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PARTICIPATORY SCHEMES IN CO-OPERATIVES

(A Comparative Study of Management Structures
of Industrial and Service Co-operatives
in the Greater Accra Region)

K.A. Ofei

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**SCHOOL OF ADMINISTRATION
(UNIVERSITY OF GHANA)**

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PARTICIPATORY SCHEMES IN CO-OPERATIVES

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ABSTRACT

Recent studies on co-operative organizations in developing countries have indicated that the problems of self-management in co-operatives are due to the failure to implement the principles and ideals of co-operatives in those countries. These studies, coming from sociological and anthropological research, have further pointed out that the principles and ideals of co-operatives are difficult to implement because they are incompatible with the traditional social structures and norms found in developing countries.

Certainly, the principles and ideals of co-operatives are important for ensuring self-management in co-operatives. It is, however, argued that in order to obtain adequate understanding of problems of self-management in co-operatives, it is also necessary to investigate the participatory schemes adopted by them.

An empirical description of participatory schemes adopted by industrial producers and service co-operatives in Ghana, is therefore provided. Furthermore, the conditions which give rise to different participatory schemes in the co-operatives are also described.

1. BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Since the introduction of co-operatives to the developing countries, a number of social scientists have shown considerable interests in their activities. In particular, sociologists and anthropologists have concerned themselves with the problems of co-operatives as modern organizations in the traditional societies in developing countries.

Co-operatives are considered as democratic and self-managed organizations. This is because their members are themselves owners/ managers and at the same time patrons/workers of the co-operative organization. Furthermore, all members, whatever their level of skills or contributions to the resources of the organization have an equal right to participate in the decision making within the co-operative. As modern organization they are characterized by an authority structure and a formal system of rules and regulations. For instance, the principles and ideals of co-operation.

Most sociologists and anthropologists have shared the belief that the ideals and principles of co-operation reflect certain Western European values and ideological beliefs which are incompatible with the social norms and value systems existing social structures in developing countries (Anschel 1969). For instance, a number of conflicts have therefore been identified between traditional social norms and the co-operative democratic principle of "one person one vote". Dore (1971) has pointed out that the dominance of traditional leaders over the social affairs of their communities has been transferred to the management of co-operatives. He contends that this has caused the inability of co-operative members to exercise their individual member rights during decision making owing to the fear of contradicting the opinions of their traditional leaders. This in turn has reinforced the domination of the local elite in the affairs of the co-operatives.

Another major source of conflict has been related to the requirements of membership in a co-operative. Generally, participation in a co-operative demands a number of responses from individual members such as solidarity in the group and loyalty to the co-operative. In addition, it is expected that members would agree to abide by the obligations and role prescriptions of co-operatives. Munkner (1976), has suggested that since members of a co-operative are also members of several traditional organizations, their traditional allegiances to them will prevent their conformity to the co-operative principles and ideals.

Although the sociological and anthropological studies provide important information for the understanding of problems of co-operatives in developing countries, they fail to deal with the co-operative organizations themselves. These studies provide only information on the social factors as member loyalty and the differences between co-operatives and existing social structures in the developing countries. There has been very little attempt to provide information on the emerging types of co-operatives and how they are able to harmonize their relationships with their socio-cultural environment.

The failure of the sociological and the anthropological studies to find out about the organizational responses of co-operatives to the traditional environments in developing countries can be traced to the perception of co-operatives adopted by the researchers. Their perception of co-operatives has been based on the ideal classical co-operative model transferred from western Europe to the developing countries (Worsely, 1971). This model considered the ideals and principles of co-operatives as the means by which self-management in co-operatives could be achieved.¹ The classical co-operative model also provided an organizational blueprint for establishing co-operatives. This involved a scheme of participation whereby individual members can either personally or indirectly through elected representatives be involved in decision making within the co-operatives.

Co-operatives are primarily economic organizations and no matter how well they accord with the principles and ideals of co-operation, they will respond to market and socio-cultural conditions in which they operate. Hence, it is possible that they will also design their organizations and adopt goals that will make it possible for them to harmonize their relations with their environments. For instance, developments in the economies of Western Europe have seen technological and economic forces set imperatives for the development of co-operatives. The co-operatives have had to develop new management philosophies and organizational structures to meet the challenges of the environment. (Mellor/Hannah, 1988)

Hence, any study of co-operatives should, therefore, take into account the types of organizations which have been developed in response to the given socio-cultural and economic environment. It should be expected that the different social problems that co-operatives are designed to solve and the various economic ventures they undertake will necessitate the adoption of different participatory schemes in co-operatives.

Anschel (1969), has also made similar observations. He has pointed out that by definition, co-operatives regardless of location adhere to similar principles, however, because of differing physical, social and environmental restraints, co-operatives must be organized with particular structures, resources, operational techniques best suited to reaching their objectives.

2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The discussions above suggest that for a better understanding of the organization and functioning of co-operatives in developing countries, there is the need to study their organizational responses to their given environments. This calls for a systematic investigation into the types of emerging co-operatives, their participatory schemes and the objectives adopted by them. This means that we will have to go beyond the classical co-operative organizational model and search for possible variations in the participatory schemes in the co-operatives.

Specifically, the objectives of the study, therefore, are to investigate;

1. The types of industrial producer and service co-operatives in the Greater Accra region.
2. The participatory schemes adopted by the co-operatives, that is the structures and processes along which participation takes place.
3. How the participatory schemes relate to the objectives of the co-operatives and the socio-cultural milieu in which the co-operatives operate

This research seeks to provide new theoretical perspectives and methodology in the study of co-operatives. As we argued earlier, sociological and anthropological studies on co-operatives have only concerned themselves with examining existing conflicts between co-operatives and traditional societies. This has provided little information on the emerging types of co-operatives and how they are able to meet environmental challenges in the developing countries. The significance of this study, therefore, lies in the fact that it sheds new light on the organization and functioning of co-operative organizations in developing countries as Ghana.

3. METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The aim of this research, as stated above, is to provide an empirical description of participatory schemes of co-operatives and how they relate to their objectives. Co-operatives differ in a number of ways and if we are to organize information about them then we need some framework to do that meaningfully. Hence, we orient ourselves to modern organizational theory. According to Blau (1965), modern organization theory is a "theory of organization, whatever its specific nature and regardless of how subtle the processes it takes into account, has as its central aim to establish the constellation of factors that develop organizations of various kinds.

As a considerable number of studies have shown that modern organization theory with its systems and contingency approach have provided the framework for a comparative study of organizations by suggesting the key variables for consideration (Hall 1988, Cooper/Leavit/Shelley 1964). According to Kast and Rosenzweig (1985), the comparative method deals with the evaluation of variations in organizational design, management practices, employee attitudes and behaviour in different organizations. They have also indicated that it is "a shift from concentrating on unique organizations toward seeking generalizations about patterns of relationships in a variety of settings. The theoretical importance of the comparative method to this study lies in our objective to investigate how participatory schemes are related to the objectives of the co-operatives. It is useful because it provides a basis for indicating the structural factors deterring the differences or similarities in the participatory schemes in the co-operatives.

The Sample

The sample of co-operatives was drawn from a list of co-operatives operating in the Greater Accra region. Out of the total number of 87 co-operatives, 33 were selected for the study. The sample of 33 co-operatives included co-operatives operating in 9 different economic sectors. These co-operatives were; gin distillers (10), taxi drivers (10), salt winners (3), tie and dye (1), block makers (2), rattan weavers (1), herbalists (1), grain millers (2) and electrical workers co-operatives (3). Appendix 1 provides information on the total population of industrial and service co-operatives. *(the numbers in the brackets represent the total number of co-operatives in each group)*

Two approaches were adopted for the selection of the sample. For the taxi drivers and the gin distillers co-operatives, a random selection of ten co-operatives was made from each group. From the remaining co-operatives, our only choice was to select the total number of co-operatives available in their respective industrial field. In the case of the salt co-operatives, three primary societies were selected because they presented the only registered societies at the time of the survey. The five photographers co-operatives were left out because they had virtually degenerated into private enterprises. The societies were managed by only one person.

Concepts and their Measures

Information for the study was derived from two concepts, the properties of the participatory schemes in the co-operatives and their objectives.

Participatory schemes: the participatory scheme represents the hierarchical structure of the co-operative organization. Hence, it describes the pattern of authority and the functional relationship between the co-operative members. The variables used to measure the participatory schemes are based on previously established structural dimensions and sources of variation in participatory schemes in organizations in literature (Rosner 1980, Pugh et al 1968, Dachler/Wilpert 1978). These included:

- a. Form of representation: this was described as;
 - i. direct participation (personal involvement in decision making) or
 - ii. indirect participation through elected representatives.
- b. Size of the management committees in the co-operatives, a count of the number of elected members in the management committees.
- c. Role specialization and division of labour; the distribution of official duties among a number of positions in the management committees and the number of sub-committees set up to deal with special issues.

The administrative component: the administrative component is the hierarchical structure of full time officials for the implementation of the objectives of the co-operatives. It consists of all the administrative, clerical, technical, professional and kindred employees of the co-operative. The administrative component was measured in terms of the following;

- a. Size of the administrative component:: number of people working as staff in the co-operative.
- b. Number of hired workers; number of non members employed in the administrative component.
- c. Percentage of hired labour: percentage of hired labour out of a total number of staff in the administrative component.

Objectives of the co-operatives: the objectives of the co-operatives was defined as the services the co-operatives offer to promote their members interests. In co-operative theory the services or outputs of co-operatives form the “basic charge” of the members to the management or the common interest of the members. A list of items to measure the types of services members offered also identified their ideological orientations. The list was classified as utilitarian/rational economic benefits and mutual benefit services. Appendix 2 provides a list of the items.

4. TYPES OF CO-OPERATIVES

In order to study the participatory schemes and the objectives of the co-operatives it is first essential that we gain an idea of the types of co-operatives, their forms of organization and the nature of their economic activities.

1. The Salt Winners Co-operatives

The salt winning co-operatives cover the whole of the villages around the rural Songhor lagoon in the Ada district of the Greater Accra region. The formation of the salt winners co-operatives was a result of competition and conflicts between the villagers and private entrepreneurs. Hence, the formation of the co-operatives was not only to organize the salt winners to bring harmony in the area, but also to strengthen their competitiveness. Each of the ten villages in the Songhor lagoon has its own co-operatives society. The membership of the co-operatives is mostly drawn from the heads of families in the villages. In turn, the co-operatives societies have formed a local union.

It is essential to note that each co-operatives society is an autonomous organization with its own secretary and a management committee. However many managerial functions of the societies are centralized at the local co-operatives union.

The co-operatives societies and the co-operatives union have been organized for the sale of the members' salt. The individual family groups work independently, on their own. After

winning the salt, the members sell it to itinerant buyers. The major duties of the union are to supervise the sale of salt and collect levies from the workers.

2. The Gin Distillers

The gin distillers co-operatives are the oldest industrial co-operatives in the country. They also represent the largest co-operatives sector not only in the Greater Accra Region, but also in the whole economy of Ghana. The distilleries co-operatives have maintained a complete monopoly in the production and marketing of the Akpeteshie Gin in Ghana. This is due to a legislation instrument, the Sale of Spirits Act of 1962, which made the membership of a distillers co-operatives in the country a condition for the issue of akpeteshie gin distillery license to any producer. The main objectives of the Act were to ensure that the distillation of the akpeteshie gin was carried out under hygienic conditions and that the distillers paid duties and taxes to the government.

The gin distillers co-operatives operate in most cases as tax collecting agents. The actual duties of the societies have involved the inspection of the payment of levies by the individual member in their areas of operation. Members actually carry out their gin distilling individually in their family enterprises. In many instances, richer members with production facilities allowed their fellow members to use their facilities for some fees.

3. The Taxi Drivers Co-operatives

The taxi drivers co-operatives are the only recent addition to the co-operatives sector in the country. Although there has already been co-operatives in the transport sector, they differed from the taxi drivers co-operatives in that they were organized by the transport owners themselves. The taxi drivers co-operatives were formed by taxi drivers who were themselves the workers. The idea of these co-operatives originated from two sources. The increasing competition in this sector had led to demand for more taxi stations or ranks for passengers. The organization of such stations were originally part of the duties of the taxi drivers' union, a branch of the national drivers' trades union, the Ghana Private Roads Transport Union (GPRTU). The dissatisfaction with their trades union leaders, the belief by some drivers in self-management and accountability and the quest for more efficient ways of organizing these stations had led to the formation of these co-operatives in the capital, Accra.

The main objectives of these co-operatives is, therefore, to acquire more stations and to manage them efficiently for their members. The co-operatives also seek to bring discipline and order in taxi driving. Furthermore, the society provides legal aid for individual drivers involved in traffic offenses.

4. The Grain Millers Co-operatives

The Grain Millers' co-operatives represent some of the few remaining grain milling co-operatives which were established in the nineteen seventies and eighties in Ghana.

The societies consist of individual grain milling entrepreneurs whose main aim is to foster unity between members. In particular, the fixing of prices by the society to avoid conflict and competition. In addition, members hope that through the society they could have a local representation on matters concerning their industry. The sources of finance of the society are the entrance fees and monthly levies collected from members.

5. Rattan Weavers

The rattan weavers belong to the tourist industry in Ghana. The winning of more customers from abroad for its members, therefore, forms the major objective of this co-operatives. The formation of this co-operatives stems from the need to secure a workshop where the products of members could be more accessible to their foreign customers. In addition, the society has been used as a means of appealing to governmental organizations to offer them a place in local exhibitions. The society has managed to bring its members to work together in the same workshop. However, the members work as autonomous work groups. The groups include apprentices who cannot be members of the co-operatives until they have graduated from their apprenticeship. The sale of the products is done by individual members, except for products submitted for exhibitions. Like the other co-operatives, its main sources of funds are the monthly levies paid by members.

6. Electrical Workers Co-operatives

The electrical workers co-operatives are, in the true sense, the *classical labour co-partnership co-operatives*, where the aim of members is to sell their labour. The origins of these societies come from the retrenchment of technicians from a major fishing company in Ghana. The company, while needing the services of these technicians in its ships, did not however, want to give them full time employment. Three worker co-operatives, therefore, emerged to take on the contracts from the company. The formation of the three worker co-operatives was based on the fields of specialization of the workers, namely; refrigeration, mechanical and electronical repairs. The societies derive their income solely from the contracts given to them by the company.

7. The Herbalists Co-operatives

Established in 1990, the herbalists co-operatives aim to transform traditional forms of medicine production into a modern scientific production process. By this the society not only hopes to improve the quality of herbal medicine, but also to dispel the mysticism associated with herbal medicine and to improve its image in Ghana. Hence, the society has set up a laboratory to carry out scientific experiments to determine the efficacy of herbal medicine. In addition, the society has obtained a license to produce herbal medicine and set up a pharmacy. The organization of the society is, therefore, built around the production, marketing and the dispensing of medicines to patients. Furthermore, the members have acquired a farm on which to grow their herb collectively

9. The Co-operatives Block Makers

The block makers co-operative consists of individual block makers whose aim is to cooperate in the procurement of the raw materials at lower costs for their respective enterprises. In addition, the co-operatives acts as an occupational association by taking interest in the general welfare of its members. Like the members of the Grain milling co-operatives, the members of these co-operatives are mainly businessmen or local entrepreneurs.

Emerging Types of Co-operatives

Firstly, two basic types of co-operatives can be identified. They are the worker co-operatives and the service co-operatives.

The worker co-operatives are co-operatives in which there is no autonomous individual member enterprise. The members own the co-operative workshops or factories collectively. These are the herbalists and the electrical co-operatives.

The herbalists co-operative is a production co-operative based on collective ownership of production facilities. The three electrical co-operatives are labour co-partnerships which aim to contract or hire members labour for income.

The rest of the co-operatives are the service co-operatives. Service co-operatives are co-operatives aiding individual members who own their own enterprises with auxiliary services. These auxiliary services are for instance, the provision of credit, managerial services, and market related services such as supply of resources and the marketing.

5. PROPERTIES OF THE PARTICIPATORY SCHEMES IN THE CO-OPERATIVES

The Participatory Scheme as we pointed out earlier refers to structures and processes along which participation takes place in a Co-operatives. It represents the structural relationship between members of the co-operatives and their organizations. This relationship comes from the fact that co-operatives members are both owner/managers and patrons or workers of their organization. This places the co-operatives members as decision makers in their enterprise.

In the classical or ideal co-operatives model, two major decision groups are foreseen.

They are:

- * the general body of members, the membership group;
- * the management committee.

The membership group, that is general body of members, is the "policy making" body in a

co-operatives. They therefore have the ultimate authority in the affairs of the co-operatives. In Ghana, their duties are contained in *NLC Decree No. 252 of 1968* and the co-operatives model bye-laws as follows:

1. Expulsion of members
2. Consideration of reports of the committee
3. Election of the members of the committee
4. Authorization of the committee to raise loans and set interest on Loans to members.
5. Approve any amendments to the bye laws of the co-operatives
6. Approve the Annual Budgets of the co-operatives.

The duties of the management committee include:

1. Ensuring that the regulations and laws of the co-operatives society are complied with by the members.
2. Conducting the business of the co-operatives society, e.g. raising loans and making investments.
3. Representing the co-operatives society in its dealings and transactions with outsiders.
4. Employing and determining the salary of secretary of the society.
5. Overseeing that businesses of the co-operatives society are duly recorded in its accounting books by the secretary.
6. Carry out the resolutions of the General Assembly.

The model bye-laws are quite flexible in assigning tasks to the decision-making bodies. For instance, they consider both direct and indirect representation in the management of the affairs of co-operatives. Direct representatives is concerned with institutional matters as, election of officers and approval of annual accounts. This occurs through general meetings and special general meetings.

The duties of the management committee are managerial and involve the day to day administration of the co-operatives. In Ghana, the model co-operative bye-laws stipulate a minimum of seven members on the committee. The principal office holders in the management committee are the President, vice-president and Treasurer of the co-operatives.

The President of a Co-operatives plays more or less an executive role. He does not only supervise the administrative staff but also transacts most of the business of the society. The treasurer also plays quite a significant role in co-operatives. It is a convention in Ghana that the treasurer and the secretary of co-operatives each keeps one of the keys to the society's safe. It is also required that the treasurer receives moneys paid to the society.

The structural arrangements laid down in the model bye laws seek to impose some bureaucratic features on the co-operatives. This is done by the stipulation of the roles of

decision making bodies and well defined positions.

However, the direction of initiation of orders is from the lower level to the higher level. In the hierarchical structure the general body or members have the highest authority. This means that authority is exercised from the lower to the upper levels. This is unlike bureaucratic organization where authority is exercised downward through a hierarchy of full-time officials who influence the lower level participants (Macdonald/Malcolm 1978).

The classical model of co-operatives as we have described above can lead to some structural variations in the co-operatives. Firstly, we note that the ideal classical model suggests two structures for participation. They are the members assembly composed of general body of members and the management committee. The members assembly represents the direct participation or immediate involvement of members in decision making.

The management committee represents indirect form of participation or the involvement of the general body of members in decision making through representatives. The substitution of direct participation in decision-making with indirect forms of participation lead to the establishment of representative bodies. This bring about the division of labour among members and consequently role specialization in the different roles in the co-operatives. The introduction of indirect form of participation will therefore affect access to decision making by individual members or groups. Consequently, the amount of control individual members of groups will have over the affairs of the co-operatives will differ (Dachler/Wilpert 1978).

The exercise of the will of members can also occur through an administrative component in the co-operatives. The administrative component is the hierarchical structure of full time officials for the implementation of the policies of the co-operatives. It is that part of co-operatives changed with coordinating facilitating and supporting the activities of the rest of the organization. This consists of all administrative, clerical, technical, professional employees of the co-operatives. It also makes the co-operatives a hybrid of an organization. This is because it gives it both the legal-rational elements of a bureaucratic organization and a democratic management structure. In this situation, the management Committee is able to exercise influence downward through the administrative component whilst members continue to express their will, upwards through their representatives.

Our discussion suggest a number of ways in which participatory structures can therefore be developed. They are:

- * The Form of participation (direct or indirect);
- * Division of Labour and role specialization in the scheme of participation;
- * the size of the administrative component;

Appendix 3 provides the scores for these variables for each of the 31 co-operatives. Among the variables, size of the management committees, size of the administrative component and the number and percentage of hired labour appear to be similar in all the co-operatives. This was with the exception of the electrical co-operatives and the taxi drivers co-operatives. In

fact, two of the electrical co-operatives had no management committees. Hence, participation in decision making was direct and personal. The other exception, the taxi drivers, had as many as eleven elected officers.

Regarding the administrative component of the co-operatives, many of the co-operatives have employed their own members as staff except the gin distillers and herbalists co-operatives. In the herbalists co-operatives, all the staff were non members and in the gin distillers they were as much as 75 percent of the staff. In the herbalist co-operative the staff officers were nurses and in the distillers they were checkers. The checkers were officers who visited individual members to make sure that they do not divert their products away from the co-operatives and escape the payment of levies.

Forms of Participation and Managerial Roles

Table 1 provides us with details of forms of representation and managerial roles in the co-operatives. Only two co-operatives, the electrical co-operatives, adopted the direct form of participation. These may be described then as “collectives” because members assembly was the only decision making body. The rest of the co-operatives adopted the indirect form of participation. They can therefore be described as “dual structure” co-operatives or representative democracies (Cornforth et al 1988).

In most of the co-operatives, the major roles in the management committee were the tripartite roles of President, Vice President and Treasurer. These are the major roles recommended by the model bye laws.

The most striking differences in role specialization were between the taxi drivers and the gin distillers co-operatives. In the taxi drivers role specialization had taken place within their management committees. They had created specialist positions as President, Treasurer, Vice Treasurer, Chief Driver and Welfare Officer. In addition they had 2 permanent Sub Committees, the Disciplinary and Transport Committees. Out of these roles the positions of the chief driver and welfare officer was most innovative. Traditional, a chief driver was an esteemed position offered to a person who has acquired considerable experience and respect as a drivers. In the days when trade unions were not prevalent in Ghana, this person became the unofficial leader of drivers in his community. The function of the welfare officer is to help to resolve problems to affecting individual members and their families. This included, for instance, organizing other members to attend funerals of bereaved members, visiting sick members in the hospitals or at homes and resolving disputes among members.

We can see here that the role specialization has in the taxi drivers has occurred within the management committee. In contrast, the gin distillers have kept the size at their management committees to the minimum of 7 as required by the Co-operatives Law. Instead they have expanded and created new roles in the administrative component.

Managerial Role and Representative Bodies in the Co-operatives

Co-operatives		Managerial Roles and Types of Representatives	
1.	Gin Distiller	MC: * President/Vice President	SC: * None/Treasurer
2.	Taxi Driver	MC: President/Vice President/ Treasurer/Welfare Officer Chief Driver	SC: Transport Committee/ Disciplinary Committee/ Welfare Committee
3.	Rattan Weavers	MC: President, Vice President/ Treasurer	SC: None
4.	Grain Miller	MC: President, Vice President/ Treasurer	SC: None
5.	Block Maker	MC: President, Vice President/ Treasurer	SC: None
6.	Gin Distillers	MC: President, Vice President/ Treasurer	SC: None
7.	Herbalists	MC: President, Vice President/ Treasurer	SC: None
8.	Salt Winners	MC: President, Vice President/ Treasurer	SC: None
9.	Electrical Workers	MC: Only President	SC: None
10.	Electrical Workers	MC: President/Vice President	SC: None
11.	Taxi Drivers	MC: President/Vice President Treasurer/Welfare Officer Chief Driver	SC: Transport Committee/ Disciplinary Committee/ Welfare Committee
12.	Taxi Drivers	MC: President/Vice President/ Treasurer/Welfare Officer/ Chief Driver	SC: Transport Committee/ Disciplinary Committee/ Welfare Committee
13.	Taxi Drivers	MC: President/Vice President/ Treasurer/Welfare Officer/ Chief Driver	SC: Transport Committee/ Disciplinary Committee/ Welfare Committee
14.	Gin Distillers	MC: President/Vice President/ Treasurer	SC: None
15.	Gin Distillers	MC: President/Vice President	SC: None
16.	Tie and Dye	MC: President/Treasurer	SC: None
17.	Gin Distillers	MC: President/Treasurer	SC: None
18.	Gin Distillers	MC: President/Vice President/ Treasurer	SC: None
19.	Gin Distillers	MC: President/Vice President/ Treasurer/Welfare Officer/ Chief Driver	SC: None
20.	Gin Distillers	MC: President/Treasurer	SC: None
21.	Gin Distillers	MC: President/Treasurer	SC: None
22.	Gin distillers	MC: President/Vice President/ Treasurer	SC: None
23.	Gin Distillers	MC: President/Vice President/ Treasurer	SC: None
24.	Electrical Workers	MC: Only President	SC: None
25.	Block Makers	MC: President/Vice President/ Treasurer	SC: None
26.	Taxi Drivers	MC: President/Vice President/ Treasurer/Welfare Officer/ Chief Driver	SC: Transport Committee/ Disciplinary Committee/ Welfare Committee
27.	Taxi Drivers	MC: President/Vice President/ Treasurer/Welfare Officer/ Chief Driver	SC: Transport Committee/ Disciplinary Committee/ Welfare Committee
28.	Taxi Drivers	MC: President/Vice President/ Treasurer/Welfare Officer/ Chief Driver	SC: Transport Committee/ Disciplinary Committee/ Welfare Committee
29.	Taxi Drivers	MC: President/Vice President/ Treasurer/Welfare Officer/ Chief Driver	SC: Transport Committee/ Disciplinary Committee/ Welfare Committee
30.	Taxi Drivers:	MC: President/Vice President/ Treasurer/Welfare Officer/ Chief Driver	SC: Transport Committee/ Disciplinary Committee/ Welfare Committee
31.	Taxi Drivers	MC: President/Vice President/ Treasurer/Welfare Officer Chief Driver	SC: Transport Committee/ Disciplinary Committee Welfare Committee

* MC: Management Committee
* SC: Sub-Committee

6. OBJECTIVES AND SERVICES OF THE CO-OPERATIVES

Management theory have related authority structures in organisations to the values and the tasks for which they were for which designed to undertake. Similarly the development of participatory schemes in democratic organizations has evolved from different social theories and ideologies. The design of participatory schemes is not only to enable organizational participants to have access to decision making in organizations, but also to fulfill certain social functions (Dachler/Wilpert 1978, Rosner/Palgi 1980).

To help clarify the reason for the adoption of particular combination of structural factors in the co-operatives, we also examined the services of the co-operatives. Table 2 shows the distribution of the services across the co-operatives. It shows the types of co-operatives, the number of services offered by a co-operative and the percentage of co-operatives offering a particular service.

Members welfare was the most predominant service offered by the co-operatives. Almost ninety percent of the co-operatives offered this service. Another predominant service offered by the co-operatives was mutual aid and self help. The objective of the co-operatives for providing assistance to one another in times of need. We observed during the field work that the co-operatives served as a vehicle through which members could address their social problems together. For instance, in the grain millers co-operatives the management would assign other members to manage the corn mills of other members whenever they were indisposed.

The provision of physical plant facilities also attracted 68 per cent of the co-operatives. Although most of the co-operatives in this study were service co-operatives and were not directly involved in productive activities, their members' economic activities demanded that the co-operatives should aid in finding workshops for them. For instance, for the taxi drivers, salt winners and the rattan weavers co-operatives, a major part of their tasks was to find a location for their members.

Next in the range of services offered by the co-operatives was access to public services. Among the co-operatives which offered this service were the Rattan Weavers, Grain Millers and the Herbalist Co-operatives. The management of these societies pointed out that the activities of their members had received little attention by the institutions of the formal sectors of the Ghanaian economy. Hence, their societies acted as representative organs for their members. The duties of the co-operatives were to lobby governmental and developmental agencies to give greater attention and more recognition to their activities. In addition, the tasks of these societies were to act as conduits through which banks can offer loans to the individual members.

TABLE 2
THE CO-OPERATIVES AND THEIR SERVICES

TYPES OF SERVICES	CO-OPERATIVE																										Total	Percent of Co-ops					
	Gin Distillers	Taxi Drivers	Rattan Weavers	Grain Milling	Block Making	Gin Distillers	Herbalists	Salt Winners	Electrical Workers	Electrical Workers	Taxi Drivers	Taxi Drivers	Taxi Drivers	Gin Distillers	Gin Distillers	Textile	Gin Distillers	Gin Distillers	Gin Distillers	Gin Distillers	Gin Distillers	Electrical Worker	Lock Makers	Grain Millers	Taxi Drivers	Taxi Drivers			Taxi Drivers	Taxi Drivers	Taxi Drivers	Taxi Drivers	
1. Higher Income for Members	+						+		+	+												+									5	16	
2. Provision of Physical Facilities	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+									+	+	+	+	+	21	68
3. Mutual Aid and Self Help	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	28	90
4. Interest in the Welfare of Members	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	28	90
5. Access to Public Service				+	+	+	+		+	+												+		+								8	26
6. Marketing of Produce				+	+				+																+							4	13
7. Support for Other Workers		+	+				+		+	+	+	+		+								+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	14	45
8. Provision of Secure Employment									+	+			+									+										3	10
9. Credit Facilities				+						+												+										3	10
10. Training And Development of Skills					+	+																										2	7
11. Mobilisation of Resources								+																								1	2
12. Supply of Resources							+								+							+										3	10
13. Civil Duties		+						+			+	+	+												+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12	39
14. Education of Members																																0	0
15. Gives Social Function		+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+															+	+	+	+	12	39
11. Provision of Social Security							+	+																								2	7
TOTAL	4	6	6	5	5	2	9	8	8	9	6	6	6	3	1	3	3	3	2	1	3	3	7	4	4	4	5	5	4	5	6		

The least in the number of services offered by the co-operatives were development and training, credit facilities and education. For example, the only co-operatives which showed interest in education was the block makers co-operatives. Their objective was to provide new members with training in block making and the management of the individual enterprises.

In general, one can hardly perceive any differences in the service orientations of the co-operatives. The co-operatives are more preoccupied with mutual benefit activities than rational economic services. An aggregate of the percentage of services devoted to the mutual benefit and utilitarian services was 60.4 percent and 39.6 percent, respectively.

The major differences between the co-operatives, however, come from the varying degrees in which the different category of services have been offered. For instance, the grain milling, block makers and Herbalist may be described as "partisan" co-operatives. This is because they sought to provide both rational economic and mutual benefit services in almost equal proportion.

Another group of co-operatives may also be described as pure normative. These include the salt winners, gin distillers, taxi drivers co-operatives. About 75 percent of the services of these co-operatives has been devoted to the provision of mutual benefit services. The only co-operatives which seek to offer more rational services than mutual benefit are the rattan weavers.

The question may be asked why the co-operatives offered more mutual benefit services than the Utilitarian. One of the reasons for the provision of such services comes from socio-cultural factors. The predominance of the mutual benefit services can be traced to the traditional paternalistic attitudes in the Ghanaian society. This attitude places more emphasis on welfare of the family members in the extended family system.

For instance, studies in Ghana and other African countries have also revealed similar preferences for such mutual benefit incentives. In his studies of management style in Ghana, Damachi (1972) has pointed out that "top management in Ghana are over concerned with the welfare of the worker to the extent that there is the tendency to control him even outside work place.

According to Damachi, the worker is regarded as "a member of the extended family system and he is made to feel so by the warmth and security management tries to provide in the work place." He calls this "paternalistic authoritarian" management style. Damachi suggests that this type of managerial authority has social cultural elements in it. This is because it is based on the African extended family system.

Other reasons for the combination of mutual benefit and utilitarian services may can be

attributed to the nature of the circumstances under which the co-operatives were established. We have already pointed out that the reasons for the formation of most co-operatives were to remedy certain socio-economic problems in their respective sectors.

For instance, the salt winning co-operatives were formed to retain the Songhor Lagoon from private enterprises and bring harmony into the community. Having experienced the lack of accountability and democratic management from their mother unions, the taxi drivers established a co-operative which would not only provide them with taxi ranks, but will also readily respond to their needs. Hence, the creation of certain management structures to cater for specific social needs of the members.

The activities of the pure utilitarian co-operatives, the rattan weavers, may be seen as part of an attempt to solve some of the problems faced by small-scale industries in Ghana. Small-scale industries in developing countries face problems such as lack of access to public facilities, inadequate finance and acquisition of capital. The solution of these problems is reflected in the types of services offered by the rattan weavers. Its services included provision of a location for members to work together, acting as a representative organ for the society in dealing with developmental institutions and exploration of marketing channels.

Types of Services and Participatory Schemes in the Co-operatives

Our discussions above suggest that the services of the co-operatives are oriented to a combination of rational economic and mutual benefit factors. In this section, we shall examine how the different types of co-operatives and their participatory schemes are designed to promote the types of services offered by them.

Table 3

Primary orientations of the Services of the Co-operatives

Co-operatives	Rational economic		Mutual Benefit	
	No. of Services	% of Services	No. of Services	% of S Services
1. Gin Distillers	2	50	2	50
2. Taxi Drivers	1	17	5	83
3. Rattan Weavers	4	67	2	33
4. Grain Milling	2	50	2	50
5. Block Makers	2	40	3	60
6. Gin Distillers	0	0	2	100
7. Herbalists	4	44	5	56
8. Salt Winners	2	25	6	75
9. Electrical Workers	4	50	4	50
10. Electrical Workers	4	50	4	50
11. Taxi Drivers	1	17	5	83
12. Taxi Drivers	1	17	5	83
13. Taxi Drivers	1	17	5	83
14. Gin Distillers	0	0	2	100
15. Gin Distillers	0	0	1	100
16. Textiles	1	20	4	80
17. Gin Distillers	1	33	2	67
18. Gin Distillers	1	33	2	67
19. Gin Distillers	0	0	2	100
20. Gin Distillers	0	0	1	100
21. Gin Distillers	1	33	2	67
22. Gin Distillers	1	33	2	67
23. Electrical workers	3	33	6	67
24. Block makers	2	50	2	50
25. Grain Millers	2	50	2	50
26. Taxi Drivers	1	20	4	80
27. Taxi Drivers	1	33	2	67
28. Taxi Drivers	1	25	3	75
29. Taxi Drivers	1	25	3	75
30. Taxi Drivers	1	20	4	80
31. Taxi Drivers	1	4	4	80
Total	46	856	98	2228

Table 3 provides information on the services orientations of the different types of co-operatives. The table gives information on the number of services offered by the types of co-operatives and their industry groups. These services are dichotomized into utilitarian and mutual benefit services. The information in the table is derived from data in table 2. The data in table 3 represent the average number and percentages of services offered by the co-operatives industry groups.

The table shows that the services of the worker co-operatives are quite similar to those of some of the auxiliary or service co-operatives. For instance, the grain millers and block makers have similar orientations as the herbalists. The types of services offered by these co-operatives are also reflected on their participatory structures. In the herbalist and the gin distillers co-operatives, the structuring of activities lays emphasis on the development of its administrative component.

Another indication of the development of participatory schemes to promote particular services is also demonstrated by the taxi driver co-operatives. In these co-operatives, special organizational roles have been created to cater for the welfare of the members and maintain discipline among them. This is seen in the introduction of such roles as chief driver and welfare officers.

The organization of the salt winners co-operatives has also been designed to promote the activities of their members and the community at large. Each primary society represents one village, and in turn their management committees have formed a local union to represent the whole community of villages. The establishment of this link with the community enables the co-operatives to offer their services to the members and the community at large. This includes the funding of development projects by the local co-operatives union through the respective primary co-operatives.

Most of the co-operatives do not show any form of division of labour or role specialization for us to attribute their structural changes to a particular service. For instance, the electrical worker co-operatives do not have any established committees. The only identifiable role position in their organization was the President of the society. We would presume that if any special roles or structures existed, then they would be part of the informal processes found in smaller organizations.

The most predominant services offered by the co-operatives were of mutual benefit in orientation. That is, services related to broad social values and motivational well-being of the co-operatives members.

We observed that role specialization and division of labour were associated with some of the services offered by some of the co-operatives. For instance, the taxi drivers co-operatives

have created organizational roles to reflect the type of mutual benefit services offered by them. They had created sub-committees whose functions were to provide facilities for the promotion of their members' welfare.

7. CULTURAL SPECIFIC FACTORS IN THE CO-OPERATIVES:

One of the major arguments of the study was that, co-operatives as economic organizations will seek to develop strategies that will seek to harmonize their relationships with their environments. This is in contrast to the sociological and anthropological studies that have sought to identified conflictual situations between the co-operatives and the traditional social structures.

Our proposition comes from recent findings from cross cultural studies in management. A central idea of this cultural specific argument points out that rules and controls of agencies in the socio-cultural environment will make organizational structures isomorphic with the structures of their external agencies (Hickson et al 1974, Meyer/Rowan 1977). It is further argued that for organizations to succeed in their environments, they must not only design their structures to suit their environments, but must also arrange their rewards to reflect the social aspirations of their members and the society at large (Price 1975).

The participatory schemes in the co-operatives show reflections of some elements of the socio-cultural and institutional elements environment in the Ghanaian society. For instance, the organization of the service co-operatives as a loosely federated system of individual member enterprises is to guarantee the autonomy of the existing traditional social organization of which individual member's enterprises were a part. evidence suggests that the organization of work and ownership of indigenous enterprises are associated with the extended family system of "abusua" in Ghana (Brown 1978)

The over concern of the co-operatives over the welfare of members rather than the provision of material incentives gives indications of the intrusion of the paternalistic ideals of the extended family system into the co-operatives. Furthermore, the managerial roles in the Taxi Drivers co-operatives were patterned along the lines of traditional role structures in that occupation. The co-operatives did not only exhibit these cultural specific factors in their structures, they also demonstrated some behavioural tendencies characteristics of most formal organizations. This was shown by the relationship that existed between increases in their size of the management committees, division of labour and role specialization.

The cultural effects on the co-operatives mentioned above, come from the traditional or informal economies in Ghana. Contrary to evidence from socio- anthropological studies, we found the informal sector has been a pillar of support for the co-operatives. It has not only provided the raw materials, and markets for the products of the

co-operatives, but has also given a basis for solidarity and cohesion among the members. This was most prominent among the salt winning co-operatives which use the whole village communities around the Songhor lagoon as an organizational base.

On the contrary, the modern institutions in the formal economy of Ghana such as banks and the private sector had interest in the activities of the co-operatives. For instance members of the worker co-operatives pointed out that private enterprises were not keen to award them contract when they mentioned that they co-operators.

8. PATTERNS OF ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The research findings outlined above describe alternative participatory schemes in the co-operatives. Two major questions emerge from these findings. How far are the characteristics different from classical model of co-operatives and what types of participatory schemes do they suggest.

To find answers to these questions let us remind ourselves of the classical co-operative model. We pointed out that it represents the organizations blueprint for the establishment of co-operatives. It derives its organization character from a system of rules and prescription in the natural regulations and the model co-operatives bye laws which consider principles and ideals.

This is based on.

- * direct and indirect form of participation as a form of participation;
- * specifies minimum of 7 members in Committee;

By taken the classical model of co-operatives as a point of departure, three types of participatory schemes in the 31 co-operatives can be identified. We shall call them Types I, II and III for the purposes of classification.

Type I

This group of co-operatives demonstrate structural features close to those of the ideal classical model. They can therefore be described as the ideal type co-operatives. The average scores of their structural factors are just the minimum levels of structural factors required to establish a co-operatives society. For instance, the average size of their management committees is seven. The division of labour and role specialization in these co-operatives are based on the tripartite roles of president, treasurer and vice treasurer. Similarly, their administrative component does not show any kind of development. The only administrative officer in these co-operatives is the co-operative secretary. These characteristics are found in all the co-operatives except the gin distillers, two of the electrical co-operatives and the taxi drivers co-operatives.

Type II

These co-operatives lack the bureaucratic structural features depicted by the ideal type co-operatives, The scores of their structural features fall below those of the classical model of co-operatives. These co-operatives use only direct forms of participation because they do not have established management committees. They also do not have any administrative components. These were two of the electrical co-operatives. They can actually be likened to Rotschild-Whitt's (1979) account of collectivist democratic organizations in the United States. According to her, these organizations reject rational bureaucratic justifications for authority. Authority resides not in the individual, but in the collective group as a whole.

Type III

The third type of co-operatives show some striking structural developments that go beyond the basic structures of the ideal classical model. The structural development of these co-operatives is characterized by higher levels of division of labour and role specialization. The co-operatives also use both the direct and the indirect form of participation.

The participatory schemes in these co-operatives suggest an organization form designed to suit the special activities of the co-operatives. This was seen in the taxi drivers and the distillers co-operatives. These two types of co-operatives suggest two distinct patterns of organizational structure. In the distillers co-operatives there is a trend toward bureaucratization. This is indicated by increases in the administrative component. In the taxi drivers co-operatives, there is rather an expansion in the management structure. This has occurred through the creation of new role structures and the establishment of sub-committees to undertake various tasks.

9. CONCLUSIONS

The following conclusions can be reached from the findings of this study:

Participatory schemes in co-operatives may vary along the following dimensions: the extent of division of labour and role specialization, the size of their administrative components, the use of direct and/or indirect forms of participation. These suggest that the ability of certain groups or individuals to influence or control the affairs of a co-operatives organization comes from the domains of power created by the structuring of activities.

The nature of participatory schemes adopted in co-operatives are contingent on the objectives and services of the co-operatives. The co-operatives are designed to assume the characters of benevolent societies to secure the welfare of their members. In many instances, they become only representative organs for the small-scale

APPENDIX II

List of items for the measure of Services in the Co-operatives

Category of Services

Utilitarian Services	Normative Service	Affective Services
1. Financial Rewards (e.g guarantee of wages)	Mutual aid and self help	Joint Recreational Facilities
2. Physical plant facilities (e.g provision of workshop)	Members Welfare	Social Parties and ceremonies
3. Access to Public Service	Support for other worker	
4. Secure employment	Mobilization of Local Resources for development	
5. Social Security and insurance	Civil Duties	
6. Marketing (storage and distribution)	Education of the members	
7. Credit facilities		
8. Training and Development of skills		
9. Supply of resources		

APPENDIX III

Structural Properties Of The Participatory Schemes In The Co-operatives									
Co-operatives	Size of the	Size of the	Meetings	Membership	Form of	No. of	Ratio of	Role	No. of
	Management Committee	Administrative Component	Management Committee	Group Meetings	Representation	Hired Labour	Hired Labour	Specialisation	Decision Rules
Gin Distillers	7	4	3	1	2	4	100	6	10
Taxi Drivers	11	1	3	1	2	0	0	8	10
Rattan Weavers	7	1	4	4	2	0	0	4	8
Grain Millers	7	1	4	4	2	0	0	4	8
Block Millers	11	1	4	1	2	0	0	4	8
Gin Distillers	7	1	2	1	2	1	100	4	10
Herbalists	7	4	3	3	1	3	75	5	12
Salt Winners	0	1	3	3	2	0	0	6	8
Electrical Workers	9	1	3	5	2	0	0	1	11
Electrical Workers	7	1	5	3	2	0	0	3	11
Taxi Drivers	11	1	3	4	2	0	0	8	10
Taxi Drivers	11	1	4	1	2	0	0	8	10
Taxi Drivers	11	1	3	1	2	0	0	8	10
Gin Distillers	7	2	3	1	2	2	100	4	10
Gin Distillers	7	2	3	1	2	0	0	4	10
Tie and Dye	7	3	2	1	2	0	0	4	8
Gin Distillers	7	1	3	1	2	0	0	2	10
Gin Distillers	7	2	2	1	2	3	100	4	10
Gin Distillers	7	2	3	1	2	1	100	3	10
Gin Distillers	7	1	3	1	2	2	100	3	10
Gin Distillers	7	3	2	1	2	1	100	4	10
Gin Distillers	7	1	2	1	1	1	50	4	10
Electrical Workers	0	2	3	5	2	0	0	0	11
Block Makers	7	1	3	3	2	0	0	4	9
Grain Millers	7	1	5	1	2	0	0	4	9
Taxi Drivers	11	1	3	1	2	0	0	8	10
Taxi Drivers	11	1	4	1	2	0	0	8	10
Taxi Drivers	11	1	3	1	2	0	0	8	10
Taxi Drivers	11	1	3	1	2	0	0	8	10
Taxi Drivers	11	1	3	1	2	0	0	8	10
Taxi Drivers	11	1	3	1	2	0	0	8	10
Totals	249	42	98	56	60	18	825	157	303
Mean	8.0	1.4	3.2	1.3	1.9	0.6	26.6	5.1	9.8
Standard Deviation	2.9	0.8	0.7	1.4	0.2	1.1	43.3	2.4	1.0

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ABOUT THE SCHOOL OF ADMINISTRATION, UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON

INTRODUCTION

The School of Administration was originally established by statutory instrument in January 1960, as the College of Administration at Achimota, having begun as the Department of Commerce in the then Kumasi College of Technology (now University of Science and Technology).

In order to give the study of Administration its proper place in the country's higher education system and to attract the best candidates, it was decided that courses run by the College should be at University level. Hence in October 1962, the College of Administration was integrated into the University of Ghana. The College was given a status comparable to that of a faculty in the University and was redesignated **SCHOOL OF ADMINISTRATION**.

The School's current academic programmes are:

- i. Bachelor of Science in Administration of three years duration with specialization in Accounting, Marketing, Banking and Finance, Health Services Administration, Insurance, Human Resource Management, Management and Public Administration.
- ii. Bachelor of Arts in Administration of three years duration with specialization in Accounting and Management in combination with either Law, Psychology, Mathematics, Economics, Statistics or Sociology.
- iii. Diploma Programmes of two years duration in Accounting and Public Administration.
- iv. Master's Degree programme of two years duration leading to the award of either an MBA or MPA.
- v. In order to satisfy an emerging need of working executives for continuing education leading to the award of formal degrees, the School plans to mount a fee-paying part-time (evenings and week-end) Master's degree programme, to be known as Executive MBA.
- vi. There is a limited programme in doctoral studies.

MISSION

The object of the School is to maintain the highest accreditation standards normal for a prestigious Management School.

FACULTY

There are 40 full time lecturers supplemented by a number of part-time lecturers. Student population currently stands at about 1,700.

The School of Administration has links with a number of foreign universities. These include Aalborg University, Denmark, in the area of International Business; Free University of Brussels in the area of Management Information System and the University of Bergen, Norway, in the area of Bureaucratization in Africa.

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