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ORGANISATIONAL CHANGE AND THE INDIVIDUAL

Mark Easterby-Smith

A Thesis submitted for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the University of Durham.

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ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE AND THE INDIVIDUAL

by Mark Easterby-Smith

A B S T R A C T

Organizations and change are pervasive features of modern life, and organizational changes, whether intended or not, are becoming increasingly frequent. Despite its practical significance the field of organizational change lacks widely accepted theories aimed either at the academic observer or the participant in change, which explain what it is and how it takes place. This thesis attempts to develop an understanding of the nature and dynamics of organizational change from both perspectives.

The thesis is divided into three main parts. The first part reviews some of the existing theories in the field, and proposes an alternative theory based on the notion of differential rates of change, and which distinguishes between descriptions and explanations of change. This is then elaborated through a review of the literature in the fields of organizational and individual change. The main theory, and ideas derived from it, are extended further and evaluated in the second and third parts of the thesis. Case studies are employed in the second part and survey data used in the third part; both are drawn from nurses facing major changes in a Group of National Health Service hospitals.

A number of specific conclusions are reached about the ways change may be effected in organizations, and about the ways people may react to these changes. For instance, the examination of individual reactions to anticipated changes suggested two main areas of response. Affective attitudes towards the change were related most closely to judgements made about future patterns in the organization; whereas coping behaviour was more closely related to perceptions of existing patterns (and opportunities)

in the organisation. In the latter case, access to powerful positions, either directly or indirectly, was a key factor underlying behaviour.

This leads, in the final Chapter, to a discussion about the nature and dynamics of organisational values. This concept is seen to be helpful in understanding the relationship between individual action and organisational structure during the process of change. It is suggested that further research might be conducted into this area, which would place greater emphasis on the role of individuals in creating organisational value systems.

PREFACE

The area of organisational change is both wide and complex, and many people have attempted to clarify its nature and dynamics. This thesis is one such attempt at clarification; it is a personal attempt at understanding organisational change, but it also tries to relate this understanding to the wider body of theory.

Most pieces of research which incorporate fieldwork must make compromises between the objectives of the researcher and opportunities that are available for data collection, and the skill of the researcher may be indicated by the relevance of interpretations put upon this data to the original objectives. In the case of a Ph.D. Thesis it is necessary to achieve a compromise between two further objectives: that the work should provide an educational experience for the researcher, and that it should also provide a contribution to wider knowledge. These objectives need not be in conflict, and although the traces of compromise are evident in this work it is hoped that they do not detract from the quality of the final product.

The thesis would not have been produced without the cooperation of senior staff in two districts of the Northern Regional Health Authority, and the many nurses who provided most of the data analysed in Parts II and III. I should like to express my gratitude to them for their assistance, and also to the employees at a chemical plant who provided the data for the case-study described in Appendix IV.

The quality of the thesis would have been less without the assistance of a number of other people which is gratefully acknowledged. Firstly my supervisor Charles Baker, who has consistently forced me to clarify and substantiate my ideas, while providing wider help and encouragement through the tortuous process of conducting research. Secondly, all those who have lent their critical faculties to portions of this work, either in verbal or written form, notably: Eddy Nelson, Jeffrey Rackham, Roy Bayat, Richard Brown and Penny Summerfield.

Finally, I should like to thank the people who have made sense of the convoluted manuscript at various stages in its life: Phillipa Butler, Jen Syer and Hilary Watson.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"The modern world is above everything else, a world of rapid change If we are to maintain our health and a creative relationship with the world around us, we must be actively engaged in change efforts directed towards ourselves, and toward material, social and spiritual environments" (Lippitt et al., 1958, p.3)

Few people would dispute that the pace of change has increased since the above statement was written: change, in its various forms, is one of the most significant features of modern life. At the same time, many people spend large portions of their lives within formal organisations. These formal organisations are sometimes seen to represent stability within the wider flux of change; but they are also seen as the subjects of change, and this is inevitably transferred to the people who work within them.

The concepts of 'change' and 'organisation' are particularly difficult to understand. In the case of 'change', as Coleman (1971) remarks, the problem is that it is a second-order concept and cannot be abstracted directly from observations of the world.

"It is based on a comparison, or difference, between two sense impressions, and, simultaneously, a comparison of the times at which the sense impressions occurred. Thus, the concept of change requires an extra intellectual leap beyond the mere formation of concepts that reflect the state of the world" (pp. 428,9)

It will be argued in this thesis that many existing approaches to social change do not succeed in making this intellectual leap, and therefore that they are of limited analytic value.

In the case of 'organisation' the problem is that there are many views about the nature of organisation; each view is able to explain a given range of phenomena, but no view is able to explain all aspects of organisation. These views range from those which look at organisations only in terms of the people that comprise them, to those which treat the organisation as an entity independent of its members. The difficulties associated with concepts of 'organisation'

and of 'change' are compounded when looking at organizational change. In spite of a substantial literature on the subject, the nature and dynamics of organisational change are still the subject of much confusion. It is assumed here that a clearer understanding of organisational change will make it easier for people to control their environments, and to cope with these changes when they are outside their control. This thesis is therefore about the nature of organisational change, about the way individuals react to situations of organisational change, and about the circumstances under which they will attempt to direct and control the process of change.

Both change and organisations are very wide fields of study. It will therefore be necessary to restrict the focus of interest so that it may be adequately covered in the present work; and a primary focus will be upon organisational change where this can be related clearly to the actions of individuals. This focus also indicates that the most appropriate view of organisations for this study, which should be midway on the continuum between conceptions of organisations as independent of people, and conceptions of organisations as consisting of people alone. Therefore it will be assumed that organisational change can be accounted for in the actions of individuals comprising the organisation, rather than in terms of the structure of the organisation or the environment. But it is also accepted that the alternatives for individual action will be constrained by the structure that is perceived in the immediate environment.

These issues will be discussed at some length in Chapter 2 of the thesis, where an attempt will be made to assess existing theories and to define an alternative theory of organisational change specific to the focus selected above. This theory will then be applied and illustrated through a review of the literature about organisational and individual change. The second part of the thesis takes a view of change as a 'process' and uses two case-studies of change in the National Health Service to assess and extend the basic theory. The third part takes an alternative view - of change as an event - and

uses data from a sample of nurses anticipating change to test ideas about individual behaviour derived from the main theory.

There are, therefore, four main objectives to this thesis, as follows:

- (1) to develop an understanding of the nature and dynamics of organisational change;
- (11) to apply and extend this theory through specific case-studies or organisational change;
- (111) to examine individual reactions and behaviour during organisational change, within the framework of the above theory;
- (iv) to assess and develop the overall theory in the light of fieldwork.

P A R T I

THEORY AND LITERATURE

Chapter 2 - A Theory of Organisational Change

Chapter 3 - Organisational Change

Chapter 4 - Individual Behaviour and Organisational Change

Chapter 5 - Summary of Ideas and Hypotheses

A THEORY OF ORGANISATIONAL CHANGE

1. The Role of Theory
2. Theories of Organisation and Change
 - (a) Systems Theory
 - (b) Action Theory
 - (c) Synthesis and Orthodoxy.
3. A Descriptive Model of Change
 - (a) Introduction
 - (b) Propositions about social change
 - (c) Discussion and application to organisational change.
4. The Dynamics of Organisational Change
 - (a) Individual motivation and organisational change.
 - (b) Power and change.
5. Conclusions.

1. THE ROLE OF THEORY

In the previous chapter an outline was given of the main purpose of the thesis, the problems that it would tackle, and the approach that would be adopted. Theory was seen to have a major role in organising the direction of the thesis, and in enabling a coherent impression to be derived from a wide range of data. In addition to this role of organising experience Shaw and Costanzo (1970) see the main functions of theory as:

- (a) enabling us to go beyond the empirical data to see implications that are not apparent from any single datum;
- (b) providing a stimulus and a guide for further empirical observations.

They also note that it is most desirable for theories to be as simple as possible and consistent with related theories. But regarding the choice of theories they conclude that:

"In the final analysis, it is largely a matter of personal preference which kind of theory is chosen; however, it is well to keep in mind the different consequences of this choice" (p.17)

In this section it will be argued that there are indeed criteria that should be imposed on the choice of a theory, beyond the preferences of the individual involved.

Different theories vary in their degree of tightness or specificity. Thus, Braithwaite (1953) develops a view of a tight scientific theory with hypotheses arranged in a hierarchical system, where it is only those hypotheses at the lowest level of the pyramid that actually refer to experience at all:

"A scientific system consists of a set of hypotheses which form a deductive system; that is, which is arranged in such a way that from some of the hypotheses as premises all the other hypotheses logically follow." (p.12)

There are a number of attractive features in this conception since it clearly has the power to unify diverse and otherwise unrelated events within a single framework; it is testable in that if a lower-order hypothesis is disproven, it immediately throws into doubt all the higher-order hypotheses from which it is derived; and it becomes both an inspiration and something of a task master in directing future investigations.

This type of deductive theory has gained widest acceptance within the physical sciences. But in the social sciences another factor must be taken into account: the subject of study is no longer an inanimate object, but something that is able to think and act independently of the observer. Because of this extra factor there has been much less orthodoxy in the social sciences than in the physical sciences, and as Cohen (1968) indicates, the choice between theories is not merely one of degree of specificity, but also one of type. He identifies four main types of theory, of which two types are normally encountered in the social sciences: scientific and metaphysical theories. The main difference between these two types is that a scientific theory is empirical and should, at least in principle, be testable, whereas metaphysical theories are not testable and may only be subjected to rational appraisal. However, the "metaphysical" theory may still be very useful as a framework for directing future investigations.

In discussing the development of theories, Cohen points to two main approaches that have been employed in the social sciences: holistic and atomistic approaches.

"The 'holistic' approach has tended to treat societies or social wholes as having characteristics similar to those of organic matter or of organisms; it also stresses, what might be called the 'systemic' properties of social wholes. The atomistic approach has tended to treat social wholes as having characteristics similar to mechanical objects... it stresses the importance of understanding the nature of the individual units which make up the social wholes." (p.14)

Thus the first approach involves developing a deductive model of what the world should be like - and then testing it to see how far the reality fits the assumptions. The second approach involves observing actual events, and then proceeding by inductive logic to build up more generalised theories about social phenomena.

This then poses the question of which form of theorising is most appropriate, and Cohen suggests that this depends on the type of problem that the theorist is attempting to investigate. In this thesis the problem under investigation is that of organisational

change, and it will therefore be necessary to consider which of a number of alternative explanatory models are most appropriate for use in the investigation. At the same time some criterion of appropriateness must be specified. This particular issue has been tackled by Thurstone (1946) with regard to personality traits:

"The final choice of a set of primary reference traits or faculties must be made in terms of the discovery that a particular set of reference traits renders most parsimonious our comprehension of a great variety of human traits." (p.54)

And by Hall and Lindzey (1957) in a more general sense:

"In the final analysis the only telling criticism of an existing theory is an alternative theory that works better." (p.552)

On the other hand, Silverman (1970) comments on this issue from a sociological perspective:

"The final judgement on any approach must be whether it raises provoking questions: to some extent, this is something which each individual has to decide for himself." (p.50)

Thus, in conclusion, it seems that any good theory in the social sciences should contain some or all of the following characteristics:

- (a) it simplifies understanding of phenomena under consideration;
- (b) it can be clearly related to some specific range of convenience;
- (c) it enables ideation and communication beyond the level of empirical observation;
- (d) it stimulates further questions and hypotheses which may be tested empirically;
- (e) it cannot readily be replaced by an alternative theory which works better under these circumstances.

2. THEORIES OF ORGANISATION AND CHANGE

The various theories that have been applied to organisations may be divided into two main groups; 'management' theories and 'organisational' theories (Beddows, 1973). The former group tend to be prescriptive in that they aim to provide guidelines about how people or organisations should be managed; the latter are descriptive in that the main aim is to describe what happens and to understand why it happens. Inevitably there is a certain amount of overlap, but the writings of Tylor, Fayol, Urwick and Antick which have come to be known as "Classical Theory", and the work of Mayo, Homans, Coch and French which has come to be known as "Human Relations Theory" will fall into the former category. On the other hand "Systems Theories" and "Action Theories" will fall into the latter category (Mayntz, 1964). In this thesis the main objective is to describe and understand the nature of organisational change - rather than to prescribe appropriate actions. Therefore the following discussion will concentrate on theories that fall into the latter category.⁽¹⁾

(a) Systems Theory

Systems theory has a slightly longer history and has aroused greater controversy than Action theory, possibly due to its association with the American sociologist, Talcott Parsons. Moreover 'Functionalism' and the other theories from which the systems view has been derived have concentrated on understanding social phenomena without necessarily focussing on either change or organisations. However, it is perhaps fortunate that one of the main attacks on Functionalism has come with the claim that it is unable to cope with the phenomena of change, and therefore, there is a wealth of literature to draw from in this area.

(1) For a further description of the former two groups (and many other classificatory systems) see Cohen (1968), Rose (1975) or Bowey (1976).

The main features of systems theory are:

- (a) Holism: that in order to understand the workings of one part of a system it is necessary to take account of all other elements of the system.
- (b) Boundaries: each system is located within certain boundaries which define the structure of the supra-system.
- (c) Transactions: each system within the whole may transact across boundaries with other systems. In this way they provide the "function" of contributing towards the survival of the whole (cf. Parsons 1952, pp. 481-482).

The earlier theories of Functionalism developed by Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown were criticised for their inattention to the processes of change, but as Smith (1973) points out, this is hardly justified since these authors were mainly concerned with understanding the basis for social stability within any society. Hence they "stressed instead the contribution or function performed by each item for the maintenance of the cultural ensemble"(p.3). These attacks produced an appreciation that it was equally important to explain social change, as well as stability, and this gave rise to a school who have been termed "neo-evolutionists", represented particularly by Smelser (1968) and Eisenstadt (1964). In the view of these authors it is perfectly possible to explain change within a functionalist framework. The two-stage process is as follows:

- (a) Firstly, as any system grows and develops its various parts become more specialised and differentiated. This sets up strains between parts of the system resulting in a need to adjust the nature of the system itself.
- (b) Secondly, because the system has already become sophisticated it is relatively easy to develop integrative mechanisms through adjustment of norms and structures of the system - which it then proceeds to do.

These two processes - differentiation and reintegration - provide the main source and dynamic of organisational change. Unfortunately, when they consider the direction that is taken by change these theorists return to the basic postulates of functionalism - that the direction is determined by the 'need' of a system to adapt to its

environment in order to survive. Smith (1973) proceeds at length to elaborate on the applications of neo-evolutionism in explaining different forms of social change, and concludes that they are most applicable to an internal (or endogenous) view of change which views the process involving periods of stability punctuated by intermittent crises requiring readjustment. But, he stresses the limitations of these views in explaining how continuous externally generated (exogenous) change may take place, and indicates that it is necessary to include some form of diffusion model. Such a "diffusion" model would have to incorporate three main elements: "the intrusion of events, the influence of the environment, and crisis" (p.159). However, it seems that Smith's concern about explanations of exogenous change is merely a quibble about the range of convenience of the theory. The difference between endogenous and exogenous change is merely dependent on the level at which system boundaries are defined.

What are most important are the logical problems of functionalism when applied to organisations. As Silverman (1970) points out, the functionalist explanation of change implies that "the power of thought and action may reside in social constructs" (p.4), and that this problem of reification is even worse when one considers the way that a system may appear purposive in recognising threats to its existence and seeking to adjust in the most appropriate manner. Apart from these logical problems, Silverman considers the main weakness of Parson's perspective as being "his prior orientation, as a functionalist, to the consequences rather than the causes of action: he is primarily interested in tracing the consequences of a change rather than in examining its sources, in the functions rather than the causes of conflict" (p.58).

It is problems of this type which lead Silverman to develop an Action Framework for organisations which will be considered in the following section. But in the meantime it may help to summarise the main implications of the above discussion. Firstly

that a functionalist or systems perspective may be appropriate for dealing with organisational change at a fairly high level of abstraction, and possibly in organisations which are reasonably isolated and which are experiencing growth and differentiation. Secondly, that where the main danger of functionalism lies - in its tendency to reify - it may be appropriate to focus more attention on the actions of individuals within the organisation.

(b) Action Theory

Although "Action" theory may be traced back to the work of Weber (1947) from which Parsons derived much of his framework, it has developed along somewhat different lines to that of Functionalism. Weber regarded the study of social action as the main subject matter of sociology and stated that:

"Action is social, in so far as, by virtue of the subjective meaning attached to it by the acting individual (or individuals) it takes account of the behaviour of others and is thereby oriented in its course." (p.88)

And this statement is surprisingly similar to the seven propositions of an Action frame-of-reference formulated by Silverman (1970). These include the following statements:

- (i) "Action arises out of meanings which define social reality".
- (ii) "Meanings are given to man by their society."
- (iii) "While society defines man, man in turn defines society"
- (iv) "Through their interaction men also modify, change and transform social meanings." (p.127)

However, the difference begins to emerge subsequently where Weber emphasises the need to relate subjective interpretations to objective evidence (where this can be gathered with adequate reliability); whereas Silverman explicitly rejects any interpretations which are not based on the subject's own definitions:

"Positivistic explanations, which assert that action is determined by external and constraining social or non-social forces, are inadmissible." (p.27)

Thus the development of Functionalism has moved in the direction of understanding society by means of abstractions about the 'concrete' structure of society, while Action theory has paid greater attention to the way that people attach meanings to social actions. Silverman criticises Parsons for suggesting that the main mechanism of conformity within a society is through the internalisation of norms which results in shared value systems. And he follows Berger (1963) in pointing out that not only does society define its own norms, but that the nature of any social reality is also subject to continuous redefinitions by the participants themselves.

It is this opportunity to redefine social situations, for different participants to observe the same phenomena and to arrive at different conclusions, which provides the basis for understanding conflict and change within organisations (Cohen, 1968). And therefore, within this framework, organisational change may be defined either as a change in the rules of the 'game' as understood by the various actors, or by a change in the acceptance of the existing rules by these actors. In the first case the establishment of new rules brings about a change in the behaviour of actors, in the second case the changed behaviour of the actors forces a new definition of the rules by fiat (Silverman, 1970, p.152).

Although some authors criticise the Action framework on empirical grounds (Daniel, 1969), the major problems have been associated with the difficulty of developing a viable theory of a complete organisation which is based on the subjective definitions of individuals and which does not resort to reifications. However, it is possible that this is largely a result of the fact that the main proponents of each school have tended to polarise the opposing school - and hence polarise themselves by implication. This is particularly so amongst Action theorists as exemplified by the work of Rex (1961), Cohen (1968), Silverman (1970) and Goldthorpe et al. (1968).

For the purpose of this thesis, the main merit of the Action framework will be in its emphasis on the interactions of individuals within situations of organisational change. This is because, although it may be necessary to describe aspects of what happens in 'structural' terms, it is suggested that the main justification for why things happen within organisations is to be found at the level of individual actions.

(c) Synthesis and orthodoxy.

Bowey (1976) notices a tendency amongst the more recent writers on Organisational Theory to attempt a synthesis between the two major 'schools', and her own work represents an attempt to extend the basic principles of Action Theory into a wider framework. This she achieves through the introduction of four additional axioms: 'role', 'relationships', 'structure', and 'process' axioms. Thus the concept of 'role' is employed to explain why members of an organisation when faced with similar situations tend to react in similar ways. The 'relationship' axiom is used to explain the patterning of behaviour that may be observed between individuals who mutually hold role expectations of each other. The concept of 'structure' is seen in social terms as being derived from those patterns of behaviour that appear to be more or less stable and these patterns may also be interpreted to some extent in terms of non-social factors; these two groups of factors may be combined to represent the 'behavioural structure' of the organisation. Finally the concept of 'process' is introduced in order to account for the way that organisations can and do exhibit changes in structure.

It is this concept of 'process' which is relevant to the present discussions and is described as follows:

"Processes are made up of actions, and serve to alter or preserve every part of the structure, either through confirmation of existing interpretations, or through the generation of new interpretations of the meanings or significance of items in the structure." (p.209).

This clearly represents a fusion between the functionalist perspective (altering or preserving the structure) and the action framework

(meanings attached to items of structure). Bowey herself comments on the tendency of earlier authors to neglect careful definition of the term 'process', and her own definition given above appears to be most acceptable. Unfortunately she is not so consistent when she begins to illustrate the concept of process which, incidentally, she regards as "perhaps the most important concept which has been added to the basic axioms of action theory".

There are two main problems with her use of this concept. Firstly, a great deal of confusion arises from her use of the word 'process'. On some occasions she uses it to describe a grouping of actions or events:

"there were at least eleven different labour wastage processes which might occur within an organisation." (p.188)

"although the process of career mobility was occurring among the male staff at Elder Hall." (p.190).

On other occasions she combines this descriptive element with a causal element:

"I concluded that the process of leaving due to the availability of alternative jobs was occurring at Elder Hall." (p.191, author's emphasis)

"In order to assess whether the process of leaving because of interpersonal strain and conflict was a major or a minor cause of wastage ..." (p.194, author's emphasis).

And occasionally she uses the word to denote the change itself

"In this organisation, the processes of change in the structure were more widespread and of a larger order.." (p.174)

In all these cases the word "process" appears to be an obfuscation, and each of these passages become much more comprehensible if they are rephrased without using this word. And it seems that much of the confusion arises from her attempt to apply a single concept to two distinct uses: the descriptive and the explanatory.

The second problem, as the last quotation indicates, is that her description of change itself is also very confusing. One complete chapter of her book is devoted to describing the processes which caused change in an organisation which she admitted to be "very stable", where it was barely possible to discern a single process. The second

example of organisational change also turns out to be a stable situation for that organisation: high labour wastage and a shortage of staff.

In attempting to graft the generalised perspective of functionalism and systems theories onto the particularistic perspective of action theory the result is confusion and lack of clarity. But this is not confined only to Bowey's work. It has been noted that any attempts to employ a functionalist framework may result in confusions between observed associations and causal relationships (Silverman, 1970; Smith, 1973). When Talcott Parsons attempts to incorporate individual action and meaning into his framework he does not overcome this basic problem (Rocher, 1972, Ch. 5).

The root of the problem comes down to the relationships between the actions of individuals and the social structure. The "action" theorist maintains that actions define and change structure, while the system theorist maintains that structure changes both actions and other elements of structure (Hummon et al., 1975). Firstly there is a certain orthodoxy amongst people using 'systems' concepts which does not allow them to differentiate clearly between different classes of factors. Ryle (1949) makes the point forcibly about the danger of using "category mistakes". In his example which examines the distinctions that may be drawn between "minds" and "bodies", Ryle is at pains to point out, although it may be valid to say that 'minds' exist and separately that 'bodies' exist, it should be noted that the word 'exist' is being used in two very different ways. Therefore there will be major logical problems in using words like 'mind' and 'body' in the same sentence. It is therefore possible that a similar category mistake is being made with the simultaneous use of the terms 'action' and 'structure', so that to say that structure causes action is logically invalid.

A second point concerns the nature of change itself. As indicated earlier, this must be treated as a 'second order' concept since it cannot be derived directly from any sense experience.

Coleman (1971) uses a physical example to illustrate this point. Thus the position of a particle may be observed at time t_1 and it may be observed again at time t_2 . If the displacement of the particle is s , one may infer that the average velocity (v) of the particle is given by:

$$V = \frac{s}{t_2 - t_1}$$

and if this observation is taken over an infinitesimally short period of time, then the following expression is obtained for velocity:

$$V = \frac{ds}{dt}$$

Now the significant factor here is that the concepts of velocity and displacement fall into different categories: to say that a combination of displacement and time causes velocity is totally meaningless. The quotient of displacement and time is simply defined as velocity. ⁽¹⁾

Therefore in social terms, changes in one phenomenon may merely define the state of other phenomena. It is this approach that will be developed in the remainder of this chapter in an attempt to clarify the nature of social and organisational change.

3. A DESCRIPTIVE MODEL OF CHANGE

(a) Introduction

It has been suggested above that there is a need for a theory that will explain change, but will avoid problems of logic and comprehension. In this section a framework will be proposed for analysing social change. It will be merely descriptive and will make no attempt to explain why or how change occurs. As such it will be similar to what Cohen (1968) calls a 'metaphysical theory': it will only be appropriate to subject it to rational appraisal.

At the same time, there is little purpose in proposing a theory unless it is also able to provide explanations and increased understanding of social phenomena. In order to understand the mechanisms of social change it is necessary to understand the actions and motives of the

(1) Note that March and Simon (1958) find it convenient to use the concept of a 'first derivative' in discussing rates of change of organisational performance.

individuals involved in the situation. The problem of reification becomes particularly acute when the scale of the situation being analysed becomes sufficiently large for it to become most convenient to describe the actions of individuals as if they were actions on the part of organisations or institutions. Thus change is described as if it had come about through the wilful or accidental agency of organisations like multinational companies, and of institutions like "the family".

In the remainder of this chapter it is hoped to avoid the problem of reification through two tactics. Firstly the unit of analysis will be at the level of the organisation where it makes some sense to base explanations on the actions of individuals. Secondly, there will be two separate strands in the development of the theoretical framework. The present section will outline and illustrate an approach to describing social change. The following section will consider the motives and actions of individuals involved in the situation - and hence how they may cause change to take place. The combination of these two strands may be described as a theory of organisational change. Thus, the remainder of the chapter will outline two elements of social change - the descriptive and the dynamic - and will show how these may be integrated.

(b) Propositions about Social Change

- I Social life is comprised of the actions of individuals. These actions constitute the realities of experience.
- II Consistencies in actions will be perceived as patterns.
- III Patterns are organised in a hierarchical sense, so that changes in lower order patterns may be perceived, as part of higher order patterns.
- IV At the highest level of analysis in a given social system the nature of changes in patterns will indicate the dominant values of that system.

(c) Discussion and Application to Organisational Change

A number of implications follow directly from these propositions. Firstly there is no causal relationship between the different levels of analysis. Each level of analysis merely provides comment from a different perspective on the same events: on individual actions. Secondly it is possible for changes at one level of analysis to be perceived as constants at a higher level of analysis. Indeed it is suggested that dominant values will be indicated only when pattern changes are taking place. Katz and Kahn (1966) perceive the same dichotomy between change and regularity when they suggest that a resolution of the problem of the formlessness of organisations (in the anatomical sense) lies in the patterning of events in organisational life itself. But they go on to say that: "These events are structured and the forms they assume have dynamic properties". (p.454). This statement is at variance with the argument in this chapter, which is that any structuring of events provides no more than another level of analysis. The dynamics of change must be equated with the actions of individuals - which in turn may be influenced by the way that the environment is perceived.

The four propositions introduced above will now be expanded and illustrated. The illustration is based on the observations that may have been made in one organisation over a period of time.

(1) Actions

There is much support for the notion that an adequate explanation of reality can be provided by an analysis of social actions (Weber, 1947; Parsons, 1937; Silverman, 1970). Although some writers have found it necessary to assume that reality transcends individual actions. For example, Blau and Schoenherr (1973) express their concern that analyses which refer only to individual action may neglect the substantial power possessed by organisations when seen as totalities. Although there may be considerable validity in this point, it is suggested here that the need to view reality as transcending individual action results from the limitations of concepts available, rather than being a comment on the nature of reality.

Within an organisation, examples of "actions" might be the work tasks performed by a fitter, the instructions given to the fitter by his foreman, or a letter sent to the foreman by the plant manager . However, it may also be possible to perceive certain regularities in these actions. Thus, whenever the fitter is working he has tools in his hands, whenever the foreman gives an instruction about a task he asks the fitter if he has understood it, and the manager always signs letters to the foreman using his initials.

(11) Patterns

These regularities that are perceived in actions may be referred to as patterns. Patterns are the constructions that people place on their experiences, and are therefore ways of increasing understanding (Berger and Luckman, 1966). Three features of patterns may be emphasised. Firstly they provide greater economy in perceptions: thus an event that takes place many times over on different occasions may be described as one single pattern (the fitter works with tools in his hands). Secondly they provide a simpler means of communication about actions due to this economy of expression. Thirdly, they provide a guide to the future on the assumption that the consistencies of the past will continue into the future.

It is also possible to see patterns arranged in a hierarchical sense so that changes in patterns at one level will indicate the nature of patterns at the next superordinate level. This will be illustrated by continuing the example started in the preceding section. It was suggested that the regularities in the actions of the fitter, the foreman and the manager would be perceived as patterns. But these patterns might also change. If, for example, the fitter suddenly found himself called off the job to discuss with the foreman and other fitters how work should be scheduled in the future, this would be a change in a pattern because the fitter, would be "working" without any tools in his hands. If in addition the foreman began to ask the fitter's opinion before suggesting a course of action, and the manager started signing letters to the foreman with his Christian name it might then be possible to perceive a common thread to all of these

pattern changes. They might be seen as a move towards more participation in that part of the organisation.

It is only when the regularities of patterns are broken that change is identified as such. This is also the view of Roeber (1973) who describes social change as a continuous process which develops unseen, remaining latent until it breaks onto the world and is identified as change. The formation of patterns provides people with a means of talking about change. It is also noticeable that it tends to imply that change is some kind of event - which makes it harder to visualise the sequence of actions involved in any change. This is one reason for proposing a theory of change which emphasises the relationship between changing patterns and the need to conceptualise in static terms. And it must be emphasised that there are no one-to-one relationships between levels of patterns: it is the nature of change in one pattern which indicates the state of the superordinate pattern.

In many cases it will be possible to perceive patterns at yet higher periods of abstraction. Using the illustration started above the rise and fall of the participation "movement" could be traced over a period of time within that organisation. There would be dates on which the first group meeting was called, when the manager first signed the memorandum with his Christian name. And there would also be a date beyond which no new pattern changes indicating participation took place. But if, around the same period, say 1967 to 1970, there were other similar pattern changes taking place it might be inferred that there was yet another level of consistency about these changes. For example, if joint consultation had been encouraged, job enrichment schemes initiated, and management development established these would indicate a single theme: the attempt to humanise the work place. It is the common theme at this level of analysis which is defined here as a dominant value system.

(111) Values

The notion of a "social value" has been defined in a great variety of ways, and it is necessary to clarify the present usage

before proceeding with the discussion. Two approaches to the definition of "values" may be contrasted: that which focusses on individual values, and that which focusses on wider social values. The former approach is used by Bowers (1970) when he locates values on a continuum of affective intensity. Thus "values" have greater affective intensity than "individual needs", which are stronger than "motives", which are stronger than "sets" etc. Values also provide a fundamental element of individuals' belief systems in the work of Bowen (1977). They are strongly held beliefs about what is valuable in the world.

The alternative approach is to treat values as the fundamental base to any social system. Thus according to Parsons (1956):

"The main point of reference for analysing the structure of any social system is its value pattern. This defines the basic orientation of the system (in the present case, the organisation) to the situation in which it operates; hence it guides the activities of participant individuals".(p.67)

A further contrast between these two approaches is that the individual-based definition implies a belief held with considerable conviction - and hence an internally generated motive force; the system-based definition implies external social control through the sharing of common meanings on the part of participants.

The former definition of values will be employed later when considering the dynamics of change; but the latter definition is more relevant to the present discussion because of its reference to wider patterns in the social system.

However the main problem with existing "system" definitions of values is that they suggest that values, actions and patterns are different types of phenomena which are causally linked, sometimes in an hierarchical sense. This implies that values changes are the main causes of social change; it is also more cumbersome since it requires some explanation of change at all of these levels. The definition proposed here is that values and patterns are merely different types of observation of the same thing: of social action.

A "dominant value system" is, therefore, no more than a comment on groups of actions, and on the patterns that may be perceived in those actions. The difference between dominant values and patterns at a high level of analysis is that the former are formed at the highest level of analysis relevant to the observer examining change within a given social unit over a given period of time. It is also apparent that when people are involved in the politics of an organisation they do not talk in terms of values, they talk in terms of changes in patterns. One of the important abilities in politics is to be able to create uncertainty about the real objective by concentrating on issues which are marginally related (Pettigrew, 1973).

To continue the above example. In the organisation a number of pattern changes took place over a period of time suggesting the coherence of a dominant value system - humanising the work place. It is unlikely that anyone attempting to establish this value system would have argued at such a 'philosophical' level. Debates and decisions are only of relevance if they can be implemented in the form of specific activities. At the same time there may also have been a line of argument within the organisation which implied that reductions in the cost of human resources were more important than the goal of humanising the work place. This particular line might be articulated by suggesting pattern changes such as: no new recruitment from outside the company; provision of generous early retirement terms; reductions in overmanning with consequent redeployment and redundancies. But unless these pattern changes could be instituted, the dominant value system would remain that of humanising the work place. Dominant value systems become changed only through actions, not through aspirations.

This discussion suggests that the starting point for understanding organisational change is at the level of values, and this then begs a question about how such value systems may become established or changed. It is the contention of this thesis that this takes place through the actions of individuals. Furthermore that the ability of

individuals or coalitions, to change patterns, and hence to define values, is an expression of the power that they possess in the organisation.

(iv) Summary

The relationship between the main concepts discussed in the above section are summarised below in Figure 2.1

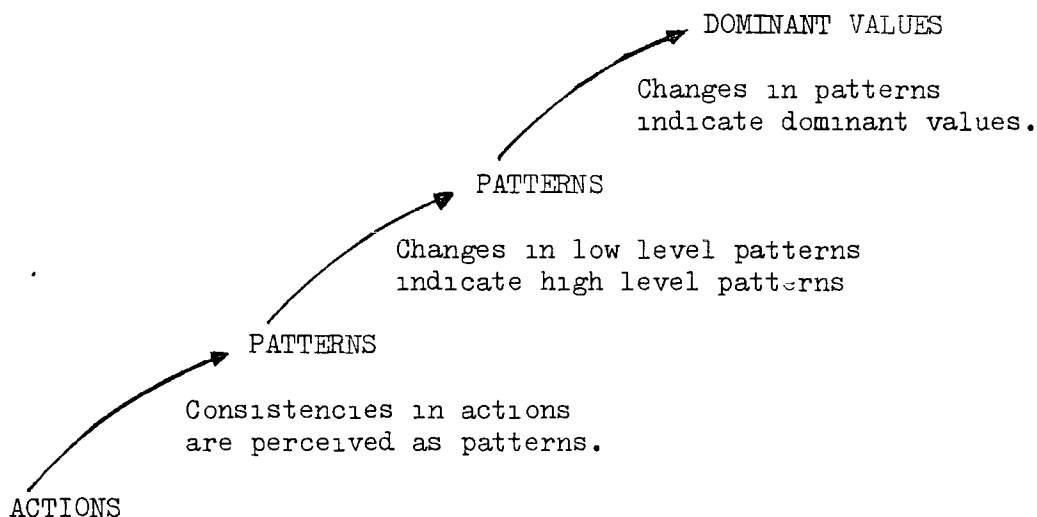


Figure 2.1: Relationship Between Values, Patterns and Actions

It has been suggested that each level of analysis provides a different perspective on the same events, and that these levels of analysis are related through the medium of change. Change is not caused by patterns or values, it is caused by the actions of individuals. Therefore the following part of the chapter will consider ways of understanding individual behaviour, and hence how this might affect the dominant values of an organisation.

4. THE DYNAMICS OF ORGANISATIONAL CHANGE

The previous section has outlined a framework for describing organisational change, but has not attempted to explain how and why this comes about. Organisations do not act; it is only individuals who act within the context of the organisation as they experience it. Therefore, in explaining change, it is necessary to understand the behaviour of individuals in the organisation under these circumstances.

An appropriate starting point for this is Vroom's (1964) work on motivation. This author points to two main traditions amongst motivational theorists: 'push' and 'pull' theories. The main elements of 'push' theories are that they assume that behaviour is caused by past situations or by an association between present situations and experiences learnt in the past. The main direction of behaviour is towards tension reduction, although it is emphasised that this does not necessarily mean a removal of all stimulation. There may be an ideal level at which tension is most pleasant and therefore both overstimulation and understimulation may be experienced as unpleasant (Helson, 1964). And as Helson points out, this idea has been refined into the "McClelland-Clarke hypothesis" which suggests that this "adaptation level" is affectively neutral, and that it is minor discrepancies from the equilibrium position which are most pleasant. Thus it is asserted that the main variable factor in the way that any individual behaves is the experience that the individual has of his present environment.

The contrasting group of theories, "pull" theories, without denying the value of learning and tension reduction, place more emphasis on the way individuals may manipulate situations in order to satisfy certain types of fundamental needs (Maslow, 1959; McClelland et al., 1953; Alderfer, 1972). This implies that the individual has some idea of the present 'pay-offs' available (utilities) and that he may be able to anticipate future trends and how these may be affected by his actions. Vroom himself develops a flexible methodology for identifying how individuals assess present situations and future opportunities, and this will be elaborated further in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

There has been considerable disagreement about the superiority of these two schools of thought since the former proposes a passive-reactive view of behaviour while the latter proposes a pro-active view of behaviour. To some extent the question of superiority may be settled on empirical grounds since many of the theories are expressed in scientific (as opposed to metaphysical terms). But a more important question concerns the circumstances under which any one particular framework is more appropriate.

(a) Individual Motivation and Organisational Change

Inevitably the problem of the relationship between individual and organisation has been central both to organisational theory and to management practice⁽¹⁾. This section will attempt to integrate the framework for viewing organisational change with the two views of individual motivation discussed above. It should be emphasised that this integration is designed around the situation of organisational change, and that the result may not be appropriate for generalising to a wider range of phenomena. The following propositions are intended to summarise the two conflicting views of motivation:

- VI Individual behaviour is dependent on the experience of existing patterns within the organisation.
- VII Individual behaviour is dependent on the anticipation of changes in these organisational patterns.

In the former case two points should be noted. Firstly, organisational patterns per se are not the cause of any behaviour, rather, it is the perception of these patterns by an individual which may result in certain forms of action. Secondly, the nature of these patterns may be, using Bowey's (1976) classification, either social or non-social, and may include factors such as individual role, organisational climate or organisational technology. In the latter case since the dominant value system of the organisation is determined by the direction of pattern change, then any anticipations of change will be dependent on the individual's understanding of the dominant value system.

The first proposition provides a 'reactive' view of behaviour, the second provides a view that may be either reactive or proactive. Therefore in changing situations, any individual behaviour aimed at influencing pattern changes, would have to be viewed from the second perspective.

(1) For example Argyris (1957) points to the basic incompatibility between the organisation which needs to control the behaviour of its members and the supposed need of individuals for increased growth and autonomy although, as he subsequently suggests (Argyris, 1964) this particular mismatch can lead to creativity and innovation if it is managed appropriately. A similar theme is also apparent in the management theories of F.W. Taylor (1947) although he sees this as being based on the failure of workers to appreciate that their own best interests (economic) lie in conforming to the norms of the organisation.

(b) Power and Change

The assumption behind theories of motivation based on expectations of the future is that individuals will choose alternatives in such a way as to maximise the utility available. In the case of organisational change, it follows that individuals will attempt to influence pattern changes in order to maximise utility. These changes in patterns will also imply influencing the dominant value system of the organisation.

It is at this point that internal politics become the central dynamic of organisational change. Whether or not individuals are seen to be acting altruistically, or in their own self-interest, the focus of organisational change is in the value system that operates in the organisation. Therefore, in these terms, the power of any individual is defined by his ability (potential or actual), to determine the dominant value system of the organisation. At a personal level it is on the basis of shared values that coalitions and groupings are formed since self-interest will be served through particular types of pattern change, and where these are similar, this will constitute a sharing of objectives - an agreement about a desirable dominant value system. This leads to a final proposition about power and change:

V Within an organisation viewed as a closed system changes in the dominant values will indicate a shift in the balance of power between individuals and coalitions.

This definition of 'power' is similar to that employed by Parsons in that, "power is the generalised capacity to mobilise resources in the interest of attainment of a system goal" (Parsons 1956(b), p. 225). But on closer examination it differs in two respects. Firstly, as Silverman (1970) suggests, goals are meaningful only at the level of the individual system, and the concept of a "goal" should not be generalised beyond the framework of individual motivation. Secondly, Parsons views the value system and power as combining to achieve organisational goals. As he puts it:

"the central phenomenon of organisation is the mobilisation of power for the attainment of the goals of the organisation. The value system legitimises the organisation's goal, but it is only through power that its achievement can be made effective" (1956(b), p. 255, author's emphasis).

As has been pointed out earlier this statement involves a category mistake which treats 'power' and 'values' as if they were separate, but could be added together to produce a combined effect as if they were the same type of thing. The argument proposed here is that power and values are not sufficiently separate to be employed in an additive sense, since they are yet again providing different perspectives on the same thing: on individual actions. Thus it is that individuals attempt to change organisations for their own ends. Their actions may be described as the manifestation of power. The results of their actions may also be described in terms of patterns and values.

5. CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has outlined a theory which attempts to describe and explain organisational change in such a way that it does not reify organisational processes, and yet distinguishes between the different classes of phenomena involved. The treatment of these issues has been brief and selective, and it will therefore form the major purpose of the remainder of this thesis to develop these ideas. In the next two chapters the framework will be developed by reference to relevant literature. This process will be continued in Part II where case-studies of organisational change will be examined, and in Part III some of the ideas derived from this theory will be tested empirically using survey data.

ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

1. Introduction
2. A Framework for Understanding Organizational Change
3. Reactive Organizational Change
 - (a) Endogenous change
 - (b) Exogenous change
 - (c) Summary
4. Anticipatory Organizational Change
 - (a) Introduction
 - (b) Concepts of anticipatory change
 - (c) The direction of change
 - (d) Strategies for change
 - (e) Techniques for implementing organizational change
 - (f) Anticipatory change: conclusion
5. Conclusion

1. INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter it was argued that one of the main problems in analysing organizational change arises from failure to differentiate between descriptive and explanatory statements. And therefore an alternative theory was proposed in which these two aspects were formulated separately. The descriptive part of the theory suggested that social phenomena might be analysed by looking at different rates of change at different levels of abstraction. It was assumed that in any organization it was possible to discern a certain coherence in the actions of individuals, and that this coherence may be seen as the structure, or patterns, of behaviour in the organization. These patterns themselves may be changing over time, and the coherence in the changing patterns may be referred to as the dominant value system of the organization. The second part of the theory seeks to provide explanation of change in the actions of individuals in the organization. The basis for individual behaviour is seen to be a combination of reactions to existing pressures in the organizational environment, as well as anticipations of the future state of the organization.

The theory will be used in these two chapters for reviewing relevant research; if it is found to be helpful in understanding the complex range of literature, this may be taken as evidence for the value of the theory itself. Although some degree of overlap is inevitable, the present chapter will focus on the analysis of change in organizations, and the following chapter will focus on the behaviour of people who are involved in organizational change.

2. A FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING ORGANISATIONAL CHANGE

Organizational change is a particularly elusive subject and may be approached from various perspectives. Thus it may be seen as something which takes place in the external environment and which subsequently affects both individuals and organizations, or it may be seen as the result of attempts by individuals and organizations to change their own

environments. This duality, as Mann (1957) points out, is reflected in the literature on organizational change where authors have tended to study either the problems of changing as a reaction to environmental pressures, or the mechanisms for creating change in anticipation of future pressures. The former approach emphasises the need to understand the nature and genesis of change from the outside, whereas the latter lays greater stress on the means of achieving change, perhaps as a participant. It seems that both these perspectives must be employed if one is to develop a full understanding of change; but due to the incompatibilities between the two groups of literature it will be necessary to divide the chapter into two halves examining, respectively, reactive and anticipatory change.

A second distinction may be drawn according to the level of analysis employed. Using the ideas developed above this will involve focussing on the patterns and the values within the organization. The possibility of basing a meaningful analysis either at the level of patterns or at the level of values runs counter to Parsons (1967) view that the level of values should be the focus for analysis. This is because Parsons proposes a "hierarchy of relations of control within social systems." Thus he writes:

"The personality system is ... a system of control over the personalities of its participating members, and the cultural system, a system of control relative to social systems." (p.193)

From this he deduces that the systems which are most impervious to change are those at the highest level of analysis: values. And it follows that:

"the crucial focus of the problem of change lies in the stability of the value system." (p.198)

This view has been extensively criticised by Smith (1973) and therefore, apart from using the concepts of value and pattern to organize the literature it is also hoped to show that analysis may be equally valid whether it concentrates on the level of patterns or the level of values.

However, in the same paper, Parsons (1967) employs yet another distinction which will be particularly useful here. This is according to whether the source of change is internal or external to the system

under investigation. The first form, endogenous change, is normally seen to result from strains within the system; and these strains are resolved either through adaptations in the social structure itself, or through adjustment in the expectations of different parts. The alternative form, exogenous change is seen to result from changes occurring in other systems outside the focal system.

The latter two dichotomies will be used to structure the review of literature in the next part of this chapter, and where possible, in the following part.

3. REACTIVE ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

Before examining specific models of change it is necessary to make some comments about the wider problem of conceptualising change. To start with it is argued by Bowey (1976) that it is possible either to focus on the change in certain characteristics of an organization between two points in time, or to focus on the processes whereby these changes take place. The former is called a structural view of change, and the latter a process view.

Some authors have analysed organizational change from a structural perspective. Hummon et al. (1975) concentrate their analysis on changes in the number of supervisors employed, levels in the hierarchy, and number of Divisions in the organization. Similarly McNulty (1962) focusses on administrative changes in a number of organizations over a period of several years. These changes included the creation of new management committees, and the establishment of new departments.

On the other hand Sofer (1964) emphasises the need to take a process view of organizational change because that is the only way to understand how different elements affect one another. And Sayles (1974) makes the practical point that when planning organizational innovations, it is essential to concentrate on the mid-process of change rather than on the end point - because unless an acceptable path can be negotiated

with other people in the organization, there is little chance of this end-point being reached. Typical dimensions in which change may take place have been categorised by Spencer and Sofer (1964) in terms of 'flexibility', 'vertical power distribution', and 'horizontal power distribution.'

Finally, it is argued by Pym (1966a) that the analyst should always adopt as many approaches to change as possible since no single methodology can possibly hold all the answers.

(a) Endogenous Change

Although it is claimed by Katz and Kahn (1966) that changes originating outside a system are far more potent than those originating from within the system, it seems that an examination of endogenous change is necessary for developing an understanding of why change happens at all. Two main models have been advanced as explanations of endogenous change. The conflict model concentrates on the value systems and associated power structure that operates in the organization and the neo-evolutionary model concentrates on the way that strains between structural elements result in the development of new patterns.

(1) Conflict Model

This is based on the view that individuals within an organization will compete to gain control of the relevant reward systems. It is associated with the work of sociologists such as Rex (1961) and Cohen (1968), and has also featured significantly in the work of organizational theorists. For example, Dalton (1959) treats the phenomenon of power struggles as one of the main features of an organization, and Blau and Scott (1963) concur with this view in the following terms:

"Power struggles play a significant role in this process of adjustment to change in organisations, since they provide managers with incentives for making informal innovations which help them to cope with operating problems and extend the scope of their influence."(p.175)

Roeber (1973) comments on the importance of being able to spot the 'emergent' value systems of the organization, and an interesting model

of power is provided by Hall (1965) which suggests that communication in organizations occurs through symbols which may or may not be verbal. Within his definition, power is exercised through an 'active' knowledge of these symbols and hence it is important for people to be able to 'read' the official symbols if they wish to possess power. This differs from the view in this thesis which would define 'power' as the ability to ensure acceptance of specific interpretations of these symbols. Hence the power game focusses around the definition of symbols - or values.

The way that the power game may affect individuals - apart from the inevitable stress involved - is indicated by Blauner's (1964) analysis of alienation. In his view, the feeling of powerlessness is one of the main conditions leading to alienation, and this also appears to be a major contributing factor to the 'instrumental' work attitudes identified by Goldthorpe et al. (1968).

(11) Neo-evolutionary Models

The focus of this type of model is upon the structure of patterns of the organization. The main assumption is that as organizations grow or mature they set up internal strains between elements which become increasingly differentiated and that these strains can only be resolved when parts, or the whole, of the system changes. This is why Lawrence and Lorsch (1967) stress the need for organizations that have become highly differentiated to develop adequate integrative mechanisms.

From these internal perspectives, many authors view the development of an organization towards maturity as occurring in a number of discrete stages. Lievegoed (1973) describes three main stages in organizational development, and Greiner (1972) has extended this model to incorporate five stages. Growth, is seen to be the major problem, and the organization must recognise the need to evolve slowly by maintaining a reasonably static structure over long periods of time. Eventually, however, a crisis point is reached when the existing structure becomes inadequate to

cope with the task, and the organization must then pass through a period of 'revolution' where many of the fundamental assumptions of the organisation become changed before it can settle down for another period of evolution with a quasi-static structure. The five main stages of evolution in the growth of an organization are labelled: creativity, direction, delegation, co-ordination and collaboration. Collectively they describe the development of an organization from being a small entrepreneurial concern through phases of increasing systematisation and bureaucracy until, in the final stage, a synthesis is achieved between the operation of complex control systems and the encouragement of individual initiative.

. However, the main limitation of this type of model, as Smith (1973) points out, is that it is only able to explain the process of adjustment between parts within a system, and it is incapable of explaining changes in the nature of complete systems.

(111) Values and Patterns in Endogenous Change

A comparison of the two approaches to endogenous change described above suggests that the 'conflict' model which stresses values and meanings, has greater potential for explaining total system change; whereas the 'neo-evolutionary' model which stresses pattern change, may provide a more effective explanation of internal adjustments and rearrangements. This does not suggest that either form of analysis is superior to another, as Parsons would indicate, but that they each have their own strengths in analysing different types of problem. However, this has only looked at the problem where the organization may be considered to be a closed system. In the following section this is viewed as a 'partially-open' system, and where the main source of change may be considered to be external.

(b) Exogenous Change

The literature on organizational change which occurs as a result of external processes is more extensive than that on internally instigated change. This is partly because the philosophical problems

posed by exogenous viewpoints are lesser; it is also because those people who are interested in changing systems (and writing about them) find it more convenient to place themselves outside the system. In the case of exogenous change, the greatest amount of attention has been paid to changes in the patterns of the organization.

(1) Resistance Model

Resistance to change is seen as a fundamental property of any organization - and it is this very resistance which, in another sense, defines the stable entity of an organization (Roeber, 1973). The 'resistance' model also has obvious attractions to those people who attempt to create organizational change - and these views will be considered later. At a conceptual level, the model is most frequently associated with the theory of bureaucracy. The problem with bureaucracy is that it appears to mean very different things to different authors, and therefore they have reached different conclusions about whether or not bureaucracy is capable of handling change.

In its original formulation, bureaucracy was seen as technically the most efficient form of organization (Weber, 1947). The work of Selznick (1948) shows how bureaucracies may adapt to environmental change through absorbing external elements that are troublesome. This occurs through the process of co-optation which eventually becomes dysfunctional since it tends to stress the 'means' of organizational survival rather than the 'ends', which it was originally designed to attain (Merton, 1949, Blau, 1955). Perrow (1970) suggests that one of the main features of bureaucracy is its ability to accommodate superficial changes without changing its structure.

"One gathers that most organizations, and especially the larger ones, are far more committed to the routinisation of change and adjustment than they are to allowing the organization to continually adjust and change." (p.64)

The view of bureaucratic inflexibility is presented strongly in the writings of Crozier (1964) who states that:

"a system of organisation whose main character is rigidity will not easily adjust to change and will tend to resist change as much as possible." (p.195)

Hence he concludes that the only way that change will occur in bureaucracies is when it is imposed from the top. In this case change is universalistic and encompasses the whole organization 'en bloc'.

At this point we may ask two questions. Firstly whether a certain resistance to change is inherent in any organization, and secondly, whether there are circumstances where this very inertia may be functional rather than dysfunctional. In the first case there are two views which may be seen to complement each other. Lupton (1965) believes that all social structures resist change.

"It is not so much individuals who resist change as social structures. Individuals tend to welcome change if it meets their needs and aspirations. Social structure tends to inertia because people see their needs and aspirations as embedded in them." (p.222)

But Blau and Scott (1963) suggest that it is not so much the nature of the organization but whether or not it is 'threatened' which determine the way that it reacts to environmental change. And they are able to show that public service organizations, which enjoy a high degree of security, may show less resistance to change than their 'unbureaucratic' counterparts in the private sector.

The second question posed above arises from the obvious point that the degree of environmental change is purely a relative term; hence bureaucracy may operate efficiently under some levels of change, and inefficiently under other levels. Similarly, one must remember that 'bureaucracy' is an 'ideal' type of organisation, and to many authors it represents only one end of a flexibility continuum, which can range from a 'mechanistic' structure to an 'organic' structure (Burns and Stalker, 1961). This has given rise to 'Contingency Theories' which state that there must be some ideal fit between the flexibility of an organization and the rate of change in its environment. Where the organization is viewed as dealing with a number of different sectors of the environment Lawrence and Lorsch (1967) suggest that the organization should become differentiated with each department organised on lines which are appropriate for its dealings with the relevant part of the environment. Where this environment may be considered as relatively

homogeneous, Morse and Lorsch (1970) do indeed show that a 'mechanistic' organization will be judged to be more effective than an 'organic' organization in a slowly changing environment - and vice versa in a rapidly changing environment.

There are two main criticisms that have been levelled at contingency theories, and which appear to be justified. Firstly, contingency theories tend to concentrate on the formal structural elements of organizations and this distracts attention from the internal political processes whereby real decisions are made about structure. Secondly, there is a weakness in the prescriptive element of contingency theories since they assume that the organization should adapt to the environment, and they ignore the potential that the organization has for influencing the environment itself (Child, 1973).

These points return the argument to the 'problem' of resistance to change, and it may be concluded that although most organizations are intended to absorb a certain amount of change without noticing it, their social structures will tend to resist major changes. However, this structural perspective presents only one half of the picture since it is necessary also to understand the bases for the behaviour of individuals within the organization, and in particular, the degree of threat that they experience.

(11) Crisis Model

This represents a slightly different focus from that of the 'resistance' model, but it is still concerned with the patterns in the organization. Whereas the resistance model tends to emphasise continuous processes of change the crisis model emphasises discontinuities.

This model has to some extent been discussed in the work of Greiner (1972) and Crozier (1964). A more extensive framework is provided by Fink et al. (1971) which has been adapted from theories of the way that individuals cope with environmental stresses. The model starts by defining a crisis state for an organization as being when

"its repertoire of coping responses is not adequate to bring about the resolution of a problem which poses a threat to the system." (pp. 16, 17).

If the organization is to cope adequately with this crisis it must pass through four main phases: shock, defensive retreat, acknowledgement, adaptation and change. The first two of these phases are marked by a strong resistance to change, and growth and change only become possible as the organization moves towards the latter two phases.

Thus the key concept of the 'crisis' views of organizational change involves discontinuities in the process of changing. The process is marked by phases of relative stasis alternating with phases of rapid change and adaptation. This concern with differential rates within the process of change draws attention from inherent differences in adaptability of organizational systems, which is the concern of some of the earlier models, to variations in the ability of any single system to adapt over time.

(111) Diffusion Model

The diffusion model was originally proposed to account for social development through the spread of ideas from more advanced to less advanced cultures (Smith, 1976) and the extensive review provided by Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) represents a major contribution to understanding the circumstances under which ideas spread from one institution to another. Much of this literature concentrates on the spread of new teaching methods into the educational world, and has unfortunately paid scant attention to the fact that educational institutions must be considered as organizations in their own right with their own internal dynamics (Sayles, 1974). Moreover, the continuing debate in this country about curricular reform emphasises that such innovations are closely associated with the 'values' of their proponents.

The transmission of new values into an organization may be very difficult to discern and for this reason may be viewed as a continuous process. Katz and Kahn (1966) see these external inputs as one of the most potent forces behind organizational change. Such 'maintenance

inputs' comprise the values and motivations of members and: "in general this type of change is evolutionary" (p.446). Parsons (1956a) points to the relationship between an organisation and the value systems of the external environment. Firstly, he defines an organization as a social system which is oriented to the attainment of goals that perform some function for the wider social system. It is the value system of the organization which both defines and legitimises this goal. The problem of adapting the organization to external social systems can only be solved through the integration of human agents which occurs through three main processes:

- contracts of employment;
- institutionalisation of authority;
- general social norms and values.

The idea is taken further by Perrow (1970) who emphasises the importance of an organization remaining within the bands of externally defined value systems. And he points out that this problem of legitimacy is particularly salient in non-profit organizations - because they are 'legitimised' by a relatively restricted segment of the environment, rather than by the generalised 'consumer' of profit-seeking organizations. Thus these views suggest that one of the necessary characteristics of an organization must be to sense external values and to adapt accordingly.

The work of Goldthorpe et al. (1968) has shown how an external value system may be imported into the organisation by the members of the organization itself. In the case of the workers in Luton, the instrumental orientations of workers did not necessarily affect the official values of the organization, but they did serve to define the reactions of individuals to formal characteristics of the organization.

Thus there are two main views about the way new values may be transmitted into the organization. Firstly an awareness may develop of the range of value systems external to the organization, and hence a 'conscious' attempt be made to bring the organization into line with them. The second view is that new values become absorbed by individuals - and

are therefore continually imported when these individuals come to work. The significance of this for the present discussion is that if individuals have little power in the organization; the new value will affect the way they react to existing organizational patterns; if they do possess power, then the new value systems will either define, or be defined by, changes in the patterns of the organization.

(c) Summary

This discussion of 'reactive' change has examined a number of viewpoints used to explain what organizational change is, and how it happens. Throughout there have been assumptions either that change is inevitable because of the nature of people and organizations, or that it is necessary if these same organizations are to survive within their environments. A classification of these viewpoints is summarised below in Figure 3.1.

		SOURCE OF CHANGE	
		ENDOGENOUS	EXOGENOUS
LEVEL OF ANALYSIS	VALUES	Conflict --	Diffusion
	PATTERNS	Neo-evolutionary	Crisis/Resistance

Figure 3.1: Models of Organizational Change

It has been suggested that it is not necessarily justifiable to assume a causal relationship between organizational values and patterns in the sense that values would 'legitimise' changes in organizational patterns. When considering endogenous change with the organization viewed as a closed system, it was concluded that values could be regarded as superordinate to patterns, only in so far as they were appropriate for a wider scale of analysis. In the case of exogenous change the evidence suggests that the relationship between the two may be reflexive, so that organizational change may be analysed with equal success either at the level of values or of patterns.

However, the possibility of using different entry-points for creating change recalls the theme for the remainder of this chapter: the problem of how individuals may set about creating change in organizations - whether for theoretical or for purely practical purposes. The analysis will incorporate both endogenous and exogenous perspectives and such changes frequently involve collaboration between insiders and outsiders. Since the explicit objective of such changes is normally to cope with future contingencies this will be referred to as 'anticipatory' change.

4. ANTICIPATORY ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

(a) Introduction

The term 'planned change' has been avoided in the title of this section since there are many different views about its correct usage. (Lippitt et al. 1958; Bennis, 1966). And for similar reasons the term 'organizational development' has not been used since this is frequently regarded as a subset of planned change (Bowers, 1976). In this case anticipatory change will be defined as:

"Any conscious and deliberate attempt to adapt the organization or its environment to cope with opportunities in the present, or with opportunities and problems anticipated in the future."

The discussion will differ from that of the preceding section since it will also incorporate reactions to environmental pressures which have not yet arisen, and which are most likely to be identified as 'needs' by senior management. This immediately implies further distinctions: a tendency to use 'resistance' models of organizational change rather than 'crisis' models, and a tendency to view change from the perspective of those at the top of the organization. A range of necessary concepts are also implied by this starting point. These include some form of target or focus for change, some idea of desirable directions of change; mechanisms and strategies for achieving change; and means of maintaining the changed situation (Beckhard, 1975). This also implies certain models to describe the nature of organizational change, and a view about the roles to be played by participants in the change process, although it is most frequently the change agent himself who is the subject of

greatest attention.⁽¹⁾ In this section we will review some of the more influential contributions to the field of organizational change along the lines indicated above. In doing so we will also attempt to organize these ideas within the framework proposed at the beginning of this chapter.

(b) Concepts of Anticipatory Change

Due to the tendency for change agents to adopt a 'social engineering' perspective, the majority of writers conceptualise organizational change within Lewinian terms.⁽²⁾ This implies some element of unfreezing which involves creating conditions so that it is possible to change patterns and behaviour; changing, which may incorporate a period of disruption and disorientation while changes are made; and freezing, which implies a stabilisation of new patterns, particularly to ensure that the systems do not regress to their earlier states (Lewin, 1952a) (see Figure 3.2).



Figure 3.2: 'Lewinian' model of social change

Two implications may be drawn from this model. Firstly, that any form of change must be seen within the context of related systems which will tend to resist the change. Katz and Kahn (1966) take up this point when they comment that:

"The major error in dealing with problems of organizational change both at the practical and theoretical level is to disregard the systemic properties of the organization and to confuse individual change with modifications of organizational variables."(p.390)

The other implication is the idea of moving from one static state to another. It seems that this type of concept is inevitable if one adopts a "systems" view of the organization, as Alderfer (1976) comments:

(1) For example: Bowers, (1970); Brown (1967); Clarke (1972); Eldridge and Crombie (1974); Greiner (1976(b)); O'Connell (1968); Sofer (1964).

(2) For example Bennis et al. (1969) comment that all four articles discussing 'change strategies' in The Planning of Change employ Lewinian frameworks. The same can be said for Shepard and Blake (1962), Beckhard (1975) and Greiner (1967a).

"For a system - be it person, group, or organization to change, it must move from one steady state to another" (p.1614)

While the first of these two implications appears satisfactory - that change in any social system is bound to affect related systems - it may be questioned whether the second implication is correct. People always seem to talk about organizational change as if it had a start and a finish, and yet in terms of human behaviour it is difficult to conceive of any change that has actually been completed. It is only in the formal sense that we may talk of 'completion' when people change their titles, their roles, or their job descriptions. What is not acceptable about the emphasis on change from one static state to another is that it concentrates on these formal aspects while neglecting the ways that change occurs. For example, one of the most important aspects of organizational change is the process whereby consensus is achieved about the appropriate direction of change; in this case the Lewinian framework is not informative. However, this does not mean that the Lewinian framework should be rejected totally, it merely means that it has limited explanatory power in those areas of change which are most important when conducting the analysis at the level of formal organizations.

(c) The Direction of Change

Any change that attempts to anticipate future pressures must be instigated by people (normally within the organization). Any explanation of anticipatory change must therefore involve the concept of power, because if people wish to make use of insight into the direction that the organization should be moving they must possess the power to implement that view. Power has been defined above as the ability to determine the dominant value system of the organization, and hence the ability to determine the direction of pattern change within the organization. Therefore it may be helpful to begin the analysis of planned organizational change with the concept of power.

In the literature the question of 'values' has normally been tackled from the viewpoint of the change agent, and it is emphasised how sensitive and difficult is the problem of defining any direction to organizational change. Once any overall strategy has been adopted the

values implicit in the change will have been declared. Thus the decision to invite an external consultant into an organization has immediate political overtones, and it is most likely that it becomes a means of strengthening the hand of the person who did the inviting. This is why the entry of a consultant into an organization is most easily achieved in a neutral manner. Greiner (1976) describes how Blake entered 'Sigma', a part of the Esso organization, in a "Casual and almost accidental manner". But it was two days before management at Sigma would admit to there being any problem at all, and the precise form of this problem underwent a number of redefinitions amongst the management group during the subsequent months. The initial definition of the problem was that 'headquarters' had developed a false impression of what was taking place at 'Sigma' and this immediately defined an appropriate direction for resolution of the problem - that Blake could be used as a go-between in correcting 'false' impressions at Headquarters. When Headquarters management themselves were brought into the exercise of defining the problem, a new definition was reached which involved the mutual realisation that Sigma and Headquarters had not been communicating with each other for some time. This new definition was remarked on by a Sigma manager:

"I was amazed. You could see right away that there was a lot better understanding between Voss and Dodson. It made us all feel better and it showed us what our problems were." (p.70)

Definitions of the problem continued to develop over the following months, and it is perhaps a tribute to Blake's skill as a consultant that the final definition resulted in the wholesale application of Blake's Grid throughout Sigma!

A similar process was observed by Easterby-Smith and Ashton (1975a), in a local authority department. In this case the definition of the problem moved through the following three stages:

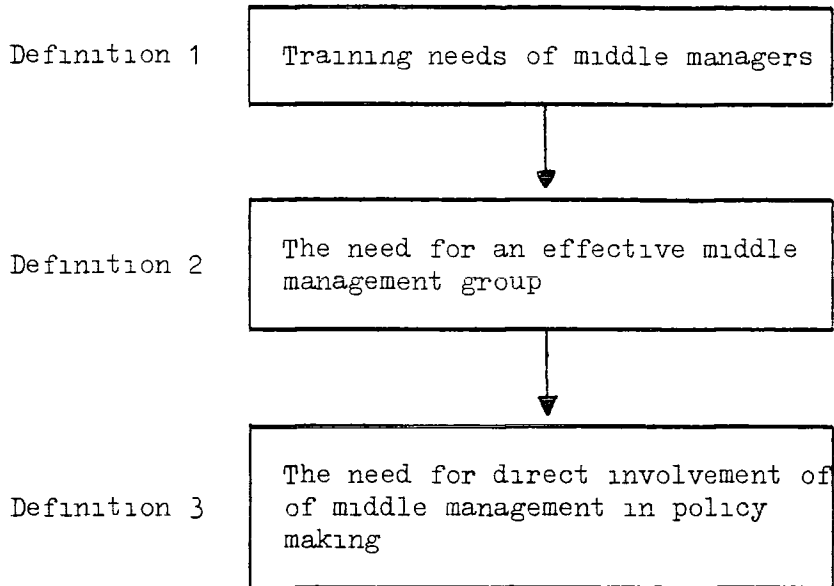


Figure 3.3: Successive definitions of an Organizational Problem

This implied the vertical redistribution of power, which was eventually achieved through establishing representative decision-making machinery. However, the acceptance of new definitions of the situation had to have a wide base, which is why the development had to be gradual, and it might not have been possible to move directly from the first stage to the last stage.

The political context of organizational interventions is also appreciated by Sofer (1972) in his style which emphasises entering into the value system of the organization and taking the existing internal definitions as a starting point for change or negotiation.

Although external intervention is only one of the many possible change strategies there is less written evidence about decision making processes when outside intervention is not involved. The importance of the political process in organizational change is underlined by Pettigrew (1973) who takes as one of the main themes of his work the view of Blau (1964) that "men seek to adjust social conditions to achieve their ends" (p.19).

Thus to summarise up to this point, it is suggested that the definition of a problem within an organization has two implications.

Firstly, it implies that some particular value system has become dominant in that situation, so that in a sense it is an expression of the value system; secondly, that this will automatically determine the direction of change that is desirable. Once a direction has been defined this will imply a number of alternative strategies for achieving change - one of which may be the engagement of an external consultant. From this point onwards progress will probably be gradual and successive definitions of the situation will only emerge through a process of negotiation (Strauss et al., 1973).

Up to this point, the principal actors in the situation will form a minority of the organization; they will be those who have access to power within the organization (Hall, 1965). It is probable that within this situation, the ideas that they put forward will not be expressions of pure altruism (Roeber, 1973), and quite probable that these ideas will be directed towards the improvement of their own political positions.

(d) Strategies for change

The initial definition of the problem largely determines the change strategies that will be developed. In some cases, as with the engagement of an external consultant, the strategy chosen may reinforce or modify the initial definition of the situation.

In order to generate organizational change it is necessary to gain acceptance of the need for change, or of the particular value system underlying change from the people who are to be affected by the change. And a similar point is made by Bennis (1966) when he suggests that the major source of power for change agents must be a 'value power' - where the influence of the consultant is based on attraction of people in the organization to the values that he brings with him.

The decision on whether or not a consultant is engaged will also depend to some extent on the magnitude of the change envisaged. Consultants tend to arrive with certain views about what change is and about how it should happen, which may involve a complex array of assumptions and specific techniques for effecting change. In particular,

consultants will vary in the prescriptiveness of their value orientations. Amongst those that adopt a prescriptive approach, the two alternatives are their values will either coincide with, or differ from, those of the client organization. A third alternative is that the consultant will keep his own views to himself and will adopt a neutral approach attempting to reflect the values and attitudes of the organisation members back upon themselves. Depending upon the position that a consultant takes up with respect to values he may also adopt either a 'personalised' or an 'instrumented' approach to solving the problem (Bowers, 1970; Clark, 1972). These alternatives are illustrated below in Figure 3.4

		SOLUTION STRATEGY	
		PERSONALISED	INSTRUMENTED
DIAGNOSTIC ORIENTATION OF CONSULTANT	NEUTRAL	Social consultancy/ Action research	
	PRESCRIPTIVE (same values)	'Classical' consultancy	Management by objectives
	PRESCRIPTIVE (different values)	'Intervention' techniques	T-groups

Figure 3.4: Diagnostic and Intervention Styles

The 'personalised' strategy implies working with the clients to solve whatever problems are presented, without any predetermined pattern of working. However, in the present case, 'instrumented' does not automatically mean 'self-applied' as Bowers suggests, and will be taken to mean some form of 'packaging' of the solution which is liable to be applied whatever the diagnosis. The majority of approaches reported by consultants and others are covered by the boxes indicated in Figure 3.4, and will be discussed in turn below.

(1) Neutral Models

The first diagnostic model is one suggested by Bennis (1963) and is based on developments at the Tavistock Institute, particularly on the writings of Sofer (1972). Sofer describes his style as action research, social consultancy, or socio-therapy. The distinctive element being that the social scientist works in close association with line management, but is not himself a member of it. The consultant "defines his responsibility as clarification and interpretation of behaviour, not as advice on executive action" (p.384). To the extent that there is a normative element to this approach it is the view that the consultant should work within the organisation's own definition of the system, and should enable members of the organisation to understand the assumptions upon which their behaviour is based. As Bennis comments:

"(it is an) equilibrium approach, because it assumes a system of opposing forces that influence the energy available for the primary task of the organization. This change model postulates that the higher the degree of tension, the smaller the fraction of energy available for work." (p.143)

Thus the chief mechanism of change is tension reduction, and the role of the consultant is neutral in that he does not attempt to urge the organization in any particular direction, but merely to clarify what is already going on.

More recently, this approach has generally become known as action research. Because of its diagnostic neutrality, the range of possible solutions is quite wide. Particularly, however, the solution aims at joint problem-solving with the organization and may result in 'work analysis' (Thurley, 1969), project-based learning (Ashton, 1975), or self-administered surveys (Weiland and Leigh, 1972).

The neutral model is rarely followed by 'instrumented' solutions simply because of the underlying philosophy that it should treat each situation on its own merits and help the organization to solve its own problems for itself. The particular strengths of the approach are its flexibility and the fact that it often involves deliberate collaboration between the academic researcher and the practising manager; and the main problems are the difficulties in defining the role of the outsider, particularly with regard to the value systems of the organization he

is working with (Gouldner, 1969; Brown, 1967).

(11) Prescriptive Approach, Shared Values

If the consultant is basically in agreement with the values of the organization, then change efforts are likely to be directed at patterns within the organization. This is because if the existing values are acceptable to those involved, then the permissible dimensions and direction of change will already have been defined.

The intervention documented by O'Connell (1968) provides an example where consultants were called into a major insurance company and directed their attention to the structure and roles in the organization. It was agreed by those involved that the problem was located at the Branch offices in the role of the Assistant Branch Manager (ABM). The individual in this role did not have any real managerial responsibility but combined a staff position with responsibility for training new agents and acting as a kind of super-salesman himself. The solution was seen as one of putting the ABM into a direct line-management position so that he had a number of agents under his control. O'Connell observed that this did lead to considerable improvements in performance, although there were still potential problems since the ABMs were now beginning to act like decentralised line managers with too much autonomy.

Where the consultant shares the basic values of the organization, solution strategies may also, to some extent, be packaged. This is because many of the major consultancy companies will have built up a reputation over the years for providing a certain type of solution which is clearly understood by management. Therefore, by inviting the consultant in, the organization has apparently come to some consensus about the direction that is required.

(111) Prescriptive Approach, Different Values

In some ways this is the hardest case for the consultant to deal with, which is why there is a marked tendency to adopt packaged solutions. The reason for this appears to be that if the value system of the consultant is at variance with that of the organization and he wishes

to move the organization towards his own value system, then it is advisable to focus attention on a 'black box' instrument for change rather on these values directly.

Although to some extent they overlap, there are two main approaches which fall into this category. The first, which is called an Organic Model by Bennis (1963) involves a strong reaction to the traditional 'mechanistic' form of organization, and implies a value system based on flexibility, adaptiveness and relatedness. The most common strategy for implementing change within this model is based on variants of the T-group theme. Shepard and Blake (1962) utilise a Lewinian framework for viewing the process of change, and use T-groups with normal work groups at a site removed from the plant. This change of location is intended to produce the initial 'unfreezing' element, and the programme can then move into the stages of 'diagnosis', 'implementation', 'intervention' and 'reorganisation'. In Lewinian terms the latter stage can be viewed as 'refreezing' with diagnosis and intervention providing intermediate stages in the progress. The goals of the approach advocated by Blake and Shepard incorporate improving working relationships, developing mutual confidence and trust among members of the organization, adapting the structure of the organization to fit the tasks of individuals, making more extensive use of group members, and developing norms about problem solving in terms of discussion and bargaining. The latter goal is a clear case of attempting to influence the values of the organization. The strategy is an oblique one since, by giving people the experience of 'working' in a different style of organization (an experimental group) which encourages new forms of behaviour, it is hoped that their long-term values will change to be consonant with the behaviour they are manifesting during this short period.

A more fully programmed approach has been developed by Blake and Mouton (1964) which involves a series of diagnostic instruments, exercises, and group discussions. As indicated above (Greiner, 1967b) the decision to embark upon this type of programme can be rather sensitive, but once begun it tends to have a self-sustaining momentum - particularly as Blake's Grid involves delegating the role of trainer to

managers who have been participants on early courses.

The second approach which is called the Developmental Model by Bennis is prescriptive in the sense that it assumes that modern organizations tend to emphasise bureaucratic values (rationality) and to deny human emotions. Hence individual growth is stunted, creativity is restricted, and relationships become inauthentic. The model is such that it provides a ready made diagnosis and a desired direction of change for most organizations. The main target for change must be the interpersonal relations in the organization, since it is these that prevent growth, and the direction of change must be towards a loosening of structure and controls. The means of achieving this is not necessarily prescribed or packaged and may involve a range of techniques and interventions (Argyris, 1970). The approach to change is one of adapting the patterns of interpersonal relationships in the direction implied by this value system (towards openness), with the intention of stabilising the values of other members of the organization around this form of change - which will already be becoming a fait accompli.

(e) Techniques for Implementing Organizational Change

The three diagnostic models of change discussed above are primarily concerned with the assumptions about people that are held by the influential members of the organization. Each model implies change strategies at the level of the total organization, and each one implies a certain range of methods for introducing change once the initial definition has been made. These techniques can be classified along the dimension of participativeness. In other words, they vary according to the balance of influence between those at the top of the organization and those at lower levels of the organization in determining the direction of change. However, it is suggested by Greiner (1967a) that the most effective technique involves neither 'top down' nor bottom up' approaches, but one where decision making is shared by all levels of the organization. Three main reasons may be advanced for this: firstly, that a shared approach to defining and solving the problem means that competing parties will have less reason to suspect that they are being manipulated by others; secondly it is likely that all parties involved will develop

a sense of 'ownership' in the change (Reynolds, 1975); and finally, in a practical sense, the change is likely to have incorporated most necessary elements if all interested parties have been involved in its design (Roeber, 1973). An additional, and very important element, of shared approaches is that in most cases they are themselves providing a model for the way organizational changes are likely to happen in the future. So that by agreeing to work within this type of framework on one occasion, people are implicitly accepting a value system for the future which may become one of the main objectives of the change programme: a shared approach.

In describing the techniques that are commonly employed to introduce change it will be seen that the degree of participation they employ is a main variable; in some cases techniques are combined for maximum effect so that they may incorporate both unilateral and participative elements.

(1) Provision of Information

Clearly it is essential to keep people informed about what is happening during any change programme, but it is pointed out by Katz and Kahn (1966) that information alone is an ineffective means of promoting change except in situations that are particularly ambiguous. If, by information provision, one is referring to information about the problem and information about why change is necessary, then this is clearly an ineffective technique - if it can be called a technique at all. If, however, it also includes information about structural changes that will take place in the organization then there is a great deal of evidence to suggest that it can indeed be very effective. In the latter case the strategy becomes one of preparing people for formal change in the hope that they will begin to adapt their behaviour, and we will discuss this below. Nevertheless, the provision of information (any information) is vital, and can have numerous political implications. But the question then becomes one of who should provide information about what. Unfortunately the main problem about introducing change through the provision of information alone is that it is likely to become a unilateral strategy - from the top to the bottom of the organization.

(11) Surveys and Information Feedback

This particular technique has been developed by Floyd Mann (1957), and attempts to overcome the gulf between social science information and the manager by concentrating on group discussions throughout the organization. These discussions must always start in the top management group before spreading to lower levels of the organization. Each group is given the general information as well as specific information relating to themselves in comparison with others. Through the comparative element and the structured public discussion of results it is hoped that the survey is not put into a drawer and forgotten. It virtually forces people at all levels to do something about the results - the method is up to them, but there is always the vague threat that they ought to be able to show some improvement if the survey is repeated again. Mann's own assessment of this technique as a means of changing 'Organizational Climate' shows that it is considerably more effective than "classroom" human relations training.

Although it will not necessarily be so, each of the above approaches can be applied across complete organizations without too much extra effort. And therefore there is less danger of neglecting the 'systemic' elements of change - i.e. the fact that change in one part of the organization will inevitably affect other parts of the organization in unanticipated ways when it is changed in 'isolation'. However, the three remaining groups of techniques are essentially specific to one target area at a time, and therefore it will be necessary to keep the relatedness aspect of these changes in mind.

(111) Participative Techniques

These cover a very wide range of approaches. In some ways the survey feedback technique is also based on participative ideas, but it has been described separately since it is quite heavily instrumented and standardised. The overall range of participative techniques is indicated by the continuum described by Tannenbaum and Schmidt (1968). The essential element of 'participative' techniques (in this non-political sense) is that they concentrate at the level of groups, with an emphasis on discussion methods. This particular focus explains why this has normally been applied to changes in groups per se. Originally the major interest was in

demonstrating the superiority of group methods over information methods in effecting changes in individual habits. This was developed by Lewin (1952b) during World War II in an effort to get housewives to change eating habits by preparing unconventional cuts of meat. A comparison between three groups who received the normal lecture and three groups who participated in a group discussion before taking a group decision, showed major differences. Only 3% of members of the former groups changed their habits, as compared to 32% for the latter groups.

The important element of this particular approach is that the group collectively takes some responsibility for the decision and develops ownership of the resulting course of action (Lewin, 1948). Both these elements were present in the studies of Coch and French (1948) and French, Israel and As (1960). These studies involved work groups in decisions about how changes in their work environment would be handled. In the first case, a fairly dramatic improvement was shown in the productivity of the 'experimental' group who were allowed to make their own decisions. This was not replicated in the second study, although the failure to show any significant difference between the productivity of Experimental and Control groups was subsequently explained both on theoretical and on methodological grounds. On theoretical grounds it is hypothesised by French et al. that participative techniques will only be effective if they cover topics that the workers consider to be legitimate areas of control for themselves; on methodological grounds it is pointed out that workers already had control of production rates, and of piece rates through union representation, therefore the only area in which they could exercise control was in the allocation of work amongst themselves. Since this 'manipulated' variable did not have any direct relationship with the criterion variable of productivity it was not surprising that the results of the experiment showed no difference between the two 'treatments'.

(iv) Educational Techniques

Many 'educational' techniques bear resemblances to the participative approaches discussed above, since they frequently employ group mechanisms. However, two characteristics will serve to differentiate them. Firstly, there is invariably some emphasis on 'learning' which is not

specific to any single problem that the organization may face, and secondly, educational activities are normally distinct in time and place from the day-to-day work activities. But educational activities also vary considerably along these two dimensions, especially in the degree to which they attempt to be realistic, and we will consider three main groups below.

Conventional training programmes are normally directed at individuals either in groups or 'en masse'. The formal learning component is normally stressed so that the objectives of a programme may be expressed in terms of skills, knowledge and attitudes. Training is normally conducted in a classroom situation away from the job, and although it is undoubtedly an efficient way of conferring skills and prescribed curricula of knowledge, doubts have been expressed about whether it is actually an effective method for changing the behaviour of individuals and hence of organizations (Mann, 1957). In particular, problems are seen in terms of transfer of learning - i.e. the ideas learnt in an abstract way away from the work may not be sufficiently related to the problems encountered at work. Also it may be very difficult to effect change in inter-related systems merely through changing isolated individuals within these systems (Katz and Kahn, 1966).

Because of these two problems, particularly those involving the transfer of learning, a great deal of effort has been devoted to developing experiential forms of education. These include exercises, group work, business games, T-groups, and a range of instrumented packages which have been developed by management consultants (Blake and Mouton, 1964; Hall, 1970). Two elements are common to these approaches: they frequently involve natural work groups, and they make a conscious attempt to transfer cognitive concepts into behaviour through exercises etc. However, as Ashton (1974) points out, this 'transfer' is still affected in the training environment and may not yet relate to the work situation.

This type of concern has given rise recently to a number of approaches which incorporate the elements of experiential approaches with project work on real problems within the organization. These we

will call heuristic approaches since they involve emphasising the educational content of normal working. Amongst these would come the Joint Development Activities run at Manchester Business School (Morris and Burgoyne, 1973) and Action Learning, described by Casey and Pearce (1977). The latter involves extensive collaboration between education and industry, where managers are seconded individually to work on projects often in different companies and are supported by peers on other projects and by Project Advisors in weekly meetings of learning 'sets'. Another approach which also tries to incorporate the group element involves getting groups of managers to work on 'live' problems in their own companies under the supervision of a Business School and within the structure of a part-time course that lasts for a period of about six months. The evidence indicates that participation on this type of course can give a great deal to the confidence of an individual, but that its wider impact may be mixed, since it may produce effects in the individual which run counter to the culture of the organization (Easterby-Smith and Ashton, 1975).

(v) Formal Structural Change

The main problem with educational techniques is that they are unlikely to have a significant impact on the organization as a whole unless substantial resources are invested in training. This is why it may be more effective to direct attention towards the structure of the organization rather than at the individuals inside it. Katz and Kahn (1966) make two main points about this type of change: that it is probably the most effective technique for achieving organizational change (in people terms), and that it is also the normal way of achieving change in industry:

"In everyday life however, attempts are made to change an organization as a social system, i.e. to deal directly with organizational characteristics as properties of the organization rather than as the outcome of group and individual characteristics. Such an attempt involves the legitimation of changes in the role relationships making up the system." (p.425)

The main reason for the effectiveness of this approach is that there are certain elements in any organization which are very much under the control of powerful members of the organization. These elements

which include reward systems, power distribution, and the groupings of employees exert a very strong influence on the behaviour of individuals and hence can be a major means of effecting change. We will consider each of these below.

Grouping of Employees :

The notion has been developed by the Tavistock Institute that it is necessary to achieve a balance between the technical requirements of a task and the social needs of those who are to perform a task (socio-technical design). In cases of organizational change there is therefore the danger that technological improvements might produce a worsening of social conditions resulting in lower overall effectiveness.

This was illustrated in the coal mining industry by the study of Trist and Bamforth (1951). The introduction of powered underground machinery, such as conveyor belts, had made possible major changes in the way the miners were organised. The small semi-autonomous work groups had been replaced by large numbers of men on successive shifts with a rigid division of labour and extensive supervision. What was lacking in this new form of organization were the opportunities for flexibility and mutual support which are so important in difficult and dangerous occupations. Therefore a 'composite' system was devised whereby the miners continued to work on the long coal face, but where they were now able to allocate tasks amongst themselves and to regulate their own work pace. By providing in this way for social needs it was shown that productivity could be about 20% higher than when technical considerations alone were taken into account. (Trist et al., 1963)

Many other structural changes have been addressed to increasing the rationality of the organization, while neglecting the importance of the social dimension of the organization. The strength of the studies reported above is that they appear to have maximised on both dimensions. The structural interventions into an insurance company reported by O'Connell (1968) provide an example of a more efficient organization system being devised without detracting from the social factor for the people involved. This seems to be important for its success. On the other hand,

many of the recent reorganisations in the National Health Service have caused problems. This is because, although aimed at greater administrative efficiency, they have tended to upset some of the social systems which are most important in hospital life. And nursing, like coal mining, can be a very stressful occupation since it involves close contact with distress and death. Therefore, as Menzies (1960) points out, many of the traditional 'inefficient' practices in nursing are highly functional when considering the nature of the work.

The alternative to the NHS case is the development of autonomous work groups in Scandinavia and the Continent. Cameron et al. (1974) report a number of experiments which sacrifice the important technical work advantages of mass production - specialisation, continuous work flow etc. - for work forms organized around the social and psychological needs of workers. In this way an attempt is made to give workers reasonable freedom about how they allocate tasks within groups, and a certain amount of control over work rates. The study by Norstedt and Aguren (1973) showed by allowing employees to make decisions about the way their work was done that stoppages could be significantly reduced, costs cut somewhat, and quality could be appreciably improved. However, the evidence overall is still inconclusive, and there is doubt about whether social advantages really can outweigh technological disadvantages.

Power Distribution:

It is commonly believed by managers that power can only move one way - away from management. But Tannenbaum (1968) suggests that the amount of control within an organization is not a fixed quantity, and that by giving power to others in the organization through delegation, top management are able to take on new powers (and roles for themselves). This may be merely a gambit to persuade top management to become more participative, but it is an assertion that is backed up by a considerable amount of empirical data. Morse and Reimer (1956) report an experiment where the distribution of power within an organization was deliberately manipulated by researchers and the effects monitored. Two different leadership styles were introduced to parallel divisions of a clerical department. In two divisions the supervisors were encouraged to adopt

authoritarian styles, and this was taken to imply a raising of the power "axiality" within the organization (named the Hierarchically Controlled Programme); in the other two divisions a deliberate attempt was made to pass responsibility for decisions to successive levels down the organization, which represented a lowering of the power axiality (Autonomy Programme). The results of the study clearly showed the superiority of the latter approach in terms of "self actualisation" and attitudes towards supervision, although, if anything, a higher level of productivity was reached in the Hierarchical Programme.

The scarcity of comparative research at an organizational level indicates that it is unwise to generalise from these results too far. And they also recall the equivocal results reported by French et al. (1960). However, it seems likely that most attempts to 'democratise' organizations will lead to some increases in satisfaction and improved attitudes, but changes in productivity will also depend on other factors including the meaning that the work has for the employees.

Reward Systems:

The third major area of structural intervention for achieving organizational change is through the reward system. In the short term people may be induced to accept innovations through being paid more, and in the long term they may be more accommodating towards change if a close association is seen to exist between the acceptance of innovations and the level of remuneration. However, due to the manifest nature of financial rewards, managerial discretion in this area has been severely circumscribed by National legislation and by Union pressure. Therefore the main area of discretion remains in the more complex 'indirect' reward systems of organizations. To a large extent approaches to increasing indirect rewards to manual employees by giving them greater control over the way they do their work have already been covered.

Therefore we will now be concerned with the informal reward systems provided for management. These may be seen to operate through two main mechanisms: the formal systems of appraisal and assessment, and the informal systems of intuitive judgements made by senior managers. In

either case it may be necessary for junior managers to model their behaviour on that of senior managers in order to present themselves in the most favourable light. This kind of interaction is very important since the reward system will exert strong reinforcement on behaviours that are seen to be successful. Thus as Harrison (1971) points out, an organization which is seen to reward people for effective task performance will develop different behaviour patterns from the organization that rewards people mainly for long service, or the organization that rewards people who are merely adept showmen and politicians. This type of system is fully under the control of top management, but ironically the major resistance to any change in these criteria may be top management themselves - since they were successful in the existing system, they therefore reason that it must be a good one. Recently, a lot of effort has been devoted to rationalising such reward (or career development) systems through the initiative of Training Boards. However, it is still an open question whether such attempts at rationalisation naturally lead to improvements.

Summary:

In this section three main groups of 'system' change within the organisation have been considered; and each of these may be under the direct control of management. Evidence indicates that where the target of change is increased productivity, that the most likely strategy is through consideration of socio-technological system concepts - although these require much skill if the correct balance is to be achieved. Where the target is simply the acceptance of changes, any changes, the simplest strategy is to purchase co-operation, although this may have undesirable effects in the long run.

(f) Anticipatory Change: Conclusion

Clearly this area has stimulated the greatest amount of energy amongst writers. Most of the studies reported involve a mixture of endogenous and exogenous change, which may serve to emphasise the difficulty of differentiating between the two views. However, if one focusses on the directions taken by anticipatory change the endogenous view seems more realistic since the boundaries of the organization are

largely defined by its powerful members and they may choose to widen the boundaries by importing a change agent from the external world which gives the appearance of exogeneity. However, unless the external change agent succeeds in gaining acceptance of new value systems within the organization the form of the change will remain an endogenous one.

5. CONCLUSION

This chapter has attempted to develop some structure around the diverse field of organizational change, using the framework proposed in Chapter 2. In doing this it has been necessary to distinguish between those studies that examine change as a reaction to existing pressures, and those that emphasise the need to create change in order to cope better with pressures anticipated in the future. The literature review has also made distinctions between changes that appear to originate outside the organization, and those that appear to originate inside the organization. The analysis of such changes may also focus either on the values or the patterns of the organization.

The theoretical framework was found to be most useful in classifying the literature on reactive change. In this case a number of models were presented, and it was found that when change originated within the organization the analysis could be conducted on a wider scale if it concentrated on the level of values; but when change was seen to have an external source, the analysis could focus at the level either of values or of patterns.

The framework was found to be slightly less valuable in classifying literature on anticipatory change. However in analysing studies of change, it provided a helpful link between the actions of individuals and the dominant values of the organization. Anticipatory change was seen mainly in endogenous terms and here it was possible to clarify the source and direction of each change by focussing on the concept of values.

INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOUR AND ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

1. Introduction
2. Analytic Framework
3. The Dynamics of Individual Response to Organizational Change
 - (a) Change and stress
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 - (a) Expectancy theory
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1. INTRODUCTION

The focus of the previous chapter was on the analysis of change from an organizational perspective. Thus the discussion concentrated on the nature of organizational change, how it comes about, how the directions of change are defined, and how the powerful members may set about deliberately creating change within the organization. But it has also been argued in the early part of this thesis that the 'behaviour' of organizations is always reducible to the behaviour of individuals - even though there may be many consistencies in the behaviour of different individuals. And therefore that any statement about organizational behaviour must incorporate assumptions about individual behaviour.

In this chapter some of these assumptions about individuals in changing situations will be examined.

2. ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK

It will be recalled that in the second chapter explanatory models of organizational change and of individual behaviour were proposed. With regard to the individual, it was suggested that behaviour could be explained in terms of two groups of factors: firstly, the static factors in a situation, such as personality, roles etc; and secondly, the dynamic factors which are essentially anticipations of events and of outcomes in the future. With regard to the nature of organizational change, it was suggested that the dynamics of specific events and actions were normally perceived in terms of "patterns". These patterns represented the experiential stability of organizations and that it was the changes in these patterns that were identified as "organizational change". However, at any given time it was also possible to perceive consistencies in the way that things were changing in the organization - particularly when "non-programmed" decisions were being made - and this supra-consistency was defined as the dominant value system of the organization. Hence, in a converse sense, any individual's perception of the dominant value system

in the organization will also define the direction he would expect organizational changes to take.

Therefore there will be a link between individual behaviour and the "static" and "changing" elements of the organization. On one hand there will be elements of the organization which are external to the individual and which may also be experienced by other members of the organization. On the other hand there will be a number of factors that will be unique to the individual - for example, personality, social background, or organizational role - and these will not be open to experience by other organizational members. Figure 4.1 summarises these factors that may affect individual behaviour during organizational change.

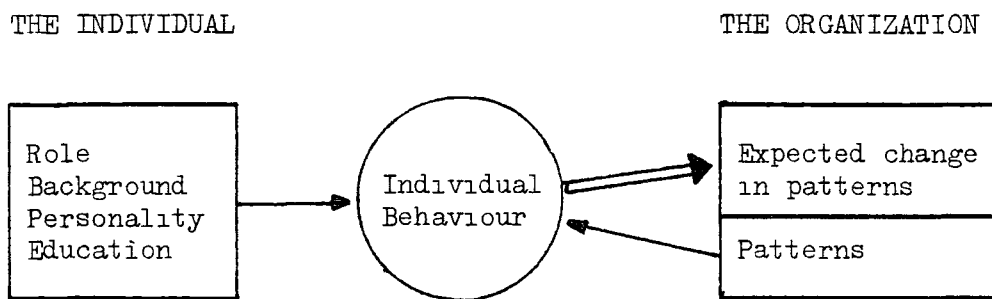


Figure 4.1: Factors affecting individual behaviour

The notation employed in the above figure is as follows: (\Rightarrow) implies that behaviour can be explained in terms of certain perceptions (which are essentially internal to the individual); whereas (\longrightarrow) is used in the more conventional sense of indicating an association which may be causal.

However, it will be noted that the above illustration makes no attempt to describe the type of behaviour manifested by the individual. For the present purpose a "systems" view of individual behaviour will be adopted; it will be assumed that various situational factors combine to produce some form of "input" to the system, and that the individual responds with some form of "output". This output may, or may not, also

affect the nature of subsequent inputs, as in a servomechanism. The process is illustrated in Figure 4.2.

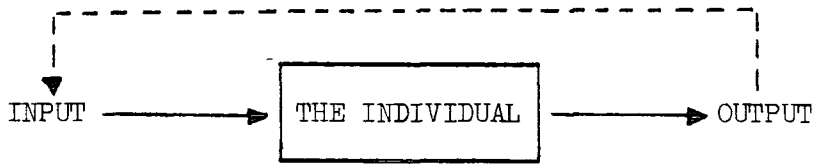


Figure 4.2: Systems view of individual behaviour

These two paradigms will be developed in this chapter in order to explain the way that individuals react to organizational changes. The discussion will begin at the most fundamental level by examining the nature of individual behaviour, and will make extensive use of theories of stress and coping behaviour in this section. The second section will concentrate on changing factors, using an 'expectancy' framework; and the final section will look at relationships that have been found in the past between static factors and the various dimensions of individual behaviour.

3. THE DYNAMICS OF INDIVIDUAL RESPONSE TO ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

(a) Change and Stress

There are a number of different approaches to understanding what 'change' means to the individual, but the majority of them link change with some form of stress. This is not to say that all change is necessarily stressful, since as studies of psychological deprivation have shown, lack of change can be far more stressful than a moderate amount of change (Zuckerman et al., 1965). This would suggest a U-function relationship between change and stress, so that both very high and very low degrees of change are experienced as unpleasant; whereas intermediate levels are quite pleasant. (However, given that our primary concern is with organizations we may assume that the normal situation involves an intermediate level of change and that the major disturbances are in the direction of increased change).

Two major frameworks have been used to relate change to stress in individuals. The first framework suggests that there is a direct relationship between the number of changes in an individual's environment and the stress that he experiences. Thus Holmes and Rahe (1967), and Rahe (1968) were able to show that men who had recently undergone major changes in their lives (loss of parent, marriage etc.) were more susceptible to minor illnesses in the future months. Toffler (1970) relates the wider technological changes particularly in the areas of speed and communications to the "shattering stress and disorientation" wrought on individuals. And the debilitating effects of such accelerating change on individuals is taken up by many other authors (Kahn, 1967; Roeber, 1973). A slightly different emphasis is given to the problem by Fink (1967) who concentrates on the adaptation process following major life changes. His concern is primarily with sudden changes such as the death of a loved one, and he analyses the adaptation in four major phases: shock, defensive retreat, acknowledgement, and adaptation. These four stages may be seen as a gradual progress from self-protection to a growth orientation, but in each phase the patterns of reactions are quite distinct.

The second major framework regards change as resulting in stress through the intervention of social mechanisms. Thus, Kahn et al. (1964) view change as one of the major contributors to role conflict and ambiguity, and that it is these states that in turn lead to individual stress. Although it may be argued that the imposition of intermediate variables between observable events is artificial, it seems that it may help to understand why certain groups of events are related, and this particular approach will be developed especially through the work of Richard Lazarus in an attempt to understand the dynamics of individual reactions to change.

The concept of stress itself has been the source of much confusion and debate, and Lazarus (1966) suggests that it is more helpful to regard 'stress' as denoting an area of interest rather than any of the conditions or results of certain situations:

"Stress is not any one of these things; nor is it stimulus, response or intervening variable, but rather a collective term for an area of study." (p.27)

The 'input' to the system is described as the stimulus configuration which may incorporate many elements including ambiguity, immanence, and degree of threat. The appraisal of this stimulus configuration forms a central part of Lazarus' theory, and he distinguishes two main phases in appraisal: "primary appraisal" forms a direct assessment of the stimulus configuration; whereas "secondary appraisal" looks at what can be done to cope with or avoid the threat.

"In sum, with primary appraisal, the issue is how much am I in danger from a situation; with secondary appraisal the issue concerns how much am I in danger from anything I do about the threat or to what extent will any particular action relieve the danger" (Lazarus, 1966, p. 161)

Both of these forms of appraisal are related in different ways to elements of the stimulus configuration and to characteristics of the individual and a simplified version of this complex framework is provided below, Figure 4.3

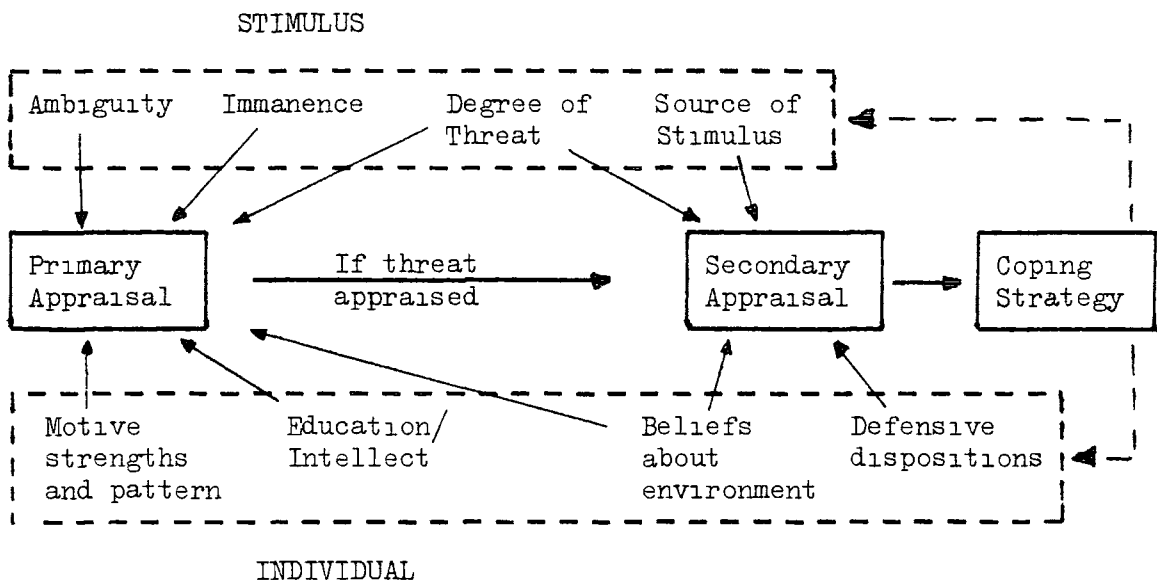


Figure 4.3: Framework for Threat Appraisal (Adapted from Lazarus, 1966)

Since this framework may be confusing when taken as a totality it will be necessary to discuss it in smaller components. The following sections will approach the framework from opposite ends of the process: inputs and outputs. Thus, the next part will examine different aspects of the stimulus configuration, and how these relate to appraisal and

coping; the subsequent part will concentrate on coping responses and how these may be related to different aspects of appraisal and the stimulus configuration itself.

(b) Stimulus configuration

(1) Level of Threat

The level of threat is seen as a major element of the 'Stimulus configuration' which contributes to each phase of response and this parallels the importance given to levels of 'arousal' by Hebb (1958). Cofer and Appley (1964) examine the way that people react to different levels of threat, identifying four major thresholds. As in Lazarus' work two main classes of response are distinguished, affective and coping responses: the former is assumed to be related linearly to level of threat whereas a curvilinear relationship is postulated in the second case. The framework proposed by Cofer and Appley is summarised below in Figure 4.4.

Reaction Threat	PERCEPTION	RESPONSE	
		Affective	Coping
INSTIGATION	Awareness of situation		New forms of coping but exclusively task oriented.
FRUSTRATION	Threat perceived (situation beyond normal coping capacities)	Anxiety	Intensified coping behaviour. Ego-protection starts
STRESS	Danger perceived (if no change in situation after above level reached)	Desperation	Behaviour exclusively ego-protective
EXHUASTION		Feeling of Hopelessness	Drop in Activity

Figure 4.4: Levels of Threat and Differential Responses (After Cofer and Appley, 1964)

The theme of curvilinear response to threat is encountered frequently within the literature on stress. As Lazarus (1966) comments:

"More adaptive and reality oriented forms of coping are most likely when the threat is comparatively mild; under severe threat, pathological extremes become more prominent" (P. 162)

Similar points are made by Mechanic (1970) and Janis (1972) in suggesting that high levels of threat will produce poor performance, while moderate levels of threat will produce the most effective forms of coping. Moreover there is a common-sense basis for dichotomising stress responses into one 'affective' element which becomes increasingly negative as the threat increases, and one 'coping' elements which only begins to operate once a certain amount of threat has been appraised - but which eventually becomes dysfunctional (for the organism) as the threat increases.

This basic framework will be adopted for subsequent analysis in this thesis, though it should be noted that this will cause a number of methodological problems. Firstly, it can be quite difficult to differentiate between concepts such as 'perceived' threat and 'affective response' when both can only be obtained through subjective reports. Secondly, as Korman (1974, p.84) points out, it can be exceedingly difficult to test 'curvilinear' hypotheses since there is no acceptable criterion for deciding where the maximum or minimum lies, and hence at what points increases or decreases should be expected.

(11) Ambiguity

A theme that recurs frequently in the literature on stress is the element of ambiguity, and this will be of particular concern here since the focus is on stress that is caused by change and environmental disturbances.

Decision theorists have found the concept of ambiguity to be particularly difficult to define. It is agreed that it lies somewhere on the continuum of situations from "risk", where the probability of occurrence of a number of possible outcomes is known (Duncan, 1972, p.317) and 'ignorance', where neither the possible outcomes nor their associated probabilities are known (Yates and Zukowski, 1976, p.19). Perhaps this difficulty in formulating precise objective definitions is

is appropriate for the concept of ambiguity; and it will be used here in the subjective sense to denote a felt difficulty in extrapolating from present states to future states.

There are two main views regarding the effect of ambiguity on affective responses. Firstly, Kahn et al. (1964) suggest that ambiguity in role expectations is automatically unpleasant and results in lack of job satisfaction. Smith (1957) concludes that ambiguous role expectations can reduce group productivity and satisfaction, and increase defensiveness; more recently, similar conclusions have been reached by House and Rizzo (1972) and Burke and Belcourt (1974).

The second view of ambiguity is that it does not automatically result in dissatisfaction, but that it changes the way that situations are evaluated. Korman (1971) suggests that high levels of ambiguity in organisations imply greater reliance on people than on rules and procedures and concludes that:

"ambiguity and change are not dissatisfying if the individual's belief system is first altered so that he sees such characteristics as being consistent with the nature of the world as he knows it" (p.341)

Lazarus (1966) adopts a slightly different approach by suggesting that individuals automatically insert their own stable points of reference into such situations:

"The more ambiguous are the stimulus cues concerning the nature of anticipated confrontation, the more important are general belief systems in determining the appraisal process" (p.134)

However, with regard to coping processes, there is general agreement that ambiguity leads to information searching in an attempt to clarify the situation. This has been found to be true for individuals (Heslin et al. 1972; Vernon, 1971), and for groups where role expectations are unclear (Smith, 1957). In addition, this particular assumption has been extended by March and Simon (1958) as part of their theory of organisational behaviour.

Thus it is implied by these studies that the main impact of ambiguity during organisational change is two-fold. Firstly to shift the basis upon which the situation is appraised towards more 'enduring' elements of the individual or his situation, and secondly to produce a greater tendency towards search behaviour as a means of coping.

(iii) Time Factors

The question of timing is often a major issue for those introducing change, and it is likely that the ideal moment will be defined most clearly by social factors in the situation. For example, as has been pointed out earlier, it is helpful if there are already considerable internal and external pressures for change, and if the introduction of change can be carried out in such a way that it is shared by most levels of the organisation.

Here the evidence gathered by psychologically oriented studies is also of some relevance. Monat et al. (1972) showed the importance of an anticipatory phase prior to the administration of electric shocks. They compared the affective arousal of subjects under two conditions of uncertainty: temporal and event uncertainty. Under 'temporal' uncertainty (where the occurrence of a shock was certain, but the timing was not fixed) subjects manifested high arousal initially, which decreased with the passage of time. Under "event" uncertainty (where the timing was fixed, but the occurrence was not certain) initial arousal was low, but it tended to increase as the time of confrontation approached.

Janis (1958) regards this anticipatory arousal as a very important part of successful adaptation. This 'work of worrying' enables people to come to terms with the harmful confrontation before it occurs, which suggests that organisational change will be achieved most rapidly if it is preceded by a long period of warning. And a similar point is made by Cofer and Appley (1964):

"One conclusion....is that slow adaptation through systematically increased exposure to stimulation, may be able to raise stress thresholds, such that stimulus intensities earlier intolerable may be experienced without inducing full-blown stress responses" (p.448).

On the other hand in cases where the onset of stress is very sudden the individual may not exhibit any stress during the period of crisis, and the reaction itself is delayed until after the crisis is over (Lazarus, 1966). This may be illustrated by the case of a near-miss on the road where stress reactions are often delayed until after the driver has succeeded in avoiding the danger, which suggests that if adaptation cannot be anticipatory then it must follow the confrontation. Another study by Nomikos et al. (1968) concluded that overall stress would be less if confrontation was sudden, and that a 'long' anticipation (of half a minute) consistently resulted in higher levels of autonomic disturbance.

But before any firm conclusions are drawn from these studies it is necessary to point out that the nature and duration of stress sequences vary considerably between studies: thus, Monat et al. and Nomikos et al. were concerned with anticipatory periods measured in terms of minutes, while Janis was concerned with periods lasting weeks or months. In addition, these studies all concern the reaction of individuals and fail to take into account the complexities of organisational life. Perhaps the safest conclusion to draw from a psychological point of view is that genuine adaptation to change always takes time - so that if organisational change is introduced after many preparatory warnings the necessary adjustments may occur before confrontation.

(c) Coping Pattern

As indicated above, there is some agreement between authors that the relationship between stress and coping behaviour is a curvilinear one. That is, that coping is relatively inactive under high and low stress conditions, but is most active under moderate stress conditions. What forms might such coping responses take?

(1) Overviews of coping behaviour

Two parallel themes have been developed to explain variations in coping behaviour. Lazarus (1966) distinguishes between 'active' and 'cognitive' coping:

"action tendencies are aimed at eliminating or mitigating the harmful anticipated confrontation", and these should be distinguished from the, "purely cognitive manoeuvres through which appraisal is altered without action directed at changing the objective situation" (p.259).

The continuum defined here has been used frequently in assessing response to stress (Houston, 1971, 1973; Weinstein, 1968), and a variety of measures have been designed to assess such coping predispositions amongst individuals (Little, 1958).

The question is naturally asked as to which approach is the most effective form of coping. Houston (1973) found that people who dealt actively with the stress situation tended to cope more easily, whereas Monat et al. (1972) reached the opposite conclusion, that denial responses are more effective in reducing stress during conditions of temporal and event uncertainty. However, these two results may be reconciled if account is taken of the 'curvilinear' element of coping responses. Thus, Goldstein (1959) compared the efficacy of coping responses under 'severe' and 'mild' threat, and was able to conclude that mild threats were handled best by people who tended to cope actively, whereas severe threats were handled best by people who preferred to avoid the situation.

The second theme is found in the writings of Cofer and Appley (1964) and this views coping on a 'functional - dysfunctional' basis. This follows from their definition of the situation where an individual experiences stress as:

"where he perceives that his well-being is endangered, and he must devote all his energies to his protection" (p.463)

and behaviour is seen along the continuum from being 'task-oriented' to becoming 'ego-protective'. The main point about this view is that while behaviour is task-oriented, it is possible for the individual to reduce the severity of the threat, but as soon as his behaviour becomes ego-protective he enters a vicious circle and future behaviour becomes irrelevant to ameliorating that threat.

(11) Specific Styles of Coping

These two overviews of coping processes have tended to de-emphasise the impact of the wider context. But, as Monat et al. (1972) conclude,

even in very short stress sequences the context is very important. For example, it has been suggested that coping and adaptation may take place before and after confrontation with the stimulus, and the evidence suggests that the patterns may be very different before and after confrontation. In the pre-confrontation situation it may still be possible to have some influence on the way the change will happen, but after confrontation (assuming that this is at a point in time) the opportunities will be more limited, and cognitive adjustments are more likely. Figure 4.5 summarises from Lazarus (1966) and Burke and Belcourt (1974) with regard to the way people may cope with change.

COPING STYLE	PRE-CONFRONTATION	POST CONFRONTATION
A) <u>Action tendencies</u>		
1. Strengthening individual's position	Form coalition/talk to 'sponsors'.	Develop cohesive peer group
2. Attack the source of the change	Analyse situation. Play political 'cards' Discontent.	-
3. Inaction	Concentrate on working hard, or on outside life.	Concentrate on work/outside life. Compliance.
4. Avoidance	Leave the organisation	Leave organisation
B) <u>Cognitive Manoeuvres</u>		
5. Denial	Believe that it won't make much difference	-
6. Rationalisation	-	Believe that it was necessary/inevitable anyway

Figure 4.5: Possible means of coping before and after confrontation with change

Apart from the tendency to rely on peer groups as a means of controlling the immediate environment, the element of rationalisation is an important part of adjustment. To the extent that it will be impossible for the individual to avoid behaving in certain new ways after confrontation,

it is likely that he is going to have to redefine his original views about this new model of behaviour. According to dissonance theory he will be faced with two incompatible cognitive elements:

(A), this particular mode of behaviour is wrong, but

(B), this is the way I am behaving.

Thus he will be forced to redefine the wrongness of element A so that it becomes consistent with element B (Brown, 1965, p.584). Therefore, this particular idea suggests that, within reason, so long as people can be forced to change their behaviour, they will eventually come to believe that they are behaving that way because they want to, rather than because they were forced. But again there are two main limitations to this view: firstly that the change must not depart too far from acceptable levels, secondly that cognitive manoeuvres are not the only options open to individuals, when adapting to organisational change post hoc.

(d) Summary

This section has considered a number of theories of stress which may contribute towards understanding the way that individuals respond to organisational change. Some of these elements are illustrated in Figure 4.6

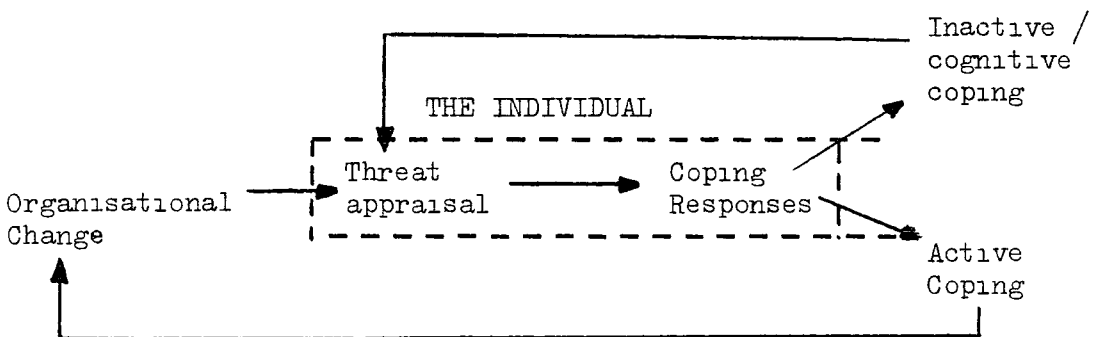


Figure 4.6: Individual Response and Coping with Organisational Change

The main conclusions from this discussion are as follows:

(1) The appraisal of threat in organisational change incorporated two main elements: the degree of threat, and the ambiguity associated with the change. It is hypothesised that the greater the threat appraised, the more negative becomes the affective responses. Secondly, that the role of increased ambiguity is to

alter the basis for making appraisals from the specific elements in the situation to the more enduring elements.

(11) Coping response may include a range of different strategies but may generally be placed on an active-passive continuum.

Greatest activity will be apparent under moderate degrees of threat, whereas lower activity will be manifest under high and low degrees of threat.

(111) The content of the coping response will vary with the situation, particularly whether or not confrontation with the change has occurred. If this is still feasible, part of the coping may be directed towards affecting the change through those who have some influence, otherwise it will be directed towards mutual support or individual protection for those affected.

(1v) There is some disagreement amongst authors about whether long anticipation of change is a good or a bad thing. The evidence seems to suggest that when considering isolated individuals a period of adjustment is necessary whether it comes before or after confrontation so that the choice between long and short anticipation is largely immaterial. However, it may be that in an organisational context, internal pressures would magnify themselves too rapidly during long anticipations (resulting in industrial action, protracted political battles etc.)

These observations will be formalised in the following chapters so that they can be tested empirically later in the thesis. However, the next issue that will be considered is how evaluations of the threat in a given situation may be formulated. In other words, how can an individual develop expectancies of the way that situations will change and of how the new configuration will affect him.

4. DEVELOPING EXPECTANCIES OF CHANGE

This problem will be tackled in several stages. In the first place it is necessary to define how individuals are able to import information from the on-going environment, to collate it, and to emerge with a holistic assessment of the situation. One of the most extensive frameworks for explaining this process occurs within Expectancy Theory, and the main features and problems with this theory will be summarised below. Secondly, in considering the form of future environmental configurations the individual must employ some algorithm for abstracting from the present to the future, and two alternative approaches will be considered here. Thirdly, once definition of existing and possible future states has been affected, it seems that the individual is in a position to assess the likely impact of changes in his environment; the final section will propose both a model and a means for observing these assessments on the part of the individual.

(a) Expectancy Theory

Expectancy theory, which received its major formulation in the work of Vroom (1964), makes two main assumptions about people. It is a cognitive theory in that it assumes that people will act according to the awareness that they develop of the environment; it is a utilitarian theory in that it assumes that people will choose those courses of action that will maximise the payoffs to themselves out of this environment.

Vroom's theory proposes two stages in determining the likely behaviour of individuals. Firstly, people will evaluate possible outcomes resulting from their behaviour. This evaluation (or valence) is dependent on how far any individual anticipates that a given outcome will result in the satisfaction of fundamental needs (second-order outcomes). In its logical form, this part of the theory is expressed as:

$$V_J = f_J \left[\sum_{k=1}^K (I_{Jk} N_k) \right] \quad \text{where } (-1 \leq I \leq 1)$$

Where N_1, N_2, \dots, N_K are the valences associated with the first K second-order outcomes, $I_{j1}, I_{j2}, \dots, I_{jK}$ are the perceived associations (or instrumentalities) between the outcome j and each of the second-order outcomes; f_j represents a function; and V_j is the total valence towards the outcome j .

However, this only represents the evaluative element, and the second part of the theory suggests that the total force to perform an action F_1 will be dependent on the product of valences of possible outcomes from this action (V_j) with the expectancy (E_{1j}) that the given effort will actually result in this outcome. Hence an expression can be derived using notation similar to that above:

$$F_1 = f_1 \left[\sum_{j=1}^J (E_{1j} V_j) \right] \quad \text{where } (1 \neq j)$$

This basic framework has seen a great many modifications and refinements since its initial formulation. House and Wabha (1972) describe fourteen such studies, and more recently, Campbell and Pritchard (1976) refer to approximately thirty-five studies that have made some attempt to test the predictions from expectancy theory. As Wabha and House (1972) remarked expectancy theory "is perhaps the most widely accepted theory of work and motivation among today's industrial and organisational psychologists" (p.121).

Nevertheless, there are still many problems with the theory. Campbell and Pritchard (1976) draw attention to a fact which is often problematic in psychometric work: that the data is only of ordinal nature and yet it undergoes several arithmetic operations in computing valences - which would normally require data to be of interval nature at least. Parker and Dyer (1976) tested a number of variations of the theory in order to predict (retrospectively) decisions of Naval Officers to retire early. In particular they found that although expectancy theory provided a good assessment of preferences for outcomes (valences) it was not a particularly good predictor of behaviour, and other simple situational factors were often at least as effective (such as the family circumstances of a Naval officer contemplating retirement).

These authors also drew heavily in their work on the distinction made by Mitchell (1974) between "within-person" and "between-person" applications of the theory. In the former case data is gathered on alternative choices for individuals; in the latter case data is gathered on the strength of different individuals' preferences for a given outcome. Although the majority of studies adopt the "between-persons" approach it is pointed out that the original choice elements in Vroom's theory is a "within-person" model; also that one of the implications of the employing of the "between-person" model is that the resulting validity may be reduced because of response set bias (Parker and Dyer, 1976, p.98).

These problems have been mentioned here because they must be taken into account in any developments from Expectancy Theory, and in the third part of this section we will make such an attempt in developing a theoretical framework for the assessment of changing situations. However, one of the main assumptions of the present theory is that behaviour is voluntaristic: that people have free choice between alternative forms of behaviour - and hence the environmental configurations to which the behaviour may lead. This is patently not so for people who are faced with organizational change. The change in the environmental configurations is largely a 'given', and the main question concerns how people evaluate this situation and hence how they react to it. In the following part we will consider how people form assessments of what the future organization is likely to hold for them.

(b) Anticipating Future Organizational Patterns

It is not too difficult to develop 'ideal' frameworks of how people should anticipate change, but in practice there is such great variability in what people consider to be the important elements of any change that it is almost impossible to predict the way people will react in specific circumstances. Nevertheless, we will continue with our endeavour, and will employ two main assumptions about people: firstly that judgements about the future are only conceived as 'incremental' differences from the present state; secondly, that the direction of this incremental projection will be defined by what the person perceives as the dominant value system of the organization.

(1) Incremental anticipations

If the Expectancy Theories described above are modified to describe the way people anticipate the future, then it must be assumed that people are able to absorb and assess complex arrays of information in order to arrive at simplistic evaluations of situations. It is this assumption that underlies the summations and multiplicative models in this type of theory.

However, it is also a major theme of the organizational theories developed by March and Simon (1958), that these theories must take account of the limitations of human intellectual capacities. In particular, they remark on evidence which suggests that people will only deal rationally with very limited areas of a problem at one time. This suggests that in the case of organizational change there may be extreme selectivity of attention to some aspects of the situation and complete disregard for all others. To use the vernacular: "Things get blown up out of all proportion".

Therefore there is an alternative to the normal multiplicative model of an 'ipsative' model which could be expressed in the following form:

$$V_J = f_1 \left[\sum_{k=1}^K (\alpha I_{jk} N_k) \right]$$

where the notation is identical to that given above, except that α takes the value of 1 if $N_k > \beta$, otherwise α takes the value of zero. (β is a critical value for a given situation. In other words when the valence of a given outcome is above β , it is scored, otherwise it is not scored).

These two models of the way people project situations into the future, the multiplicative and ipsative models, also make different assumptions about human rationality. In a sense the former model assumes an intuitive assessment of the world - where it is highly dubious whether the individual would be able to account for the assessment in rational terms. The second model implies a personal acceptance of greater

limitations, and hence a more rational style.

In the empirical part of the thesis an attempt will be made to assess which of these two models is a more appropriate representation of the process of incrementalism. The next task is to consider how people will anticipate the likely directions that change will take.

(11) Value Systems as algorithms

It is a major contention of this thesis, as developed in Chapter 2, that the "dominant value system" of an organization is determined by the nature of pattern changes that take place in the organization. The corollary is therefore that any individual will anticipate future changes according to what he understands to be the dominant value system of the organization.

(c) Evaluating Possible Futures

The previous sections have considered how people form evaluations of their environment, how they may develop some view of what the future will look like. In this section an operational model based on these two concepts is proposed for the way people evaluate future organizational states.

It seems highly unlikely that anyone is capable of making a full evaluation of a future scenario, which he then compares with evaluations of the existing situation. Yet on the other hand people may have some intuitive view of what the general features of the future will look like.

If we operationalise Vroom's second-order outcomes (N_k) as individual 'needs' both intrinsic and extrinsic, then it is possible to use the general expectancy model to predict how the change in the situation will affect each of these human needs. The form of such a model is simply:

$$V_J = f_J \left[\sum_{k=1}^K (X_{jk} N_k) \right] \quad \text{where } (-1 \leq X_{jk} \leq 1)$$

Where X_{jk} is the extent to which the change j is expected to increase or decrease the satisfaction of 'need' (N_k).

This is the primary formulation that will be employed in the latter part of the thesis where the factors that are important in individual assessments of organizational change will be examined.

5. SITUATIONAL FACTORS AFFECTING RESPONSE TO ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

The model of individual behaviour proposed in Chapter 2 and recalled at the beginning of this chapter suggests that behaviour is partly determined by views of what might happen in the future and of how various actions might affect the future, but that it is also determined by certain definable constraints in the situation which limit possible ranges of action.

The anticipatory element of behaviour has been considered in the previous section, and the focus will now be on the factors which may be taken as 'givens' in any situation. These will be discussed under three main headings: organizational factors, role/group factors, and 'individual' factors, as shown in Figure 4.7

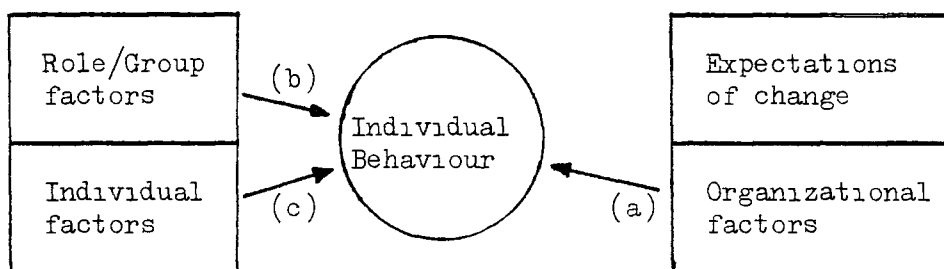


Figure 4.7: Situational Influences on Individual Behaviour

(a) Organizational Factors

The assumption underlying this, and the following two sections is that it is possible to discern certain situational features that will tend

to be associated with given responses to organizational change. In the case of organizations it will also be assumed that the important factors are those that are experienced directly by the individual; being essentially perceptual they will be differentiated from the more objective aspects such as size and technology of the organization. This is not to say that such 'objective' factors are unimportant under any circumstances: the impact of size, for example, has been amply investigated elsewhere (Indik, 1965; Revans, 1964, Johns, 1973), and similarly the impact of technology has been the subject of much complex debate, (Woodward, 1965, 1970; Pugh and Hickson, 1976). But much of this has been included in the discussion of change from the organizational perspective in the previous chapter. In a sense these perceptions of the organization may be viewed as intermediate variables as indicated in Figure 4.8

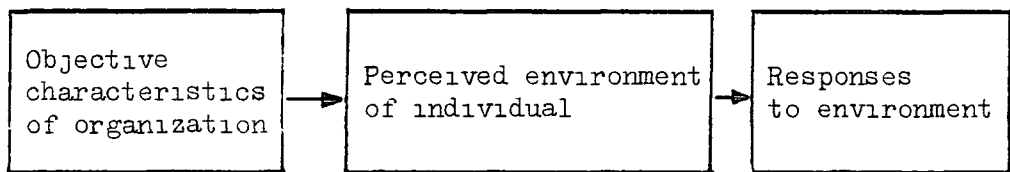


Figure 4.8: Objective and Intermediate Variables in Response to Organizational Change

This perceived environment is normally referred to as 'Organizational climate' and has been defined by Taguiri and Litwin (1968) as:

"a relatively enduring quality of the internal environment of an organization that (a) is experienced by its members, (b) influences their behaviour and (c) can be described in terms of a particular set of characteristics (or attributes) of the organization." (p.27)

Although most authors have found it difficult to agree on any single definition of organizational climate, much of the debate has centred around the way such concepts should be operationalised. Amongst the authors who have worked in this area the contributions of Litwin and Stringer (1968) are particularly significant, since they have attempted to relate different elements of organizational climate to the arousal of individual motivation (based on the formulation of McClelland et al., 1953).

In two ways, the results of Litwin and Stringer are relevant to our present purpose. Firstly, one of their nine main climate dimensions is the willingness to take risks. This dimension may be directly related to the willingness of individuals to accept the challenge of change, although the evidence provided by Litwin and Stringer suggests that the dimension itself may have low discriminant validity in differentiating between different types of organization (p.70). A second possibility is through the concept of "achievement orientation". In the view of Litwin and Stringer, achievement-oriented climates tend to be appropriate in areas that demand individual initiative, and in organizations that seek to grow rapidly in a changing environment. Such climates tend to be stimulated by the existence of individual dimensions which emphasise personal responsibility and give recognition and reward for excellent performance.

However it will be noted that the implications for the relationship between organizational climate and individual reactions to organizational change can only be drawn indirectly and a similar lack of studies that explicitly examine this relationship is apparent both in the literature on organizational climate and organizational change. For example, Hellriegel and Slocum (1974) cite 32 case studies employing measures of organizational climate. A third of these studies view climate as an independent variable influencing performance and job satisfaction, another third view climate as a dependent variable - where climate is either caused by structural characteristics or changed by training interventions. There are only three studies mentioned in this review that conceive of climate either as a result of, or as a cause of, organizational change, and there are no studies reported that view it as an intervening variable in a change situation.

On the other hand, most of the more influential writers on organizational change (Bennis et al., 1969; Lippitt et al., 1958) have approached the problem from the perspective of a consultant change agent - by focussing on the change strategies that appear to produce results, rather than on the results that these strategies produce.

And such action-oriented approaches are invariably based on intuitive impressions of "climate" rather than on extensive measurement of the concept.

Nevertheless, there are indications, both by extrapolating from studies of individuals and by considering other studies of organizational change, about the factors in the organization that are most important to changing situations. The results of Litwin and Stringer (1968) suggest that one crucial area may be that of responsibility, support and reward. This is because these climate characteristics were found to be associated with the arousal of achievement motivation, and these were also characteristics of the more dynamic and innovative organization. In the case of people who are essentially reacting to organizational changes, this suggests that a certain supportiveness will be very important in the environment. The second major theme is that of power and influence in the organization. The main argument here being that the greater the influence of an individual during organizational change, the greater will be his opportunity to protect (or further) his own interests. A third possibility is provided by the work of Roger Harrison (1971, 1973) where he describes four main ideologies that are found in organizations: power, role, task, and individual. The implication of these concepts is fairly direct since it is assumed that a 'task' orientation will support change, while a 'role' orientation will resist change. It will be possible to test these concepts empirically later in this thesis, but for the time being the discussion will be concentrated on the other two areas: supportive climate and power distribution.

(1) Perceptions of Supportiveness

At an intuitive level it is easy to see why supportiveness should be an important organizational factor in change situations, since change, by its very nature, implies an uncertainty about what the future holds in store. Hence if the organizational environment is generally experienced as a benevolent influence, people will be less likely to be troubled by such uncertainties.

This view is also partially supported by Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) in their major review of the literature on the communication of innovations. One of their few conclusions at an organizational level was that:

"a supportive relationship between the adoption unit (a subordinate) and the decision unit (a superior) leads to more upward communication about the innovation" (p.307).

The importance of this factor is also backed up by several empirical studies. It should be remembered that the concept of "support" can be interpreted positively or negatively: as involving positive encouragement from one's superiors; or as involving a lack of insecurity about losing one's job. Kirton et al. (1973) and Greenhaus et al. (1971) employed the former view when they both developed principal components of "confidence" from factor analyses of aspects of changing situations. The latter authors also found a moderate correlation (0.48) between the perceived "friendliness" of the environment and acceptance of change.

The relevance of Litwin and Stringer's (1968) work has already been commented on, and their dimension of 'support' which was also included in the climate questionnaire manifested moderate correlations with Responsibility, Reward, and Risk Taking (0.47, 0.49, 0.43 respectively). The dimension of Support also becomes differentiated from Warmth in their scales in the following way: Warmth is concerned with the overall relationships within the organization; whereas Support focusses more on the nature of vertical relationships. This aspect of vertical relationships is likely to be critical in any organizational situation - though would be expected to vary somewhat according to the culture of the organization. Therefore, one would expect that it is particularly important within the context of a hospital (the setting of empirical work reported later) - which is noticeably a hierarchical organization with emphasis on vertical authority and accountability.

Therefore, in conclusion, there is some support from a number of sources for the contention that "supportiveness" is an important climate factor during organizational change. Furthermore, it will be assumed that there exists a positive relationship between supportiveness and

predispositions to respond positively to organizational change.

(11) Perceptions of Power

In the previous chapter the importance of power was emphasised both in determining the nature of organizational change and in being able to control its direction. The obverse of that coin will be examined in this section - the perceptions of the amount of influence possessed by those who are not principal actors in the changing situation.

The conclusion reached by Greiner (1967a) was that the more successful organizational changes tended to be characterised by a shared power approach, and similar thinking underlies much of the literature on the beneficial effects of participation. Coch and French (1948) found that a shared approach to decision making facilitated adaptation to change, although subsequent investigations (French et al., 1960; French et al., 1966) failed to substantiate these findings. However, this failure was explained in terms of variations in the 'legitimacy' of participation (the amount of influence that workers believed they ought to have) rather than as evidence to disprove the hypothesised relationship between participation and acceptance of change.

These studies have focussed on the more objective aspects of power distribution, particularly at the group level. The work of Tannenbaum (1968) embraces a more holistic view of the nature and importance of power in organizations:

"Control is an inevitable correlate of organization. But it is more than this. It is concerned with aspects of the common will and the common weal It touches on questions of democracy and autocracy, centralization and decentralization, flat and tall organizational structures, workers' councils and joint management." (pp.3,4)

And he then proceeds to develop the Control Graph technique of assessing quantitatively the perceptions of control and influence within organizations. The approach is taken up by Smith and Jones (1968) who used this technique to monitor changes generated in the power structure as a result of the introduction of Likert's interaction-influence (participative) system of management. The main conclusion of this study

contradicted Likert's assumption that such a system of management would increase the amount of influence at the lower levels of the organization. In fact they found their evidence suggesting that the reverse was true, but in this case they chose to interpret the results in terms of the inadequacies of the change programme:

"These responses suggest that the change programme attempted at the managerial level was more effective than that attempted at lower levels." (p.180, authors' emphasis)

In conclusion, it seems that the approach toward measuring the distribution of power in organizations as developed by Tannenbaum is likely to be the most useful for our present study. Its advantages are that it is simple (see Chapter 9 and Appendix III), and that it is able to identify variations in power distribution from different positions in the organization. Based on the conclusions of Greiner and of the proponents of participation, it will be assumed that the influence of power is such that it will provide greatest facilitation of change when it involves a shared, participative approach. There may also be a problem due to the curvilinearity of this hypothesis. But this may be avoided since in most real organizations control is disproportionately held by those at the top, and hence any increase in the sharing of power will only be indicated by an increase in the control possessed by those at lower levels of the organization.

(b) Role/Group Factors

These factors may be conceived as intermediate between individual and organizational factors. The 'group' is normally taken to be the people with whom an individual interacts in such a way that (a) the relations among members of the group are interdependent, (b) there is some shared set of beliefs or ideas which regulates their conduct. (Krech et al., 1962, p.383). This is a psychological group and should be differentiated from an organizational group who are formally designated to work together, but who may not necessarily possess both of the above characteristics. To the extent that a psychological group possesses expectations of the way a member would behave this will define the "role" of that member. However an individual's role may be

defined by a much wider range of people than those of the immediate group - particularly if the individual does not belong to any particular group. This then means that if there is a direct link between the 'role' of an individual and his behaviour, then the influence that the group exerts on his behaviour will depend on how fully he is a member of the group (March and Simon, 1958, p.59).

In cases where the group is important, it may exert very extreme pressure on individual behaviour (Asch, 1956) and it is therefore important to know to what extent the individual identifies with any particular group. In an organizational context Gouldner (1954(a)) differentiates between two basic 'latent' roles or identities: cosmopolitans and locals. Cosmopolitans are;

"low on loyalty to the employing organization, high on commitment to specialised role skills, and likely to use an outer reference group orientation." (p.290)

whereas locals are high on loyalty, low on commitment to specialised role skills, and tend to use an inner reference group orientation.

It is often assumed that cohesive groups will tend to resist change, but this seems to be an over-simplification. For example, Gouldner (1954b) subsequently showed that 'locals' were more likely to maintain administrative control of the organization; therefore, although the cosmopolitans would be less likely to be concerned about the results of organizational change because of their lower identification, the locals would have less to fear about the results because of their greater control over the process.

One way of resolving this dilemma is to return to the 'control' hypothesis developed in the previous section. Thus, if the main force (and control) of the change comes from a source close to the group with which the individual identifies, one would expect support. And one would expect resistance if the change comes from a remote source. Thus in terms of the cosmopolitan-local dichotomy one would expect externally instigated changes to be supported by the former and resisted by the latter; whereas internal "administrative" changes would be resisted by

the former and supported by the latter.

(c) Individual Factors

'Individual factors' are those characteristics that are unique to that individual and which are not dependent either on properties of the organization or on other members of the organization. Two main groups can be identified: those which involve the dispositions of the individual to behave in certain ways and which are normally accessible by psychological techniques; and those which are reasonably objective characteristics of the individual's position in life or in the organization. The complex area of personality variables will be examined before reviewing some of the relationships that have been found between demographic variables and response to organizational change.

(1) Personality Factors

This is hardly the place to attempt any exhaustive definition of "personality". Even by 1937 Allport was able to compile almost fifty different definitions of this concept. Hence in this case it seems wise to adopt the somewhat open position suggested by Hall and Lindzey (1957):

"Personality consists concretely of a set of values or descriptive terms which are used to describe the individual being studied according to the variables or dimensions which occupy a central position within the particular theory utilised". (p.9)

Within the fields of change and stress there are two major dimensions which have repeatedly occupied central positions in the work of previous researchers: rigidity-flexibility, and stability-anxiety.

Rigidity-Flexibility:

Following the rise of Nazi Germany, a great deal of research was conducted in the U.S.A. into the personality determinants of Fascism. This type of belief system was characterised by Adorno et al. (1950) as exhibiting a need for a well structured and predictable environment, and an intolerance of the criticisms and weaknesses of others. This

thinking was extended by Frenkel-Brunswick (1950) who proposed a clearly defined personality variable - intolerance of ambiguity - and the general theme was continued by Rokeach (1960) in his work on dogmatism. In particular, Rokeach points out that an intolerant authoritarian approach may equally be a characteristic of left-wing groups as of right-wing groups; but although he obtained some evidence to support his assertion, this fails to reach levels of statistical significance (Brown, 1965, p.542). Although it is generally assumed that people with authoritarian personalities will resist change - particularly attitudinal change - it is pointed out by Bendig and Hountras (1959) that it is more a factor of the way that change is introduced. Therefore, people with authoritarian personalities are more likely to accept change if it is presented in coercive circumstances.

These studies have mainly been related to political values, but subsequent work has also been conducted on reactions to social and organizational change. Wilson and Patterson (1970) have developed a scale to measure 'Conservatism' - which essentially focusses on the reactions to innovations and new ideas in society at large. This particular measure has received a certain amount of criticism - which will be dealt with later on in this thesis - but nevertheless it may be a useful conceptualisation of generalised reactions to change.

Within the organizational context Trumbo (1961) has developed a scale which purports to measure attitudes to organizational change, and this scale has subsequently been validated by Kirton and Mulligan (1973) in the specific case of attitudes toward appraisal systems. Other work in this area has been carried out by Pym (1966) who uses a variety of measures to investigate the effectiveness of individual performance during conditions of organizational change. Although Pym's work covers a wide spectrum he does conclude that a general belief in a "one best way" (i.e. rigidity) is associated with poor performance during change.

This conclusion of Pym's brings us full circle since he uses the belief in "one best way" as a fundamental personality trait. The same

concept of rigidity or conservatism may also be applied directly to social or to organizational situations - but as Hall and Lindzey remark, the most appropriate operationalisation of terms must depend on the focus in question. This suggests that in the empirical part of the thesis it will be wise to employ several different measures of flexibility-rigidity in order to see which is the most appropriate measure during organizational change.

Stability-Anxiety:

This is the second major theme in the literature on change and stress. Inevitably, it is fundamental to the notion of stress - and it is not surprising that the dimension of "Neurotic Anxiety vs. Emotional Stability" emerged as the first factor in a factor analytic study of twenty-five stress related variables by Kahn et al. (1964). These authors characterise the anxious person as exhibiting "extreme sensitivity to potentially stressful situations ..." and as having inadequate defences and coping procedures. By contrast they characterise the stable person as being "cheerful, thick-skinned and cool-headed in periods of stress, non-introspective, active and outgoing" (p.244). Hence, if changing situations are seen as stressful, then one would expect 'anxious' people to have a greater dislike of change than stable people - though it should be noted that this does not necessarily mean that they will manifest greater resistance to change.

Other empirical studies have tended to confirm this view. Thus in a working environment it was found by Trumbo (1961) that anxiety about one's ability to do the job was related to negative attitudes towards change. On the other hand the experience of confidence in doing one's job was found by Kirton and Mulligan (1973) to be related to positive attitudes towards changes in the job. The concept of 'confidence' is also important in the view of Dalton (1959, pp.246-8) who suggests that in any real organizational change it will be "the strong" who will favour the change - simply because they know that they are in a position to ensure that they benefit from whatever ensues.

However, Kirton and Mulligan were unable to demonstrate any linear relationship between anxiety per se and attitudes to change. They therefore extended their investigation to include both dimensions in Eysenck's M.P.I. (1958) - one of which had already provided the measure of anxiety or "neuroticism". The additional component introduced by the M.P.I. is that of Extraversion-Introversion. Eysenck himself is careful to distinguish his operational definitions of extraversion from the 'mystical notions' developed by C.J. Jung, but also describes extraversion in terms of "sociability and impulsivity". For the present purposes it should be noted that these two dimensions are normally found to be orthogonal (Eysenck and Eysenck, 1973). Therefore when Kirton and Mulligan partitioned their sample of managers according to whether they fell above or below the median on each dimension, the following pattern was obtained for attitudes to change:

		Extraversion	
		High	Low
Neuroticism	High	Positive attitudes	Negative attitudes
	Low	Negative attitudes	Positive attitudes

Figure 4.9: Attitudes to Change against Extraversion & Neuroticism

This implies that the unstable extravert and the stable introvert will welcome change, whereas the stable extravert and the unstable introvert will hold negative attitudes about change - both specific and general changes.

In conclusion, it will be seen that studies of personality factors have been associated more often with attitudes than with behaviour during change. As a recent study by Miller and Labovitz (1976) shows, this may be a serious omission, since they find that psychological

factors do not appear to be important predictors of behaviour during organizational change.

(11) Demographic Factors

In the majority of empirical studies, the marginal cost of collecting basic demographic data on respondents is minimal, and therefore most authors who have investigated organizational change have also been in a position to comment on the influence of demographic variables. The following paragraphs summarise the conclusions of some of these (often) contradictory studies.

Age:

For some reason it is often assumed that older people will be more resistant to change, and indeed Kirton and Mulligan (1973) found a slight negative relationship between age and attitudes to change. On the other hand Trumbo (1960) found no relationship, and the extensive review of Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) concluded that age had no impact on the willingness to accept innovations (based on 185 studies).

Education:

Both Kirton and Mulligan (1973) and Trumbo (1960) found positive relationships between educational sophistication and attitudes to change. Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) found level of education to be a positive factor in the majority of their studies; and Miller and Labovitz (1976) found that research workers with higher qualifications were more likely to react positively to organizational change. However, one should note that there are at least two interpretations of this positive relationship between education and behaviour. In the first case it is likely that a higher education led to a better appreciation of the needs and opportunities of change; in the second case the researchers with high qualifications had less to fear from change because they knew that they had a higher market value both inside and outside the organization. Finally, level of education should not be confused with intelligence, since as Lazarus (1966) remarks, there is

no reason to suppose that higher intelligence will predispose people for or against change, it simply means that they are less likely to misinterpret cues in the environment.

Sex:

Curiously enough there is less empirical evidence about the influence of sex on attitudes to change. This may be because most investigations within organizations work with homogeneous samples that are either men or women - and therefore there is a lack of comparative information. Also it may be that with the changing role of women there is less validity to be found in statistical results. There are, however, two opposing arguments about the way women react to change. The first one says that they will resist organizational change more than men because they rate the 'social' aspects of the job higher and it is the social aspects that are most likely to be disturbed (Crozier, 1964 pp.76-77). The second argument says that they will resist change less than men because they are more concerned with their home lives and do not count events at work as being particularly important (Johns, 1973, p.60).

This suggests that the role that work performs in the woman's life may be the major indicator of the way she will react, and it also suggests that marital status may have some bearing on people's reactions in general.

Marital status:

This has been related to two aspects: dispositions to accept change, and disposition to move geographically. Johns (1973) suggests that resistance to change would be greatest when there is a close link between working life and family life because of the importance attached to work roles. He also suggests that married people will be less mobile than single people. On the other hand Miller and Labovitz (1976) concluded from their results that marital status alone was no predictor of the way people would react to change and it was necessary to take

account of whether or not couples had any children. Thus childless couples were most likely to accept change, and move house, whereas those with children of school age were least likely to move. People who were unmarried fell into an intermediate category.

Organizational Status:

Rogers and Shoemaker found that in general a higher social status was associated with earlier adoption of innovations. Amongst managers Kirton and Mulligan found that those with higher status tended to favour change. Indeed if the earlier arguments have been followed it is not difficult to understand why the senior members of an organization will be less unenthusiastic about change than the more junior members.

Service:

In discussing the impact of length of service it is important to control for the relationship between status and length of service. However Trumbo (1961) found that there was no relationship between length of service and attitudes to change.

(d) Conclusion

This section has contained a summary of a number of research studies into the impact of static "situational" factors on response to organizational change. Where possible attempts have been made to explain why these results have occurred. Many of the studies have contradicted each other, which emphasises the importance of integrative reviews such as that of Rogers and Shoemaker (1971). Nevertheless, the field of organizational change is very wide, and it is an extremely complex operation to understand the basis for any particular response to organizational change. This is why the following chapter is devoted to summarising formally, as hypotheses, the main concepts and findings described up to this point. This will provide a basis for the empirical part of the thesis.

SUMMARY OF IDEAS AND HYPOTHESES

1. Introduction
2. Propositions about Behaviour and Change
3. Hypotheses about Change and Coping
4. Hypotheses about Attitudes to Change
 - (a) Organizational factors
 - (b) Role/Group factors
 - (c) Individual factors
5. Summary

1. INTRODUCTION

The ideas in the three preceding chapters have been expressed at various levels of abstraction: some have been complex ideas and others have been simpler ideas. In Chapter 2 the concern was to provide ways of describing and understanding the phenomena of organizational change and individual behaviour. The next Chapter developed the analysis of organizational change in more detail, and also examined some of the causes of change; and the fourth Chapter concentrated on explaining the behaviour of individuals during conditions of organizational change.

Appropriate methods of validation vary with the level of abstraction of an idea. Thus, at a high level of abstraction it may not practically be possible to invalidate any ideas, and the only realistic test is whether the concept can make phenomena more readily understandable. At a lower level of abstraction, where interest is focused on events and associations, these ideas may be tested using statistical inferences. Thus the design of the empirical work falls roughly into two halves. The first half, which is presented in Part II of the thesis, aims to describe the processes occurring in several organizational changes.

Naturally, the dividing line between ideas that may or may not be readily tested empirically is indistinct. Therefore it will also be possible to examine some of the more simple ideas in Part II, and to examine some of the more complex ideas in Part III.

The ideas developed up to the present point are summarised below; and in each case the section in the preceding chapters where it was developed is indicated.

2. PROPOSITIONS ABOUT BEHAVIOUR AND CHANGE

PROPOSITION I Social life is comprised of the actions of individuals. These actions constitute the reality of experience. [2.3(b)] .

PROPOSITION II Consistencies in actions will be perceived as patterns. [2.3(b)] .

PROPOSITION III Patterns are organised in a hierarchical sense so that changes in lower order patterns may be perceived as part of higher order patterns. [2.3(b)] .

PROPOSITION IV At the highest level of analysis in a given social system, the nature of changes in patterns will indicate the dominant values of that system. [2.3(b)] .

PROPOSITION V Within an organization, when viewed as a closed system, changes in the dominant values will indicate a shift in the balance of power between individuals and coalitions. [2.4(b)] .

The first four of these propositions are intended to describe phenomena of social change in general, and the fifth proposition applies these ideas specifically to the case of an organization. None of them are intended to explain why change takes place, nor how it comes about. As descriptive propositions they may not be proven nor disproven; they may only be assessed according to their usefulness in describing what they purport to represent. This may be assessed, therefore, according to whether they lead to a better understanding of the nature of organizational change; and whether they may lead to further hypotheses which are empirically verifiable.

Since this descriptive and explanatory power can only be tested within real change situations, two case studies will be presented in Part II of the thesis. These will be used primarily to assess and develop these propositions.

PROPOSITION VI Individual behaviour is dependent on the experience of existing patterns in the organization. [2.4(a)] .

PROPOSITION VII Individual behaviour is dependent on the anticipation of changes in these organizational patterns (or on the perception of dominant value systems). 2.4(a)] .

There are two senses in which the word 'dependent' may be interpreted. In Proposition VI the word may only be interpreted in a reactive sense; in Proposition VII it may take either a reactive or a proactive meaning. In this case a person's actions may be ways of coping with and adapting to what he believes to be the future state of the organization, or they may simply be his deliberate attempts to influence the future state of the organization.

Again the value of these two propositions may be assessed according to whether they are helpful in understanding social phenomena. In each case it is possible to identify patterns that are relevant, to investigate how they are experienced, and how they affect actions. These assertions can then be tested empirically, and they will be presented in more detail below.

3. HYPOTHESES ABOUT CHANGE AND COPING

These hypotheses are derived mainly from the framework established by the propositions described above.

HYPOTHESIS 1 Within a closed social system, social and behavioural pattern changes are not caused by value changes, nor are value changes caused by pattern changes: both 'values' and 'patterns' are constructions at different levels of abstraction placed on the same social process. [2.3(c)] .

Either of the first two statements in this hypothesis may be disproven by showing that value changes consistently precede pattern

changes, or vice versa. This thesis will attempt to demonstrate in several specific instances that neither interpretation is possible, and therefore that the assumptions of precedence and causality do not apply.

HYPOTHESIS 2 The definition of an organizational problem will also define the desirable direction of pattern change. This in turn will indicate the dominant values of the organization. [3.4(c) & 2.3(b)] .

This hypothesis suggests that definition of a problem arrived at by decision makers in an organization will also include prescriptions for its solution reflecting the existing dominant value system. It may also be viewed in a reflexive sense: that problems will be expressed in terms of desirable solutions. The hypothesis is difficult to test directly since the only available definitions of the problem and of desirable pattern changes will be those provided by individual participants. Therefore, the best way of examining this hypothesis will be to consider the perceptions of individual participants.

HYPOTHESIS 3 Any invitation to outsiders to enter an organization during a period of change may be seen as an expression of the power of the person or people who provide the invitation. Such invitations are attempts to strengthen the position of that person, or people, in relation to others. [3.4(d)] .

There are two parts to this hypothesis. The first part suggests that the ability to control external boundaries is a manifestation of power. If it is possible to generate some alternative measure of power, then it is possible to test this part by showing that those without power do not succeed in manipulating external boundaries, while those with power do succeed. The second part can be tested either by reference to the intentions reported by those involved, or by showing that successful invitations result in increased power for those who do the inviting. Rigorous testing of this and the

preceding hypothesis will not be possible here due to the complexity of concepts involved. However, it will be possible to examine the ideas in more detail through the case studies in Chapter 7.

HYPOTHESIS 4

When faced with organizational change, the extent to which individuals attempt to affect the future course of events will be dependent on their access to power, or to powerful people. [4.3(c,d)] .

This may be examined both by observing the behaviour of individuals when faced with imminent changes, and by looking at associations between coping style and nominal status in the organization. The former will be covered in Chapter 7, and the latter in Chapter 9.

HYPOTHESIS 5

The formation of an individual's attitudes about an organizational change, and the coping behaviour in relation to that change will be independent processes. [4.3(a)] .

This hypothesis can be tested by showing that measures of attitudes and coping behaviour are not related to each other; it can also be tested by showing that attitudes and coping behaviour are associated with different preconditions. The hypothesis will be examined through the case studies in Chapter 7, and in Chapter 9 on the basis of survey data collected at one point in time.

HYPOTHESIS 6

In individual appraisals of organizational change, increased threat will be associated with increased negative affect. [4.3(b)] .

HYPOTHESIS 7

Individual coping behaviour will be most active under moderate levels of threat, less active under high levels of threat, and least active under low levels of threat. [4.3(b)] .

Both of the above hypotheses may be tested using survey data containing measures of the relevant variables. The linear

association in Hypothesis VI can be tested by computing linear correlations, Hypothesis VII is slightly more problematic due to the implied curvilinearity. In this case the meaning of 'high', 'low' and 'moderate' will have to be considered carefully.

HYPOTHESIS 8 Increased subjective ambiguity results in increasingly vigorous 'search' behaviour from individuals. [4.3(b)(11)] .

HYPOTHESIS 9 Increased subjective ambiguity results in individual assessments of change situations being made in relation to 'enduring' factors rather than 'transient' factors. [4.3(b)(11)] .

The first of these hypotheses may be tested using self reports from survey data. The second hypothesis may be tested by showing that the difference of correlations between affect and transient factors, and between affect and enduring factors becomes increasingly positive with increased subjective ambiguity. 'Transient factors' are those associated mainly with the particular change in question, whereas enduring factors are independent of the particular change and may be based on characteristics of the individual or the work situation. These will be examined in Chapter 9.

HYPOTHESIS 10 Individual coping behaviour manifested before confrontation with change will be distinctly different to that manifested after confrontation. [4.3(a)(11)] .

This does not imply that styles will always be different, nor that all parts of an individual's repertoire will be different before and after confrontation. Examples of typical strategies are described in Chapter 4, and these will be compared with observations in Chapter 7.

HYPOTHESIS 11 Anticipations of the future are based on simple rather than complex assessments. [4.3(b)(1)] .

This is a positive version of the null hypothesis which states that there is no difference. 'Simple' assessments are based on a limited number of features which are not salient to the individual at that time, whereas 'complex' assessments incorporate a much wider range of features. This hypothesis can be tested by comparing the strength of association between each form of assessment and the reported attitudes.

4. HYPOTHESES ABOUT ATTITUDES TO CHANGE

The following hypotheses are simple in that they postulate relationships, or lack of relationships, between pairs of variables. Therefore it is possible to test them using survey data gathered from a single sample at one point in time. Unless otherwise stated the criteria will be a one-tailed probability ($p \leq 0.05$).

(a) Organizational factors

HYPOTHESIS 12 A positive relationship exists between the perceived supportiveness or organizational climate and attitudes towards changes in that organization. [4.5(a)(1)] .

HYPOTHESIS 13 Positive attitudes towards change will be associated with perceptions of greater power being held by the lower members of the organization. [4.5(a)(11)] .

The above hypothesis is a specific case of the wider notion that people will tend to be positive about changes over which they have control, and negative about changes over which they have no control. Since the amount of control is also associated with the distance

(psychological) of the source of change from the subject, a negative correlation would be expected between attitudes and distance of source. This is generalised to group identifications below.

(b) Role/Group Factors

HYPOTHESIS 14 Negative attitudes towards change will be related to the distance of the source of change from the group with which the individual identifies. [4.5(b)] .

The 'distance' of the source of change is a psychological distance. Within an organization this may be measured both horizontally and vertically. Thus a change initiated by a senior member of the organization would appear distant to those who identified with junior members; similarly a change initiated by new arrivals in an organization would appear distant to the 'Old Guard'.

HYPOTHESIS 15 Positive attitudes towards change are related positively with confidence in ability to do one's job. [4.5(c)(1)] .

(c) Individual Factors

HYPOTHESIS 16 Positive attitudes towards change are associated with (a) unstable extroversion, and (b) stable introversion. [4.5(c)(1)] .

HYPOTHESIS 17 The age of an individual is not significantly related to attitudes toward work related changes. [4.5(c)(11)] .

HYPOTHESIS 18 Higher levels of education will be associated with positive attitudes towards change. [4.5(c)(11)] .

HYPOTHESIS 19 Attitudes towards change are not associated directly with sex, but with the meaning that each sex role has in that particular work context. [4.5(c)(111)] .

The nature of the sex role will be dependent both on the relative strength of people in that role - and hence whether they are pushed into 'reactive' or 'progressive' positions. The other aspect will be the extent of alienation from work implied by the role. In the case of nursing, because of the dominance of women, men tend to be pushed into reactive roles.

HYPOTHESIS 20 Senior members of the organization will tend to have more positive attitudes towards change than junior members. [4.5(c)(11)] .

HYPOTHESIS 21 There is no significant relationship between length of service and attitudes to change. [4.3(c)(11)] .

5. CONCLUSION

The ideas summarised in this chapter have been based on the discussion of literature in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. They include seven propositions and twenty-one hypotheses. Where possible these will be tested empirically on the basis of the evidence presented in Chapters 7 and 9. Where it is not appropriate to test ideas (particularly the propositions) with empirical evidence, these will be examined on the basis of their utility for explaining social phenomena.

P A R T I I

T H E P R O C E S S O F C H A N G E

Chapter 6 - Background to Fieldwork.

Chapter 7 - Case Studies of Organizational Change.

BACKGROUND TO FIELDWORK

1. Introduction
2. Research into Nursing Organization
 - (a) The field of Hospital Research
 - (b) Studies of nursing organization
 - (c) Summary
3. Changes in Nursing Organization
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 - (b) Local changes
4. Local Changes in Hospital Group Studied
 - (a) Structure of the Group
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 - (c) Hospital B
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5. Conclusions

1. INTRODUCTION

The majority of the fieldwork in this thesis was carried out amongst nurses in NHS hospitals. There are certain features of hospitals which make them similar to other organizations, and other features which make them different. This chapter begins by looking at the field of research into hospital organization in order to identify the main features that may make this type of organization different from other organizations, since this will limit the extent to which the results of the thesis can be generalised.

The second half of the chapter will look in more detail at the structure of the Group of Hospitals which forms the setting for the fieldwork in two of the case studies and for all of the data gathered in Part III of the thesis. This Group has been through a number of major changes in the past few years. Some of these changes are common to the whole of the NHS; others are specific to local circumstances. The chapter concludes, therefore, with an assessment of the major changes that have affected this particular Group during the last few years.

2. RESEARCH INTO NURSING ORGANIZATION

(a) The Field of Hospital Research

A comprehensive framework for classifying the various objectives of hospital research is suggested by Rowbottom (1973, p.12). This consists of the following six areas:

- (a) studies of the techniques of hospital operation (i.e. clinical and nursing research);
- (b) studies of the goals and programmes of hospital operation (epidemiological and econometric studies; health policy studies);
- (c) studies of hospital support activities (hospital design, manpower planning, supplies etc.);

- (d) studies of administrative techniques (planning systems, control systems, costing systems);
- (e) studies of style and attitudes (managerial style, staff attitudes, communications);
- (f) studies of roles and role structures.

While all these categories, with the exception of the first one, are concerned with various aspects of hospital organization, the discussion here will concentrate mainly on studies that fall into the fifth and sixth categories, and to some extent with studies that fall into the third category. The reason for this latter is that manpower planners are frequently interested in statistics of absenteeism and labour turnover - and these particular factors have also been used on a number of occasions as criterion measures of employees' attitudes and morale. (See Brayfield and Crockett, 1955). In addition it should be reiterated here that the concern of this thesis is with the organization of nurses, and therefore studies of the organization of other hospital staff (such as administrators or doctors) are only of relevance where they have some impact on nursing organization.

(b) Studies of Nursing Organization

While Rowbottom develops his framework according to the objectives and methodologies of research programmes, it is also possible to make some distinctions according to the scale of the programme. Some projects have been relatively narrow, and have examined specific organizational variables without attempting to relate them to wider conceptual frameworks, others have been ambitious attempts to explain behaviour within hospitals using fairly elaborate theories and assumptions about organizations.

(1) Absenteeism and Turnover

Amongst the former of these would come many of the studies related to manpower planning. Absenteeism has been investigated on a number of occasions, and a fairly large study is reported by Barr (1967). Records of absenteeism were kept over a period of 3 years for 102 hospitals in the

Oxford region. Mean absence rates were seen to differ significantly between different categories of nursing staff - with lowest rates occurring amongst full-time trained staff and highest rates amongst full-time untrained staff. It was also noted that over two-thirds of sickness absence was either due to "respiratory complaints" or "ill-defined symptoms". Although little progress was made in this study towards elucidating the causes of absenteeism, it was noted that the positive relationship often found between organization size and absenteeism (Revaas, 1964; Indik, 1965) was only found to hold for student nurses.

The study by Clarke (1975) goes further by suggesting that, if anything, absenteeism decreases with increased organizational size, and also that there is no apparent association between absenteeism and job satisfaction. Moreover, many other contradictory results have been obtained in attempts to understand the causes of absenteeism. This inconsistency may be either due to local circumstances in the units studied (most studies of nursing absence are restricted to single Hospital Groups) or, as Clarke suggests, it may simply be due to the difficulties encountered in measuring the concepts involved.

The relationship between employee turnover and job satisfaction has been established repeatedly over a number of years, both in a general context (Brayfield and Crockett, 1955) and in relation to nursing (Weiland, 1969). Therefore it is not surprising that it has frequently been used as a direct indication of morale in hospital research. Revans (1964) used records of absenteeism and turnover as the starting point in his study of a group of Lancashire hospitals. Having observed that the incidence of this varied significantly between hospitals, he attempted to explain the variation according to the amount of communication occurring between staff in each hospital. Thus, turnover and absenteeism tended to be higher in hospitals where communications were poor and where staff were kept ill-informed. The connection that he assumed between communications and morale was the

factor of anxiety which is fundamental to working in hospitals, as Revans puts it: "Hospitals are communities cradled in anxiety" (Weiland and Leigh (Eds.), 1971, p.4).

(11) Anxiety

This early study by Revans is distinct from studies in the area of manpower planning in that it attempts to explain why certain behaviours occur according to a fairly specific framework. However, many of the ideas developed by Revans were based on a very influential article by Menzies (1960). This reported a detailed study of the organizational characteristics in several hospitals and concluded that many of these characteristics had evolved as social defence mechanisms against pressures involved in treating the sick. Menzies felt that the anxiety in nursing arose from three main sources. Direct stress was caused by the close physical contact with people, and by the unpleasant aspects of dealing with sick and injured people and those with incurable diseases. The close proximity of life and death in the hospital was liable to produce infantile phantasies amongst nursing staff. Finally, the difficult emotional state of patients and their relatives and their resentment of their dependent situation resulted in anxiety being projected onto the nurses. The organizational characteristics that she attributed to defences against this anxiety were: tendencies towards depersonalisation and the splitting up of the nurse-patient relationship; and a tendency to develop systems which resulted in responsibility being spread diffusely throughout the organization, rather than being located with any one individual. Above all, she observed that a major result of informal systems such as these would be strong resistance to change - since change would "open the floodgates that release other anxieties." A similar point is made by Spencer and Sofer (1964) about the tendency of most systems within hospitals to resist change:

"It is inevitable that a change in the direction of flexibility within such a system may challenge an elaborate and much-needed set of defenses and is likely to be resisted". (p.30)

Recent work at Brunel University (see Brunel, 1973) while originating from a similar psychoanalytic framework is in some respects in opposition to the conclusions reached by Menzies. This work falls into the sixth category proposed by Rowbottom (1973) since it is concerned with examining the structure of roles and role relationships as they occur in hospitals. The emphasis on the structure of organizations implies the assumption that it is necessary to clarify existing responsibilities and relationships before any improvements in the functioning of the organization can be attempted. It is this emphasis with formal structure that leads to a neglect of the informal systems, such as those mentioned by Menzies, which appear essential to the performance of an organization such as a hospital; it is also a good example of the major weakness of "structural" theories of organization, which are forced by their own frameworks to neglect many of the complex informal aspects of organizations (Bowey, 1971) such as anxiety.

This highlights the dilemma between structuralist and actionalist perspectives: that both perspectives are necessary for understanding organizational behaviour, yet the methodological constraints of each one tends to preclude the other. Thus, the best approach for studying organizations would incorporate several separate studies of the same phenomena - which is made considerably harder when studying changing phenomena.

(111) Professionalism

The question of professionalism has frequently been raised in the context of nursing. Nursing is invariably referred to as a "profession" but there are a number of elements which make it slightly different to the more established professions of Medicine and the Law. Important features of these two professions are that members exhibit strong cohesion and solidarity due to similarity of training, of values and of interests; and also each profession regulates its own membership. This results in a tendency for colleagues within one profession to rely heavily on one another for evaluation rather than on alternative referents such as clients, employers or members of other professions

(Kronus, 1976). Therefore, if nurses are to be counted as a profession they would be expected to identify with others in their profession rather than with their immediate work groups, showing a 'cosmopolitan' rather than a 'local' orientation (Gouldner, 1954).

But this is not found to be so amongst nurses. A study by Bennis et al. (1959) showed that nurses with a strong professional orientation did not differ from others in their loyalty to the hospital, but tended to show more loyalty rather than less to their immediate work group. Blau and Scott (1963) interpret these findings in terms of the 'visibility' of the profession. Thus it is because the nature of the job does not involve contact with professionals outside the organisation the main reference group will become professionals within the organisation. Therefore it is reasonable to suppose that nurses, in spite of their professionalism, will tend to react in a similar way to other non-professionals when changes in their environment and work group are imminent.

(c) Summary

The discussion above suggests that the element of 'anxiety' within hospitals is the main feature which distinguishes this type of work environment from others. It is therefore likely, and some studies confirm this, that nurses will provide stronger resistance against changes in the social structure which supports them against this element of anxiety. On the other hand, it appears that in spite of the existence of professional codes within nursing, that nurses do not take on the 'cosmopolitan' outlook of many other professions, and that 'professionalism' in nursing tends to be associated with a strong 'local' loyalty. In this sense, therefore, nurses may be expected to behave similarly to many occupational categories, and one would anticipate slightly stronger resistance to change amongst nurses than among other true professional groupings.

3. CHANGES IN NURSING ORGANISATION

For the National Health Service, the last decade has been characterised by an increasing rate of change. These have occurred both at national and at local levels. The Salmon Report (1966) provided the impetus for major changes in the organisation of hospital nursing at the more senior levels, but its effect on the career structure and coordination of nursing services has had a very profound impact at all levels. At the same time a number of changes have been created at a local level through substantial capital expenditure programmes and technological advances. This has led to the opening of new hospitals, the disturbance of staff, and allocation of new responsibilities. In addition the 1974 reorganisation of the National Health Service has caused considerable disruption for all the more senior members of hospital organisations. All three of the above changes were being experienced by the hospital group studied in this thesis, and the nature of these changes will be discussed in detail in the remainder of this chapter.

(a) National Changes

In Chapter 3 it was noted that most authors who had investigated organisational change tended either to observe changes from the outside, or to attempt to create them. The same may be said for research into changes in nursing: therefore those who have attempted to create changes in the functioning of the organisation, and those who have been content to observe and interpret changes initiated by others. The study by Sofer (1955) at the inception of the N.H.S. would be included in the second category.

(1) Creation of the National Health Service

The formation of the N.H.S. in 1948 was perhaps the first crack in the "floodgates" mentioned by Menzies, and Sofer studied the impact of this new service on three hospitals. In each case the change resulted in some loss of autonomy for the hospital, and the emergence of lay administrators theoretically removed some of the authority that had previously been held by senior medical staff. However, the change was resisted most strongly in the hospital that had had the least experience

of lay administration in the past. The other two hospitals were able to adapt to the change more successfully since in one case it had formerly been run by a Board of Management and Hospital Secretary, while the other hospital was sufficiently large to be formed into an independent group thus avoiding the impression of being taken over by outsiders. In discussing the problems of change and the tendency towards larger organisational units, Sofer concludes:

"At present levels of administrative know-how, a price is often paid for the greater theoretical efficiency of large scale organisation in a deficiency of personal satisfaction among those individuals whose place is in the working units at the periphery of the organisation. This is not, of course, inevitable; the morale of an organisation depends at least as much on chosen patterns of administration as on overall size. But what is extremely difficult to combat without detailed (and perhaps superhuman) forethought is the abrupt loss of satisfaction or heightening of anxiety that occur when small units are absorbed by big". (p.315)

(11) Salmon Report

The next major change in hospital nursing emerged from the Salmon Report (Ministry of Health, 1966). This was another structural plan which was concerned mainly with senior nursing staff. One of the main changes proposed by Salmon was the appointment of one head to the nursing service for each Group of hospitals - where nursing staff in each hospital had previously been accountable only to their own Matron. Underneath the Group head it proposed a line management structure where senior nursing staff would have definite spheres of responsibility and clear lines of accountability. Thus, the structure of the nursing function as indicated in Figure 6.1 was to be transformed into a pattern as shown in Figure 6.2.

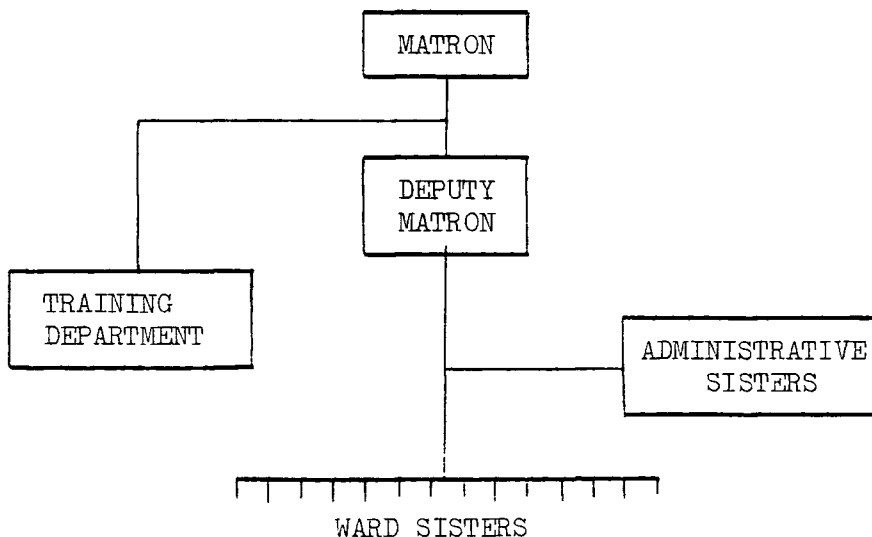


Figure 6.1 Simplified nursing structure for medium sized hospital (pre Salmon)

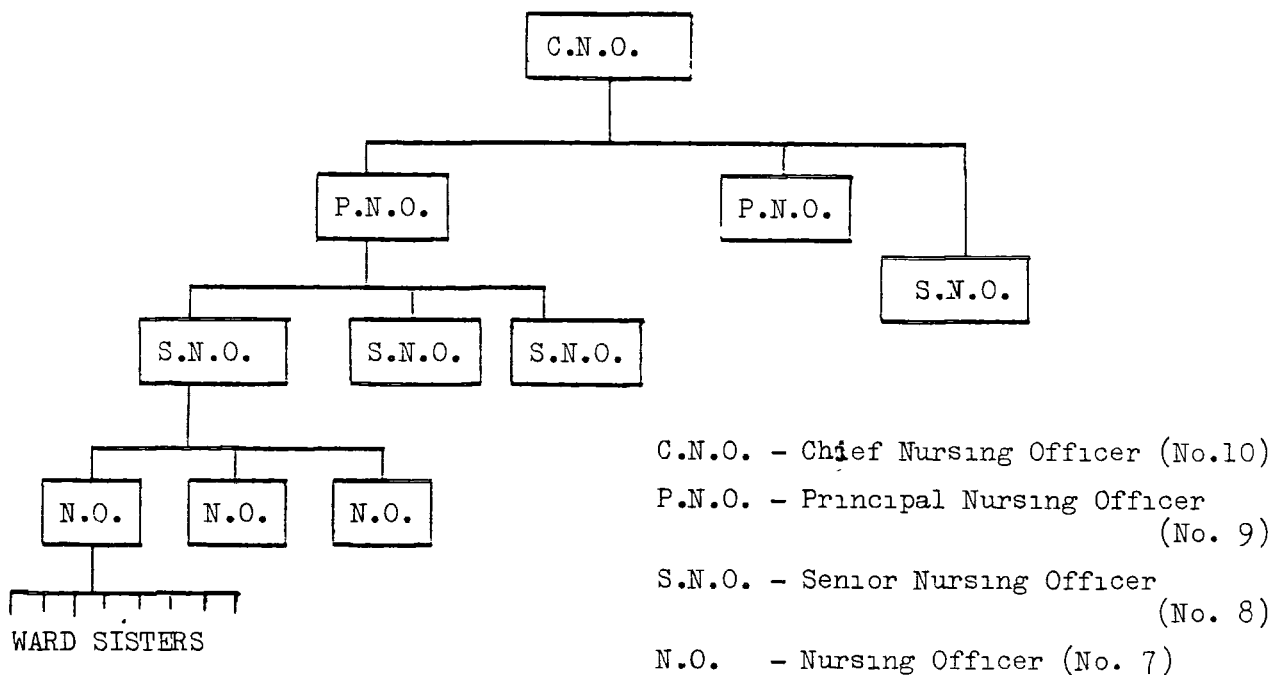


Figure 6.2 Simplified Nursing Structure for Hospital Group (post Salmon)

In practice, the change-over to Salmon involved roughly the same number of nursing posts above the level of Ward Sister, although for many administrative nurses the responsibilities became quite different. As a rough guide, a nurse who had held the post of Matron in a hospital would be assimilated into C.N.O., P.N.O., or S.N.O. grades depending on the level of responsibility involved. Administrative Sisters tended to be assimilated into N.O. grade, and occasionally, S.N.O. grade. In the two figures above, the 'Matron' in Figure 6.1 might have been assimilated to the grade of P.N.O. as shown at the left of Figure 6.2. Ward Sisters were now two steps removed from the 'Matron' of the hospital, and in addition, their own 'Matron' was now accountable to another nurse, often in a different hospital.

A study of one of the earliest Hospital Groups to 'go onto Salmon' which was carried out eighteen months after imposition of the new structure found two main sources of resentment towards the new structure.

It was resented by those senior nurses who did not obtain appointments to which they felt entitled, and it was also resented by those who felt that they had lost some of their original autonomy. This was felt

particularly by ward sisters who now found several layers of management interposed between themselves and "matron". Below the level of ward sister the imposition of Salmon structures was resented less since, beyond observing that it was "all chiefs and no indians", the more junior staff were not directly affected. Moreover it seems that tradition, and hence resistance to innovation, runs strongest in the veins of ward sisters in many hospitals. There was also a strong tendency amongst older staff to resist changes in roles and this collusion resulted in a number of nursing officers continuing to behave and being treated, according to the role of matron, that they had formally relinquished several years previously. (Nelson and Blenkinsop, 1976).

(111) 1974 Reorganisation

While Salmon appears to have had little direct effect on junior nursing staff, the same was largely true for the 1974 N.H.S. Reorganisation. The three main objectives of this reorganisation were "to unify various forms of health provision under the N.H.S. to improve coordination between the N.H.S. and local authorities to streamline the management". (New Society: 1974, p. 515).

In practice this involved merging three previously separate branches of the N.H.S.: the G.P.'s, the hospitals, and the community medical services. Four administrative tiers were established at national, regional, area, and district levels, in order that the 'area' should coincide with local authority boundaries while most of the work was carried out at district level. Unfortunately the reorganisation has not lived up to expectations. In the words of McKinsey, who originally advised the D.H.S.S. on the reorganisation, this has resulted in a "bureaucratic, over-elaborate and cumbersome" system. Management has experienced great difficulty in running an organisation of such enormous size and complexity. However, at the level of the hospital nurse the effects have largely been indirect ones due to the problems created for those above them. ("Guardian", 25th January 1977).

(b) Local Changes

The major changes in the hospital nursing service at a national level have been described above, and these have been concerned mainly with the structure of organisations. The impact of these changes on the attitudes and behaviour of nurses has been observed by a number of research workers. Meanwhile there have been other attempts to change nursing or organisations by more direct appeals to behaviour of individuals and hospitals at a local level. Among these would be the ambitious H.I.C. project set up by Revans (see Weiland and Leigh, 1971). This project was based on Revans' belief in the importance of communications in reducing organisational anxiety. He saw hospitals as "communities cradled in anxiety" where blocked communications are a particularly common defense to uncertainty - which inevitably lead to a vicious circle of increased uncertainty and hence of increased anxiety. The project was intended to break into this vicious circle by increasing communications through introducing the technology of social surveys to hospitals. Specialist guidance was given by a central team and a total of 37 projects were mounted on the initiative of the ten hospitals involved. At the same time an independent evaluation was carried out by Weiland to identify the effect of this project. The results suggested that the project was perhaps one of the less important influences on these hospitals at that time; changes were observed amongst scattered individuals but not in the more important organisational variables. No changes in patient care could be detected with the measures used, nor was there any increase in morale as indicated by absenteeism and turnover figures - in fact absenteeism increased slightly over the period of the project. This does not of course invalidate Revans theories or his project (an early version of Action Learning), but it does indicate the difficulty of creating real changes in complex organisations.

A recent project in a Newcastle group of hospitals has been using similar ideas about the importance of communications, and attempting to create change through a structured control system. Data on absenteeism, which is treated as a measure of morale, is passed up the organisation and collated for each unit. It is then fed back to junior managers in the hope that they will be stimulated to take steps to increase morale and hence reduce absenteeism. But while the intention of such a scheme may

be very laudable, in practice it appears that its success has been equivocal. An initial assessment of the project by Crawford (1973) suggested that in many cases the collated figures have not been returned to junior management - which has resulted in some resentment and has probably invalidated the idea of bringing some direct accountability for morale to first-line management.

However, a subsequent assessment of the Newcastle project showed that the initial attempt to 'police' behaviour had led to a wider view of the causes of absenteeism, with more concern being shown for factors outside the unit. Although the evidence for this point is not quantified the authors claim that such an 'open-system' view enables formal control procedures to be introduced into the managerial process without raising the overall level of constraint on behaviour (Nelson and Machin, 1976).

One of the main problems with these projects is that they have taken structural views of organization. In both cases it is assumed that there is a need for clarification, and this appears to have resulted in inadequate attention being paid to informal systems. If Menzies (1960) is to be believed, these are essential to an understanding of behaviour in hospitals. The result is that these changes have had little significant impact on behaviour - and it seems that the same can be said for the Salmon Report.

4. LOCAL CHANGES IN HOSPITAL GROUP STUDIED

(a) Structure of the Group

At the time of study the hospital group consisted of six main units. Four of these had previously been autonomous hospitals and the remaining two units - a maternity wing and several psychiatric wards were installed in the first completed part of the group's new General Hospital. The rough location of these various units and their distances from the new hospital are shown in Figure 6.3.

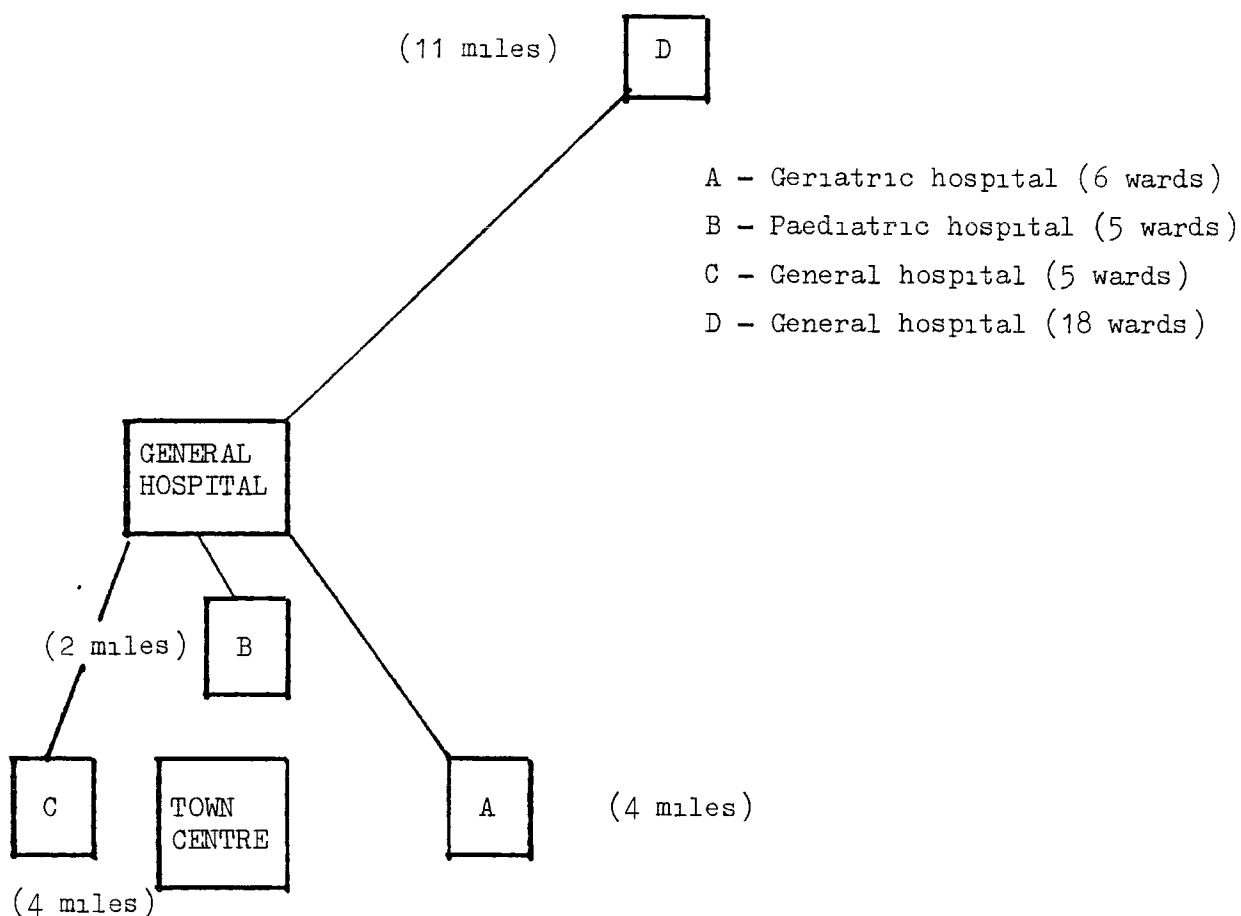


Figure 6.3 Geographical Location of Hospitals in Group

Over a period of two years the group was affected by three major structural changes. One of the reasons for the relatively late implementation of Salmon in this Group was that each of the four hospitals had Matrons that were approaching retiring age, and therefore it seemed sensible to delay implementation as long as possible in order to minimise the upheaval. But in June 1972 the appointment of Chief Nursing Officer to the Group was made, and by the end of 1972 the Matrons had all retired. This was followed soon after by the appointment of two Principal Nursing Officers, and the remaining "Salmon" appointments continued throughout 1973 and into the beginning of 1974. However, the upheaval and confusion caused by these appointments was compounded by the imminence of the move of the four

smaller hospitals into the General Hospital. This move was scheduled for the first half of 1974 and therefore, although senior nurses had to continue in their existing locations (a geographical distribution of authority), their formal Salmon appointments referred to the functional role they would adopt in the new hospital. At the same time the commissioning period of the new hospital was bound to overlap with the reorganization of the National Health Service in April 1974. Although this reorganization only had a direct effect on the very senior staff at the hospital, a certain amount of the ensuing insecurity became communicated to lower levels of the organization.

These three main changes (Salmon, reorganization, and the move) were the main changes affecting the group at this time. They presented a confusing picture to nurses, and also to the researcher investigating change since it was often very difficult to establish a distinction between the effects of "Salmon" and the effects of "the move".

The overt part of Salmon only concerned the appointment of a number of the more senior nurses to new roles (or, as the cynic would have it: old roles with new titles). On the other hand, the commissioning of the new hospital was something that would affect all grades of nursing staff quite profoundly. There were certain anxieties that were common to all the four hospitals: it would mean the end of those informal systems that had developed over the years in each hospital, often to the favour of some staff and at the expense of others; it meant that nurses would be working, and possibly isolated, amongst strangers in a large hospital that was widely expected to have an impersonal atmosphere. There was also some apprehension amongst older staff in all the hospitals that they would be unable to cope with the modern techniques to be introduced in the new hospitals. Finally many of the staff felt that the layout of the new wards was unsatisfactory since the design, which was based on a number of separate cubicles, would make observation of patients much more difficult.

However, there were also considerable differences in the reactions of each hospital. The remainder of this section will therefore examine in more detail the circumstances for each hospital and what the changes meant for it. The material for this section was obtained concurrently with the main survey from two sources. Firstly, it was compiled from informal discussions with groups or individual nurses either before or after completion of the main questionnaire. This provided valuable background information for the second source which was provided by open-ended questions in the main questionnaire. (See Appendix A).

(b) Hospital A

This was the smallest hospital in the Group, a geriatric hospital that had formerly been the local workhouse. Some of the patients had been in residence for many years, and the hospital had become a total home for them, representing their only remaining security. There was therefore a lot of concern amongst the nursing staff that these patients would be unable to cope with the move - though perhaps some of this may have been projection on the part of nursing staff since many of them had been at the hospital considerably longer than the patients. The nurses themselves were definitely apprehensive about being brought into direct contact with other nursing staff, since geriatric nursing has a relatively low status within the nursing profession as a whole. Although the future prospect suggested that they would not be working closely with nurses of other specialties, as the Geriatric Harness Unit is set slightly apart from the rest of the General Hospital complex. Some people at Hospital A were looking forward to the move because facilities would be considerably better in the new unit, while others felt it would be a very good thing for many of the more established staff who had worked in an isolated community for so long that they had come to fear the outside world. There was also the hope that a general shake-up would let some air into the inevitable personality clashes that become entrenched within a fairly static community.

Amongst some of the older staff at Hospital A there was a rather curious reason in favour of the move: they hoped that it would result in their seeing more of "Matron". This particular lady had been in charge of the hospital for a few months in 1972 before being promoted to Senior Nursing Officer in charge of medical (and geriatric) nursing throughout the group. This had meant her moving back to Hospital D and she therefore had less time to devote to Hospital A. Those who preferred her more 'traditional' style were therefore looking forward to being in a single integrated unit.

(c) Hospital B

The next smallest of the four hospitals, specialising in paediatric medicine, was staffed by approximately 50 full- and part-time qualified nurses, who appeared to have slightly less concerns than those at Hospital A. Owing to the emphasis on acute medicine there was less of the "backwater" atmosphere at this hospital, and there had also been more contact with the outside world since the Group Nursing Administration had been housed on the premises for 18 months before moving into new offices at the General Hospital. Consequently there was less fear of the outside world or of not being able to cope with new technologies. However, the most widespread fear was that the "atmosphere" of the hospital would be lost. Needless to say this atmosphere meant different things for different people. To all it meant the pleasant grounds of the hospital, the fact that it was feasible to get special treatment for very sick children (such as meals) without having to go through official channels. But it was also an atmosphere that tended to favour the more senior staff and those with longer service as so often seems to happen in small organizations.

A typical example of this was provided by the heavy protocol in the dining room. Seating arrangements segregated junior staff from senior staff, and no-one was expected to start eating until the senior person present had begun. There was therefore some resentment lower down about those who "have very cushy spots here". Many people

foresaw problems over the status of State Enrolled Nurses (S.E.Ns.) At the new General Hospital there was likely to be a far higher proportion of qualified staff (especially State Registered Nurses).⁽¹⁾ With fewer auxiliaries around the S.E.Ns. would be correspondingly nearer the bottom of the ladder, moreover they would no longer have the protection of being a member of the establishment by virtue of their long service at the hospital. As one S.E.N. put it: "People won't be treated as individuals, but according to their qualifications". The status of Ward Sisters was also potentially a sensitive issue. Whilst staff below the grade of Sister had been moved about the hospital quite frequently, the majority of Sisters tended to remain on the same ward for long periods of time. This meant that they would usually provide continuity for patients, and at the same time their identity would get bound up with their wards. With identity comes status, and it was therefore very important to ward sisters that they should obtain suitable wards in the new hospital. Although they had been reassured on a number of occasions that there was going to be a shortage of Sisters rather than of wards, this remained a persistent anxiety.

Since the nurses at Hospital B were working in pleasant surroundings and in a more open environment, less arguments were voiced here in favour of moving to the General Hospital. Where they existed, these arguments came mainly from the younger nurses who felt that some of their older colleagues needed their horizons widening again. There was also some expression of the hope that moving to the new hospital would put them in better touch with the rest of the Group.

(d) Hospital C

Being a general hospital, this was the second largest of the four hospitals and it had also felt much more of the wind of change over the previous two years. During the last year, the administrative staff

⁽¹⁾ S.E.Ns. undergo a two-year training as 'pupil' nurses, whereas S.R.Ns. undergo a three-year training as 'student' nurses. The status differences between the two groups are emphasised by the fact that all senior nursing appointments are filled by S.R.Ns.

of the hospital had changed completely and there had been sufficient movement amongst other staff for a substantial conflict to have arisen between the old and the new. (This state of affairs would have been impossible at Hospitals A or B since they were still dominated by the "Old Guard").

Since Hospital C had been a Training School (for S.E.Ns.) there were a large number of S.E.Ns. on the staff and there was therefore the inevitable anxiety, as found at Hospital B, that S.E.Ns. would lose much of their informal status on moving to the new General Hospital. Many nurses were not looking forward to the prospect of working together on the same wards as staff from Hospital D, and the traditional rivalry between these two hospitals seemed to be approaching ritual proportions. This had developed in spite of the fact that there had been a certain amount of movement of staff between the two hospitals, and also the fact that Ward Sisters from one hospital who attended management courses with Sisters from the other reported that their colleagues were all human! Perhaps one of the main sources for this rivalry was that Sisters at Hospital D were seen to be competing with Sisters at Hospital C for wards in the new hospital - despite assurances that this would not be the case.

At this time Hospital C was also working to "split shifts" and therefore some nurses were not looking forward to working the "straight shift" system at the General Hospital.⁽¹⁾ Apart from this, most staff were quite open-minded about the new hospital and, especially amongst the younger ones, there was even frustration that due to contractors and insurance problems, they had not yet had the opportunity to inspect the new hospital.

(e) Hospital D

For a number of reasons this hospital had become the major "bogey" of the Group Nursing Administration. The Matron of the hospital had been one of the last of the "old school" to leave, and

(1) "Split shifts" lasted from 8.00 a.m. - 12.00 noon and 4.00 p.m. - 8.00 p.m.

had therefore had several clashes with the new Chief Nursing Officer. Other members of the hospital staff began to feel threatened by outside interference and a general defensive attitude developed. As appointments to the new Salmon structure proceeded throughout the Group, it also appeared that Hospital D was not getting its "fair" share of posts. Thus, of three key posts: the "No. 7, Surgical" went to a Ward Sister at Hospital C, the "No. 7, Medical" went to a complete outsider, and the "No. 7, Theatre" went to the Theatre Superintendent from Hospital C. There was little compensation in the fact that the "No. 7, Nights" went to the Night Sister, since contact between day and night staff is minimal, and it was seen as significant that none of the staff on "the corridor" had obtained promotion. Thus defensive attitudes turned into resentment.

Since the war years, when it had been built as a temporary hospital, a close relationship had developed with the local community. Not only did it serve their health needs, but also a large number of the local women were employed as unqualified auxiliaries and as domestics. It was therefore hardly surprising that the imminence of closure due to the opening of the General Hospital provoked a very strong reaction both inside and outside. Nursing unions were active in the "save our hospital" campaign, and the issue rapidly came to the notice of the press and local politicians. As a political issue, any decisions as to the future of the hospital were taken out of the hands of the Group Administration, and finally reached Ministerial level in the D.H.S.S. The Minister then proceeded to sit on the decision for as long as possible before reaching the inevitable compromise that some geriatric beds and a General Practitioner Unit would remain at Hospital D, while all acute medicine would be moved to the new General Hospital.

These delays meant a lot of uncertainty; they meant that planning for the commissioning of the new hospital became extremely difficult, and they also provided a convenient opportunity for any malcontents and ill-wishers of the new administrative regime. Open discussions with groups of qualified nurses indicated a fairly widespread antagonism

towards the outside world and support for the move was only rarely expressed by some of the younger staff. On the assumption that most staff would eventually have to move to the General Hospital, some of the anxieties were similar to those expressed at Hospital C. Sisters were anxious about whether or not they would get their own wards, and the rivalry between C and D featured regularly. Additional problems at Hospital D, perhaps as a result of the defensive attitudes of staff, included a feeling of powerlessness. As a Ward Sister commented: "There is a lack of communications - we don't get to know naything until it is a fait accompli". And the fact that this breakdown was occurring between the hospital and the outside world was implied by another sister who said: "There's no feedback; we don't know whether things we say to the No. 8 get any higher or are stopped". The force of change was also being felt at another level. The new nursing school had started up at the General Hospital in September 1973 and the first batch of students had recently started working at Hospital D. The introduction of new ideas, the identification of students with the General Hospital rather than with Hospital D, and the easy relationship of the new students with the Group Administration immediately produced a lot of friction. Stories were rife of Sisters having to do the "sluicing" since students considered the work too menial, though the situation began to normalise itself when it was appreciated that Sisters still played a major part in assessing student performance - and sisters began acknowledging that some of the students were indeed very good.

Other worries were heard about losing the informal system of the hospital. Thus, if a nurse had some special need to leave work early one day, there would be no need to get formal permission as "the Office are very good about this sort of thing". But perhaps the most constant complaint was the problem of travelling eleven miles from the local community to the new Hospital every day. Unless official arrangements were made, this would hit peoples' pockets as well as taking up a lot more time, and it was felt that a lot of staff, especially part-timers, would no longer consider it worth working if

they were unable to find a position in those parts of Hospital D that were to be kept open.

(f) Summary

The bulk of this section has concentrated on an analysis of the implications for nursing staff at the four hospitals which were about to be moved into the new General Hospital. Some of the concerns expressed by staff were common to all hospitals, others were specific to each hospital. These concerns varied from the straightforward problems of having to make new travel arrangements, to more complex anxieties about loss of status and control. These are summarised in Figure 6.4 for each of the four hospitals, and the presence of a particular anxiety is indicated by a cross.

ANXIETY				
	Travelling	Formalisation	Lower Status	Loss of power/control
HOSPITAL A			X All staff	X
HOSPITAL B		X	X SENs	X
HOSPITAL C			X SENs	
HOSPITAL D	X			X

Figure 6.4 Main Anxieties at each of four Hospitals

Hence it appears that the two columns at the right of Figure 6.4, loss of status and loss of control, were the most significant elements in assessing the implications of the move. It should also be noted that in Hospital D, where greatest opposition to the move was manifested, there was little concern about loss of status. In this case the feeling of loss of control dominated many discussions, although opposition was more normally articulated in terms of increased travelling distances, and the loss of a 'community' hospital. However, this association between negative reactions and lack of influence over the direction taken by change provides some support for the idea that resistance is more likely the greater the distance of the source of change from the person affected by the change.

Although there were a number of differences in the way the four hospitals were affected by the move, there were also similarities common to the whole Group. The new hospital was likely to provide a much more impersonal working environment. But, looking at the whole group, it was difficult to determine whether the commissioning of the new General Hospital should be considered a case of endogenous change or exogenous change. Both of the other national changes which affected the Group were clearly exogenous changes. The way these changes impinged on the Group was through legislation which resulted in changed structural patterns within the Group. However, there were also new values that were implicit in the Salmon reorganization. In particular, the appointment of a new 'generation' of nurses at the top of the organization resulted in a new interpretation of the role of nurses working within the Group. A new order was imposed upon the way decisions were made, particularly in the implementation of Salmon and the nature of appointments to some of the more junior posts in the organization. We will look in more detail at some of these appointments in the following chapter.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Since the majority of fieldwork in this thesis has been carried out amongst nurses, the chapter has attempted to describe some of the wider aspects of hospital nursing, as well as the specific circumstances of the Group of Hospitals in which these nurses worked.

The evidence from a number of research studies suggests that hospital nurses are not likely to react to organizational changes in the same way as other traditional professional groupings, and therefore, with the exception of higher anxiety levels, they may be treated as other non-professional groupings. So that the limitations on generalising from this sample are more likely to be associated with demographic variables (age distribution, marital status, etc) rather than with any intrinsic features of the job of hospital nursing.

Three major changes were affecting the Hospital Group during the period when fieldwork was being carried out: Salmon reorganization; 1974 NHS reorganization; and the commissioning of a new General Hospital. Although in some ways these changes were intermingled, it was the latter change which was creating greatest anxiety amongst nurses at the ward level. Therefore this particular change has been used as the main focus of the survey reported in Part III of this thesis.

The survey of nurses' views about the move to the new hospital was carried out during a six week period approximately six months before the commissioning of the General Hospital. It therefore provides a cross-sectional assessment of the way nurses were reacting to the anticipation of change throughout the Group. However, as pointed out in Part I of this thesis, it is also necessary to make a longitudinal examination of organizational change. Hence the next chapter presents two case studies of organizational changes which were monitored over a longer period of time. (A third case study, of organizational change outside the NHS, is presented in Appendix IV).

CASE STUDIES OF ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

1. Introduction
2. Case Study I: Appointment of Senior Nursing Officer in a General Hospital
3. Case Study II: Appointment of Two Nursing Officers in a Maternity Unit
4. Analysis
 - (a) Power and organizational boundaries
 - (b) Coping and sponsorship
 - (c) Coping with failure
5. Conclusions

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate, develop and assess some of the ideas presented in Part I of the thesis. The chapter is based on two case studies of small-scale organizational changes which were monitored during their development by interviews and questionnaires. This particular perspective seems most important if the content of changing situations, and the interactions between people are to be examined. And this is seen to complement the survey approach adopted in the latter part of the thesis, which attempts to relate reactions of individuals to various environmental circumstances. The case studies will be followed by an analysis of the main points emerging from them.

The presentation of each case study will be within the general framework presented in Chapter 4 (Figure 4.3). This framework is intended to describe the response of an individual under stressful circumstances, it has a sequential element, and it therefore seems an appropriate starting point for building up a description of the various stages of organizational change. The basic features of this model are as follows:

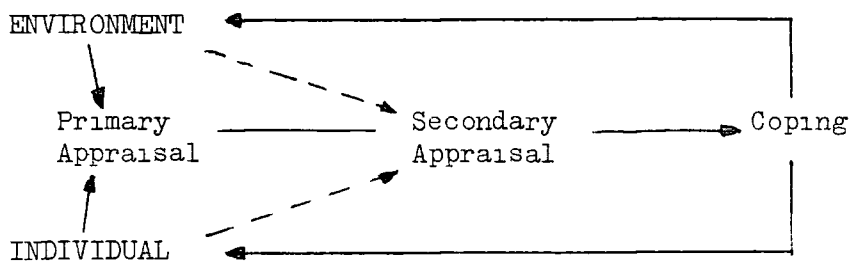


Figure 7.1 Model of individual threat appraisal and coping

The main difference between primary and secondary appraisal is that the former is based on an assessment of the harm-producing potential of the threatening situation, the latter is based on an assessment of whether the situation can be circumvented. In the first case, the question asked may be "How much do I stand to win or lose?". In the

second case the question asked may be "To what extent can my behaviour influence the outcome from this situation?".

Secondary appraisal and coping are, in principle, distinguished by the fact that secondary appraisal is an assessment of the viability of various coping strategies, whereas "coping" consists of those behaviours themselves. However, in practice, as many psychologists have noted, the distinction may become meaningless, since the intention can only be inferred from the behaviour itself. Therefore in presenting these case studies, both secondary appraisal and coping will be discussed simultaneously.

The role of individual differences will be examined extensively in Part III, and therefore we will concentrate on the effect of the environment at this stage. As suggested in earlier chapters, during periods of organizational change this environment may be viewed as a combination of existing patterns, and expectations of changes in these patterns. The latter being indications of the perceived value system within the organization.

The two case studies focus around appointments made to senior posts in the group of hospitals described in the previous chapter. A third case study, presented in Appendix IV, is drawn from a major redundancy situation in an industrial organization. Although the setting of this case study is in a different context, the analysis of it is in some ways complementary to that effected in the two present cases.

2. CASE STUDY I

APPOINTMENT OF SENIOR NURSING OFFICER IN A GENERAL HOSPITAL

This particular change was located at the level of patterns within the organization. The matron of a hospital had recently retired and

The issue focussed on who would be appointed in her place. However, the timing of the appointment coincided with two major changes occurring outside the boundaries of this hospital: the introduction of 'Salmon', and the re-siting of the complete Group into a new General Hospital.

For a number of months the departed matron's post had been deputised by the next most senior nurse in the hospital. One of the issues at stake was whether the post would be filled on the seniority principle, by the 'best' insider, or by the best applicant in an open market. If the post was filled by the deputy matron, the status quo would be maintained and no significant pattern change would occur; if any other outcome took place, the patterns within the organisation would be changing - and the nature of this change would be indicative of the new dominant value system in the organisation. In this case the analysis may therefore be more appropriate at the level of values.

Since most of the significant factors and the final decision making were located outside this organisational unit, we may regard this as a case of exogenous change. The main people involved in this situation, and their formal statuses are indicated below in Figure 7.2.

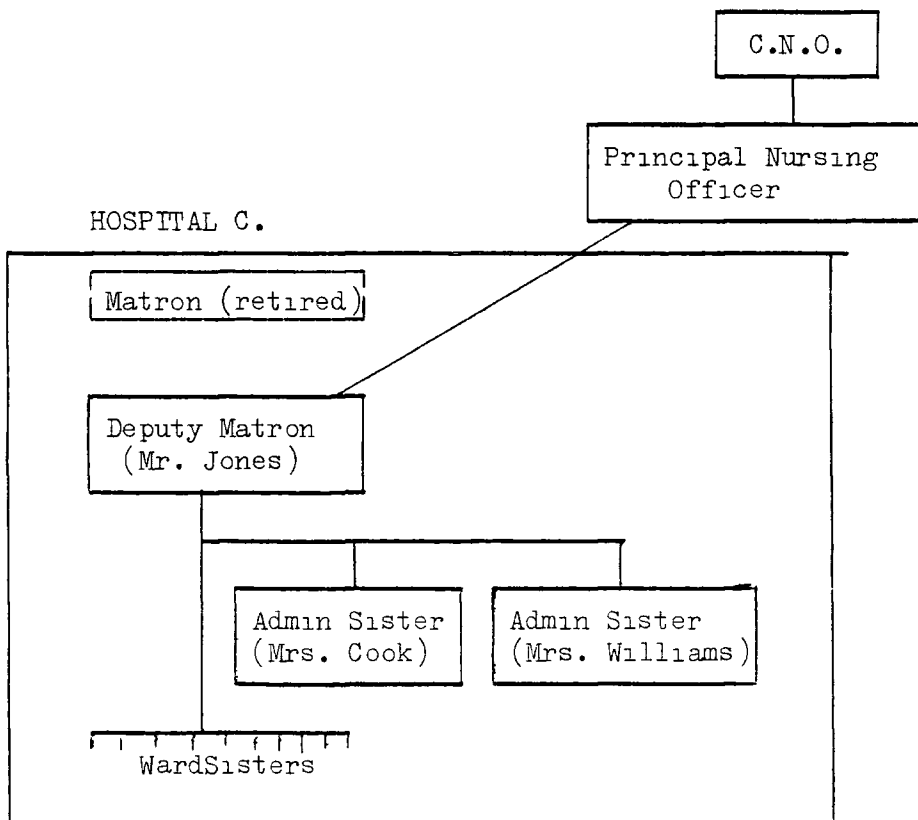


Figure 7.2: Senior Posts in Hospital C.

The following sections are based on the accounts given by the main protagonists in the situation. Interviews were held both before and after appointments were made.

(a) Immediate Situation

The Senior Nursing Officer (Surgical) was to be one of the key appointments in the restructured Group. Although the post was formally designated over a unctional area of responsibility, it was envisaged that the person appointed would also be required to adopt a caretaker responsibility on a geographical basis for Hospitals B and C until the move into the General Hospital took place.

Since the retirement of the last Matron, Mr. Jones had been acting as head of the hospital where he had served for 17 years. Although this did not automatically qualify him for assimilation to the S.N.O. post he was seen as being the senior of the three applicants. Therefore, failure to be appointed would be seen as virtual demotion while appointment was anticipated as little more than a continuation of the status quo.

Sister Cook was the next in line of seniority, but had not applied for the post because she knew that Mr. Jones had applied. In her case it was essential for her to maintain some employment since her husband was disabled and dependent on her. Therefore, while not having any expectations of promotion she was concerned at the possibility of Sister Williams being offered the post as she did not think she would be able to work under her existing junior.

Sister Williams on the other hand was younger than either of the other two and very definitely the "odd man out". In spite of substantial administrative experience abroad, she was left with no illusions of her junior status in the trio when she arrived at the hospital six months previously. However, significantly, she had been asked to apply for the post by the P.N.O. of the General Nursing Division.

(b) Primary Appraisal and Coping

To Mr. Jones the situation was particularly threatening. In spite of some misgivings about his ability to handle the post, he saw the S.N.O. job as the "crowning achievement" of his career. But he was realistic in assuming that he was unlikely to be appointed. He was most afraid that Sister Williams would be appointed, but he also considered this most likely. As he said, "you can't help gathering what is going on by nuances". There were also several other possible outcomes which posed various degrees of threat to him, but he considered it most unlikely that he himself would be appointed to the post.

No wonder that Mr. Jones was showing considerable signs of strain when interviewed (he talked for over 90 minutes before answering the first question). Apart from the expectations that he felt the other staff in the hospital held of him, the situation was made worse by the fact that his own wife was a ward sister in the same hospital. Nevertheless he appeared willing to talk about his situation to most people except Sister Williams. He was also suffering somewhat from the length of time that the post had been pending: "They should have been more honest right at the beginning - more counselling - telling people straight away what they were going to get remove uncertainty."

Being slightly lower in the hierarchy, for Sister Cook the appointment of a total outsider would have been the most acceptable compromise, since she had not applied for the post herself. Otherwise her assessment of the situation was similar to that of Mr. Jones. She felt that Mr. Jones' chances of getting the post were "very slim", and, being able to stand slightly back from the arena saw the overall scene as a confrontation between old and new: "the organisation supports young people because young ones are at the top".

She reported talking quite freely to both the others about the situation, although she felt that Mr. Jones was "so tense now he realises how insecure he is." For her own part she found herself worrying when she was not too busy but she "usually tried now to dwell on it too much".

To Sister Williams the situation was clearly not threatening. She considered it virtually certain that she would get the job and was confident of her ability to handle it. Moreover after having felt rather unwelcome for the previous few months she felt that the existing system was due for a change.

A number of processes are apparent at this stage. All three central figures seem to have made rapid assessments of the probable outcome of the appointment decision, and these predictions were evaluated in terms of how much the individual stood to win or lose. Whereas the situation was evaluated positively by Sister Williams, both of the others were very anxious. Judging by their reactions to the interviewer and other reports of their behaviour, Mr. Jones was considerably more anxious than Sister Cook, since the situation was objectively more threatening to him.

(c) Secondary Appraisal and Coping

The interviews with the three nurses took place about three weeks after applications had been handed in, and by this time there was a feeling that the appointment was a fait accompli. For example, Mr. Jones considered that it was "not very easy to do anything - because the Group is obsessed with the Cult of Youth - and you can't influence age They would prefer someone totally devoid of ideas who they can condition." Similarly the other two would not admit to having any influence on the situation once the ball had been set in motion.

There may be a lot of truth in the assumption that this appointment was already determined well in advance and that the selection procedure was merely a ritual. But what it does obscure is the way that personal images are built up over long periods of time through constant interaction with others at work.

Mrs. Williams was clearly seen by the Group Administration as the representative of the "New Nurse". She also appeared to have some support from ward sisters who were unhappy at the way the hospital was being run. Mr. Jones became the representative of tradition and of an establishment that was not particularly efficient. A sensitive and cultured man, he had for a number of years been in the invidious position of being deputy to a strong-minded female matron, and ended the interview

on a plaintive note: "I am the victim of circumstances ... and these are being held against me ... I'm not given a chance". Sister Cook had adopted the role of go-between as she had not applied for the post herself and talked frequently to the others about the situation. At the same time she was aware that she had been type-cast as one of the establishment and this stereotyping was echoed by her comments about people "jumping up"; she also commented that the Group Administration were trying to by-pass the correct order of status in the hospital (by visiting wards without notifying her when she was the duty administrative sister).

(d) Aftermath

As anticipated by all involved Sister Williams was appointed to the S.N.O. post. Sister Cook left the Group almost immediately and was not available for interview. On the other hand Mr. Jones stayed on at the hospital for several months helping Mrs. Williams settle into her new job. When interviewed a month after the appointment he was still in the process of adapting to the new status quo but he was also aware of the effect of the long preparation period before the appointments took place: "It was very disappointing but ... expectation cushioned the shock of the trauma." His attitudes towards the new situation were ambivalent. Thus on one hand: "There were a lot of bad things in the old days ... I think there are a lot of good intentions here now." On the other hand: "It's more authoritarian now and there is more resentment to criticism."

At the same time it was noticeable that he had become much more objective about his own situation. The career disappointment had made him realise that he should have moved on at least ten years ago if he was to have advanced himself. But it had also forced him to look forward and outside - so that he no longer felt frustrated and blocked. Mr. Jones subsequently took a post as Nursing Officer in another Group.

Mrs. Williams rapidly became accepted in her new role although being given considerable support by the Group Administration and by Mr. Jones.

(e) Conclusions

A number of important points emerge from this case study. Firstly

it was noticeable that all three of the central figures had very clear and accurate assessments of what was going to happen, although the least accurate assessment was produced by Mr. Jones (who was under most pressure and still hoped that he would get the job). In terms of the theoretical model, this suggests that they were all aware of the new dominant value system in the Hospital Group, and hence of the direction that pattern changes would take. Secondly the inability of the interviews to identify specific evidence of secondary appraisal is most likely to be due to the extreme subtlety and sensitivity of such activity particularly when more of the principal participants had any direct access to the decision making process. Coping behaviour was essentially of a reactive nature before the appointment was made. Thirdly, there were considerable differences in coping patterns before and after the appointment was made. In Sister Cook's case she appeared to be coping with the situation relatively well, by talking to people when she needed to, and otherwise by getting on with her work. After the appointment had been made she reacted very strongly and immediately resigned her post. Mr. Jones, who was under most direct threat, and who also appeared under greatest stress before the appointment appeared remarkably calm afterwards, and was in some ways positive about the change. Although the differences in the reactions of these two individuals may be explained in terms of sexual or situational differences, it also suggests that preparatory anxiety assists in subsequent adjustment after a damaging confrontation.

3. CASE STUDY II

APPOINTMENT OF TWO NURSING SISTERS IN A MATERNITY UNIT

A maternity unit had already been established in one wing of the new General Hospital. It was headed by a Principal Nursing Officer who reported to the C.N.O. and Six Departmental Sisters reported directly to the P.N.O. The imposition of Salmon required the creation of two Nursing Officer posts who would provide an intermediate layer between the recently appointed Senior Nursing Officer and the Departmental Sisters. (See Fig. 7.3).

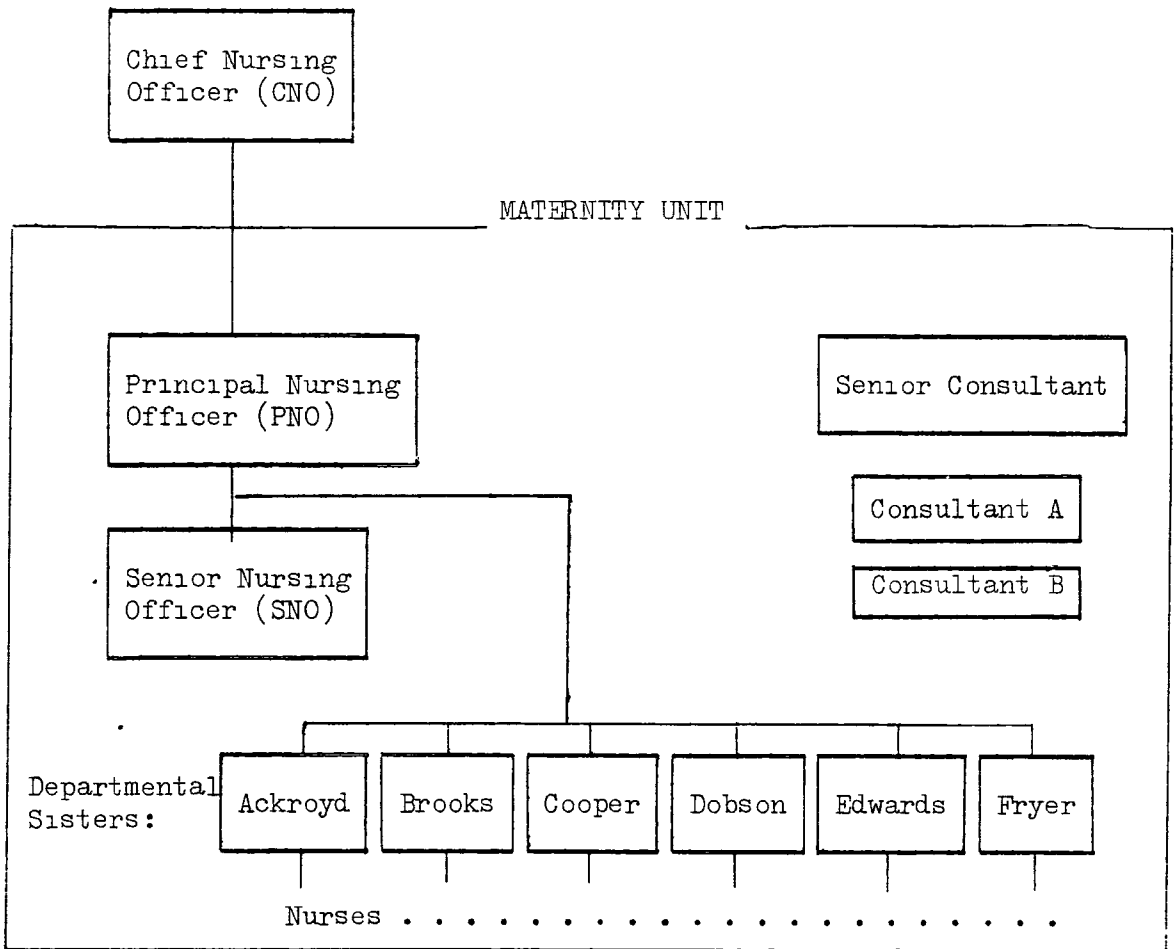


Figure 7.3 Senior Nursing Structure before appointments

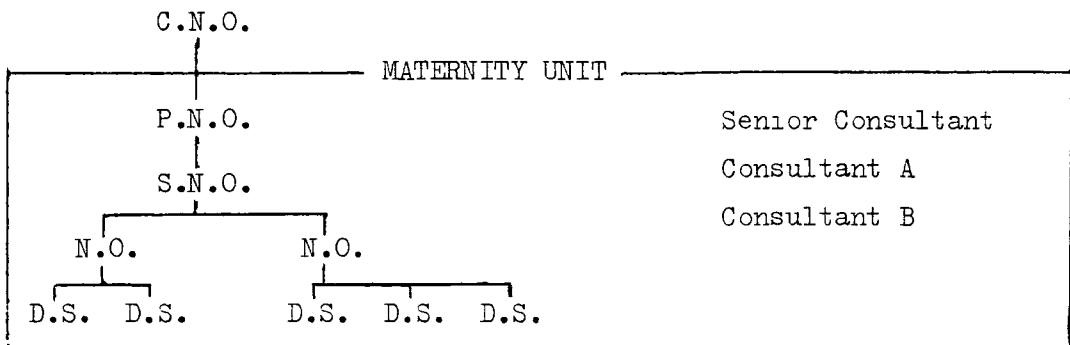


Figure 7.4 Proposed 'Salmon' Structure

In this case the Chief Nursing Officer had made it clear that the decision about appointments was to be made by the P.N.O. However, it was not clear whether the Senior Consultant would play a major part in the appointments. Formerly his influence would be very great, and it was assumed that he would be a member of the appointing committee on this occasion. Thus, in theory, the change was to be endogenous since the principal participants and the decision making were internal to this unit. The main focus of change was at the level of patterns, since it concerned changes in the organizational structure.

The case differs from the previous one since it is on a larger scale. It also covers the actions of those who were powerful members of the organization, or those who had direct access to such powerful people. This centred on the conflict between the nursing function and the medical function. Although nurses had traditionally been subordinate to doctors, they were now only subject to them in clinical decisions, and both nurses and doctors were now accountable to the District Management Committee.

(a) Initial Situation

The proposed Salmon structure for the Group had been circulated a year previously, and it was immediately obvious that in this unit there would be two Nursing Officer posts with six possible contenders. Most people involved recognised that one of the Departmental Sisters, Dobson, was almost certain to take one of these posts since she had exceptional qualifications and was acknowledged to be very competent in running her department. Two of the other Departmental Sisters were unlikely to apply: Edwards already felt that she had quite enough responsibility in her present role, and was not interested in promotion; Fryer was preoccupied with personal problems at home, so was not keen for any more responsibility. In effect this left three contenders for one Nursing Officer post (Ackroyd, Brooks and Cooper).

(b) Primary Appraisal and Coping

After the initial circulation of the new Salmon structure there was

a brief period while Departmental Sisters discussed amongst themselves what would happen. Within a few weeks the matter had become taboo and was never, for example, raised at unit meetings. Most of the people involved had worked out what they wanted and what was likely to happen: the lines had been defined and the barriers drawn up.

Sister Ackroyd was very keen to get the job both because she had a husband to support, but also, as one cynical observer remarked, "because she needs it for her ego". She was not very confident of her chances, although she was aware of the fact that she had the support of the P.N.O. For her part, the P.N.O. was quite open about her preference for Ackroyd, and justified her position on the grounds that "she has tact and loyalty to the office and does not grumble ... the (Nursing Officer) will have to be able to act with tact ... you need somebody who knows what they are doing". On the other hand Ackroyd's relations with the Senior Consultant were poor, and it was probable that he would exert his influence for one of the other candidates.

Sister Brooks was also keen to get the job. She had a good reputation in her present post, but it was possible that this might work against her since the maintenance of good relationships with external doctors was considered essential to the operation of the G.P. ward where she worked. At a personal level she did not have any particular support from the consultants, and was known to have fallen out with the P.N.O. in the past.

Sister Cooper was one of the more experienced nurses in the unit. She was something of a loner but very friendly with the senior consultant (she had not had to be interviewed for her present job as this consultant had brought her with him from his last hospital). Sister Cooper gave herself the highest chances of getting the remaining post "if justice prevails". Unfortunately this background had brought her into conflict with the P.N.O. who considered her

rather dogmatic and high-handed. The conflict had come to a head over Cooper's mother, who had suffered a long terminal illness. From the P.N.O.'s side: "She would come in and announce that she was taking the afternoon off to take her mother somewhere - and wouldn't bother to ask if it was all right." From Sister Cooper's side: "(The P.N.O. was very unsympathetic when my mother was ill. When she died she didn't even say that she was sorry ...".

However, the P.N.O. herself also found the situation quite threatening. She was being brought into direct confrontation with the Senior Consultant; either she would have to stand up to the consultant or else she would have to accept the appointment of a subordinate with whom she might have much difficulty in working. Being one of the few senior members of the old hierarchy appointed into Salmon posts, she was having her own problems in adapting to her new role. She frequently talked about the pressure she was under, saying that she was "very confused by it all". It was also remarked on by two of the Sisters that during this period she was becoming virtually incapable of making, and sticking to, a decision.

(c) Secondary Appraisal

The period between announcement of the new Salmon structure and appointment became one of consolidation for the main protagonists. Since none of the three main contenders were able to influence the situation directly, this consolidation took the form of strengthening the support from individual "sponsors". At this stage Sister Brooks was left behind in the race which developed into a confrontation between P.N.O. and Senior Consultant. But while the Senior Consultant only received mixed support from his colleagues, the P.N.O. received strong support from the Chief Nursing Officer, who was totally opposed to the idea of medical staff interfering in nursing administration.

Confrontation came to a head when the Consultant told the P.N.O. that he wanted Cooper appointed and would only accept Ackroyd "Over his dead body". The P.N.O. felt that the Consultant had been prompted to do

this by Sister Cooper, and as an attempt at conciliation the C.N.O. saw the Consultant to explain why she felt that Ackroyd should be appointed. Unfortunately this conversation was then relayed by the Consultant to Cooper, and rapidly spread around the Maternity Unit. The C.N.O. was most annoyed at this indiscretion which she interpreted as a gross breach of confidence.

Up to this time it had been intended that the appointing committee should consist of the P.N.O., two S.N.Os. from the Unit and the Senior Consultant. However, it was now clear that an external assessor would be essential, and the Consultant suggested a friend of his for the job. This proposal was unacceptable to the P.N.O., who put forward three alternative names. The C.N.O. chose one of the latter as external assessor - a P.N.O. from outside the Region.

(d) Aftermath

It appears that the external assessor had the crucial role in the selection committee. She had been provided with relevant information before the meeting and, according to the P.N.O., had also come to a decision beforehand - which coincided with her own. Ackroyd was duly appointed against the wishes of the consultant.

The consultant was extremely bitter about this appointment and enlisted the support of the two junior consultants of the unit in a complaint to the C.N.O. By this stage the situation had become so sensitive that it was necessary for the researcher to withdraw temporarily from this Hospital. However, subsequent investigation suggested that the two nurses who were not appointed reacted in very different ways. Sister Cooper, who had been supported by the consultant and who was therefore in the centre of the controversy, was reported to have accepted her failure very well. As the P.N.O. commented some weeks later "Cooper has been quite co-operative recently - she came to the meeting of Sisters and was quite O.K." On the other hand, Sister Brooks, who had no particular sponsor and who had never really been in the running, was reported to have become 'quite emotional' about the situation.

(e) Conclusions

On the basis of discussions with senior staff of the Maternity Unit during the period before appointments were made it was possible to draw up a list of the qualities upon which the candidates might be judged. An assessment of the qualities possessed by each candidate is indicated in Figure 7.5. These were formulated after interviews with the candidates themselves and through cross-checking with other people involved in the situation. A '+' indicates that possession of a particular quality may be considered a strength; a '-' indicates an absence, which may be considered a weakness.

<u>CRITERIA</u>	<u>CANDIDATE</u>			
	Ackroyd	Brooks	Cooper	Dobson
Administrative experience	+	+		
Clinical experience			+	+
Additional qualifications		-		+
Competence on ward				+
Popularity with peers	-?		+?	-
Compatible with P.N.O.	+	-	-	
Compatible with Consultant	-		+	+?

Figure 7.5 Qualifications of candidates for P.N.O. Jobs

Of the four candidates, Dobson was considered by all involved to be outstanding due to additional qualifications and acknowledged competence on the ward. She was expected to obtain one of the posts, and she did so. Ackroyd and Cooper were roughly matched, while Brooks appeared weaker, particularly since she did not have a good relationship with either of the powerful people in the unit. Although there were differences between Ackroyd and Cooper, it was anticipated that the crucial element was in the identity of their sponsors.

In discussions with the Departmental Sisters before appointments were made, all six had predicted that Cooper would get the second

Nursing Officer post. The fact that they were all wrong suggests that there was a major shift in the power distribution in the Maternity Unit over this period. Whereas medical staff had previously had a decisive voice in all major decisions, this was a clear instance of nursing staff making their own decisions in administrative matters.

This particular change may therefore be viewed at three different levels:

- a new appointment was made;
- the appointment was made on new criteria;
- a new value system was established.

Under normal circumstances the new appointment would have been made without any change in criteria. This would have been a pattern change at a low level (a new person holding an administrative post), but other higher level patterns would not have been changed (the type of person appointed). Conversely, a knowledge of existing patterns in the organization would have aided in the prediction of who would be appointed to the post. This is the main point of Proposition III.

In the first case study, people got their predictions right because the criteria had already been changed. There was no doubt about who was in control of the situation. In this case people got their predictions wrong because the criteria were in the process of being changed. The old criteria would have included clinical expertise and loyalty to the Consultant; the new criteria would include administrative experience and loyalty to the nursing function. At this point it is necessary to refer to the debate in Chapters 2 and 3 about the distinction between patterns and values. The conventional view, which postulates a direct correspondence between patterns and values would say that the change in patterns (new criteria) was directly related to the change in values (emphasis on administrative rather than clinical expertise). The alternative view suggested by Proposition IV is that a single dominant value is indicated by a change in patterns. In this case the value system might be the need to 'manage' the functions of the health service, so that the clinical activities would have become

subordinate to this goal. Thus, in the first interpretation the 'values' become virtually indistinguishable from patterns; in the second interpretation the new values would suggest that this change in patterns is probable, and it would also suggest the likelihood of other changes in patterns. For example one would then anticipate the establishment of tighter financial constraints or the emergence of other semi-autonomous professional groups within the N.H.S. All of these have taken place.

Hence the latter definition seems to be useful both in clarifying the difference between values and patterns, and also in enabling the observer to generalise predictions considerably beyond this specific instance. With reference to the characteristics of a good theory laid down at the beginning of Chapter 2, the notion of differential rates of change provides both a simplification and an opportunity to move beyond direct observation within the context of small scale organizational change.

The evidence here also provides some support for the views expressed in Hypothesis 1: that there is no causal relationship between values and patterns since they are merely different types of description of the same social process.

4. ANALYSIS

(a) Power and Organizational Boundaries:

By attempting to change or maintain various patterns within the organization, the conflict between the P.N.O. and the Senior Consultant may be seen as one of attempting to establish the dominant values in the organization. Once such values have been established in an organization they tend to possess sufficient inertia to remain static until another group obtains sufficient power to change them. However, this section will not look at the concepts of power and change, but at the strategies adopted by different protagonists in the power conflict.

The second case study is similar to the first one in that the need for some change (new administrative structure) had emerged from outside the system, but (beyond this) it differs since the decision was to be taken within the Maternity Unit. Thus, while the former case is an example of exogenous change the latter case appears to be an example of endogenous change.

The deciding factor between the P.N.O. and the Consultant was their ability to manipulate the boundaries of the system. The P.N.O. was able to obtain a lot of support from the C.N.O. outside this unit: both moral support for the line she was taking, and a certain amount of direct pressure that could be applied on the Consultant. However, the critical point was the selection of the external assessor. The C.N.O. was able to make this decision in favour of the P.N.O., and therefore the rights of the nursing function to manage its own boundary was established. Through establishing their right to decide who might be temporarily included within the system the senior nurses also ensured control over decisions within the system.

Thus, to return to Chapter 5, this provides some support for three of the hypotheses. Firstly, it shows that the decision about whether to treat an organisation primarily as a closed or an open system will depend on whether the main location of power is internal or external, and furthermore, that this will be relevant only to those areas over which this power may be exercised. When power is primarily located within the system this implies that it is also possible to exclude external sources of power. Secondly, the appeal to outsiders (C.N.O. and external assessor) may be seen as an attempt by those within the organisation to strengthen their positions. The success of the P.N.O. in determining which outsiders might be brought into the organisation is in itself a manifestation of the power that she had in this situation. (Hypothesis 3). Finally, there is tentative support for the idea that the definition of a problem also tends to include the desired direction of pattern change, and hence the values espoused by the person making the definition (Hypothesis 2). The consultant would have defined the

problem as one of assessing clinical competence; the P.N.O. defined it as one of assessing administrative competence.

(b) Coping and Sponsorship

The above discussion relates mainly to those members of the organisation whose structural position gives them a significant amount of power; but how do other members of the organisation cope with this? In the first place, for those who are able to exert any pressure on the situation, the main strategy employed is to obtain the support of those who do possess power. However, it seems unlikely that this is a deliberate strategy since the support of 'sponsors' seems to be more fundamental in its origins. Thus Sister Cooper had originally been brought to the Maternity Unit by the Consultant, and was already identified with his camp. Sister Williams had apparently not sought out the support of the P.N.O. before the appointment arose, and in fact, appears to have been sought out by the P.N.O. herself. In these cases the relationship between sponsor and protégé emerged as one of mutual advantage. Each of these junior nurses suited the style that the senior nurse was anxious to sustain; to the extent that they would be likely to support her own line, the senior nurse would be prepared to further their interests. Thus there seems to be two elements in this type of exchange relationship: a mutual compatibility and a situation where some advantage can be gained by both parties. In the case of Cooper, in particular, this type of relationship was most likely to be sustained at a personal level.

For those who have neither power, nor access to power, the alternatives are much more limited. This would apply to Mr. Jones and Sister Cook in the first Case Study and to Sister Brooks in the second Case Study. Opportunities for coping were restricted to obtaining support from peers and to talking through the situation with anyone who was interested. Although some physical withdrawal might be anticipated at this stage there was no evidence of absenteeism on the part of these three nurses.

These two case studies support the view expressed in Hypothesis 4, that any active attempts to influence the situation will be dependent on their access to power. The points noted in these two case studies are summarised in the model in Figure 7.6.

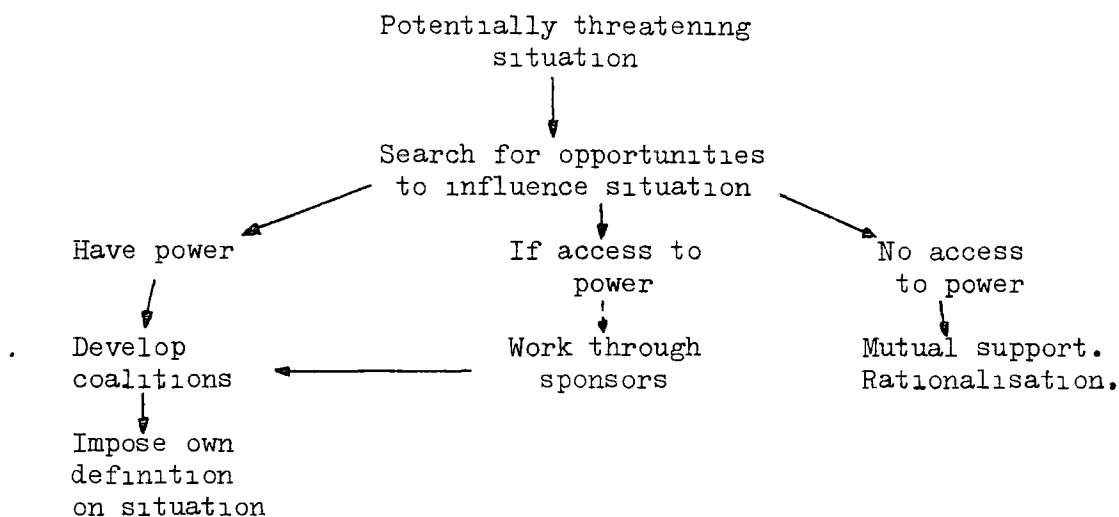


Figure 7.6: Coping Patterns under Organisational Change

(c) Coping with Failure

The environment of an organisation may make personal failure in this setting more serious than other forms of failure. The results of the failure tend to be perpetuated both by the structure of the organisation and by the expectations of other people. Thus it is not uncommon for people to leave after any significant failure. Both Mr. Jones and Sister Cook left the hospital within three months of the appointment of Sister Williams.

However, as noted in Case Study I, there appears to be an inverse relationship between the amount of coping occurring before and after confrontation with the change. Mr. Jones showed more signs of stress than Sister Cook before the change; Sister Cook showed more signs of stress than Mr. Jones after the change. In the Maternity Unit, Sister Brooks who was least involved in the conflict before appointment found more difficulty in adjusting after confrontation than Sister Cooper

who was a central figure. While both these observations are open to alternative interpretations they tend to support the view of Janis that substantial "worrying" before confrontation with a harmful situation will aid the individual in subsequent coping. This also supports Hypothesis 10 which suggests that there will be differences between pre- and post- confrontation coping patterns.

5. CONCLUSIONS

This Chapter has employed two case studies to examine and illustrate some of the ideas developed in Part I of this thesis. In particular the discussion has shown that a 'differential' model of organisational change may have some value in clarifying different levels of analysis - which may be useful in predicting the outcomes of change situations. As Roeber (1973) points out the ability to spot 'emergent systems' clearly may be an important feature in personal success.

The case studies also illustrated some of the difficulties in employing systems views of the organisation contained within boundaries, since within real situations these boundaries themselves become a major focus for manipulations by powerful people, and should therefore be treated as dependent variables.

Individual coping patterns were seen to be largely determined by the opportunities available in the situation, and support was provided for a number of other hypotheses formulated at the end of Part I.

However, the analysis within this chapter has examined a limited range of people and has not attempted to examine the characteristics of individuals involved in changing situations; it has concentrated on social explanations of the behaviour of the participants. Therefore the purpose of the final part of this thesis will be to examine some of these hypotheses in greater depth with larger samples of people, and to consider the role of individual differences in their behaviour.

P A R T I I I

INDIVIDUAL REACTIONS TO CHANGE

Chapter 8 - Research Design and Methodology

Chapter 9 - Results of Main Survey

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

1. Introduction
2. Sampling
 - (a) Representativeness of responding sample
 - (b) Generalising from this sample
 - (c) Variations between sub-samples
3. Response to Change: Validity and Reliability
 - (a) Measures
 - (b) Reliability
 - (c) Validity
4. Conclusions

1. INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this chapter is to analyse the way that the main survey was conducted and to determine how much weight should be placed on the results. The chapter is divided into two parts: the first part assesses the nature of the sample from which information was obtained; and the second part looks at the validity and reliability of key concepts employed in the survey. However it may help to clarify this analysis if it is placed within the context of a discussion of the nature of research designs and of the various alternatives that are open to the researcher. This will be considered below.

The principal objective of a research design is to translate abstract ideas into such a form that they can be tested by empirical observation. And it is also important that this testing is achieved as economically as possible. Thus, as Selltíz et al. (1965) remark:

"A research design is the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to provide relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure" (p.50).

In the first place, the appropriate research design will depend upon the type of questions to be answered and the existing state of knowledge in this field. While much work has been carried out in the area of social and organizational change, there are few existing theories which are generally accepted and expressed at a sufficient level of abstraction to guide this investigation. Hence it has been necessary to define an initial framework in Chapter 2, from which other more specific hypotheses may be derived. But as noted earlier the research design must incorporate many elements, varying from those attempting merely to illustrate complex ideas, to those assessing the truth of specific statements about organizational behaviour.

Another factor influencing the research design adopted is the availability of appropriate data. It is claimed by Selltíz et al. (1965) that the experimental situation is the most powerful way of establishing causal inferences. Unfortunately this approach is not possible in

this case since the problem has been formulated in the context of a real organization, where the opportunities to manipulate any major variables are negligible. Nor is it possible to measure against a "control" organization matched in all ways other than in the type of changes involved. In this situation there are three main criteria in selecting an appropriate situation:

- (a) the organization must be in some uncharacteristic situation;
- (b) there should be opportunity to measure a wide variety of factors; and
- (c) the sample should be sufficiently large for statistical inference to detect underlying trends in the data.

In the Hospital Group selected the uncharacteristic situations are major organizational changes affecting the Group. On account of the nature of the change it was necessary to examine different changes in the pilot and main surveys: the pilot survey (reported in Appendix II) looked at the introduction of the Salmon Report to the Group; the main survey looked at the movement of staff and patients from all parts of the Group into a new General Hospital. In view of the other two criteria it was decided to collect data by means of a questionnaire backed up by informal group discussions. The questionnaire made it possible to measure a reasonable number of variables across a large sample; but it was hoped that the limitations imposed on the data by a structured questionnaire would be supplemented by the informal discussions. The main justification for not adopting an experimental design is that experiments often end up testing trivial ideas, and in real life there may be many processes which are far more important than the variables artificially controlled. Finally, the sequence of measurements and the comparisons possible within the data are an important part of a research design. There are three basic types of comparative procedure which are often combined into more complex designs, as shown in Figure 8.1.

<u>Type</u>	<u>Analysis</u>
"Control Group"	Between groups matched on all but key variables.
"Longitudinal"	Sequence of measures for one group over a period of time.
"Internal"	One group, one measure, but inter-relationships examined between variables.

Figure 8.1: Comparative Research Designs

The first two types are undeniably the most versatile, but, as pointed out above, it is extremely difficult to set up a matched control group for a real organization where virtually no variables can be manipulated. There are also difficulties in taking a longitudinal view of change. This is particularly so if quantitative measures are to be taken since the focus of the study, the change itself, will inevitably be varying continually. This is why longitudinal studies of change generally adopt a "case study" approach, as in Chapter 7 of this thesis. The majority of the main survey is based, out of necessity, on the third form of design: an "internal" study.

2. SAMPLING

There is, as ever, a wide gulf between the theory and practice of sampling. So that although it is possible to make prescriptive statements about the appropriateness of one's sample, these rules only hold valid under ideal conditions. Therefore, in practice, with relatively small samples it may be necessary to use sampling theory as no more than a guide to the interpretation of data.

Two approaches to sampling are normally differentiated: probability and non-probability sampling. In the first case it is possible to specify the probability of any element of the population being included in the sample, whereas in the second case the samples will usually

involve selecting whatever elements of the population seem most appropriate at any given time. However, unless one can be certain of obtaining very high response rates from a probability sample, it must be accepted that actual responding samples will be bound to have some element of non-probability sampling in them. And one can never be unduly precise about the characteristics of a non-probability sample.

This survey ran into a similar problem. The sample selected was defined as:

"Every element of the population consisting of nurses of grades 4, 5 and 6 in the Hospital Group."

Due to difficulties of contacting over 200 part- and full-time nurses in a scattered group of hospitals who were working a wide variety of day and night shifts, it was only possible to obtain completed questionnaires from approximately 50% of the population. The following discussion will therefore consider how far the responding sample is likely to be representative of the total population.

However, it is also necessary to bear in mind the objectives of this survey. A distinction is made by Oppenheim (1966, p.8) between two broad objectives of a survey. A descriptive survey aims to tell us about the characteristics of a large population by looking at a small sample. It is under this category that representativeness is essential. An analytic survey (and this present survey is primarily analytic) aims to tell us about the relationships and causal sequences within the sample being studied. In this case it is only necessary to be aware of sampling factors when trying to generalise inferences drawn from the sample to the full population - or to any other population.

The next two sections will consider these aspects of sampling: representativeness and generalisability.

(a) Representativeness of Responding Sample

The problem in discussing the representativeness of a non-probability sample is that one has to compare the sample against a

population about whom, by definition there is virtually no information available. Inferences will therefore be made on the basis of response rates for different sections of the population.

The basic distribution of the population and responding sample is given below in Table 8.1

	Hospital A		Hospital B		Hospital C		Hospital D		Totals	
	F.T.	P.T.	F.T.	P.T.	F.T.	P.T.	F.T.	P.T.	F.T.	P.T.
Population	16	32	20	32	39	24	46	25	121	113
Refusals/ non-response	1	2	1	1	2	4	1	-	5	7
Responding sample	12	6	17	1	31	6	26	11	86	34
Response Rate	75%	19%	85%	34%	86%	25%	54%	44%	71%	30%

(P.T. = Part-time; F.T. = Full-time)

Table 8.1: Distribution of population and responding sample for main survey

Thus it will be seen that the majority of the sample who did not respond were never actually contacted. This problem was particularly acute amongst part-timers, many of whom worked idiosyncratic hours. It was also found to be unsuitable to have the questionnaire distributed by anyone other than the researcher due to political problems and the need to demonstrate that assurances about confidentiality were being honoured. This requirement for personal contact may have reduced the sample substantially (amongst part-timers), but probably had a number of other advantages which will be discussed later.

If it is assumed that, in general, non-response was caused by nurses not being in the same place at the same time as the researcher, and that the researcher visited the hospitals at a variety of times of the day and night, then there is a basis for assuming that the responding sample was drawn at random from the population. And it is then legitimate to use normal statistical tests to draw inferences about the nature of the population from observations of the sample. If any bias did creep into

the results from sampling it would probably be in the direction of moderation as several of the nurses who refused to cooperate with the survey also appeared particularly anxious about the changes - and it was not possible to convince them that the object of this research was entirely independent of any events taking place in the Hospital Group.

On balance, therefore, the responding sample was reasonably representative of the population, and, if anything the results were likely to be less extreme than the real situation. The sampling fraction of 71% amongst full-timers significantly increased the likelihood of this sub-sample being representative, although in the case of part-timers there is no alternative but to rely on the randomness of the sample.

(b) Generalising from this Sample

The previous section has examined whether it is reasonable to provide descriptions of the population based on evidence drawn from a sample. However, there would be little point in attempting to describe any other Group of hospitals based on these results since the particular change investigated is unique to this Group and therefore such interpolation would be meaningless. But under the analytic objective of this survey, it is possible that conclusions about the behaviour of nurses in general may be applicable to other situations. Therefore, the question of generalisability becomes a meaningful question - if a difficult one to answer.

The limits of such generalisation for the sample could be expressed in combinations of the following terms: thus the results might apply equally well for:

- nurses of grades 4,5,6 in General Nursing in the North East of England;
- nurses of grades 4,5,6 anywhere in the U.K.;
- any English-speaking nurse;
- predominantly female samples of the working population;
- any women;
- etc.

In the case of comparison with other groups of nurses in the U.K. it might have been possible to compare the distribution of this sample on

such parameters as sex, age, grade etc., but at the time of this study national figures were not available either from the D.H.S.S. or from the General Nursing Council.

The main parameters of the responding sample were:

Sex	Women : 109 Men : 11
Distribution between grades	Approximately even.
Mean age	39 years (varied between hospitals from 34 to 48 years)
Types of nursing	General, Geriatric, Pediatric, Theatre.
Mean length of Service	14 years (varied between hospitals from 10 years to 23 years)
Mean time at present hospital	6 years (averages for the hospitals varied from 4 years to 7 years)

Table 8.2: Parameters of Responding Sample

There is no reason to believe that these parameters differed significantly from other Hospital Groups in the U.K. The study reported by Clark (1975) covered a Group with a similar distribution of nursing specialities (though including some psychiatric beds), the distribution between men and women was similar (4.3% men), although she reported a lower proportion of part-time staff (23.1%).

Therefore these findings may be generalised to other groups of nurses, but it is probably only at the more abstract levels that the results will have implications for other distinct groups (such as male industrial workers or members of another culture). This will be borne in mind when interpreting these results in the light of other conclusions derived predominantly from industrial samples.

The final question considered in this section on sampling will have a major bearing on the way the results of the survey are analysed.

(c) Variations between sub-samples

The question of variation is partly a sampling problem, and partly an analysis problem, since it must be determined whether the four hospitals should be regarded as four separate populations, or whether they can be grouped together for analysis. The approach adopted was to divide the responding sample for each sub-group, and then to conduct T-tests or analysis of variance for differences between groups on all of the major measures in this survey. In other words there is little point in assessing whether the responding sample is homogenous "in general"; this should only be done with reference to the specific measurable characteristics employed in the survey.

The following figure tabulates the measured variables which gave significantly different scores for sub-groups within any of the independent variables. Every variable in the main survey which exhibited differences between sub-samples at significance level of ($p \leq .05$) has been included. The right hand column shows the relative order (from highest to lowest) that each sub group fell into on that particular variable.

<u>Independent Variable</u>	<u>Measured Variable</u>	<u>Ordering (Highest to Lowest)</u>
Hospital (Analysis of Variance)	Attitudes towards handling of the move.	B, C, A, D
	Attitudes towards administration	B, C, D, A
	Subjective stress	A, D, C, B
	Threat	B, C, A, D
Grade (Analysis of Variance)	Coping Style	6, 5, 4
Day/Night Duty (T-test)	Ambiguity	Days, Nights
	Subjective stress	Days, Nights
Full/Part Time (T-test)	Ambiguity	Full, Part
	Length of Service	Male, Female
	Identification with profession	Male, Female
	Investment in job	Male, Female
	Attitudes towards moving	Female, Male
	Attitudes towards handling of the move	Female, Male
	Subjective stress	Male, Female

(A = Geriatric, B = Pediatric; C = General (X); D = General (Y).
6 = Ward Sister; 5 = S.R.N.; 4 = S.E.N.)

Table 8.3: Differences between Sub-samples Reaching Statistical Significance ($p \leq .05$)

In the first place it is encouraging to see the consistency between the variables that differentiated between the four hospitals. This consistency indicates a reasonable construct validity between these variables. However, the general tenor of the results can be taken two ways. In cases where significant differences emerge between sub-samples it means that it is possible to make "descriptive" statements about these groups. However, it reduces the potential of the "analytic" approach since it is no longer valid to group the sub-samples together on these variables. This type of trade-off situation will be borne in mind when interpreting results from the survey.

3. RESPONSE TO CHANGE: VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

This thesis is about organisational change, and about the ways that people react to it. The focus for this part of the thesis is in understanding why people react to change in certain ways; and therefore it is critical that the measures of such reactions provide accurate data.

The remaining section of this chapter will examine the accuracy of the main response variables in some detail. But, in addition to examining these variables it will also be possible to look at methods for assessing reliability and validity - so that the process may be continued when introducing additional variables in the following chapter.

(a) Measures

The selection of appropriate variables indicating response during organisational change is based on the results of earlier studies (see Chapter 4), and the results of the pilot study (see Appendix II). Similarly, the operational definitions of these variables are based on the same sources. The four main variables are listed in Table 8.4.

Variables	Question No. ⁽¹⁾	Source
Subjective stress	7	Berkun (1962)
Attitudes	1	Pilot Survey
Coping Style (self reports)	4	Pilot Survey
Absenteeism	-	Personnel Records

Table 8.4: Response Variables: Sources

These variables are generalised, and are not specific to this particular change situation. The formulation of the variables are described in more detail below.

(1) These question numbers refer to the questionnaire for the main survey exhibited in Appendix III.

Although the measure of subjective stress has been carefully researched by Berkun and his colleagues, who have attempted to develop the scale into interval-level measurement, there are at least two reservations that should be recorded in the present application. Firstly, there are bound to be certain cultural differences between the male North American samples on which the scale was developed and the female, Anglo Saxon, sample in this present study, which may have implications for interpretations put upon the basic semantics of the scale. Secondly, in its original form the question was used to measure stress from a reasonably immediate stimulus (such as the anticipation of having to do a parachute jump on the following day). But the nature of organisational change implies that the individual may have to cope with a very ambiguous and distant situation; therefore Berkun's instrument may not be altogether appropriate for measuring this type of stress.

On the other hand the instrument is extremely simple and has been shown useful in studies of stress, so it seems worth including it in this study.

The 'attitude' questions in the pilot survey were substantially modified and up-dated, since the pilot survey was not designed specifically to measure attitudes. At the same time it was necessary to take into account the shifting focus of change during the period of fieldwork. By the time of the main survey, the move to the new hospital had become a far more tangible threat than the implementation of Salmon which was virtually consigned to history. Since the two changes were actually inter-related in many ways it was decided to design the questions around the more tangible aspects of both changes. Also in considering the major change, the move to the new hospital, a distinction was made between the move itself and the way the move was being handled. The result was three groups of attitude items measuring the following:

- Attitude towards moving to the new General Hospital (Items: 2,5,6,7,11,12)
- Attitude towards the handling of the move (Items: 1,3,4,9,13,16)
- Attitude towards the existing Nursing Administration (Items: 8,10,14,15)

The third measure of response was based on self reports of behaviour and was intended to reflect the difference between active and passive coping styles. The rationale for including this item was the identification of a second cluster in the attitude questions of the pilot survey indicating an active coping style, and also the importance of coping mechanisms within the general theoretical framework of the thesis.

Finally, it was possible to obtain data on sickness and absenteeism for all the nurses included in the main sample. Sickness periods were classified according to the duration of absence, thus yielding one measure for the number of periods of less than four days, and another measure giving the total number of periods of absence of any length. Whether or not it is accepted that such measures are a valid indication of the morale of an organisation (see Chapter 6), they do provide some objective data against which to check the construct validity of other measures in the survey.

(b) Reliability.

Reliability can be differentiated from validity since it is concerned with constant errors. Two main types of reliability are generally identified: stability and equivalence. Stability implies that if a measure is administered on two separate occasions it will yield the same results assuming that all other factors in the situation have remained constant. The problem with this approach is that the researcher can never be totally sure that other factors have remained constant. Equivalence implies that if two similar forms of observation are made at the same time, the two forms will yield the same results. Again there is a problem since it is unlikely that parallel measures really will be equivalent. This is why Selltíz et al. (1965, p. 178) recommend using a range of approaches whenever possible.

In the case of this study, measures of stability are ruled out since only one main measurement has been taken. Therefore it will be necessary to test equivalence reliability and the results will be examined through a split-half analysis of measurement scales in the questionnaire. The range of inter-relationships between items comprising each scale will also be investigated.

Variable	No. of Items	Reliability coeff. (r)	Standardised ⁽¹⁾ Reliability
Coping Style	4	.51	.72
Attitudes to moving	6	.67	.77
Attitudes to implementation	6	.82	.88
Attitudes to administration	4	.60	.84

Table 8.5: Response Variable : Split-half Reliability

Although it is difficult to stipulate what is a satisfactory reliability coefficient, Numally (1967) suggests that for exploratory research a reliability of 0.5 to 0.6 will suffice, while a figure of up to 0.8 may be required for basic research. Thus, the measure of coping style may be open to some question. However, within the equivalence definition of reliability it is possible to argue that the concept itself is broad and therefore the items comprising the measure should only cluster loosely.

The extent of such clustering was assessed through inter-correlations of all items in each scale, and the ranges of correlations obtained are summarised in the following table.

Variable	Percentage of inter-correlations in given range			Number of Correlations
	$(\tau < .10)$	$(.10 \leq \tau < .40)$	$(.40 \leq \tau)$	
Coping style	50	50	0	6
Attitudes to moving	0	80	20	15
Attitudes to implementation	13	60	27	15
Attitudes to administration	33	67	0	6
Patchen et al (1965)	21	65	14	97

Table 8.6: Response Variables: Distribution of Intercorrelations

(1) These figures are estimations of the reliability that would have been attained if the scale had had ten items. The transformations are by the Spearman-Brown formula (Cronbach, 1949, p. 131).

Thus in the case of Coping Style, the four items provided a possibility of six paired correlations. Of these six correlations half of them were less than 0.10 and half of them were between 0.10 and 0.40. The bottom line of the table refers to the distribution of a number of organisational scales devised in a major research project at I.S.R. Michigan and reported by Patchen et al. (1965) which is a fairly standard piece of work in this field. In comparison, it will be seen that the three attitude scales cover similar ranges to the I.S.R. scales, while the scale of "Coping Style", as expected, covers a broader range.

(c) Validity

The analysis of validity for any measure of social process such as an attitude is an extremely complex process. As Oppenheim (1966) points out (p. 74) one must assume that underlying all possible measurements there is such a thing as a "true" attitude which is stable over the period of measurement. Even the concept of validity has its contradictions since, although validity information permits one to judge whether the test measures the right thing for a given purpose such information can be obtained only if there is already some form of measurement that is considered more effective. In this context George Kelly is reported as defining validity as, "the capacity of a test to tell us what we already know" (Bannister and Mair, 1968).

Inevitably, the means and methods of validation have been debated for a long time. In their methodological monograph Patchen et al. (1965) summarised existing approaches and classified them into four major groups:

- (1) Convergent validity - confirmation by independent measurement procedures;
- (11) Construct validity - relationship with other variables measuring similar factors;
- (111) Validation by known groups - comparing groups otherwise known to differ on the factor in question;
- (1v) Item intercorrelation - relationships between items as an indication of the homogeneity of the scale.

In the case of this survey, the majority of validation will be based on type (11) although some of the more important variables have also been checked by methods (1) and (111). The analysis of reliability conducted in the previous section would also fall into category (iv) validity. Clearly types (1) and (111) would provide more convincing results, but unfortunately it is much harder to obtain relevant data in these cases. Ideally the analysis of validity and reliability should be carried out on different data to those used for the substantive analysis. But if that is not possible then it is most important to ensure that no reconstruction of the measurement scales occurs between methodological and substantive analyses if the two are to be based on the same data.

(1) Convergent validity

This implies comparing ratings from the questionnaire scales with ratings of exactly the same thing obtained from independent sources. In the Hospital Group a short validation exercise was combined with the normal feedback of results to the host organization and three top members of the nursing administration were asked to rank different hospitals within the group along some of the key measures included in the questionnaire. The correlations between the judges' predictions and the mean values for each hospital obtained from the questionnaire are given below.

	Judges' assessments against questionnaire results (Kendall Tau correlations)	Coefficient of Concordance Between Judges
Attitudes to moving	0.91	0.78
Attitudes to implementation	0.33	0.78
Attitudes to administration	0.00	0.65

Table 8.7 Correlations of Questionnaire Measures with Independent Judges

Since the correlations are based on mean scores rather than individual ones they do not give a genuine measure of convergent validity, but nevertheless, these results are very encouraging from several points of view. The high coefficients of concordance between the judges suggest that there was a common understanding of what was to be ranked, and that this was based on consistent data. The close agreement between the judges' and the questionnaire ranking of attitudes towards the move gives strong support to many of the conclusions drawn from analysis of this variable. On the other hand the zero agreement over attitudes towards the administration may be explained on the grounds that a group of people would be least well informed over attitudes towards themselves. When this was pointed out to them, the three judges discussed the matter for some time before concluding that they had been ignoring a number of specific signs from two out of the four hospitals in this respect - and they decided to alter their tactics in future.

(11) Construct Validity

While it is clearly preferable to have some independent criteria for assessing the validity of a measure, this is something that rarely happens in the social sciences. Therefore it is normally necessary to adopt less powerful procedures, such as construct validity, where a measure is assessed by comparing it with others that are supposed to measure related dimensions.

The six measures of response were therefore intercorrelated as follows :

	2	3	4	5	6
1. Coping Style (Active)	0.04	0.24	0.04	-0.11	-0.13
2. Attitudes to moving to new hospital		0.43**	0.43**	-0.45**	0.24*
3. Attitudes to Implementation (handling of move)			0.48**	-0.43**	0.08
4. Attitudes to Administration				-0.49**	0.01
5. Subjective Stress					-0.12
6. Absenteeism					

(*: $p \leq 0.05$, **: $p \leq 0.01$)

Table 8.8 Correlations between Response Variables (Full Sample)

From the significant correlations above it is possible to identify two groups: those amongst the attitude measures and those between the attitude measures and subjective stress scores. A positive relationship was expected between Coping Style and Attitudes to Implementation since the latter includes questions concerning consultation and opportunities for involvement. The relationship with Absenteeism, although weak, is also in the expected direction since absenteeism may be interpreted as a manifestation of avoidance behaviour. Slightly harder to interpret is the positive relationship between Absenteeism and Attitudes to Moving. If we assume that there are no errors in recording and computation then one possible position is that this indicates a negative motivation about moving: the people who wish to move are the ones that are least happy in their present hospitals. This interpretation is also possible for the negative relationship between Subjective Stress and Absenteeism since the former is an indication of future concerns while the latter may be a response to existing concerns.

(111) Validation by Known Groups

At the time of writing, direct evidence for this type of validity is limited since much of it is subsumed within the category of convergent validity. However, there may be some value in illustrating the relationship between attitudes and the incidence of militant action. During the period before the move the only militant action came from Hospital D. The main hospitals were ranked according to mean scores on the attitude scales as follows:

	HOSPITALS			
	A	B	C	D
Attitude towards new General Hospital	3.5	1	2	3.5
Attitude towards handling of the move	3	2	1	4

Table 8.9 Rankings of Hospitals according to Attitudes

Thus, in the case of Hospital D, these attitude scales agree with the actual behaviour of nurses involved. Moreover, on the basis of length of service it appeared that the greatest upheaval would be experienced by Hospital A (Geriatric). Attitudes in this hospital were only marginally better than those in Hospital D.

(d) Summary

The main measures of response showed adequate reliability for an exploratory study, although the measure of coping style was slightly less satisfactory. The measure of Attitudes towards implementation of the move exhibited a reliability that would be adequate for basic research, and in general, all of the measures compared quite favourably with other more established measures in the field of organizational behaviour.

Available data indicated a high convergent validity for the measure of Attitudes towards the move, which was supported to some

extent through validation through known groups. Construct validation indicated that the three attitude measures were related at a moderate level to each other, were negatively related to subjective stress, but were largely unrelated to the other variables.

The results for reliability suggest that these variables are quite adequate for conducting any exploratory study, but that care should be taken in drawing basic conclusions from them. The results for validity are encouraging and indicate that somewhat greater weight may be placed upon analyses particularly where they include the measure of Attitudes towards the move.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The basic purpose of this chapter has been to determine how much weight should be given to the results of this survey; that is, to what extent the design will enable meaningful conclusions to be drawn from the results. It is very difficult to define an absolute standard of acceptability and therefore the analysis has concentrated on examining which areas may provide suspect results, and which areas appear to be satisfactory.

This general approach will be continued in the following chapter which will provide an opportunity to test some of the hypotheses about the conditions which will predispose individuals to various kinds of response. The analysis will also examine the validity and reliability of the remaining measures employed in the main survey.

RESULTS OF MAIN SURVEY

1. Introduction
2. Perceptions of Change
3. Organizational Environment
4. Role and Identification
5. Personality
6. Demographic Factors
7. Complex Hypotheses
 - (a) Introduction
 - (b) Moderating Role of Ambiguity
 - (c) Threat and Coping Responses
 - (d) Interaction of Extroversion and Neuroticism
8. Conclusions

1. INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter has concentrated on the problems of providing valid answers to social questions, on the process of collecting data and on assessing the validity of evidence. In this chapter the evidence will be presented in order to test ideas developed in the thesis, and it will be evaluated in conjunction with an assessment of the remaining variables employed in the study. The focus will be upon the factors, both personal and situational which are directly associated with various forms of response during the anticipation of change.

The overall structure for this chapter is based on the framework developed in Chapter 4 which concentrates on individual behaviour, and it has been extended somewhat on the basis of subsequent investigations, including those reported in Chapter 7 and in Appendices II and IV. Similar formats will be adopted for each section which looks at a given group of variables; the discussion will cover the measures employed, reliability and validity, and the results of correlations between the given group of variables and the 'response' variables defined in Chapter 8. The selection of variables employed in the study is based on the factors identified from the literature as being relevant to responses to organizational change. In most cases there is too much inconsistency amongst published material to be able to predict relationships with any confidence, and the purpose of the analysis is merely to determine whether, in the light of other studies, a relationship is manifest in the present case. However, whenever it has been possible to identify a consistency in published material this has been formulated into an Hypothesis (see Chapter 5), and these hypotheses will be tested in the normal way.

It may be apparent from this discussion that hypotheses are being differentiated from mere ideas on the basis of the level of confidence with which they are held. This is based on the pragmatic view of research methodology which has been adopted in this thesis. Thus an hypothesis is viewed, formally, as the logical expression of an idea

in such a way that it may be shown to be either true or false. In practice its main contribution is in clarifying research problems: the discipline of formulating hypotheses forces the researcher to make beliefs explicit, and helps in defining the directions of data collection and analysis. This is related to an overall view of the research process which begins with concrete observations and proceeds to develop abstractions at increasing levels of generality which may be formulated as hypotheses or, ultimately, as theories. Hypotheses may be tested by reference to further data. If they are supported, the consistencies amongst groups of hypotheses may then be combined to form theories. If the hypotheses are not supported this may question the validity of associated hypotheses and of any theoretical edifices already devised: this may require the revision of complete areas of knowledge.

There is seen to be a progression both in clarity of formulation and in level of abstraction from ideas through hypotheses to theories. Thus although most ideas are in principle testable, they may only reach this stage in practice when they have been refined and clarified very extensively - and formulated as hypotheses. Since any attempt to develop knowledge must incorporate both the testing of hypotheses and the exploration of ideas, this is why both processes are included in this chapter.

A common notation will be employed in each section of this chapter as follows:

(a) Correlations:

Unless otherwise stated all correlation coefficients are Spearman Rho's. One-tailed tests of significance are given for hypotheses and are indicated thus:

- * $p \leq 0.05$
- ** $p \leq 0.01$
- *** $p \leq 0.001$

In the interests of consistency the one-tailed significance of other (non-hypothesised) relationships is also indicated, though it should be noted that if these were being tested as non-directional hypotheses a two-tailed test would normally be used.

(b) Sample sizes:

The size of responding samples (N) are not indicated after each table since this is reasonably constant across the survey ($114 \leq N \leq 120$). Measures of Neuroticism and Extroversion are based on a maximum sample size of 84 cases.

2. PERCEPTIONS OF CHANGE

(a) Measures

Four main variables were selected as being relevant on the basis of the review in Chapter 4. Three of these were composite variables (based on responses to a number of items in the questionnaire). The variables are listed in Table 9.1 along with the questions in the main questionnaire from which they are derived, and the original sources from which these items were derived.

Variable	Question No.	Source of Questions
Ambiguity	2	Pilot survey & interviews
Magnitude of Change	2	Pilot survey & interviews
Valence	5, 10	Vroom (1964), Herzberg et al. (1959)
Threat	3	Pilot survey.

Table 9.1 Perception of Change: Sources of Questions

As a general point it should be noted that it can be very difficult to differentiate between measures of perception and response. In the case of 'attitudes' it has been argued by Fishbein (1967) that an attitude should include the totality of an individual's beliefs, intentions and actions towards a given object, since the operational problems of making meaningful differentiations are so great. However, in the present circumstances this distinction will be maintained between perceptual and affective elements wherever possible. Thus the perceptual elements are under consideration here; and the affective elements have been defined as part of the response pattern.

Discussion with nurses during and after the pilot survey identified a number of factors in the working environment that might be affected by the move to the General Hospital. From these eight factors the Magnitude was defined as the sum of the factors where some change was anticipated. The measure of Ambiguity was derived from the same eight questionnaire items and was given by the total number of factors where the respondent was unable to predict whether or not they would be affected, (response of "don't know"). This particular approach corresponds to that adopted by Duncan (1972) in defining the uncertainty of organisational environments: where the probabilities of a given range of outcomes are unknown.

The measure of Threat was based on a simple assessment of whether the move would make things better or worse for the respondent, and was answered on a five-point scale. A more complex evaluation of the change was provided by questions based on the job satisfaction factors of Herzberg (1959) and Vroom (1964). The actual wording of the items was based on a survey by Baker and Reynolds (1969) which was modified slightly after the pilot survey. It was also necessary to modify the response categories for these questions since earlier studies by the author had indicated that questions about the importance of job characteristics tended to be answered in strong terms (either not important or extremely important). This was taken into account in the formulation of question 10.

Questions 5 and 10 were combined to provide a composite score for the Valence of the change (i.e. the degree of attractiveness to the respondent). Following the work of Quinn and Maugione (1972) three alternative scores were computed: 'simple valence (V1), 'multiplicative' valence (V2) and 'ipsative' valence (V3). Simple valence was based on a straight summation of the ratings in the change question (Question 5). Multiplicative valence was a summation of the products of respective satisfaction and change items. Ipsative valence was a summation of the change anticipated only in those items that had been rated 'essential'. Algebraically the three scores can be expressed as follows:

$$V1 = \sum_{n=1}^8 (C_n)$$

$$V2 = \sum_{n=1}^8 (C_n S_n)$$

$$V3 = \sum_{n=1}^8 (C_n^1 S_n)$$

($C_n^1 = 1$ if $C_n = 3$;
otherwise $C_n^1 = 0$)

Where V1, V2, V3 are the three valences in order, C_n is the rating given on the nth change question, and S_n is the rating given on the nth satisfaction question. It should be noted that although the wording varies slightly, the items on the two questions correspond exactly.

(b) Reliability

A split-half reliability test was possible only with the three measures based on simple summations:

	Number of Items	Reliability Coeff.	Standardised Coeff.
Ambiguity	8	.70	.75
Magnitude	8	.77	.81
(Simple) Valence	8	.81	.84

Table 9.2: Perception of Change: Split-Half Reliabilities

All three measures show adequate reliability according to the criteria discussed in the previous chapter - although these figures may have been somewhat inflated by similarities in the definition of component questions. A good consistency between items is also indicated by the distribution of item-intercorrelations.

(c) Validity

Construct validation of these scales is as follows:

	Ambiguity	Magnitude	Threat
Valence 1 (Simple)	-0.14	-0.26*	-0.55***
Valence 2 (Multiplicative)	-0.13	-0.24*	-0.61***
Valence 3 (Ipsative)	-0.21*	.0.24	-0.56***
Ambiguity			0.21*
Magnitude			0.26*

Table 9.3: Perceptions of Change Variables: Intercorrelations

Correlations between the three measures of valence are not given here since they are based on the same primary data and are therefore not independent. A similar point may be made for Ambiguity and Magnitude, which is why no correlation has been given for this pair.

These results demonstrate a basic consistency between the measures of perception. The moderate relationship between Threat and Valence can either be interpreted at the trivial level: that a situation which is evaluated negatively represents a threat; or as a test of the validity of the three valence measures. If the latter, then Valence 2 (Multiplicative) appears to have the higher validity - and this model will therefore be used in subsequent analysis. At the same time it is worth noting that there is not much to choose between the three models, and as Quinn and Mangione (1972) remark, if the survey was to be repeated it would probably be adequate to use only the 'simple' model for measuring valence.

(d) Results and Discussion

The main form of analysis was to calculate correlations between perceptual variables and response variables. These are given below in the matrix of Table 9.4, and they will be used to examine three of the hypotheses formulated in Chapter 5. In addition, some of the other relationships, and lack of relationships will be able to contribute towards the development of ideas formulated in Chapter 4.

	Attitudes to Change	Coping (Active)	Subjective Stress	Absen- teeism
Ambiguity	-0.16	0.02	0.11	-0.16
Magnitude	-0.18	0.01	0.15	-0.20*
Valence 1 (Simple)	0.38***	0.13	-0.45***	0.09
Valence 2 (Multiplicative)	0.38***	0.14	-0.46***	0.08
Valence 3 (Ipsative)	0.35***	0.14	-0.42***	0.13
Threat	-0.51***	-0.08	0.47***	-0.07

Table 9.4: Perceptions of Change: Correlations with Response

(1) Hypothesis 6

"In individual appraisals of organisational change increased threat will be associated with increased negative affect."

Strong support is provided for this hypothesis by the correlation between Threat and Attitudes. This is significant ($p \leq 0.001$), which suggests that there undoubtedly is a relationship between the two variables. The size of the relationship is moderate ($r_s = -0.51$), which suggests that about one quarter of the variation in Attitudes can be accounted for by variations in Threat. This means that people will tend to form negative attitudes when threat is high: a finding which concurs with most of the established findings about response to threat.

(11) Hypothesis 8

"Increased subjective ambiguity results in increasingly vigorous "search" behaviour from individuals."

The measure of Coping includes items about discussion of the implications of the change, and may be taken to indicate active searching for information. However, it will be seen from Table 9.4 that there is no relationship between Coping and Ambiguity ($r_s = 0.02$). This is unlikely to be accounted for by measurement errors since the reliability of Ambiguity is reasonably high, and that of Coping is satisfactory. Some doubt is therefore thrown on the conclusions of Heslin et al. (1972), Lanzetta and Driscoll (1966) and Vernon (1971): that individuals anticipating stressful situations generally prefer to obtain information about the nature and timing of the stress stimulus. However it should be pointed out that there are differences in the contexts of these various studies. The first two studies were carried out in artificial laboratory situations. The study by Vernon was more realistic since he observed the tendencies of tuberculosis patients under different uncertainty conditions to seek out information from books about their disease. But his results provided weak support only for the notion that people may prefer to obtain information under ambiguous conditions he did not establish a correlation between ambiguity and information seeking - which is the correlation found not to hold in the present study.

More serious than this are the implications for March and Simons's, (1958) theory of organisational behaviour. The assumption is made by these authors that non-programmed decision situations result in search behaviour on the part of individuals and organisations, and that search is also a product of dissatisfaction with the status quo. The first part of this assumption is based on studies which have shown that individuals under experimental uncertainty will tend to engage in search behaviour, and this is then extrapolated to apply to groups and organisations. The results of the present study indicate that for individuals working in real organisations the existence of uncertainty, due possibly to unprogrammed decision situations, is not in itself sufficient to create search behaviour. Nor is this likely to result from dissatisfaction and stress as the low correlation between Threat and Coping shows. Search behaviour in real organisations may be related to factors other than the perception of the immediate stimulus; this will be discussed later in this chapter.

(iii) Hypothesis 11

"Anticipations of the future are based on simple rather than complex assessments."

The three measures of Valence provide different levels of assumed complexity in judgements about the future. In order of increasing complexity they are the 'ipsative', the 'simple', and the 'multiplicative' models. Between the first two there is an increase in the quantity of information used, between the second and third there is both an increase in quantity and in the way it is processed. The correlations for Valence with Attitudes and Stress show the association between different hypothetical ways of forming a judgement and the individual's reaction to that assessment. Higher associations will indicate that the particular process is more representative of the way judgements are formed. The fact that there is a negligible difference between the levels of association for the three measures of valence suggests that the more complex models have no superiority over the more simplistic models. Since the more complex models incorporate information used in the simplistic models, this suggests that the extra sophistication provides no increase in predictability. Therefore the simplistic process is the most accurate representation of the way judgements are formed, which supports Hypothesis 11.

(iv) Non-hypothesised results

Much of the above results have been discussed within the framework of the three formal hypotheses. However, the incidence of absenteeism does not conform with expected patterns: weak positive relationships are observed with the valence measures; weak negative associations are observed with Ambiguity and Magnitude. One possible interpretation of the association between low Absenteeism and high Ambiguity and Magnitude would contradict the conclusion about search behaviour in Hypothesis 8: that uncertainty about the change results in people choosing to remain at work as much as possible in case they miss anything. Admittedly this argument is a tenuous one and many alternatives are possible (such as uncertainty about the future resulting in people trying to project images of being reliable and dedicated) therefore it should be regarded with circumspection.

3. ORGANIZATIONAL ENVIRONMENT(a) Measures

Three main types of measure have been formulated in order to examine the influence of the wider organization on the reactions of individuals during change. These are based on discussion in Chapter 4 of the factors likely to be of importance, and they are summarised below in Table 9.5.

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Question No</u>	<u>Source of questions</u>
Support	16	Litwin & Stringer (1968); pilot survey.
Power axiality	17	Tannenbaum (1968)
Perceived orientations) (Power, Role, Task)	18	Harrison (undated)

Table 9.5 Measures of Organizational Environment; Sources

The measure of Support contains six items. Four of these are taken from Litwin and Stringer's climate questionnaire; while the other two questions measure aspects of job security and were developed during the pilot survey.

The questions on "orientation" are based on Harrison's concept of organisational ideology and undoubtedly presented the greatest measurement problems of the thesis. The original paper on this concept (Harrison, undated) included a checklist of statements about different aspects of the organization (Relationships, Promotion, Communication etc.). These statements were arranged into groups of four and respondents were required to rank them in order of importance. Since each of these questions reflected one of the four main (Power, Role, Task,

Person) dimensions, it was possible to determine the importance of each dimension with regard to each organizational aspect, and a total score could be obtained by summing across all the aspects. A number of modifications were made prior to the pilot survey for this thesis which included substantially shortening the scale, and further modifications to wording of items were made after the pilot survey in order that the statements would be readily understandable by nurses.

The questions measuring Power Axiality were taken directly from Tannenbaum's (1968) Control Graph technique. This had been used in the pilot survey and no further modifications were made.

(b) Reliability

Split-half reliability was calculated for the measure of Support; but it was not possible for the other measures since they contained no more than three items each. For the six items in the Support scale reliability was 0.53 which makes the scale barely within the bounds of adequacy mentioned by Nunally (1967).

The intercorrelations for items in the "orientation" scales are given below (these covered three aspects- boss relationships, subordinate relationships, and perceived criteria for promotion. Total measures were obtained by summation of the rankings of each item.)

<u>'Power'</u> items			<u>'Role'</u> items			<u>'Task'</u> items		
P2	P3		R2	R3		T2	T3	
P1	.15	.16	R1	.19	.05	T1	.30	.11
P2		.01	R2		-.01	T2		0

Table 9.6 Perceived Power, Role and Task Orientations: Item Intercorrelations

These item intercorrelations show a low consistency within each of the variables; but it could also be argued that the concepts being measured are rather broad and therefore the questions should reflect this. In order to explore the issue of reliability further, the stability was assessed by presenting the questions to a group of post-graduate students on two occasions separated by six weeks. The correlations between the two occasions for this group of 21 students produced test-retest reliability coefficients as shown in Table 9.7 (see Ashton and Easterby-Smith, 1977, p.35).

Measure	Test-retest reliability
Power orientation	0.71
Task orientation	0.27
Role orientation	0.60

Table 9.7 Test-retest Reliability of Orientation Measures

This suggests adequate levels of reliability for the Power and Role measure, whereas Task is very poor. These observations will be taken into account in interpreting the subsequent results. As a general point it is noted by Pugh et al. (1969, p.115) that it is not uncommon to obtain low reliabilities when 'a priori' concepts, such as Harrison's, are operationalised.

(c) Validity

Data on construct validity of the climate measures was as follows:

	Support	Power Axiality
Task orientation	0.19	0.15
Role orientation	-0.28**	-0.14
Power orientation	-0.11	0.03
Power axiality	- 0.23*	

Table 9.8 Organizational Climate: Variable Intercorrelations

Correlations between "orientation" measures are not given here since the rankings assigned to different items are not independent, and therefore intercorrelations would be spurious.

The measure of Support appears to be related meaningfully to the other four variables. In particular it suggests a supportive climate is not likely to be experienced when the organization is perceived to emphasize formal structure (Role orientation) or the importance of Power. Nor will a supportive climate be experienced when a disproportionate amount of power appears to lie in the hands of those at the top of the organization.

The analysis also suggests that those who perceive power and influence to be near the top of the organization do not necessarily perceive a power ideology to be operating. This apparent lack of relationship may mean that the power axiality is an observation on the distribution of power within the organization, whereas Power Orientation is an indicator of the way that power is seen to be used.

(d) Results and Discussion

These measures of organizational environment were correlated with response to the change, as shown in Table 9.9. The results can also be used to assess two of the hypotheses formulated in

Chapter 5.

PERCEIVED ORGANISATIONAL ENVIRONMENT	Attitudes to change	Coping (Active)	Subjective Stress	Absent-eeism
Support	0.19	0.35***	-0.31***	0
Task orientation	0.17	0.01	0	-0.02
Role orientation	-0.17	-0.11	0.21*	0
Power orientation	-0.10	0.10	0.02	-0.11
Power axiality (vertical)	-0.06	-0.22*	-0.01	0.04

Table 9.9 Organizational Environment: Correlations with Response to change

(1) Hypothesis 12

"A positive relationship exists between perceived supportiveness of organizational climate and attitudes towards changes in that organization."

The correlation between Support and Attitudes (0.19) indicates that there may be a relationship, but this is not sufficiently large to produce statistical significance with this sample. Therefore in a formal sense the hypothesis is not proven; although the results clearly provide some support for the inference that a supportive climate is associated with more positive attitudes towards change in general.

(11) Hypothesis 13

"Positive attitudes towards change will be associated with perceptions of greater power being held by the lower members of the organization."

As discussed in Chapter 4, the existence of more power at the lower end of an organization will be indicated by a 'flat'

power gradient. The same will apply to perceptions of these states. In this case there is only a weak negative relationship between attitudes and perceptions of vertical power distribution, and therefore the hypothesis is not supported.

This result reflects the equivocal nature of much of the research into the impact of participation and power equalisation. Many of the original studies may be seen to spring from values held by academics about egalitarianism, and initial investigations tend to provide the desired conclusions (Coch and French, 1948; Morse and Reimer, 1956). Unfortunately replications tend not to support the initial hypotheses, and these failures are explained on methodological rather than substantive grounds (French et al., 1960; Smith and Jones, 1968).

In keeping with this general trend it might be possible to explain the failure of the above hypothesis on the grounds that power Axiality only measures perceptions of the distribution of power rather than the way it is used. In this case a relationship would be required between Power Orientation and Attitudes - but this also is manifestly not so.

(111) Non-Hypothesised Results

Although it was only possible to provide weak support for the relationship between Support and Attitudes, there is a strong relationship apparent for a supportive climate with Coping and Subjective Stress. Both these relationships are significant ($p \leq 0.001$)⁽¹⁾: perceptions of a supportive climate are associated with active attempts to cope with the situation and a lower level of subjective stress. It should also be noted that the perception of a Role oriented climate is associated with the opposite responses, particularly with increased subjective stress.

In view of the poor reliability figures obtained for Task orientation it is inappropriate to comment on the results obtained for this variable. The correlation between Power

(1) Note that this is a one-tailed test of significance.

Axiality and Coping indicates that the perception of a horizontal distribution of power may encourage attempts to cope actively with the situation.

It is also noticeable that none of these measures of organizational environment exhibited significant relationships with the incidence of absenteeism. This suggests that there may be causes of absenteeism independent of an individual's experience of the organization, and that attempts to use absenteeism as an indicator of morale or climate may be misguided - at least amongst qualified nurses.

4. ROLE AND IDENTIFICATION

(a) Measures

Three questions were used to measure the relationship between the individual and organization or job: Identification, Confidence and Investment. The sources of these questions are shown in Table 9.10, and they are discussed further in the following paragraphs.

Variable	Question Number	Source of Question
Identification	9	Pilot survey
Confidence	8	Expanded from pilot survey
Investment	13	Pilot survey and earlier fieldwork

Table 9.10 Organizational Identity Variables: Sources

The question about identification asked nurses at which level of the organization their loyalties lay. The levels were:

the Group, the Hospital, the Consultant, the Nursing Profession. These were presented in pairs and respondents were asked to opt for one of each pair. Given the four items, there were therefore six possible dyads, with each item appearing three times. Composite scores were then based on the number of times that each item was preferred.

The measures of Confidence and Investment were included in the main survey since they had been found to be relevant in the Pilot Survey. The former assessed how well the respondent felt he was doing (and seen to be doing) in the job, and the latter tried to measure how important it was for the individual to retain the present job. These have not been included in the section on personality factors since they are specific to the role adopted.

(b) Reliability

Split-half reliabilities were obtained for the two scaled measures as follows:

Variables	Number of items	Reliability coefficients	Standardised coefficients
Confidence	5	.72	.84
Investment	4	.58	.78

Table 9.11 Organizational Identity: Split half Reliabilities

The reliability coefficient obtained for Confidence is satisfactory, while that obtained for Investment is lower than one might wish. In view of this it is necessary to examine the distribution of intercorrelations between items in each scale. Table 9.12 shows for each question the percentage of item intercorrelations falling in given ranges.

Variable	Percentage of Correlations falling in given ranges			Number of correlations
	$(r < 0.10)$	$(0.10 \leq r \leq 0.40)$	$(0.40 \leq r)$	
Confidence	50	40	10	10
Investment	17	83	0	6

Table 9.12 Organizational Identity: Distribution of Item Intercorrelations

This shows that over 80% of the item intercorrelations for Investment fall between 0.1 and 0.4, which suggests a reasonable consistency in the measure. Hence it is acceptable in the present circumstances.

(c) Validity

No independent data was available which would have allowed an assessment of convergent validity. But Table 9.13 shows the correlations between variables which may indicate construct validity.

Variables	Confidence	Investment
Identification with Hospital	-0.08	0
Identification with Group	0.07	-0.01
Identification with Profession	-0.05	-0.06
Identification with Consultants	0.10	0.09
Confidence		0.13

Table 9.13 Organizational Identity: Intercorrelations

The main impression gained from these results is that the various measures of identification are not related to Confidence and Investment, but there is a weak positive relation between the latter two. No correlations are given between the various measures of identification since they are based on a common primary data set.

(d) Results and Discussion

Two hypotheses regarding the influence of role and identity were formulated in Chapter 5. In addition the other relationships between these and response variables will be examined below. The results of correlations are shown in Table 9.14.

Variables	Attitudes to change	Coping (Active)	Subjective Stress	Absent- eeism
Group Identification	0.15	0	-0.17	0
Hospital Identification	-0.10	0.06	0.05	0.06
'Consultant' Identification	0.05	0.10	-0.02	-0.02
'Nursing Profession' Identification	-0.10	-0.14	0.12	-0.04
Confidence	0.16	-0.04	-0.09	-0.01
Investment	0.07	0.22*	0.02	-0.15

Table 9.14 Organizational Identification: Correlations with Response

(1) Hypothesis 14

"Negative attitudes towards change will be related to the distance of the source of change from the group with which the individual identifies."

If the origin of the move to the General Hospital was seen to reside with the Group Administration then those nurses who identified with the Group would be more likely to support the move. Conversely those nurses who identified with their own hospital tended to regard the whole operation as external. This was indicated by comments made during group interviews, such as:

"There's just no communication - you don't get to know anything nowadays. Sometimes they don't seem to know we exist."

Or:

"We're very cut off here. Matron tells us sometimes, but Mr. Clegg is not one of us."
(Mr. Clegg was Acting Matron at the time).

Thus the hypothesis would be supported if a strong relationship was observed between attitudes and Group identification, while a weak, or negative, relationship was observed between attitudes and Hospital identification. As can be seen from the results in Table 9.14, some support may be obtained for this hypothesis.

It is doubtful whether the other two measures of identification would add evidence to this issue since professional identification is an ambiguous matter. As noted in Chapter 6 the Nursing Profession has many characteristics which would differentiate it from conventional notions of professions; and in Chapter 7 it was shown that identification with Consultants was related to the conflict between clinical and administrative functions in the Group. However, it will be possible to provide some more evidence with a bearing on the hypothesis later in this chapter.

(11) Hypothesis 15

"Positive attitudes towards change are related positively with confidence in ability to do one's job."

This may be tested directly by reference to the correlation

between Confidence and Attitudes. At 0.16 this indicates a slight relationship, but it does not reach statistical significance. Therefore the hypothesis is not proven.

This failure to replicate the results found by other authors may be due to the nature of the change in question. It may be argued that the move to a new Hospital has little link with job performance; but in the case of research by Kirton and Mulligan (1973), the change involved the establishment of more rational promotion systems (through appraisals), and therefore there was a close link between confidence in the job, and this form of change. Hence the confidence hypothesis may only apply to changes where there is a direct link between the form of confidence and probability of anticipated pay-offs.

(111) Non-Hypothesised Results

As a group the variables measuring role and identification show negligible relationships with any of the response variables. The only correlation reaching statistical significance occurs between Coping and Investment in the job. This suggests that those people who have most need to maintain their present jobs are those who are also most prepared to take active steps in coping with the situation. It should also be noted that Absenteeism is lower for this group.

5. PERSONALITY

(a) Measurement

It was in the area of personality that the major reductions to the length of the pilot questionnaire were required. In a non-clinical situation people do not seem keen to complete long batteries of personality questions - and it is difficult to disguise such questions in the middle of a questionnaire since the rubric and format must be standardised. Furthermore, when people are

aware that they are completing "personality inventories", it is only a natural reaction to speculate what the test is measuring. Thus, when using Form A of the E.P.I. in the pilot survey the researcher was asked by nurses on two occasions why he wanted to measure "extroversion".

The first decision was to remove the Wilson-Paterson Conservatism scale altogether - for the reasons that it did not seem to be measuring those aspects of rigidity and inflexibility relevant to response to change and also because of the doubts about the basic validity of the "conservatism" concept measured (see Appendix III).

The I.P.A.T. Anxiety scale (Cattell, 1957) was also removed, in spite of the importance attached to it by Kahn (1964), since there seemed to be a basic overlap with the Neuroticism component of the E.P.I. (Eysenck, 1958), it was possible to effect a drastic reduction of the questions in this area.

Two other personality scales were included in the main questionnaire. The first was a measure of "Denial" developed from a factor analysis of the M.M.P.I. by Little and Fisher (1958). This was included because it provided a personality factor which could be expected to measure the converse of active coping behaviour. Thus a high score on the Denial scale might predict an 'avoidance' style when coping with change. The second scale was introduced as a replacement for the Wilson-Paterson scale of Conservatism. The scale was originally developed by Trumbo (1961) as a generalised measure of attitudes towards changes at work, and it has been used in occupational settings on a number of occasions. It was necessary to modify it somewhat in the present application so that the items would be compatible with a hospital environment. This meant that it had to be reduced from nine items to five items, and it was then titled Flexibility.

The four personality measures employed in the survey are

summarised below in Table 9.15.

Variable	Question No.	Source
Extroversion	11) Eysenck's M.P.I.(1958))
Neuroticism	11	
Denial	12	Little & Fisher (1959)
Flexibility	15	Adapted from Trumbo (1961)

Table 9.15 Personality Variables: Sources and Measures

(b) The split-half reliability coefficients for personality measures were as follows:

Variable	Number of items	Reliability coefficient	Standardised coefficient
Extroversion	6	.50	.62
Neuroticism	6	.70	.80
Denial	7	.05	—
Flexibility	5	.67	.80

Table 9.16 Personality Variables: Split-half Reliability

Of the four scales above, Extroversion and Neuroticism are taken directly from Eysenck's M.P.I. The reliability coefficients, for Extroversion in particular, seem lower than one might anticipate in view of the reputation enjoyed by Eysenck. The measure of

Flexibility shows an acceptable level of reliability, but the one scale that is clearly not satisfactory is Denial. It will therefore be necessary to remove this measure from subsequent analysis since it does not show any homogeneity.

(c) Validity

Construct validity was tested, and the results are shown in Table 9.17.

Variables	Neuroticism	Flexibility
Extroversion	-0.21*	0.21*
Neuroticism		-0.07

Table 9.17 Personality Variables: Intercorrelations

The size of the negative correlation between Neuroticism and Extroversion is interesting since the M.P.I. was designed on its ability to demonstrate two orthogonal factors, and subsequent testing of the scale has shown correlations no higher than 0.09 (Eysenck and Eysenck, 1973; Kirton and Mulligan, 1973). Therefore this result may either be due to random variance or an indication that the sample of nurses taken in this study differed significantly from the samples on which the test was initially validated.⁽¹⁾

The linear relationship between Extroversion and Flexibility contradicts the finding of Kirton that there are no linear correlations between Flexibility and either of Eysenck's two factors.

(d) Results and Discussion

The correlations between personality variables and measures of

(1) Eysenck developed this scale on a quota sample drawn from the national population. Analysis of variance indicated that both Extroversion and Neuroticism were affected significantly by sex differences, which may account for this anomalous result obtained with a predominantly female sample. (Eysenck, 1958).

response are shown below in Table 9.18.

Variable	Attitudes to change	Coping (Active)	Subjective stress	Absenteeism
Neuroticism	0.01	-0.11	-0.06	0.15
Extroversion	0.01	0.02	0.01	0
Flexibility	0.15	0.04	-0.01	0.12

Table 9.18 Personality Variables: Correlations with Response

No linear hypotheses were formulated about the influence of personality variables since the results of prior research had been inconclusive. The correlation found between Flexibility and Attitudes provides some support for the moderate relationship ($r = 0.31$) observed by Kirton and Mulligan (1973) between these two variables. But overall the low levels of association between personality variables and response measures can be seen as a vindication for the view of Miller and Labovitz (1976) that psychological factors alone are not important as predictors of behaviour during changes which take place within the constraints of an organization. Assuming the adequacy of the measures employed this suggests either or both of the following: that psychological measures are not useful as predictors of behaviour during changing situations; that the constraints of the organizational environment have a greater impact on the behaviour of normal individuals, than do personal dispositions.

6. DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

(a) Measures

Six measures were included: age, service (in nursing), service (at that hospital), marital status, sex, seniority. Information

was obtained through the questionnaire (Question 14). Although previous research studies have consistently found relationships between level of education and response to change, it was not possible to establish an independent measure for education. This is because it is defined either as the age when the individual left full-time education, or as the highest level of qualification obtained. Since most nurses left school at the normal school leaving age, any variations would depend on the school leaving age in force at the time - and this would be dependent on the age of the nurse. Similar problems are encountered with the qualification criterion. Nurses either complete an S.R.N. qualification, or an S.E.N. qualification. If they complete the former then they will become S.R.N.s, Ward Sisters or any of the higher administrative grades; if they complete the latter they will become S.E.N.s and will remain in that grade.⁽¹⁾ Until the recent advent of degrees in nursing there were no higher 'generalist' qualifications other than the S.R.N. - and therefore this criterion of educational level would be confounded with the status of a nurse.

(b) Results and Discussion

On the basis of the literature review in Chapter 4, five hypotheses were formulated about the impact of demographic variables on response to change. The correlations between continuous variables and response variables are given below.

Variables	Attitudes to change	Coping (Active)	Subjective stress	Absenteeism
Service (in nursing)	-0.13	0.31**	-0.02	-0.22*
Service (in hospital)	-0.26**	0.16	0.23	-0.13
Age	-0.11	0.22*	0	-0.22*
Seniority	-0.11	0.27**	0.06	-0.04

Table 9.19 Demographic Variables: Correlations with Response

⁽¹⁾ It is not possible for an S.E.N. to move out of her present grade unless she obtains an S.R.N. qualification.

(i) Hypothesis 17

"The age of an individual is not significantly related to attitudes towards work related changes."

There is a weak negative correlation between Age and Attitudes. This means that older people will tend to be less favourable about the change than younger people, but the relationship does not reach the level of statistical significance, and hence the hypothesis is supported.

(ii) Hypothesis 19

"Attitudes towards change are not associated directly with sex, but with the meaning that each sex role has in that particular work context."

It is relatively easy to test the level of association, but harder to examine the meaning that a work role has for its holder. Attitudes were compared for male and female respondents by t-test ($t = 2.62$). This gives a two-tailed significance of $p \leq 0.01$ (d.f. = 114). The direction of this statistic indicates that women were significantly more in favour of the change than men, which contradicts the conclusions of Johns (1973) drawn from studies in other work environments. It is therefore probable in the nursing profession, which is dominated by women (men form from 10 - 15% of the workforce), that men need to define their role in particularly strong terms. This would account for the fact that many of the male nurses encountered during the fieldwork appeared to be unduly militant and antagonistic.

This evidence therefore supports the above hypothesis, but in no way does it offer conclusive proof.

(iii) Hypothesis 20

"Senior members of the organization will tend to have more positive attitudes towards change than junior members."

This may be seen as a special case of Hypothesis 13: that people who have more control over changes will tend to be more supportive of them. In this case it would assume that the more senior members of the organisation are also the more powerful ones. However, as can be seen in Table 9.19, there is a weak negative correlation between seniority and Attitudes, which does not support the above hypothesis.

The failure of this hypothesis may be explained in terms of the particular organizational change examined. Nurses forming the responding sample were drawn from three main levels: Ward Sisters, Staff Nurses and S.E.N.s. One of the main anxieties about moving to the new hospital was over who would be put in charge of which ward. In this way change might have posed more problems for senior staff such as Ward Sisters - and clearly they had very little influence over this area themselves. If the change had been one that could be controlled by staff at the level of Ward Sister it is possible that they would have been more in favour of it.

(iv) Hypothesis 21

"There is no significant relationship between length of service and attitudes to change."

A weak negative relationship is apparent between Service (in nursing) and Attitudes, which lends some support to the above hypothesis. However, the negative relationship between Service (at present hospital) and Attitudes is somewhat stronger ($r = 0.26$; $p \leq 0.01$). Although the latter result contradicts the hypothesis (based on Trumbo's (1961) study) the interpretation of it is fairly simple: those who had been at the hospital longest were likely to be most negative about the change, since it involved moving away from the hospital.

Two implications may be drawn from this result. Firstly that during periods of change people's perceptions of what is in their self-interest are likely to be sharpened. And this provides further

evidence of the need to understand the meaning of change for each individual - hence the difficulty of forming predictions on the basis of generalisations. Secondly, the difference between the two correlations suggests that long service is not in itself an inhibitor of any changes; this will only be so when the change is of a nature likely to have differential impact according to length of service.

(v) Non-Hypothesised Results

There are two main groups of results which were not hypothesised. Firstly there were moderate positive relationships for Coping with Age, Seniority and Service: three out of the four possible correlations being significant for $p \leq 0.05$. Although it seems that none of the nurses had any significant influence over the change, a common feature of all with long service and those who occupied more senior levels was that they would have more access to those members of the organisation who did possess power. This result provides further support for Hypothesis 4 which was discussed in Chapter 7: that people will only adopt active coping styles if they have some way of influencing the situation, possibly through access to others who do possess power.

The second group of results is that Absenteeism is negatively correlated with Age and Service, but shows a negligible relationship with Seniority. This may be explained either on objective or ethical grounds. On 'objective' grounds it is more likely that the younger nurses will have more family responsibilities which would require them to stay away from work more frequently. On 'ethical' grounds it is possible that the older nurses have stronger convictions about not taking time off work for minor health reasons. If the differences in Absenteeism are to be explained on the basis of external commitments, one would expect a higher rate amongst married women due to their extra responsibilities. This is borne out by these figures since the mean number of short term absences over the three month period preceding the move for married and single nurses respectively is

0.92 and 0.65 ($t = 1.25$; $p \leq 0.22$). Hence there is some evidence for the view that higher rates of Absenteeism are associated with greater commitments outside the workplace.

7. COMPLEX HYPOTHESES

(a) Introduction

Up to this point it has been possible to comment on all but three of the hypotheses formulated in Chapter 5. This has been done through examining case studies of organizational changes, and through testing linear relationships between variables measured in the main survey. It was also apparent that some of the ideas developed earlier in the thesis could not be evaluated as linear relationships. For example, it was suggested that the information used in assessing future changes was contingent on the ambiguity surrounding the changes, and that there was a curvilinear relationship between degree of threat and coping patterns. These hypotheses will be evaluated in this section, using the same data set that has been employed throughout this chapter.

(b) Moderating Role of ambiguity

(1) Hypothesis 9

"Increased subjective ambiguity results in individual assessments of change situations being based more on 'enduring' factors rather than on 'transient' factors in the environment."

The ambiguity of a situation is dependent upon the amount of information that an individual believes that he has about the consequences of that situation, and it is on the basis of these beliefs about the situation that he is likely to respond. But if the situation is ambiguous there will be fewer cues in the organizational change itself to form a basis for response, and hence the response may be determined by cues other than those in the immediate environment: namely by the more enduring characteristics of the environment and the individual.

The hypothesis may be tested by demonstrating that for increasing levels of uncertainty the correlation between Attitudes and 'enduring' factors increases, and that for lower levels of uncertainty the correlation between Attitudes and 'transient' factors decreases. 'Enduring' factors will be represented by perceptions of the environment in which the change is taking place (Support), and a personality trait (Flexibility). 'Transient' factors consist of perceptions of the change itself, such as Threat and Valence. The measure of Attitudes is the criterion variable that will be used to indicate assessments of the change.

(11) Results and Discussion

. In view of the fact that there were significant differences between full-time and part-time nurses on the measure of ambiguity (see Chapter 8) it seemed advisable to exclude the latter group from this analysis. The remaining respondents were then grouped according to whether they fell above or below the median Ambiguity score. These two groups provided the High and Low Ambiguity conditions, and correlations were obtained between the relevant variables for each group. These are shown below in Table 9.20.

		ATTITUDES	
		High Ambiguity Group (N = 46)	Low Ambiguity Group (N = 33)
TRANSIENT FACTORS	Threat	-0.53***	-0.40*
	Valence	0.39**	0.23
ENDURING FACTORS	Support	0.38**	0.01
	Flexibility	-0.05	0.28

Table 9.20 Correlations with Attitudes under Conditions of High and Low Ambiguity

These results show that the association of both transient factors with Attitudes increases somewhat with increased ambiguity; and that there is no consistent picture with enduring factors. Therefore the hypothesis is not supported.

In the former case it seems that ambiguity and 'transient' factors are additive in their relationship with attitudes: the correlations for Threat and Valence with Attitudes are higher under conditions of High Ambiguity. In the case of Support, the result does mean that this dimension of organizational climate is only important as a determinant of attitudes under ambiguous circumstances. However the reverse is apparent for Flexibility; that this dimension of personality becomes most relevant under conditions of low ambiguity.

In conclusion, Ambiguity does not change the basis of assessment of change in any consistent manner, although it may affect the impact of certain factors such as organizational climate.

(c) Threat and Coping Responses

(1) Hypothesis 7

"Individual coping behaviour will be most active under moderate levels of threat, less active under high levels of threat and least active under low levels of threat."

It has been shown by Cofer and Appley (1964) that stress responses can be categorised into a series of levels according to the threshold reached by the stimulus, and in the case of coping that a curvilinear response would be manifested. In addition the work of Kahn et al. (1964) and Lazarus (1966) suggests that the element of ambiguity might also affect coping behaviour under different levels of threat. In particular one would anticipate that higher ambiguity would increase the curvilinearity of the coping behaviour. This is illustrated in Figure 9.2.

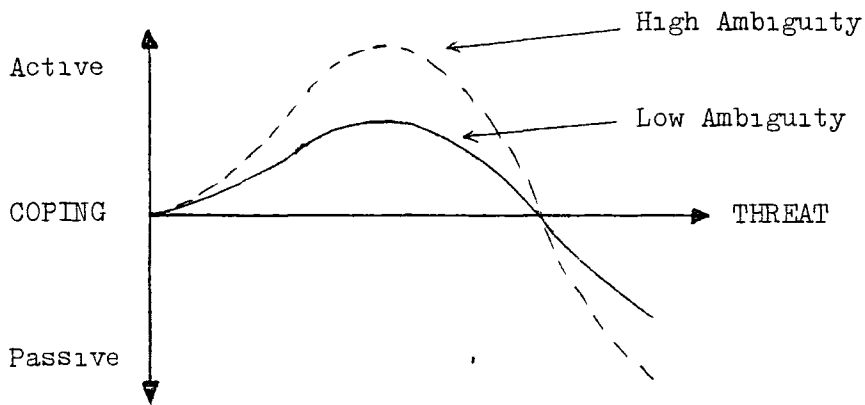


Figure 9.2 Possible Effect of Ambiguity on Coping Behaviour

(11) Results and Discussion

The mean scores obtained on the measure of Coping under different perceptions of Threat and Ambiguity are shown below in Table 9.21. Higher scores indicate active coping, lower scores indicate passive coping or avoidance. As in the previous section, analysis is based on data from Full-time nurses only.

MEAN COPING SCORES			
	All respondents (N = 78)	Low ambiguity group (N = 33)	High ambiguity group (N = 45)
LOW THREAT	1.53	1.42	1.59
MODERATE THREAT	1.61	1.59	1.62
HIGH THREAT	0.96	0.50	1.17
	F = 0.77	F = 0.87	F = 0.28

Table 9.21 Coping under Different Levels of Threat and Ambiguity

These results show a slight increase in active coping behaviour under moderate threat and a considerable decrease under high threat.

However an analysis of variance does not show that the three mean values are significantly different ($F = 0.77$), and although this provides support for the hypothesis the results do not reach a level of significance which would constitute proof. This illustrates some of the difficulty in testing Cofer and Appley's ideas about different thresholds of response to stress, since operational definitions of low and moderate threat may not correspond to any of the 'instigation', 'frustration' or 'stress' thresholds. Thus it may be that both states as defined here would represent fairly high levels of threat in other contexts, and they would therefore be located near the top of the inverted U-curve. Clearly any attempt to substantiate these ideas further would require extensive observations over a very wide range of conditions.

The impact of high Ambiguity over low Ambiguity is to produce a slight increase in active coping under all levels of threat, and this is most marked under high and low Threat.

(e) Interaction of Extroversion and Neuroticism

(1) Hypothesis 16

"Positive attitudes towards change are associated with unstable extroversion and stable introversion."

The study by Kirton and Mulligan (1973) showed by plotting the position of subjects with respect to both Extroversion and Neuroticism that this could uncover relationships that would be concealed when the two scales were treated independently. Their results indicated that the mean values of Attitude and Flexibility measures were significantly different when split about the means of both personality variables.

(11) Results and Discussion

The mean scores for Attitudes and Flexibility are given partitioned in Tables 9.22 and 9.23

ATTITUDES (mean scores)	NEUROTICISM	
	'UNSTABLE'	'STABLE'
'EXTROVERT'	2.85	1.14
'INTROVERT'	1.78	0.94

(F = 0.49; all scores increased by 2)

Table 9.22 Mean Attitude Scores Split by Extroversion and Neuroticism

FLEXIBILITY (mean scores)	NEUROTICISM	
	'UNSTABLE'	'STABLE'
'EXTROVERT'	2.0	2.1
'INTROVERT'	0.4	0.5

(F = 1.19; all scores increased by 4)

Table 9.23 Mean Flexibility Scores Split by Extroversion and Neuroticism

Analysis of variance shows that the mean values in each of the above tables do not differ significantly from each other (F = 0.49 and F = 1.19). With regard to the direction of the results, the higher scores are produced by the 'unstable extrovert', while the 'stable introvert' produces much lower scores on each measure. Since these tables are neither symmetrical nor significant, this strongly contradicts the findings of Kirton and Mulligan (1973). It also provides further evidence for the wider notion that personality variables have a very minor impact on response during real organizational changes.

8. CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has described the results and analysis of a survey covering a sample of 120 nurses who were anticipating change in their work environment. The impact of various groups of factors has been discussed above in the light of previous findings from research studies. In some cases the results of the present survey do not support, and sometimes contradict, these earlier findings, and this points to two general conclusions which may be drawn at this point. These conclusions may be seen both as methodological points about the investigation of organizational change, and as substantive points about the nature of organizational change.

At a methodological level it seems that the weakness of most previous studies is that they have concentrated either on reactions to change, or on the nature of organizational behaviour; there have been few studies which have examined reactions to change in real organizations. The failure to examine behaviour under the two conditions simultaneously has seriously limited the relevance of these findings to organizational change. On the basis of results in this chapter, this point may be illustrated from either perspective.

From the first perspective, studies of organizational behaviour have limited relevance to change because of the sharpened perception of those affected by change. This perception is based on a relatively simplistic assessment of the situation (Hypothesis 11), and tends to be focused closely on the nature of the specific change in question (Hypothesis 15). The concentration on assessing the external situation accounts for the minimal impact of personality factors on reactions to change. The tendency to adopt a strongly utilitarian view about changing situations (Hypothesis 21) also leads Miller and Labovitz (1976) to conclude that social exchange theories are most appropriate to the analysis of organizational change. The question that will be asked by the person affected by

change is: "What am I going to gain, and what am I going to lose?"

From the second perspective, studies of reactions to change may have limited application to organisational perspectives. This is because of the constraints imposed by the organisational environment and the requirements of continuing membership. The limited importance of psychological factors suggests an external reference point for individual behaviour (Section 5 and Hypothesis 16). The importance of the organisational perspective is also emphasised by the fact that active coping seems to be a common reaction to ambiguity outside organisations, but that it is much less common within organisations (Hypothesis 8). Finally, there is the finding, implied by the result on p. 191, that the supportiveness of organisational climate is related more closely to coping behaviour than to attitudes. This suggests that whatever people may feel about the change, their behaviour will be constrained by the roles that they possess as members of work organisations.

These two implications will be discussed further in the following chapter which aims to integrate the various perspectives upon change explored in this thesis.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

1. Introduction
2. Individual Behaviour During Organisational Change
3. The Nature of Social and Organisational Values
4. The Emergence of Organisational Values
5. The Rise, Maintenance, and Fall of Organisational Value Systems
6. Further Research
7. A Proposal

1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis has examined the conceptual area of organisational change and has paid particular attention to the role of individuals in this process. In attempting to understand the link between organisational change and the individual it was necessary to examine individual roles from two different perspectives: that of those attempting to influence the nature of change in organisations; and that of those affected by organisational changes which appear to be generated by forces outside their control.

These contrasting perspectives emerged from a discussion in Chapter 2 about two polarities in theories of organisations: action and systems theories. Although the positions represented by either polarity were felt to provide inadequate accounts of organisational change, it was noted that certain attempts to synthesise the two perspectives had resulted in some confusion between description and explanation of phenomena. It was argued that this problem of linking 'systems' and 'action' explanations of organisational change would be lessened by introducing the concept of 'organisational value'. These values were then defined as being implied by the nature of pattern changes (resulting from decisions) in the organisation. It was suggested that they became established through the actions of individuals or groups in implementing decisions about structural changes. This conceptual framework was applied and developed through a review of literature in the remainder of Part I.

The distinction between 'systems' and 'action' explanations of organisations also had implications for the way change was investigated. Thus in Part II of the thesis a social action approach was adopted which implied a processual analysis of case-study material. This enabled the actions of individuals to be examined where they influenced, or failed to influence, the course of particular organisational changes observed within an hospital. In the third part of the thesis a cross-sectional analysis was adopted which examined the way individuals were reacting to the process of change taken at one point in time.

Particular emphasis was placed upon whether variations in behaviour and attitudes were related to personality traits, current organisational environment, or perceptions of satisfactions anticipated in the future state of the organisation.

The main results from these latter parts of the thesis are discussed in the following two sections of this chapter.

2. INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOUR DURING ORGANISATIONAL CHANGE

Following from Lazarus (1966), and some of the conclusions of the pilot study (see Appendix II) it was found convenient to partition the response of individuals during change into two components: affective reactions and coping behaviours. It was suggested that these might be accounted for by three main groups of factors:

- characteristics of the individual (role, background, personality, education);
- existing patterns in the organisational environment;
- implications of changes anticipated in the organisational environment.

The results of Chapter 9 show virtually no correlations between individual characteristics and the two main measures of response. This is particularly so in the case of personality variables, which has important implications for several earlier studies. Trumbo (1961), Kirton and Mulligan (1973), and Kirton (1976) were all able to identify personality traits that related to predispositions to accept work-related changes. In these studies it is suggested that underlying traits determine whether individuals are likely to accept or resist changes which are imposed externally. But their conclusions are based on questionnaire data obtained from people outside an organisational context, and this may form a major limitation to the generalisability

of their results. When people are questioned within their roles in a common organisational culture, as in the present study, personality factors may become much less important.

The other two groups of factors showed more marked relationships within the two main measures of response. However the affective reactions and coping behaviours appeared to be quite distinct. Not only were they associated with different groups of factors, but the analysis of construct validity showed them to be independent of each other. This low association between attitudes and behaviour is by no means a new discovery (Fishbein, 1967; Wicker, 1971). But an interesting study by Snyder and Tanke (1976) suggests that the association is more likely to exist when the individual is in a free-choice situation, where there is no need to differentiate between feelings and behaviour. However in many social situations, and particularly within organisations, there is less free-choice - and it becomes necessary for the individual to act in certain ways that are not consistent with his attitudes.

In the present case the results showed that affective responses were strongly associated with anticipations of the future implications of the change. The key features being whether or not the individual felt threatened, and whether he believed he would gain or lose as a result of the change. On the other hand coping behaviour was not associated with perceptions of the future, but with reactions to existing patterns in the organisational environment, specifically organisational climate. Individuals who perceived the climate as being more supportive tended to cope in a more active way with the situation. Similar results were also observed by Parker and Dyer (1976) with regard to the retirement preferences of U.S. Naval Officers. Thus they found that these men's preferences, or attitudes, could be predicted by expectancy theory, but that their actual decisions about whether or not to retire (their behaviour) was most closely related to external factors such as their family commitments.

So the three main conclusions reached about individual behaviour during organisational change are these:

- that personality characteristics are not important indicators of reactions to organisational change;
- that affective reactions are most strongly associated with expectations of future pay-offs;
- that coping reactions are most associated with present constraints in the individual's situation.

The Dynamics of Organisational Change

The above section has considered some of the ways that individuals may react to organisational changes, and the conclusions were based on the analysis presented in Chapter 9. However it focussed on the conditions under which certain kinds of reaction were probable, rather than on why these reactions took place at all. In this section the view of 'coping' behaviour will be extended to look at how individuals, in certain contexts, may deliberately act to change the environmental conditions to which they are supposedly responding. And it will also be argued that the evolution of organisational changes can best be understood by reference to the actions of individuals 'coping' with whatever situations they find themselves in.

A view of the importance of individual action in creating organisation environments is also the product of a long debate amongst sociologists and organisational theorists. Although there are a great many threads to this debate it is essentially between those who would emphasise the structural elements of social life and those that would emphasise the interpretive or action elements. In order to provide a deeper understanding of the distinction between these perspectives, this section will begin by outlining some of the key threads, primarily from the point of view of those who sought to criticise the structural view. The discussion will look first at social institutions in general before focussing on organisations in particular. These themes will then

be illustrated by reference to some of the empirical findings in this thesis.

Within sociology the 'structural-functional' view is represented well by the works of Parsons, (1937, 1951). The view is 'structural' in that it focusses on the structure and interrelationships of roles and institutions; it is 'functional' in that it focusses on the way these roles and institutions contribute to the wider existence of a given society. Lockwood (1956) in a critique of "The Social System" argued that Parsons' concentration on social order neglects the major forces for social change which are created by this very order. This social order is seen to be made possible through the existence of common norms which regulate individual behaviour. But Lockwood comments that the existence of a normative order does not mean there is no conflict:

"Instead, the very existence of a normative order mirrors the continual potentiality of conflict." (p. 137)

Wrong (1961) takes this line further by arguing that sociological theory must be seen primarily as an attempt to answer questions about social reality; answers are no better than the questions they stem from. The question attempted by Parsons is the 'problem of order', or expressed as the Hobbesian question: 'how is it that man becomes tractable to social discipline?' The functionalist attempts to explain deviant behaviour (non-conformity to norms) in terms of those norms being ambiguous, or in terms of the individual being in conflicting roles. Wrong sees this as misguided since it involves answering a question about 'conflict' with a framework generated by the 'order' question - and thus, in a sense, denying the validity of the 'conflict' question. However, he concludes that the explanation of behaviour should not be based solely on answers to one question or the other, but on a more complex dialectical conception of human nature.

Homans (1964) stresses the importance of incorporating individual action into any attempts to understand social institutions. In his view the structural-functionalist approach results in little more than

descriptive frameworks. It provides a description of the consequences of institutions, rather than an explanation of how these institutions came to be there in the first place. Consequently the functionalist approach is not successful in generating any theoretical insights, since, for Homans, "The only inescapable office of theory is to explain" (p. 811). This element of explanation can only be supplied by reference to the actions of people. The view of social facts being external to individuals, and hence not being based on human consciousness, is inadequate. Social facts are also created by individuals and Homans agrees with the view of Coleman that they arise,

"through the actions of men rationally calculating to further their own self-interest in a context of other men acting in the same way." (Homans, 1964, pp.813,4).

However a number of authors do not see the debate between structural-functionalism and theories of action as a choice between two alternatives, but as Wrong (1961) suggests, as indicating the need for some kind of compromise. Thus Boissevain (1974), while rejecting the doctrines of structural-functionalism, does so because of its exclusive concern with the system: structural-functionalism alone is incomplete. He acknowledges that people do to some extent internalise norms of behaviour and operate in moral ways, but people also operate from pragmatic motives which may not support the interest of others, or the community in general. Also Coleman (1975), a self-confessed functionalist, is able to point to how his views have changed over the years to include more of a compromise. Thus he comments that he is beginning to analyse social situations in terms of conflicts of interests between individual actors, rather than as structures of role relationships which become differentiated and which exist independently of any named people. But Wallace (1975) feels that Coleman has not gone far enough. He criticises him for still viewing interests as fixed and prior to social experience, and therefore they are not dependent on the possibility that two people might define the same situation in very different ways. What in his view is needed, is some way of understanding how different interests may be perceived in given situations, which themselves may be defined in very distinct terms.

Organisational theorists have conducted a similar debate regarding the best ways of describing and understanding organisations. As discussed in Chapter 2 the ideas of Talcott Parsons were also influential in this area. He defined an organisation as:

"a social system oriented to the attainment of a relatively specific type of goal, which contributes to a major function of a more comprehensive system, usually the society."
(1956, p. 63).

The functionalist view of organisation has tended to attract the label of 'systems theory', although there are many variations and refinements of this theory which have also been proposed. Notable amongst these is the 'open socio-technical system' theory developed at the Tavistock Institute. As Brown (1967) points out, the emphasis given by this kind of theory to interaction with the environment and the acknowledgement of dysfunctions within the organisation, makes it possible to conceive of growth and change using this framework. What remains as a problem is the notion of a 'primary task', whether this is viewed as the initial mission of the organisation or as the tasks which it must perform in order to survive. The difficulty with this concept is that it seems to imply that members of the organisation have reached agreement about the primary task - or that such agreement is theoretically possible.

Salaman (1979) criticises the systems approach which is still inherent in many organisations on similar grounds. A common element of the systems approach is the view that the structure of the organisation must be determined by the organisation's goals and the technologies employed to attain these goals. Also the approach tends to regard co-operation and integration between sections of the organisation as being necessary to effective performance. What is wrong with this, he argues, is that organisations can never be totally harmonious and integrated; they will also be characterised by some elements of conflict. The structure of the organisation will in some respects be determined by the senior members of the organisation in such a way that it is most likely to serve their own interests. And hence a more complete understanding of organisational behaviour should consider the

interests of different members of the organisation, and the ideas that they use to support these interests.

This view is close to that of Silverman (1970) who has provided one of the best statements of the 'action frame of reference'. However Silverman sees his frame of reference contrasting with the positivistic assumptions of systems theory, rather than with its emphasis on order and consensus. For him the debate is more about the forms of information which are employed in building up a picture of the world, rather than whether the nature of that world should be construed along a consensus - conflict dimension. This theme is developed in subsequent works (Silverman and Jones, 1973, 1976) which illustrate how the 'reality' of organisational life is constructed through the accounts and justifications that members give for their actions.

Harré and Secord (1973) arrive at a similar position from a different starting point. Thus their initial interest is in explanations of individual, rather than organisational, behaviour. They reject the traditional 'mechanistic' view of man which regards man as responding to environmental contingencies, in favour of an anthropomorphic model of man, where people are seen to be acting as agents in order to mould their environments. Behaviour can largely be explained by the role a person adopts in a given context and the social rules that are intended to guide action in that situation. It must be investigated by looking at the meanings that people attribute to acts in given situations - or at the accounts and justifications that people give for their actions.

Thus many authors have addressed themselves to understanding the relationship between social structure and individual action. Three crucial threads to the discussion above may be summarised as follows. Firstly there is the distinction between a focus on the order in social existence against a focus on the disorder of social existence. This is also known as the 'consensus - conflict' debate, and features strongly in the writings of Lockwood (1956) and Wrong (1961), and, in the context of organisations, Brown (1967) and Salaman (1979). Secondly there is the distinction between a focus on the consequences of social actions

and institutions against a focus on the genesis of these actions and institutions. This also involves a distinction between description and explanation and features heavily in the critiques of functionalist thinking (Homans, 1964; Smith, 1973). The third thread concerns whether it is more helpful to conceive of society as a collection of facts which exists externally to individuals, or whether society should be conceived as internal to individuals created by their actions and the meanings that they attribute to these actions. This dilemma is a major feature in Homans (1964), Silverman (1970) and Harré and Secord (1973).

The difficulty of providing acceptable solutions to these dilemmas was at the root of the theoretical discussion in Chapter 2, and it seems that a further examination of the results of the case study in Chapter 7 will contribute to an understanding of this relationship between organisational structure and individual action.

In the case of the appointment of a new Nursing Officer in the Maternity Unit, changes took place which could be analysed at a number of different levels. The post itself was a new one, and once it was filled the structure of the organisation, in a formal sense, had become changed. But the change was far more significant at an informal level, since a candidate supported by the nursing hierarchy was appointed against the explicit wishes of the senior consultant. If the consultant's candidate had been appointed the event would not have been significant; it would have been unremarkable, because this had always happened in the past. The important point was that when the consultant was over-ruled by the nurses a key assumption about rights and authority was contradicted. Up to this time the medical function had been to be superior to the nursing function in all major decisions relating to the Unit, but here was an area - the appointment of senior nursing staff - which appeared to have been removed from the prerogative of medical staff. Thus, although the change did not have any great impact on the formal organisational structure of the Unit (since the post was a relatively junior one in the senior nurses' hierarchy) it did have a major impact upon the way this structure was interpreted.

The change in interpretation was not achieved simply by people, in a whimsical way, proposing a new interpretation. It was something that had to be demonstrated as a fact before it could be accepted by other members of the organisation. And this could only be demonstrated through individuals actively gaining control of the outcome of this decision - thereby demonstrating their power in this area.

The focus of the conflict was upon whether the P.N.O. or the Senior Consultant should have greater influence over this decision. Each had a different view of the criteria that should be applied in selecting the best candidate. For the P.N.O., administrative competence was most important; for the consultant it was clinical competence that was critical.

The conflict took the form of occasional confrontations between members of the nurses' faction and the consultants' faction. But a lot more discussion took place amongst the nurses, particularly between the P.N.O. and her immediate boss (C.N.O.) and her subordinates (S.N.O's.). In developing a strategy within this conflict the nurses were able to take advantage of three changes that had been taking place in the country as a whole. Firstly, the pressures from the Government and within the Health Service for better utilisation of resources which implied the importance of managerial as opposed to clinical priorities. This lent strength to the nurses' arguments about the importance of administrative competence in the Nursing Officer post. Secondly, the increased resources placed directly under the control of a hierarchy of nurses resulting from the partial implementation of the Salmon Report, supported them in asserting their right to determine who should be brought in as an external assessor while making the appointment. Thirdly the nurses now had a similar formal status to medical staff with equivalent representation on Management Committees. This meant that the consultant could not refer the case to a higher body to which he alone had access. In a sense this situation was now reversed, since the P.N.O. did have a boss directly above her; whereas the consultant did not.

The success of the nurses' strategem may therefore be traced to their successful manipulation of two types of factors. Firstly they were able to maintain a focus during the debate onto those external factors which would support their own case; secondly they were able to adjust the internal structure of the decision-making process by bringing in their own assessor. The product of their efforts was that although senior nurses potentially had an equivalent status to medical staff, this was the first time that they had demonstrated publicly in this Unit that their power was at least equivalent. The fact of their success also helped to establish their arguments as important ideas that would bear weight in future decisions: this was the importance of administrative - and managerial - efficiency in running the hospital. As such, this was a new dominant value that had been established in this area.

There was thus a close interplay throughout this process between the structural and objectively - defined factors, and the way protagonists were able to promote their own definitions through gaining acceptance of specific emphases and interpretations.

3. THE NATURE OF SOCIAL AND ORGANISATIONAL VALUES

The notion of an 'organisational value' has been introduced in this thesis to help understand the process of organisational change. There are many other authors who have recently started to develop similar concepts in order to provide more complex views of organisations, particularly during periods of change. Some of these feel that they are remedying the deficiencies of structural approaches (Crozier, 1975), others see themselves as attempting to provide a 'middle ground' between the systems and action frameworks discussed in the previous section (Bowey, 1976). Although there is much overlap between concepts there are still many different terms used, with varying interpretations. It should therefore help to sharpen the concept of an organisational value by reviewing some of the more prominent

concepts which are similar - before continuing to consider the genesis of such values.

As was pointed out in Chapter 2, one possible area of confusion is between those definitions that treat 'value' as a feature of an individual, and those that treat 'value' as a property of a social system. The first perspective tends to be held by social psychologists with a humanistic inclination; thus Allport (1963):

"A value is a belief upon which a man acts by preference."
Rokeach (1973) provides a definition which moves slightly towards the second perspective:

"A value is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence."

Another difference between the two definitions is that Allport stresses the motivational function of a value, whereas Rokeach stresses the function of providing standards for judgement or evaluation. Perhaps both elements should be regarded as important.

French and Bell (1978) discuss how individual human values may relate to organisations in the following terms:

"By human values we mean those goals and strivings of individuals that relate to what they want from the organisation and from their participation as organisation members." (p. x111).

And they go on to elaborate what they believe these values to be:

"the opportunity to make a meaningful contribution to the organisation;
the opportunity to have satisfying inter-personal relationships;
the opportunity to accept responsibility;
The opportunities for recognition and advancement;
the opportunities to stretch oneself and grow." (p.x111)

Again this implies some kind of standard whereby the exchange relationship with the organisation is judged.

But where do these individual values come from? According to social psychology there are four main sources: identification with parents, and identification with peer groups, followed by socialisation through interpersonal relations, and socialisation through the impact of educational and occupational structures. In the first two cases, identification happens because children enjoy imitating others. In the latter two cases socialisation tends to happen through operant conditioning: appropriate behaviour is rewarded, but sanctions may be imposed when inappropriate behaviour occurs. (Reich and Adcock, 1976).

Thus individuals will hold certain values which guide the way they form judgements, and may be a basis for their actions. These values are relatively stable and are learnt from experiences, whether inside or outside organisations.

However, the concept of value becomes slightly harder to pin down when the second perspective is adopted and it is abstracted to the levels of social or organisational behaviour. Social values are often confused with, or used synonymously with, social norms; and therefore we shall begin the discussion by looking at social norms.

Reich and Adcock (1976) define a social norm as:

"an expectation shared by the group members which specifies appropriate behaviour, thoughts, feelings and attitudes." (p. 47).

Dale and Spencer (1977) carried out a very extensive investigation of the nature of 'norms' within an organisation. After noting the range of uses for the concept they refrained from attempting an exhaustive definition and outlined an analytic framework which employs 'norm' in terms of 'what the majority think, or say, or do'. Thus there may be 'norms of sentiments' (sentiments held by the majority) or 'norms of behaviour' (behaviours observed by the majority of people). These 'norms' are constructions made by the social scientist; but participants themselves will also construct their own norms, and will therefore be able to report what the 'majority sentiment' or the 'majority behaviour'

is. The constructions made here are clearly Conscious ones, and this element of consciousness appears to be an underlying feature in the latter example. The second feature of a norm is that it is based upon what the majority do, or think, and there is therefore some suggestion that it is what the others should be doing (prescription).

Dale and Spencer's study, like other recent approaches to the study of norms, has tried to develop an understanding of norms which is not based on the notion that they exist independently of individuals. It is accepted that norms tend to be prescriptive, or proscriptive, but in reality, as Cicourel (1964) notes, norms tend to be identified after a popular act has taken place. Norms may also be broken, and he suggests that a 'game' model might be helpful in understanding the basis for people's attachment to rules. People may choose to play by the rules, or not, but if they choose to disregard the rules they will have great difficulty interacting with others who expect them to abide by the rules. Furthermore, any particular set of rules will only make sense within the context of a particular game. Therefore the interpretation of norms and the individual's attachment to them will be highly dependent on his ability to attach a meaningful structure to the particular situation or 'episode' in which he is acting.

Thus social norms appear to be prescriptive about behaviour, occasionally conscious (but often identifiable only after an action), and dependent upon the meaning that individuals attach to particular situations.

Whereas Dale and Spencer (1977) identify individual social norms by summing the perceptions of individuals; Hofstede (1978) indicates that when they are combined for members of a group they constitute a culture. For him culture is "the collective programming of the human mind, obtained in the course of life, which is common to the members of one human group as opposed to another." (p. 127). Similarly Handy (1976) sees culture as a "set of norms", but he then extends the concept in the case of organisations where cultures are:

"deep-set beliefs about the way work should be organised, the way authority should be exercised, people rewarded, people controlled." (p. 177).

The organisational culture may also be represented in the kinds of buildings it uses and the type of people it employs.

Pettigrew (1977a) also sees the concept of culture in very wide terms. Although he starts with a fairly specific interpretive definition:

"A culture is the system of such publicly and collectively subscribed to meaning operating for a given group at a given time." (p. 12).

But feeling that this still lacks analytic bite he prefers to see it as the source of a family of concepts such as a 'symbol', 'language', 'ideology', 'belief', 'ritual', and 'myth' - which might provide a more specific focus for analysis.

If one were to attempt a definition of a 'culture' at all, it would include the following main features: firstly a system of shared meaning between members of a particular group, secondly the element of prescription implied by the definition of norms, and thirdly the association with non-normative, possibly physical, attributes of a group. The concept is wider than that of a 'norm', but it is linked specifically to particular groups of individuals.

Another concept which is often associated with 'culture' is that of myth. Academics tend to eschew the popular definition of a myth as being something which is believed, but which is not true. Instead they stress the functional value of myths, and point out that myths may actually be true or false (Dale and Spencer, 1977). Plato started it off by proposing that an ideal State should be provided with a 'magnificent myth' which would be accepted by all classes in the society and which would articulate the ideals of the state - what it is striving towards - and also provide an explanation of its current existence and

structure. Dale and Spencer emphasise that myths exist in order for certain transactions to take place. In their research into a state theatre company they identify a central myth which they call the Official Morality, in this case a belief in the 'ensemble' principle of organising theatrical productions.

The problem with this myth is that although it provided a source of inspiration when first articulated in the early 1960's, by the time those authors arrived it had become something of a sacred cow. People payed lip service to the ensemble myth and did not challenge it publicly even when they believed that it was no longer true. This was most noticeable in the transactions between the Director and his actors. For the actors the myth comprised their assumptions about what the Director believed and wanted; and vice versa for the Director. As such the myth consisted of constructions about the reality of others, and it may be that this was why it was so difficult to challenge.

In a subsequent paper, Spencer and Dale (1977) use the terms 'culture' and 'official morality' synonymously. They comment on the subculture within a Steering Group trying to introduce change into a salt works as being participative, non-hierarchical, frank, open and supportive. This subculture contrasted fairly sharply with that of the rest of the works. In discussions amongst members of the Steering Group there was a feeling that they should change from being a discussive to an influencing body "in order to spread this new 'official morality' " (p. 8.) What is most important here is the implication that cultures or myths can only be established through actively influencing others, and this point will be taken up later in this discussion.

The concept of myth also features significantly in recent work by Hedberg. It is linked closely to the business strategies pursued by an organisation. These strategies are seen to be the causes that link streams of decisions into patterns, and 'myths' represent the common themes underlying strategies. Thus myths refer:

"to the metasystem from which an organisation derives its strategies during a certain time interval" (Hedberg and Jönsson, 1976, p.2).

An interesting feature of a myth, as they use it in this paper, is that new myths which underlie changes in strategy will not be apparent until after the actions have been initiated in line with a new strategy. There is thus an element of latency in a myth. Myths will not become manifest until they can be linked to the actions that flow from a given strategy.

But this emphasis on the relationship between the ideas embodied in myths and the actions and decisions taken by members of organisations is not used consistently in their work. In the same paper they refer to new myths as being largely based on emotional or speculative arguments. In a subsequent paper (Starbuck, Greve, and Hedburg, 1978) the disassociation between ideas and actions is taken somewhat further. Here the role of the top manager is emphasised in helping organisations to cope with crises, and this is seen primarily in terms of managing idea systems:

"With little more than words, the top managers can shape ideological settings which reveal opportunities, nurture courage, and arouse enthusiasm." (p.49)

It seems that the importance of ideology may have been over emphasised in this instance. Certainly within our national culture there are not many people who are prepared to believe ideological statements unless these are backed up by actions and results. Indeed their own examples in this paper indicate that members of organisations going through crises did not believe that the organisation could become successful again until a few successes had actually been demonstrated. It appears from this that ideology is only potent when it can be demonstrably linked to 'facts'.

In a most important book on this subject Normann (1977) sees the system of ideas in an organisation as central to its operation. These include the values, norms, creeds and concepts of members about how the organisation should be run and what it should be doing. Many of these ideas will be in conflict, but those which their proponents

succeed in establishing fully will become the dominating ideas. In Normann's view, ideas may centre around the nature of the business and the exchange process between the organisation and its environment, or they may be about growth and the way business ideas become established. Business ideas must be anchored securely into the present realities of the organisation and its environment; growth ideas may embody visions of the future. Business ideas, in particular, develop heuristically through a process of trial-and-error. Initially the 'idea' may be a vague notion; and it is not until it has to some extent become implemented that it becomes clarified.

There is some similarity here between a 'business idea' and an 'organisational value' as developed in this thesis. Organisational values reflect the view of individuals and groups about how the organisation should be operating and to what end. There are three important features to this concept. Firstly, values only become dominant within an organisation when they are asserted. They are asserted through the patterns of actions and decisions which are consistent with them. In the sense of being inferred after decisions are taken organisational values are similar to the way Hedburg uses the concept of 'myth' - although not necessarily to how he defines it. Once dominant values have been established they colour people's perceptions of the kinds of decisions that are legitimised by those who are now in control of that particular area. They will also give an impression of permanency since assumptions about what is legitimate will be maintained unless these patterns are consistently broken, or new value systems are established. As with Dale and Spencer's concept of an 'Official Morality' these assumptions may turn out to be unjustifiably durable.

The second feature of an organisational value is that it implies a consistency in direction, and hence of choosing one direction rather than others. Thus, to borrow one of Normann's examples, an organisational value system may emphasise the need to seize marketing opportunities and adapt to the needs of the environment, rather than to rationalise the organisation and increase the efficiency of production. This is not unlike

a collection of norms which prescribe the directions of behaviour; but it goes further in implying an element of a 'driving force', rather in the way that myths may sometimes operate.

The third feature of an organisational value is that it is essentially latent. It remains latent, as a mere possibility, until it becomes asserted as a dominant value. Then it becomes manifest. However the distinction between the two states is by no means clear cut. The transition may be a long and complex process as various values are being asserted, even though none may yet have become established. This element of ambiguity is possible because dominant values may be established as facts before they are recognised as such. A stage may have been reached in the life of an organisation where only certain types of decisions are seen to be legitimate, but the consistency in this position may not yet have been recognised by anyone. For those who wish to understand how an organisation is changing there may be considerable advantage in being able to spot emerging value systems at an early stage. It may also prove to be a political advantage for those who are attempting to influence the process of change. Thus it is most important to understand the process whereby organisational values emerge and become dominant.

4. THE EMERGENCE OF ORGANISATIONAL VALUES

If organisational values are 'emergent', how do they emerge, and where do they come from? In order to develop a fuller understanding of this process it will be necessary to look at the views of other authors about the emergence of myths and ideas. Since these concepts have been discussed in some detail in the previous section the terms will be used as defined by their authors - on the assumption that differences in meaning have been established adequately.

The dilemma between structural and action theory views of organisation will also be apparent in this section. At a simplistic

level one might assume that values may originate from inside or outside the organisation. Some 'values' will be imported from the outside community, and these may influence the way people perceive their work and the way they relate to their employer (Goldthorpe et al. 1968). When added together these values may also contribute to the overall culture of the organisation. Social values may also have some influence on the organisation from the outside in the form of pressure groups and other stakeholders which seek to influence the direction of decisions taken by the organisation. Some of these influences may be disregarded more easily than others: consumers and environmentalists may be disregarded more easily than government legislation or the requests of a parent organisation. And the amount of influence is largely a function of the severity of the sanctions which can be applied.

However, as Hofstede (1978) notes, many organisations still retain a lot of choice about which pressures they do or do not react to. There is often a dominant elite in the organisation who are in a position to decide whether to take notice, and of what. Thus although organisations may be seen to be reacting to external pressures, they can be very selective about this: it is not a mechanistic process. As in the case study of a nursing appointment described above, the way these external pressures were to be interpreted was a central issue in the conflict between medical and nursing staff.

Members of the organisation may be active in interpreting external value systems, they may also be active in creating new values from the inside. A number of authors have examined the emergence of organisational values in this way. Without exception this is seen to be due to the actions of individuals, but in most cases these individuals are either isolated leaders, or a small elite at the top of the organisation.

Clark (1972) describes three cases of new values being introduced into American colleges through the appointment of new leaders. In one case the organisation was a new foundation; another one was established, but in a state of crisis; and the third organisation was established, successful, but also receptive to new ideas. The enthusiasm

of each of these leaders generated what Clark calls 'organisational sagas' which provided for members a feeling of unique accomplishment for the organisation over a period of years. And this view of the organisation's uniqueness was held with considerable sentiment by members.

Although in some ways the introduction of a new leader might be seen as a strategy for importing values from outside, it begs the question of how that particular leader came to be chosen in the first place. In fact, as Clark (1970) showed, two out of these three leaders were selected fairly carefully because they were thought to represent similar values to those held by the people making the selection. Thus in these two cases the appointment of such leaders could be seen as strengthening the values that already existed.

A focus on a 'saga' is helpful in bringing out some of the more emotive aspects of organisational life, and Pettigrew (1977a) adopted this approach in studying the creation and development of a British boarding school between 1934 and 1975. He also focussed on the impact of a leader, since the main reference in his paper is to the early years of the school after it was founded by its first headmaster. An image is presented of a strong entrepreneurial character with a clear vision of the purpose of the school and the way it was to be organised. The headmaster was also able to articulate his vision in strong symbolic language, and this inspirational element seemed most important in generating a strong commitment among employees. Thus, success as an entrepreneur is not only a matter of personal qualities, it is also a function of that person's ability to generate an appropriate institutional setting, and to develop good leader-follower relations. In Pettigrew's analysis 'values' are assumed to be part of the overall organisational culture which was created by the entrepreneur. It will be recalled that the view proposed in this thesis is slightly more specific: that 'organisational values' are directly related to the nature of pattern changes in the organisation. It should also be noted that Pettigrew's notion of 'vision' is similar to the way Dale and Spencer (1977) use the term 'Official Myth': it is a conscious expression of the nature and purpose of the organisation, whether or not it accords with the facts

of the situation as perceived by more detached observers.

Another study is provided by Mintzberg (1978) who concentrates on what he calls 'strategy formation' in large organisations over periods of time. He provides examples from the development of Volkswagenwerk which is investigated over half a century, and the U.S. Administration's Vietnam Policy over a quarter of a century. The model of strategy formulation suggested by Mintzberg incorporates an environment which changes discontinuously, a 'bureaucracy' within the organisation which attempts to resist any external changes, and a 'leadership' which is in the position of being able to mediate between the two. The leader is in the position of being able to set a deliberate strategy in line with what he sees the requirements of the environment to be, or to fall back on the inertia of the bureaucracy. Intermediate strategies are also possible where the leader makes minor changes which involve compromises between environmental and bureaucratic pressures. An important characteristic of the leader in establishing a new clear strategy is his ability to sort out a 'mess' into some coherent structure. When the leader sorts out a mess into a coherent structure and pattern, other members of the organisation are only too glad to follow. Such was the case for Nordhoff in rebuilding Volkswagen after the war; it was also the case for Leiding who took over the company in 1971 after profits had been in steady decline over a period of three years. Kennedy's decision in 1961 to provide military support to the Diem government in South Vietnam, in addition to direct aid, appeared to be a purely proactive move without external provocation; but Johnson's decision in 1968 to cease escalation of the war came as a reaction to very great pressures both inside and outside the administration.

In these cases it is apparent that the leader may operate in a purely proactive manner; but the decision to cease escalation of the Vietnam war is an example of Johnson, as leader, reacting to strong forces for change within his own organisation, particularly from McNamara. Thus it is not sufficient to see the 'bureaucracy' as an organisational operating system "that above all seeks to stabilise its actions, despite the characteristics of the environment it serves": (Mintzberg, 1978, p. 341).

Finally, the study reported by Dale and Spencer (1977), as described above, covered the development of a state theatre Company. Again the 'leadership' model is applied to show how the head of the Company, Rex, was able to interpret social and political changes taking place externally, and to translate them into a vision, or Official Myth, of the purpose and direction of the Company. He was also able to turn this into a reality through Magister, an important Director of the Company. Although others in the theatre were also aware of the potential opportunities, Rex and Magister were able to articulate a conscious philosophy, and to implement it because of their charismatic personalities. The philosophy was implemented through developing new methods of production and decision making, and supported by establishing support structures such as job security. It was through its implementation that this philosophy, or organisational value system, became a fact. The articulation of the Official Myth acted to support the establishment of the new regime, but as Dale and Spencer noted, it was possible for the myth to continue in existence when the Company was no longer operating along the lines implied by it.

The element that is common to all four of these studies is the role of the leader in mediating with, interpreting, or sorting out the environment of the organisation, and occasionally in providing an a priori vision of the future. In all cases the leader is required to impart a sense of direction and purpose to organisation members which is readily accepted provided he possesses adequate credibility and goes about his task in an appropriate way.

But there are indications that the leader may have been given undue prominence in some of the above examples. In Clark's examples, other members of the organisation played a very significant part both in selecting the leader and in implementing the ideas that he was articulating. In Mintzberg's analysis of the U.S. Strategy formulation in Vietnam it is apparent that other members of the organisation played a very active part in interpreting the environment, particularly during the latter stages of the Johnson administration. This feature is not quite so marked in the study by Dale and Spencer (1977); but in the

case of the British boarding school described by Pettigrew it may be that analysis of subsequent phases of the development of the school would show other members of staff exerting far greater influence over the direction taken by the school.

Thus although the leader may be disproportionately influential in some situations, this will not always be the case. Therefore there is a need to understand more about how other members of the organisation may influence the direction taken, and how they may have an impact on the formation of organisational values. This will be considered further in the next section of this chapter.

The other major issue to consider is the relationship between the ideas in an organisation and the actions and decisions being taken. Do the ideas appear after the actions, or do the actions follow from the ideas? Hedberg and Jöhnsson (1976) criticise most writers on strategy formation, including Mintzberg, for looking at organisational developments ex post, that is, that strategies are the labels that are attached to patterns in streams of decisions after the event. In contrast they suggest that strategies actually cause streams of decisions to be moulded into patterns because they provide a continuous filter on the identification and interpretation of problems. Strategies provide continuous interpretations of reality, while, at the same time, helping to shape that reality; whereas 'myths' are simply the ideas from which these strategies are derived. But myths can also influence reality indirectly, just as they may be challenged by that same reality.

This picture of a complex interaction between myths, strategies and reality might be labelled as a formative view of the evolution of organisational values, as opposed to the post hoc view ascribed to Mintzberg. Although the formative view looks attractive there is also a case for the post hoc view. An important aspect of managing is in trying to understand and establish control over events both inside and outside the organisation. The ability to control something presupposes the ability to understand it. In a competitive world, those who are able

to achieve rapid understanding (even at an intuitive level) of new problems will have an advantage over their slower contemporaries. Once some understanding has been achieved it should be possible to exert greater control over the development of the situation; but some situation must have existed initially in order for that understanding to be achieved ex post. As Pettigrew (1977b) points out, it may be convenient for the observer to think of patterns of decisions flowing from an intentional strategy, but it is also necessary to accept that choices and decisions are being made all the time, and hence strategy is being implicitly defined by this process. In a similar way organisational values will be emerging continually from the decisions and actions of members of the organisation.

5. THE RISE, MAINTENANCE, AND FALL OF ORGANISATIONAL VALUE SYSTEMS

Hedberg and Jönsson (1976) point to two types of explanation for the rise and fall of 'myths'. These are conflict theories and rise-and-fall theories. They state their preference for the latter kind of theory which assumes that the rise and fall of myths is an inherent property in any social system, on the grounds that their own observations of strategy changes suggest that they do not result from power struggles. But at other points in the same paper, they say that the acceptance of new myths "is also very much a political process wherein groups of organisational members struggle for dominance and attempt to persuade enough large a majority to accept the new myth" (sic) (p. 5.) and also that such struggles are very much a feature of all levels of government due to the democratic process. Thus, despite their preferences there seems to be a case for the conflict view. This section will therefore concentrate on this conflict view, particularly by looking at the role of those members of the organisation who are not designated as leaders.

Normann (1977) sees a continuous struggle taking place between competing systems of ideas. As noted above, these may either be about the nature of the business, or about the way it should be growing. Business ideas attempt to achieve understanding of the essential exchange

relationship between the organisation and its environment. In particular they must focus on the link between an identifiable niche or market segment, and the unique structure, resources and knowledge of the organisation. The business idea must incorporate both an idea of what is to be done, and a means of doing it. Those ideas that succeed in the struggle for precedence become the dominating ideas for a given period.

There are two ways in which these ideas, or values, will interact with individuals in the organisation. As Hofstede (1978) points out, there is likely to be a close link between dominant values and reward systems. Values will affect the careers of junior members of the organisation in that they must be seen to be acting in accordance with the accepted view of reality if they are to progress. But if one then takes the view of values as being emergent, and linked to the nature of decisions being taken at any point in time, the ability to spot a new dominant value before others spot it may also be critical to career progression. Thus it is those managers who are able to spot the 'name of the game' more quickly than others who will stand out as being more perceptive and alert. Since this is also an important feature in the competition between organisations these managers will be seen to be of value to their own organisations, and hence should be more likely to obtain promotion. But this competitive element also means that an understanding of a dominant value is only useful while that value is latent. As soon as it emerges into public view there ceases to be any personal advantage in this knowledge.

The notion of latency in organisational values may also be supported by asking politically astute observers in almost any organisation what is the 'name of the game' at that time. Surprisingly most people will find this a difficult question to answer; they can say what it was a year ago, but they often find it difficult to say what it is at that moment in time. This suggests that it can only be inferred after certain decisions have been made: verbalisation can have no impact on these decisions currently being made.

There are many stratagems that may be adopted by individuals wishing to keep up with the times. Some may watch the decisions of senior managers very carefully, others may develop extensive personal networks so that they are aware of the nature of debates currently taking place, yet others may try to test out their ability to establish values by taking their own initiatives. 'Assessed stature' has a habit of being self-reinforcing, and managers who have started successful bandwaggon rolling in the past will be more likely to attract support for their ideas in the future. Part of the art of setting bandwaggon rolling is in bringing particular issues to the attention of others as being in need of a solution. The initial selection of these issues may be motivated by the view that the energy released by others in order to solve them is likely to further the interests or personal values of those responsible for their initiation. Thus managers may gain stature either by being successful in gaining acceptance of the importance of particular issues, or by obtaining the necessary readjustment of resources required to resolve these issues. The management of meaning in a particular situation becomes the way that personal interests are best served.

Senior members of the organisation must also be skillful in managing meaning. Here there is another link with work on strategy formation (Pettigrew, 1977b), because managers must be able to provide acceptable justifications for the actions that they take after the event. And it will also help if they are able to promote interpretations of these actions as being consistent with the existing dominant values. In this way they may hope to obtain legitimacy for their roles - particularly in the kind of organisation where senior members are dependent on the support of junior members.

Up to now much of the discussion has assumed that the impact of values will vary according to a person's position in the organisational hierarchy. But some organisations are not particularly hierarchical; and others are not necessarily controlled by those at the top of the hierarchy. In Normann's view there is normally a small number of significant actors who have sufficient power or influence to establish dominating ideas. This 'core group' may, or may not, incorporate all

those at the top of the hierarchy. Within the core group there may be conflict over ideas, and there will also be conflict lower down the organisation over other ideas. The rise and fall of these ideas will be linked to the rise and fall of those who champion them.

This suggests that 'factions' will form around particular ideas and the types of decisions and actions with which they are associated. The composition of such factions is likely to be highly fluid, as both issues and individual situations vary. The attachment of different individuals to a particular faction will also vary at one point in time according to how central the value is to their personal interests. Thus the focus of a faction in this instance is a particular value or idea, rather than some kind of leader figure (Boissevain, 1974). This 'value faction' may have an identifiable leader; but it is more likely to have a shifting membership without any clear sense of identity amongst its membership. People who frequently find themselves aligned on different issues may over time develop collaborative relationships which override the flexibility of attachment to factions. The visibility of such an alliance may then reduce its effectiveness.

Based on the observations in this thesis there are three main ways that 'idea factions' may become dominant over others. These are through utilising favourable environmental changes, occupying structural positions, and skilfully manipulating the relationship of issues to external factors.

Environmental changes are 'objective' in the sense that they may be perceived by other independent observers. They may involve changes in the locus of the organisation's uncertainties; for example, the shift from uncertainty about computer hardware to uncertainty about software which influenced the rise of Systems Analysts over Computer Programmers (Pettigrew, 1973). Such changes may also have a direct financial aspect as illustrated by the increasing pressure for effective use of resources in the N.H.S., described in this thesis, which helped nurses to assert themselves against medical staff. These changes do not automatically mean that one faction will become dominant, they merely represent opportunities which may be utilised.

The occupation of appropriate structural positions is crucial to the success of any faction. This may be done either by recruiting key figures, or by helping existing members attain such positions. The leader of an organisation may be appointed (or appoint himself if he is an entrepreneur) in which case he already has a great advantage over other members. Otherwise it is necessary to work one's way up the organisation by whatever means are appropriate. In this case, structural positions may either be levels of the hierarchy, which legitimise access to resources and the right to be present at key meetings, or they may be positions at the centre of information networks where one is able to play a major part in constructing reality for other people.

The third requirement for factions that would become dominant is the ability to define, or to redefine, issues so that their own case appears to be favoured by the circumstances. This is possible because most issues are extremely ambiguous - indeed this is why the person who is able to put a coherent and plausible structure onto a complex issue is likely to emerge as a natural leader. The redefinition of issues is one thing that was attempted by the protagonists in the Maternity Unit appointment; and people who are at the centre of information networks are also in a strong position to do this. Such people must try to establish control over the meanings that are ascribed to the actions of the organisation and individuals within it.

6. FURTHER RESEARCH

The discussion in the preceding section has moved as far as possible on the basis of literature, and the conclusions that may be justified by this thesis. The process whereby organisational values emerge is an important area of study, but there appear to be considerable gaps in knowledge about this. Much of the work to date has concentrated on the role of the leader, and other senior members of the organisation, in establishing these values. Less has been conducted into the way ideas and values may be generated by members lower down the organisation, or into the strategies that they may adopt in asserting these values, nor

has much attention been given to the way value systems affect the fortunes of senior and junior members. It is therefore suggested that further research is conducted on the process of idea generation within organisations, and its impact on individuals.

Two variables seem important in the selection of appropriate research settings. Firstly there is the continuum between hierarchical, centralised organisations and 'open', decentralised organisations. If it is true that the impact of the 'leader' has been overemphasised in recent research, it should be possible to detect the influence of junior members in most organisations - but one would expect this to be more apparent in open, decentralised organisations, where there is greater legitimacy for such a role. Secondly there is the element of dependency, and the degree of uncertainty in the relationship between the organisation and its environment. As Normann (1977) points out, in an unstable situation, not only must "business ideas" which reflect the relationship between the organisation and its environment be examined frequently, but also the "growth idea" which allows transition from one business idea to another becomes critical. One might therefore choose to investigate organisations that were operating in changing environments where idea generation was an essential component of success; but it might be yet more profitable to examine organisations which are moving from stable to unstable environments. This would have the advantage of focussing attention on the establishment of growth ideas. In many respects business and growth ideas are elaborations of the notion of organisational values developed above; but the reason for focussing upon the growth side is that this is likely to relate more closely to human growth. The linkage between reward systems and careers may be most marked in this area.

Thus the focus for this research would be upon a reasonably open organisation, faced with environmental change to which it was not accustomed. But it would be easier to generalise from these results if parallel work was also carried out in more hierarchical and stable organisations.

Within the organisation(s) chosen it would be necessary to adopt a specific focus. In keeping with the notion of an 'organisational value' this should cover groups of decisions and actions from which one might infer some consistency and patterning. Arguably the most important decisions for individuals are those about promotion, rewards and development; and it is suggested that these would provide a fertile starting point for examining values. It is also an area where a certain amount of work has already been conducted into the way people account for decisions (Silverman and Jones, 1973, 1976).

7. A PROPOSAL

The purpose of this work would be to examine the relationship between managerial behaviour and the emergence of organisational values. Values would be inferred from the operation of reward systems (especially promotion decisions); and managerial behaviour would be construed as both reacting to these values, and contributing to their creation. The research would be longitudinal in nature: that is, that it would follow the fortunes of an organisation and certain individuals inside it over a period of at least two to three years.

There are two main problems in selecting organisations to conduct field research in. The first is that it is difficult to judge whether an organisation fulfils the sampling criteria until one is inside the organisation - assuming that these criteria can be adequately operationalised in the first place. Curiously enough, British Universities might fulfil both criteria specified in the preceding section in that they are non-hierarchical, but likely to have to make substantial changes to the ways they relate to their environments in the next few years. Industrial Training Boards could be seen as relatively hierarchical organisations which may soon have to make substantial revisions to their roles - if indeed they manage to survive in their present forms at all. Other examples of more hierarchical organisations facing major adjustments might include companies being taken over, or a petrochemical company coping with the next phase of the energy crisis. The second problem in

selecting organisations is that one must be able to gain access to them. Thus, in practice, sampling must be conducted from organisations that are both available and accessible.

In the case of longitudinal research this problem is compounded. On one hand the characteristics of the organisation may change substantially over the period of study, which means that it may no longer be in the appropriate portion of the sampling frame. On the other hand, as Ivancevich (1978) points out, individual subjects may leave, be moved, or become unavailable; also those who were in a position to sanction the work initially may be replaced by others less sympathetic to the operation. The only answer here, beyond trusting to luck, is to develop a network of contacts so that options may be retained both within and between organisations.

Within the selected organisation(s), data collection would focus on a panel of individuals, a succession of issues, and the contexts within which these occurred. A panel of ten individuals would provide the main ongoing contact with the organisation. The panel would be drawn from managers at senior, middle and junior levels of the organisation. These managers would be invited annually to discuss how their own roles and careers were developing, to comment on the current value systems in the organisation (particularly on the forms of behaviour and self-projection which appeared to be leading to rewards), and to consider whether there were any current or imminent issues affecting them and related to the reward system, which might be investigated further. Data collection would be through unstructured interviews, possibly backed up by tape recordings.

From these regular panel interviews a relevant issue might occasionally be identified, perhaps concerning an appointment, which would merit deeper investigation. In this case interviews with key participants would be essential, and observation of key meetings would also be attempted. The key participants would be invited to provide their interpretations of what was happening, as would other more distant observers (possibly the ongoing panel of managers). This process of

asking people to provide accounts for their own actions is along the lines advocated by Cicourel (1964), Harré and Secord (1974), and Silverman and Jones, (1976). While helping to identify the acts leading up to a particular decision, this would also help to identify the important contextual factors that were being taken into account.

These contextual factors would probably include interpretations of the environment within which the organisation was operating, as in the 'business idea' of Normann (1977). The reality behind such interpretations might be corroborated if access could be gained to appropriate documents and reports. Once a particular issue had subsided the research would return to monitoring the panel of managers from a distance.

There is then the problem of linking what might be very rich data to the development of theory. In this case the 'discovery' approach of Glaser and Strauss (1967) would be favoured. Thus the preceding pages have outlined a number of concepts about ideas and the ways that they emerge and become dominant in organisations. These concepts would be revised and refined in the light of trying to apply them to the data obtained from discrete phases of the research programme. The revisions in the concepts might also imply shifts in the subsequent phases of data collection. The duration of such iterative phases would probably be of the order of a year, although they would depend greatly on the nature of the data collected. A balance would have to be achieved between hasty modification of concepts on the basis of data that might be quite unrepresentative, and delaying revision of these concepts so that only a limited portion of the data would have contributed to theory in the final analysis. Over a period of time the methodology itself would have to remain open to modification due to possible developments in the social sciences elsewhere.

The value of this research programme would be primarily at a conceptual level in producing and refining concepts which might be helpful in organisational analysis, especially during periods of change. But it would also have a practical value for those who are responsible

for the management of careers, or concerned about the establishment and impact of reward systems. It is hoped that this practical aspect would also facilitate initial access.

What has been described above is essentially an ideal research programme within which a great deal of flexibility could be obtained. It would require to be built up gradually, over a period of years, by seizing whatever appropriate opportunities were available. A first state would involve establishing contact with a group of managers in order to investigate how they account for their own development over a period of time. Subsequently this might lead to a widening of the investigation.

A P P E N D I C E S

- I Pilot Questionnaire
- II Result of the Pilot Survey
- III Main Questionnaire
- IV Managing Organisational Change:
A Case Study.

A P P E N D I X I

PILOT QUESTIONNAIRE

PILOT QUESTIONNAIRE

There were three main types of questions in this questionnaire -

- open-ended questions
- structured multiple choice, ranking or Likert-type scales
- "pencil and paper" personality tests.

The questionnaire was introduced by an unstructured chat with the respondent which attempted to explain what the thesis was about, why I wanted to interview them, why it was in the interviewer's interests to keep the results confidential etc. This part of the interview was found to be essential for nurses being interviewed by a stranger when some of them were already under considerable threat. Many of them had misgivings about the whole procedure, and on several occasions it was necessary to wait up to half an hour before sufficient rapport had been established for the interview to proceed. However, in retrospect, a number of the respondents commented that it had been very helpful for them to talk out their situation with someone not involved. Which provides another example of the Hawthorne effect in operation.

Of the three types of questions, the open-ended questions were both asked and recorded by the interviewer. The basic structure of these questions was as indicated below although this was frequently extended by probes and dialogue. In particular the first three questions involved a lot of discussion, and in some cases took up about a third of the interview. The more structured questions were typed on cards and handed to the respondent together with answer scales where appropriate. In this case the interviewer merely recorded the number which the respondent considered to be the best description of the answer in her situation. The personality tests were introduced at two points in the interview and consisted of straight transcriptions of the originals.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULEA) The Appointments.

(1) Can you say, in your case, what are the main things that may happen in these appointments?

(Prompt and develop 3 or 4 alternatives if possible.)

	<u>Outcome</u>	<u>Probability</u>	<u>Preference</u>
(a)			
(b)			
(c)			
(d)			

(2) Could you estimate how likely is it that (this outcome) will occur?

Very Unlikely	Unlikely	Even Changes	Likely	Very Likely
1	2	3	4	5
				6

(Record rating in "probability" column above)

(3) How pleased or displeased do you think you would be if this were to happen?

Very Displeased		Not too Bothered		Very Pleased
1	2	3	4	5
				6

(Record rating above)

B) Salmon

(4) How much do you know about the Salmon report?

Very Little		Something		Very Much
1	2	3	4	5
				6

(5) What was your first reaction when you first heard about the Salmon reorganisation?

(6) Did you think it was a good or a bad thing?

Very Bad			Not Sure		Very Good
1	2	3	4	5	6

(7) To what extent do you now feel that the Salmon reorganisation is necessary?

Very Unnecessary			Not Sure		Very Necessary
1	2	3	4	5	6

(8) What do you consider to be the main reason for the present reorganisation of nursing?

(9) What, if any, do you think will be the main benefits from working under Salmon? (Specify both personal and general benefits.)

(10) What, if any, do you think will be the main problems in working under Salmon? (Specify personal and general)

(11) In what ways do you think Salmon will affect standards of patient care here? (Distinguish between Salmon and the move to the General Hospital)

(12) How much do you talk about Salmon with your colleagues?

Very rarely			Sometimes		Very Frequently
1	2	3	4	5	6

(13) How much discussion has there been between nurses and the Group Administration about the implementation of the Salmon report here?

Very Little			Some Discussion		Very Much
1	2	3	4	5	6

(14) How much discussion do you think there should have been?

Much Less		Same Amount		Much More	
1	2	3	4	5	6

(15) What is your overall assessment of Salmon now?

A very bad thing		Not Sure		A very good thing	
1	2	3	4	5	6

c) The Organisation

(16) To what extent do you think that the Group Administration are concerned with the welfare of individual nurses?

Very Unconcerned		Somewhat Concerned		Very Concerned	
1	2	3	4	5	6

(17) If you had personal problems that were interfering with your work, is there anyone above you who you could talk to about it?

No		Maybe		Yes	
1		2		3	

(18) How tolerant would you expect the administration to be in such a case?

Very Intolerant		Somewhat Tolerant		Very Tolerant	
1	2	3	4	5	6

(19) What do you think are the chances of senior nurses such as yourself losing their present positions in this hospital?

Very Low		Just Possible		Quite High	
1	2	3	4	5	6

The following questions each contain three descriptions of the way life is in some organisations. For each question indicate:

- (a) the order in which they best apply to this group;
- (b) the order that you think they should apply.

(20) A person is considered to be a good boss if he/she:

	(a)	(b)
	<u>As it is.</u>	<u>Ideal</u>

- I ...is strong, decisive and firm
but fair
- II ...is formal and correct without
using authority for own advantage....
- III ...has no favourites; will press
strongly to get the job done

(21) A person is considered to be a good subordinate if he/she:

	(a)	(b)
	<u>As it is.</u>	<u>Ideal</u>

- Iwill take orders, is hard
working and is loyal to her boss.....
- II ...~~ready~~ with ideas and suggestions
about tackling the job
- III ...is responsible and reliable;
avoids upsetting things

(22) In order for people to get on this group they must be:

	(a)	(b)
	<u>As it is.</u>	<u>Ideal</u>

- I ...competent and effective, with a
strong commitment to getting things
done
- II ... conscientious and responsible
with a strong sense of loyalty
- III ... shrewd and competitive with a
lot of "drive"

(23) Decisions are normally made by the person who:

	(a) <u>As it is.</u>	(b) <u>Ideal</u>
I ...officially carries the responsibility for making the decision		
II ... has the most knowledge and expertise of the people present		
III ... is the most senior or influential person present		

(24) In the following question, please indicate (on the given scales) how much say or influence the following groups of people have over what goes on in this Group.

	Very little			Very Much	
C.N.O.	1	2	3	4	5
P.N.O's	1	2	3	4	5
S.N.O's	1	2	3	4	5
Administrative Sisters	1	2	3	4	5
Ward Sisters	1	2	3	4	5
Staff Nurses	1	2	3	4	5
Doctors	1	2	3	4	5

(25) If things could be idea....please indicate how much say or influence each of the following groups of people should have over what goes on in this group.

	<u>Very little influence</u>			<u>Very much influence</u>	
C.N.O	1	2	3	4	5
P.N.O's	1	2	3	4	5
S.N.O's	1	2	3	4	5
Administrative Sisters	1	2	3	4	5
Ward Sisters	1	2	3	4	5
Staff Nurses	1	2	3	4	5
Doctors	1	2	3	4	5

At this stage the respondent was asked to complete the first group of pencil-and-paper tests. These were introduced in the normal manner, stressing the need to work fairly quickly and the importance of filling in all the questions even if some of them did not quite seem appropriate. The tests in this first group were:

- (a) Wilson-Paterson Conservatism Scale (first half)
(Wilson and Patterson, 1970)
- (b) I.P.A.T. Anxiety scale (first half)
(Cattell, 1957)
- (c) E.P.I. Form A (first half)
(Eysenck, 1963)
- (d) n-Ach (complete test)
(Smith: 1970)

D) Attitudes to Change and Coping Style

(26) Nowadays, things in the world are changing faster and faster. Please indicate which of the following statements best describes your feelings about change:

A necessary evil	1
Causes more harm than good	2
Depends on the situation	3
Exciting, stimulating	4
Confusing, threatening	5

(27) When faced with a new problem, do you normally:

Tackle it straight away	1
Think about it a bit before jumping in .	2
Look carefully at the problem before tackling it	3
Watch and wait before deciding to take action	4
See if the problem will resolve itself first	5

E) Meaning of Work

(28) Why did you first go into nursing?

(29) Why do you come to work now in this Group/Hospital?

(30) How important is your work to you?

<u>Not Important</u>		<u>Quite Important</u>		<u>Very Important</u>	
1	2	3	4	5	6

(31) How important is your job in making sure that your part of the hospital runs effectively?

Of Little Importance		Quite Important		Essential	
1	2	3	4	5	6

- (32) Taking everything into consideration at the moment, how well would you say you are doing your job?

Poorly		Quite Well		Very Well
1	2	3	4	5
				6

- (33) (a) If your immediate superior was asked to rate your performance on your job at the moment, where do you think he/she would place you ?

Poor		Quite Good		Very Good
1	2	3	4	5
				6

(b) Why do you say that?

- (34) How much higher do you think you could go in the nursing service while still being able to do your job competently?

No Higher		Slightly Higher		Much Higher
1	2	3	4	5
				6

- (35) Under normal circumstances could you estimate the relative importance to you of your life at home and your life at work?

Work More Important	Work Slightly more important		Home Slightly more important	Home more important
1	2	3	4	5

- (36) Overall do you find that most of the pressures in your life come from work or from outside work?

Mainly from Work		About Even		Mainly from Outside
1	2	3	4	5
				6

- (37) Think of a time when you felt particularly good about your work could you describe the situation briefly, and why you felt like that?

- (38) Think of a time when you felt particularly bad about your work Please describe the situation briefly and why you felt like that.

(39) (a) Please put these cards in their order of importance to you in your present job

- | | |
|--|------------------|
| 1. Good working conditions | (Conditions) |
| 2. Having a senior position | (Status) |
| 3. Having good work recognised | (Recognition) |
| 4. Having real responsibility | (Responsibility) |
| 5. The chance to meet and talk to colleagues | (Social) |
| 6. Having prospects in the job | (Advancement) |
| 7. Having no fears of losing the job | (Security) |
| 8. Good pay | (Pay) |
| 9. Plenty of challenge in the job | (Achievement) |

(b) Now take the three cards that you have ranked highest. Taking them in turn, do you think there will be more or less of this in your job?

Less	A little Less	About the same	A Little More	More
1	2	3	4	5

(40) (a) Are you a member of a Union? Yes 1 No 2

(b) Why?

(41) (a) Do you think that all nurses should belong to a union? Yes 1 No 2

(b) Why?

(42) What would you say is the main purpose of a trade union in nursing?

The second batch of pencil-and-paper tests were given at this stage. They consisted of:

- (a) Wilson-Paterson Conservatism Scale (second half)
- (b) I.P.A.T. Anxiety Scale (second half)
- (c) E.P.I. Form A (second half)
- (d) The following questions about the respondent's background

- (i) How many years have you been in nursing?
- (ii) How long have you been working in this hospital?
- (iii) How old were you when you left school?
- (iv) Into which of the following ranges does your age fall?

Under 20	1
20 - 29	2
30 - 39	3
40 - 49	4
50 - 59	5
60 and over	6

(v) Marital Status	Married	1
	Single	2
	Widowed	3
	Divorced/Separated	4

(vi) <u>If married</u> , does your husband work	Yes	1
	No	2

G. Response to Change

(43) In this question I am trying to get some idea of how you feel about your job

(a) How happy do you feel about your job normally?

Very Unhappy		Not Too Bothered		Very Happy
1	2	3	4	5
				6

(b) How happy do you feel about your job at the moment?

Very Unhappy		Not too bothered		Very Happy
1	2	3	4	5
				6

(44) (a) How interested/committed do you feel about your job normally?

Not at all Committed		Moderately Committed		Very Committed
1	2	3	4	5
				6

(b) How interested/committed do you feel about your job at the moment?

Not at all Committed		Moderately Committed		Very Committed
1	2	3	4	5
				6

(45) (a) Do you find that the period of waiting to find out what will happen interferes at all with the way you do your job at the moment?

Yes	1
No	2

(b) In what way?

(46) What do you think most of your colleagues think about Salmon in general?

(47) (a) Does it seem to have affected the way they go about their jobs?

Yes	1
No	1

(b) In what ways?

- (48) Do you think things will be better or worse when Salmon is fully installed here as compared with the days before Salmon was even heard of, for:

	<u>Better</u>				<u>Worse</u>
(a) People working in this hospital	1	2	3	4	5
(b) Yourself	1	2	3	4	5
(c) The patient	1	2	3	4	5

- (49) (a) How well do you think the implementation of Salmon is being handled?

Very Badly	"Middling"		Very Well
1	2	3	4
			5
			6

- (b) How could it be improved?

- (50) In your opinion, is the nursing function in this group of hospitals being administered well or badly at the moment?

Very Badly	"Middling"		Very Well
1	2	3	4
			5
			6

- (51) Please put the following cards in the order that you think a nurse at your level should owe her allegiance.

- (i) Individual patients
- (ii) The Ward
- (iii) The hospital
- (iv) The Hospital Group
- (v) Nursing Profession

- (52) Do you think it is right for nurses to change their jobs

Frequently	1
Occasionally	2
Rarely	3
Very rarely	4
Never	5

- (53) (a) In your opinion, what is the best thing about the present nursing profession?

- (b) What is the worst thing?

PILOT SURVEY: DESIGN AND RESULTS

1. Introduction
2. Design of Pilot Survey
 - (a) Hypotheses
 - (b) Development of questions
3. Results of Pilot Survey
 - (a) Hypothesised results
 - (b) Individual characteristics and attitudes
 - (c) Organisational factors and attitudes
 - (d) Results of pilot survey not related to attitudes
 - (e) Summary
4. Analysis of Pilot Questionnaire
 - (a) Attitude questions
 - (b) Reanalysis of individual and organisational factors
 - (c) Other questions
5. Conclusion

1. INTRODUCTION

Reference has been made earlier in this thesis to the methodological distinction of viewing change either as a process or as an event. The "process" view takes a longitudinal approach and examines change as if it were a sequence of interacting forces and activities. It focusses on the processes whereby change is brought about rather than on the nature of the end-states. The "event" view starts by examining the difference between end-states and then attempts to relate this to "snapshots" of other measurable factors in the vicinity. A similar distinction can be made about the anticipation of change: it can either be viewed as a sequence of actions and interactions, or as a set of preconditions and environmental factors that will result in certain attitudes and behaviours. The former approach has been adopted in Part II of the thesis; the latter perspective is adopted in this Appendix and in the field work described in Part III.

The pilot survey consisted of interviews and questionnaires administered to sixteen nurses who were likely to be applying for a total of nine Nursing Officer posts in the Hospital Group described in Chapter 6. It was carried out several months after the first case-study described in chapter 7 and provided much of the data for the second case-study.

The objectives of the pilot survey were seen as follows:

- (a) To explore some rough hypotheses about individual reactions to organisational change which would contribute to the formulations in Part I;
- (b) to develop instruments to measure the concepts involved in these hypotheses for use in Part III of the thesis.

The next section will consider these hypotheses and the design of the pilot survey that was based on and around these hypotheses. This will be followed by a discussion of the results of the pilot survey, an analysis of the construct validity of the questions, and finally, by a reanalysis of the results of the questionnaire.

2. DESIGN OF PILOT SURVEY

(a) Hypotheses

At this stage the formulation of hypotheses was relatively simplistic, and these were then taken as a guide to the general direction of investigation. Operational definitions of the terms involved are given below and in Appendix I.

HYPOTHESIS I

A negative evaluation of anticipated change will tend to be associated with the following individual characteristics:

- (a) anxiety
- (b) neuroticism
- (c) introversion
- (d) conservatism
- (e) low need for achievement.

HYPOTHESIS II

A positive evaluation of anticipated organisational change will tend to be associated with the following individual perceptions of organisational environment:

- (a) high trust and security
- (b) high "task" orientation
- (c) low "role" orientation
- (d) high power ratio for own reference group.

(b) Development of Questions

The range of concepts to be measured was determined with two main factors in mind: they would need to be relevant to the hypotheses stated above, while being able to explore the feasibility of ideas less fully developed, which had been identified from other research results or from earlier pieces of small-scale field work.

A few of the questions used were taken directly from these other research studies, some were taken from these sources but adapted for the present context, and the remainder were written from first principles bearing in mind the many strictures about the wording of questions (Oppenheim, 1966; Moser and Kalton, 1971).

The concepts selected for the pilot survey are listed below, together with the questions (see Appendix I) which define these concepts. Where appropriate, the source or derivation of the questions are also given.

CONCEPT	QUESTION NOS.	SOURCE
1. PERSONALITY		
Neuroticism	Written questionnaire	E.P.I. (Form A)
Extroversion	"	Eysenck (1963)
Conservatism	"	Wilson & Patterson (1970)
Anxiety	"	I.P.A.T., Cattell (1957)
Need for Achievement	"	Smith (1973)
2. WORK SITUATION		
Age	"	
Service	"	
Level of education	"	
Marital status	"	
Reason for coming to work	28, 29	From Goldthorpe et al.
Importance of work	30, 31	(1968)
Job performance	32, 33	
Career aspirations	34	
Importance: work VS. home	35, 36	
Job "satisfiers"	37) Herzberg (1968)
Job "dissatisfiers"	38)
Unionisation	40 - 42	From Beynon (1972)
3. ORGANISATIONAL		
Trust and security	16 - 19	
Ideology	20 - 23	Harrison (undated)
Power distribution	24 - 25	Tannenbaum (1968)
4. ASSESSMENT OF STIMULUS		
Probable outcomes	1 - 3	
Ambiguity	1 - 3	
Overall valence	39	From Graen (1969)
Knowledge of change	4	
Understanding of change	8 - 11	
5. RESPONSE TO ANTICIPATION		
Affective attitudes	6, 7, 15, (48-50)	
Job satisfaction	43, 44	
Coping behaviour	45, 47	
Job mobility	51, 52	

Figure II.1: Main Concepts, Questions and Sources.

3. RESULTS OF PILOT SURVEY

As indicated above these results should be interpreted loosely as suggesting degrees of association rather than as "proof" of any hypotheses. Thus the direction of the hypothesised relationships is taken into account when interpreting observed relationships (in a Bayesian sense - see Phillips (1973)).⁽¹⁾

	(<u>Positive</u>) <u>Attitudes</u>	<u>Hypothesised</u> <u>Relationship</u>
Anxiety (I.P.A.T.)	- 0.24	-
Neuroticism (E.P.I.)	- 0.34	-
Introversiön (E.P.I.)	0.18	-
Conservatism	0.21	-
Low n-Ach	- 0.13	-

Figure 2: Correlations of Personality Factors with Attitudes to Salmon⁽²⁾

As expected, anxiety and neuroticism appear to be negatively related to favourable attitudes although the relationship is not particularly strong. The other three hypotheses are less firmly based in theoretical and research conclusions and the results obtained here are particularly equivocal. It is quite possible that neither introversion nor n-ach are related in any straight-forward way to attitudes to change (see Kirton and Mulligan, 1973). However, there is a long tradition of research to suggest that there are some identifiable personality characteristics associated with a negative approach to change (i.e. Adorno et al., 1950; Rokeach, 1960). This suggests therefore that the Wilson Patterson scale may not be high on construct validity since the items measure the extent to which the respondent is "keeping up with the times"; rather than measuring resistance to changes in the future. In addition there have been some doubts thrown onto the basic validity of the scale, and reanalyses do not come up with the dominant factor loadings originally reported by the authors (Robertson and Cochrane, 1973).

(1) The "Expected Direction" of these hypotheses was based on a combination of published studies and preliminary surveys for the thesis.

(2) "Attitudes to Salmon" defined as the sum of questions 4, 6, 7 and 15.

	<u>Positive</u> <u>Attitudes</u>	<u>Hypothesised</u> <u>Relationship</u>
Trust and Security (2)	.15	+
Task orientation	.15	+
Role orientation	- .12	-
Power ratio (3)	- .03	+

Figure 3: Correlations of Perceived Organisational Factors and Attitudes to Salmon

With the exception of "power ratio", all of these factors show a weak relationship in the expected direction. Greatest weight should be placed on the relationship between "trust and security" and attitudes, particularly since the internal consistency of the measures of "orientation" are dubious (see Chapter 9). The failure of power ratio to show the expected relationship may be due to diffuseness of the concept of perceived influence; alternatively there may be no relationship between power ratio and attitudes to this particular change.

(b) Other Relationships between Individual Characteristics and Attitudes

The following results do not relate to the initial hypotheses, although most of the questions had been included because there was likely to be some relationships between them and attitudes to change.

	<u>Attitudes</u> <u>to Salmon</u>	<u>Expected</u> <u>Direction</u>
Valence of situation	0.59**	+
Will it be better or worse for you?	0.59**	+
How well is it being implemented?	0.57**	+

(** $p \leq .001$: one tailed test).

Figure 4: Correlations of Perceptions of the Change with Attitudes to the Change.

(2) "Trust and Security" defined by the sum of questions 16 - 19

(3) "Power ratio" - rating for own group divided by total perceived influence of all other groups (question 24).

These results suggest a reasonable consistency between various assessments of the change as well as showing a moderate association with attitudes. The relationship is equally strong for the composite measure of valence as for the latter two measures which are each based on single items. It may be argued that the correlation between "valence" and "attitudes" is in some ways spurious since as noted above each could be measuring different aspects of a general attitude ("valence" being the cognitive component, and "attitudes" being the affective component). However, such relationships are definitely not a consequence of the means of measurement since both factors are based on different questions, and the composite scores are obtained by different processes. (1)

	<u>Attitudes</u> <u>to Salmon</u>
Identification with patients	0
" " own ward	-0.48*
" " own hospital	0.15
" " Hospital Group	0.32
" " Nursing Profession	-0.08

(* $p \leq .05$: two tailed test)

Figure 5: Correlations Between and Individual's Identification and Attitudes

Although identification with either patients or with the nursing profession as a whole does not seem to have any influence on attitudes to Salmon, there is a low positive correlation between an identification with one's own hospital, and attitudes. This seems a little surprising since one of the major results of Salmon is the reduction in autonomy of individual hospitals. However the relationship is of low significance. The main polarisation appears between identification with one's own ward and identification with the Hospital Group. The latter relationship was to be expected since a primary identification with the Group implies acceptance of the main recommendation in Salmon. The hostility to

(1) 'Attitudes' are based on the sum of answers to questions 6,7,15,48-50 'Valence' is based on the sum of the changes anticipated in job factors listed in Question 39. ($V = \sum_{i=1}^n X_i$; where V is valence, X_i is change anticipated in job factor i).

Salmon of those identifying closely with the ward situation may be a reflection of the fact that Salmon is frequently seen to be eroding the authority of the ward sister.

Overall there are two interesting implications from these results. Firstly, there is a relationship between the size of the unit of identification and attitudes to Salmon. Various possible levels of identification are shown schematically in Figure 6.

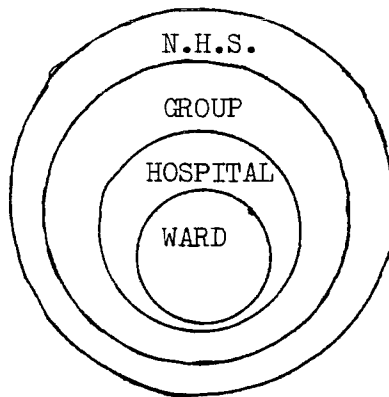


Figure 6: Units in the N.H.S.

Since the Salmon reorganisation was perceived to be emanating from the N.H.S., those identifying primarily with the Group would be considerably closer to this source than those identifying with hospitals or wards. This suggests that one of the factors influencing the favourableness of attitudes towards change is the psychological proximity of the source of that change.

Secondly the negligible relationship between identification with 'the profession' and attitudes to Salmon may be interpreted in terms of Blau and Scott's (1963) concept of the visibility of the profession. (see Chapter 6). Since nurses do not have much external contact, they identify most closely with other individuals at the place of work; and therefore the concept of professionalism in nursing may not be particularly helpful.

	<u>Attitudes to Salmon</u>	<u>Expected direction</u>
Own rating of performance	0.20	+
Importance of "home life" vs. "work life"	0.38*	+
Career aspirations	0.29	+

Figure 7: Correlations Between Individual Confidence and Attitudes

All three of the above results are as expected. The assumption behind these predictions is that a high level of self confidence implies a tendency not to appraise uncertain situations as being threatening. And hence will result in a disposition to form favourable attitudes. The relevance of the importance of home life over work life is similar in that it will reduce the area of a person's total life-space that may be subject to threat (see Lewin, 1947).

	<u>Attitudes to Salmon</u>	<u>Expected direction</u>
Age	0.19	-
School leaving age	0.27	+
Service in present hospital	0	-
Time in nursing	0.24	-
Married (vs. Single)	0.31	+

Figure 8: Correlations Between Aspects of Personal Background
and Attitudes to Change.

School leaving age gives an indication of an individual's educational level and, as expected is related positively to attitudes to change. Married nurses also tended to have more favourable attitudes - presumably because they are not totally dependent on their own jobs for financial security.

The relationships for age and length of time in nursing were not as expected. Numerous studies suggest that increasing age results in increased resistance to change, inability to cope with novel situations, and in a search for security (Johns, 1973). Since the majority of

these studies were carried out with manual workers in situations where power and status do not significantly increase with age it might be argued that the relationship would not hold where service and age were related to seniority - since seniority is positively related to attitudes to change. Unfortunately this can not be used as an explanation in this case since all the nurses providing information in the pilot study were drawn from the same level of the organisation. Thus, either the general conclusion about the importance of age and service is wrong for these nurses, or there are features of Salmon which make it different from most work related changes.

(c) Relationships Between other Organizational Factors and Attitudes

The main group of organisational measures outside the scope of the initial hypotheses were those concerning organisational control. Two types of question were asked with the intention of measuring the perceived and ideal degrees of influence that various levels of staff in the Group might have.

Correlations of Attitudes
to Salmon with:

<u>Level</u>	<u>Perceived</u> <u>Influence</u>	<u>Ideal</u> <u>Influence</u>
C.N.O.	.19	.37*
P.N.O.	.34	.05
S.N.O.	.30	.21
Admin. Sister	.10	.15
Ward Sister	.15	.23
Staff Nurse	.27	.09
Consultants	-.19	-.05

(* $p \leq .05$: two tailed test)

Figure 9: Correlations of Perceived and Ideal Levels of Influence
with Attitudes

Individual results in the above table are difficult to interpret, although it is significant that those who believe that the C.N.O. should have a great deal of influence also tend to be the people who support the idea of Salmon.

However, the overall pattern above is most interesting. One of the major implications of Salmon is that by strengthening the administrative authority of the nursing function, many of the decisions traditionally made by consultants have been taken out of their ambit. (For example decisions over nursing appointments, as in chapter 7). The correlations indicate that those nurses who are in favour of Salmon have tended to attribute more actual and ideal influence to nurses, and less to consultants. (Mann-Whitney U test for these correlations gives a two-tailed significance of $P \leq .02$; Siegel, 1956).

(d) Results of Pilot Survey not Related to Attitudes

(1) Job Satisfaction

Two methods were used to assess the bases of nurses' satisfaction. Firstly, the two Hertzberg "critical incident" questions were asked and the responses were then categorised into the nine groups shown in Figure 10. Respondents were then required to rank-order a number of statements reflecting Hertzberg's normal content analysis (see Question 39 (a)) according to the importance they attached to them in their present jobs.

Both forms of information are present in Figure 10. Firstly the nine statements are written in order of importance for all of the nurses interviewed. Secondly, the frequency of any particular content emerging from the critical incident questions is given numerically; the figure being divided graphically into "good" and bad incidents and expressed as percentages.

<u>Job Factor Ranking</u>	<u>"Bad" Incidents</u> (%)	<u>"Good" Incidents</u> (%)
1. Responsibility	8	15
2. Achievement	40	30
3. Conditions	12	4
4. Recognition	16	27
5. Pay		
6. Advancement	16	8
7. Social	8	8
8. Status		8
9. Security		

Figure 10: Rank Ordering of Job Factors; Frequency of Content in "Critical Incident" Questions

	<u>"Bad" Events</u>	<u>"Good" Events</u>
Classified	12	13
Not classified	2	3
Answer: "None"	2	0

Figure 11: Analysis of Critical Incident Statements

While allowing for some bias in the wording of the job factors to be ranked, the different results obtained by the two methods of investigating job satisfaction are quite marked. Both "conditions" and "pay" were ranked highly yet received little or no mention as causes of either satisfaction or dissatisfaction. This is in accordance with most other research studies (see Scott Myers, 1964). On the other hand the "Hertzberg" results indicated the overall importance of "Achievement" and "Recognition" as determinants of job satisfaction. However, the two-factor structure normally found is not apparent in these results with the possible exception of "Recognition" and "Advancement". In this case recognition appears likely to be given in a supportive manner.

Lack of promotion is more likely to act as a source of dissatisfaction than for promotion to act as a source of satisfaction. Which echoes many observations on the implementation of Salmon: that major organisational problems can be caused by one or two people not being promoted when their promotion was generally expected and seen as their "right" (see DHSS, 1971).

These results may also be compared with a study of 29 nurses in Utah by Anderson, and cited in Hertzberg (1966). The same two critical incident questions were administered, and the five main factors that emerged were Recognition, Achievement, Company Policy and Admin, Relations with Superior, Work Conditions. A comparison of the distribution between "good" and "bad" incidents shows considerable similarities for Recognition and Work Conditions, however Achievement features much more strongly in the present case particularly with "bad" incidents. It seems the difference may be due to the role of the nurse being less significant in commercial nursing than in a nationalised organisation. This is supported by the presence of Responsibility and Advancement in these results and the high ranking given to the former factor.

(11) Organizational Control

The following graph gives mean values for perceived and ideal levels of control for various levels in the organisation.

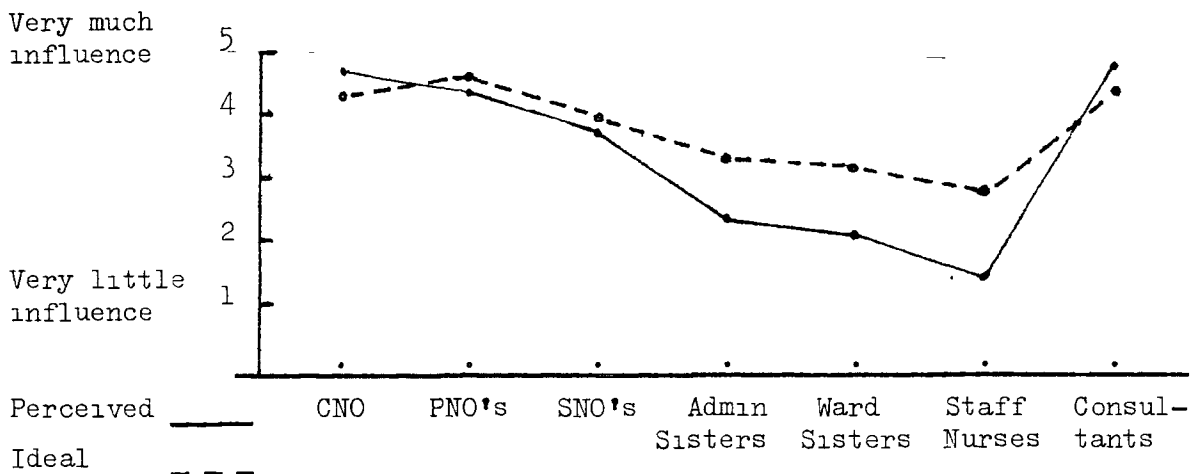


Figure 12: Perceived and Ideal Organisational Control

This illustrates quite clearly that although respondents consider that the more junior members of the organisation should have more influence they do not consider that this should be at the expense of those in senior positions. This is reminiscent of Tannenbaum's original contention that it is possible for the total amount of influence of the organisation to increase - which means that all members may increase their influence. (Tannenbaum, 1968).

(e) Summary

Many of the substantive results from the pilot survey are of interest, but are of low significance. However the main objectives of this pilot survey are to explore the potential of various ideas, and to examine ways of measuring the concepts involved. In the first respect a number of factors have been identified which may condition attitudes to the anticipation of change. These are:

Individual Personality	- Anxiety
	- Neuroticism
" Background	- Education
	- Marital Status
" Identification/Role	- Identification with own ward
	- Identification with Hospital Group
	- Confidence
	- Importance of home life
	- Career aspirations
Organisational climate	- Trust and Security
	- Task Orientation
Perception of Situation	- Valence
	- Implications for self
	- How well is it being implemented?

The remaining part of this Appendix will be based on an assessment of some of the measures used to define the above concepts - particularly those in the general area of attitudes.

4. ANALYSIS OF PILOT QUESTIONNAIRE(a) Attitude Questions

Four questions (4,6,7 and 15) were used in the initial measure of attitudes, but there were a further three questions that could also be interpreted as indicating attitudes. Therefore the relationships between all seven questions were analysed:

	Q.4	Q.6	Q.7	Q.12	Q.13	Q.14	Q.15
(Q.4) How much do you know about the Salmon report?		.06	.18	.39*	.43*	-.14	.16
(Q.6) Did you think it was a good or a bad thing initially			.71**	-.25	.15	.03	.78**
(Q.7) To what extent do you now think it is necessary				-.30	.03	0	.69**
(Q12) How much do you talk about Salmon with your colleagues?					.27	.11	-.21
(Q13) How much discussion has there been with the Gp. Admin.?						-.50**	.04
(Q14) How much discussion should there have been (with Gp..Admin)?							-.03
(Q15) Overall assessment now?							

(* : $p \leq 0.05$; ** : $p \leq 0.01$; two tailed test)

Figure 13: Intercorrelations of Attitude Items (Kendal τ)

On account of the relatively small sample it was not worth attempting a factor analysis of these questions - particularly as they fall into two clear groups from inspection of the matrix.

Thus the first group seem to indicate a simple attitude towards the change:

	<u>Q.7</u>	<u>Q.15</u>
Q.6 Did you think it was a good or a bad thing initially?	0.71**	0.78**
Q.7 To what extent do you now think it is necessary		0.69**
Q.15 Overall assessment now?		

The second group, although based on weaker correlations suggests an active approach towards the change and a willingness to discuss it:

	<u>Q12</u>	<u>Q13</u>
Q.4 How much do you know about the Salmon report?	0.39*	0.42*
Q.12 How much do you talk about Salmon with your colleagues?		0.27
Q.13 How much discussion has there been with Group Admin.?		

(b) Reanalysis of Individual and Organizational Factors

After this brief analysis, these questions were regrouped to form the two scales implied and re-correlated with the original variables. The following are the results obtained from this analysis which either show particularly strong relationships or were among the factors identified in the summary for the last section:

		New Attitude Scale	Knowledge/ Discussion Scale
(a) Personality	- Anxiety	-0.12	-0.51**
	- Extroversion	-0.15	0.46**
	- Neuroticism	-0.10	-0.48**
(b) Background	- Age	0.10	0.27
	- Education	0.14	0.01
	- Married (or single)	0.40*	0.12
(c) Identification/Role	- "Narrow" identification	-0.23	-0.41*
	- "Wide" identification	0.14	0.61**
	- Confidence	0.03	0.55**
	- Importance of Home Life	0.50**	-0.05
	- Job Aspirations	0.18	0.08
(d) Org. Climate	- Trust and Security	0.18	0.20
	- Task Orientation	0.17	0.18
	- Power Orientation	-0.22	-0.12
	- Role Orientation	-0.09	0
(e) Perception of Situation	- Valence	0.42*	0.09
	- Implications for self	0.45*	0.15
	- Implementation	0.41*	0.43*
(f) Response	- Joining Union	0.24	-0.46**

(* : $p \leq 0.05$; ** : $p \leq 0.01$; two tailed tests)

Figure 14: Correlations of Individual and Organisational Factors with New Attitude and Discussion Scales.

The most important conclusion from this piece of analysis is the emergence of the "Knowledge/Discussion" factor which appears to have reasonably high construct validity. The individual correlations largely confirm the conclusions from the earlier analysis of the pilot survey except that the attitude scale correlates rather lower with most factors than before. On the other hand the "Discussion" factor tends to correlate slightly higher in the expected direction. Three specific exceptions to this are that active discussion seems particularly highly related to extroversion, but not related to the relative importance of home life - which would seem more likely to determine attitudes.

Finally amongst those people who have joined the union, attitudes are slightly favourable while little discussion takes place. An interpretation of this is that the security of being a member of a union removes the need for independent action (encourages dependency), while removing the need to worry.

(c) Other Questions

Much of the remaining analysis of the pilot questionnaire was by inspection. Those items that stood independently were scrutinised according to whether:

- (i) they appeared ambiguous or unclear;
- (ii) respondents had any difficulty interpreting them;
- (iii) whether the distribution of answers was spread reasonably across the scale and not significantly skewed;
- (iv) whether the results indicated that retention might yield positive results in the main survey.

In addition, in the case of questions that formed composite scales, attention was given to the number of questions and the amount of time/effort required of the respondent in completing them.

These criteria were used in determining which parts of the pilot questionnaire should be transferred into the main questionnaire. In addition, the first three criteria were used in modifying certain questions that seemed important but were inappropriate in their existing form.

5. CONCLUSION

This pilot survey has concentrated on exploring some of the central ideas for the thesis and in developing means of measuring these ideas. In addition, a new concept has emerged in relation to organisational change, the dimension of "Knowledge/Discussion", which seems to be closely related to the wider concept of "active coping styles" developed in Chapter 4.

Analysis of the pilot survey has attempted to be as flexible as possible. On account of the relatively small sample it has seemed more important to use rule-of-thumb and intuition as a basis for rejecting or modifying items - rather than any rigid statistical criteria. This is in no way intended to deny the validity of statistical approaches; it is all a matter of when they are appropriate. In the case of the main survey, the sample is moderately large - beyond the scope of normal intuitive methods - and therefore more sophisticated statistical methods will be required.

APPENDIX III

MAIN QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire represents the main part of my thesis for a Ph.D. degree at Durham University. The thesis is about change in organisations and the way people manage in what are very often difficult times. I have been given permission to ask nurses to fill in this questionnaire on the strict understanding that they should only do so if they want to: that is, it is completely voluntary. Also I must undertake not to indentify any individuals who have filled in the questionnaire: any information collected will only be analysed in terms of aggregates and averages so that confidentiality can be ensured.

The questions cover three main areas. Some of them are about what you think of having to move to the new hospital; this is the area that I am mainly interested in. However, in order to understand better what people think about the move it is important to know what they think about their jobs and the place where they work. Therefore there are some more questions covering these areas.

Most of the questions are quite straightforward and simply require you to ring the number on the right which is closest to what you think is the best answer. There is no need to think deeply most of the time, and often the first answer that comes into your head is the best answer. Please try to answer every question and if there are any that you think you may be misinterpreting, please ask.

PART I - THE MOVE TO THE NEW HOSPITAL

1. The following statements are about the new hospital and the way the move is being handled.

Please say whether you agree or disagree with each statement, ringing one of the numbers on the right.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Inclined</u> <u>to</u> <u>agree</u>	<u>Inclined</u> <u>to</u> <u>disagree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Card 1</u> <u>Col.</u>
The move to the new hospital will not be as bad as many people expect	1	2	3	4	(31)
The new hospital is unlikely to have a friendly atmosphere	1	2	3	4	(32)
Nurses should have been involved much more in planning the move to the new hospital	1	2	3	4	(33)
Overall, the people responsible for the move seem to be doing a good job	1	2	3	4	(34)
The Hospital will be able to provide a better service to the public when it is all under one roof	1	2	3	4	(35)
Moving to the new hospital will make nursing much more efficient	1	2	3	4	(36)
Most patients feel happier in a small hospital	1	2	3	4	(37)
In this Group there have been a lot of changes over the past year	1	2	3	4	(38)
Consultation about the move has been quite inadequate	1	2	3	4	(39)
Nowadays it is essential for nurses to have a voice at the top	1	2	3	4	(40)
Advances in medicine have made large hospitals essential	1	2	3	4	(41)

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Inclined to agree</u>	<u>Inclined to disagree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Card 1 Col.</u>
People will tend to feel lost in the new hospital	1	2	3	4	(42)
The move into the new hospital is not being planned as well as it might have been	1	2	3	4	(43)
Nowadays things don't seem to be run as well as they used to be in this Group	1	2	3	4	(44)
The Nursing Administration are not really aware of what people think about the move	1	2	3	4	(45)
The preparations for the move into the new hospital have been quite adequate so far	1	2	3	4	(46)

2. Would you say that the move to the new hospital is likely to result in significant changes in:

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Perhaps/ Don't Know</u>	<u>No</u>	
The people you work with	1	2	3	(51)
Your responsibilities	1	2	3	(52)
The type of work you do	1	2	3	(53)
Your subordinates	1	2	3	(54)
The people you are responsible to	1	2	3	(55)
Facilities available on the ward	1	2	3	(56)
Relationships with medical staff	1	2	3	(57)
Relationships with para-medical staff	1	2	3	(58)

3. Overall, do you think the move to the new hospital will make things better or worse for:

	<u>Much Better</u>		<u>About the same</u>		<u>Much Worse</u>	
The patients	1	2	3	4	5	(61)
Yourself	1	2	3	4	5	(62)
Other nursing staff	1	2	3	4	5	(63)

4.	<u>Yes</u>		<u>Sometimes</u>		<u>No</u>	
Do you talk about the move with your colleagues?	1		2		3	(71)
Have you discussed the move much with your boss?	1		2		3	(72)
Have you had much to do with preparations for the move?	1		2		3	(73)
Have you considered leaving this job before the upheaval starts?	1		2		3	(74)
Do you often find yourself laughing at the whole situation?	1		2		3	(75)
Have you joined the union?	1		2		3	(76)

5. How do you anticipate that the move will affect:

	<u>Worse</u>	<u>A Little Worse</u>	<u>About the Same</u>	<u>A Little Better</u>	<u>Better</u>	<u>Card 2 Col.</u>
Your working conditions	1	2	3	4	5	(11)
The status of your job	1	2	3	4	5	(12)
The amount of responsibility you have	1	2	3	4	5	(13)
Opportunities to talk to others	1	2	3	4	5	(14)
Your career prospects	1	2	3	4	5	(15)
Your job security	1	2	3	4	5	(16)
Your pay	1	2	3	4	5	(17)
Opportunities to find a challenge in the jobs	1	2	3	4	5	(18)

6. Please write below very briefly what are your main concerns about the move to the new hospital.

7. How do you feel about the whole business of moving to the new hospital? Ring the one word that most clearly describes your feelings.

- (a) Nervous (b) Comfortable (c) Indifferent
 (d) Unsafe (e) Fine (f) It doesn't bother me (g) Worried (21)

PART II - ABOUT YOUR JOB etc.

8.	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	
Do you sometimes find your job too demanding?	1	2	(31)
Do personal worries sometimes interfere with your work?	1	2	(32)
Is your job an essential part of this hospital?	1	2	(33)
Would you say your performance in your job is probably above average?	1	2	(34)
Would your immediate superior be likely to rate you above average?	1	2	(35)

9. If it came to a clash of loyalties between any of the following, which one do you feel a nurse at your level should side with?

	<u>A</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>B</u>	
(a) This group of hospitals OR (b) this hospital	1	2	3	(41)
(a) Consultants OR (b) the nursing profession	1	2	3	(42)
(a) This hospital OR (b) Consultants	1	2	3	(43)
(a) The profession OR (b) the Group	1	2	3	(44)
(a) The Group OR (b) Consultants	1	2	3	(45)
(a) This hospital OR (b) the profession	1	2	3	(46)

10. In any job you were to do, how important would you say each of the following are:

	<u>HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO YOU?</u>			<u>Card 2</u>
	<u>Not</u> <u>Important</u>	<u>Very</u> <u>Important</u>	<u>Essential</u>	<u>Col.</u>
Good working conditions	1	2	3	(51)
Having a senior position	1	2	3	(52)
Having real responsibility	1	2	3	(53)
Having opportunities to talk to others	1	2	3	(54)
Having career prospects	1	2	3	(55)
Having no fears of losing the job	1	2	3	(56)
Getting paid well	1	2	3	(57)
Having plenty of challenge in the job	1	2	3	(58)

11. The following questions are about the way you may behave, feel or act. Try to decide whether "yes" or "no" represents your usual way of acting or feeling. (Please do not omit any answers)

			<u>Card 3</u>
	Yes	No	<u>Col.</u>
Do you sometimes feel happy, sometimes depressed, without any apparent reason?	Yes	No	(11)
Do you prefer action to planning for action?	Yes	No	(12)
Do you have frequent ups and downs in mood, either with or without apparent cause?	Yes	No	(13)
Are you happiest when you get involved in some project that calls for rapid action?	Yes	No	(14)
Are you inclined to be moody?	Yes	No	(15)
Does your mind often wander while you are trying to concentrate?	Yes	No	(16)
Do you usually take the initiative in making new friends?	Yes	No	(17)
Are you inclined to be quick and sure in your actions?	Yes	No	(18)
Are you frequently 'lost in thought' even when supposed to be taking part in a conversation?	Yes	No	(19)
Would you rate yourself as a lively individual?	Yes	No	(20)
Are you sometimes bubbling over with energy and sometimes very sluggish?	Yes	No	(21)
Would you be very unhappy if you were prevented from making numerous social contacts?	Yes	No	(22)

12. Would you say the following are true or false descriptions of the way you normally do things?

I feel it is certainly best to keep my mouth shut when I am in trouble	Yes	No	(31)
At times I feel like swearing	Yes	No	(32)
What others think of me does not bother me	Yes	No	(33)
I can be friendly with people that do things I consider to be wrong	Yes	No	(34)
It takes a lot of argument to convince most people of the truth	Yes	No	(35)
I am not likely to speak to people until they speak to me	Yes	No	(36)
I have often lost out on things because I couldn't make up my mind soon enough	Yes	No	(37)
I gossip a little at times	Yes	No	(38)

13.

Are you the main wage earner in your household?	Yes	No	(41)
Could you live adequately if you were not working?	Yes	No	(42)
Do you expect to be still working in this Group five years from now?	Yes	No	(43)
Does your domestic situation make it possible for you to work elsewhere?	Yes	No	(44)
Could you estimate the relative importance to you of your life at home and your life at work?	<u>Work a bit more important</u>	<u>About equal</u>	<u>Home a bit more important</u>
	1	2	3 (45)

14.

(a) Please indicate which range your age falls into :			
	Under 30	1	
	30 - 39	2	(51)
	40 - 49	3	
	Over 50	4	
(b) How old were you when you left school?			(52, 53)
(c) How long have you been in nursing?			(54, 55)
(d) How long have you been at this hospital?			(56, 57)
(e) Marital status	Married	1	
	Single	2	
	Widowed	3	(58)
	Div/Sep	4	

15. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements about you and your work.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Inclined to agree</u>	<u>Inclined to disagree</u>	<u>disagree</u>	<u>Col.</u>
If I could do as I pleased I would change the kind of work I do every few months	1	2	3	4	(61)
One can never feel at ease in a job where the ways of doing things are always being changed	1	2	3	4	(62)
I would prefer to stay with a job that I know I can handle than to change to one where most things would be new to me	1	2	3	4	(63)
When I get used to doing things in one way it is disturbing to have to change to a new method	1	2	3	4	(64)
The trouble with many people is when they find a job they can do well, they don't stick with it	1	2	3	4	(65)

PART III - THE ORGANISATION

16. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about working in this Hospital Group?

Card 4
Col.

	<u>Definitely</u> <u>agree</u>	<u>Inclined</u> <u>to</u> <u>agree</u>	<u>Inclined</u> <u>to</u> <u>disagree</u>	<u>Definitely</u> <u>disagree</u>	
If you make a mistake you don't usually get much sympathy from those above	1	2	3	4	(51)
Whenever possible the Group Nursing Admin. are concerned with the welfare of individual nurses	1	2	3	4	(52)
Junior nurses normally feel free to discuss personal problems with their seniors if the need arises	1	2	3	4	(53)
The Nursing Admin. is not normally tolerant of people whose personal problems are affecting their work	1	2	3	4	(54)
People here are very worried about how their jobs will be affected by the move	1	2	3	4	(55)
There is no need for any nurse in this Group to fear for her job at the moment	1	2	3	4	(56)

17. Please indicate how much say or influence the following groups of people have over what goes on in this Group.

	<u>Very little</u> <u>influence</u>			<u>Very much</u> <u>influence</u>		
S.N.O.s	1	2	3	4	5	(61)
Ward Sisters and Charge Nurses	1	2	3	4	5	(62)
Staff Nurses	1	2	3	4	5	(63)
Consultants	1	2	3	4	5	(64)
C.N.O.	1	2	3	4	5	(65)
Nursing Officers	1	2	3	4	5	(66)
P.N.O.s	1	2	3	4	5	(67)

18. The following is a list of statements about people or situations that you may encounter at work. After each statement are four alternative descriptions. Please put the number (1) opposite the description that seems to you to count for most in this hospital group at the moment. Opposite the description that seems to be the next closest put the number (2)... and so on until all four descriptions have been put in order. Then go onto the next statement, etc.

Give the order of how
much each one counts
here at the moment.

Card 4
Col.

(a) In general in this Group people seem to be considered good bosses if they are:

- | | | |
|---|-------|------|
| - strong, decisive and firm | _____ | (71) |
| - formal and correct | _____ | (72) |
| - willing to take suggestions from others | _____ | (73) |
| - concerned above all with the progress of their subordinates | _____ | (74) |

Card 5
Col.

(b) In this Group at the moment people seem to be judged as good subordinates if they are:

- | | | |
|---|-------|------|
| - hard working and loyal to the interests of their superiors | _____ | (11) |
| - responsible, reliable and don't upset things | _____ | (12) |
| - committed to getting their own jobs done whatever the obstacles | _____ | (13) |
| - keen to learn and to develop their own expertise | _____ | (14) |

(c) People seem most likely to get promoted in this group if they are:

- | | | |
|--|-------|------|
| - shrewd and competitive | _____ | (21) |
| - conscientious and loyal to the group | _____ | (22) |
| - competent and effective at their jobs | _____ | (23) |
| - very ready to work with and support others | _____ | (24) |

19. How much say or influence do you think each of the following groups of people should have over what goes on in this group of hospitals.

	<u>Very little</u> <u>influence</u>		<u>Very much</u> <u>influence</u>			<u>Col.</u>
S.N.O.'s	1	2	3	4	5	(31)
Consultants	1	2	3	4	5	(32)
Ward Sisters and Charge Nurses	1	2	3	4	5	(33)
C.N.O.	1	2	3	4	5	(34)
Nursing Officers	1	2	3	4	5	(35)
P.N.O.'s	1	2	3	4	5	(36)
Staff Nurses	1	2	3	4	5	(37)

20. The statements on this page are similar to the ones on the preceding page. Once again order the statements from (1) to (4) according to importance, only this time please say how much you think each description should count.

	What order of importance should they have	<u>Card 5</u> <u>Col.</u>
(a) People in nursing <u>should</u> be considered to be good bosses if they are:		
- strong, decisive and firm	_____	(41)
- formal and correct	_____	(42)
- willing to take suggestions from others	_____	(43)
- concerned with the progress of their subordinates above all	_____	(44)
(b) People <u>should</u> be judged to be good subordinates if they are:		
- hard working and loyal to the interests of their superiors	_____	(51)
- responsible, reliable and don't upset things	_____	(52)
- committed to getting their jobs done whatever the obstacles	_____	(53)
- keen to learn and to develop their own expertise	_____	(54)
(c) People should get promotion on the basis of them being:		
- shrewd and competitive	_____	(61)
- conscientious and loyal to the Group	_____	(62)
- competent and effective at their jobs	_____	(63)
- very ready to work with and support others	_____	(64)

MANAGING ORGANISATIONAL CHANGE:

A CASE STUDY

1. Introduction
2. Background
3. Primary Appraisal
4. Secondary Appraisal
5. Aftermath

1. INTRODUCTION

This case study contains certain similarities to the two studies presented in Chapter 7, but it also differs in a number of respects:

- it is set in a profit seeking organisation rather than the N.H.S;
- The scale of analysis is considerably larger;
- it focussed on the anticipation of redundancy.

The case study is included here because it provides further illustration of many of the points made in Chapter 7, and also provides some suggestions about the management of large scale change. It was not included in Chapter 7 because the setting is very different to that of the other two case studies, and because much of the information is not central to the main arguments of the thesis.

The case is based on information obtained in informal interviews with about twenty of the key figures involved in the closure of a major chemical complex. Where necessary this is supported by the results of a questionnaire that was sent to a 15% sample of the total work force. (Easterby-Smith, 1973).

2. BACKGROUND

The complex studied consisted of four major plants, closely linked by technology and employing over 1500 men. Products were marketed on a world-wide basis and it was possible to predict trends in profitability several years in advance. Hence the expectation of less favourable market conditions and the excessive age of some parts of the complex had lead to the decision by the mid 1960's that the complex would not be viable after the early 1970's. In 1968 a report was produced specifying the end of the complex in 1972 and this date was both modified and elaborated by various committees that were set up to oversee the closure.

Therefore it was common knowledge among the workforce that the plant would eventually close; as one shop steward said at the end of 1969:

"It is six years since Mr. Moore told me that the Acid Plant would only last another eight years." (Ellam, 1973)

3. PRIMARY APPRAISAL.

The closure of the complex and the loss of 500 jobs was officially announced to the shop stewards' committee on 12th December 1969. The reaction was immediate and vigorous, and management was accused of using communications as a substitute for consultation. The unions objected to the presentation of the closure as a "fait accompli" especially when the basis for the decision seemed highly questionable.

Among the men the reaction was one of dismay, as a senior steward commented:

"The announcement was a shock followed by a general panic". This suggests that there were two levels of awareness operating here: although men knew that the closure was imminent it had been possible to imagine that it would never really happen, until they were given a specific date. For many of the older ones there was another adjustment to make. In their eyes the company had always represented security, and they found it difficult to accept the fact that they were actually going to become redundant. Unfortunately the days of paternalism were drawing to a close and although the company might have found small jobs for the displaced workers in the past, they had now come to the realisation that this was the kind of luxury that they could not afford.

This threat of closure produced inevitable falls in performance amongst workers, which was manifested mainly as carelessness.

"Many of the workers reached the "careless" stage - about half of them became very careless indeed. We had taken on temporary workers to cover the run-down and the better temporary workers were better than some of the old lags - because of the low morale amongst the older men." (Plant Manager).

4. SECONDARY APPRAISAL

In this situation the majority of people involved had virtually no control over events - and therefore the following discussion will concentrate on those people who did have some influence: management and the senior shop stewards.

Until the end of 1969 the exercise had been handled primarily by a committee of directors and personnel managers. At this stage the Works Manager decided that he was unhappy with the proposals of this group and took personal control of the situation. In particular he felt that it would be quite possible to shut the complex without making anyone redundant, and he also felt that the schedule laid down for these closures were unduly pessimistic. He made it his main objective to complete the closure with the minimum of hardship for the men involved and gave weekly staff an assurance that there would be no redundancies.

Once they had accepted the inevitability of the closures, the unions threw in their lot with the Works Manager. Planning became a joint venture between the two parties, and the consultative atmosphere was encouraged at all levels of management. Numbers were reduced by three main mechanisms: early retirement, voluntary redundancy and redeployment to other locations in the same company. At the same time a senior supervisor who was very well regarded by the men was talking to each man about what he wanted to do, and acted as a clearing house for any job vacancies whenever they occurred elsewhere in the company. He appeared to play a very significant role in reassuring the men.

The overall picture was one of a number of people with normally diverse objectives able to work at a common purpose under the charismatic leadership of the Works Manager. As the T & G.W.U. Convenor commented:

"This is the essence of successful redeployment - the dialogue".
The paradoxical motivation of management was reflected by a plant manager:

"Most of the time managers were working themselves out of jobs. It's amazing that they were able to carry on with enthusiasm".

5. AFTERMATH

There are two aspects of the follow-up from the closures. From the company's point of view a number of things were achieved. A loss-making complex was shut down, without any serious industrial relations confrontations, over six months earlier than had originally been possible. (The Works Manager estimated that this constituted a saving to the company of over £1m.)

For some of the men who left the company, things did not go so well. A sample of them were contacted eighteen months after the closure and it emerged that approximately 20% were still without jobs. Inevitably the majority of these men were in their forties and fifties which reflects the results of numerous other studies on redeployment. Other men fared much better; but overall the median salary of the men that left and who had found new employment was still substantially lower than the salary that they would have been receiving if they had stayed with the company.

At the same time the results of an attitude survey (Easterby-Smith, 1973) indicate something of the success of this closure from a labour relations point of view. Figure 1 gives the results of one of the main questions.

Question: "Overall, how well were you treated by the company?"

	<u>Men who were redeployed</u> <u>within the company</u>	<u>Men who left</u> <u>the company</u>
	(%)	(%)
Well	60	82
Neither well nor badly	30	15
Badly	<u>10</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100

Figure 1: Subsequent Attitudes towards the Company

Undoubtedly the personal intervention of the Works Manager was a very significant factor in the success of this particular operation. His own style of leadership employed considerable charisma, and was very similar to that of the factory manager at 'Pondings' described by Roeber (1973) who had an "almost evangelical zeal...He worked tirelessly organizing meetings, arguing long into the night with recalcitrant shop stewards or managers. By his own enthusiasm, he communicated an enthusiasm for the principles of work sharing, job enrichment, and participative decision making....." (p.61). This style extended considerably beyond the 'traditional Human Relations approach' for gaining acceptance to change, described by Sayles (1974), since he involved employees in the decision-making part of the exercise.

One of the significant abilities of the Works Manager was his knack for simplifying complex situations into terms that could be easily comprehended by employees. And it was on the basis of minimising hardship that he was able to structure this situation and extend ownership of the problem to people at all levels of the organisation. Nevertheless there were certain contradictions in this position. In a wider sense the Works Manager would be seen as one of the last bastions of paternalism in a company that could no longer afford the luxury of overmanning. Although for this period he was able to show that a humanistic style could also be more economical he was already against a tide which regarded cost-consciousness as the over-riding objective of management. And it is also possible that he would not have been able to achieve the same results with his employees if the problem had occurred several years later.

At one level the Works Manager and his employees defined the change in terms of minimising hardship; at another level he defined the change in terms of minimising costs. These two views imply contradictory value systems which were able to coexist for a period. In the long run the cost-effectiveness value system became dominant: the Works Manager left the company shortly after the closures had been completed.

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