UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

WORKER PARTICIPATION WITHIN THE HUMAN SERVICE CONTEXT

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ABSTRACT

This study analyses participation of workers within two human service organisations, within the education field in the Western Cape. It also examines the reasons, degrees and levels of participation as well as the impact it has on individual workers and the organisations as a whole.

The case study method was used with the major research techniques being observation, unstructured interviews and the analysis of primary sources of information such as, documentation. A stratified random sample of sixteen workers were selected for interviewing.

The data was analysed on the basis of the literature review and placed within the context of relevant theoretical perspectives of democracy, bureaucracy and management science.

It was found that both organisations made use of participatory methods in organising themselves. However, the reasons, degree and conditions facilitating it differed considerably, despite the fact that the levels of participation were similar.

The study concludes, with a reflection on the processes required to achieve greater participation within the organisations studied and human service organisations in general.
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### TABLE OF CONTENTS

- ABSTRACT (I)
- ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS (II)
- TABLE OF CONTENTS (III)
- LIST OF FIGURES (VI)
- LIST OF TABLES (VI)

### SECTION ONE

#### CHAPTER 1: PURPOSE AND OVERVIEW

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PURPOSE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Background and motivation</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Definition of terms</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The main aims of the study</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Assumptions on which the study is based</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Guiding questions</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Methodology</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Study outline</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Limitations of the study</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>TOPIC</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Theories of democracy</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bureaucracy</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The debate on Participation</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Summary and Conclusions</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III
## SECTION TWO

### CHAPTER 3: ORGANISATIONAL PROFILES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Careers Research and Information Centre</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Grassroots Educare trust and Grassroots adult education and training trust</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS OF THE PARTICIPATORY PROCESSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>The implications of the mission and values of the organisation on worker participation</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The impact of the external contexts on the organisation</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The organisation structure and the influence on Participation</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Participation Forums</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The effect of the work context on the personal lives of workers</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>The work context and the implications for job satisfaction</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Concluding Remarks</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CHAPTER 5: TOWARDS A MORE PARTICIPATORY WORK ENVIRONMENT WITHIN SERVICE ORGANISATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>CRIC and Grassroots: Conclusions and Recommendations</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Participation within human service organisations</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV
# APPENDIXES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix 1</th>
<th>CRIC constitution</th>
<th>90</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 2</td>
<td>Key concepts: Principles of CRIC's work</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 3</td>
<td>Grassroots constitution</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 4</td>
<td>Grassroots statement of commitment</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 5</td>
<td>Extract from the constitution of Grassroots Educare Trust</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 6</td>
<td>Extract from Grassroots Adult Education and Training Trust Deed</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 7</td>
<td>Guidelines for interviews</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1  Matrix Organizational Structure  19
Figure 2  The system of co-determination  28
Figure 3  Overview of the defining dimensions of participation  33
Figure 4  CRIC organisation chart  37
Figure 5  Grassroots organisation chart  42

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1  Grassroots Ranking  71
Table 2  CRIC Ranking  71
SECTION ONE

CHAPTER 1

PURPOSE AND OVERVIEW

1. BACKGROUND AND MOTIVATION

This study is undertaken at a critical time in the history of South Africa. It is a period characterised by change on many levels. On the political level negotiations are in progress to extend democracy. Many reasons could be advanced for why change is needed. One important reason, is the political resistance of the oppressed. This resistance was not always spontaneous but it was organised. A common perspective held was that organisations of the oppressed should become "schools of democracy". Participatory methods were used to achieve their objectives. The study undertaken by Walters (1986) on education for democratic participation is a good example of the kind of issues organisations were dealing with at the time. In this manner organisations looked at their internal processes to ensure that they were participatory.

Community participation in resistance was also stressed. While "democracy" and "participation" have become key words, there were also differences about the meaning of these
concepts. These differences were primarily based on how the South African situation was analysed and the vision of what the new society should look like.

Human Service Workers who lived or worked in radicalised communities were directly challenged. As a result, the struggle for democracy was also taken into their work situation. Some, managers who were not directly exposed to such communities felt threatened. Others allowed their organisations to introduce participatory methods. At times such experiments led to disorganisation which resulted in a retreat to centralised control. Others reported that through democratisation they were able to strengthen their organisations.

Thus demands for participation was extended beyond the political level to include the work environment. The influence of the trade union movement in this country must be acknowledged. Trade union organisations directly challenged employers in order to increase the influence of workers on issues directly affecting them. The gains made in unionised settings, were not necessarily implemented in other non-unionised situations. Despite this, workers in general became more aware of their rights. These developments form the basis for this study.
2. DEFINITION OF TERMS

2.1 Participation

The concept "participation" is used interchangeably with "democratisation". "Participation", as it is used in this study is understood in a broader sense. It refers to the extent in which workers are involved in decision-making, information sharing, formulating policies and procedures, providing direction and executing tasks irrespective of rank. "Democratisation" denotes a process which organisations have deliberately chosen for achieving higher levels of participation. These terms are explored in greater detail in chapter two.

2.2 Human Service Organisations

A wide range of organisations could be characterised as human service organisations. Many state organisations such as hospitals, schools or other non-governmental organisations are grouped as such. The basic criteria is whether an organisation is profit-seeking or not. In this sense it generally refers to non-profit organisations. The subject of this study is two non-profit organisations, not receiving state funding.

3. THE MAIN AIMS OF THE STUDY

The Study has five aims:

3.1 to explore theoretical issues which are relevant to the debate on the participation of workers in organisations;
3.2 to investigate the extent to which certain human service organisations have introduced participatory methods;

3.3 to determine the structures which have been created for participation;

3.4 to provide insight into its impact on individual workers and the organisation as a whole;

3.5 to analyse factors which have contributed to a culture of participation.

The study is exploratory in nature in order to describe and analyse participatory processes in the light of theoretical perspectives. The two cases were selected on the basis of a number of criteria. Firstly, they are both non-profit seeking organisations. Secondly, they do not receive direct state funding. Thirdly, both function within the broad field of education.

4. ASSUMPTIONS ON WHICH THE STUDY IS BASED

At this stage, it is important to make explicit a number of assumptions on which this study is based. This will assist in clarifying the position from which the researcher is arguing.

As alluded to earlier, it is assumed that service organisations are directly challenged by the context in
which they operate. In order to remain relevant, their perspectives are often adapted to the changing circumstances.

In the selection of the cases it was assumed that there was a degree of participation in these organisations. Furthermore, it was accepted that organisations which were not dependent on state funding operated with less outside constraints and could therefore be more flexible in their approach.

Finally, participation at work is seen as desirable for democracy to have a real meaning in the lives of people since most people spend the greater part of their lives at work.

5. GUIDING QUESTIONS

The following guiding questions were formulated to provide direction to the study:

5.1 What is the mission of the organisations, the values which they subscribe to and the influence it has on participation?

5.2 What impact does the external context, in which the organisations operate, have on their internal organisational processes?

5.3 What structures have been created for participation to be facilitated and how has it evolved?
5.4 How are the organisations and individual workers affected by participation?

5.5 What are the conditions which facilitate or retard participation?

6. METHODOLOGY

The study is essentially a qualitative study and for this reason a case study method is used. It is seen as most appropriate for the type of study, primarily because it is a method which enables an investigator to maintain a holistic perspective.

It is also argued that the case study is the preferred method when the study is of an exploratory nature, when "how" and "why" questions are addressed within a contemporary real-life situation and when the investigator has little or no control over events (Yin, 1984:14).

In order to increase the external validity of the findings, two case studies were selected, based on the nature of the services rendered, the communities which are served by the organisation and their sources of funding. In selecting the particular cases, it was accepted that a degree of participation was present.

Multiple sources of information were used. These included the perusal of relevant documentation, interviews, and direct observation.
among key staff members. At the end of each interview, a checklist, developed by Rothschild-Whitt and Whitt (1986) was used. Interviewees were asked to respond to a list of fifteen variables by stating whether they were least or most satisfied.

7. STUDY OUTLINE

The study is divided into two main sections. In section one, chapter two, literature relevant to the discussion on worker participation within organisations is reviewed. The historical roots of the debate is located within theories of democracy. The nature of bureaucratic organisation and the challenges to participation are briefly looked at. Management theories and approaches to participation are explored before democracy at work is discussed.

Section two, chapter three is a brief profile of the two cases being studied. To place the analysis in context, the history, mission, structure and services are described. In chapter four both organisations are analysed in terms of a number of variables which are relevant to the discussion on participation at work. The study is concluded with chapter five which attempts to summarise the findings and to look at ways in which greater participation could be achieved within the organisations.

8. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study is limited to the description and analysis of
participation within two specific kinds of organisations. As pointed out earlier, cases were selected on the basis of the nature of the service, sources of funding and the nature of the organisations. The purpose is not to establish causal relationships between variables.

The study is restricted to the description of participation and analysis of perceptions of workers within these organisations. It does not focus on the perceptions of either members of the management Boards or the users.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

1. INTRODUCTION
As a starting point, some theoretical perspectives relevant to the debate on participatory democracy in general and workers' participation in particular, will be explored.

2. THEORIES OF DEMOCRACY
The demand for more participation at work is often linked to what is perceived as a struggle for democracy in the political sense. What democracy actually is, has been a source of confusion for many. Even a cursory glance at the literature on the subject indicates that there are many interpretations. Thus, it is better to refer to theories of democracy. Most authors refer to two main approaches. Held, (1986:7) distinguishes between direct and indirect democracy. Direct democracy is a form of direct involvement of people, called participatory democracy. Indirect democracy in turn is a system whereby those elected undertake to advance the views of those whom they represent. It is also referred to as representative, elitist or liberal democracy.

It is perhaps the work of Pateman (1970) which is the most useful in clarifying the different conceptions. She groups democratic theories into classical and contemporary
approaches. For our purpose it would be useful to briefly consider these two approaches and the theorists associated with them.

2.1 Contemporary democratic theories

The contemporary approach can be seen as descriptive. In other words, it describes political attitudes and behaviour on the basis of empirical investigation (Pateman, 1970:13) and consists of classifications, analysis and generalisations from actual political practice (Duncan, 1983:8).

For Pateman a characteristic element of the method is for leaders to compete for votes periodically, primarily through elections (1970:13). Contemporary theorists criticise classical approaches because they see the central participatory role expected from the people as being unrealistic (Pateman, 1970:3). The work of Joseph Schumpeter provides the basis for the work of other contemporary theorists. Some of the main authors are Dahl, Satori, Berelson and Eckstein.

2.2 Classical democratic theories

The classical approach is a philosophical one. Participatory democracy is derived from classical conceptions. Pateman identifies Rousseau, Mill and Cole as the three main philosophers within this school. Participation is viewed by them as an essential aspect of democracy. The main function
of such participation is educational. Rousseau sees an interrelationship between the authority structures of institutions and the psychological qualities and attitudes of individuals (Pateman, 1970:27).

For Mill, on a local level the real educative effect of participation occurs (Pateman, 1970:31). The thought that people should participate in order to learn about democracy on a local level is an argument which can be used to promote participation on many other levels of society.

It is through the work of Cole that the argument for participation at work is advanced. He sees industry as the place which would lead to a true democratic order (Pateman, 1970:35). This argument is especially relevant to our discussion.

For classical theorists it is clear that it is not enough to talk about representation on a political level. Through their ideas we are presented with a challenge to look beyond such a limited view. A lot has been said about instability created through participation. Within the classical approach, however, participation is seen as self-sustaining in that decisions are more readily accepted as a result of the manner in which it had been arrived at.
2.3 Marxism and democracy

Another perspective which should be considered in this debate is that which is articulated by some of the Marxist writers. According to the classical Marxist view, full democracy can only be achieved with the "dictatorship of the proletariat" which would be based on economic equality (Szell, 1988:25). The liberal state is seen as the "dictatorship of the bourgeoisie". This is an argument put forward by Lenin who asserts that "because of its democratic representative character, it signifies the formal recognition of equality of citizens" (Lenin in Duncan, 1983:88). It is from this point of view, that people do not exercise real power.

Antonio Gramsci is considered to be one of the main Marxist democratic theorists. The basis of his thought is that democracy is only possible through producer democracy or worker control (Szell, 1988:36-7). However, he departs from the classical Marxist view that economic transformation is an essential precondition for building a socialist society (Salamini, 1981:1). Of particular interest is his concept of "civil society". For him,

...a democratic change needs a hegemonic system, or a hegemonic apparatus. So the revolution is never just politically and state oriented, but also socially and culturally (Szell, 1988:37).

In terms of this argument, the struggle for socialist transformation can be waged from many different fronts and the route is not necessarily through revolution. In this sense Gramsci is regarded as the person who laid the
theoretical foundation for Western transition to socialism (Salamini, 1981:1). This perspective also emphasises the view that the struggle for socialist ideas should be waged on levels other than the economic terrain.

Marxist perspectives can, therefore, be clearly located within the classical school. Control by the working class is central to the criteria for socialist democracy. While the discussion on Marxism and democracy has been brief, its purpose is essentially to highlight the key role of workers in the transformation of society from this perspective.

3. BUREAUCRACY

In relation to the working environment, it can be said that democracy is directly challenged by bureaucracy. Many perceive it as being the opposite of democracy. Participation then, becomes one of the ways in which the lack of accountability of bureaucracies is countered. The study of bureaucracy can be divided into two approaches, namely the prescriptive and descriptive. The former is dependent on the perspective of the subject while the latter explores the meaning that has been given to the term (Beetham, 1987:1). The study of bureaucracy is done from the perspectives of academic disciplines such as comparative government, public administration, political economy and the sociology of organisation.
3.1 Approaches to the study of bureaucracy

Within the discipline of comparative government, it refers literally to the "rule by the bureau". One of its characteristics was that ministerial positions were occupied by career officials who were usually answerable to a monarch (Beetham, 1987:3).

From another perspective, public administration can be viewed as bureaucracy. In this sense it is viewed as the opposite of private organisation (Beetham, 1987:4).

Political economy as a discipline approaches organisation according to its source of income. Bureaucracy is seen as a non-market organisation with a parent organisation such as the state. The source of income, according to this approach has a direct effect on the way in which the organisations function. Bureaucracies are looked at as being less efficient than hierarchies which operate on the basis of market forces (Beetham, 1987:6).

The sociology of organisation differentiates between formal organisations and other kinds of social groupings. Within a formal organisation there are procedures by which people are mobilised and coordinated to achieve joint objectives (Blau, 1974:9). It is the administrative aspects of such
organisations which is referred to as bureaucracy. Blau, (1971:4) defines bureaucracy as: "A type of organisation designed to accomplish large scale administrative tasks by systematically coordinating the work of many individuals."

It becomes clear that many organisations have characteristics as contained in the above definition. As such, bureaucratic measures are adopted by most, especially larger organisations to achieve their objectives.

The work of Max Weber is regarded as the starting point of the sociological approach to bureaucracy. The main characteristics of bureaucracy as identified by him was: "...[the] division of labour, hierarchy, a system of abstract rules, impersonality, technical qualifications, capable of achieving the highest degree of efficiency." (Blau, 1971:22).

While the characteristics which Weber identified, represents an "ideal type" it is essentially the question of organisational efficiency which has been questioned. Bureaucracy can also hamper efficiency and produce other dysfunctional effects (Beetham, 1987:15).

3.2 **Bureaucracy and democracy**

It is clear that many of the values associated with democracy such as equality, participation and individuality are in contradiction to the above characteristics.
Given the arguments presented thus far, how should one respond to bureaucracy? On the one hand we have the perspective as argued by Weber that it is here to stay. On the other hand socialist writers argue that, as a manifestation of liberal democracy, it would disappear with the demise of capitalism. (We have of course witnessed greater bureaucratisation in most socialist societies.) The assumption subscribed to in this study is an acknowledgement of the Weberian position. The question raised, however, is how to curtail the negative effects of bureaucracy?

Participation of subjects, or workers, in terms of our discussion, is viewed as one of the effective ways in which some of the negative consequences of bureaucracy could be countered.

Within organisational theory some very useful arguments can also be found. Organisations which face rapid and persistent change in their markets or technology require a different structure from those whose environments are stable and operations routine. In situations such as these an "organic" structure is more appropriate as opposed to a "mechanistic" one. Within an organic structure more scope is provided for individual initiative (Burns and Stalker in Beetham, 1987:20). This has also been referred to as a contingency approach, where the design of the organisational structure is dependent on the situation (Gibson et al, 1985:493).
It is within a matrix organisation where attempts are made to maximise participation (figure 1). The matrix structure is described by Walden, (1981:3) as:

... a multiple command system in contrast to the unitary command system of bureaucracy. It is characterised structurally by two axes: a vertical axis, containing discipline or functional units, and a horizontal axis, containing project units. Co-ordination across units, shared authority and participative management are key features. Other characteristics include, open-endedness, transient staff assignments and constant flux.

It should be clear that a concern for participatory democracy must contend with the effects of bureaucracy within organisations. It has been found that even within co-operatives which operate on egalitarian principles, there is a greater tendency towards bureaucratisation in situations where outside finances are used or when the co-operative begins to employ staff (Newman in Briton and Cohen (eds.), 1980). While bureaucratisation may not be inevitable, its alienating effects can be minimised.

4. THE DEBATE ON PARTICIPATION

Generally in this country, strong support for participation exists. To a large extent, participation is promoted as a result of the strength of the trade union movement as well as the broader political struggle for democracy. It follows then, that arguments for participation are advanced from a number of positions. Three main arguments have been identified to justify participation of workers within undertakings. Ethical justifications are most often based on human rights considerations. In terms of the
FIGURE 1. MATRIX ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE
socio-political approach, the link is made between participation and democracy thereby translating democratic principles into the economic field. The economic objective of participation is based on promoting efficiency, reducing conflict and enhancing job satisfaction (ILO, 1989:11-17).

While it is possible to distinguish between the different objectives, the rationale of the study is rather an integration of these approaches. Such an approach is appropriate given the South African context within which the debate is undertaken. In terms of the socio-political changes in this country, management should be aware that demands for participation would predominantly be advanced through ethical and socio-political arguments. Creative and sensitive managers would find support and direction in the literature on participative management but must also be aware of other arguments and their critique of participative strategies initiated by management. For the human service sector, particularly where there is a weak tradition of trade union organisation, the debate becomes even more important.

As is the case with the different interpretations of the meaning of democracy, the same confusion is evident in the literature on participation. Different meanings are attached to the concept. As early as 1967, the International Labour
Organisation (ILO) found that it was impossible to arrive at one definition. This is because the concept was interpreted "...by different people in different countries at different times." The same meeting decided that to talk about "...participation of workers in decisions within undertakings" was different and broader than the concept "workers participation" (ILO as in Szell:1988:vi).

Szell, (1988) provides further clarity by distinguishing between self-management, workers' control and participation. Such a distinction gave rise to a debate on what is the higher form of democracy. It is widely accepted that self-management is a higher form.

Poole, (1975:48) argued that in order to identify the different participation programmes, we need to look at who the initiators are. This would help to identify their values. On this basis he refers to direct or indirect participation initiated by management and direct and indirect participation and control initiated by workers.

For Bernstein (1976:4) it is better to talk about a democratisation process because it helps us to be aware that we are unlikely to find a final state of workplace democracy.

The approach by Szell is a practical one. His approach takes into account the factors highlighted by the latter
perspectives. Self-management and workers' control will be dealt with briefly before participation is discussed in greater detail.

4.1 Self-management

Self-management has been initiated in some socialist countries, particularly Yugoslavia where it came into operation in 1952 (Prasnikar and Prasnikar, 1986:168-176). It is described as the management of nationalised undertakings democratically, although it could also refer to the form of organisation in other areas of social life.

Direct management is vested in a management structure which is controlled by a workers' council. Provision is also made for decisions to be co-ordinated with the decisions made by associated industries. While it is viewed by its proponents as the most democratic and best way of managing the undertaking, others are critical. Himmelstrand and Horvat, (1987:353), for example, questions the efficiency of self-management especially in relation to its ability to create new employment or investment. The question also raised is whether it can be successfully applied under conditions other than that which is prevalent in socialist Yugoslavia.

4.2 Workers' control

Workers' control is a concept which is predominantly applied within the trade union movement. It can also be regarded as
the most dominant form of direct participation initiated by workers. On the one hand it could refer to the total control over production, in which case it implies a socialist transition of the economy. On the other hand, it could also refer to the attempts by workers, within capitalist society, to achieve greater control over all aspects of decision-making in relation to management. Various methods are employed to achieve such control but the ultimate weapon used is the strike. Within the capitalist environment workers' control is also seen as a transitional form, en route to a socialist society (Mandel in Szell, 1988:85).

4.3 Participation
Through participation from a management perspective attempts are made to involve the workers in the management of the undertaking. Such involvement is achieved through collective decision-making structures, within a group context or through mutual consultation and sharing of information between management and workers. The degree of participation within an organisation naturally differs. Successful participation strategies require a number of characteristics. Bernstein (1976), in developing his model of participation, listed six factors which he considered as necessary components. He lists participation in decision-making; feedback on results (also in the form of money); sharing of information, guaranteed individual rights; an independent board of appeal and a particular set of values as being essential (Bernstein, 1976:9).
Management has used different methods to achieve participation. It has been introduced through participative management, collective bargaining, ownership and co-determination.

4.3.1 The development of management theory and participative management

Management science has always been concerned with ways in which efficiency can be improved. By briefly assessing the development of management theory this basic thrust becomes evident. Participation is approached from a similar perspective, that is, to improve productivity. Different schools have emerged within the study of management, namely the classical, behavioural and quantitative approaches. Contingency and systems approaches attempt to integrate the other theories (Griffin, 1987:36).

The one branch of the classical school, scientific management, evolved as a response to the shortage of labour at the start of the twentieth century. Frederick Taylor developed a differential rate system whereby workers who met or exceeded the target level of output were paid more (Griffin, 1987:40). The Gantt Chart was developed by Henry Gantt as a means of scheduling work, while Frank and Lilian Gilbrecht developed a three positioned plan which served as a worker development programme and morale booster (Stoner and Wankel, 1986:31). While the focus of such job specialisation focused on the efficiency, the social needs

The other branch of the classical school focused on managing the organisation as a whole as opposed to the individuals. Henry Fayol is considered to be the first to have defined management in terms of planning, organising, coordinating and controlling. Chester Barnard recognised that in each organisation, informal groups could be found (Stoner and Wankel, 1986:33-37).

Behavioural management theory has its roots in psychology and sociology and emphasis is placed on individual attitudes, behaviours and group processes (Griffin, 1987:47). It is also here where significant support for participative management is found. Of particular significance is the work of Maslow, McGregor and Likert. Maslow promoted the idea that people are motivated by a hierarchy of needs. McGregor developed his theory X and theory Y concepts which attempt to shift the management approach from a traditional top down to an involvement oriented approach (Szell, 1988:71). Rensis Likert (1961) calls for employee-centred rather than job-centred supervision. Employee centred supervision utilises group processes, upward and downward communication and is associated with higher productivity.
Quantitative management theory uses mathematical approaches and is synonymous with operations research such as network modelling, breakdown analysis and simulation and is acknowledged for its contribution to planning and controlling activities (Griffin, 1987:53).

Approaches which attempt to integrate management theory, such as the contingency approach base their argument on the need to apply an approach which is suited to the situation.

Another approach to achieve participation within industry is the socio-technical system (STS) which is a method based on concrete experiments organised through joint union and management committees with the help of consultants (Szell, 1988:73). Organisational development (OD) is a more systematic form of STS where an outside expert is normally involved. Quality circles is a participative management approach which is aimed at integrating workers and to raising productivity. It is also referred to as the Theory Z management style. This theory was developed by William G. Ouchi who, in his study of Japanese industry, observed that involvement of workers is important for the enhancement of productivity (Stoner and Wankel, 1986: 220). A group of workers usually meet for an hour each week. At such gatherings they discuss their problems, investigate causes, recommend solutions and take corrective action (Dewar, 1980:2).
4.3.2 Other participation strategies

Collective bargaining is the method which we associate with negotiations between management and worker organisations such as trade unions. As alluded to earlier when workers' control was discussed, it is the most widespread. This form of participation is initiated by workers. As Nupen observed: "...nowhere does management institute collective bargaining, it concedes it..." (Nupen in Anstey ed., 1990:36).

Participation through ownership is based on the concept of popular capitalism. It is a method which was recently introduced in South Africa. Workers are offered shares in the company, usually on more favourable terms. By becoming a shareholder they have a direct interest in the undertaking. It is estimated that in South Africa, six percent of the formal workforce in the private sector are employee shareholders (Fletcher in Anstey, 1990:258). Fletcher notes that trade unions tend to reject such schemes as tokenism and as an attempt to undermine the union.

In some countries such as Germany the concept of co-determination has been introduced through legislation (figure 2). It is also seen as an extension of collective bargaining rights. Workers are given representation on the boards of companies. The degree of representation, however, varies so that it is possible to observe degrees of co-determination (Szell, 1988:81).
FIGURE 2. THE SYSTEM OF CO-DETERMINATION

Supervisory Board

Owners' Representatives
One Neutral Member
Workers' Representatives

Board of Management

Production Manager
Business Manager
Labour Manager

Administration and Supervision

Executive Committee of the Works Council

Works Council

authoritative relationship

consultative relationship

Trusted Member
Trusted Member
Trusted Member
Trusted Member

Company Labour Force

Source: King and van de Vall in Szell (1988:61)
4.3.3 The range of issues on which participation occurs

In the previous discussion we have looked at machinery or strategies to achieve participation. In this section the focus is on the kinds of issues workers normally participate in and the methods being followed. To some extent the strategies used also reflect the type of issues workers participate in. Thus, with ownership it could be argued that workers acquire certain ownership rights. Similarly, by workers being represented on company Boards they have access to information and participate directly in the government of the undertaking.

The ILO (1989:24) lists four main areas in which participation is applied: technical matters; employment and personnel questions; economic and financial policy and general policy decisions. A similar distinction is made by Walker (Clarke et al, 1972:1) who refers to: the democratisation of ownership; democratisation of the government of the enterprise; the democratisation of the terms of employment; and the democratisation of management.

Such distinctions provide useful clarification but often there is an overlap, or the degree of power varies according to the nature of the decision. There has also been initiatives of joint management and decision-making on issues such as employee pension funds as well as health and safety measures (Anstey ed., 1990).
Participation in these issues could take place through joint decision-making structures, autonomous or semi-autonomous workgroups, participation on the Board, through job design or meetings. It must also be noted that peer group supervision, evaluation and the matrix structure is synonymous with participative management.

4.3.4 Arguments for participation

It was suggested earlier that participation is promoted from ethical, socio-political and economic perspectives. The economic considerations are further explored in this section. Economic arguments in favour of participation centres around its value in increasing efficiency, reducing areas of conflict and the increased job-satisfaction achieved (ILO, 1989:17).

Findings on whether participation enhances efficiency have been contradictory. Simon has made the distinction between programmed decisions and non-programmed decisions. If a particular situation occurs often, a routine procedure should be developed to solve it. Non-programmed decisions are more appropriate for group decision-making (Gibson et al, 1985:567–579).

It has been found that participation is beneficial on most other levels. Tarrab and d'Arragon found that participative company employees have more positive attitudes, greater work
satisfaction, lesser feelings of alienation, a better conflict solving system and better self-assessment (Szell, 1988:72).

4.3.5 Arguments against participation

Participation is opposed from different positions. Some Marxist theorists oppose it because it is seen as undermining the long term interest of workers. Mandel argues in this regard that:

...even in the most extensive participation programmes...workers may forsake the 'natural' co-operation inherent in union activities only to replace it by an essentially competitive weltanschauung and thereby to lose the foundations of a more genuinely co-operative society (Mandel in Poole, 1975: 36).

The motives of management are also questioned. As Poole has noted:

...management have only sought to institute broader programmes when the power of workers has been sufficiently strong, or when they have been obliged to do so as a consequence of government legislation, or when they have internalised certain ideologies...or an overriding commitment to industrial efficiency (Poole, 1975:56).

The reluctance of workers to participate in such programmes are most often based on these considerations. They see participation as a form of co-option.

Some managers have expressed their own reservations. It is said that participation increases the power of the trade union, compromises the ability of managers to make independent and swift decisions. Some also view the market as having sufficient checks and balances (ILO, 1989:29-36).
5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Figure 3 provides a very useful overview of the debate on participation. In locating this study theoretically, democratic theories were analysed. This emphasises the approach being followed namely, a concern for more democratisation. It was shown that the concept of democracy is a contested one. In the literature these different approaches are divided into contemporary theories and classical theories. It is within the classical approaches that support for participatory democracy can be found.

It was argued that bureaucracy occurs within any organisation. While bureaucracy has emerged as a result of the need to organise work, it is accepted that in most instances, particularly larger organisations, it is inevitable. Since the study is concerned with participation and given the fact that participatory values often stand in contradiction to bureaucracy, ways in which the negative effects of bureaucracy could be minimised, have been considered.

While the general approach is to look at participation as a means of extending democracy, South Africa is a free market society and the dominant understanding of democracy is within the liberal tradition. As such, while remaining aware
FIGURE 3. OVERVIEW OF THE DEFINING DIMENSIONS OF PARTICIPATION

Contextual Boundaries
Characteristics of:
- Society
- Other relevant organisations
- Focal organisation
- Groups within organisation
- Individuals

Values, Assumptions and Goals of Implementers
- Democratic theory
- Socialistic theory
- Human growth and development theory
- Productivity and efficiency orientation

Properties of Participation
- Formal - Informal
- Direct - Indirect
- Access to decision
- Decision content, importance and complexity
- Social range
- Other properties

Outcomes
- Individual
- Group
- Organisational
- Societal

Participation Potential

Source: Dachler and Wilpert in Szell (1988:68)
of worker initiatives and those within socialist societies, the study is concentrated on management initiatives, to extend worker influence.

Different strategies to achieve participation was discussed and it was noted that there can be more, or less participation. The range of issues in which there should be participation is another factor that should be taken into account. Neither management, nor workers, are in full agreement about the value of participation. In the final analysis it should be seen as a process (Bernstein, 1976) or even a range of processes (Likert 1961).

But what are the implications for human service organisations? Management theories have been applied widely. The concern for efficiency and accountability for spending public money is also a real concern within the human service sector. Since many such organisations employ professionals, participation through shared decision-making is seen as being consistent with the requirements of professionalism (Patti, 1986:81). Studies conducted within human service organisations also found similar conclusions about the positive effects of participation as in industrial settings (Fallon jr. in Slavin ed., 1978).
SECTION TWO

CHAPTER 3

ORGANISATIONAL PROFILES

1. INTRODUCTION
As this study focuses on participatory processes within CRIC and GRASSROOTS, a brief profile of these organisations, focusing on their history, goals, structure and services, will be given. This will be brief and its main purpose is to place the presentation of the discussion into perspective.

2. CAREER RESEARCH AND INFORMATION CENTRE (CRIC)

2.1 The history of CRIC
CRIC was established in 1982 as an independent organisation. Prior to this it functioned in liaison with the Foundation for Social Development, thus existing as a resource organisation for a period of twelve years. At the beginning of 1989 it moved from Claremont to its present premises in Athlone, thereby becoming more accessible to the communities it serves (CRIC Annual Reports, 1988:3 and 1989:3).

2.2 The mission and goals
The organisation is committed by its constitution (Appendix 1) to help people to make informed decisions relating to their careers; conduct projects and research
relating to careers education; conduct training and other programmes, including assistance for interested persons or bodies relating to careers and careers education; maintain an information and resource centre; publicise and disseminate information and provide an advisory service (CRIC Constitution, 1982:1).

A further guide to the staff is, the document on key concepts and principles of CRIC (Appendix 2). It identifies the framework in which the organisation operates as transformative, in that the organisation perceives itself as challenging the dominant values operative in our society. In this document the organisation commits itself to raising issues of class, race, religious and sexual discrimination.

2.3 The organisational structure

Figure 4 is a presentation of the organisation chart. All powers and assets are vested in the Board (CRIC Constitution, 1982:3). An Executive Committee is responsible for making decisions between Board meetings. The Board comprises of representatives of sponsor organisations, educational institutions and community members. The Executive Committee consists of a Chairperson, elected by sponsor members, two additional members of the Board, the Director (ex-officio) and one staff representative. The Board meets quarterly while the Executive meets whenever the need arises.
The Director, is directly accountable to the Executive and the Board. CRIC employs a total of fifteen staff members. The Director of the organisation is appointed by the Board after consultation with the staff, while others are appointed by the full staff. Such appointments are ratified at a meeting of the Board.

The Director is regarded as the central person within the organisation. She is primarily responsible for funding, budgeting, liaising with partner and other external organisations and reporting to the Executive and to the Board.

The coordinating committee consists of representatives from the three work groups: administration, information and fieldwork. Work groups meet at least once a month. The responsibilities of the work groups are to co-ordinate the work of individual members of staff, plan collective projects and provide support and guidance to each other.

2.4 Services Rendered by CRIC.

The following brief outline provides a sense of the services rendered by the organisation:

2.4.1 a counselling service, aimed at assisting students and youths to make preparations for work and study through individual and small group counselling;
2.4.2 a training unit offers skills training and a consultancy service to community-based organisations throughout South Africa;

2.4.3 a Development and Research of Educational Aids and Materials (DREAM) project focuses on the development of educational resources;

2.4.4 an Education Outreach Project (E.O.P.) is urban-based and promotes the guidance, support and educational services regarding work and study;

2.4.5 Future Link is an urban-based fieldwork project designed to create a critical awareness of work amongst students in the transition from school to work;

2.4.6 the Information and Resource library focuses on the development, storage and dissemination of work and study;

2.4.7 the Lagunya project facilitates the dissemination of information services and resources in the townships;

2.4.8 the letter-answering project provides information on work and study to those living outside the immediate boundaries of Cape Town;

2.4.9 the mobile education unit, an urban-based rural project, operates in the Western Cape; and

2.4.10 the administration project provides support to other CRIC projects and ensures the smooth running of the organisation (CRIC Annual Report, 1989).
3. GRASSROOTS EDUCARE TRUST AND GRASSROOTS ADULT EDUCATION AND TRAINING TRUST.

The Grassroots study was undertaken at a very significant period in the life of the organisation. Workers experienced a general sense of excitement about the move to the new building, the organisation was engaged in a process of medium and long term planning, a major funder requested an evaluation of the organisation in order to justify a donation of R400 000. On another level, the organisation was still working through the effects of the protest engaged in by the staff, for higher salaries. The study was done during the months of October and November 1990 and was preceded by a pilot study conducted during the month of September.

3.1 History of Grassroots

The Grassroots Education Trust was launched in 1972. From its early stages the organisation had been supported by the South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (Sactwu), who had provided subsidised accommodation for the past fourteen years (Grassroots Annual Report, 1990:9).

3.2 The Mission and Goals of the Organisation

Grassroots is committed to and works towards three main goals:

3.2.1 the provision of full day centres and home-based educare for the children of working parents, built
around a developmental programme of active learning;

3.2.2 the development of leadership and organisation skills to focus the energy, resources and skills of communities around projects they own;

3.2.3 a unitary integrated educational system without the inequities caused by the separation of people and services (Statement of Commitment, Appendix 3).

The organisation is also guided by the philosophy that the community is responsible for the provision and control of Educare and that the State has the primary responsibility to provide the necessary resources (Cartoon History, not dated).

3.3 The Structure of the Organisation

Figure 5 is an organisation chart of Grassroots. The structure is relatively hierarchical. The main functions of the organisation are performed by two different Trusts: these are, Grassroots Educare Trust (Appendix 4) and the Grassroots Adult Education and Training Trust (Appendix 5). These Trusts are managed by the same Board. The former focuses on the education, care, and health of the pre-school child and co-ordinates the promotion of pre-school education with communities, political organisations, public authorities and funding agencies. The latter is responsible for the promotion of the establishment, administration and
FIGURE 5. GRASSROOTS ORGANISATION CHART

Key to abbreviations:

R.M. Resources Manager  D.O. Director's Office
E.T.M. Educare Training Manager  G.A. General Administration
F.M. Finance Manager  D.A. Director's Assistant
F.A. Financial Administration  P.S. Pre-School Shop
A.M. Administration Manager  E.P.M. Educare Projects Manager
O.T.M. Organisational Training Manager
members of the board of trustees are nominated by contributing trade unions, who in turn nominate additional trustees from among persons who have an interest in or who are committed to pre-school education. the board also elects, from its members, an executive committee. provision is made for at least seven and but not more than twenty-five persons to serve on the structure ([appendix 6] grassroots educare trust constitution as amended in 1989:1-2). in addition, the director, deputy director, finance manager and a staff representative serve ex-officio on the board and on the executive.

the education, finance and personnel sub-committees function under the direction of the executive.

two programme managers (finance and administration) as well as the director's assistant, report directly to the director, while five programme managers (resources, educare training, organisational training, urban educare projects and rural educare projects) report to the deputy director.

the organisation employs forty-seven staff members.
The work of the staff is organised through work groups which is led by a programme manager. Workers also report to different managers for various aspects of the work. For the community work projects, an Educare trainer and Community worker will work together in a specific community.

3.4 Services rendered by Grassroots
Grassroots renders a wide range of services in the communities of the Western Cape, while its influence also extends to the rest of South Africa, and beyond. The organisation is often called upon to assist with the development of projects, provision of training and formulation of policies as far as Namibia and Botswana.

The primary role of the organisation is to provide training and support for communities and individuals responsible for educare projects. Financial assistance by means of interest-free loans, grants or extended interest-free credit is made available to projects which have an established relationship with the organisation (Grassroots Annual Report, 1990:10).

The programmes are structured in four departments:

3.4.1 provision services, which includes urban and rural projects;
3.4.2 training, curriculum development, resources and media;
3.4.3 finance and shop; and
3.4.4 administration.
CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF THE PARTICIPATORY PROCESSES

1. INTRODUCTION
The intention of this study is to describe and analyse the participatory processes within Grassroots and CRIC, the conditions that gave rise to these particular forms, and the impact these processes have on the individual workers and the organisation as a whole. Different issues will be analysed in this section on the basis of the literature review and the research findings.

2. THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE MISSION AND VALUES OF THE ORGANISATION ON WORKER PARTICIPATION.
An organisation presents itself to the outside world through its mission statement or a similar document, which contains value statements and a commitment. For CRIC such values and intentions are summarised in the document, "Key Concepts: Principles of CRIC's work" (Appendix 2), and for Grassroots in the "statement of commitment" (Appendix 3). Both organisations commit themselves to transformation and democratisation of their service fields and of broader society. These can be regarded as aspirations, and in practice, both organisations strive towards the realisation of this vision through their programmes. Workers at Grassroots are expected to promote community control of educare centres and CRIC workers promote collective
processes in their training and assist in the development of community organisations.

It is in terms of these statements and the goals of the organisation that one assumes the internal processes will be affected by such aspirations. Democracy, however has not been clarified and there is no common understanding among staff in both organisations, on what constitutes democracy.

Staff members vary, not only on the level of political awareness, but also on ideology. In response to the question whether the organisation can be described as democratic, the overwhelming response from Grassroots' workers was that it was not, while CRIC workers felt that it was.

It has been observed from the literature that it is very difficult to identify a particular organisation as being democratic, because of the contending positions surrounding the concept. However, there is a high level of participatory consciousness among workers, and both organisations are committed to building democracy in the community.

3. THE IMPACT OF THE EXTERNAL CONTEXTS ON THE ORGANISATION.
Organisations do not exist in a vacuum. It interacts with users, partner organisations, funders and other structures. At the same time it is affected by the geographical, political and economic context in which it functions. It has
been indicated by means of the literature review, that organisations are affected by the broader context in which they operate.

In some socialist countries, especially Yugoslavia, this has led to experiments in self-management and in situations where there are strong trade union organisation, and supportive legislation, workers have made considerable gains in terms of having control over their working lives.

It has also been shown that the funding source has a direct effect on internal processes in the organisation. In the civil service, it may lead to excessive bureaucratisation. Newman (in Briton and Cohen (eds.), 1980), shows how collectives become more bureaucratic once external sources of funding is obtained.

3.1 Participation and the socio-political situation

The South African political structures are racially based and participation is restricted. The country has experienced different political and economic crises as a direct result of these policies. These crises corresponded with major uprisings amongst the oppressed and in its aftermath, the state responded with either more repressive policies or with variations of reform and repression. Organised and spontaneous resistance continued, often leading to the consolidation and building of mass organisations and movements.
Workers have to defend themselves against anti-worker legislation and continue to engage the state and capital, about the improvement of their conditions or recognition of their organisations.

This reality has a direct bearing on service organisations. Organisations are directly challenged by the communities in which they serve. For CRIC and Grassroots, this is applicable, as they say they do promote community participation and democratic control of their projects.

3.2 The sources of funding and participation

Service organisations have to contend with a government, which has for years failed to be responsive to the needs of the poorest sectors of the population. Organisations such as Grassroots and CRIC have thus emerged to fill these gaps. Both organisations have identified the black communities as the primary target for services. Neither receive any direct funding from the state and is dependent on business and foreign funding. A significant source of support for the work of Grassroots was through the membership subscriptions of the Garment Workers Union and the Tramway and Omnibus Workers Union.

The former's office was used by the organisation at a nominal charge and four representatives from the contributing unions serve on the Trust Board (Constitution of Grassroots Educare Trust). The reason, for the
organisation not being more strongly influenced by the unions, is that, while they had a strong membership, they did not have a history of militancy or worker control.

During the 1980's the Western Cape witnessed a strong resurgence of community organisations in the black communities. Around the same time, businesses initiated social responsibility programmes, particularly through the Urban and the Rural Foundations. These communities were very critical of service organisations who were funded by such programmes. Some perceived these initiatives as part of the "total strategy" campaigns initiated by the government. CRIC workers were directly challenged by students, and it is reported that some workers threatened to resign if money from these sources were used. The effect of this is still prevalent in the organisation. Recently, it took the organisation more than a year, to make a decision about accepting money from a certain funding source. It did so only after consultation with other credible organisations.

CRIC staff believe that businesses should sponsor programmes without expecting any credit (Staff Minutes, 19 February 1990). They refuse to list funders in their annual report, even after the Board requested that the matter be discussed.

Grassroots has a very good reputation with business. The extent of their operation confirms this. The marketing and fundraising programmes enjoy priority. Some of those
interviewed felt that they often had to rearrange their programmes to correspond to the agenda of businesses.

Management Boards see themselves as the trustees of external funding and in this way it could restrict the power of staff to engage in projects which fall outside the goals of the organisation.

Most organisations which have to compete for funding need to project themselves in such a way as to meet the expectations of the funders. It is for this reason, that at times there could be an overriding concern for the control of workers, through centralised decision-making.

The power of workers to influence organisational funding policy is illustrated by the example of CRIC where the workers insisted that money should not be accepted from a particular source.

3.3 Users of services and participation

It is significant that users do not have direct representation on the structures of the organisations. In both organisations it is based on individual membership (with the exception of the four Union members on the Board of Grassroots). This does not imply that Board members do not have a direct interest in the organisation. They are recruited from a wide spectrum of community members, including educational institutions.
Staff at Grassroots, working in "african" communities reported that it is difficult to sustain involvement of community members on committees. This makes it impossible to implement community control of educare centres. They ascribe these problems to unemployment, which cause people to have different priorities. Additional reasons given were safety considerations and a history of non-involvement.

The participation of users on the Boards of these organisations could lead to more worker accountability and a higher level of democratisation.

From the above it can be concluded that neither funders nor users exercise a direct influence in either of the two organisations. Rather, it is the overall context and the political conditions within which they function, which exerts a greater influence on the direction of the organisations.

4. THE ORGANISATION STRUCTURE AND THE INFLUENCE ON PARTICIPATION

The organisation structure is the outcome of a process referred to as organisational design, which is concerned with decision-making relationships in an organisation. It indicates communication, accountability relationships and co-ordination within the organisation (Gibson et al., 1985:487). In the discussion on bureaucracy, distinctions were made between mechanistic and organic forms of
organisation, and the criteria for the application of the different models, (contingency theory). The matrix model is seen as being more conducive to participation.

Organisational design, has been shown to be very important. It is necessary, therefore, to address this aspect in the management of organisations, because of its impact on participation.

Grassroots is a more complex organisation than CRIC. It employs a bigger staff component and has a larger number of projects. The organisation also employs numerous specialists, who focus on areas such as educare curriculum, resource and community development. These areas, as well as organisational development, finances, administration and the directors department, which is primarily responsible for fundraising, can be viewed as the main programmatic thrusts of the organisation. A manager is responsible for each area.

Grassroots is essentially hierarchically structured with five levels of authority (this will be explored in more detail under a discussion on participation forums).

Some sections are specialised with an observable chain of command, while others such as the community workers operate with greater flexibility and decentralised power.
CRIC staff generally have a considerable amount of flexibility in their work. They are very conscious to limit hierarchial control. Even the role of the present director is different to the role of a director in other structures. It has been pointed out that this title is only maintained because representatives from businesses feel comfortable with it and it is useful for their interaction with other organisations. In terms of the working relationship it is appropriate to say that control is exercised collectively by the staff.

In terms of the above discussion, it can be seen that the organisational structure has direct implications for the participatory process. Structures also have a direct impact on organisational efficiency, relationships between management and staff and the personal growth of staff members and the extent to which they enjoy job satisfaction.

5. PARTICIPATION FORUMS

In earlier discussions, it has been noted that the question of power is central to the debate on participation. In one respect ownership as a basis for determining participation, and in another, the struggle of workers for control through their trade unions. The distinctions made by Poole (1975) of direct and indirect strategies of participation in chapter two is relevant to this discussion.
It was alluded to earlier that workers in human service organisations in this country, have a poor history of organisation which places them in a weaker position in terms of advancing the struggle for workers' control. It is this factor which makes it so important for such organisations to be sensitive to the need for democracy. These considerations form the basis for the discussion in this section.

Participation can at best be analysed through an assessment of the forums set up by the organisations to facilitate it. This section will be an evaluation of such structures. It is well known that informal groups and networks of individuals often exert an enormous amount of power. Thus, the focus will be on formal and informal power in the organisation. In addition, it must also be recognised that participative strategies can only be really effective, if it is encouraged and facilitated by key staff members.

5.1 The Grassroots Board of Trustees

In chapter three the functions and powers of The Board of Trustees were discussed. Some members of staff, and members of the Board serve on sub-committees. Staff members however, reported that they have limited contact with members of the Board.

The issue of Board membership has been questioned by some, who have requested that the Board examine the constitution, in order to address the issue of "self-perpetuation". The
desire was also expressed at that stage for the broadening of the membership to one that would be more appropriate for a service agency (Board minutes of 30.01.1990).

Subsequently, after a staff meeting held on 11 September 1990 to consider various organisational models, the staff submitted a memorandum to the Board. They suggested a management structure, where employers and employees have equal participation with full voting rights. Members of the Board were invited to participate in this continuing debate (Board minutes of 29.09.1990).

Staff members are able to make recommendations regarding policy changes, to the Board and the Board has the right to challenge decisions made by them. Board members also receive copies of the minutes of staff meetings.

The difference in perspective on the nature of power relations within the organisation between staff and management, came to the fore during a dispute over salaries. Certain members of staff embarked on a five day sit-in while the Director was overseas and the Deputy Director acted in her absence. A petition was signed in support of a demand for higher salaries and this was presented to the Board executive by the staff representative. The Board challenged the staff on whether the demand was professional and noted that accepted grievance procedures had not been followed. It was also noted that there was an attempt to create a worker/
management dichotomy. It was observed that since Board members were all volunteers, they resented this (Board minutes of 21. 08.1990).

The refusal by the Board to accede to the demands of the staff and the policy of "no work no pay" resulted in a severely strained relationship between the Board and staff members.

After this episode, it was decided that an external facilitator be called in to mediate. The mediators have thus far interviewed members of staff and suggested in a preliminary report that the conflict could be resolved, given the willingness of the participants.

This is a most interesting development in an organisation of this nature. Members of the Grassroots Board generally perceive themselves to be progressive and in this situation, the motives of staff were questioned. Those who participated in the sit-in were in a bad position, primarily because of the lack of formal worker structures to represent them, other than the individual staff representative. The board in their rejection of the worker/management dichotomy, failed to recognise that they were indeed management and exercised considerable power in this situation. The position of staff to seek equal representation with management is therefore not in contradiction to the argument advanced by the Board.
5.2 The CRIC Board of Trustees

A perception exists among CRIC staff that power is not only vested in the Board by virtue of their status, but that workers have the power to make decisions in the interest of the organisation. Working directly in communities means that the staff are able to make more informed decisions.

There is little resistance from the Board to the direction given by staff members. The fact that Board members represent different constituencies, also mean, that among them, they have differing viewpoints, thus often neutralising each other. From discussions held with the workers, it appears that the Board has a more advisory than a control function.

A concrete example of the Board/staff relationship at CRIC, was when a Board member raised the need for funders to be listed in the annual report of the organisation. At this meeting the Director replied that this practice had been done away with for the past few years (Board minutes of 12 February 1990). When the issue was finally raised in the staff meeting, it was resolved that CRIC takes money without any strings attached. It was pointed out that sponsors do not request that their names be listed. The staff sees the financial support as being the responsibility of the sponsors to the community and for this they should not expect any credit.
Public knowledge of funding sources have in the past created complications within the organisation, to the extent that certain staff members threatened to resign at the time. This can be understood when working as CRIC does, within a field of education where students are critical as a result of their politicisation, arising from their student struggles.

During this time, many organisations were questioning the motives of this particular funder, as it was seen to be giving credibility to the capitalist system which is closely linked to apartheid in this country.

The above discussion illustrates that both Boards accept the fact that they work in progressive environments. They are faced with the interest of the users and the funders on the one hand and that of the workers on the other. But it is impossible to argue that workers do not have the same interest at heart. For them, a reduction of the quality of the service will have a direct impact on the willingness of the funders to support their work or the preparedness of the users to accept their services. This argument is not enough to exclude workers from participating equally on the Board.

5.3 Participation and the role of key staff members

Participation can be effectively implemented if it is understood, supported and facilitated by key staff members.
In most organisations they exercise power and control over subordinates, and are easily threatened by the power of the workers.

In the South African context race is a significant factor which has to be considered. Management has traditionally been recruited from specific racial categories of the population. The recruitment of black managers is still a recent phenomenon. This is also true in many human service organisations. This emergent class of managers have shared similar experiences of oppression, as that of their subordinates and are sensitive to the control function which they have to exercise (see the analysis of Sarakinsky and Crankshaw, 1985: 107-118). Given this background, they could easily identify with the need of subordinates for participation.

The role of the key persons will be considered briefly. The Director, Deputy Director and programme managers are considered as key persons at Grassroots. At Grassroots the Director sees her role as that of maintaining a balance in the light of often conflicting demands. In relation to the staff, the Director has the ultimate veto, but also believes that it is not in the interest of the organisation to exercise this. She subscribes to the importance of consultation and consensus on issues of common concern only as far as it does not compromise efficiency of the work. Sections of the staff perceive her to be a powerful person,
who has high expectations, set by the example of her own high standard of work.

The Director is directly responsible for fundraising and public relations. As indicated in the organisation chart, the Deputy Director, Finance and Administration Managers and the Director's Assistant report to her.

Some staff have indicated that it is difficult to gain adequate access to the Director or that the time for discussing individual problems related to work is inadequate.

The Director is responsible for chairing staff meetings, and participates in meetings of sub-committees. She serves ex-officio on the Board of Trustees and is the main channel of communication between the staff and the Board.

The Deputy Director is directly responsible for the service programmes. Programme managers report to him and he is one of the representatives of staff at meetings of the Board and the Executive.

The appointment of programme managers is a fairly new initiative, in that these positions were created during the year in which the study was undertaken. Some of the managers fulfil dual functions of direct service provision and management. Individuals in these positions also meet as a
group, as in the medium and long term planning meeting which was observed during this study.

There is no agreement on the management approach used by the organisation, among key staff members. They view it as a process in which managers use their own style.

There was general agreement among those interviewed, that Grassroots is not a democratic organisation. Participatory methods are used and there is an understanding that workers have the power to influence decisions, but they are not aware of the limits of their participation. They feel that they are given the opportunity to exhaust themselves in debate, while decisions are made elsewhere. The role of the managers is still not clear and this makes it possible for them to vacillate in their relationships with subordinates. This is indeed one of the dangers of participation as identified in the literature, i.e. that staff may feel manipulated if the extent of participation is not clear.

At CRIC it is accepted that the Director is the central person within the organisation. She chairs staff meetings but as can be seen in the organisation chart, is also accountable to the staff. Staff members are directly accountable to their teams and the staff meeting. The Director is responsible for fundraising, public relations, liaison with other organisations and coordination of the organisation is done with other team representatives. She
serves as a channel of communication between staff members and the Board.

The organisation managed to attract a succession of progressive Directors. The fact that key staff members play an important role in promoting or retarding participation in the organisation is clearly illustrated by the following example. A former Director attempted to introduce traditional hierarchical management. It is reported that this had a negative effect on the morale and productivity of staff. People only tended to work when he was around.

Earlier, it was indicated that the title of "Director" is retained only because sponsors, primarily business people, can identify with it. However, some administrative staff members as well as new staff find it difficult to relate to him in a non-hierarchical way.

Within CRIC, control is exercised collectively by the staff either through work teams or the staff meeting. It is interesting to note that while the coordinating committee exists to support the Director, this committee is accountable to the staff meeting. CRIC staff have taken a conscious decision that participation of all workers would be promoted on all levels.
5.4 Work groups and other joint structures of participation

Participation in work groups or teams is the most widely applied mechanism for worker involvement. These and other participation strategies were considered in chapter two. Work group participation limits the group to decision-making on issues specific to the group, and exclude those decisions which impinge on the work of others or general policy decisions. Many approaches have been developed by management which are not applied in the human service sector. In South Africa certain companies have gone as far as initiating participation through ownership, by giving workers shares in the company.

At Grassroots, work groups have been established around the different projects and programmes of the organisation. Approximately twenty four groups exist (Board minutes of 8.12.1990).

Decision-making in work groups is done collectively. Groups are also expected to consult other groups, who may be affected by a decision. It is often found that some groups are not consulted and this at times has led to frustration in the organisation.

Community workers and educare trainers are paired to work together in a region fulfilling different functions of the
same projects. While community workers and educare trainers are able to consult with each other, they are accountable to different work groups.

The Educare workers' team consists of females, whilst the community workers team are all male. Female workers have a negative image of the attitudes and practices of the community workers, they accuse them of being sexist. The community work team is also seen to be operating as a clique.

Staff meetings are held once every six weeks and its purpose is mainly information sharing and decision-making on policy matters and organisational plans. Meetings are chaired by the Director and discussion is kept to a minimum. Managers or work group convenors are expected to submit five liners (a concise report) on what is happening in their groups and on any new plans. Work group decisions which may have an impact on the work of other groups are also reported on and discussed.

Participation of staff members in the meeting is restricted as a result of the location of the meeting, which is held in a conference room where workers do not face each other. Some interviewees also indicated that they lack the necessary confidence to speak, this was mainly due to the size of the meeting. Board members also receive the minutes of staff meetings.
Another meeting which flows from the staff meeting, is an issue focus meeting where time is set aside to debate issues of specific concern. These meetings are open to members of the Board.

Only eighteen percent of those interviewed at Grassroots said that they were most satisfied with meetings and the decision-making process within the organisation.

Most workers raised the physical limitations of the building, a lack of punctuality and the number of meetings as some of the reasons for this.

At CRIC the work teams are primarily responsible for project planning and assisting individual members of staff to conceptualise their work. An earlier attempt by the organisation to build in a supervisory function was not successful. It still remains a worthwhile forum for support and challenge to individual members.

It was found that the information and administration teams function well but because of the different foci within the projects team, the team-approach is more difficult.

As far as possible decisions, affecting the functioning of the organisation, are made by the entire staff. Meetings are
held once a week and is usually chaired by the Director. Workers give reports on what has happened the previous week and what has been planned for the following one.

Accountability, of the work of individuals, is collectively exercised at the staff meetings. This requires a level of criticism and self-criticism. It may be argued that where accountability is exercised in such a manner, workers tend not to be overtly critical of each other, which guarantees self-protection. Also by not criticising a co-worker you are guaranteed his/her support on a different issue.

Sub-committees, such as the salary or annual report committee, are appointed by the staff to follow up on decisions. These committees are accountable to staff members.

Worker participation at staff meetings has resulted in a willingness among staff members to take responsibility for the implementation of decisions, even if it is the responsibility of another worker. Thus, the division of labour, prevalent in bureaucratic organisations, is sometimes ignored.

Participation is viewed differently by members of staff. Administrative staff express frustration at having to be part of staff meetings or staff evaluation meetings, which is normally held over a period of a few days, especially
since most of the issues discussed do not seem to affect their work. They have indicated that a high level of participation exists within their team. They are able to identify with, and are accountable to each other.

Project or information staff members have a better understanding of the context in which a decision is made and they are also more confident, which is mainly due to their political awareness or university training.

A growing realisation exists that while the organisation is committed to a process of democracy, it is important to look at different levels of participation. The assumption that everybody wants to, or should participate on every level has led to some problems. To be part of a meeting without making any contribution, or when it does not affect your area of work, is seen by some to be unproductive.

Eighty-three percent of CRIC workers said that they were most satisfied with meetings, and enjoyed staff meetings, while sixty-six percent felt that decision-making was effective.

Strong informal groups have evolved within the organisation. Support for a position may come from members of your team, but it is said that there are people who appear to be constantly supporting each other. Informal networks exist in all organisations, but in a non-hierarchical setting they
exert more power because they are not accountable to any structure.

6. THE EFFECT OF THE WORK CONTEXT ON THE PERSONAL LIVES OF THE WORKERS.

Democratisation is a matter of value changes of individuals who are involved in the process. Certain organisations naturally attract people with specific values, because they identify with such organisations. Conversely, the changing of values and attitudes are also the most difficult aspects of workplace democratisation (Bernstein, in Austin ed., 1981:296). It is therefore expected that exposure to such values will have a positive effect on the personal relationships of people. In this section the purpose is to explore the relationship between participation and its effect on the personal lives of workers.

Seven of the eleven persons interviewed at Grassroots reported that their work had a significant effect on their personal lives. Three of those who reported that their work had no impact, were administrative or office based workers, whereas the other indicated that he was demotivated due to the difficulties encountered in his work. Four of the seven felt that it had a negative impact on their personal lives.
It is thus interesting to note that according to administrative staff, their personal lives are not affected by their work. In most cases their work is clearly defined and they work fixed hours.

They are also not directly exposed to the constituency served by the organisation. For the field staff and others it can be deduced that conditions at work affect people differently, particularly field staff. The pressures of work, and resultant feelings of stress and burnout is a negative experience for some and a challenge to others. This indicates that there is a need for individualisation, even in a collective context.

All CRIC staff who were interviewed reported that their work had a positive influence on their personal lives. In the first instance, it is found that the participatory culture, which exists in the organisation boosted the confidence of staff. There is a feeling that the experience shapes peoples' understanding of the political context. It is significant to note that they feel much more confident about their personal relationships, and are also stimulated to extend their involvement to outside organisations. Participation at work does have an positive impact on the personal lives of workers.
It is significant that all Grassroots workers said they experienced job satisfaction, compared to sixty-seven percent of CRIC workers. However, when they were asked to motivate their responses, most of the Grassroots workers expressed satisfaction about the nature of the work and the satisfaction they received from it.

Those CRIC workers who reported that they did not experience job satisfaction, said that while they found that what they were doing worthwhile, they had outgrown the agency in some respect. It would appear then that job satisfaction should be measured against a number of different variables and not only participation. While the extent of participation is higher in CRIC, the level of job satisfaction is lower.

When interviewees were asked to rank a list of fifteen issues according to what they either found most or least satisfying (Appendix 7), the following responses were received. These are ranked with the highest responses indicating the most satisfying features on the upper end of the scale. The responses to question 18 of Grassroots workers are summarised in Table 1 and that of CRIC workers in Table 2.
### TABLE 1  GRASSROOTS RANKING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Feeling of doing something worthwhile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Contribution of the organisation to change in society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Accountability within the organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Appreciation from clients/users</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Learning for future career</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Equality with co-workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Opportunity to be creative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Working under pressure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Sense of community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Salary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Smooth operations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Quality of service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Meetings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Recognition from co-workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Efficient decision-making</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=11

### TABLE 2  CRIC RANKING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Feeling of doing something worthwhile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Equality with co-workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Meetings</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Recognition from co-workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Efficient decision-making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Quality of the service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Salary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=6

71
Most of these responses were integrated in the analysis of the findings and will not be dealt with in detail. In a comparison of the features that people were most satisfied with, it will be seen that consensus exist on a number of important issues. All felt that they were doing something worthwhile and that their organisations were contributing to change.

These findings indicate that workers do not feel particularly satisfied with the quality of the services provided (fifty percent of CRIC workers felt that it was most satisfying and eighteen percent Grassroots workers). This by no means indicate that they feel the quality of the service provided is poor. It also shows that if workers strongly identify with the goals of organisation, they set high standards for themselves and the organisation (cf. Rotchild-Whitt and Whitt, 1986).

On the other hand only eighteen percent of Grassroots workers and sixty-six percent of CRIC workers indicated that they were most satisfied with recognition received from co-workers.

This emphasises the importance of monitoring the growth of individuals. It is also necessary to give regular feedback through peer evaluation and performance appraisals, particularly at Grassroots.
Finally, only thirty-three percent of CRIC workers and thirty-six percent Grassroots workers said they were most satisfied with salaries.

8. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Both organisations are described and analysed according to the values they promote, how they are affected by the context in which they function, the levels and degree of participation and the impact on the worker and the organisation.

In the text both organisations are analysed on the same aspects to indicate the different conditions they face. The picture which emerge is that the organisations differ in terms of size and degree of participation. The degree of participation is higher in CRIC but at the same time they are confronted with similar organisational problems. Some of these issues are dealt with in the following chapter.
CHAPTER FIVE

TOWARDS A MORE PARTICIPATORY WORK ENVIRONMENT WITHIN SERVICE ORGANISATIONS

1. CRIC AND GRASSROOTS: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this section the discussion is concluded by summarising participation within the two organisations and the identifying of areas which require attention to improve their functioning. Some general principles will be highlighted to guide organisations which are interested to introduce or extend participation.

In the analysis it was shown that structures which exist are largely the same within the two organisations. Workers participate in work teams, staff meetings, through a staff representative on the Board and a coordinating structure. At CRIC the coordinating structure consists of the Director and all team leaders. At Grassroots it consists of senior staff and team managers.

As educational organisations, both are challenged by similar contexts. Communities in which services are rendered are fairly politicised. Both are dependent on outside funding.

The range of issues in which staff participate are wider within CRIC. The staff meeting is a weekly event and is used as a reporting and decision-making forum. This allows for a
free flow of information on a regular basis. It is also an accountability forum. The power of staff is recognised by the Director and the Board.

Staff participate directly in decisions concerning salaries, working conditions and conditions of service, through the coordinating committee. Staff participation on the Board is active. Due to the small size of the organisation and the frequency of staff meetings, staff representatives can speak on their behalf with confidence. Whilst the staff is represented by one member, their concerns are taken seriously.

Amongst workers, particularly project workers, a high level of democratic consciousness exists. They perceive the relationship as being egalitarian. The director is seen as an equal participant, who is also accountable to the rest of the staff.

It is clear that participation has evolved over a period and continues to be an issue which is continuously grappled with. Not all participation is formalised, hence it was possible for a new director to introduce a traditional style of managing the organisation. There are no policy documents which have been endorsed by the Board in this respect. Therefore, it is questionable as to whether all Board members identify and accept the way things are being done. While there are informal cliques in all organisations, their
impact within CRIC appears to be stronger. Participation within CRIC is time consuming. Often some workers feel that they are not affected by issues in which they are expected to participate. This is especially so in the case of the administrative staff, an issue which the organisation is aware of. While there are definite problems, it is clear that there is a high level of solidarity and caring for each other.

The participatory culture has also given rise to a greater willingness to take responsibility. Despite the level of participation the organisation is not egalitarian.

Different levels of authority can be identified. To a large extent these are present because it is perceived as being acceptable to others, thus it is shaped by the context in which the organisation functions.

The organisation needs to give attention to the negative consequences of informal power. In particular, the tendency that individuals, who are members of a clique, do not always challenge each other.

The processes and the outcomes of the participatory initiatives within CRIC are significant. Since it is a process the possibility exists for further democratisation. Particular attention should be paid to formalising some processes, through agreements with the Board. Further
attempts should also be made to widen representation of workers on the Board so as to achieve a higher level of participation.

Grassroots has similar structures for participation as CRIC. Power, however is still vested in the hierarchical positions of the organisation. As a much larger organisation there are many different ideas about how it should be managed. Participation is accepted on issues which are directly related to the job function of a person. The range of issues in which workers participate is thus restricted. This appears to be acceptable to administrative staff while many of the project staff experience it as being pseudo-participation. Workers have suggested a co-determination structure by increasing the number of staff representatives on the Board. This issue needs to be looked at by the organisation if it is serious about democratisation.

There is a high level of competitiveness among individual staff members and groups. Differences of opinion also exist between male and female workers. The level of conflict within the organisation is high, this does not have a positive impact on the organisation. No clear choice has been made in favour of participation despite, the fact that workers are fairly politicised and are expected to promote such participation in their projects.
If participation is a serious concern for the organisation, it would seem that a clear choice should be made. The purpose for which participation is introduced should be clearly identified. Despite the differences of perception which may exist, in terms of what constitutes participation, a common perspective can, nevertheless, be agreed upon. While the awareness of the need for democratisation is high, particularly among project workers, there is also a need for training in participatory methods of workers and the Board.

From this discussion it can be seen that although the structures and levels of participation is fairly similar, there is a marked difference in the range of issues in which the workers participate.

On the basis of the study it is possible to identify some general guidelines which could be used by organisations interested in introducing participation. As was argued, for the human service sector this is important for three reasons. The nature of their work is such that participation of people are important. Participation can be advanced effectively if their workers are directly exposed to it and experience it in their work environment. The fact that most service organisations employ professionally trained workers, who value acknowledgement and consultation, must be recognised. Lastly, given the advances made by workers in industry through their trade unions, management within the
service sector need to be pro-active in this regard and have a greater responsibility to introduce participation.

2. PARTICIPATION WITHIN HUMAN SERVICE ORGANISATIONS.

2.1 The need to make a conscious decision in favour of participation

A choice for participation is in the first instance a choice of values. It is a deliberate choice to adopt values which promote accountability and democracy. For workers who are expected to advance such values, would in turn be demotivated and critical of the organisation, if the values which are applied are in conflict with the values promoted through the statement of intent, mission statement or other such documents.

It was shown that different value judgements are attached to democracy and participation. For this reason it is important that the organisation clarifies the meaning of participation. This in itself should be done jointly. It would help to eliminate feelings of manipulation and unrealistic expectations of everybody involved. In South Africa these issues are particularly relevant at this stage in our history as we are all grappling with the question of democracy.
2.2 The process of participation

Participation should be seen as a process or a range of processes. If viewed as a process it will help participants to see that it is dynamic. This should reduce fear that mistakes cannot be made. It also emphasises that, as a process, it should be directed and controlled. As such the degree of participation would also be different. The main purpose of the organisation should not be overlooked - to render an efficient and effective service.

2.3 Challenging the misconceptions

Participation should not be equated with disorganisation. On the contrary, it is introduced to use the knowledge and skills of individuals in an organised manner. It is also a means of increasing accountability within the organisation.

It does not mean that in a participatory environment everyone should be left to do his/her own thing. Peer supervision and evaluation become important mechanisms to guide workers. It was shown that individualised attention remains a necessary condition to reduce burnout and stress. The nature of the work, the skills and interest of the individual and the overall purpose should determine who participates in which issues and when.

2.4 Creating a participatory structure

The structure of the organisation has been shown to be an important indicator of the degree of participation prevalent
in an organisation. Highly bureaucratised structures are inconsistent with participation. A co-determination structure, where workers have equal representation to decide on direction, policies, service conditions and discipline, would enhance the quality of participation. This may prove to be more important within the human service sector where workers do not engage management through trade unions. The matrix organisation structure is a creative design, which facilitates participation, in conjunction with other participative management strategies.

2.5 Training in participation

Participatory environment requires a participatory consciousness. Such a consciousness is required through experience or learning. It can be said that people learn democracy by actually experiencing it. It follows then that all workers should be given opportunities in which they can grow. Key staff members should be exposed to training in how to facilitate participation and how to become confident about delegating certain powers.

2.6 The need for further research

The basic thrust of this study was to describe and analyse participation through a qualitative study. It seems obvious that participation holds many benefits for the individual worker and the organisation. There is, however, a need to engage in quantitative research, to measure participation in relation to variables such as job satisfaction and
efficiency. It would also be worthwhile to measure the output of participatory organisations and to compare it with non-participatory structures within the human service sector.
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APPENDIX 1

CONSTITUTION

of

CAREERS RESEARCH AND INFORMATION CENTRE

WHEREAS the Careers Research and Information Centre has hitherto been conducted in liaison with the Foundation for Social Development;

AND WHEREAS it is deemed expedient for the Careers Research and Information Centre to operate entirely independently in the future;

NOW THEREFORE an Association is hereby established as follows:

1. NAME

The name of the Association shall be the 'Careers Research and Information Centre', hereinafter referred to as C.R.I.C.

2. OBJECTS

The objects for which CRIC is constituted are:

2.1 To help people to make informed decisions relating to their careers

2.2 To conduct projects and research relating to Careers Education.

2.3 To conduct training and other programs for interested persons or bodies relating to Careers and Careers Education.

2.4 To assist interested persons or bodies in the field of Careers Education in such a manner as may be appropriate in the particular circumstances.

2.5 To maintain an information and resource centre relating to Careers and Careers Education for the use of interested persons or bodies.

2.6 To publicise and disseminate information relating to Careers and Careers Education and to activities of CRIC.

2.7 To provide an advisory service covering all aspects of Careers and Careers Education.
3. **STATUS**

CRIC shall be an independent Association having a legal persona and existence independent of those it serves, and no member of its Board, Executive Committee, or its staff shall have any rights to any of its assets other than in a representative capacity and as set out herein.

4. **MEMBERSHIP**

There shall be 4 classes of members:

4.1 **Sponsor membership**

Any person or body who supports the objects of CRIC, who contributes the prescribed membership fee, may become a sponsor member of CRIC subject to the approval of the Board.

4.2 **Advisory Membership**

CRIC may invite individuals in their own right or as representatives of organisations to associate themselves with the objects of CRIC and to share advice, guidance and assistance as requested. These people will be registered as advisory members with their consent and for such period as may be stipulated by CRIC.

4.3 **Ordinary Membership**

Any person, organisation or corporation who supports the objects of CRIC and who uses CRIC'S services, may become ordinary members of CRIC subject to the approval of the Board.

4.4 **Staff Membership**

All full-time staff members shall be deemed to be a member of CRIC.

5. **MEMBERSHIP FEE**

The Board may from time to time prescribe and levy different and additional membership fees in respect of any member or class of members. Any person or organisation who fails to pay such membership on request shall at the discretion of the Board cease to be a member.

6. **VESTING AND POWERS**

All powers and assets of CRIC are vested in the Board.
7. **STRUCTURE**

CRIC shall be governed by:

7.1 an **Executive Committee** whose membership shall be as follows:

7.1.1 Chairman - elected by sponsor members from their membership to serve for a period of 2 years, after which time an election will be held.

7.1.2 2 members elected by the Board for a period of 2 years after which time an election will be held.

7.1.3 The Director of CRIC (Ex Officio)

7.1.4 1 other member of the full-time staff elected by staff members for a 1 year period.

7.2 **The Board** whose membership shall be as follows:

7.2.1 All members of the Executive Committee and not less than 3 and not more than 6 members of the sponsor, ordinary and advisory members, to be elected by the Executive Committee to serve for a set period to be determined by the Executive Committee.

8. **CONDUCT AND PROCEEDINGS**

8.1 As a **transitional mechanism** until such time as the different membership have been established the existing Executive Committee shall constitute the Board as envisaged under (7b). Out of their number the Chairman and two other members together with the Director and 1 other staff member shall constitute the Executive Committee. The Board shall invite people to become members of CRIC in the different categories.

8.2 **Meetings**

8.2.1 The Board shall meet at least 4 times per annum.

8.2.2 The Chairman may call a meeting at any time he deems fit by giving members at least 3 days notice.

8.2.3 If 5 members of the Board request it a meeting shall be called.

8.2.4 5 members shall constitute a quorum for a meeting of the Board.
8.2.5 In the absence of the Chairman the members elect a Chairman from amongst themselves.

8.2.6 The Executive Committee shall meet when necessary, either when the Chairman deems fit, or a special meeting can be called at the request of the Director or of 3 members of the Committee.

8.2.7 4 members shall constitute a quorum for the Executive.

In the absence of the Chairman the Director shall act as Chairman.

8.3 Co-option

The Executive and the Board may co-opt on to it such person or persons as it deems meet and such person or persons shall hold office as a co-opted member of the Board or Executive for a period to be decided by the relevant committee.

9. SPECIAL FUNCTIONS

9.1 The Board shall:

9.1.1 Approve the appointment of all members of staff of CRIC and whose terms and conditions of employment shall be approved by the Board. Members of staff shall be accountable to the Director, who will be accountable to the Board for their work, and the employment of a member of the permanent staff of CRIC shall not be terminated without the approval of the Board.

9.1.2 Oversee the finances of CRIC.

9.1.3 Provide guidance and support to staff of CRIC.

9.1.4 Promote and encourage the work of CRIC.

9.1.5 Enhance the reputation, finances, assets and resources of CRIC.

9.2 The Executive Committee shall:

9.2.1 Arrange the election and appointment of the Board members.

9.2.2 Manage affairs between Board meetings.
10. **VOTING POWER**

Each member of the Board shall have 1 vote.

11. **FINANCE**

11.1 The Board shall be responsible for the management of the financial affairs of CRIC and shall:

11.1.1 Appoint a treasurer to supervise monies, accounts and financial transactions.

11.1.2 Appoint Auditors.

11.1.3 Formulate and manage an annual budget.

11.1.4 Be entitled to apply the funds of CRIC for the fulfilment of its objects as the Board deems fit, subject to the provision contained in paragraph 11.2 hereunder.

11.1.5 Shall be empowered to buy or otherwise acquire moveable property on behalf of CRIC and shall likewise be empowered to mortgage or encumber any such property in its discretion.

11.2 At least 75% of the net income of the organisation will be expended in achieving its objects within a period of 12 months from the end of the financial year during which it accrued.

12. **PROJECTS AND PROGRAMMES**

Subject to the approval of the Board the Director and staff may initiate and engage in projects and programmes in fulfilment of the objects of CRIC, but shall not do so if such projects and programmes are not approved of by the Board.

13. **AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION**

The Constitution may be amended by resolution of the Board passed by a majority consisting of at least 7 members of the Board and the amended constitution will be submitted to the Commissioner of Inland Revenue.

14. **DISSOLUTION**

In the event of CRIC being exempted from the payment of tax and in the event of or upon its dissolution the net assets of CRIC shall devolve upon any institution within the Republic of South Africa having similar aims and objects and which is itself exempt from tax.
APPENDIX 2

KEY CONCEPTS: PRINCIPLES OF CRIC'S WORK

1. The primary aim of CRIC is to educate young people about the world of work, and to equip them with a critical understanding (thereof).

2. CRIC operates within a conflict paradigm and therefore strives to include in its programmes and information issues such as class, race, religious and sex discrimination.

3. CRIC encourages the development and support of groups rather than individuals, wherever possible.

4. CRIC is a resource agency. It is an interventionist as well as a service agency. It therefore seeks to contribute to the transformation of society through:
   - encouraging a critical analysis of the present society through discussion of alternatives,
   - providing lifeskills training to groups and specifically to youth engaged in social change.

5. CRIC'S emphasis is not so much on career choice but on options faced by the individual in whatever situation they find themselves; this includes choices about social relevance, whose interests are to be served, etc.

6. A significant proportion of youth leave school before Std. 8, therefore CRIC must develop a guidance service appropriate for Std.7. This requires the development of relevant information and a methodology suitable for this level, the identification and teaching of lifeskills appropriate to those in skilled and unskilled work. The areas identified for this guidance are:
   - subject choice, with special emphasis on the meaning of subjects for work in a future South Africa,
   - introduction to Trade Unions,
   - skills training in bargaining and negotiating.

7. CRIC believes its innovative methods and materials should be systematically designed, tested and documented.

8. To make a contribution as an innovative educational organisation, CRIC should try to ensure that its staff has a solid grasp of teaching methods and learning theory, as well as a basic understanding of the sociology of education and work.

9. CRIC'S primary aim provides an opportunity for encouraging amongst youth a vision for a future non-racial and democratic society, free of exploitation and oppression.
Grassroots Educare Trust strives to obtain for children the rights to which they are entitled, by transforming the system of provision of education and care for preschool children.

To fulfil this commitment, Grassroots works towards

- the provision of full day centre and home-based educare for the children of working mothers, built around a developmental programme for active learning
- the development of leadership and organisation skills to focus the energy, resources and skills of communities around projects they own
- a unitary integrated education system without the inequities caused by the separation of people and services.
APPENDIX 4

EXTRACT FROM THE CONSTITUTION OF GRASSROOTS EDUCARE TRUST

The objects of the Trust are:

(a) to promote the proper education and care of the preschool child;

(b) to promote adult education and vocational training in the field of preschool education for the benefit of trainees of Grassroots;

(c) to promote the health and general well-being and interests of the preschool child;

(d) to promote and enhance awareness in the community of the needs of the preschool child and of the benefits to the community from the proper fulfilment thereof;

(e) to promote communication between individuals, organisations and relevant public authorities on matters relating to the preschool child;

(f) to promote communication generally within the community on matters relating to the preschool child;

(g) to afford professional, supervisory and financial assistance to community groups in the establishment and administration of preschool centres and programmes for preschool children and/or to establish and administer such centres;

(h) to establish, administer and conduct programmes in regard to all matters affecting the preschool child;

(i) to collect contributions for the fulfilment of these objects;

(j) to do all things which may be necessary or conducive to the achievement of the foregoing objects;

(k) to promote the concept of a single education system in greater South Africa.
APPENDIX 5

EXTRACT FROM THE GRASSROOTS ADULT EDUCATION & TRAINING TRUST DEED.

The objects of the Trust are:

(a) to promote the establishment, administration and conduct of formal adult education and training programmes in the preschool field; and, more particularly,

(b) to promote adult education and vocational training in the field of preschool education for the benefit of trainees of the Trust;

(c) to promote the proper education and care of the preschool child by reducing the critical shortages of trained personnel through appropriate training;

(d) to promote and provide training for preschool teaching personnel in order to enhance the effectiveness of such trainees in their work and in order to enhance the opportunities for career and employment advancement or such trainees;

(e) to promote vocational advancement in the preschool field by the award of grants and bursaries to trainees of the Trust;

(f) to promote and provide management training for members of the Executive Committees of preschool Centres in order to enhance the functioning of such trainees in their administrative offices, thereby improving the general opportunities for career advancement of such trainees;

(g) to collect contributions for the fulfilment of these objects;

(h) to do all things which may be necessary or conducive to the achievement of the foregoing objects.
APPENDIX 6

CONSTITUTION OF GRASSROOTS EDUCARE TRUST

1.  NAME

The Organisation shall be known as the Grassroots Educare Trust, hereinafter referred to as the 'Trust'.

2.  HEADQUARTERS

The Headquarters of the Trust shall be situated on Second Floor, industria House, 350 Victoria Road, Salt River, Cape or at such place as may from time to time be decided.

3.  OBJECTS

The objects of the Trust are:

(a) to promote the proper education and care of the preschool child;

(b) to promote adult education and vocational training in the field of preschool education for the benefit of trainees of Grassroots;

(c) to promote the health and general well-being and interests of the preschool child;

(d) to promote and enhance awareness in the community of the needs of the preschool child and of the benefits to the community from a proper fulfilment thereof;

(e) to promote communication between individuals, organisations and relevant public authorities on matters relating to the preschool child;

(f) to promote communication generally within the community on matters relating to the preschool child;

4.  TRUSTEES

(a) The Trust shall be administered and managed by the Trustees, whose number shall not be less than seven (7) nor exceed twenty-five (25);

(b) The Trustees, with the exception of four (4), who shall be nominated by contributing Unions, shall be nominated by the existing Trustees;

(c) Any person having an interest in or commitment to preschool education and care shall be eligible for the office of Trustee;
(d) No Trustee shall be entitled to any remuneration for services rendered, unless appointed as an officer of the Trust to whom remuneration has been granted by the Trustees;

(e) A Trustee shall be entitled to nominate an alternate to attend meetings of the Trustees in his or her place and to vote in his or her name;

(f) The Trustees shall hold office until their resignation, death or incapacity or removal by majority vote of the Trustees. In the event of a vacancy occurring among the Trustees, other than those nominated by contributing Unions, it shall be filled by the remaining or surviving Trustees, who shall also have power at any time and from time to time to appoint a person as a new Trustee, subject to the provisions of paragraph (a) of this Clause;

(g) The Board of Trustees shall elect a Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Treasurer, who shall also be the Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Treasurer respectively of the Executive Committee;

(h) The Trustees shall oversee the administration and management of the Trust;

(i) Meetings

   (i) The Chairman shall convene an AGM of Trustees at which meeting the Chairman shall present a report on the activities of the Trust during the preceding year and the Treasurer shall present Financial Statements of the affairs of the Trust and the Trustees' administration thereof.

   (ii) The Chairman shall convene a further General meeting of Trustees in each calendar year for the purpose of reviewing the past and future conduct of the business of the Trust.

   (iii) The AGM and the further General Meeting referred to in (i) and (ii) above shall be convened by the Chairman upon the giving of fourteen (14) days written notice thereof to the Trustee.

   (v) At all meetings of the Trustees, six (6) members shall constitute a quorum.

   (vi) In the discretion and at the invitation of the Chairman any employee of the Trust may attend and speak at any meeting of the Trustees but shall under no circumstances be entitled to vote thereat.
5. **EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

(a) The administration and management of the Trust shall, subject to the provision of Clause 4 of this Constitution, be vested in an Executive Committee, which shall be appointed by the Board of Trustees;

(b) The Executive Committee shall meet at least ten times per calendar year, at such place and on such date as the Chairman in consultation with the Director may decide. Special meetings of the Executive Committee may be called by the Chairman, whenever he deems it advisable, or upon a requisition for such a meeting signed by not less than three (3) members of the Executive Committee. In the discretion and at the invitation of the Chairman any employee of the Trust may attend and speak at any meeting of the Executive Committee but under no circumstances be entitled to vote thereat;

(c) Members of the Executive Committee shall be notified in writing of the time and place of meetings at least three (3) days before the date of such a meeting, provided that shorter notice may, at the discretion of the Chairman, be given. To every notice of a meeting, an Agenda shall be attached. At all meetings of the Executive Committee four (4) members thereof shall constitute a quorum;

(d) If within fifteen minutes of the time fixed for any meeting a quorum is not present, the meeting shall stand adjourned for one week at the same time and place, and at such adjourned meeting of which written notice shall have been given to all members of the Executive Committee, the members present shall form a quorum;

(e) The Executive Committee shall have the power to appoint, from time to time, such sub-committees as it may deem fit, to advise the Executive on any matters;

(f) The Executive Committee shall, subject to the provisions of this Constitution, have power:

(i) to engage and dismiss, except where otherwise provided in this Constitution, employees; to fix their remuneration and define their duties.

(ii) to institute or defend legal proceedings by or against the Trust.

(iii) to acquire, either by purchase, lease or otherwise, any movable or immovable property on behalf to the Trust, and to sell, let, mortgage or otherwise deal with or dispose of any movable or immovable property.
(iv) to open and operate a banking account in the name of the Trust, provided that any cheque drawn thereon must be signed by any two (2) of the persons authorised to do so by the Executive.

(v) to do such other things as, in the opinion of the Executive Committee, may appear to be in the interests of the Trust.

(vi) to afford professional, supervisory and financial assistance to community groups in the establishment and administration of preschool centres and programmes for preschool children and/or to establish and administer such centres;

(vii) to establish, administer and conduct programmes in regard to all matters affecting the preschool child;

(viii) to collect contributions for the fulfilment of these objects;

(ix) to do all things which may be necessary or conducive to the achievement of the foregoing objects;

(x) to promote the concept of a single education system in greater South Africa.

6. **FINANCE AND AUDIT**

(a) The finances of the Trust shall be under the control of the Executive Committee;

(b) The accounts of the Trust shall be audited and submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Trustees at which an Auditor, who shall be a Chartered Accountant, shall be appointed for the following year.

7. **IMMOVABLE PROPERTY**

Immovable property acquired by the Trust shall be registered in the name of the Trust, represented by two (2) Trustees appointed for the purpose.

8. **AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION**

The provision of this Constitution may only be amended by a Resolution of the Trustees at a meeting specially constituted for the purpose, at which more than half of the Trustees for the time being, or their Alternates, are present; PROVIDED that the proposed changes shall have been notified in writing to each Trustee fourteen (14) days before the meeting. If, within fifteen (15) minutes of the time fixed for such a meeting the required quorum is not present, the meeting shall stand adjourned for one week at
the same time and place, and at such adjourned meeting the Trustees present shall form a quorum.

9. **AREAS OF BUSINESS**

(a) The Trust shall carry on its business in the area of the Western Cape, but shall provide consultative services in preschool education and care throughout greater South Africa.

(b) Contributions and/or donations for the furtherance of the objects contained in Clause 3 may be collected by, for or on behalf of the Trust within the area of the Republic of South Africa.

10. **DISSOLUTION OF THE TRUST**

(a) The Trust may be dissolved upon a Resolution to that effect, passed by not less than two-thirds of the Trustees, for the time being in office, at a meeting of the Trustees specially constituted for the purpose and of which twenty-one (21) days written notice is given to all the Trustees;

(b) In the event of the dissolution of the Trust, any funds or assets held by the Trust and remaining after the discharge of all its obligations shall be disposed of by way of donation to any institution or institutions which is or are authorised in terms of the Fundraising Act, 1978, to collect contributions in the Republic of South Africa, and having similar objects, wheresoever situate, as having similar objects, as directed by the Trustees in the Resolution aforesaid: PROVIDED always that such institution or institutions shall be exempted from income tax and donations tax in terms of the authority granted under the Income Tax Act;

(c) In the event of the dissolution of the Trust of the winding up of its assets, each Trustee undertakes to contribute to the assets of the Trust for payment of the debts and liabilities of the Trust and of the costs, charges and expenses of the dissolution or winding up, an amount of two rand.

11. **PATRONS**

The Trustees shall have power to appoint Patrons, which office shall be purely honorary in that, while a Patrons' advice may be sought on any matter affecting the Trust or its business, he or she shall have no authority in connection with its activities, neither shall he or she be responsible for them in any respect.

His Worship the Mayor of Cape Town shall ex officio be the Patron-in-Chief of the Trust.
APPENDIX 7

WORKER PARTICIPATION WITHIN HUMAN SERVICE ORGANISATIONS

GUIDELINES FOR INTERVIEWS

1. Explain the purpose of the study and assure the interviewee that confidentiality will be maintained.

2. What is your function/position within the organisation?

3. How long have you been working for the organisation?

4. In which teams, committees, groups are you involved in the organisation?

5. What is your understanding of democracy?

6. How would you describe participation within the organisation?

7. What problems do you experience in terms of democratic participation?

8. Do you experience problems in relating to colleagues/superiors?

9. Do you experience problems in your team?

10. What kind of problems do you experience in your work?

11. Do you experience problems in the community and what are they?

12. Do you experience problems with other organisations and what are they?

13. How big an effect would you say, your involvement in this organisation has on your personal life?

14. In general, how satisfying do you find work at this organisation?

15. What do you like most about working at this organisation?

16. What do you like least about working at this organisation?

17. Do you have any other comments or observations regarding participation?

MOST          LEAST

1. Feeling of doing something worthwhile
2. Contribution of the organisation to change in society
3. Efficient decision-making
4. Meetings
5. Working under pressure
6. The quality of service
7. Smooth operations
8. Appreciation from clients
9. Equality with co-workers
10. Accountability within the organisation
11. Recognition from co-workers
12. Opportunity to be creative
13. Sense of community
14. Learning for a future career
15. Salary