WORKERS PARTICIPATION: A SURVEY OF EMPLOYEES ATTITUDES

by

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ABSTRACT

Workers' participation (WP) is any process whereby workers have a share in the reaching of managerial decisions in the enterprise. The major objectives of this study are: to clarify the various perspectives and concepts involved with WP; to review and critique previous studies on workers' propensity to participate; and to survey the attitudes of a group of white-collar employees towards participating in decision-making.

Desire for participation among employees was measured by their willingness to move to another nearby company which would allow them more influence in decision-making, everything else being held the same (i.e., pay, working conditions, security, etc.). It was found that clerical employees and those willing to run for shop steward were more willing to move than were either technical-professional employees or those less willing to participate in their union. There is substantial support for direct participation in local decisions and far less for medium and distant decisions. Lastly, when a cost factor for participation is introduced (i.e., time, security, pay) for those who desire more participation, the support falls substantially. No relationship was found between desire for participation and age, education or sex.

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INTRODUCTION

Worker's participation in management is an old, recurring idea which has been defined in many ways and attempted for various purposes. Recent interest in Canada[1] and a noticeable trend in Europe towards worker's participation[2] make it timely to take a thorough look at this topic.

The basic idea is that people who are managed should have some influence or control over decisions that affect them. The International Institute of Labour Studies, which has done by far the most comprehensive series of international studies on this topic, describes worker's participation as "any process whereby workers have a share in the reaching of managerial decisions in the enterprise " (Wall and Lischeron, 1977, p. 36).

Much confusion in the area of worker's participation (WP) arises from the fact that neither proponents for nor critics

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[1]For example, see "The Great Participation Debate," The Labour Gazette, Vol. 76, No. 8, August 1976. The Honourable Gerald A. Regan, a recent federal Minister of Labour, has stated a strong government support for "quality-of-working-life" (QWL) issues such as workers' participation. He stated that the 1980s will see a vigorous push for more participative decision-making and meaningful work." (The Canadian Personnel and I.R. Journal, Jan. 1981, p. 34).

[2]Kenneth F. Walker, "Towards the Participatory Enterprise: A European Trend," Annals, AAPSS, 431, May 1977, pp. 1-11.

of WP have been very precise about the nature of their proposals or consistent in their use of concepts or terminology. A further hindrance to understanding is that any scheme of WP must be viewed within the context of the historical, economic, and social conditions of the country concerned, its values and traditions. For the purpose of clarity, a framework will be described for analysis of WP with the major issues, definitions, and concepts which have emerged from the literature.

A broad array of social, political, economic and demographic factors have produced forces towards greater WP. The Canadian economy is beset by problems of inflation, unemployment, lagging growth rates and industrial disputes.

Individual enterprises with declining rates of productivity growth, high turnover, absenteeism and strikes are quick to grasp at any method which promises increased worker motivation and satisfaction, higher productivity, and a more cooperative industrial relations climate,

The apparent relative economic success of a number of European countries, where forms of WP are well established, has convinced many of the desirability of increasing WP in the North American enterprise in hope of achieving similar success. However, the transferability of these systems to Canada is in great doubt (Davies 1979; Donahue, 1976) due to the differences in such factors as bargaining structure and the historical development of the different labour-management relationships.

With rapid changes in economic structure and technology, a stronger emphasis on democratic social and political values, rising levels of education, and with the authoritarian remnants of the last war fading into the past, there is a shift in the philosophy and morphology of many work organizations. For example, it has been proposed that we have entered the "third managerial revolution" which is based on the principle of participativeness (Preston and Post, 1974). The first managerial revolution consisted of the appearance of management itself as a specialized function within hierarchical organizations. The second was the separation of ownership and control which accompanied the growth in scale and complexity of managerial tasks and which led to the professionalization of management functions. Today, participative production relationships are viewed by many as a panacea for the alienation created by automation and large complex hierarchical organization (Child, 1976).

A kind of evolutionary logic is implied as the process of industrialization unfolds and yields the "participation imperative" of post-industrial society.

Kenneth Alexander (1975, p. 45) points out the apparent paradox between the values and standards espoused in society at large and those which are firmly embedded in the institution of work:

> We live in a society which pays massive informal homage to individualism. We have structured our educational system which formally imbues our youth, year after year, with the social values of freedom, liberty, and individual expression. Then they learn

> that they are expected to spend a lifetime on a job while explicitly submitting to authority. . . and the rising educational level of the labour force makes the contradiction steadily more severe.

The force of moral persuasion has been added to the trend towards participation as more people accept the moral dictum of the International Labour Office that "labour is not a commodity," and the Papal Encyclical which states that "the nature of man demands that in his productive activities he should contribute to the organization of these activities and find satisfaction in his work" (Pope John XXIII, 1976) (Quoted from Newton, 1977, p. 8).

In addition, government support for WP has been growing throughout North America. The U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, in a much debated study entitled "Work in America" (1973, p. 13) stated: "What the workers want most, as more than 100 studies in the past 20 years show, is to become masters of their immediate environments and to feel that their work and they themselves are important—the twin ingredients of self-esteem." In Canada, the federal government's "quality-of-working-life" (QWL) initiatives support and emphasize WP in decision-making on the shop floor which shifts authority and responsibility down the management hierarchy.[3]

Using census data in the United States, one estimate showed that only 55 percent of workers enjoy discretion on the job (Brown, 1975). This leaves almost half the workers in America

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[3]John Munro, "The quality of working life: a government view," The Labour Gazette, "Adapting to a Changing World," 1978.

with little influence over an extremely important aspect of their lives.

I. Proponents for WP

Those who support WP have been categorized into four different schools of thought by Edward Greenberg (1975). Firstly, the Management School is characterized by a concern for the alienation of the work-force as manifested in high turnover, absenteeism, low productivity, wildcat strikes, alcohol and drug abuse, psychosomatic illness and industrial sabotage. Most professional management today has been briefly exposed to the ideas of those who have been called the founding fathers of participative management and humanistic psychology: the emphasis on groups by Elton Mayo; the hierarchy of needs by Abraham Maslow; the trust, job enrichment and autonomy emphasized by Chris Argyris; Frederick Hertzberg's "satisfiers" or motivating factors and "dissatisfiers" or "hygiene" factors; the famous Theory X and Theory Y of Douglas McGregor; the corporate culture of cooperation and participation which was the forerunner of matrix management by Rensis Likert; and the Theory Z organization style based on Japanese-style concepts of long-term employment and participatory decision-making proposed by William Ouchi.

Their education tells managers that it is precisely an environment of autocratic supervision and repetitive unfulfilling tasks that leads to alienation. This has led to the

notion of restructuring the organization of work through various forms of job enlargement, job enrichment, and WP in decision-making.

Secondly, the Humanistic Psychologist's School, consisting of those already listed above and their followers, points out a fundamental incongruity between the psychological needs of the individual and the characteristics of modern work organizations.

For example, Maslow points to the basic incongruity between worker's needs for pride of achievement and development of capacities with the repetitive, simple tasks performed by so many members of the work-force.

Greenberg calls a third school the Participatory Democrats. Elections and representation by governing elite is the most common form of democracy in Western societies today. However, the Participatory Democrats stress an older form of democracy which emphasizes the importance of participation in the social decision-making process and is based upon the belief that people have a capacity for responsible and moral deliberation which can be improved by education and by the experience of cooperative collective action. From this perspective, the present rejection of the older form by modern revisionists, who argue for an elitist group versed in the art of governance, is antithetical to the very essence of democracy and contributes to the apathy and ignorance of the general population which

has been well noted in political science studies. As John Witte (1980, p. 25) puts it:

> The generally established academic position is that the general population knows little about current affairs, expresses almost random attitudes over time, and rarely organizes its political beliefs along any logical continuum. . . .There exists general mass apathy and political incompetence.

However, the proponents of participatory democracy have been heard more in recent years, particularly in civil rights groups, the student movement, and various forms of community action groups. The Participatory Democrats continue to argue that the potential contributuion of workers in the decision-making process will be beneficial to workers, business, and the society at large.

Lastly, Greenberg categorizes one school as the Participatory Left which attempts to use participation as a means to raise worker consciousness and to educate them away from acceptance of traditional capitalist values.

Marx had contended that under capitalism the organization of production had denied the worker the opportunity for self-development and creativity by removing his control over what he produced and how he produced it. Wage labour, industrial specialization, powerlessness and passivity are viewed as characteristics of capitalism which lead to alienation. Marxists declare that these suppressive mechanisms must be removed along with private property through socialist revolution. The philosophy of Gramsci and Gorz, set out in Greenberg's article, argues for the need of raising issues

and organizing labour through consciousness-raising worker's councils. With the entrenched, interlocking power of the state and capitalist corporations (Clement, 1975), with the instrumental attitudes of affluent workers in Western countries (Goldthorpe, 1968) who do not witness the stark horror of poverty and mass unemployment in the exploited countries of the world, and with corporatist or business labour unions, it has become more difficult to engender socialist attitudes. Therefore, they argue that workers' councils are the medium through which workers may develop social consciousness, confidence in self-management, and appreciation of what can be achieved by cooperative and collective efforts. Thus, the Participatory Left views workers' councils as a means to an end; they are an educational prerequisite for a process of increasing worker's control over the economic order.

II. Critics of WP

The critics of WP in management are almost as numerous as its proponents. Hugh Clegg (1960), a sympathetic critic of industrial democracy for nearly three decades, argues that cooperative decision-making will lead to worker co-optation with a resulting anemia in the pursuit of wage and grievance demands.

Several authors have critized WP from a Marxist perspective. Harvie Ramsay (1977) argues that WP has not evolved out of the humanization of capitalism but occurs in cycles

which correspond to periods when managerial authority is seen to be challenged. Thus, Ramsay views participation as a means of attempting to secure labour's compliance. He describes the past attempts by management to introduce WP since the late 1800s and concludes that any real, substantial change in the power relationship between labour and management would not be tolerated by the owners of capital. Somewhat skeptically, he concludes (p. 495):

> Participation, then, was, and for the moment remains the latest vogue term for the old ideology of common interests, aiming to create a forum for the communication of management's version of reality and the problems of business which would cause employees to temper their demands and accept managerial leadership.

Michael Rose (1975) views participative management as merely the latest progression of management theory since Taylor's school of "scientific management." The vast majority of research in social science is viewed largely as an item of the ideological apparatus of capitalism. The focus of such researchers as Maslow, McGregor, Likert, and Argyris on issues of human efficiency and profitability demonstrates that science is once more the "servant of power." The very questions asked and the resources made available for research are all framed within the semantic structure of capitalism. Scientists are always tempted to present their work in a way that appeals to possible sponsors; thus, the great majority of industrial students have addressed themselves primarily to managerial problems. As the nature of those problems changed, so did

theories. Hence, participative management may be viewed as the latest theory developed to serve capitalism. Rose concludes that any genuinely new approach to industrial theory or behavior would imply "a study of the changing forms and consequences of socio-economic exploitation in the production of all goods and services, especially of those consequences which generate challenges to the principle of exploitation itself" (p. 277).

Harry Braverman (1974) views WP in management and the whole "quality-of-working-life" (QWL) topic as a duplicitous campaign" which is sheer deception and pretence. Social science accepts the capitalist mode of production and attempts, on occasion, to assuage the conscience by merely criticizing the mode of distribution. Braverman would view the Humanistic Psychologists as solely focusing on the degree of the adjustment of the worker rather than leveling their criticisms on the nature of the work and the mode of production itself.

Alan Fox (1974), though not classified as a Marxist, takes a radical perspective towards WP which views it as an attempt to win employee compliance and moral involvement. The unitary perspective of industrial relations assumes that workers and management strive together towards common objectives. Critics of WP scoff at proponents who take this "team" outlook and deny the inherent conflicts of labour-management relations. The pluralist perspective acknowledges the existence of divergent interests but assumes that these conflicts are

reconcilable through cooperation, structural adaptation of work places, and mediating institutions. The radical perspective, however, views conflict not only as a fundamental, but as an irreconcilable feature of industry as it is now structured. Thus, from the radical viewpoint, WP will only be meaningful and succeed if it includes a shift in the power in society and a radical change in the nature of the work itself. Radicals do not believe that management will willingly yield this power.[4]

Indeed, an opinion widely held is that Canadian employers believe that companies cannot be managed efficiently by applying democratic principles, that important decisions can not be a matter of compromise among opposing interests.[5] Fox argues that unlike, the pluralist, the radical does not see the trade unions as restoring a balance of power between the propertied and the propertyless. The radical believes that most trade unions do not seriously challenge the status quo. There are many types of management decisions in which employees might aspire to participate were they conscious of having the power to do so. However, most rank-and-file workers shun discretion and responsibility because of their social conditioning and adaptation to what they view as the

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[4]The unitary, pluralist, and radical perspectives were adapted from an earlier article by Robert Davies, "The role and relevance of theory in industrial relations: a critical review," The Labour Gazette, October 1977, pp. 436-445.

[5]G. Dufour, "Canada Cannot Import German Style Codetermination," The Labour Gazette, June 1977, pp. 9-14.

inevitable, legitimate power relationship of the status quo. Fox believes that "would be" reformers, who are trying to gain the commitment of the workers, are merely trying to impose on others their own values and preferences.[6] The widespread failure of the industrial enterprise to evoke the full moral involvement of the rank-and-file has been explained by blaming the workers rather than the nature of the work or the structure of the enterprise. Management has failed because they aspire to generate a high-trust response from employees in a low-trust situation. In our society, the individual's degree of moral commitment, identification and involvement is associated with the degree of control and discretion his job affords him; other forms of participation have only marginal effects. Thus, Fox concludes that "only a long-term radical programme of social equality stands any chance of generating a sufficiently widespread sense of commitment to our common life" (p. 173).

The next group of critics attacks the psychological research upon which much moral justification for WP is based. Perhaps, the most startling statement comes from Abraham Maslow himself (Eupsychian Management, 1965, p. 55):

> A good deal of the evidence upon which he (McGregor) bases his conclusions comes from my researches and my papers on motivation, self-actualization, etc. . . . .But I of all people

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[6]This phenomenon of projection has been noted in several forums (e.g., Steimetz-1970; Sorcher-1971; Davies-1977).

> should know, just how shaky this foundation is as a final foundation. My work on motivation comes from the clinic, from a study of neurotic people. The carry-over of this theory to the industrial situation has some support from industrial studies, but certainly I would like to see a lot more studies of this kind before feeling finally convinced that this carry-over from the study of neurosis to the study of labour in factories is legitimate.

Two further difficulties with Maslow's hierarchy, which are particularly relevant to this study of participation, are the role of money and the closed system approach adopted by many writers which assumes that all but the basic needs may most usefully be satisfied in the work-context. Money is usually classified alongside physiological needs at the bottom of the hierarchy. Yet this appears to be totally misleading since money can be perceived as a general reinforcer which can satisfy a wide variety of needs at all levels of the hierarchy. The closed system approach, which ignores the compensation effects of leisure and non-work time, fails to confront the instrumental attitudes of many employees towards work and the realities of the organizational constraints involved in a market economy.

Personality theory and attitudinal research describe individuals in terms of traits or clusters of behaviour and would predict that only certain types of employees would react positively to WP. Many workers would have to undergo substantial attitudinal change in order to be predisposed to participate. For example, Steimetz and Greenidge (1970) state

that employees may be categorized into those with an "ascendant" viewpoint such as the typical manager who welcomes the opportunity to participate whereas they contend that most rank-and-file have an "indifferent" outlook or attitude which rejects participation as an extra burden. Between these two positions are those who possess "ambivalent" attitudes such as the low level managers and aspiring workers.

Since the vast majority of initiatives in WP have come from management in North America it does not require an overly skeptical mind to view participation as another management technique to achieve greater worker commitment to organizational goals and increased profits—in other words, just another form of exploitation. Unions are suspicious (Donahue, 1976) and fear the "co-opting" of workers to the management team.

More elitist, authoritarian, or paternalistic managers may take the professional stance that workers quite simply lack the expertise to make useful contributions to the management of the enterprise. Indeed, this gap in knowledge must be bridged by information and training if participation is to be effective (Jain, 1978). Furthermore, they argue, an important factor of good management is the ability to make fast decisions on crucial matters and that the participative decision-making apparatus is inappropriate and cumbersome (Marchington and Loveridge, 1979). Many managers do not readily accept

what they perceive to be an erosion of management rights and prerogatives which participation may entail. They view humanistic psychology as too "soft" or idealistic, unfounded, or incompatible with the reality of the fast changing, complex, competitive capitalist marketplace.

A paradox becomes apparent when the very reasons that management might be expected to resist WP are also those which may explain the resistance of unions. Trade unions have emerged as a countervailing force against the abuse of managerial authority. An important aspect of the union's function is guarding against the intrusion of managerial authority. To the extent that such authority is eroded or shared with employees, the purpose of those unions whose major focus is adversarial will diminish.

Lastly, the worker, the most important factor involved and the focus of this thesis, may reject participation due to a general resistance to change, a genuine preference for a more passive role, or an instrumental outlook towards work as something to be tolerated in order to meet basic needs and to enjoy the consumption of goods and leisure.

To conclude, an attempt has been made to draw the battle-line between the proponents for and critics of WP.

It remains to empirical investigation to suggest which view is most consistent with reality. The proponents would anticipate a substantial desire among employees for participation

in order to satisfy their higher order needs, whereas the critics would anticipate worker skepticism or indifference, and only minimal support. The next section will develop a framework within which one may generate hypotheses and will further refine the definition of WP in management.

III. An Organization-Theoretic Framework[7]

Walker (1974) distinguishes two ways in which participation may be achieved. When workers exert influence on managerial functions in levels higher in the organizational structure the notion is termed "ascending participation." When managerial functions are delegated to lower levels the notion is termed "descending participation."

A distinction may also be made between the form of participation which is structured by design and the extent to which the instituted design is actively taken up and utilized. "Structural participation" is used to describe the institutional form which is introduced, whereas "living participation" is used to describe the actual personal involvement of the participants.

Next, the institutions of WP may be legislated and formal, such as works councils, safety committees, or rules for representation on company boards, or the institutions may be

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[7]Drawn and adapted from Keith Newton, "The Theory and Practice of Industrial Democracy: A Canadian Perspective," Discussion Paper No. 94, Economic Council of Canada, August 1977.

voluntary and informal, such as committees for joint consultation and non-binding negotiations.

Furthermore, control over decision-making may stretch from unilateral decisions by management, at one extreme, through information giving, consultation, negotiation, to veto power over management's decisions and to unilateral worker control. Figure 1 (drawn from Davies, 1979, p. 8) offers a helpful outline of the spectrum of participation and delineates several terms which are often confused and used interchangeably in debates on WP.

FIGURE 1
THE SPECTRUM OF PARTICIPATION

Degree of control by workers	Nature of worker involvement	General name
Greatest control or full industrial democracy	Ultimate authority rests with the workers themselves to whom management is responsible. The enterprise is also collectively owned by workers.	Workers' control or self-management
Lower limit of industrial democracy	Decisions made jointly by management or shareholder representatives and workers' representatives (i.e., indirect participation) at board level or on works' councils.	Co-determination
	Workers initiate criticisms and make suggestions that are discussed with management. Management reserves the right to take the final decision but undertakes to provide workers with relevant information before such decisions are taken.	Consultation or co-influence
Least control, lower limit of participation	Workers are informed of management decisions as well as the reasons for them.	Information/communication

Participation may also take place at different levels ranging from those closest to the individual worker at the task level, through work group or section, department or factory, firm, industry, to the level of the economy.

In addition, participation may be direct, such as schemes of job enlargment, rotation, and enrichment wherein the individual worker participates, or indirect, as in representational schemes like works councils, company boards, or collective bargaining.

Lastly, one may speak of the amount[8] of participation in an organization in terms of the further dimensions of scope, degree, and extent. The scope of participation refers to the range of managerial functions in which workers take part. By degree is meant the extent to which workers influence managerial functions. By extent is meant how widely spread the participation is among the members of the workforce.

Walker goes on to define two sets of internal organizational factors which determine the likelihood of WP. The first set of factors is known as the "participation potential"

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[8]See also Kwoka J., "The Organization of Work: A Conceptual Framework," Social Science Quarterly, Vol.57, No. 3, 1976, pp. 632-643, for a method of calculating the amount of participation in an organization.

of the firm or the characteristics of the workplace itself; the autonomy of the enterprise; its size; its technology; and its organizational structure and climate. A second set of factors are the "human factors" which include the worker's "propensity to participate" and which determine the extent to which the potential for participation is realized.

First considering the autonomy of the firm, in countries with a large degree of central planning, decisions concerning the desired degree of WP are often taken above the level of the firm. Legislative provisions likewise limit freedom of action at the company level. In a country like Canada with a "branch-plant economy," the formulation of company policy may take place in multinational headquarters outside the country. Thus, the less autonomy a firm possesses, then the less opportunity exists for WP.

Technology is a second important factor which affects functional complexity, specialization, and the physical layout of the workplace which, in turn, affects the degree, scope, extent, and form of WP. For example, in a highly automated plant with massive capital investment, there may be very little leeway for worker involvement in decision-making. A number of research studies have confirmed that an organization's tasks and the technologies necessary to accomplish them are major determinants of organizational

structure. For example, Joan Woodward (1965) divided firms into three basic groups based on their production technology: unit and small batch production, large batch and mass production, and process production. It was found that the more complex the technology, going from unit up to process production, the greater the number of managers and management levels. The span of management was also found to increase from unit to mass production and then decrease to process production. The last major relationship discovered was that the greater the technological complexity of the firm, the larger was the clerical and administrative staffs.

Though the link between technology and social or organizational structure has been demonstrated, the proponents for WP argue that this link does not necessarily determine social patterns or the most appropriate decision-making process. A socio-technical systems approach has been proposed which suggests that the technology itself must be adapted to social systems for true profit maximization (Trist and Bamforth, 1951).

Critics, such as Rose (1975), counter that insofar as a technology demands a typical pattern of organization (if a profit is to be made) then it creates role determined behavior. The demands of the technology permit only marginal adjustments to the entailed system of work-roles through job enlargement, rotation, etc. Such conclusions are gloomy for managers eager to reduce industrial unrest and for

humanitarians committed equally to the dignity of man and the profit motive.

The possibility exists that technology is ideologically based; that is, if one views workers as typically lazy and indifferent, then one would design a technology which removes as much discretion as possible from the worker and couple this with close supervision. On the other hand, if one views workers as seeking to satisfy needs for achievement and discretion, then one would opt for more flexible technological design and work group autonomy. It may be that wider cultural and social patterns of differing societies are stronger determinants of participation than the nature of the technology itself (Gallie, 1978).

Third, the size of the firm can affect the participation potential in that the more personal, less specialized, and less complex atmosphere in small firms may be more conducive to communication and cooperation than large firms with greater formalization, standardization, specialization and impersonal supervision (Child, 1976).

As an organization grows in size, its problems and approaches to these problems change markedly. Problems of coordination and communication increase, new levels of management are likely to emerge, and tasks can become more interrelated (Greiner, 1972). Hence, with the increased complexity and problems of control in large organizations, it is unlikely that management will be predisposed to WP

if it is viewed as relinquishing control in a zero-sum game. However, managers who are convinced that sharing decisions will augment control will certainly support WP.

Fourth, the organizational structure, which is interdependent with the previous variables of size, technology, and autonomy, may hinder or enhance the likelihood of success for WP. A "flat" organizational structure would appear to be more conducive to WP than a "tall" structure (Walker, 1974). A company organized into strictly divided functional departments with an emphasis on status, ranking, and titles may develop a climate characterized by rigidity, traditionalism, and an emphasis on rules and regulations. Alternatively, a tall structure may also be conducive to WP if there is strong support at the top.

Conversely, less mechanistic structures may result in flexible, innovative, and informal climates. Such factors, as the involvement of ownership in the enterprise, and the sharing of information, authority, and power, all have direct implications for participation potential (Cummings and Berger, 1976) (Gowler and Legge, 1978).

The interaction between the worker's propensity to participate, which is determined by the expectation of reward and past experience and conditioning, and the manager's willingness or ability to share decision-making, are the human factors which will determine the extent to which the participation potential is actually realized. The first questions for

the workers to consider, and the focus of this thesis, are: To what extent and in what decisions do they really want to participate? How strong is this desire to participate and what is the actual value of participation to the worker; that is, what are workers willing to trade off, if necessary, to achieve more job discretion?

These are difficult questions to answer for a number of reasons: (1) even when workers themselves are surveyed, there may be a difference between declared opinions and the extent to which they would or could be acted out in reality; (2) the effort that workers are willing to put into active or living participation will be affected by their self-esteem and perceptions of their own capabilities, the perceived costs balanced against the perceived rewards, and the amount of trust already established between themselves and management based upon past experience.

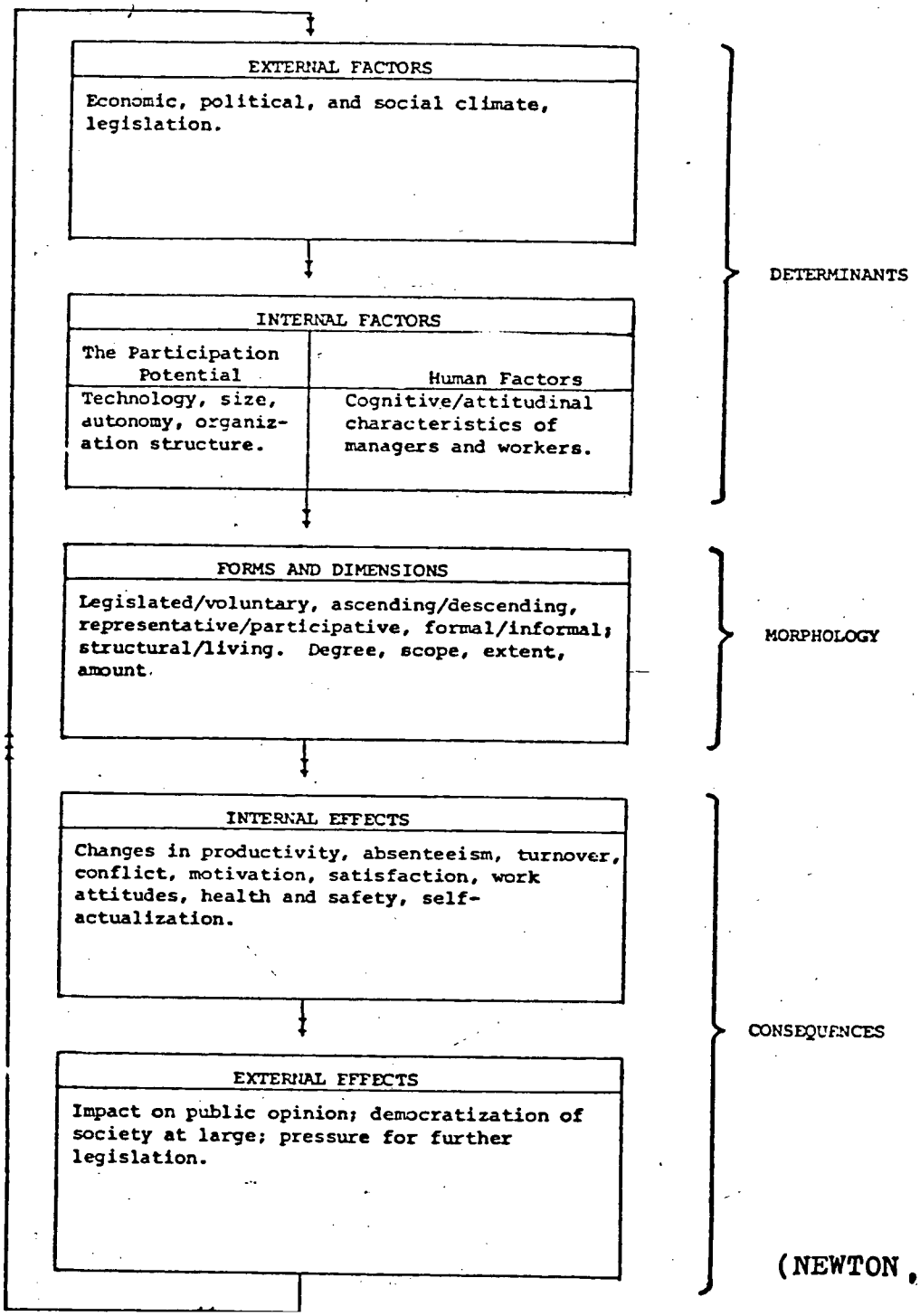
At the same time, the attitudes of managers founded upon various philosophies will affect the degree to which managers are prepared to accept concepts of WP. If supervisors or lower level managers perceive a threat to their jobs or authority, one would expect any scheme of WP to be met with resistance and sabotage.

The interaction between the manager's attitudes and the worker's propensity to participate will determine, in particular situations, the amount and form of participation, given the potential set by organizational constraints and characteristics which are not amenable to change.

To summarize and conclude this section, the following model is a general framework for WP within which analysis and evaluative research may be undertaken. With this summary of the context of WP established, we can now turn to the specific question of what exactly are workers' attitudes towards participation?

FIGURE 2

AN ORGANIZATION-THEORETIC FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS OF PARTICIPATION



(NEWTON, 1977)

V. Workers' Attitudes Towards Participation: A Review

This thesis is focusing on one single element of the framework for WP, that is, the workers' attitudes towards participation or their propensity to participate. The reasoning behind this choice was forcibly stated by Walker (1972, p. 1183):

> The critical factor appears to be workers' attitudes towards WP in management since if there is little interest and pressure among workers, little difference is made by their having high capacity and high relative power, or by a high acceptance of WP on the part of management.

This point is reiterated by Clarke et al. (1972, pp.18-19):

> The present state of knowledge does not give a definitive answer to the fundamental question of to what extent workers want to participate. . . . Indeed some commentators have gone so far as to suggest that little or no interest exists among employees.

Wall and Lischeron (1977, p. 13) point to a more specific lack of information:

> There is scant evidence of the strength, as opposed to prevalence, of the interest in immediate participation, nor is there much consideration of desires in relation to different decision-making topics.

More recently, Witte (1980, p. 24) in a study of WP in an American manufacturing corporation declares that the state of knowledge is still woefully lacking: "Very little is known about how much influence workers feel they should have in different types of corporate decisions."

The purpose of this study is to help the efforts to fill that gap in knowledge so that we may deal intelligently with WP, to avoid its pitfalls and false promises, and to reap its potential benefits. First, a review of the more relevant information accumulated thus far proves useful.

Previous Studies

The conclusion that workers desire more influence in decisions than is allowed by their current jobs has been supported by a number of studies originating at the University of Michigan. Daniel Katz (1951) found that, of 580 clerical workers in the home office of a large eastern insurance company, only 24 percent were satisfied with the amount of decision-making in their jobs. Katz further reported that, of 5,700 employees in a heavy-industry plant, 51 percent wanted to "have more say" about the way their work was done. Moreover, 65 percent thought the work would be better done if the men had more opportunities to make suggestions about such things as the design, setups, and the layout of the work. However, the majority of workers (68 percent) felt that they had little or nothing to say about how their job should be carried out. Nancy Morse (1953) reported that, of 742 clerical workers in a large insurance company, 73 percent would like to have more decisions to make than were possible in their present jobs.

Arnold Tannenbaum (1956) used general questions to measure perceived control, influence, or participation, and demonstrated that desired control is consistently higher than actual control at most levels in the organization. Furthermore, the discrepancy between actual and ideal control increases as one moves from the top downward in organizations. Thus, workers believe that, relative to the current distribution, their influence should be increased. However, in another study (Tannenbaum and Kahn, 1958, pp. 88-94; 96-97) when workers were asked to rank the goals they felt their union should pursue, "increased say in running the plant" ranked fourteenth out of fifteen goals, with only 22 percent checking it as "something the local should do."

Reporting on a study done in Norway, Harriet Holter (1965) found that the majority of workers in both blue- and white-collar companies wanted increased participation in decisions that concerned their own work and working conditions (56 and 67 percent, respectively), but only a small minority (16 and 11 percent, respectively) wanted more participation in decisions concerning the management of the entire company. Holter also discovered that the employees who wanted participation for themselves were in more highly skilled jobs, were more interested in advancement in the company, identified strongly with company goals, and were significantly more efficiency-minded than those

who were not interested in participation. These findings correspond well with Tannenbaum's findings over the last twenty years and bode well for managers who are able to utilize these workers' ambitions. The challenge to the unions is to indoctrinate these more ambitious members and reward them so as to ensure that any conflicts between company goals and those of the union will be resolved in favor of the union. Any perceived loss of control or influence over the membership, which may be involved in some schemes of WP, would certainly be met by staunch resistance by union leaders.

Tabb and Goldfarb (1970) examined the attitudes of 861 employees in 16 Israeli organizations. All the enterprises were designed to encourage WP through various representational systems. Among a sample of 646 workers, they found 54 percent to be clearly in favor of participation, 16 percent opposed to the idea, and the remainder believing it to be impractical (20 percent), or being undecided (10 percent).

Hilgendorf and Irving (1970) studied the attitudes of over 2,000 British rail workers. They classified the answers to an open-ended question dealing with the areas, if any, in which workers would like to participate. They found that 58 percent of the responses concerned the way in which work was carried out.

Hespe and Warr (1971) asked 243 individuals in a sample of British, male blue-collar workers if they would like to have more influence in the running of their departments than they currently had, and 61 percent responded in the affirmative. Based on the same sample, Hespe and Little (1971) have also shown that there exists a strong desire for indirect participation in decisions affecting method of payment, hours of work, work methods, and the use of work study techniques. Here, the model view was that there should be negotiation on proposed changes and "no action until agreement is reached." Very few felt that these were decisions which management had a right to make entirely on its own.

It is useful to pause here and assess the essential weakness in the evidence recounted thus far. The American studies are now almost thirty years old and with increased levels of education and changes in workers' expectations, especially among the younger workers, one may wonder whether attitudes towards participation have changed. Moreover, in many of the investigations (e.g., Holter, Hildendorf and Irving, Katz, and Morse), the examination of individual desires for participation has been of a secondary nature. In several studies, there was no union influence. Lastly, there is little information in these studies on the strength of the interest in direct participation, nor is there much consideration of desires in relation to different decision-making topics.

Many of these weaknesses were overcome in a number of studies conducted by Wall and Lischeron (1977). They grouped decisions according to the level at which they occur in the organization. "Local participation" involves decision-making at the lowest levels in the organizational hierarchy, such as how the work is to be carried out, how tasks are to be scheduled, and how duties are allocated amongst available workers. "Medium participation" involves activities which traditionally have fallen within the authority of middle managers, such as the choice of new personnel, recommendations for promotions, training, and the purchase of equipment and new materials. Lastly, "distant participation" relates to the highest level of the organizational hierarchy dominated by senior managers and dealing with decisions which determine the growth and expansion of the organization, its overall policies, and major financial activities. Comparing three separate studies including answers from 131 nurses, 118 factory workers, and 94 outdoor workers of a public local authority, they found that blue-collar workers wanted to exert an equal amount of influence as management in decision-making at all levels, whereas nurses showed a much weaker desire for participation except for the highly trained nurses who wanted more medium participation. For the most part, they found that workers opted for direct rather than indirect forms of participation.

In the third survey by the University of Michigan (1977) on the quality of employment in America, Staines and Quinn (1979) used a national probability household sample of over 2,300 individuals drawn from the general working population in the United States. They found frequent mention of problems concerning work content with 36 percent of workers reporting they had skills that they would like to use but could not, and 32 percent who said they were "over-educated" for their jobs. On a question concerning how much say workers should have about work-related decisions, the following responses include those who said either "a lot of say" or "complete say": safety equipment and practices (76 percent), how work is done (41 percent), wages and salaries (30 percent), days and hours of work (19 percent), and hiring and layoffs (16 percent).

Staines and Quinn also found that unionized workers expressed fairly positive attitudes towards labor unions, with 77 percent of the white-collar workers and 71 percent of the blue-collar workers reporting that they were "somewhat" or "very satisfied." However, members were less positive about their unions handling of non-traditional issues such as helping to make jobs more interesting, getting workers a say in how their employers run the business, and getting the workers a say in how they do their own jobs.

More recently in a study of an American manufacturing corporation, John Witte (1980) sampled 145 non-supervisory employees and found very strong interest in direct, local forms of participation, with 83 percent of respondents wanting either "some say" or "a lot of say" on work procedures, whereas interest in distant decisions such as setting management salaries was weak (17 percent). When asked if they should be represented on the board of directors, 74 percent answered yes, 14 percent no, and 12 percent did not know. When a regression equation utilizing twelve independent variables was used to predict the strength of belief in WP, 44 percent of the variance was explained. It was found that youth and higher level job categories were statistically more important than higher education. Job classification, the degree of influence a respondent currently has in his job, and his evaluation of its physical attributes (e.g., enough help, time, and equipment available), and enjoyment inherent in the job were all very significant in predicting a worker's belief in participation.

It is easy to imagine a worker responding that he would like more say, influence, or control at his workplace, especially when there is no direct cost to the individual worker as in representational schemes or over issues that directly impinged on his day-to-day worklife where the rewards are readily apparent. Many of the previous studies on WP may be criticized from this viewpoint. However, Witte

demonstrates that when any costs of participation are introduced, enthusiasm for its benefits seems to drop sharply. Out of a total sample of 145, he found that 45 percent were willing to move to another company (everything else being equal) just for increased participation, 32 percent would be willing to work 2 extra hours per week, and only 17 percent would be willing to move to a participative job for 10 percent less pay.

Witte speculates that two factors may explain many workers' reluctance: the natural acceptance of hierarchical authority (job contract rationale), and the fact that most people have never conceived of, much less had experience with, any form of direct democracy. He concludes that the profit motive may be inimical to democracy in the workplace in that the effects of individual ambition and competitiveness, meritocracy, and individual status incentives tend to erode democratic values which assume greater similarities in abilities and willingness to act responsibly, and which emphasize communal rewards and cooperative environments.

In summary, the literature suggests that there is substantial worker support for direct forms of WP at the local, task level, but very little interest in medium or distant levels.[9] However, there is some evidence that when the costs

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[9]This conclusion is fairly well supported. See Ramsay, H., "Participation: The Shop Floor View," British Journal of I.R., Vol. 14, No. 2, 1976, p. 130; and Wall T. and Lischeron, J., Worker Participation (London: McGraw-Hill, 1977, p. 34.)

of participation are introduced (e.g., extra time or drop in pay), then interest drops sharply. Support for indirect, representational forms appears to be fairly strong though there is no study that this writer is aware of that introduces a cost factor, such as the potential threat of co-optation or collusion.

This survey will attempt to overcome the weaknesses of the previous studies such as the lack of information on the strength of interest in the various forms of WP, on the specific decision-making topics, and on the sensitivity of the desire for participation when a specific cost factor is introduced. Lastly, much of the research has been carried out in Europe or during the 1950s in the United States. Information generated here in Canada will be more relevant to future debates on WP which will no doubt continue to be heated and frequent in the field of industrial relations and certain sectors of society at large.

Within the organizational-theoretic framework for the analysis of participation (Figure 2), this study has limited itself to looking solely at an internal human factor which determines workers' participation, that is, the characteristics and attitudes of employees which are related to their desire for participation. As previously noted, it would make little sense for management or the union to push for a scheme of workers' participation unless the scheme has widespread and substantial support among the employees themselves. With this

goal in mind, we can now move on to the hypotheses, methods, and results of this study.

V. Hypotheses

H1: Age will be negatively correlated with desire for participation.

In a recent case study of an American corporation, Witte (1980) found a negative correlation between age and belief in participation ($r = -.37$). Wall and Lischeron (1977) argue that younger people will demand a greater say because they are better educated and possess a more pervasive belief in democratic values than older people who were exposed to harder times.

On the other hand, Walker (1974) has noted that in Yugoslavia, where forms of worker participation are well established, older workers tend to participate more. Walker reasons that older workers may want to participate more because of their greater skill and experience.

Since Witte's evidence is more recent, and since experiences in Canadian society are more similar to those of the United States, the hypothesis predicts that younger workers will be more interested in participation than older workers.

H2: Job skill level will be positively correlated with desire for participation.

As Holter (1965) implies, higher level jobs, which allow more autonomy and intrinsic satisfaction, may stimulate the individual to support worker influence in a wider range of

decisions. On the other hand, a report by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare on Work in America (1973) argues that lower-level jobs, hierarchically controlled and inherently unenjoyable, may stimulate a reaction from workers in the form of demands for more say in decision-making. However, participation may be to a degree a learned process; therefore, present participation may lead to a desire for increased influence.

Workers at lower-level jobs tend to have only an instrumental involvement with the company, based on monetary and security needs (Andrisani, 1977). Those workers who are in low skill level positions which do not include a significant degree of intrinsic reward may find little sense in viewing their work as anything else but a source of economic security. For many employees, work is not a central life interest.

H3: Education will be positively correlated with desire for participation.

Due to education's socializing function, level of education is expected to be positively related to preferences for intrinsic rewards and a desire to influence decision-making (Strauss, 1974). It is easy to support the notion that more educated workers would feel more confident in being able to understand the process of decision-making and would be able to articulate their viewpoints to management more effectively.

H4: Men will be more likely to desire more participation in decision-making than women.

Evidence from Europe (Walker, 1974) seems to support this hypothesis. Women may possess a weaker attachment to the workforce due to traditional differential sex role socialization which places the major responsibility for child-care and homemaking more on women in our society, and which engenders women with a more passive, nurturant role than men. Men may draw more of their self-esteem from the role of the "provider" and hence, may be more likely to value work intrinsically in addition to its instrumental role as a means to earn a living. However, the current emancipation of women in North America, as well as changes in child-rearing practices, may render this difference insignificant.

H5: There will be more support for direct participation at the local level than at medium or distant levels of decision-making.

This hypothesis is drawn from the work of Wall and Lischeron (1977) and is consistent with their findings as well as those of Marchington (1980). It would seem reasonable that workers would want to participate more in those areas in which they possess the information and experience to make competent decisions and which are more immediate to their everyday lives.

H6: Support for participation will drop sharply when a cost factor (i.e., time, security, pay) is introduced.

This hypothesis finds support in the work of Witte (1980) and is consistent with evidence from studies which point to a major group of employees, especially in less interesting work, who possess an instrumental attitude towards work, e.g. (Goldthorpe et al., 1968); that is, those with an instrumental attitude may value increased pay much more than an opportunity for participation in decision-making.

H7: There exists a "general participation syndrome," that is, those who desire more participation also participate more in other areas.

This hypothesis is consistent with attitudinal research and personality theory which would predict the existence of a "participative type." In this case, desire for participation should be positively related to the respondent's willingness to run for shop steward. In a study on local union participation (Anderson, 1977), a "general participation syndrome" was referred to as an explanation for the finding that being involved in a greater number of outside organizations was positively related to participating in decision-making within the union.

VI. The Survey Instrument

The survey was adapted from two previous studies on attitudes towards participation by Marchington (1980) and Witte (1980). In these two studies, the desire for participation was measured by asking respondents directly how much say did they want in decision-making. In this study, the desire for participation was measured by the willingness of a respondent to move to another nearby[10] company which would allow more say in decision-making, everything else being held the same (i.e., pay, job security, working conditions, etc.). Using willingness to move as a proxy for desire for participation still has some weaknesses since it involves potential "psychic costs" which may vary among individuals, such as leaving workmates or the anxiety associated with any change. However, it may be argued that simply asking an individual if he wants more say in his job may be akin to asking him if he wants more money without attaching any cost, such as an increase in accountability or responsibility. If a respondent answers that he is willing to move, one may infer that his desire for participation is more genuine than if he merely replied that he wanted more say in decision-making, detached from any consequences to that reply.

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[10]The intent of stipulating a nearby company was to remove any resistance to moving due to such factors as moving expenses, changing schools for children, or being uprooted from a community.

The survey was improved further by incorporating the suggestions of several labour educators concerning the survey design and the wording of particular questions.

Care was taken to pose questions so as not to be at a level of generality which would have relatively little meaning for individuals in their particular work setting, yet not so context specific as to deny cross-setting comparisons. For example, employees were asked how specific decisions should be made, such as when the work day begins and ends; who is assigned to a job or task; and how much influence should they have in redesigning or reorganizing the workplace.

The final draft (Appendix 1) was composed of thirty questions which attempt to measure: job satisfaction; the form, extent, degree and scope of participation desired; the importance of influencing decision-making as compared to more traditional issues; the value of participation to individuals in terms of what they would be willing to trade in order to obtain more influence; and lastly, the desire and opportunity for union participation.

Sample and Methodology

The sample was taken from a major white-collar office and technical employees' union operating largely in the public sector. The surveys were distributed in October, 1981, at a shop stewards' meeting, forty stewards receiving

ten surveys each. The stewards were asked to distribute the surveys on a volunteer basis and to return the surveys to a central location. A possible bias exists in this technique in that those employees who would volunteer to fill in the survey may be more predisposed to participation than those who refused. In addition, the shop stewards may also tend to ask only those employees who, they believe, would be most likely to cooperate with a union-administered survey. A randomly distributed mail survey may have eliminated the latter bias, but the former bias would remain unless the employees were strongly encouraged or rewarded to complete the survey on company time. Due to this design flaw, a certain bias is inevitable and must be reflected in the inferences which we may draw from the results.

A follow-up letter was sent out to the stewards two weeks later reminding them to pick up the completed surveys, to remind members to fill-in the survey, and to point out that postage would be paid.

Complete anonymity and confidentiality were guaranteed in order to elicit the most honest responses and to assuage union fears that the information might be used to their disadvantage.

A total of 400 surveys were sent out and 237 usable returns were received for a response rate of 60 percent. A possible bias may exist in that the 40 percent who chose not to fill-in the survey may have different population

characteristics than those who chose to complete the survey. For example, it has often been found that the less educated, those in lower occupational categories, and those uninterested in the subject of the survey have higher than average rates of non-response (Moser, 1972). However, a response rate of 60 percent is considered adequate for this type of survey as long as one remains aware of the nature and possibility of the non-response bias.

The following sample characteristics were also noted:

TABLE 1

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

Job Category[11]	- clerical: 59% - technical-professional: 41%
Demographics	- median age: 32 (range: 18-62) - married: 59% - female: 44% - mean number of children: 1.0 - median tenure: 6 years - completed or have some college: 55%
Union Membership	- rank-and-file: 83% - shop steward: 15% - union officer: 2%

VII. Results

The survey included a question which broadly followed the distinction advanced by Hertzberg (1959) between "hygiene" and "motivator" factors. Before presenting the results of the

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[11]Job category was determined using an objective measure. Respondents were asked to give a brief job description.

hypotheses, it is useful to draw a distinction between such factors as pay and opportunity for participation in decision-making.

Based on his studies, Hertzberg concluded that job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction do not come from the presence or absence of one set of factors. Instead, they come from two separate sets of factors, which Hertzberg called "satisfiers" (motivating factors) and "dissatisfiers" (hygiene factors). The satisfiers, or factors that motivate people to perform well and lead to feelings of satisfaction, include achievement, recognition, responsibility, participation in decision-making, and advancement. Hertzberg believed that the absence of these factors had little to do with the employee's dissatisfaction. The dissatisfiers included such factors as salary, working conditions, and job security. Positive ratings for these factors did not lead to job satisfaction but merely to the absence of dissatisfaction.

Hence, according to Hertzberg's theory, the satisfiers are related to the nature of the work or job content and the psychic rewards that result directly from performance of the work tasks. On the other hand, the dissatisfiers or hygiene factors come from the individual's relationship to the organization's environment or the job context in which the work is being done, such as the degree of physical safety and financial reward.

Though subsequent research studies indicated that this two-factor theory oversimplified the relationship between satisfaction and motivation (e.g., House, 1967) in that it was found that job context factors, such as salary, could lead to job satisfaction, and that the absence of job content factors, such as achievement and recognition, could lead to job dissatisfaction, nevertheless, the distinction still maintains a high degree of validity and is useful for the comparison that has been made in this study.

Table 2 lists twelve questions which were posed concerning the respondent's rewards and opportunities in his current job, and the respondent was required to answer in two parts as follows:

1) To what extent does your job offer you the following rewards and opportunities? (List supplied)

2) How important is each of these rewards and opportunities to you?

These questions attempted to assess the respondent's attitudes towards work and the relative importance of motivational factors (satisfiers) in relation to hygiene factors (dissatisfiers).

Respondents were asked to answer from "very little" (1) to "very much" (5) on a five-point scale. Their responses represent an estimate and are no more than an attempt to rank these factors. The following results were obtained:

TABLE 2

REWARDS AND OPPORTUNITIES OFFERED AT WORK:
Mean Responses

	(A) Conditions Now Ranked	(B) Importance and Rank	(B)-(A) Measure of Dissatis-faction
Hygiene Factors (Dissatisfiers)			
Security of employment	3.94 (1)	4.30 (4)	0.36
Convenient hours at work	3.87 (2)	4.19 (6)	0.32
Friendly work relationships	3.86 (3)	4.37 (2)	0.51
Good fringe benefits	3.62 (4)	4.18 (7)	0.56
Good working conditions	3.41 (5)	4.37 (2)	0.96
Good pay	3.26 (6)	4.35 (3)	1.09
Motivational Factors (Satisfiers)			
Control over own work	3.11 (7)	4.18 (7)	1.07
Good supervision	2.98 (8)	4.00 (9)	1.02
Interesting and satisfying work	2.83 (9)	4.42 (1)	1.59
Opportunities to use my abilities	2.71 (10)	4.27 (5)	1.56
Recognition for work well done	2.54 (11)	4.18 (7)	1.64
Opportunities for upgrading and promotion	2.26 (12)	4.05 (8)	1.79

(N = 237. For scoring this Table:
(1=very little) through to
(5=very much))

Looking at the hygiene factors, we see that employees are, for the most part, satisfied with these basics of the job. Security of employment, convenient hours of work, friendly relationships, and good fringe benefits are all sufficient, though good pay is just seen to be adequate (i.e., Measure of Dissatisfaction = 1.09).

In stark contrast, a different picture emerges when we examine the position of motivational factors. These appear to be poor sources of satisfaction, particularly opportunities for upgrading and promotion. Recognition for work well done, opportunities to use one's abilities, and interesting and satisfying work are all seen to be lacking. Only moderate control over one's work is perceived.

The five most important factors were ranked in the following order: interesting and satisfying work; friendly relationships; pay; job security; and opportunities to use one's abilities.

Maslow (1970) postulated a theory of motivation based upon a hierarchy of needs ranging from physiological needs through to the need for self-actualization. Each need must be at least partially satisfied by the individual before he or she moves up the hierarchy to the next stage. In this case, Hertzberg's hygiene factors correspond to Maslow's physiological and security needs, whereas his motivational factors may be compared to Maslow's needs for self-esteem and self-actualization. Looking at the five most important

job factors to these respondents, we see that the minimum level of pay and security has been reached and thus, the motivational factors are viewed to be at least as important as the more basic hygiene factors. Desire for participation may be viewed within this framework as being a significant component of the need for esteem and self-actualization.

Consistent with this viewpoint and Hertzberg's distinction, a survey of over 20,000 employees in the United States (Andrisani, 1978) yielded the following supportive findings:

> While students of labor-management relations would expect bread and butter factors to play a prominent role in shaping job satisfaction of workers, the National Longitudinal Surveys' data clearly do not support such a role. . . .Within virtually all the eight age-sex-race groups, workers highly satisfied with their jobs reported that the factors they liked best about their work were intrinsic in character, that is, inherent in the job content rather than job context. . . .(p. 246)

As a further test of the importance of motivational factors, we may look at the sensitivity of the desire for participation when a specific cost factor is introduced; that is, what is the perceived relative importance of the desire for participation to a hygiene factor, such as pay or job security? (Hypothesis #6).

Four questions were posed which asked respondents if they were willing to move to another nearby company which would offer them more say in decisions that affected them at work. The first question asked if they were willing to move to another nearby company where everything was the same (i.e., pay, security, conditions, etc.) except for the extra

opportunity for participation. The only costs associated with this move would be the psychic costs of change and leaving workmates. If they answered in the affirmative to question one, then they were requested to answer the next three questions. The second question added a cost factor of two extra hours per week without pay. The third asked if they were willing to give up their seniority. Lastly, the fourth asked if they would be willing to take a 10 percent pay reduction for this opportunity to participate in decision-making. The results are shown in Table 3 below:

TABLE 3

EFFECTS OF COST FACTORS ON DESIRE FOR PARTICIPATION

(N = 237)

Move?	Same Conditions	Move?	Cost: 2 Hours	Seniority	10% Pay
Yes	48% →	Yes	30%	16%	10%
No	20%	No	9%	23%	23%
Uncertain	32%	Uncertain	9%	9%	15%
	100%		48%	48%	48%

As can be seen, about half (48%) of the respondents said that they would be willing to move, everything else being equal. (This is consistent with Witte's (1980) results of 45% for a group of manufacturing employees.)

Within this 48 percent, 30 percent would be willing to work two extra hours per week, 16 percent would be willing to give up their seniority, and only 10 percent would be

willing to take a 10 percent reduction in pay for the extra influence in decisions that affected them at work.

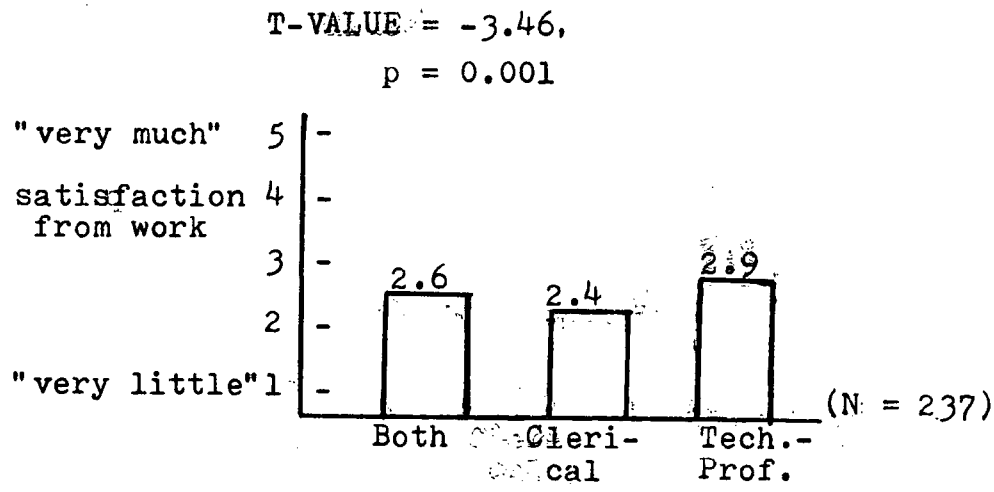
Hence, we see that though participation is valued by at least half of the employees, the desire for participation diminishes sharply when a cost factor is introduced. Again, this would support the viewpoint that only a moderate level of interest exists for participation and that employees wish to increase the motivator factors, but not at the expense of the hygiene factors. Though employees' needs of esteem and self-actualization may be partially met by participation, their lower or more basic physiological and security needs are not so well met that they are willing to trade the latter for the former. These findings are consistent with several previous studies (e.g., Marchington 1980, Witte 1980, Wall and Lischeron 1977).

The following question was posed in order to assess the respondent's satisfaction derived from work:

> 28) How much satisfaction do you get out of work as compared to other sources of satisfaction such as leisure time? (Coded LIEWRK)

Again, a five-point scale varying from "very little" (1) through to "very much" (5) was applied. On the assumption that technical-professional work might be more satisfying than clerical work, separate response means for the job categories were calculated. The following histogram portrays these results:

FIGURE 3: Histogram of Satisfaction Derived from Work by Job Category



This confirms that this particular group of employees derives only a moderate degree of satisfaction from their work when compared to alternative sources of satisfaction. As expected, the technical-professional employees draw significantly more satisfaction from their work than the clerical group (T-VALUE = -3.46, p = 0.001). However, even they draw only a moderate degree of satisfaction. Hence, we might infer that employees will only be moderately predisposed towards participation since work is not viewed as the major source of life satisfaction to the majority of these employees.

We can now turn to the different characteristics of participation previously described in this paper within the organization-theoretic framework or model (p. 24 hereof). Firstly, let us look at the strength of interest in the various forms of workers' participation. Secondly, let us investigate the degree, extent, and scope of the desire for participation;

that is: In what specific decisions do workers want to participate?

Looking first at the desired form of workers' participation, the following results were obtained:

TABLE 4

FORMS OF WORKERS PARTICIPATION DESIRED

	(Agree or Strongly Agree)
12)	
Joint decision-making on how the work is done	92%
Consultation concerning how the work is done	90%
Workers' representatives on the Board of Directors	61%
Employees should share in company profits	60%
Management should share all company information	52%
All workers should own and run the company	12%

(N = 237)

We find a high degree of support for joint decision-making on how the work should be done (92%) and for consultation (90%); moderate support for worker directors (61%), profit-sharing (60%), and sharing of all company information (52%); and only weak support for complete workers' control or ownership (12%). Hence, we find no radical challenge to managerial authority or legitimacy, but rather

an interest in consultation and ensuring that one's viewpoint has an influence in decision-making.

Respondents were also asked the following questions concerning the amount of perceived influence they had over their jobs:

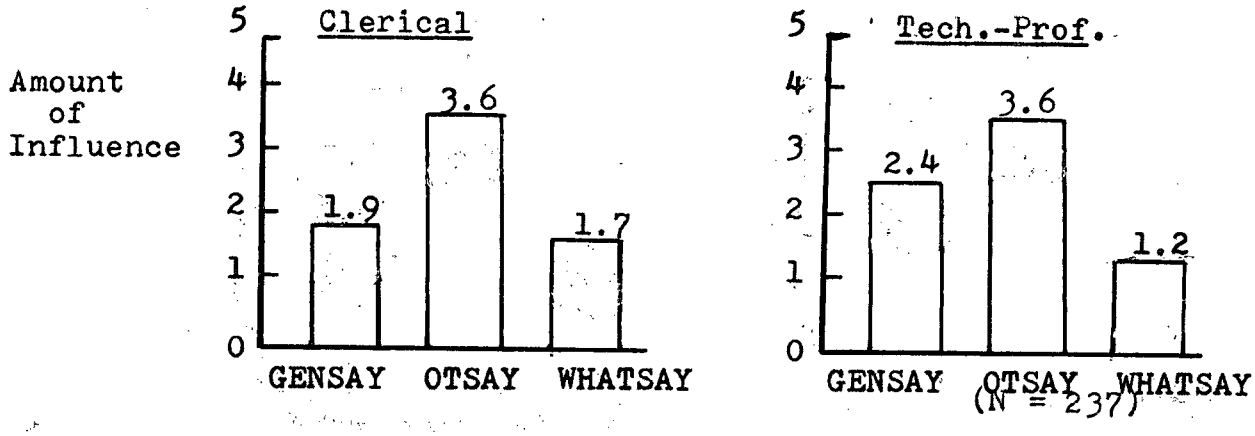
14) In general, how much say do you personally have over decisions that affect you at work? (Coded GENSAY)

15) How much say ought you to have over these decisions? (Coded OTSAY)

Perceived lack of say: WHATSAY = OTSAY - GENSAY

Again, a five-point scale was applied varying from "very little" (1) through to "very much" (5) and the following results were obtained:

FIGURE 4: Histograms of Amount of Influence by Job Category



Both the clerical employees and the technical-professional group thought that they should have the same amount of influence over decision-making (3.6). However, the clerical employees perceived themselves as having less

present influence (1.9 compared to 2.4, T-VALUE = 3.11, p = 0.002) and also had a significantly greater perceived lack of say than the technical-professional group (1.7 compared to 1.2, T-VALUE = 2.73, p = 0.007). Hence, we might expect a greater desire for participation among clerical employees.

To shed more light in this area, sixteen questions were asked which dealt with the various types of decisions commonly faced in the work environment. Following Wall and Lischeron's (1977) distinction, these questions were classified into three groups: "local" decisions, which are those that most directly affect the worker in his immediate environment, such as how much work should be done in a day, or how this work is to be done; "medium" decisions, which are usually made at the level of middle management, such as hiring, firing, and promotion; and lastly, "distant" decisions, which deal with corporate policy, such as investment or pricing, and are usually handled by top management. The responses were noted on a three-point scale varying from management decision (1), joint decision (2), to workers' decision (3). The following results were obtained:

TABLE 5

DECISION-MAKING AT WORK (N = 237)

13)

	Actually Made			Should be Made		
	Management Decision (%)	Joint Decision (%)	Workers' Decision (%)	Manag. Dec'n. (%)	Joint Dec'n. (%)	Workers Dec'n. (%)
Local Decisions						
- When the work day begins and ends	54	41	5	10	82	8
- Quantity of work for the day	63	30	7	16	78	6
- Quality of the work	66	23	11	21	71	8
- The way the work is done	51	44	5	7	88	5
- Who is assigned to a task	71	26	3	22	72	6
- Redesigning or reorganizing workplace	61	35	4	6	80	14
- Setting of wages or pay scales	51	49	0	16	80	4
Medium Decisions						
- Selection of foremen or supervisors	94	5	1	41	54	5
- Who should be fired	84	15	1	41	57	2
- Who gets promoted	88	12	0	37	62	1
- Who should be hired	90	9	1	53	44	3
- Who should be laid-off	88	11	1	44	53	3
- Designing a new plant or office	90	10	0	26	72	2
Distant Decisions						
- Setting of managements' salaries	96	4	0	51	46	3
- Distribution of resources or profits	98	2	0	53	46	1
- Setting policy on pricing, new products or services	95	5	0	52	45	3

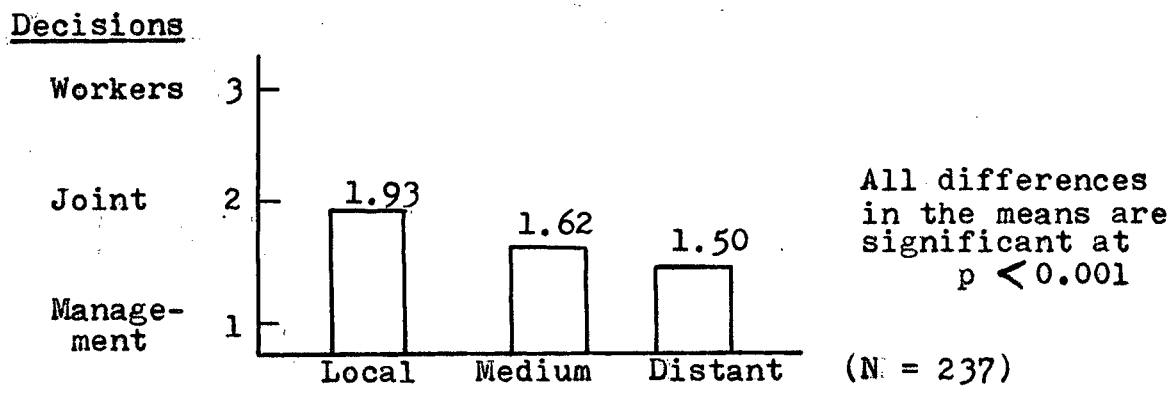
All employees in this survey were covered by a number of collective agreements, and it is somewhat surprising to find them responding that decisions jointly made at the bargaining table are actually made by management (e.g., setting of wages or pay scales). However, management typically administers the collective agreement, whereas the union issues grievances when violations occur. For example, though the basic pay levels are set at the bargaining table, the pay structure is usually controlled by management through job evaluation. Hence, management appears to many employees to be making decisions because the constraints set down in the collective agreement are not as visible on a day-to-day basis. Thus, the illusion of greater management influence in decision-making is created.

From Table 5, one sees a consistently positive shift in all response categories from management decision towards joint decision-making. There is only one decision that employees would seemingly want more say in than management, and that is redesigning or reorganizing their own workplace (2.08 on the three-point scale). It is clearly evident that the strongest desire for participation exists at the local level where employees feel they have the competency and information to make the best decisions.

When asked how decisions should be made on the scale from (1) to (3), the following means for local, medium, and distant

levels of decision-making were obtained: (Hypothesis #5)

FIGURE 5: Workers' Desired Amount of Participation in Different Levels of Decision-Making



As expected, we see that in general there is more interest in decisions at the local level (1.93), less in medium decisions (1.62), and the least in those distant decisions in which employees have the least knowledge or experience (1.50). Consistent with the form of decision-making chosen, there is no radical movement to remove the majority of decision-making from management, but rather a strong desire for joint decision-making, especially at the local level.

To conclude, we see that the scope of managerial functions in which workers want to participate is generally limited to local decision-making for direct personal participation, and medium or distant levels for representative participation. The degree that workers want to influence decisions is substantial for local decisions, but only moderate for medium and distant decisions, falling considerably short of workers' control. Lastly, the extent of the desire to participate

among employees appears to be moderate also, with slightly less than half of the workers willing to change companies, everything else being equal, in order to be able to have some increased say in decisions that affect them at work. These findings are consistent with the instrumental attitude towards work held by many of these employees.

From the preceding discussion, we see that hypotheses H5 (more support for participation at the local than at medium or distant levels of decision-making) and H6 (support for participation will drop sharply when a cost factor is introduced) have been accepted and we can reject the null hypothesis in these cases. The other key variables and their coding may be found in Appendix 2, along with a computer matrix of the correlation coefficients.

As can be read directly from the correlation matrix in Appendix 2, the results for the other hypotheses are as follows: (Note that the sign for the dependent variable (MOVSAM) must be reversed due to coding.)

TABLE 6

HYPOTHESES: PREDICTIONS AND RESULTS

Independent Variable	Hypothesized Rel'n with Desire for Participation (Dependent Variable MOVSAM)	Results (Pearson r), (Significance)
H1 Age	Negative	r = -0.10 p = 0.10
H2 Job Skill Level	Positive	r = -0.23, p = 0.002
H3 Education	Positive	r = -0.04, p = 0.31
H4 Sex (1=male,2=female)	Negative	r = -0.05, p = 0.25
*H7 Participation in other areas	Positive	r = 0.13, p = 0.05

*(As measured by willingness to run for steward - RUNSTEW)

Hence, setting our level of acceptance at 0.05, we find that only hypothesis H7 can be accepted. As noted previously, hypotheses H5 and H6 may also be accepted; that is, there is more support for participation at the local level than at medium or distant levels of decision-making (H5), and support for participation drops sharply when a cost factor is introduced (H6).

No significant relationship with desire for participation (MOVSAM) was found for age, education, or sex. At odds with our hypothesis, clerical employees were more willing to move for increased participation than were the technical-professional group.

In order to check for possible interaction effects and to control for covariates, such as education and age, a number of two-way analyses of variance were run on the factors which could possibly interact.

There was no significant interaction between sex and job skill level. For example, male clerical workers were no more inclined to desire participation than female clerical workers ($F = 0.61$, p = n.s.).

When education was controlled for, there was no significant difference in desire for participation between those less than 35 years of age and those over 35 ($F = 0.01$, p = n.s.). Nor were there any significant differences between men and women on the dependent variable when the effects of education and age

were removed from the error variance.

In sum, no significant interaction effects were discovered and the effects of introducing controls on the major relationships were insignificant.

Though age, education, and sex did not have the predicted relationship with desire for participation (MOVSAM), we do find older, more highly educated males in the technical-professional group. (See JOB, column 2, Appendix 2.) A closer look at the data shows that the technical-professional employees differ from the clerical employees on several characteristics. In order to take a closer look at these differences, Table 2 (Rewards and Opportunities Offered at Work) was disaggregated by job category in order to determine if the technical-professional employees differed significantly from the clerical employees on how they perceived their present working conditions.

Hence, we find that the technical-professional group scores significantly higher than the clerical group on all the motivational factors or those aspects of the job which lead to satisfaction. There are no significant differences on the hygiene factors except for the global measure stated as "good working conditions."

Consistent with the higher scores on the motivational factors, the technical-professional group also declared that they draw more satisfaction from their work than do the clerical employees. (T-VALUE = -3.46, p = 0.001).

TABLE 7

REWARDS AND OPPORTUNITIES OFFERED AT WORK BY JOB CATEGORY

	Conditions Now (Mean Response)				
	(A) Clerical	(B) Tech.-Prof.	(B)-(A)	T-VALUE,	Significance
Hygiene Factors (Dissatisfiers)					
Security of employment	3.9	4.0	0.1	0.84,	n.s.
Convenient hours of work	3.8	3.9	0.1	0.54,	n.s.
Friendly work relationships	3.8	4.0	0.2	1.53,	n.s.
Good Fringe benefits	3.6	3.7	0.1	0.74,	n.s.
Good working conditions	3.2	3.8	0.6	3.76,	0.000
Good pay	3.2	3.3	0.1	0.39,	n.s.
Motivational Factors (Satisfiers)					
Control over my own work	2.9	3.4	0.5	2.51,	0.013
Good supervision	2.8	3.3	0.5	2.34,	0.020
Interesting and satisfying work	2.5	3.3	0.8	4.21,	0.000
Opportunities to use my abilities	2.5	3.1	0.6	3.93,	0.000
Recognition for work well done	2.3	2.8	0.5	3.07,	0.002
Opportunities for upgrading and promotion	2.0	2.6	0.6	3.94,	0.000

(N = 237. For scoring this Table: (1 = very little) through to (5 very much)).

Perhaps most significant for this study, the technical-professional group perceived themselves as having more control over their own work than did the clerical employees. This greater perception of influence and greater satisfaction derived from their work could explain the greater reticence about moving to a more participative work environment among the technical-professional group.

For further clarification, a multiple regression was run on the desire for participation (MOVSAM), and 22 percent of the variance was explained. The results are shown in Table 8 as follows:

TABLE 8

MULTIPLE REGRESSION ON THE DESIRE FOR PARTICIPATION (MOVSAM)

MULTIPLE R	0.47425	ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE	DF
R SQUARE	0.22492	REGRESSION	9.
ADJUSTED R SQUARE	0.17247	RESIDUAL	133.
STANDARD ERROR	0.41861		

SUM OF SQUARES	MEAN SQUARE	F	P
6.76323	0.75147	4.28827	0.0001
23.30670	0.17524		

SUMMARY TABLE

VARIABLE	MULTIPLE R	R SQUARE	RSQ CHANGE	SIMPLE R
WHATSAY	0.33258	0.11061	0.11061	-0.33258
JOB	0.38962	0.15180	0.04119	0.26694
LIEWRK	0.42653	0.18192	0.03012	0.29422
RUNSTEW	0.46089	0.21242	0.03050	0.14289
EDUC	0.46617	0.21731	0.00489	0.02068
SEX	0.47047	0.22135	0.00403	0.01738
YRSEMP	0.47244	0.22320	0.00186	0.16008
AGE	0.47344	0.22414	0.00094	0.06685
MEMBER	0.47425	0.22492	0.00077	-0.06070
(CONSTANT)				

VARIABLE	B	BETA	STD ERROR B
WHATSAY	-0.7394986E-01	-0.21708	0.02846
JOB	0.2221887	0.23964	0.08401
LIEWRK	0.7569486E-01	0.18607	0.03339
RUNSTEW	0.1793041	0.19377	0.08678
EDUC	-0.2678895E-01	-0.05723	0.03894 *
SEX	0.7364425E-01	0.07885	0.07608 *
YRSEMP	0.2988680E-02	0.03720	0.00697 *
AGE	0.1356471E-02	0.03299	0.00344 *
MEMBER	0.3173985E-01	0.03344	0.08713 *
(CONSTANT)	0.5195575		

(* Non-significant at p=.05)

The variable which accounted for the most variation in desire for participation (MOVSAM) was perceived lack of influence (WHATSAY) which accounted for 11 percent of the variance. The next three variables in order of importance are: job skill level (JOB, 4 percent), satisfaction derived from work (LIEWRK, 3 percent), and willingness to run for shop steward (RUNSTEW, 3 percent). Hence, we find that the respondent's perceived lack of influence is far more predictive of their willingness to move to a more participative work setting than any other variable.

In order to determine to what degree perceived lack of influence (WHATSAY) affected the overall measure of job satisfaction (OVERSAT: see questions 10 and 11 in Appendix 1-Survey), a regression was run with good pay (GPN), interesting work (INTWKN), and perceived lack of influence (WHATSAY) as the independent variables. Due to multicollinearity among the rewards and opportunities offered at work which might affect overall job satisfaction, interesting work and good pay were chosen because of the weak correlation with each other ($r = 0.07$). The results are shown in Table 9.

Interesting work was by far the most powerful variable explaining 48 percent of the variance, followed by perceived lack of influence (4 percent), and good pay (2 percent). Hence, those employees in the more interesting technical-professional jobs are more satisfied than those in clerical positions.

TABLE 9

MULTIPLE REGRESSION ON OVERALL JOB SATISFACTION (OVERSAT)

MULTIPLE R	0.73422	ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE	DF
R SQUARE	0.53908	REGRESSION	3.
ADJUSTED R SQUARE	0.53294	RESIDUAL	225.
STANDARD ERROR	0.75642		

SUM OF SQUARES	MEAN SQUARE	F	P
150.57072	50.19024	87.71838	0.0000
128.73932	0.57217		

SUMMARY TABLE

VARIABLE	MULTIPLE R	R SQUARE	RSQ CHANGE	SIMPLE R
INTWKN	0.69295	0.48018	0.48018	0.69295
WHATSAY	0.71969	0.51795	0.03778	-0.36479
GPN	0.73422	0.53908	0.02113	0.21006
(CONSTANT)				

VARIABLE	B	BETA	STD ERROR B	
INTWKN	0.5341298	0.63984	0.03908	✓
WHATSAY	-0.1561208	-0.17753	0.04167	✓
GPN	0.1591932	0.14732	0.04957	✓
(CONSTANT)	1.433625			

(✓ Significant at p=.01)

Moreover, perceived lack of influence does not appear to have a very strong effect on the respondents' declared level of overall job satisfaction.

This last point bears repeating. Though the respondents' perceived lack of influence is a better predictor of desire for participation than any other variable, the magnitude of its influence on overall job satisfaction is fairly small (i.e., 4 percent). Either perceived lack of influence is not a

significant issue for most of these employees compared to their other concerns, or alternatively, the measure itself may be so general and relative as to render it a weak correlate of job satisfaction.

To conclude, for this sample of employees, clerical workers and those willing to run for the position of shop steward are significantly more willing to move to another nearby company which would allow them an opportunity to participate in decision-making that affects them than are either technical-professional employees or those less willing to participate in their union. There is substantial support for direct participation in local decisions and significantly less for medium and distant decisions. Lastly, when a cost factor for participation is introduced for those who desire more participation, the support falls significantly and substantially.

VIII. Discussion

Age, education, and sex appear to be poor predictors of the desire for participation as measured by the willingness of a respondent to move to a nearby company with a more participative environment, everything else being held the same (pay, benefits, conditions, etc.).

Several previous studies have looked at the effect of age on the propensity to participate, and what emerges is a totally confusing picture. In general, there is no correlation between age and desire for participation, as was the case in

this study. A younger employee's initial zeal and desire for participation may soon be extinguished in a work environment that offers no such opportunity. Older employees, who are more likely to possess the knowledge and experience to participate effectively, may refrain from doing so due to established norms or attitudes, or alternatively, may already have a sufficient degree of influence in decision-making and be fairly satisfied with their present situations, as appears to be the case for the technical-professional group in this study.

Ninety-one percent (91%) of this sample has at least completed high school. A lower level of education may only inhibit participation if it is considerably lower than the level for this group of employees, such as the level of education that exists in the "underdeveloped" countries of the world. In this sample, women and those less educated want to influence those local decisions with which they are most familiar. They also have the opportunity and desire to influence the more difficult medium and distant level decisions through their representatives. Unfortunately, this study did not ask the respondents directly whether they desired direct personal participation or indirect representational participation in the various decisions. However, one may reasonably infer that respondents would prefer direct participation in local decisions and, most likely, representation in medium and distant decision-making.

Only 20 percent of our sample definitely refused to move for increased influence. The other 80 percent either agreed to move (48 percent) or were uncertain (32 percent) about moving for more influence. This would lead one to believe that there is a fairly widespread support and interest in the idea of workers' participation among employees. The low ranking of the motivator factors as present sources of satisfaction strongly indicates an underutilized human resource. However, the perceived lack of influence among respondents had only a minimal influence in explaining overall job satisfaction (i.e., 4 Percent). In addition, only a minority of employees (10 percent) were willing to actually take a 10 percent reduction in pay for an opportunity for increased influence in decision-making. These last two points would lead one to believe either that worker participation is not a burning issue for most employees ("Having a lot of say over how my work is done" was ranked 8th out of 12 bargaining issues), or that they see indirect participation through their union combined with their present limited amount of direct participation as adequate for their purposes.

IX. Summary and Conclusions

To again put WP in a wider perspective, it is useful to look at the vested interests of all parties involved. As organizations, unions look upon WP as a means to change the balance of power by increasing their influence over medium and

distant decision-making, whereas management views WP as a means to boost company efficiency and employee effort while maintaining the status quo as far as possible. From this study, we see that employees themselves, for the most part, desire increased direct participation in local decisions which have an immediate impact on their day-to-day lives and in which they feel most competent to make decisions. The majority of employees respects management's expertise in making the more complex medium and distant decisions as long as their interests are represented through their union.

Hence, when discussing WP, it is important to be clear with which viewpoint one is dealing. In the case of this study, we have been looking at the employees' perspective. Since the clerical workers have less influence over local decision-making than the technical-professional group, they are more willing to move for increased participation. However, though this desire for increased influence is widespread among employees, it is not a very highly ranked concern.

A scheme of job enrichment or redesign which increases employees' discretion might be well received by this particular group of clerical workers. A recent survey of union activists in British Columbia has shown that the preferred method of dealing with issues such as workers' participation in decision-making, is through joint programs rather than

collective bargaining (Ponak and Fraser, 1979). Interest in job design which increases the employees' discretion has been recently demonstrated by the B.C. Federation of Labour in their newly established course on job design. Hence, both management and labour are becoming increasingly aware of the desirability of increasing workers' participation in decision-making, especially at the local level.

The next step in a thorough study would be to evaluate the participation potential of the various organizations in which these employees work, in order to assess the organizational characteristics which might hinder or assist in the implementation of a scheme of workers' participation. However, the evaluation of the participation potential is beyond the limits set for this study, and must be left for other researchers to explore and illuminate.

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APPENDICES

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APPENDIX 1:

WORKER'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS PARTICIPATION: A SURVEY - Please do not put your name on this survey. Please be frank and honest in your replies.

1. What is your job? (Please give a brief description.)

2. Year born.

3. Marital status --- ☐ single
☐ married
☐ widowed
☐ divorced/separated

4. Sex --- ☐ male
☐ female

5. Number of dependents.

6. Father's primary worklife occupation.
Mother's primary worklife occupation.

7. Number of years with this employer.

8. Education --- ☐ elementary
☐ some highschool
☐ completed highschool
☐ some college
☐ completed college

9. Rank-and-file ☐
Shop steward ☐
Union officer ☐

10. To what extent does your job offer you the following rewards and opportunities? Please put a tick (✓) for each statement in the space nearest the answer which you believe best describes your rewards and opportunities. In addition, put a tick (✓) for each statement showing how important each reward or opportunity is to you.

	Conditions now		Importance	
	Very Little	Very Much	Very Little	Very Much
-good pay				
-security of employment				
-good working conditions				
-friendly relationships at work				
-recognition for work well done				
-opportunities for upgrading and promotion				
-control over my own work				
-opportunities to use my abilities				
-convenient hours of work				
-good supervision				
-good fringe benefits				
-interesting and satisfying work				

11. As an overall measure, how satisfied are you with your job?

Very Little					Very Much

12. Below are some statements connected with the idea of participation by workers in industry. Could you say whether you agree, disagree, or are unsure about each of the statements. Please tick (✓) the appropriate column for each statement.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly Agree
-employees should share in company profits					
-management should not share with workers all the company information					
-management should consult workers about how the work is to be done					
-workers' representatives should not sit on the Board of Directors					
-management and workers' representatives should make decisions together about how the work is done					
-workers should never question management's decisions					
-all workers should jointly own the company and run it for themselves					

13. Many decisions are made which affect you in your workplace every day. The following question asks both how you think these decisions are actually made and how they should be made. Please go through the list below and place a tick (✓) against the method which best describes your view for each decision.

	Actually made			Should be made		
	Management Decision	Joint Decision	Workers Descis.	Management Decision	Joint Decision	Workers Decision
-when the work day begins and ends						
-selection of foremen or supervisors						
-who should be fired						
-who gets promoted						

-4-

	Actually made			Should be made		
	Management Decision	Joint Decision	Workers Decision	Management Decision	Joint Decision	Workers Decision
-how much work people should do in a day						
-the quality of the work						
-who should be hired						
-the way the work is done(methods & procedures)						
-who is assigned to a job or task						
-who should be laid-off						
-setting of pay scales or wages						
-setting of management's salaries						
-redesigning or reorganizing your workplace						
-how the company distributes its resources or invests profits						
-designing a new plant or office						
-setting policies on pricing, new products, or services						

14. In general, how much say do you personally have over decisions that affect you at work?

Very Little ——— Very Much

15. How much say <u>ought</u> you to have over these decisions?

Very Little ——— Very Much

16. Below are a list of issues which you may be concerned about. What issues would you like your union to push for in bargaining? Put a tick (✓) in the space depending upon how important the issue is to you.

	Not Important				Very Important
-safe working conditions					
-job security					
-pay					
-opportunities for upgrading or promotion					
-having a lot of say over how the company is run					
-convenient hours or shorter work week					
-opportunities to use my abilities					
-having a lot of say over how my work is done					
-fringe benefits					
-interesting and satisfying work					
-having a lot of say over how my work group is run					
-training or education					

17. If there was another company somewhere nearby that would allow you to make more decisions than at your present workplace, and if the pay, benefits, conditions, etc...were all the same, the only difference being a chance for you to have more say in decisions that affect you, do you think that you would try to get a job there rather than your present job?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Uncertain

(If the answer to the above question was'yes', then please answer questions 18, 19, & 20. If your answer was 'no' or 'uncertain' then you may skip these questions.)

18. As you can imagine, making decisions like those already mentioned takes time. If this other company asked you to spend some extra time without pay, say two hours a week, in order to get these decisions made, would you still change companies?

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Uncertain

19. Would you be willing to increase the risk of being laid-off by moving to this other company and loosing your seniority?

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Uncertain

20. What if the pay at this other job or company were less...say 10% less? Would you still take the job?

☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Uncertain

21. How important to you is it who is elected or appointed to the following offices? (Please tick (✓) the appropriate column.)

	Not Important				Very Important
-Canadian Labour Congress					
-Workers' representative on joint committee(e.g. safety)					
-shop steward					
-Union officer (local)					
-Union officer (national or international)					
-B.C. Federation of Labour					

22. Have you yourself ever considered standing for the position of union officer?

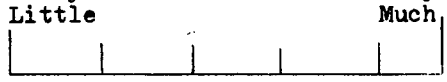
☐ Yes
☐ No

23. Would you stand for the position of union officer if asked to by your fellow workers?

☐ Yes
☐ No

24. How much opportunity is there for membership participation in your union?

Very Little — Very Much

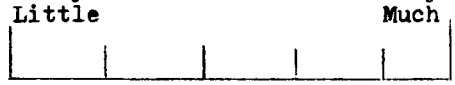


25. What percentage of the time do you spend working on a machine?

☐ 0-20%
☐ 20-40%
☐ 40-60%
☐ 60-80%
☐ 80-100%

26. How much is the speed at which you work set by a machine?

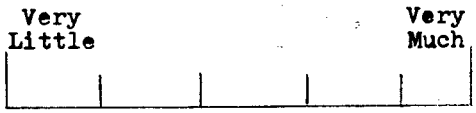
Very Little — Very Much



27. What percentage of time do you usually spend working alone?

☐ 0-20%
☐ 20-40%
☐ 40-60%
☐ 60-80%
☐ 80-100%

28. How much satisfaction do you get out of work as compared to other sources of satisfaction such as leisure time?



29. What is your annual income?

- ☐ Less than $10,000
- ☐ $10,001-15,000
- ☐ $15,001-20,000
- ☐ $20,001-25,000
- ☐ $25,001-30,000
- ☐ $30,001-35,000
- ☐ $35,001-40,000
- ☐ $40,001-45,000
- ☐ $45,001-50,000
- ☐ More than $50,000

30. We would appreciate any comments or opinions you would like to express concerning workers` participation. Please feel free to do so in the space below. Thank you very much for your co-operation.

APPENDIX 2: Key Variables, Coding, and Correlation Matrix

Variable	Coding
AGE	18 to 64
JOB	1 Clerical 2 Technical-Professional
EDUC	1 Elementary 2 Some Highschool 3 Completed Highschool 4 Some College 5 Completed College
SEX	1 Male 2 Female
RUNSTEW: "Have you ever considered standing for the position of shop steward or union officer?"	1 Yes 2 No
LIEWRK: "How much satisfaction do you get out of your work as compared to other sources of satisfaction such as leisure time?"	1 (Very Little) through to 5 (Very Much)
MEMBER	1 Rank-and-File 2 Shop Steward 3 Union Officer
YRSEMP(Tenure)	1 to 45

Variable Coding

MOVSAM: "If there was another company somewhere nearby that would allow you to make more decisions than at your present workplace, and if the pay, benefits, conditions, etc... were all the same, the only difference being a chance for you to have more say in decisions that affect you, do you think that you would try to get a job there rather than your present job?"

1 Yes
2 No
3 Uncertain

GENSAY: "In general, how much say do you personally have over decisions that affect you at work?"

1 (Very Little) through to 5 (Very Much)

OTSAY: "How much say ought you to have over these decisions?"

1 (Very Little) through to 5 (Very Much)

WHATSAY: (OTSAY - GENSAY) (Perceived lack of influence)

FILE WORKPART (CREATION DATE = 11/13/81)

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	AGE	JOB	EDUC	SEX	RUNSTEW	LIEWRK	MEMBER	YRSEMP	MOVSAM	WHATSAY
AGE	1.0000	0.1877	-0.0762	-0.1642	-0.0992	0.1125	0.0660	0.4497	0.1014	-0.0390
	(0)	(233)	(236)	(237)	(236)	(237)	(217)	(237)	(159)	(237)
	P=*****	P=0.002	P=0.122	P=0.006	P=0.064	P=0.042	P=0.167	P=0.000	P=0.102	P=0.275
JOB	0.1877	1.0000	0.2795	-0.2989	-0.1981	0.2220	0.1287	0.2988	0.2323	-0.1769
	(233)	(0)	(232)	(233)	(232)	(233)	(213)	(233)	(156)	(233)
	P=0.002	P=*****	P=0.000	P=0.000	P=0.001	P=0.000	P=0.030	P=0.000	P=0.002	P=0.003
EDUC	-0.0762	0.2795	1.0000	-0.0712	-0.0149	0.1058	0.0176	-0.0864	0.0402	-0.0589
	(236)	(232)	(0)	(236)	(235)	(236)	(216)	(236)	(159)	(236)
	P=0.122	P=0.000	P=*****	P=0.138	P=0.410	P=0.052	P=0.399	P=0.093	P=0.307	P=0.184
SEX	-0.1642	-0.2989	-0.0712	1.0000	0.1864	-0.0283	-0.1360	-0.1493	0.0536	0.0746
	(237)	(233)	(236)	(0)	(236)	(237)	(217)	(237)	(159)	(237)
	P=0.006	P=0.000	P=0.138	P=*****	P=0.002	P=0.332	P=0.023	P=0.011	P=0.251	P=0.126
RUNSTEW	-0.0992	-0.1981	-0.0149	0.1864	1.0000	-0.0589	-0.5152	-0.0489	0.1277	-0.1362
	(236)	(232)	(235)	(236)	(0)	(236)	(216)	(236)	(159)	(236)
	P=0.064	P=0.001	P=0.410	P=0.002	P=*****	P=0.184	P=0.000	P=0.227	P=0.054	P=0.018
LIEWRK	0.1125	0.2220	0.1058	-0.0283	-0.0589	1.0000	-0.0125	0.0710	0.2981	-0.2171
	(237)	(233)	(236)	(237)	(236)	(0)	(217)	(237)	(159)	(237)
	P=0.042	P=0.000	P=0.052	P=0.332	P=0.184	P=*****	P=0.427	P=0.138	P=0.000	P=0.000
MEMBER	0.0660	0.1287	0.0176	-0.1360	-0.5152	-0.0125	1.0000	-0.0080	-0.0539	0.1225
	(217)	(213)	(216)	(217)	(216)	(217)	(0)	(217)	(146)	(217)
	P=0.167	P=0.030	P=0.399	P=0.023	P=0.000	P=0.427	P=*****	P=0.453	P=0.259	P=0.036
YRSEMP	0.4497	0.2988	-0.0864	-0.1493	-0.0489	0.0710	-0.0080	1.0000	0.1527	-0.1373
	(237)	(233)	(236)	(237)	(236)	(237)	(217)	(0)	(159)	(237)
	P=0.000	P=0.000	P=0.093	P=0.011	P=0.227	P=0.138	P=0.453	P=*****	P=0.027	P=0.017
MOVSAM	0.1014	0.2323	0.0402	0.0536	0.1277	0.2981	-0.0539	0.1527	1.0000	-0.3452
	(159)	(156)	(159)	(159)	(159)	(159)	(146)	(159)	(0)	(159)
	P=0.102	P=0.002	P=0.307	P=0.251	P=0.054	P=0.000	P=0.259	P=0.027	P=*****	P=0.000
WHATSAY	-0.0390	-0.1769	-0.0589	0.0746	-0.1362	-0.2171	0.1225	-0.1373	-0.3452	1.0000
	(237)	(233)	(236)	(237)	(236)	(237)	(217)	(237)	(159)	(0)
	P=0.275	P=0.003	P=0.184	P=0.126	P=0.018	P=0.000	P=0.036	P=0.017	P=0.000	P=*****

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APPENDIX 3: Table of Previous Studies

	Measure of Desire for Participation	Sample Size and Composition	Job Category	Ownership	Desire for W.P.	Country and Unionization
Morse (1953)	(Interview)"Would you like to make more decisions in your work?"	N=742, 84% Fem. 16% Male	White-collar (W.C.) (Clerical)	Private (Insurance Co.)	73%(Yes)	U.S. (non-union)
Katz (1954)	1. Same as above.	N=580 (Fem. majority)	W.C. (Clerical)	Private (Insur.Co)	76%(Yes)	U.S.(East) (non-union)
	2."Would you like to have more or less to say about the way your work is done?"	N=5,700 (Male majority)	Blue-collar (B.C.)	Private (Heavy Industry)	51%(More)	U.S.(union)
Tannenbaum (1956)	Asked for 'actual' & 'desired' amount of control on a 5 point scale from 'no say(1) through to 'great deal of say'(5)	N=300	B.C.	Private (Industrial)	Mean Actual=1.9 Mean Desired=2.5	U.S.(union)
Holter (1965)	(Questionnaire)"Would you like to participate more in decisions that directly concern your own work and working conditions?"	N=1,128 52% Female 48% Male	628 W.C. 500 B.C.	Private (10 factories, 7 large insur. co.,& 1 large scale indus.)	56%Yes,B.C. 67%Yes,W.C.	Norway(Oslo) (mixed unionization)
	"Would you like to participate more in decisions that concern the management of the whole enterprise?"				16%Yes,B.C. 11%Yes,W.C.	
Tabb and Goldfarb (1970)	(Questionnaire and Interviews)"Are you in favour of participation?"	N=861	557 B.C. 304 W.C.	Public (Histadruth) Heavy industry and manufacturing	54%(Yes)	Israel (union)

	Measure of Desire for Participation	Sample Size and Composition	Job Category	Ownership	Desire for W.P.	Country and Unionization
Hilgendorf & Irving(1970)	Open-ended questionnaire dealing with the areas,if any,in which workers would like to participate.	N=2000	B.C.	Public (British Rail)	Highest response was 58%Yes to work methods.	England (union)
Hespe & Warr (1971)	"Would you like to have more influence in the running of your department than you currently have?"	N=243 (Male)	B.C.	Private (Eight different industrial enterprises)	61%(Yes)	England (union)
Hespe & Little(1971)	Subjects were asked for their views on the way management should deal with various decisions.	N(Same sample as above)	---	---	Modal view was negotiations over local decisions.	---
Wall and Lischeron (1977)	(Questionnaire)Subjects were asked the desirability and practicality of being involved in various decisions.	N=131(Fem.)	W.C. (Nurses)	Public (Two hospitals)	Local & distant decisions<50% Medium=55%	England
	Various questions relating to different levels of decision-making were asked.	N=118(91 male) (27 fem.)	B.C.	Private (Steel products)	Local,medium, & distant decisions>50%	North England
	Subjects were asked: "How much say should you and your workmates have" over various decisions.	N=94(Male)	B.C. (Groundskeepers)	Public	Local,med.,distant>50% Representative at distant level & direct at local& medium	England (About ½ unionized)

	Measure of Desire for Participation	Sample Size and Composition	Job Category	Ownership	Desire for W.P.	Country and Unionization
Staines and Quinn(1979)	Asked workers how much say they should have about various work related decisions.	N=2300 (Randomly drawn from general population)	All job categories	Public and Private	41%(A lot of say over how the work is done)	U.S.
Witte(1980)	Asked: "How much say should you have in the following areas?"	N=145 (50% Fem.) (45% Spanish)	B.C. (Manufacturing stereo equip.)	Subsidiary of publicly owned parent company	83%(A lot of say over local decisions) 17%(A lot of say in distant decisions)	U.S. (non-union)
Marchington (1980)	(Questionnaire) "Do you feel that you personally have enough say in decisions made at your place of work?"	N=141 (20% Female)	B.C. (Manufacturing kitchen furniture)	Private	Enough say(43%) More say own job(35%) More say Dept. level(9%) More say Comp. level(13%)	England (union)