workers' participation may not be workable. The reasons which can be advanced are:

(i) there are wide divisions between workers and management. The socio-cultural environment is such that there may be no common basis for communication where both participants share ideas as to the duties of management and the economic problems facing the enterprise.

(ii) In most cases there is still a large disparity in the power distribution. Because of this, joint decision making on the basis of common objectives may be unrealistic.

(iii)   the likely absence of common social-cultural phenomena, long tradition of accepted code of values in terms of management and productive functions may hamper the effectiveness of a participative system, although it may exist in practice.

(iv)   there are no effective channels of communication.

(v)   there may be no equal feelings of responsibility on the part of management and workers.

The second view is that workers' participation is a workable concept provided that certain crucial conditions are met. In other words the elimination of the above weaknesses and draw-backs can enable workers to effectively participate in the decision making processes of the undertakings. This would mean that the following actions would have to be taken:

(i)   increased government intervention in the life of undertakings such as enacting legislation aimed at introducing and institutionalising workers' participation in management.

(ii)   strong measures taken to reduce the ever increasing unemployment.

(iii)   increasing the power of trade unions, and at the same time making positive efforts to raise the national incomes.

(iv)   raising the standards of education in those countries.

Given that these conditions are fulfilled, that truly the attitudes of management are positive towards joint participation and that workers' potential to participate is harnessed and developed, we can say that workers' participation is a workable concept in developing countries.

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND AREAS OF FURTHER
RESEARCH

5.1   SUMMARY

For more than half a century, the idea of workers'
participation has been controversial in the labour-management
relations, and has been riddled with problems of inter-
pretation and implementation. Basically, the question of
workers' participation has focussed on the question of
management of enterprises, and in particular whether
workers should encroach on the traditional managerial
prerogatives of decision making. Today, there is general
agreement that the operation of this concept entails
three aspects. First, it is through collective bargaining
that workers can influence and participate in managerial
decision making. Second, it is where workers interact
with management on matters of mutual interest. Third,
the workers are allowed to entirely participate directly
in managerial functions. All of them imply that workers
make decisions over and above their job descriptions.

Despite the universality of participation, there
are basic disagreements on the aims, and motivations of
participative practices, which revolve on ideological bases.
The nature of participation depends on the political, economic
and socio-cultural background in each country. Immediately
after the Industrial Revolution, Marxist ideas led to the
emergence of revolutionary movements in Western Europe
and the U.S.A. The main aim of these meovements was to
have industrial democracy and workers control in industrial
undertakings.

In addition, the pattern and development of management thought from 'Taylorism' through Human Relations to Systems Approach clearly show a trend favouring the idea of workers' participation. The main aim behind these schools of thought has been to increase productivity through the motivation of workers in rapidly changing environments.

The interest by underdeveloped countries in workers' participation is already manifested in legislations of various countries such as Algeria, Tanzania and India, which want to see a greater worker involvement in the management of undertakings. Virtually all others have at least passed some legislations in the settlement of disputes in enterprises. This study attempted an analysis of the participative systems in the United Kingdom and Yugoslavia. The two systems differ in the principal aims, nature, scope, extent and form of workers' participation. Whereas in the United Kingdom the dominant form of participation is through collective bargaining complimented by joint consultation, the Yugoslav system is entirely workers' self management. The differences portray the divergence in the prevailing political and economic creeds. It would seem that there is no best way of operating the concept. Each country must decide the method that suits it best in order to improve the labour-management relations.

From the research project carried out in a Kenya Company the following general conclusions emerged:

(i) Collective bargaining is not the only method through which workers can influence managerial decisions.

(ii) Management attitudes were fairly favourable towards the idea of workers sharing in the decision making processes of the company.

(iii) Although workers currently would appear not to have
adequate potential to participate in decision making,
their attitudes towards participation were positive despite
their limited opportunities to participate.

(iv) Under appropriate circumstances, the not too poor
performance of certain aspects of the existing participative
practices can be improved.

(v) The forces which usually encourage the growth of partici-
pative practices are weak. The means of communications
are poor and inadequate. There is no suggestion
scheme in the company. The Works Council is now
defunct. Decision making is concentrated in the top
and upper management of the company. These characteristics
may not be uncommon in other companies in Kenya
and for that matter in most organisations in developing
countries.

5.2 Recommendations

The increasing interest in workers' participation by the
ILO [19] and the enactment of specific laws in order to harness
its operation in undertakings in various countries seem to
herald a trend that may make participation a central issue
in labour-management relations. As we examined earlier,
workers' participation is thought to bring about more
effective utilization of human resources of the enterprise,
reduction of worker alienation, democratisation of undertakings,
and the promotion and protection of workers' interests. In
the developing countries, workers' participation is considered
to be:

19. The International Institute for Labour Studies which
    was set up by the ILO in 1960, organised an International
    Comparative Research Project to facilitate a study
    of the operation of workers' participation in a number
    of countries. Studies have already been carried out
    in France, India, Israel, Japan, Yugoslavia, the U.S.A.,
    the United Kingdom, Poland, Spain and the Federal Republic
    of Germany. See the project outline in IILS Bulletin,
    No.2, February 1967.

" a way of mobilising the population for
the task of development and nation building.
It may be seen as a specific means towards
developing a labour force committed to
an industrial way of life". [20]

It is therefore very essential that if a less developed
country or a company has to introduce, institutionalise and
sustain a participative system beyond collective bargaining,
it should ensure the following:

(i) that the whole idea of workers' participation is
studied by capable people so that a body of
factual knowledge is gathered to act as a foundation
for policy formulation and implementation. In
addition it would be helpful to sponsor officials
from the Ministry of Labour, workers' and managements'
representatives to countries such as Yugoslavia and others
to have guided tours and experience in such a system.

(ii) the development of participation should not be
hurried. As any new idea or change, it should be
allowed sufficient time for imaginative experimentation,
trial and error, to see how it can be controlled
and improved. Over-enthusiasm and hasty introduction
of too many forms of participation can easily
produce negative and undesirable effects.
Kannappan suggests;

" In considering the best means of
encouraging the development of participative
management practices, it seems necessary
to sssume that willingness on the part
of administrators and managers to delegate
or share authority will continue to be

20. Walker, K.F. op. cit., p. 32

limited for a long time to come.
It is equally necessary to assume
a limited willingness on the part
of unions to take responsibility ...." [21]

(iii)   through propaganda and persuasion, the government
        should demonstrate the benefits of sharing authority
        with workers. As we noted before, the attitude of
        management will largely determine the successful
        operation of such practices. Such persuasions can
        help in creating comradely relations and replace the
        already existing disciplinary and hierarchical relations.
        The Government should preferably introduce such
        practices in government departments and parastatal
        bodies. India and the United Kingdom have followed this
        path.

(iv)   the capacity in which workers or their representatives
        are to participate should be clearly specified.
        The failure of the Works Council in Car and General
        was largely attributed to a failure in this direction.
        For instance, if the workers' role is to be purely
        advisory, this should be explained so that they
        do not become too presumptuous in their participation.
        If, on the other hand, they are to participate in a
        decisive capacity, they should be told so. This
        also helps to protect the representatives from their
        constituents' criticisms if they are expected to perform
        within certain limits.

(vi)   that a clear demarcation be made between areas of
        collective bargaining and joint consultation
        or any other form of participation. This helps in

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21.   Kannappan, S. op. cit., p. 186

avoiding rivalry and conflict between the roles of
various participating bodies.

(vi)   that there is legal enforcement of participative
practices as this may be an effective instrument for
securing the change in the industrial relations
system. The ideal situation would be where participative
drives come from actors in an industrial relations
system. Schregle hints on this view;

> " the fact of the matter is that workers'
> participation initiatives, to be
> succesful, must come from all levels
> and all sides, if possible simultaneously.
> The problem is to coordinate these various
> initiatives properly and weld them into
> a coherent whole. [22]

(vii)   that labour colleges be set up at a national level
to help in the training of workers and managers in
order to improve their general educational level. At
such institutions, they would be introduced to
management subjects such as basic business economics
and policy.

(viii) that there are adequate communications procedures
and internal delegation. There should be facilities
for passing on literature and information to workers.
For instance, each company should have notice boards
or reading rooms where publications, house magazines,
circulars, manuals, posters and other publications
can be available to workers. If workers are given
training, they would be able to usefully use the
adequate information given to them by wisely evaluating
it. But it should not be too complicated and technical.
If it is loaded for instance, with massive figures which
workers may not be able to analyse, it will be almost
useless. Visual aids can be of educational value.

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22. Schregle, J. op. cit. p. 14.

(ix) In many under-developed countries there are weak
    unions, and managements are likely to display limited
    interest in introducing participative practices.
    It is imperative that such weaknesses are first given
    attention. If wages are too low, workers may be
    so preoccupied with earning a better wage that they
    would misinterpret any drives by management for worker-
    management cooperation such as joint decision making
    on health, safety or productivity. It should be
    further noted that workers' participation is not
    a panacea for the problems arising out of the labour-
    management relations.

5.3   Further Research

The future successes and failures of man's attempts
to give practical effect to the concept of workers'
participation in management will to a large extent depend
on how far he understands and grapples with the problems
involved. The author proposes some areas of further
investigation which can be of aid in this endeavour.

(i) The various instrumentalities which exist in an
    undertaking such as collective bargaining, Works
    Councils, Committees or suggestion plans should be
    studied at a country level through participative
    observation, investigation and analysis. In a country
    such as Kenya, this may prove very difficult since
    currently, it would seem unimaginable that an outsider
    can sit on a committee of a company ABC when he is
    not employed by the company. But should this be
    possible, it would enable a researcher to gather data
    on the functioning of such mechanisms and point out
    their weaknesses.

(ii) A study of management and leadership patterns in
      various companies should be carried out in relation
      to their sizes (number of employees), the age of
      the companies as measured by the date of incorporation
      and ownership. Are the recently created companies
      for instance in Kenya or the mushrooming multinational
      corporations likely to introduce different management
      styles from the older companies which have existed
      since colonial times? Are parastatal bodies
      more labour-oriented than private companies?
      Answers to such questions would highlight some
      patterns which can provide guidelines and starting
      points for the implementation of participative
      practices.

(iii) Research should establish whether or not there is
      a close correlation between worker involvement
      and increased efficiency as well as harmonious labour-
      management relations. This can be done by isolating
      companies which seem to have limited workers'
      participation from those which have relatively
      greater worker involvement, and comparing them
      by systematic study of variables such as participants'
      attitudes and financial performance - among others.
      This would entail a clear separation of dependent
      and independent variables.

APPENDIX A

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE MOTOR TRADE
AND ALLIED INDUSTRIES EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION AND
THE KENYA MOTOR ENGINEERING AND ALLIED WORKERS'
UNION ON MATTERS GOVERNING RECOGNITION,
NEGOTIATING AND GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE

1. PREAMBLE

The Parties to this Agreement, meeting together
in free and voluntary association, have determined to regulate
the industrial relations, the economic well-being of the
Industry, its workers and Management. In order to achieve
these aims they have agreed to provide:

(a) Machinery for the speedy settlement of
Industrial disputes.

(b) A channel of communications between the
Member Companies and their employees.

(c) Collective bargaining machinery for negotiations
on an Industry basis for those terms and
conditions of service as listed in Appendix
'A' of this Agreement for those employees
listed in Appendix 'B' of this Agreement.

2. PARTIES TO THE AGREEMENT

The Member Companies of the Motor Trade and
Allied Industries Employers' Association listed in Appendix
'C' including any Companies which subsequently join the
Association, and the Kenya Motor Engineering and Allied
Workers' Union.

3. RECOGNITION

The Association accords full recognition to
the Kenya Motor Engineering and Allied Workers' Union
as the sole labour organisation representing those employees
listed in Appendix 'B' of this Agreement for such matters as
are listed in Appendix 'A' of this Agreement provided that
and for so long as the Union continues to be fully representative

of these categories of employees in the Member Companies
concerned.

4.   GUARANTEES

(a)   The parties to this Agreement guarantee that
representatives of both sides shall discharge
their duties in an independent manner without
fear that their individual relations with the
Member Companies or the Union will be affected
in any way by any action taken by them in good
faith while acting as a representative.

(b)   The Association undertakes not to victimise or
intimidate any employee or employees for being
a Member of the Union.

(c)   The Union also undertakes that it shall not
intimidate any employee or employees for not
being a Member or Members of the Union.

(d)   Whilst recognising that the question of Union
Membership is entirely a matter for individual
choice, the Association nevertheless, accepts
that in the interests of maintaining the required
standard of organisation, Union Membership
for such employees as are covered by this
Agreement should be maintained at the highest
level.

(e)   The Association undertakes not to interfere with
the normal affairs of the Union in any manner
whatsover.

(f)   The Union undertakes that employees who are
Union representatives will carry out the duties
delegated to them by Management during working
hours and such representatives will not leave
their place of work for any purpose in connection
with their duties as Union representatives without
first obtaining the permission of Management,
which permission shall not be unreasonably withheld.

(g)   In the event of a strike or other action
       leading to a stoppage of work, security and
       sanitary staff will continue to perform their
       normal duties, in the interests of both parties
       to this Agreement, and the Union agrees
       that it will use its influence to achieve
       this end. If such employees, being unionisable
       are required by the employer to undertake
       duties other than their normal functions,
       the Union reserves the right to withdraw their
       service.

(h)   The Union agrees that normally no strike shall
       be called of employees of Member Companies
       of the Association on   any matter arising
       from a dispute with a non-member Company of the
       Association. It is accepted, however, that
       the Union may, after giving the Association
       seven days written notice, call out on strike
       employees of Association Members provided that
       all existing machinery for the settlement of
       such a dispute has been fully exhausted. Prior
       to and during the period of strike the Association
       will use its best endeavours to assist in the
       settlement of such a dispute.

(i)   The Association undertakes to advise the Union
       of the names of their Officials and Representatives
       of the Joint Industrial Council and the Union
       also undertakes to advise the Association of the
       names of their Officials and Representatives.

(j)   To ensure the widest representation of the Union
       Members on negotiating bodies and adequate
       provisions whereby claims, grievances, or disputes
       can be speedily and effectively dealt with, the
       Union undertakes to elect annually, amongst its
       members, representatives from each employer company

and also to hold elections for Shop Stewards.
Such representatives shall be elegible to
serve on the negotiating bodies set out in
Clauses 5A, B, and C.

(k)   The Association undertakes to afford such
facilities as are mutually agreed as being
necessary for such Officials and Representatives
of the Union to carry out their duties as
Representatives of their Members at their
place of work.

(1)   Nothing in this Agreement should deprive any employee
of his right to approach Management on any personal
claim or grievance which he may have.

(m)   All agreements jointly reached between the Association
or its Members, and the Union, or its Representatives,
through the medium of negotiating machinery or
otherwise shall be committed in writing and signed
by representatives of both parties.

(n)   The Association and the Union undertake to ensure
that their Members, fully comply with the terms
of this Agreement and the grievance and negotiating
procedure set out herein and to take all possible
steps to bring to an end as speedily as possible
any action taken by their Members at variance with
the terms of this Agreement or any other negotiated
collective agreement.

NEGOTIATING MACHINERY AND PROCEDURE

(A) (i)   A Local Negotiating Committee shall be formed
within each Member Company of the Association
at its principle place of business and in all
branches of the Company where applicable.

(ii)   The Local Negotiating Committee shall consist of
not more than three Representatives nominated by
the Company and not more than three employees'
Representatives elected in accordance with Clause
4(j) above. All members of the Local Negotiating
Committee shall be in the employment of the
Company concerned. A quorum shall be not less than
two Representatives from each party.

(iii)   The Local Negotiating Committee shall meet as
and when necessary to consider claims or
grievances affecting only the employees of the
Company concerned at the particular site or
locality. The Committee shall regulate its
own procedure and elect its own Chairman and
Secretary.

(iv)   Provided that any such claims or grievances shall
be raised in the first instance by a Union
Representative with the immediate supervisor
of the particular department or place of work
within two days of the occurrence giving rise
to the claim or grievance.

(v)   In the event of failure to reach settlement of
the matter at the Local Negotiating Committee
it shall be referred to the District Negotiating
Committee by the Chairman of the Local Negotiating
Committee within two days of such failure.

(B)   District Negotiating Committee

(i)   A District Negotiating Committee shall be formed,
where practicable, within each district or
town where Members of the Association operate
and shall consist of not more than five Union
Representatives.

(ii)   The District Negotiating Committee shall meet as
and when necessary to consider claims or grievances
on matters of general interest affecting Members of

the Association, or particular town, or district,
concerned. The committee shall regulate its
own procedure and elect its own Chairman and
Secretary.

(iii)   Matters referred to the District Negotiating
Committee for consideration, other than those
of individual members, shall be so referred by the
Chairman or the Secretary of the Local
Negotiating Committee. On receipt of a report,
the Chairman of the District Negotiating
Committee shall convene a meeting of the
Committee within three days of the receipt
of the report.

(iv)   Matters referred to the District Negotiating
Committee for consideration by individual members
of the District Negotiating Committee shall
be committed in writing by the Member taking
such a report and shall give full particulars
of the claim or grievance to the Chairman
of the District Committee. On receiving this
report the Chairman of the District Negotiating
Committee shall convene a meeting of the
Committee within three days of the receipt
of the report.

(v)   The District Negotiating Committee shall have no
power to vary any agreement reached in Joint
Industrial Council, but may make recommendations
to the Joint Industrial Council on all matters
detailed in Appendix 'A' of this Agreement.

(vi)   The quorum of a meeting of the District Negotiating
Committee shall not be less than three from each
party.

(vii)   In the event of failure to reach a settlement
of the matter at this level within five days
it shall be referred to the Joint Industrial
Council, by the Chairman or Secretary of the

of the District Negotiating Committee, or in
case of one particular company affected the matter
may first be referred to the Director of the
Company by both the General Secretary of the
Union and the Executive Officer of the Association
as shall be directed by the Joint Industrial
Council.

(viii) The District Negotiating Committee shall regulate
its own procedure and elect its own Chairman
and Secretary, or Secretaries.

(C) <u>Joint Industrial Council</u>

(i) The function of the Joint Industrial Council shall
be to negotiate on all matters detailed in
Appendix 'A' of this Agreement and all matters
referred to it by the District Negotiating
Committee.

(ii) The Joint Industrial Council shall consist of
not more than five members nominated by the
Association and more than five members nominated
by the Union. A quorum shall be not less than
three representatives from each party.

(iii) The Joint Industrial Council shall meet as and
when necessary. It shall regulate its own
procedure and shall elect its own Chairman and
appoint its own Secretary or Secretaries. It
may also co-opt, where necessary, members of
the Local or District Negotiating Committee or
expert witnesses. It may also set up a sub-committee
or committees to try and settle any problem that
may arise at the Joint Industrial Council.

(iv)   The expenses of the Joint Industrial Council
        (if any) shall be met by the Association and
        the Union in equal shares unless otherwise
        agreed.

(v)   A meeting of the Joint Industrial Council shall
        be convened within five days of a request for
        a meeting from either the Union or the
        Association, or within five days of the receipt
        of a report from the District Negotiating
        Committee. Such request or report shall state
        the matter or matters to be discussed and will
        be placed on the Agenda providing such matters
        are properly the concern of the Joint Industrial
        Council.

(vi)   Matters referred to the Joint Industrial Council
        by the District Negotiating Committee may be
        referred back to the Committee in writing if
        in the opinion of the Council such matters have
        not been properly or thoroughly dealt with by
        the District Negotiating Committee.

(viii) No lockout, strike or other action to hinder the
        operation of the business of any Member of the
        Association shall take place on a matter referred
        to the Chief Labour Office or to the F.K.E./K.F.L.
        nor whilst being dealt with in accordance with the
        laws of Kenya or by a Joint Dispute Commission within
        the specified period. Thereafter, if a lockout,
        strike or other industrial action is contemplated,
        seven days written notice of the intended action
        shall be given to the other party.

(D)   Joint Consultative Machinery

        (i)   The Association and the Union mutually recognise the
                desirability of a Works Council in every Member
                Company of the Association consisting of Representatives
                from both management and employees of such a company.

(ii)   The functions of those Councils shall be that
          of a Consultative body only on any matters not
          included in Appendix 'A' to this Agreement
          and which are in normal practice not regarded
          as subjects for negotiation between the
          Association and the Union.

(iii)   It is hereby agreed that the subjects set out in
          Appendix 'D' to this Agreement are not to be
          regarded as subjects for negotiation between
          the Association and the Union.

(E)   Duration of Agreement

(i)   In the event of either party to this Agreement
          wishing to vary the provisions of the Agreement
          or the Appendices hereto, twenty-one days'
          written notice of such intention shall be given
          to either party. Any such variance shall not,
          however, become operative unless it has been
          approved by both parties in Joint Industrial
          Council.

(ii)   This Agreement may be terminated by either party
          on giving to the other three weeks' notice in
          writing of its intention to terminate.

(iii)   While this Agreement remains in force, the
          observance of its conditions constitutes the
          only justification for the continued recognition
          of the Union by the Association.

Signed: (W.M.P. HEATH-SAUNDERS)

             on behalf of the Motor Trade
             and Allied Industries Employers'
             Association.

                          Signed: (B.E. WASIDIA)
                                   on behalf of the Kenya Motor
                                   Engineering and Allied
                                   Workers' Union.

DATED   this   Sixteenth   Day   of   October,   1963.

APPENDIX C

MANAGEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

> Department of Business
> Administration,
> Faculty of Commerce,
> University of Nairobi,
> P. O. BOX 30197,
> NAIROBI.
>
> 27th July, 1976.

Dear Sir/Madam,

The Department of Business Administration, University of Nairobi is conducting a research project regarding human relations in management in your company. The questionnaire on the following pages was prepared in such a way that it will be possible for you to give quickly the answers which seem to you most appropriate. The only thing you have to do is to read the questionnaire carefully and to mark those answers which appear to you most appropriate.

The first part of the questionnaire merely requires you to give personal information which will be important for our study. The second part will only want you to give your personal opinion in connection with the questions which will also be of help to our study. Every member of management is asked to fill this questionnaire.

Before answering a question, kindly read it carefully and first consider all the answers which are provided. Then tick those answers which are nearest to your opinion. Please do not put down your name. We want to treat your answers in confidence. When you complete the questionnaire, please put it in the envelope provided, seal it and give it to the Secretary of the Personnel Manager who will hand this envelope to a person from the University of Nairobi. Thank you.

Example:

Question: Do most of the employees in your company belong
            to a trade union?
            Yes ---------------------------------
            No ---------------------------------

SECTION A

Question 1:   Are you male or female?

              Male   -------------------------------

              Female -------------------------------

Question 2:   In what period were you born?

              1910-1919 -----------------

              1920-1929 -----------------

              1930-1939 -----------------

              1940-1949 -----------------

              1950-1959 -----------------

              Later than 1960 ------------

Question 3:   What is your rank in the organisation?

Question 4:   What is the highest level of Education you reached?

              University ------------------------------------

              Secondary Form VI ------------------------

              Secondary Form IV ------------------------

              Primary Seven or Eight --------------------

              Primary Four ------------------------------

              None --

Question 5:   Are you married or single?

              Single --------------------------

              Married ----------------------

SECTION B

Question 6: Have you ever attended a company's Committee meeting or any other meeting where there are both members of management and workers?

Yes ------------------------

No ------------------------

If answer to question 6 is (NO), go to question 10

Question 7: Who usually chairs the meetings?

A member of management ---------------------

A representative of workers ------------------

Alternating chairman from workers and from

management -------------------------------

Question 8: How interesting are such meetings?

Interesting all the time -------------------

Interesting most of the time but with dull

periods --------------------------------

Interesting and dull equally ---------------

Dull most of the time ----------------------

Don't know ---------------------------------

Can you give reasons for your answers?

Question 9: Do workers who take part in such meetings put forward reasonable ideas?

Very reasonable ----------------------------

Fairly reasonable --------------------------

Poor ideas ---------------------------------

Very Poor ideas ----------------------------

Don't know ---------------------------------

Question 10:   What do you understand by the words "Workers'
               Participation in Management"?

Workers representatives participate in management decisions ----------

Workers' representatives sit as real members of management,

but continue to do their regular work -------------------------

Instead of the management, the entire workforce makes

all decisions affecting the company --------------------------

I have never heard of the words "Workers' Participation in

Management" -------------------------------

Any other answer ---

Question 11:   In your opinion, would the idea of workers
               sharing in the making of company decisions be
               a good thing or a bad thing?

               It would be a good thing --------------------

               It would be a bad thing ----------------------

               Don't know ---

Question 12:   Would you like workers to always have access to

               information about the company?

               All information ----------------------------

               Much information but not all -----------------

               Some information ---------------------------

               Little information -------------------------

               None ---------------------------------------

Question 13: At what level are decisions formally made in
your company?

Top Management ----------------------------------

Upper and middle ------------------------------

To a limited extent throughout ---------------

To a large extent throughout -----------------

Question 14: In general how free do workers feel to talk to
you about their jobs - say if you were passing
workers on their duties, or if you found them
drinking coffee in the canteen?

Fully free ----------------------------------

Rather free ----------------------------------

Not very free --------------------------------

Not at all free ------------------------------

Dont' know -----------------------------------

Question 15: Does the company organise any social or sporting
activities? If so, how are they controlled?

Controlled by management -------------------

Controlled by employees --------------------

Controlled jointly by management and employees --------

Question 16:

    (a) Is it desirable, do you think, that employees should
have a voice in the conduct of the above activies?

Yes --

No ---

    (b) If answer to 16a is (Yes), should that voice be:

Decisive -------------------------------------

Advisory -------------------------------------

Question 17: If workers' representatives made decisions with
management there would be certain changes.

These changes would occur because:-

- there would be more priveleges for workers --------

- workers would feel they own the business
  and there would be no difference between
  employers and employees ------------------

- workers cannot be good managers -----------

- Don't know -------------------------------

Question 18: If workers were to share management decisions
with management, what do you think would be the
effect on you personally?

- My position would not change at all --------

- My salary would be lowered ------------------

- The profits of the company would decline ------

- It would be difficult to issue orders ----------

- There would be fewer managers ------------------

- My authority and power would be lowered ---------

Question 19: What do you think could be the attitude of
workers towards taking part in making decisions
affecting the firm?

Workers could refuse to take part ----------------

Workers could be indifferent --------------------

Workers could be in favour ------------------------

Don't know ---------------------------------------

Question 20: In general, do you think trade unions in business
promote the good running of these businesses?

- Unions are helpful ----------------------

- Unions are both good and bad -----------

- Unions only cause problems -------------

- Don't know ---------------------------

Question 21:   Have most workers reached a level of maturity
and independence in their work or they still
need much close supervision?

A great deal of supervision ---------------------

A fair amount of supervision -----------------

Not very much supervision ----------------------

Don't know --------------------------------------

APPENDIX   D

WORKERS' QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION A

Question 1: Are you male or female?

    Male   ------------------

    Female   --------------

Question 2: In what period were you born?

    1910-1919   ---------------

    1920-1929   ---------------

    1930-1939   ----------------

    1940-1949   ---------------

    1950-1959   -----------------

    Later than 1960   ------------

Question 3: How long have you worked for the company?

Question 4: What is the highest level of education you reached?

    None   ------------------------------

    Primary Four   ----------------------

    Primary Seven or Eight   --------------

    Secondary Form IV   -----------------

    Secondary Form VI   -----------------

    University   ------------------------

Question 5: Are you married or single?

Married --------------

Single --------------

Question 6: What is your rank in the organisation?

SECTION B

Question 7: Where does your biggest interest lie?

Most interest in work of company ------------

Most interest in home and family --------------

Do not know ------------------------------------

Question 8: Would you say that you are doing work which is

generally satisfying or not?

Generally satisfying -------------------------

Generally not satisfying -----------------------

Question 9: Do you think you could manage more difficult

jobs for instance if you are promoted to the rank

of supervisor?

Could manage more difficult tasks ----------------

Could not manage ---------------------------

Don't know ----------------------------------

Question 10: Do you feel that you should be sent for further

training?

Yes -------------------------------

No -------------------------------

Give reasons for your answer

Question 11: Can you think of specific things which management

decides which in fact you think workers should

decide and not management?

Question 12: How much variety is there in your work? Or can

you try out new ideas in your work on your own?

The same work all the time --------------------

Can try out new ideas on my own -----------------

Don't know -------------------------------------

Question 13: Would you like the company to introduce a

system whereby you can write to management and

make suggestions on how the company should be run

better?

Yes --------------------------------------

No ---------------------------------------

Question 14: Would you ever like to have a private meeting

between yourself and a senior company executive

to discuss matters affecting the company?

Yes -----------------------------------

No ------------------------------------

Question 15: Which of the following do you consider to be the

most important?

Enough wages ---------------------

Working with friendly people -----------------

Not losing my job ---------------------------

Taking part in making decisions of the company --------

To be respected in the company ------------------------

Question 16:

  (a) Are you a member of a Union?

       Yes ------------------------

       No ------------------------

  (b) If answer is (NO) go to question (16c)

       If answer is (YES) are you an official, say

       a shop steward or a member only?

       Official ---------------------

       A member only ----------------

  (c) Is there any reason(s) you would like to mention

       why you have not joined?

       --------------------------- ------------------

Question 17: (If respondent is a shop steward) What was
       the major reason for becoming a union
       representative?

       To gain status in the company --------------------

       To get promotion -------------------------------------

       To play a role in improving conditions of workers
       in the company -----------------------------------

       Don't know --------------------------------------

Question 18: (If respondent is only a member of a union)

       Have you ever thought of being a union official?

       Yes ------------------------------------

       No -------------------------------------

       Can you give reasons for your answer?

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