

DRAGON

DRAGON is the SCOS journal,

so that it will deal mainly with the subject of Organisation Symbolism. It will give priority to articles – case-studies or theoretical expositions – which consider the organisation as a human and social group within which we see the development of phenomena outside the precincts of classical systems analysis; beliefs, myths, rites, heroes, sagas, and so on. These new concepts usually coincide with the introduction to organisation study of disciplines formerly remote from it: linguistics, history, psychoanalysis, anthropology, etc.

DRAGON publishes working papers,

consonant with a research area that is constantly evolving and which emerged simultaneously in several different conceptual “broths”. Its aim is the rapid circulation of concepts and factual material. An important goal is to assist in formulating a common approach to the organisation enabling comparison between different cultural perceptions. At a later stage, DRAGON will provide other services: lectureship invitations, researcher exchanges (working and living accommodations to accompany research assignments), and so on.

DRAGON is a vehicle for instant communication,

between members of SCOS and their associates. By publishing in first-draft or working-paper form, the authors indicate that they will welcome comment as to content, style, references, and so on. Therefore, DRAGON should be used by contributors, readers and commentators alike with this in mind. Increasingly greater space will be set aside for readers’ letters and comments. Consonantly with this, amended versions of earlier articles may be published at short notice. It is also understood that contributors remain free to publish revised versions of their papers in other journals of more established academic reputation.

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Re/NVJ

DRAGON THE SCOS JOURNAL N° 1

SPECIAL ISSUE: CONTRIBUTIONS PRESENTED AT THE ANTIBES WORKSHOP ON:

CORPORATE IMAGE

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POUR LE CENTRE DE RECHERCHE EN GESTION DE L'ECOLE POLYTECHNIQUE (PARIS)

EDITORIAL *****

Vincent Dégot

It is reassuring for the Editor of a new journal to know that he is personally acquainted with almost all of its readers. Nevertheless, however satisfying these relationships built up in the course of the various events organised by SCOS, I hope that this cosy situation will not last too long and that the familiar faces will soon be joined by new ones.

Why, you may ask, has SCOS now decided to have its own journal ? As is customary on these inaugural occasions, let me explain what we had in mind :

- Firstly, SCOS has been in existence for nearly four years, and many of the Board members felt that to continue on the same old lines - running an annual conference and publishing "Note Work" - could lead to stagnation, or even recession. During 1985, in the wake of the Lund Symposium, we reached a capacity threshold : the energies and coverage we now represented could be used to do much more than just arrange meetings (which, as I am only too well aware, relies mainly on the energies of one appointed organiser, sometimes helped by wife and close colleagues).
- Then, SCOS is a web of international relationships, meaning we can reasonably expect that DRAGON will not only find its way rapidly into the four corners of the earth, but will also attract contributions from them.
- Finally, we are working on an idea - the concept of Organisation Symbolism - which is starting to spread and take root (some might say "is becoming fashionable", but I myself reject the suggestion that it is a transient fancy) ; even in France, it is becoming possible to interest corporations in some really worthwhile research projects.

There stemmed from all this a conviction that a large reservoir of varied yet relevant material was waiting to be tapped. We thus came to the conclusion (widely shared by all those among you who responded to the preliminary feelers I sent out by offering their services as copy readers or sponsors) that it was now appropriate to launch this publishing venture, on the rather special lines previously debated.

A less obvious and more intriguing question, to my mind, concerns our choice of DRAGON for the title. Here again several factors combined to influence the decision, including the existence of the splendid DRAGON in the emblem designed specially for the Lund Symposium, which thus became a property of SCOS. Also, many of the early issues of Note Work featured a DRAGON on the front cover, but the editors now seem to have let it escape.

I regard the DRAGON as a kind of portmanteau symbol, on which various things can be hung, and would be glad if readers from different cultural horizons could express their own reactions to our title and its implications. To start the ball rolling, here is my personal interpretation.

Western iconography mainly associates the DRAGON with the legend of St George. While recognising the DRAGON's chinese origins and its role in the Anglo-Saxon folklore (Beowulf), my perception of the DRAGON symbol is coloured by the legend of St George, where it was both the guardian of some trust and the baleful monster. St George himself symbolised the Hero who slays the Beast to deliver the maiden in distress or to take possession of some kind of Holy Grail.

However, both St George and the DRAGON took on a particular dimension with the legend's appearance in written form, for the first time in the Western World, as part of The Golden Legend. This was the title given to a popular "Lives of the Saints" written in 1260 by Jacobus de Voragine, a Dominican friar who later became bishop of Genoa. At the time, there was taking place what in Weberian terms could be called a drive to rationalise the church; rationalisation of its doctrine (such as with the "invention" of Purgatory described by Le Goff), of its organisation (creation of new monastic Orders which had to be fitted into the Church hierarchy), and so on.

In the Legend, St George is clearly portrayed as the Hero of the rationalised Church (staying with Weber for the adjective) with its body of doctrine, its priestly hierarchy, and its fixed places of worship (these feature in the four stipulations made by St George to the King after obtaining his conversion under threat of unleashing the captive DRAGON). Conversely, the DRAGON itself symbolises the ancient pagan gods who had to be propitiated by sacrificial offerings.

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The train of events affecting an unfortunate town, besieged by a foul-smelling DRAGON which lived in a fetid bog, can be summarised in terms of a quasi-economic evaluation, as follows:

- In a first phase, the DRAGON can be propitiated by a tribute of two sheep per day, which the town's economy can at first support.
- But, in a second phase, depletion of the sheep supply means that one of the animal has to be replaced by an adolescent child drawn at random from among those in the town. This creates some tension, but the system continues for a time.
- The third and critical phase occurs when the King's own daughter is drawn out of the hat. Despite the royal protests, she is sent off to meet her fate but is intercepted by St George, who happened to be passing by at the time and then takes charge of the situation.

In other words, there came a point at which allegiance to the old beliefs was no longer a good investment: the town was depleting its capital beyond return. The rationalised religion incarnated by St George was an acceptable alternative; even though it also involved some costs to the town, by way of building churches, maintaining a clergy and paying alms, this expenditure remained within the community and could be planned by it.

Those are some of the things I read into the tale told in The Golden Legend. There remains the question of why I find our cover drawing so relevant, with the DRAGON seeking to devour an organisation chart (an acknowledged symbol of organisational rationalism).

First of all, it is because I feel the image corresponds to real events. I have described elsewhere the idea that we are now in an era when economic rationalism is not merely on the ebb, but is coming into conflict with alternative ethics developed in socio-cultural areas lying outside the corporation.

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Members of organisational structures (especially that of the business corporation - the most constraining in this respect) are striving to achieve the same complex identity there as that which is awarded to them in the wider society outside. This movement has been in progress for a long time, as is illustrated by the classical organisation theories when they refer to an increasingly less stereotyped image of the worker's psychological make-up. However, this has always been presented - both in theory and in practice - as a regrettable infringement of the original rationalist ideal.

The triumph of the DRAGON over the organisation chart is no longer representative of a will to retard this movement, in a nostalgic attachment to pioneering values, but an expression of confidence in our ability to shape the future. Nor does it indicate a reversion to primitive and obscurantist values. In the same way as St George vanquished the DRAGON by tying the Princesse's shawl around its neck, so must we also harness the DRAGON's energy to the invention of new concepts :

- Either to ensure that the complex aspirations of the individual can be expressed within the framework of organisational structures still modelled on classical lines.

- Or to see that those structures become fully consonant with the new aspirations being voiced both inside and outside the organisation proper.

This is why I reject the idea that Organisation Symbolism is merely the expression of a passing fashion, and consider that this denomination - beyond its restrictive appearance - opens up a vast field of research in matters of organisation, structure, procedures, and so on. The corporation of tomorrow still has to be invented from start to finish.

My sole ambition is to see that DRAGON becomes a leading forum contributing to this end.

SUSCRIPTIONS

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"Bricks and Bricolage: Deconstructing Corporate Images
in Stone and Story"

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In this paper we suggest that although an unequivocal meaning can be ascribed to architectural and verbal statements this is in fact no more than the preferment of one discourse from amongst the many presented in organisational architecture and official organisational statements. We therefore attempt to deconstruct examples of verbal and architectural texts to reveal their competing discourses and analyse their productivity. This is also intended to exemplify the alternative readings which may be given, especially through 'bricolage' and the ways in which these readings may be evoked or preferred by the productivity of the text.

In examining corporate architecture, we are particularly concerned with the reflection of social and commercial exchange processes in the cultural determination of physical space and the development of a symbolic representation of moral order. This does not mean the acceptance of such singular impositions as Le Corbusier's (1978) ⁽¹⁾

"Engineer's Aesthetic" but rather the recognition of an asymmetrical dialogue between those whose social standing gives them "the power to speak" and those whose common sense understandings of the built environment are grounded in the morality of their resistance to the processes and symbols of this domination.

Whilst we recognise the value of Olins (1978) ⁽²⁾ and Risebero (1982) ⁽³⁾ in analysing these struggles, it would appear that corporate architecture might be better understood as a visual mediator between the continuing asymmetries of social structure and the negotiations implicit in cultural and commercial exchange (Grafton-Small, 1985) ⁽⁴⁾. This is not, however, to suggest that the advancement of a favoured discourse is in itself sufficient to negate or invalidate other interpretations of the same symbols. As Rapoport (1982) ⁽⁵⁾ observes

"The question that must be addressed, i.e. What meaning does the built environment have for the inhabitants and the users, or the public or, more correctly the various publics, since meanings, like the environments that communicate them, are culture specific and hence culturally variable?" (Page 21).

The significance of this interplay between social structures and the interpretation of the built environment can, in part at least, be seen from the exchanges which began with the artist, John Hewett, being asked to paint a "sporting and Grecian" ⁽⁶⁾ mural for the nurses' home swimming pool at St. Bartholomew's Hospital in London. Ken Grant, the hospital administrator, then insisted that because of the "numerous complaints" ⁽⁷⁾ he had received, the "full frontal reclining male surrounded by other naked males" ⁽⁸⁾ should be obscured by whitewash. Grant argued ⁽⁹⁾ that the mural

"could have been seen by parents who are bringing their 16 and 17-year-old daughters to see if this is a suitable place for them to do their nursing training. It didn't add anything to the swimming pool." (Page 32).

St. Bartholomew's already has a series of murals by Hogarth, showing sufferers from a number of crippling and disfiguring diseases, but the administrator is unmoved ⁽¹⁰⁾.

"I'm very anxious not to be seen to obliterate art, but I don't think this is in the same league" (Page 32).

Mr. Grant is equally determined that there should be no cosmetic tampering with the colouring of the assembled genitalia for only complete obliteration will serve a work that was commissioned by an accommodation officer who lacked the proper authority for such a decision. Whilst Grant has accepted her assurances that the mural was a serious and well intentioned attempt at decoration and that "the design was changed between being submitted and the mural being finished", the luckless accommodation officer has still to tell the artist of his effacement.

The complexities involved in the telling of this tale are apparent in the closures contradictions and ideologies which emerge from a deconstruction of the social and symbolic evocations that arise from the mural and its destruction. It should, however, be remembered that the analytical separation of these visual and verbal images is always somewhat false as these aspects of common sense understanding are normally interpreted simultaneously and in terms of each other.

The affair hinges upon a series of interlocking and competing orders which range from minor matters of discipline amongst the hospital administrators to would be nurses and their rites of passage. The latter is perhaps the most complex of these evocations as it not only reflects a number of contemporary moralities but also hints at current expectations of what nurses should be in the future.

The girls in question may indeed be in a liminal state on the fringes of the nursing profession but they are not yet part of the medical community at St. Bartholomews which means they are, in effect, still in the outside world. Here, Grant's concern for their parents' views

suggests that the girls are incapable of speaking responsibly about the nurses' home and its mural. The girls are still seen as social and sexual adolescents and therefore not yet properly at ease with the adult male body and the naked sexuality which is implicit in Hewett's work.

This concern over the pollution of 'innocence' and 'virginity' by improper knowledge draws a parallel between simple but socially responsible carnality and the exclusivity of those rituals by which nurses are admitted to the company of healers whose role and standing permits them a knowledge of the human body in all its states. The mural is destroyed because it is, in part at least, a means of defilement; a contradiction of the idea that 'whole' bodies are the result of nurses' attention and not a reason for it.

Trainee and qualified nurses are expected to be possessed of this knowledge, to be at ease with the naked human body and, by virtue of contemporary folk lore ⁽¹¹⁾ if nothing else, possessed of a sexual acquisitiveness which is itself beyond normal or every day experience. That the girl's parents should be protected from any suggestion of this is vital because the idea of medicine as a proper and moral practice is in many ways dependent upon the commonsensical acceptance that nurses are 'Angels of Mercy' and that the magic of healers is the appropriate means of dealing with sickness.

This undercurrent of the proper power and place of medicine goes some way to explaining the survival of the Hogarth murals. These are the evocative but massively ambiguous pictures which once signalled the diseases over which healers had little or no control and now serve as a means of management by reminding nurses of their role and its attendant impurities. That the Hogarths might once have been accurate depictions of the vile and the incurable is no longer so important in everyday items for the murals are old enough to be offered and readily understood as Fine Art and there is always a suggestion of progress within contemporary notions of the passage of time, that a problem

then is not so now. Given this inference, the pictures are no longer warnings of what may befall the world through accidents or the inadequacy of the healers' magic but a sign of the chaos and impurity that the healer's order has driven from the everyday world.

The Hogarth paintings are significant in a number of other ways for they encode the times when doctors managed both the hospital and its patients; the times when there were no hospital administrators like Ken Grant. The older murals also serve as a measure of quality and the exclusivity of established standards for they were drawn by an artist and have lasted for two hundred years yet John Hewett, who claims to be an artist, has produced a work which has lasted only a few weeks before being painted over by labourers and artisans, not other artists.

Just as the Hogarth murals are icons to the magic of medicine so the "Greeks" and their destruction are an indication of the control of the hospital administrators over the fabric of the hospital and any relationship with the outside world that does not involve medicine and sickness. This redistribution of the power to remake the physical world is both a sign and a means of the administrators advancement and goes some way towards explaining the insistence that the mural should be destroyed and not simply censored for the power of the administrators is threatened if any hint of naked 'anatomy' should seep into the everyday decency of the clothed world. It is also worth noting that the passage of Hewett's painting may be seen as the result of the proper management of the administrators power for the mural arose from an "improper decision" and the mistake has now been corrected. This correction has, in turn, allowed the reassertion of the proper order and the usual asymmetry within the ranks of the administrators.

The involvement of notions of management extends to the care with which the accommodation officer is 'forgiven' by the acceptance of her assurances and yet 'punished' by telling the artist of the outcome of

her improper management, her usurpation of the right to remake the world. There is also a suggestion that because the mural changed between its design and execution, she is not so much blameworthy as misled for artisans like Hewett, who call themselves 'artists' and do what they please, need a firm hand to guide them, implicitly that of a man like Grant and not a woman like the accommodation officer.

This leads us back to notions of common sense reality and the asymmetries of negotiation for in this case there is no mention of the quite proper possibility of male nurses, only the implication that managers like Ken Grant are within their authority to proscribe the sexuality of adolescent females who are not yet members of "his" organisation. There would, however, appear to be grounds for seeing this asymmetry as a legitimate part of everyday reality for Grant claims to be defending a moral order yet remains credible after offering contradictory justifications for his actions. Had Grant been able to substantiate his "numerous complaints" he would not have had to worry about parents seeing the mural.

It is worth remembering that we are not talking of dramatic changes in the built environment but rather the middle ground where common sense assumptions are continuously reworked and reinterpreted. That the built environment is both a medium for this debate and a means of controlling the discussion is apparent from Rapoport's (1982)⁽¹²⁾ assertions.

"Two things seem clear the above. First, that much of the meaning has to do with personalization and hence perceived control, with decoration with movable elements rather than with architectural elements. Second, that architects generally have tended to be opposed strongly to this concept; in fact the whole modern movement in architecture can be seen as an attack on users' meaning - the attack on ornaments, on decoration, on "what-nots" in dwellings and "thingamabobs" in the garden, as well as the process of incorporating these elements into the environment". (Page 22).

As buildings and land are bought and sold like any other product of an industrial society, the normal patterns of trade ensure that these "attacks on users' meanings" result in the asymmetries of contemporary social structures being encoded in the built environment for architects are only ever likely to equate users' criteria with the disposal of architectural elements when the user can pay for the design and construction of the building. It is therefore reasonable to argue that exclusion from this process signifies poverty and relative powerlessness in the same way that inclusion is understood to represent access to wealth and power.

These asymmetries and the moral order they assume are the result of continuously renegotiated representations and contradictions and competing 'discourses', some of which are privileged or suppressed in differing cultural formulations. These are by no means homogenous, even in their subdivisions, and represent tendencies rather than elaborate mutually exclusive codes, unless the term 'code' is used in a more flexible, emergent and discursive sense than is customary. With this mind, a parallel can be drawn between the deconstruction of the Hewett mural and the "users' meanings" placed upon the promotional literature which new employees receive from their employers at a confectionery bakery in the North of England.

The material which reveals some of the competing discourses within this apparently innocuous document was collected at E.L.S. Amalgamated and relates to a period spent amongst the relief operators. These men were attached to a group of machine operators in the Family Pie Department and trained to take over their duties. These included the preparation and mixing of fruit, gel and dough for transmission from the mezzanine on which they worked to the fruit pie machines which stood at the head of the production line on the floor below. The operators in this group were all male, whereas the production line were predominantly female; some were long-serving and the group had a general air of competence, confidence and cohesion which was evident in their relationship with colleagues and supervision;

The accounts which follow are reconstructed from memory and notes made at the first convenient moment after the event. Short quotes are verbatim, but longer ones were usually reconstructed after the shift in which they occurred from notes made at break times during the shift. On these occasions, accounts were reconstructed round the core of verbatim notes and care was taken to preserve the overall structure of the account and its sense and impact in context.

The Organisational/Imaginary Position

All new employees of E.L.S. Amalgamated were given a copy of the staff handbook, which began with an address from the general manager. Part of this address is presented below with comments after each paragraph.

I am delighted to have the opportunity to welcome you to E.L.S. Amalgamated and to this factory. I hope that you will find working with us both interesting and rewarding.

The manager begins with a statement of paternalism, welcoming the newcomer into the family. "I'm sure we'll get along fine" might be an appropriate phrase in a different situation, although a similar emotional context; on the surface, a positive and encouraging opening.

There are some questions which could be raised. Why does the general manager, who creates opportunity for others, find it remarkable that he has the opportunity to welcome newcomers into his factory? It is implied that the GM is so busy, and the world is so demanding, that these opportunities are rare and are beyond his control. When they do arrive, they are such as to fill him, not with pleasure, but with delight. Thus there is a contradiction between the cosy paternalism of the welcome and its apparent rarity, which is all the more pointed by the fact that the opportunity is only symbolic, for the GM's body is elsewhere at the time of introduction, presumably struggling with the elements he cannot control.

There is a second contradiction in the next sentence. He "hopes" the newcomer will find the work "interesting and rewarding". A casual conversation with an insider, and certainly first-hand experience of the work, would confirm that although the place itself may not be without interest, virtually all the jobs and certainly all those a newcomer was likely to be given were poorly paid, physically taxing and plagued with boredom. The GM if not exactly raising false expectations, is being unrealistic. But he has left an escape route, as he only hopes that this would be the case. If the newcomer does not find the work interesting and rewarding, his only recourse is to make his own adjustment to the situation - the organisation is committed to nothing more than hope, and material help is not offered. It is also worth noticing that there is a hint of team spirit and effort implied in the phrase "working with us", despite the contradictory effect of the rest of the argument.

We are justifiably proud of our company. As a manufacturer we have a high reputation established over many years of consistent attention to quality and efficiency. As an employer, we value our record of good relationships with those who work with us.

The shift from the first person singular to the plural in the second sentence continues. Who is speaking? "I" is now the head, the one voice of the "us", the unitary team. "We are justifiably proud" - not only are we self-satisfied, but we are rightly so. And why are we rightly satisfied? Because we can justify our satisfaction. The GM goes on to assert the method by which comes truth and hence justice.

Knowingness is the product of the method of being absolutely thorough; the attempt is ... to furnish an image of completeness which can serve to celebrate the image of authority. Thus the penchant for detail, the breadth and depth ...[13].

Thus the reputation is established "over many years", by "consistent attention". "Efficiency" and "quality" are presented not as imponderables; the linking of the two stresses the measurability, rationality and quantitative properties of each. Quality, in turn,

paradoxically transmits a "moral burden" to "efficiency". Even in the difficult-to-measure area of relationships, the reputation is proved by the "record", implying that somewhere the documentation and figures exist to support what is being asserted wanting only the correct application of method to reveal them. The flavour of positivism, of rational empiricism, with its assertions of impartiality and objectivity thinly masking an act of faith in the "truth" of its "findings" is strong in this paragraph.

It is also the basis of many other justifications in industrial life, from the introduction of new technology to redundancy. In fact, in these paragraphs we have been introduced to a world which is firstly demanding and out of control, a hostile environment with which we struggle, and, secondly, the place where truth is found, where diligent attention and scrutiny can provide the justification for our endeavours. We can clearly see the contradictions beneath the GM's synthesis.

We are the biggest manufacturer of our products in the United Kingdom and have an important responsibility both to our customers in the trade and to our consumers, to ensure that quality and the freshness of our products are the best possible.

You have an important part to play in helping us to meet these responsibilities. We wish to give you every encouragement to play that part.

As the previous paragraph reiterates the team message that people work with us not for us, this one takes up this theme and a variation on the positivist theme of the previous paragraph, that of breadth or number - "We are the biggest". There is also the associated image of growth, and evolution in the survival of the fittest. This is a form of accounting for history - if we are now biggest, we must be best; we were right all along; what we are doing is natural. The implied rectitude and satisfaction does, however, carry its burden: the "important responsibility" to our customers. There is a circularity to this - as we are the biggest (i.e. we sell more) we have a greater

responsibility to our customers. Why? In order to sell more and remain the biggest. Throughout these paragraphs the profit motive and the question of ownership and control has been so neatly skirted as to make it conspicuous by its absence. The introduction of the moral duty, which the newcomer will be "encouraged" but not coerced to discharge is a further attempt to resolve contradictions.

In the context of the bakery, the newcomer, or even the insider, could contribute little to maintaining quality and nothing to maintaining freshness, other than follow instructions in mixing and setting machines and packing fast enough to keep the "line" running. The creative limits of his/her role were heavily circumscribed, although quality and freshness could be negatively affected by acts of sabotage in excess of these limits. The ultimate message from the GM was, therefore that the newcomer had a moral duty to follow instructions and work hard.

There is more of the address, but the broad issues and the manner of their presentation have already been noted. It should be pointed out that the arguments we have analysed are rarely uncovered during the induction process - they are taken up with varying levels of enthusiasm from acceptance to scepticism, but are rarely ever exposed. It is not unreasonable to expect that they are, to some degree, effective. The ways in which this effectiveness is constituted are characteristically addressed from the following position.

The Managerial/Professional Position

This position might be taken up by the personnel officer handling the formal induction by passing comment on the organisational-imaginary position from a technical point of view. The basic implications of this are that the professional knows the shortcomings of the material he is working with, and knows all the practical loopholes and flaws in

the organisational settings. For example, Linstead was inducted by a personnel officer who remarked:

I know you'll probably find there are jobs on a higher grade than you doing less work. I can only say that jobs are graded on responsibility as well as work. We all went into job evaluation with our own ideas, the union wanted some upgrades, we wanted some others, line management, the whole lot ... everybody's views were balanced out ... it couldn't suit everybody but a lot of work went into it and it's as near to being fair as you'll get.

This was quite a shock to many who thought that job evaluation was supposed to be "objective" and were surprised to hear it openly acknowledged as "horse-trading". The PO was attempting to short-circuit criticism and further promote the organisational-imaginary, but in this case his efforts prompted some unease. Later in the session, he made comments on some of the disciplinary offences:

Drinking: "You can't come to work if you've been drinking because we'll know and you'll be sent home". (In fact, a high proportion of night staff drank in the pub next to the factory before shift, as did some day-shifters at lunchtime, and few were ever remarked on. Linstead himself worked more than one shift whilst drunk.)

Sleeping: "All I can say is that if you can find a place where you can sleep in this factory, then tell me. I've looked all over and I can't find any". (At least two places, sometimes three, were regularly possible, and two others occasionally.)

Despite the ultimate failure of professional omniscience in this case, at the time it was again taken at face value. However it is not the content which is important but the position assumed by the presenter. The newcomer is invited to accept the superiority of the mediated organisational-imaginary in professional terms as being inescapably effective in practice. He may also be invited, or may decide, to

participate in technical questions either regarding disciplinary matters, penalties or procedures and other substantive issues or in terms of the presentation itself (criticising unrealistic films, poor acting, vague argument, etc). In either case, he may forego direct criticism of the organisational-imaginary in ideological terms, but participate in its mediation on a technical practical level, and, thus, in leaving its deep structure untouched, support it.

The Union/Employee Association Position

This is often known only by omission or by oblique reference in the formal presentation, but in some cases the official employee opposition may be given part of that presentation to itself. Across organisations a wide range of attitudes is possible, but usually there is some form of organised opposition which may or may not be recognised by the organisation itself. This position, then, is one in which the employee opposes but seeks to influence the processes of decision making through formal channels, and often in recognising this opposition the organisation is able to accommodate it as part of the organisational-imaginary by predetermining the language and channels of protest and so limiting its effect ⁽¹⁴⁾.

The extent of the union presentation (there were a number of unions but on this occasion only one was involved) in our E.L.S. Amalgamated example consisted of a brief address by the secretary of the Combined Shop Stewards Committee which began:

I suppose he's (Personnel Officer) been telling you how great it is here, has he? You'll find out, you'll find out. If you come to this table one at a time, we'll give you your union cards.

Ironically, the personnel officer had not been telling us how great it was (he had been fixing the projector) but the cryptic statement by the shop steward seemed to carry enormous authority. It was as though many of the audience had been groping for the opposition and had been unable to locate it until he spoke.

Any implied slight on the union by the organisation is often tempered by the consideration of the greater evil - that of the deviant opposition. This may be more or less organised in the case of political extremists, Luddites or similar, or it may be purely a result of individual pathology; whatever the case, the consequences and penalties for deviant behaviour are spelled out clearly in the presentation. Some myth-making is often indulged in by the presenter, in the form of tales with the message "we always get our man". These often involve particularly devious or nasty acts against one's fellows and may be of current importance. One case was the example of a worker who had borrowed his workmate's locker key to fetch some equipment, had taken an impression of his house key whilst in possession of the key-ring, had obtained a duplicate and had burgled his house a few days later. This example was made even more powerful by the fact that the worker, a nervous type, had been experiencing a number of personal difficulties, and the burglary precipitated an attack of alopecia. He could thus be seen as a living testimony to the perfidy of the deviant, and a constant reminder to the honest to be vigilant.

Some contradictions may be found in the overall presentation, which shifts its ground somewhat. Although in examples like the foregoing the newcomer is apostrophised as typically honest, needing only a reminder to be on guard, the question is raised as to where the deviants come from. If they are deviant on induction, it is likely that some of any body of newcomers are already or potentially deviant, which does little to develop the recruit's confidence in the organisation or the procedure which has selected him/her alongside these deviants. The other implication is that deviance is a result of experiences after induction, which likewise subverts the organisation's stance. The myth itself expresses a contradiction in control: the organisation cannot "always get its man" or there would be no need for the myth, and no deviance problem.

The length of time spent on delineating disciplinary offences and methods of safe working (which many newcomers regard as common sense) is far greater than that required to justify its presentation as a "reminder", or as necessary information. What can occur is that not only does the newcomer feel in some way classed as potentially unruly, insurgent, criminal or incompetent by the suspicious organisation, but in circumscribing that position the organisation points it out and makes it available as a mode of response to organisational dissatisfaction. The newcomer is implicitly invited (though explicitly forbidden) to take up the subject position of deviant. This is a disturbing side-effect of the discourse from the organisational and the organised oppositional perspective.

The Employee Position

The employee position typically corresponds to the managerial/-professional position in standing in an ironic relationship to the organised opposition. This may begin for the newcomer simply in suspicion, possibly grounded in past experience, and may be supported by peer observations or attributions as to the real motives of "union men":

That Derek Ball's just after what he can get for himself. I've never seen him with a sweat on.

All John wants to do it get on in the union. He's not interested in E.L.S. Amalgamated or the workers. He's read a bit of Lenin and that's it; we can go play with ourselves.

They'll call us out on strike any time they like. They don't lose. Union pays their wages. (This was a commonly expressed view. It was totally without foundation.)

However, the most commonly adopted variant of this position assumes an ironic perspective toward each of the other three positions, taking each on in part and negotiating between them. It is in the adoption of this position and its subsequent modification that undifferentiated

meaning and ambiguity becomes even more important than we have already seen it to be, as various positions and codes compete against each other. As the newcomer learns the culture of the insider, he will develop into his own negotiated position in relation to the other positions. This is not to suggest that this position is entirely individual or entirely social; it is ultimately a combination of both. But it is in the area of learning the ropes, acquiring interpretative schemes in a largely informal manner, that this position is developed.

That this learning is heavily dependent upon the negotiated significance of "movable elements" and "users' meaning" is apparent from the way in which the processes and symbols of domination in the bakery are resisted by the workers through deliberately deviant yet knowingly ordered shop floor cultures. Every break time, a card school gambling for pennies (but nevertheless strictly against company rules) took place prominently situated on one of two regular tables in the canteen. Big Pete was the keeper of the cards and the centre of the school. On one occasion a newcomer sat in the chair diagonally opposite the cigarette machine:

Pete "Hey, that Big Andy's chair. He always sits there".
 Newcomer: "He doesn't fucking own it does he?"
 Pete: "No, but you might show some respect."

(The newcomer eventually moved over when Andy arrived).

The symbolic inversion of the card game from a proscribed activity on the company's list to the central social activity was mirrored in the demand for mutual respect and dignity to be displayed within the game, where little respect was given the company, supervisors and managers in everyday working life. A further symbolic inversion was noticed by Simon, a student, who discussed the almost legendary status bestowed on Danny, the dayshift dough-man.

I've worked with him a lot, but I could never find out what made him better than the others. I didn't think

he was as good as Pete. Then I asked him. He's done more time for drunk and disorderly than anyone else in the factory.

Again the proscribed activity of drinking at work, and the anathema of being disorderly were elevated to a position of high status within the group. The offence itself was a fairly social one, not associated with grievous bodily harm for example, and fitted into a culture of 'working hard and playing hard'. This aspect of the culture was not to be overstated however: although any one of two or three of the operators might go on a three-day 'bender', there was one who seemed to be unable to control his drinking sprees and was treated with consideration, rather than respect. His respect, came, grudgingly, from his willingness, indeed eagerness, to fight anyone who annoyed him. He was a tiny man and lost every fight heavily, but kept on coming back for more.

"I don't argue with that little bastard any more", said Bob, the ex-paratrooper. "I'm sick of seeing his blood".

A further symbolic manifestation of resistance came in the form of the soft white peaked caps which were company issue and compulsory wearing. They were folded by the operators in a particular way to improve their style, and, against company rules, their name and designation was often added, as might be emblems such as sergeant's stripes. Company policy was the employees were at their disposal: such attempts to associate individuals and positions were an assertion of both individuality and competence in the face of an authority which would use them expediently.

This rendering of employees as no more than "movable elements" within the built environment exemplifies the continual renegotiation of social and moral order that is implicit in the debate over Hewett's mural and explicit in those forms of resistance that make the everyday world tolerable for all of its inhabitants.

Our deconstruction of these fragmentary and partial understandings is, therefore, no more than one of an improbable number of readings for we are not adding another story to the fiction of organisational culture as a manageable or corporeal whole but clutching at a symbolic order which is slippery enough to elude the grasp of any language yet, like "users' meaning", always near at hand.

FOOTNOTES

1. Le Corbusier. "Towards a New Architecture", 1978, The Architecture Press, London.
2. Olins, W., "The Corporate Personality; An Inquiry into the Nature of Corporate Identity", 1978, Design Council, Haymarket, London.
3. Risebeor, B., "Modern Architecture and Design, An Alternative History", 1982, The Herbert Press, London.
4. Grafton-Small, R., "Marketing Managers: The Evocation and Structure of Socially Negotiated Meaning", 1985, Ph.D. Thesis, Sheffield City Polytechnic, (Chapter 8).
5. Rapoport, A., "The Meaning of the Built Environment: A Non-Verbal Communication Approach", 1982, Sage, Beverly Hills, Calif.
6. Boseley, S., "Nurses Say No to Pool Side Anatomy Lesson", "The Guardian", 6th June, 1985, Page 32.
7. Boseley, S., 1985, op. cit.
8. Boseley, S., 1985, op. cit.
9. Boseley, S., 1985, op. cit.

10. Boseley, S., 1985, op. cit.
11. Dr. Stephen Linstead assures me that a great deal of in-depth research and many years of field work have led him to this conclusion.
12. Rapoport, A., 1982, op. cit.
13. Cf. Linstead, S.A., 'Jokers Wild: The Importance of Humour in the Maintenance of Organizational Culture', in Powell, Chris and Paton, George, (eds.), Humour in Society: Control and Resistance, London, Macmillan (forthcoming); and Davies, Christie, 'Ethnic jokes, moral values, and social boundaries', British Journal of Sociology, Vol 33, No 3, September 1982, pp 383-403.
14. Levi-Strauss, Claude, Structural Anthropology, London, Penguin, 1977, pp 213-218. Levi-Strauss 'tells' the myth chronologically, horizontally, but by arranging it vertically in homologous columns, discovers 'underlying' themes which unify the myth.

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Turning Environmental Concerns into Action

Concern for the environment touches on a wealth of issues and is expressed in a wide variety of ways. For example, while some individuals want to preserve parklands within cities, others are equally passionate in their desire to maintain the quality of streams and rivers for fishing. Moreover, in pursuing their cause, some individuals prefer to stage political rallies while others like to plant flowers in front of public buildings. Given this great diversity of sentiments about the environment as well as the considerable range of methods to demonstrate one's concern raises a basic question of how might the image of an environmental group's concerns relate to its viability?

Since organizational concerns or as it will be called here "corporate image" has been defined in many different ways, it is important to begin by explaining how it is being used in this context. Here, corporate image is considered to consist of both the content and articulation of a set of values, which adopting a life cycle approach (Kimberly and Miles, 1980; Haire, 1959), are thought to evolve over time. Specifically, it is assumed a corporate image or group ideology can move among different stages of development. The stages of development of interest in this instance are called emergence, maintenance, and challenge (Fairfield-Sonn, 1983).

Viability has also been variously defined. Here, it is operationalized as both changes in five universal characteristics

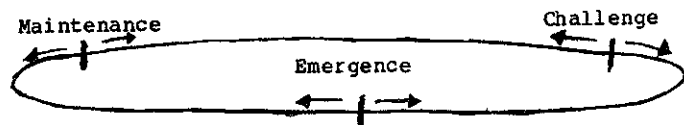
of intergroup behavior as well operational results. The specific intergroup behaviors of interest are: psychological and physical group boundaries; power differences--the types of resources that can be obtained and used by the group; affective patterns--the degree to which individuals associate mainly positive and/or negative feelings with their group; cognitive formations, including "distortions"--individuals' perceptions of the world; and the behavior of group leaders and representatives (Alderfer and Smith, 1982). Operational results of interest include: size of membership; size of operating budget; size of endowment; and size of staff.

Changing Nature of Corporate Image. To understand why the evolution of a corporation's image might be associated with predictable changes in behavior patterns, it is essential to first recognize clearly what a group ideology is and what some of its characteristics are. First, a group ideology can be defined as a set of beliefs, theories, and propositions about human nature that: (1) are shared in common by members of a group; (2) are expressed over time in a number of ways such as myths, rituals, and symbols (Fairfield-Sonn, 1984a); and (3) which function to give meaning, purpose, and direction to group life. Second, it is assumed that a group ideology: will be evident in some, but not all groups; it can provide a subjective way for members to deal with their objective reality (Fairfield-Sonn, 1984b; Berger and Luckman, 1967); will function like an open system (Katz and Kahn, 1966); has the capacity to release primitive emotions within the group (LeBon, 1960; Hoffer, 1951); and will be sufficiently abstract as to allow for multiple and even conflicting interpretations.

Group ideologies are not static, however, rather they exist in a dynamic state of tension. As they move among different life cycle stages of development (see Figure 1), six characteristic dimensions of the ideology will vary. These dimensions are: the continuity of the group's purpose(s); how clearly the values of the group are defined; whether or not the basic values of the group have been established and tested; the degree of internal consensus over values; the group's position as a leading advocate of a set of values; and the likelihood of future continuity of the value system.

Figure 1

Three Stages of Group Ideology Evolution



The characteristics of a group ideology in each of three stages of evolution are described below.

Emerging group ideology. Given the newness of the ideology, one would expect to find very little change in the purpose(s) of the group. Second, the values of the group would be clearly defined, however, it is likely that these basic values have still not been sufficiently tested as to guarantee they are firmly established. Third, some minor, but no major, disagreements over basic values would be evident. Further, since the ideology represents a new value orientation, it would be positioned as a potential value leader, but the likelihood of future continuity of the group ideology would be questionable.

Maintenance group ideology. After a group has established an ideological niche for itself, it is proposed a qualitative transformation will occur consisting of a shift from developing a new belief system to maintaining the belief system, within reasonable limits. In this stage the basic purpose(s) of the group will be fairly clear and firmly established. Some room for disagreement over basic values will be tolerated. On the other hand, the group's position as a strong advocate for a particular world view makes the future continuity of those values highly probable.

Challenged group ideology. Internal and/or external challenge(s) to the validity or interpretation of the core set of beliefs in a group's ideology will create yet another pattern of ideological characteristics. First, there would be a noticeable change in the group's purpose(s) over time and the basic values of the group would become fuzzy as the values are transformed. In addition, major disagreements would arise about what the basic values should be. Accordingly, the group would no longer be considered to be a value leader, if indeed that position was ever reached. Finally, the likelihood of future continuity of the group's values would become highly questionable.

Linking Changes in Corporate Image to Varying Behavior Patterns Having defined the characteristics of a group ideology in each of the three stages of evolution, we can now ask how might this evolution be associated directly with changes in intergroup behavior and indirectly with varying operational results? In this study, three preliminary hypotheses were tested. These hypotheses were as follows:

Preliminary hypothesis 1. A group with an emerging ideology will exhibit: tight group boundaries; a sense of weakness compared to other groups; positive feelings about the group; consensual opinions about what is happening; and the presence of charismatic leaders. Operationally, the group will be trying to establish itself.

Preliminary hypothesis 2. A group with an ideology in the maintenance stage of evolution will have: semi-tight group boundaries; a sense of strength compared to other groups; a mostly positive self-image, but with some negative feelings as well; room for flexibility in opinions; and the presence of professional leaders. Operationally, the group will be focusing on defending or expanding its niche.

Preliminary hypothesis 3. A group whose ideology is being challenged will evidence: loose group boundaries; uncertainty about their power versus others; a mixture of positive and negative feelings; a diverse set of perceptions of reality; and leadership by mediators. Operationally, the group will be attempting to regroup or stem the tide of decline.

The intergroup behavior patterns are summarized in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2

PROPOSED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN
THREE STAGES OF GROUP IDEOLOGY EVOLUTION

and

PATTERNS OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS

STAGES OF EVOLUTION	INTERGROUP RELATIONS PATTERNS				
	Boundary Relations	Power Relations	Affective Patterns	Cognitive Formations	Leadership Behavior
Emergence	Extremely Tight	Weak Versus Others	Positive	Consensual	Charismatic
Maintenance	Semi-Tight	Strong Versus Others	Positive Some Negative	Flexible Within Limits	Professional
Challenge	Loose	Uncertain Versus Others	Negative Some Positive	Diverse	Mediator

A Field Study

Working with the proposed framework for understanding how corporate image might be related to viability, a field study was conducted to test the preliminary hypotheses. This type of research was chosen for a number of reasons (Kerlinger, 1973). First, field studies are strong in realism, significance, theory orientation, and heuristic quality. Second, the concepts in the model are sufficiently complex as to virtually rule out the value of a survey research approach. Third, at this time, the researcher did not feel enough is known about the dynamics of group ideology evolution either to create a group ideology or to move a group from one stage of evolution to another. So, an experimental approach would not be appropriate. Accordingly, given the desirable qualities inherent in a field study and the low probability of successfully completing other types of research, the field study became the most logical path to follow.

After selecting a research approach, the next question to be addressed was who to study? Based on Etzioni's (1961) organizational typology, normative groups seemed to have the greatest probability of developing a group ideology because individuals join them for their value orientation. Accordingly, six environmental groups were selected in a two-stage process such that in the opinion of an expert panel two had an emerging group ideology; two others had a maintenance group ideology; and two more had a challenged group ideology. The first stage in this process was to contact every known environmental group in the state to see if they were still active and appropriate as research sites.

This survey revealed only 25 of the 101 identifiable groups could be considered as potential research sites. Stage two consisted of a six-member panel of expert judges evaluating the ideology of these groups using a Q-sort and 5-point Likert type scale. The Q-sort proved to be the more reliable instrument, therefore, it was used to pick the six final groups.

Next, the final phase of the project was conducted. This phase consisted of organically refining and administering questionnaires to: a formal leader of each group; a random sample of 50 members from each group; and the entire membership of the Connecticut Legislative Committee on the Environment.

A number of qualitative and quantitative analyses were performed on the above data which yielded a rich account of the development and operation of the six groups (Jick, 1979). For example, a qualitative content analysis was performed on each group's ideology. In addition, quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistics, chi-square tests, and analysis of variance, where appropriate.

Moving Towards a Deeper Understanding

The data collected in this field study supported most of the propositions in the framework. Yet, there were also a number of surprising findings, which raised theoretical and/or methodological questions. In addition, a number of serendipitous

insights about the nature of group ideology emerged out of the research effort. In this section, the above points as well as some suggestive next steps will be discussed as a process of moving towards a deeper understanding is shared with the reader as the results of each case study are discussed.

In discussing these results, first the two emerging groups will be considered, then the maintenance groups, followed by the challenge groups. It should be noted that fictitious names have been given to all the groups to protect their identity.

Vote. The stated purpose of Vote, a group with an emerging ideology was "to support pro-environment candidates for election to the Connecticut General Assembly."

This group, founded in 1981, had grown from 50 to 450 members, its annual operating budget had increased from \$2,000 to \$16,000, and recently they were able to hire a full-time Executive Director. A fairly tight external boundary surrounded this group to insure only pro-environmentalists who wanted to elect legislators of the same persuasion joined the group. Internally, there was another tight boundary surrounding the Board of Directors, the only official members of the group, who made all the policy decisions. At this time, the group was still fairly vulnerable and so most policy deliberations were highly guarded. The leader and members felt quite positive about the group while the legislators were divided in their sentiments both for and against the group--perhaps reflecting their voting record. Finally, there was a sense from respondents of all three perspectives that the group's purposes were fairly well articulated by their charismatic leaders.

Clean Energy. This group represented an interesting counterpoint to Vote as an organization with an emerging group ideology because while their generic intergroup relations patterns were similar, the way they were expressed was quite different. Clean Energy was actually the remnant of a much larger anti-nuclear organization founded in the 1960's at a major liberal arts university. Today, its stated purpose reads "A state-wide organization whose members are working towards greater public support of energy conservation and energy alternatives which use benign technologies. Members are gravely concerned about the dangers of nuclear energy." A leader noted, however, the bylaws had recently been amended to also include education and the relationship between nuclear energy and nuclear arms and the environmental consequences of both technologies.

In pursuing its goals, Clean Energy was organized as an informal network of approximately 200 individuals, who work with about \$1,000 per year. Perhaps the major task for this group was the creation of a unifying external boundary to halt its decline and reenergize the membership. It appeared the group was successful in doing so based on individuals' willingness to pursue alternative lifestyles. At the same time it had virtually eliminated any boundaries between the members and leaders. In terms of its relative power, as a remnant of a much larger organization which has not grown over the last five years, Clean Energy seems to be fully aware of its vulnerability. Its major strength, on the other hand, had been the establishment of an

effective telephone network. Both the members and the leader seemed to be pleased with this arrangement as they rated the group quite favorably and everyone seemed to be fairly clear on what the group, still led by its charismatic founders, was trying to accomplish.

The Land Trust. The first organization with a maintenance group ideology to be considered is The Land Trust. This group's stated purpose was, "To identify the natural communities and species that are most rare and threatened, and their best remaining locations; to bring them under protection at those locations; and to preserve them indefinitely through careful management of the land."

This mission seemed to be quite clear and attractive to Connecticut residents as the group had established a thriving niche for itself. During the last five years, for example, membership increased from 3,300 to 7,400; the annual operating budget rose from \$97,700 to \$175,000; its endowment grew from \$300,000 to \$1,000,000; at the same time, paid staff held constant at around 4 without the aid of any volunteers. It appeared the group was using its ideological position to maintain boundaries around both the membership and the leadership. This strategy was productive for The Land Trust as its power bases, particularly financial, had been increasing at an impressive rate. The membership seemed to be quite happy with this state of affairs and the leader was pleased, but not as enthusiastic as the leaders of the emerging groups. Both the members and the leader felt the group's mission was

fairly clear, but not as specific as those for the emerging groups. Finally, the leadership was rated as being charismatic, professional, and mediators. Is this what is required to professionally run an environmental group?

Friends of the Birds. The stated purpose of the other group with a strong maintenance group ideology was much more complex than that of The Land Trust. Friends of the Birds was, "Dedicated to conserving and improving natural, human, and cultural resources through public education; to cooperating with other organizations in promoting ecologically sound practices and appropriate legislation; to acquiring and managing wildlife sanctuary and educational facilities throughout Connecticut; to developing environmental and nature education programs statewide; and to complying with the society's articles of association."

Of the six groups in this study, Friends of the Birds was by far the oldest (i.e. founded in 1898), had the largest membership (i.e. 15,000 in 1984), worked with the most substantial annual operating budget (i.e. \$800,000 in 1984), was the best endowed (i.e. \$2,175,000 in 1984) and had the largest paid (i.e. 25 in 1984) and volunteer (i.e. 200 in 1984) staff. Friends of the Birds has not, however, always been such a giant group. Indeed, until the early 1970's it was a fairly small group of individuals, who protested the use of bird feathers in women's fashion. Then in the 1970's one Fairfield county family began to give the group substantial financial support. This historical development was

reflected in the group's boundary relations, as the external boundary was maintained by a fairly simple concept of love for birds while the leadership embraced a much more intellectually complex holistic concern for the environment. These two boundaries were being maintained, at least in the short run, by the tremendous financial base of the group, which permits the group to tolerate the rather different levels of intellectual understanding. How long the group can operate in this fashion, however, seems to be questionable because while a leader was euphoric in his feelings about the group, the members were not at all happy with the group. Not surprisingly, both the leader and the members may have pinpointed a key factor in these reactions as they rated the group as having considerable variation in its ideological position. Further evidence to support this line of reasoning was seen in the ratings of how the leaders behave. The leader saw himself as professional and a mediator. Members and Legislators generally supported this view as they rated the leaders first as professional, second as mediators, and third as charismatic. It would appear the leaders have a full-time job on their hands to professionally mediate the differences between two allied but intellectually diverse world views within this group.

The Conservationists. The first organization with a challenged group ideology to be considered is The Conservationists. This group was officially, "Dedicated to and acting on a broad basis for, the preservation and restoration of quality in Connecticut's environment."

A review of The Conservationists' recent history revealed the group appears to be fairly stable or even slightly expanding over the last five years. On the other hand, all of the basic data about this group was based on admitted estimates. There may have been a 1-10% increase in membership. The operating budget probably rose from \$50,000 to \$75,000. An effort was being made to determine the size of the endowment, which may be as much as \$100,000. Paid staff decreased from 2 in 1980 to 0 in 1983 and now stood at 1 plus 5 as needed. Typically, around 6 volunteers have worked on the staff. At a minimum, these replies indicate an organization that did not need to keep basic records. A more pessimistic view would be, here was an organization that cannot or does not want to keep basic records.

Closer inspection of the operation of The Conservationists suggest the group may actually be facing serious external as well as internal challenges. For example, while the membership size had remained fairly constant over the last five years, this result was primarily achieved by retaining long-time members not through the recruitment of new members. In addition, there was evidence to indicate an internal leadership struggle was also underway. The interaction of these two forces seemed to be weakening the boundaries and power of the group. For example, over 50% of the group's membership returned their questionnaire unanswered because they did not feel knowledgeable enough or capable of answering basic questions about the group. Meanwhile, it took the leader six

weeks to provide mailing list. Accordingly, it seemed the group was having difficulty generating effort to accomplish even simple tasks. Not too surprisingly the members, who did participate, were not very happy with the group and the leader's satisfaction was average. There was a wide range of ideological views present within the group. Finally, the leadership was rated as professional and mediators, which could be interpreted as meaning the leadership, who had professional skills, were involved in mediating differences among rival factions that had not successfully articulated a clear vision of the future.

Sportsmen United. The last group to be discussed was also rated by the expert panel as having a challenged group ideology. This group's stated purpose was, "To improve the quality of life for the people of Connecticut--clean air, pure water, an abundance of wildlife, adequate open space for outdoor recreation, and to combat those forces that would turn our state and country into an eyesore of smog-laden air, dirty water and blighted landscape. Specifically, we will fight to preserve our fast diminishing natural resources."

In contrast to The Conservationists, Sportsmen United seemed to have been on a decline for some time. Evidence to support this contention came from the leader, who explained how the once vigorous Connecticut group started to lose its dynamism after it merged with a national organization. The slow decline has continued over the last five years as individual membership slipped from 325 to 175. Fortunately for the group, organizational

membership during this time rose from 20 to 28, which explained the modest rise in the group's operating budget from \$10,000-\$17,600. The fundamental challenge for this group, both externally and internally, seemed to be overcoming apathy. In other words, the boundaries of the group appeared to be slowly collapsing through neglect. The collapse was evident externally in the declining membership. Internally, the President only personally knew 6-10 members, 75% of the members say they knew 0-1 other members, board positions could not be filled, and no new programs had been initiated in recent years. The major power base of the organization now appears to be its affiliation with the national organization. Of the individuals still active in the group most, including the leader, were not very happy. Both the leader and the members also saw wide variance in the group's goals--perhaps that means little interest in the goals. Finally, in terms of leadership behavior, a full spectrum of replies were found. Specifically, the leader saw himself as a mediator. Members, meanwhile, gave the highest rating for the leadership as charismatic. Given all that has been said above, one wonders what form the vision takes? Finally, the Legislators thought the leaders were professionals.

In summary, most of the propositions in the theoretical framework were supported by the data collected in the field study. There were, however, three surprises, which raise theoretical and/or methodological questions. First, the split in the feelings between the leader and members of Friends of the Birds was not

anticipated. One plausible explanation for this finding is the leadership is currently winning out in an ideological battle with the membership. Accordingly, the leader is feeling very good about the group while the membership is frustrated. How long this group can maintain its stature with an angry general membership, however, is an open question. Second, it was curious to find such wide variance in all the groups' ideological position. Theoretically, this finding may be explained as a function of the members having only a marginal investment in the goals of each group. An equally likely explanation is that group ideology or the more general perception category was not operationalized as well as it could have been. Third, there was considerable variance in the way the maintenance and challenge group leaders were thought to behave. A possible theoretical way to understand this finding is to suggest the professionally trained leaders of the maintenance groups spend much of their time mediating small disputes while the challenge group leaders are trying to professionally mediate major conflicts. On the other hand, perhaps the operational definitions of these two leadership functions need to be more sharply distinguished.

Serendipity. As alluded to earlier, one of the fortunate yet unexpected rewards derived from this field study was a few additional insights were gained into the nature of group ideologies that went beyond the scope of the theoretical framework per se. Since they are relevant to a broader understanding of group ideology, it was felt they should also be shared with the reader. The four major insights are briefly discussed below.

First, it became increasingly apparent that groups with a narrow ideological focus were able to sustain more vital energy than did the broad issue groups. Specifically, both the emerging and maintenance groups seemed to be much clearer about what they were trying to accomplish than were the challenge groups. This finding reminds one of Peters and Waterman's (1982) work on organizational culture where the authors found successful groups "stick to their knitting" rather than trying to be all things to all people.

Second, a most striking finding was that most of the groups in the study were ideological lineal descendents (Kaufman, 1976) of earlier groups. In other words, old ideas, packaged in a slightly modified fashion, were being carried on under the banner of new groups. This behavior pattern might appropriately be called the "phoenix phenomenon," named after the mythical Egyptian bird that rises full grown from its own ashes.

Third, organizational survival may also depend upon ideological adaptability. Clean Energy is the case in point here. It was remarkable, to the researcher at least, to see this group had escaped near certain extinction with the rest of the organization by inverting its ideological position from being anti-nuclear to pro-conservation. The original goal of the group was not lost in the inversion, but it became subordinate to a new focus, which dramatically improved the group's chances for survival.

Finally, with organizational success there comes a seemingly natural temptation to broaden the scope of one's ideology and range of activities. It may be advisable to resist the former temptation

but embrace the latter. For example, three of the six groups in this study seemed to have enjoyed relative success over the last five years. These groups were Vote, The Land Trust, and Friends of the Birds. Both Vote and The Land Trust, in general, reacted to this success by increasing the complexity of their activities while essentially holding to the same mission and the leaders and members were pleased with this state of affairs. In contrast, Friends of the Birds has attempted to broaden both its ideological position and range of activities. From the data collected in the field study, it would appear this effort has triggered something of an ideological schism in the group between the leadership and the membership. As a result, while one group leader was quite happy the polled members were displeased with what was going on. This split would bear watching closely in the future.

Suggestive next steps. As the above discussion indicates, this study revealed some interesting behavior patterns and raised several additional questions. In the same spirit, a number of suggestive next steps will be noted here by way of concluding this paper. For example, it would be interesting to attempt the same type of project after further refining the instruments for measuring group ideology and the five universal characteristics of intergroup behavior examined in this study. If such an effort were mounted, however, attention would also be focused on the Board of Directors, who play important roles in many of these groups. In addition, it would be advantageous to study environmental groups from another part of the country to see if regional variations are

contributing to the findings. Another promising avenue of research would be to use the same methodological approach to study other normative groups such as religious organizations or political parties. Alternatively, one might test some of the theoretical ideas emerging from this study in utilitarian organizations to see if they can contribute to the understanding of such phenomenon as mergers and acquisitions or high performance work groups. Finally, a rather new line of research could be pursued by inquiring into the antecedents as opposed to the consequences of group ideology.

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OVER LONG PERIODS OF TIME

BY

Teddy (T.D.) Weinshall and Harry C. Kyriazis

1. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

How can one talk about skill, without stating beforehand - the skill to do what? Thus when we speak about a skillful organization, we have to clarify first what tasks does the organization have to achieve in terms of :

- What is the final product that the skillful organization needs to achieve?
- What new things has the skillful organization to create in order to achieve such a final product?
- What are the major difficulties (or hurdles) that the skillful organization has to overcome?
- Who is this "skillful organization"? What is the "division of labor" among its various parts in achieving its final product, creating the new things and overcoming the hurdles in doing so? Or, putting it in different words - which part of the "skillful organization" has the leading role and responsibility for the above mentioned tasks, and what are the roles of the other parts?
- And last but not least - how can the skillful organization, and primarily that part of it which has the leading role and responsibility for carrying out the above mentioned tasks (or objectives), do it in the best possible way and most skillfully?

We shall try and answer all the above questions in this paper.

Only that the elaboration of the answer to the last question - of how can the skillful organization best achieve its major tasks and objectives - will be done in a separate paper which deals with "Presenting the Corporate Image as Perceived from Within - And its Therapeutic Value". (1) This present paper is divided into the following parts:

- The Total Organizational System (TOS) This part presents an overall view of the two Main Systems (The Management and the Decision Making Main Systems), with their six Principal Systems (The Immediate Environment, The Wider Environment, The Organizational Strategy, The Managerial Scope of Decision Making, The Managerial Structure, and the Managerial Interpersonal Characteristics principal systems). These are the six principal systems with which the management has

to be well acquainted with and aware of, in order that they can lead a skillful organization.

- The Decision Making Main System This part deals primarily with management's responsibility for the equilibrium among three principal systems of the Organizational Strategy, on the one hand, and the Immediate and Wider Environments, on the other hand. We shall get better acquainted with the human Factors of Decision Making (FDM), the stake holding groups taking part in the decision making process; and that without the cooperation of any of these FDM, the organization cannot grow in terms of its Organizational Strategy. This is primarily a qualitative rather than a quantitative growth, in what the organization is doing (a larger product/service line diversity), in how it is operating (a higher level of science/technology), and in where it is functioning (a wider geographical and national-culture spread). In its growth the organization has to follow, more or less, the general growth pattern of the product/service lines in which the organization is involved.
- The Management Main System We shall first get acquainted with the different Managerial Structures through which management usually has to go as the organization grows, first when it is established as a one product/service line, operating in a relatively simple science and technology, within one area, or one country. Then it has to move to another structure when it utilizes a more sophisticated science and technology, which requires specialization in both the roles of equipment operators and in those of professionals with scientific training. Next the management has to move to a third managerial structure, when it diversifies its product/service line to two or more lines, significantly different from one another, but still operating within the same national-culture area (usually one country). The final managerial structure which the management has to assume is when it spreads geo-politically, to other countries which are national-culturally significantly different from one another, and/or when it has constantly to grow (in its Organizational Strategy) and cannot afford long no-growth periods of stabilization throughout the organization. In both situations the management cannot be structured in a uniform managerial structure, but has to operate in a federation of managerial structures.

Next comes a short discussion of the two parameters which establish the managerial structure and of a fourth uniform managerial structure (in addition to the Entrepreneurial, Functional, and Product-Line structures), which unlike the other three structures is a dysfunctional structure.

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However, this Anarchic Structure has to be experienced by management for short periods of time, whenever a personal exchange in the CE (Chief Executive) role occurs during the first two managerial structures (the Entrepreneurial and the Functional Structures).

Finally, in this part, the leadership, followership and other interpersonal Managerial Characteristics are discussed. These Managerial Characteristics are among those personality traits which are acquired at a very early age, mostly even before the child goes to junior kindergarten. Managers will usually adapt to interpersonal behavior, different than that in line with their managerial characteristics, if they are either coerced or influenced into it by their managerial environment to do so. However, if the managers are in key positions which enable them to behave voluntarily as they desire, they will always revert to that interpersonal behavior which is in line with their managerial characteristics. When managers behave according to their managerial characteristics (i.e. their management "style" (2) is in line with their managerial personality), and that managerial style (i.e. the manifest interpersonal relationships of the managerial structure) is the one required by the managerial Scope of Decision Making (i.e. the context of the Decision Making main system) - then the managers will function in the most motivated, satisfied and proficient behavior.

- The Main hurdles that the skillful organization has to overcome.

In order that the organization will thrive and survive through-out the dynamics of organization and management, the following three things are the most important ones to watch:

- Organizational Strategy That the organizational strategy of what, how and where the organization operates, will secure the continued cooperation of all the internal FDM (the human Factors of Decision Making). Management has to steer the organization through its Immediate and Wider Environments, with an organizational strategy which will secure its success and survival. A large imbalance between the organizational strategy and the competition in the pressures from the Immediate and Wider Environments may put in jeopardy the organizational survival.
- Managerial Structure The managerial structure should enable the management to run the organization in the above described Organizational Strategy. In other words, the managerial structure should be in line with the managerial Scope of Decision Making, or context, of the organization.

Management style is the actual, or manifest, behaviour of managers, whether it conforms with their managerial characteristics, or not.

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- Managerial Characteristics The managerial characteristics of the CE (Chief Executive) and other managers in key positions should be in line with the Management Style (3) required by the above described Managerial Structure. Otherwise the key position managers will run the organizations in a behavior suiting their managerial characteristics, and thus contrary to the required managerial structure.

- How Can We Judge if The Management Runs a "Skillfull Organization"?

To answer this question we should obviously evaluate how the organization stands up to all the three above mentioned hurdles.

Any evaluative approach which is based on rigid principles and measurements of what is a "good" organizational strategy, of what are "good" or "bad" managers and/or managerial (or organizational) structures, are no good, and could well be dangerous to the organizational success and survival. Drawing conclusions from organizations in one stage of their development to other organizations in another stage of development, is therefore irrelevant and dangerous. Also, any partial evaluations of the following three systems, could be gravely misleading, and could not predict if the studied organization will thrive and survive, or not.

The only way in which one can establish whether an organization is "skillful" at a certain point in time is to find out whether the above mentioned three systems are balanced as follows :

- Organizational Strategy - whether it is balanced with and well adjusted to the Immediate and Wider Environments, so that every one of the integral factors of decision making (the managers, workers, owners, customers, suppliers, etc.) is cooperating with the organization presently and into the forseen future.

- Managerial Structure - Whether the structure in which the organizations is run by the CE, is the structure required by the present and planned foreseen future of the Scope of Decision Making, and Organizational Strategy.

- Managerial Characteristics - whether managers in key positions have the managerial characteristics in line with the required Managerial Structure. As the management style of such key positioned managers is in line with their Managerial Characteristics, establishing the managerial structure and the managerial characteristics for such managers, is one and the same thing.

(3) See footnote (2) on page 3.

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- The Older The Organization - The Move Skillful it has been

Every Organization has a certain culture which may outlive generations of managers in the same organization. This organizational culture makes it possible or impossible for the management to run a skillful organization, namely to ensure the organizational survival for long periods of time. Thus, for example, when the secondary objectives of an organization are rigid and unchangeable like in university organizations, especially in Europe, their chances to survive for long periods of time (except for the odd ones-like Cambridge, Oxford, Harvard, Upsalla and others) are smaller than those of business corporations. The latter are more flexible in changing their organizational strategies (i.e. their secondary objectives) so as to survive the pressure and competition exerted by the immediate and wider environment. On the other hand, business organization whose culture is strongly financially inclined, or employee oriented, or marketing dominated - would also be unable to outlive other organization where the culture is more wholesome in ascertaining the continued cooperation of all their human decision making factors.

We shall mainly consider three organizations which survived much longer than other organizations in their line of activities: The Roman Catholic Church (RCC) a predominantly religious organization; The Mafia - an organized crime organization; and Mitsui - a Japanese business conglomerate. We shall find out what are the specific aspects of their organizational culture, which have helped them to survive for so long - the RCC for about 1800, the Mafia for about 700, and Mitsui for about 300 years; while the average longevity of organizations is only somewhat longer than that of human beings.

- How Can Management Become More Proficient in Managing Skillful Organizations?

The first thing managers have to do in order to be more skillful in performing their managerial responsibility (i.e. to ensure the continued cooperation of all the integral factors of decision making (FDM), so that the organization would survive and thrive) is to be well aware of the dynamics of organization and management over time. Only if they are well acquainted with the dynamics of the TOS, will they be able to understand better their own and others' managerial characteristics and realize what roles they and other managers could and would not proficiently perform in management. They should also realize what kind of help they can and should receive from outside consultants. Thus, when they are occasionally, every several years, helped by a managerial action-research feedback, and are well acquainted with the dynamics of the TOS - they would be able to continuously manage skillful organization.

The dynamics of management and organizations over time are described and analysed by way of the TOS (Total Organizational System). This notion of a total organization system assumes a dynamic relationship between management of the organization and the environment, both of which are affected by changing conditions of size, place, and human nature.

Any change in one part of the total system affects the other parts, and the survival of any organization is continually threatened by the changes-brought about by growth, which in itself is essential for survival.

The TOS (see Figure 1) is composed of the immediate environment, the wider environment, the organizational strategy, the scope of decision making, the managerial structure, and the managerial characteristics. The immediate environment includes the organizations competing for the organizational cooperation of the human factors of managers, workers, trade union, bankers, shareholders, suppliers, customers, government etc. The wider environment includes the systems of the employment market, money market, supply and demand market for materials and products, as well as the technology and socio-cultural systems. The scope of decision making is the total amount and complexity of the decisions imposed upon the management by their own organizational strategy, influenced by both the immediate and wider environments. Managerial structure refers to the actual way in which the decision making is carried out, formally or informally.

The managerial characteristics are the leadership and followership characteristics of managers, from the chief executive down.

Consequently, organizational systems are actually contingency systems; that is to say that the different components are contingent upon each other. A major change in one subsystem may not only affect what is happening in other subsystems, but may also alter the rules by which these systems are governed. It could be shown, therefore, that principles which, until quite recently, have governed management education, its teaching and writing, are based on false assumptions.

Thus, all of the following principles turn out to be absolutely wrong :

- there exists a "good" and desirable organizational structure in which an organization should operate at all times;
- there are good and bad managers, i.e. a good manager will always be good and a manager who has completely failed in one organization or another could never succeed in the same or in any other organization;
- it is desirable to have people continue to work in the organization as long as possible, and the organization should do whatever it can to hold on to employees who are doing very well today;
- there are rules which should govern the establishment of organizational structures. One of these rules is the so-called "span of control"; it represents the number of subordinates that a manager can control.
- Let us stress this again - all the above four principles are absolutely wrong.

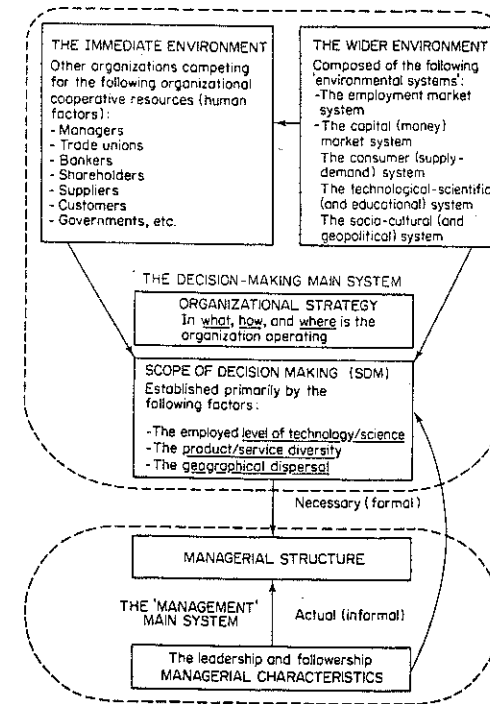


Figure 1 Two main systems and six principal systems of the TOS

We shall now present the two TOS main systems separately, first The Decision Making Main System and then The Management Main System.

3. THE DECISION MAKING MAIN SYSTEM

Organizations can be perceived as input-output systems of resources. resources such as capital, manpower, raw materials, equipment, water, electricity, etc., flow into these systems, while finished products and services flow out of them, to be acquired and used by customers and clients. The latter provide

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the organization with the current funds necessary for recycling. However, not only the customers but all the other resources necessary for the functioning of the organization happen to be human factors.

No resource can come forward on its own, without the human factor which provides it. The creation of the finished product or service of an organization requires the contribution of all the resources necessary for the functioning of the organization, by the various human factors, including the customers.

This notion traces back to Chester Barnard², who pointed out that the weight and value of the customers of an organization is not different from that of its workers. If one of these human factors withdraws from the organization, the final effect will be the same: the organization will not be able to go on functioning and existing.

On the input side we find the workers, who provide the labour; the suppliers providing the raw materials, the equipment and the different services (water, gas, electricity, or the human services, like management consultants); and the bankers and shareholders providing the capital. On the output side we find the customers who receive the goods and services produced by the organization, and they return money to the system.

In addition to those human groups which directly manipulate resources of the organization, we find a few additional groups which, over the years, have acquired the necessary power to make the organization dependent on them for its functioning and existence. These latter human factors for the most part include local and central government and the trade unions.

2. Chester Barnard was a practising manager, like Frederick Taylor and Frank Gilbreth, the US 'time and motion' pioneers, and like Henri Fayol, the French formal organization pioneer, who preceded him in the earlier part of this century. However, while the latter three were part of the Scientific Management movement (Fayol was one in spirit rather than in formal affiliation), Barnard was one of the pioneers who took management out of it.

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all these have the same effect on the organization as the other, directly contributive factors (i.e. management, workers, bankers, shareholders, suppliers, and customers).

All these factors of decision making appear in Figure 2.

The continued cooperation of the human factors with the organization is a necessary condition of organizational survival. Thus, for example, an organization cannot survive without the cooperation of its employees and of the customers purchasing its products. Similarly essential for its existence are the incoming raw materials and services from its suppliers, without which its products could not be manufactured. The organizations would be totally paralysed without a source of capital: its shareholders. These are just a few examples of the organization's dependence on its human factors.

The struggle for survival basically means the ability to compete successfully with other organizations over the same human factors. Thus organizations become interlinked through mutual interests. Their mutual interests are the populations of managers, workers, customers, shareholders, suppliers, and others, in which they organize and compete with each other in the Immediate Environment (see Figure 1 and Figure 3). The degree of fierceness of this intraorganizational competition over every one of these human FDM (Factors of Decision Making) depends on the prevailing conditions in the Wider Environment (see Figure 4). The wider environment within which (or on the grounds of which, as it is portrayed in Figure 4) the competition among the organizations in the immediate environment takes place, is composed of five environmental systems. The degree of abundance or shortage in each of the three pendulum systems (i.e. in which the resource is alternatively more and less available, from one period of time to another), and the state in which the two other, one-way systems are (see Figure 4); will decide the degree of ferocity in the competition over each FDM in the immediate environment. For example when the Employment Market wide environmental system is in a state of general "unemployment", there

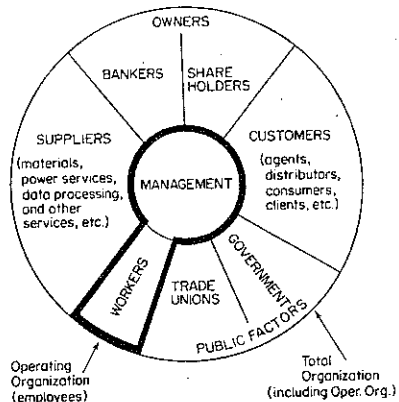


Figure 2 Factors of decision making (FDM): human factors comprising the organizational decision-making process (DMP)

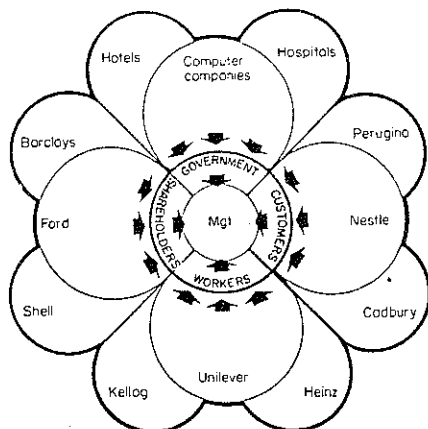


Figure 3 Results of competition in the immediate environment: several links between a chocolate factory in the London area and other organizations through its factors of decision making

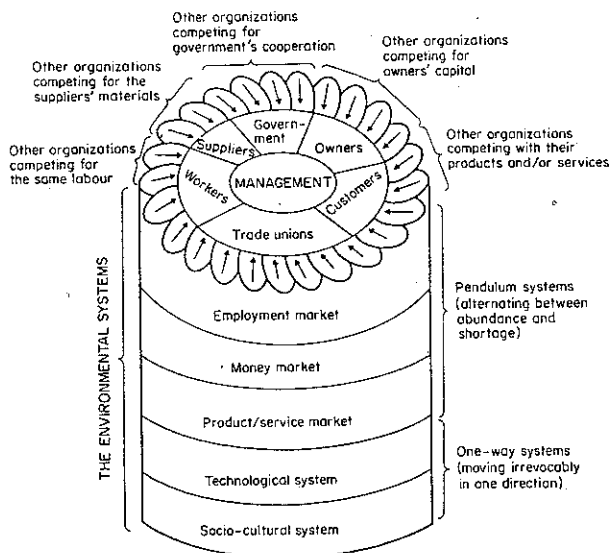


Figure 4 The total organization within its immediate and wider environments

exists almost no competition over employees, both workers and managers (unless there may be a competition over an odd high-tech person; because of his or her uniqueness in the Technological System, which is the qualitative state of the Employment-Market system). On the other hand, if the employment market of the wider environment is in a state of "full employment" or even more so in "over employment" (i.e. manpower shortage); then the competition over managers and workers among organizations in the immediate environment, is indeed quite fierce.

The power of individuals and groups in every one of the human FDM to exert pressure over the managements of the different organizations, in a specific wider environment, and the contents of the demands, are drawn from the existing information about the situation of individuals of every one of the human FDM, in the different organizations with which they cooperate. Information about the situation of shareholders in different corporations may be gathered from newspapers presenting daily share prices, etc. Information about the position of customers viz a viz different manufacturing corporations would be done by comparing prices in department stores, supermarkets, newspapers, etc.; as well as by checking the qualities and availabilities of products and spare parts; in discussion with fellow customers. Discussions with employees of other organizations is also the primary means for managers and workers to find out how things are with their fellow employees in other organizations. Managers have the additional means of newspaper placement advertisements, and executive search agencies (i.e. "head hunters"), which usually do not cater to workers. This is why, more and more, we get each of these human FDM facing their respective organizations as "workers of the world-unite", "shareholders of the world-unite", "customers of the world-unite", etc.

The best managerial policy for handling the pressures and demands of various factors of decision making (FDM) is to compensate each factor at the lowest acceptable level. That is to say, workers, customers, shareholders, etc., should be compensated at the minimal level at which they are willing to co-

operate fully with the organization. Offering one FDM more than the minimum they require may leave less than the minimum for other FDM, thus endangering their continued cooperation with the organization. One can visualize the total amount of resources of an organization as one whole cake, which has to be divided somehow among the various FDM. If management does not follow the policy of compensation at the minimal level, it will consume the organizational 'cake' by compensating some FDM at too high a level and be left with no more 'cake' for other FDM.

In the continuous battle for survival, organizations have had in many cases to change their secondary objectives in order to survive. This happens when customers refuse to continue purchasing, or the suppliers cannot or will not continue supplying, or because of any of the other FDM. Hence organizations have had to switch to another technology, product, or geographical area.

Organizational strategy is, in general terms, the form that the organization takes and the way it operates in practice. It is the answer to three basic questions about the organization: What does it attempt to achieve? How (by which means) does it set out to reach this goal? Where does it intend to do it?

By answering these three questions, the organization automatically defines the limits and characteristics of its immediate and wider environments. These to a large extent will dictate the future organizational DMP (decision making process).

The specific way in which the organizational strategy is defined and carried out is therefore influenced by the nature of the immediate and wider environments. On the other hand, it is also largely affected by the managerial characteristics of the CEO (chief executive officer) and his team. We can now graphically relate the strategy of the organization to its environment, on one hand, and to the individuals who manage it, on the other. These relationships are presented in Figure 5.

We have already discussed the nature of the immediate

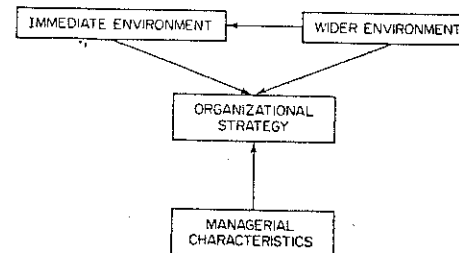


Figure 5. Factors influencing organizational strategy from within and without the organization

and wider environments and their effect on the organizational DMP. Managerial characteristics and their influence on the organizational growth and development are discussed further on in parts.

The terms 'business strategy' and organizational strategy' are used interchangeably in this paper. They indicate that strategy is the sum of the operating policies of an organization looking towards the future. Strategy is, however, used by other types of organizations, e.g. military, correctional, or other government operated organizations in which shareholders do not participate. However, the term 'business strategy' may also be interpreted as organizational strategy in which the management of a non-business organization is operating as if it were a business organization. A business strategy contains three elements:

- What is the organization in? (and what is it going to be in?)
- How (with what means) is it operating? (Or is it going to operate?)
- Where is it operating? (Or is it going to operate?)

The business strategy describes the consequences of the pressures of the immediate environment and the constraints of the wider environments in the different geographical areas in which the organization operates. The business strategy -- i.e. what,

how, and where -- therefore establishes the organizational scope of decision making. The more competition there is for the various human factors in the organizational DMP, and the more constraints there are imposed on the organization by its wider environment, the larger is the amount and complexity of its DMP. The same factors also determine the time that management has to secure the continued cooperation of all the factors in the DMP, without which the organization cannot survive. That is to say, the more heterogeneous the business strategy in its what, how, and where, the larger its scope of decision making.

Since 1958 we have known that it is possible to measure the scope of decision making by the degree of the Employed Level of Technology, and it would then correlate with the managerial structure³. Ten years later, in 1968, it was found⁴ that in product-line diversified and geographically dispersed organizations, the managerial structure correlates also, and mainly, with two additional aspects of the scope of decision making, namely those of the Product/Service Diversity, and the Geographical Dispersal. Let us now see how these three factors are related to the scope of decision making (or SDM, as we refer to it in the following paragraphs):

-- The Employed Level of Technology (and Science)

as the level of technology rises and becomes more diverse, the SDM becomes larger. There are more problems, and more time is invested by management in maintaining the necessary continued cooperation of the essential factors of the decision making process.

3. The first one to have established this relation was Joan Woodward in her booklet: Management and Technology, HMSO, London, 1958. Woodward, however, studied 100 predominantly one product-line industrial organizations, in one region of England (South Essex).

4. By John Stopford in his doctoral research about 170 American based multi-national corporations, which had operating units in at least six countries: Growth and Organizational Change in The Multi-national Firm, doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, (published by Arno Press, New York, 1980).

Thus, the higher the level of technology, the more complex the problems the organization faces: with managers becoming more professional; with workers having more responsibility for maintaining larger technical systems; with suppliers assuring a steady flow of materials of uniform quality; with customers whose continuing needs for the products or services must be kept in mind; with bankers by securing larger-scale and longer-range loans; with shareholders, trade unions, government, etc.

--The Product/Service Diversity

The larger the product/service diversity, the more management has to deal with different types of populations. Thus, going into new and different kinds of product/service lines means that the management should become more knowledgeable about the additional subgroups of the various human factors without the cooperation of which one or more of the different product/service lines cannot be successful. Adding a completely new and different product/service line could therefore mean that the management has to deal with completely different populations of workers having different skills, suppliers dealing in different materials, and customers purchasing different products or services. It would affect investors investing in different capital ventures with different rates of return and payback periods; and also government officials, etc.

--The Geographical Dispersal

The more the organization moves to different countries, with different cultural and behavioral patterns, the larger the SDM of its management, because management has to secure the continued cooperation of additional employees, customers, bankers, shareholders, trade union and government officials, and the like. In dealing with the different types of these human factor resources, the management has to acquaint itself with the laws and habits of every country in which the organization operates.

4. THE MANAGEMENT MAIN SYSTEM

Most organizations go through an orderly sequence of managerial structures during the course of their lives. An organization just established may be very small, but developing fast. In order to survive this difficult but exciting stage of its 'childhood', it must be managed in an informal, centralized fashion. This structure is called an Entrepreneurial Structure and is typical of new organizations in their first stage of development. When organizations grow beyond a particular size they can no longer function effectively within this structure. They must go through a major transformation in terms of the whole set of rules by which the work is managed and carried out in order to cope with the growing quantities of product and services, their variety, and the complexity of the organization. This second structure is called the Functional Structure. The formalized and centralized nature of the functional structure must, at a certain stage of growth of the organization, give place to the formally Decentralized Structure, if the organization is to survive. This decentralized structure is essential when the SDM (scope of decision making) significantly grows either because the organization has expanded from one product line to two or more, or moved from operating in one area (or state) to two or more areas (or states), which are not very different from one another in their wider environments (i.e. in their employment, consumer and money markets, as well as in their technological/scientific and socio/cultural systems). Thus, the decentralized structure can be either a Product/Service Structure or an Area Structure.

The above mentioned four basic managerial structures -- the entrepreneurial, functional, product/services and area structures -- are presented in Figure 6.

The basic managerial structures are a function of and could be established by two parameters: The Degree of Formal Clarity (or of Formalization), and the Degree of autonomy.

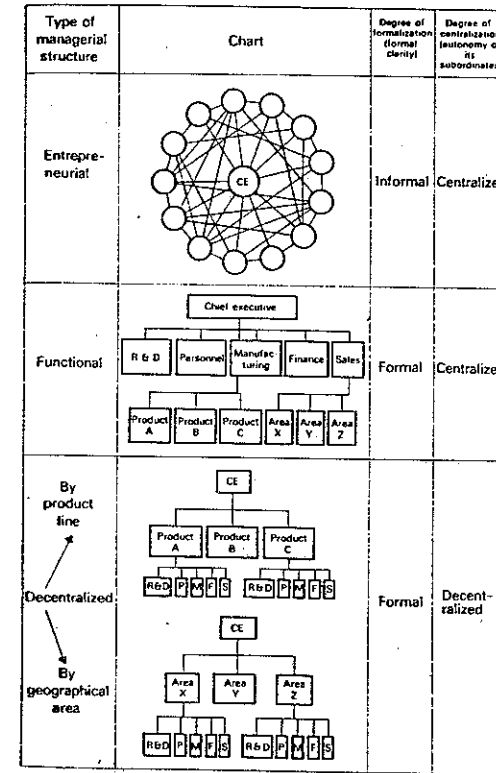


Figure 6 Examples of the basic managerial structures

Figure 7 The basic structures according to the two parameters of managerial structure

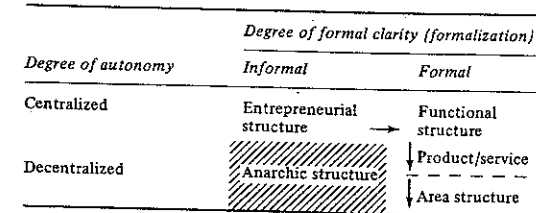
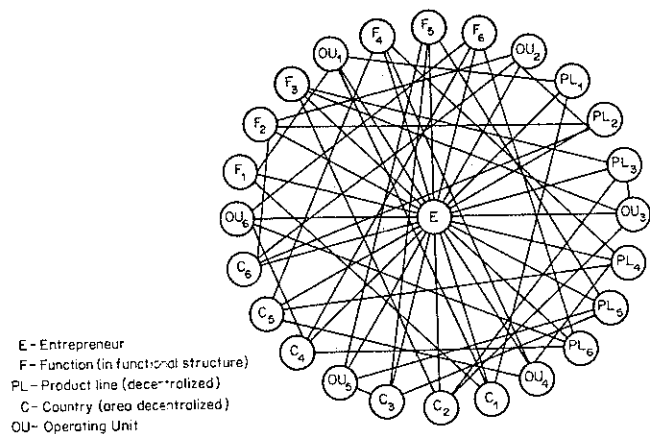
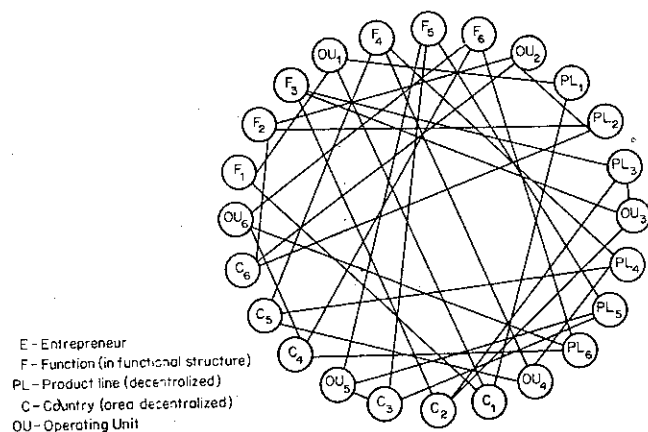


Figure 8.1: The Informal Structures:
Entrepreneurial and Anarchic



E - Entrepreneur
F - Function (in functional structure)
PL - Product line (decentralized)
C - Country (area decentralized)
OU - Operating Unit

Figure 8.1 Functions, product lines, countries, and operating units in a schematic presentation of an entrepreneurial structure



E - Entrepreneur
F - Function (in functional structure)
PL - Product line (decentralized)
C - Country (area decentralized)
OU - Operating Unit

Figure 8.2 Functions, product lines, countries, and operating units in a schematic presentation of an anarchic structure

The matrix of four basic structures, resulting from the Informal and Formal degrees of formal clarity, and the Centralized and Decentralized degrees of autonomy -- is presented in Figure 7.

apart from the Entrepreneurial, Functional and Product/Service and area Structures, we have in Figure 7 one additional basic structure -- the anarchic Structure, which is an informally decentralized structure. This structure is presented schematically as a relationship chart appearing in Figure 8.2. Comparing the chart of the informally decentralized anarchic structure in Figure 8.2, with the informally centralized Entrepreneurial structure in Figure 8.1, we see that the only visual difference is that the anarchic structure does not have a head in its center.

The actual difference between the anarchic structure and the other managerial structures is, however, over and above the fact that it is the only headless structure. Anarchic structures have usually only one secondary objective, a limited strategy both in its scope and, mainly, in its longevity. The anarchic structure does not have an survival drive, which will help the organization to expand and/or replace its secondary objective, when it becomes obsolete. On the contrary, its only drive is to achieve this secondary objective, and then the organization will live no more. We can, therefore, conclude that anarchic structured organizations are not skillful, as their managements do not make them survive and thrive, but just try to achieve their immediate and only objective. For example, the US SDS (Students for Democratic Society) in the late 1960's and early 1970's, had one objective which expanded to two. They wanted the US to get out of Vietnam and, later, wanted to get Richard Nixon out of the Presidency. When these two interconnected objectives had been achieved, the SDS ceased to be.

Finally let us present the Multistructure, a federated managerial structure, in Figure 9.

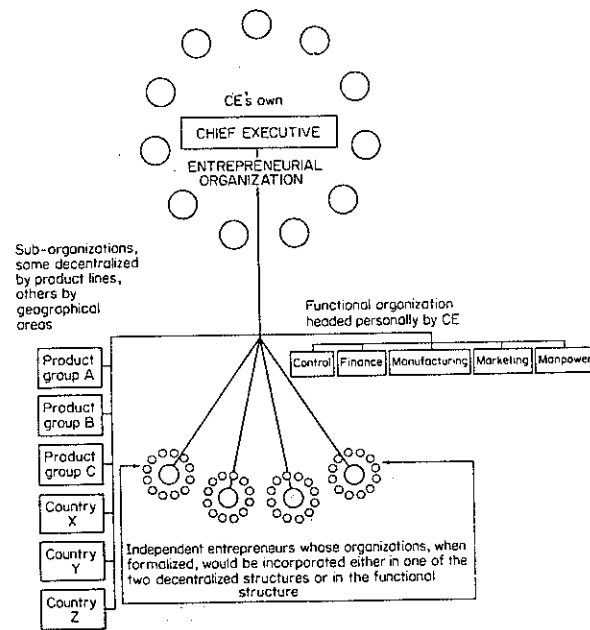


Figure 9 The multistructure managerial structure

This managerial structure may be perceived as if it were composed of different building blocks which may be combined into different kinds of structures. This is done by way of federating in each structure various proportions of different building blocks. Figure 9 includes all the possible building blocks: an entrepreneurial structure under the control of the CE, a functional structure headed by the CE, product lines and areas reporting to the CE, and independent entrepreneurs who return to the CE after they have accomplished the launching of their assignments.

The Japanese have been the first to operate their large organizations in multistructures, probably since the First World War. Multistructures first appeared in US corporations and in large organizations in other countries outside Japan only after the Second World War.

Among 18 organizations studied in the 1960's and 1970's by both informalogram and clinical action research, one was found

to have a multistructure. This was a foreign-owned shipping organization operating in Japan and comprising two distinct parts: one running its shipping lines and the other serving as its shipping agents. It so happened that, while the shipping agency's management was exclusively Japanese, the two top levels of management in the shipping lines were non-Japanese, mostly nationals of the Western country where the owner company was located and to whose headquarters the operations centred in Japan were linked. Analysis of the managerial structures in the two sub-organizations revealed some differences. The non-Japanese sub-organization had a functional structure, partially decentralized in the relationships between the chief executive and the management; a larger degree of decentralization was apparently impossible, due to an insufficient number of managers and other resources. In the Japanese sub-organization, the clarity of the formal structure and the mutual dependence of individuals and units indicated a functional structure; but the informal activity of the managers did not. In fact, the managerial structure was characterized by Japanese culture-bound behavior of the so-called 'ringi' decision-making process. In these circumstances it was not surprising to discover through the action research that the chief executive was relating differently to the managers in the two sub-organizations.

The only exception to this has probably been the Roman Catholic Church which has been operating in an effective multistructure for centuries.

The multistructure became essential for organizations which could not grow any more in a decentralized structure for one or more of the following three reasons:

- The growth in the product/service diversity exceeded several product lines. The professional team serving the CE in auditing the suborganizations at the end of the decentralizing periods of, say one year, became too large to keep them occupied in anything but

intervening in decision making of the decentralized units. If they do intervene -- there would not be a decentralization any more.

-- The emerging cultures of the ex-colonial countries and nations, became the dominant cultures when these nation-states gained independence after World War Two. Thus the cultures of such countries as Britain, France, Holland, Portugal, etc., which were prevailing throughout the colonies of their empires -- disappeared, sometimes gradually and sometimes abruptly. Before World War Two, large international companies operating for instance throughout the British Empire could be run in a unified structure, usually a functional structure, from their headquarters (in our case, London). In current times multinational corporations have to adapt themselves, structurally, to the cultures of the countries in which they operate in order to secure their survival and success.

-- The third reason is the need of large organizations to simultaneously grow, adding new strategies to present ones (in what, how and where they operate), and yet continue operating in their existing strategies. This requires the simultaneous operation in informally centralized (entrepreneurial) sub-structures, on the one hand, and maintaining their existing operation in formally centralized (functional) and decentralized (by product/service lines, and by areas), on the other hand.

For the above three reasons it is inevitable that multinationals and other large national and international organizations⁵ (large

5. The difference between international companies or institutions of pre-Second World War, and multinational corporations of post-Second World War is explained in detail in Chapter 6 ("The Multinationals") of Managing Growing Organizations—a New Approach, by T.D. Weinshall and Y.a. Raven (John Wiley and Sons, 1983).

in terms of their scopes of decision making) could only operate in a multistructure, namely in a federated managerial structure, as presented in Figure 9.

The relation between the scope of decision making, is summation of the decision making main system; and the managerial structure, representing the management main system (see Figure 1 on p. 7) it is schematically portrayed in the progression of the four basic structures and the multistructure over time, in Figure 10.

We shall now examine the main hurdles and problems of the management of a skillful organization, when it fares along its course over time.

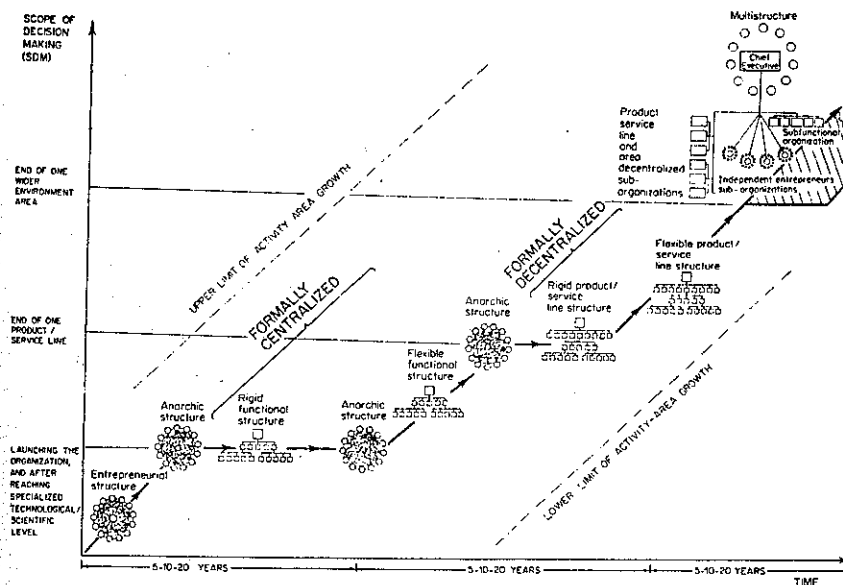


Figure 10 A schematic progression of the four basic managerial structures and the multistructure as the scope of decision making increases over time

Burkard Sievers

PARTICIPATION AS A COLLUSIVE QUARREL OVER IMMORTALITY

Participation as a quarrel

Referring to my own experiences as a consultant in organizations I am quite often confronted with the discrepancy with which participation is propagated and its actual realization. Attempts to increase the participation in a work enterprise are often enough very quickly confronted with unsolvable difficulties which sometimes even lead to a breaking off of a change project and the included experiment.

There are, for instance, those managers in a German subsidiary of an international American tire company who are justifying their own reservations to cooperate in a participative manner with the works council by accusing the workers' representatives of being agents of a rather militant union; a situation in which the former seem to be totally unaware that the latter, the workers, may regard the managers as nothing more but agents of a militant capitalistic multinational. As another example, there is the confessionnal hospital in a German city in which the cautious attempt of the top management group to get the employees on lower levels more intensively involved into the primary task of caring for the patients which is being attacked and stopped by the controlling body of the church. And there is also the case of a jail for juvenile delinquents in which the managerial group, after having worked quite intensively over a longer period to improve the working conditions of the prison officers, suddenly was facing the sealing of participation when it came to the point of whether to

involve the inmates more participatively into the organizational task of rehabilitation. The consultant's question, whether it would not appear reasonable to regard the juveniles not as adversaries but rather as collaborators in an educational process, could not even be answered; it had to be turned around immediately by replying with the question, whether the consultant seriously had thought of regarding the inmates as colleagues.

What all these experiences as well as various others seem to have in common is the fact that just the mere consideration of changing the present state of the status quo very often raises fundamental anxieties and mobilizes enormous phantasies of defeat and subjugation on the side of those on the upper echelons of the hierarchy. Although similar experiences can be made in various kinds of institutions it seems that in work enterprises these anxieties are becoming more evident because of the higher identification of those at the top, commonly called managers, with the entrepreneur or the proprietor of the enterprise. The anxiety primarily managers seem to carry was recently very accurately expressed by a top manager of an international company referring to the established co-determination in one of their German subsidiaries, when he said: "It's not that we really are against participation! But, you know, if we allow the workers to participate, as a final consequence this would mean for us grasping the tiger by his tale. And that would put us into a situation in which we as managers no longer are in control of where he is going to lead us!" What underlies this image is the basic mistrust on the managers' side that if workers are really allowed to participate in the design of their working conditions, they ultimately would try to influence the choice of the products, the distribution of profits and finally

might even take over the enterprise. And as it can be assumed, there are corresponding anxieties on the side of the workers, who from the quotidian evidence they experience, nurture such a paranoid position that they are afraid of being reified into machines, tools or cogs as means of the production process.

However, instead of facing these mutual anxieties publicly in order to acknowledge the political relevance and to deal creatively with the pain they are continuously creating, the practice in our contemporary work organizations seems to be characterized predominantly by participative games managers and workers play. As Dickson ((1974), p.182) stated it: "By placing relatively insignificant decisions in the hands of the worker, such as the rate at which he decides to work to meet a predetermined target, it is hoped that pressure will be taken off demands on significant issues, such as rates of pay, or the level of targets." Or to put it metaphorically, participation can be seen to quite an extent as a continuous quarrel over the quality and the length of the chains with which both sides, managers as well as workers, are fettered in the prisons of our contemporary work enterprises without too much further concern about the tragedy of imprisonment itself and its consequences.

Participation as a process of mutual collusion

Although the presently predominant practice of participation may appear on a first view to be a continuous attempt of the management's side to manipulate and defraud the workers, this obviously is only one part of the truth of what seems to be the social reality of participation in our contemporary enterprises. It seems to me that in order

to receive a more accurate perception of the participative quarrel between management and workers this hustle has to be conceptualized as a collusion, a collusion in which both sides, managers as well as workers, are unconsciously caught to quite an extent.

It is the hypothesis, which I would like to offer here, that what is being presented and regarded as participation in our contemporary work enterprises has to be seen to quite an extent if not predominantly as a collusive quarrel in which not only managers and workers mutually are involved but which is also perpetuated through the underlying myths and fictions as a constituent part of the corporate culture in the majority of our contemporary industrial enterprises. It appears to me as if most of our organizational cultures are creating and nurturing a kind of double-bind situation by which they despite the established fragmentations are sustaining the need for further collaboration of a participative kind among the different parties involved in an enterprise on the one side, whereas, on the other side, they actually have to prevent more mature forms of participation because it would unmask the fictitious quality of the underlying assumptions and the social structures erected thereupon. The implied schizophrenia of our Western industrial culture is incorporated into our work enterprises in such a sense that often enough regardless which party is either intending or invited to more participation, such an intent finally has to be rejected or even destroyed, because it does not fit into the predominant unconscious assumptions about the relationship between managers and workers as a relationship of non-relatedness. Quite similar, for example, to a child who, in a double-bind can only cope with his mother's wish to sit on her lap by relating to the button of her dress, the attempt towards more mature forms of partici-

pation in an enterprise - regardless of whether it is from the management's or the workers' side - very often cannot be accepted and realized because of its implied connotation of imputed contempt.

The mutual collusion in which workers and managers in an enterprise are caught finds its expression in various fictions and myths which are not only legitimated and perpetuated through the respective corporate culture but which in addition seem to mirror the predominant value system of our Western industrial societies. These predominant values not only seem to support a social reality which equals George Orwell's 'Animal farm' according to which "all animals are equal, but some are more so"; it even seems to support the splitting into subjects and objects or producers and produced which, after all, creates and sustains the fiction as if only a minority could be regarded as human beings whereas the vast majority has to be seen as parts of a machine or as commodities in the market.

The myths and fictions through which the collusion between managers and workers is sustained and legitimized are manifold. One expression of the predominant fragmentation among managers and workers can, for example, be found in the ongoing tendency and attempts to infantilize the workers .

It appears to quite an extent that the only pattern workers in the majority of our Western enterprises are related and can relate to is that of the child vis-a-vis his parents. The nature of work which is provided for them through the employing institutions infantilizes the worker; it does not allow him to develop or exercise any mature competence and actions but limits him to regressive reactions which are

familiar to him since his early childhood. Hand in hand with such an infantilization goes the division of responsibility and authority in our employing institutions which we all are so familiar with. Despite the quite obvious fact that most of our enterprises would collapse the very moment the majority of workers would give up the responsibility for the work they are doing, our organizational theories as well as the actual design of our enterprises are primarily built on the assumption that those at the bottom are unable to take over any responsibility for the institution, through which they earn their living. These myths somehow seem to be built on the assumption that the underlying contempt can be exercised with impunity from the top to the bottom; what seems to be totally ignored is the fact that contempt is a modalization through which a relationship is qualified or, as it easily can be stated in this particular case, disqualified. As Alice Miller, the Swiss psychoanalyst, so vividly has elaborated it in her book, 'The Drama of the Gifted Child', contempt is a mutual relationship in which both sides, parents and children or managers and workers are caught.

The ultimate legitimation, however, through which the collusion between those commonly called managers and workers is sustained and perpetuated can be found in the myth of management. It seems to me that the whole notion of management to which we all seem to be obliged since the beginning of our Western industrialization is based on the fiction that workers are unable to manage and managers don't have to work. "The ideology surrounding management in our society is", as Stan Martin ((1982), p. 129) states it, "that only managers can and should perform the important functions deemed necessary for the survival and success of organizations, and further, that in order for the

organization to be effective, they must direct, control, monitor, and discipline others."

For me there can be no doubt that through our predominant scientific theories of management, leadership, and organization we are reconfirming again and again these myths of the infantilization and immaturity for those to whom they are applied. It seems to me that we ourselves as social scientists are involved unconsciously in the collusive process between managers and workers whom we tend to regard as our research objects. From such a perspective it appears quite comprehensible that our own identification is with those at the top as long as according to the predominant splitting we only have the choice between human beings on the one side and dregs or machines on the other side.

What has been developed and institutionalized as participation in our Western enterprises so far - no matter whether it is called codetermination, works council, social bargaining or shopfloor democracy - appears from a psychoanalytic perspective as an attempt to implement structures and procedures which primarily serve the function of defending against anxieties.

Participation as a collusive quarrel over immortality

And these anxieties against which defences are built through various formalizations of participation seem to be centered primarily around the one central question of how one as a manager or a worker can prevent oneself as well as one's fellow man from being ignored, manipulated, or destroyed by the respective counterpart. What seems to be covered up by the notion of participation is not only the desire to

receive the other side's esteem in order to preserve one's own self-esteem; what also seems to be neglected is the inclination participation seems to include as a mutual guarantee of the individual as well as the collective survival of workers and managers.

Referring to the previously stated hypothesis that participation in our work enterprises has to be interpreted as a collusive quarrel among managers and workers I, therefore, would like to add that the underlying content or issue of this collusion has to be seen as a quarrel over immortality. I am quite aware that such an attempt to explain participation as a collusive quarrel over immortality may appear to most of you at least rather abrupt if not inexplicable and, therefore, has to be further elaborated.

As I have tried to describe it in my contribution 'Motivation as a surrogate for meaning' at the previous SCOS-Conference at Lund there seems to be quite some evidence that death as a reality of our lives is increasingly neglected not only in our contemporary work enterprises but also in our surrounding societies and cultures. The denial of death is, so far as our enterprises are concerned, enforced by at least two complementary unconscious strategies: The reality of death and its experience is on the management's side denied through the myth of immortality in that sense that management tends to identify itself and is identified by the workers with the immortality of the firm; whereas the fate of the workers' on the other side, identified as objects, intermediate products or commodities seems to be determined through the fiction of their non-mortality. I.e. their ability to die is denied via reification; as things or objects they even miss the quality of mortality which at other points of time was regarded as a substantial

prerequisite of every human being.

From such a perspective the ongoing concern and quarrel over participation in our contemporary enterprises can be described as the unconscious struggle on the workers' side to participate in the immortality which management symbolizes to them; in so far, however, as immortality can be regarded as quite a limited resource which, in ancient Greek mythology, for example, was limited to the friends of the gods, it seems to be obvious that management tends to keep their own immortality from the workers. The fight for immortality somehow equals a zero-sum-game in which the parties involved try to acquire the fruits of eternity in a similar way to the prisoners' dilemma.

A further understanding of this collusive quarrel between managers and workers over immortality can be derived if we are prepared to explore mythology and its underlying images which obviously are as old as mankind. The ancient Greek mythology, in particular, appears to me to be a burgeoning frame of reference from which insights can be attained on the search for meaning.

Although the occasion of this short presentation does not provide the space for going into details, the cosmography of the ancient Greeks is determined by a dualistic perspective of the immortal gods on the one side and the ephemeral mortals on the other side. And at the same time it is this space between these two predominant forms of existence, the gap between immortality and mortality, which provides the material for many if not most of the Greek myths. The ancient stories of Zeus, Prometheus, Calypso or Odysseus, Hercules, Sisyphus and Tantalos, for example, are primarily concerned with the attempt to bridge this gap

from either one or the other side. Whereas the gods occasionally offered immortality as a gift to particular heroes as the goddess Calypso, for example, did to Odysseus, the mythical figures of Sisyphus and Tantalos symbolize the attempt to let mankind in general take part in an eternal life: It was Sisyphus who through binding the angel of death, in chains achieved that people no longer could die - at least for a period of time; and Tantalos who was the only mortal allowed to sit at the divine dinner table finally stole nectar and ambrosia, the fruits of immortality, in order to give them to his fellow men.

Although I find it very fascinating to go further into the Greek mythology in order to find a metaphorical analogy to explore some of the hidden dimensions of our contemporary work enterprises there cannot be any doubt that we individually as well as collectively have to give up the old dream that we as human beings are immortal. If we want to be able to give meaning to our lives and to our working lives in particular, we then have to redesign and to change our organizations in such a way that we ourselves as well as our contemporaries can become aware that we all have to die. If it is true that Zeus, the father of the ancient Greek gods, became very sad when he realized that one has to be mortal in order to experience love then the same seems to be true for participation: the awareness of one's own mortality - regardless of whether in the traditional use of the language one is a worker or a manager - is the prerequisite for any mature attempt towards participation. Similar to the prisoner's dilemma in the theory of games the participative dilemma between managers and workers only can be solved if each side waives the attempt of either to deprive itself or its counterpart of its mortality.

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KREINER & CHRISTENSEN

ORGANIZATIONAL AURA,
CORPORATE IMAGE, AND INDUSTRIAL RENEWAL
Institution Building in Construction

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and

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and Social Science

June 1985

1: INTRODUCTION

Most theories about organizations aim at explaining why organizational form - in terms of structure, policies, programs, procedures, etc. - comes in great variety.

One major branch of organization theory is founded on the assumption that the efficient performance of work activities (productivity) requires certain forms of organization. Productivity is contingent upon the successful management of internal technical and boundary spanning interdependencies. These interdependencies are managed through formal organizational arrangements. The empirical variance in organization structure, programs, policies etc. is seen to reflect the variance in the number and the character of the interdependencies to be managed (as determined, for example, by the technology (Woodward, 1965), the environment (Lawrence & Lorsch, 1967), or the information processing needs (Galbraith, 1977)). The fact that organizations which operate under similar circumstances tend to exhibit a similar form is seen as the end-result of an evolutionary process in which "deviant", unfit cases are gradually becoming extinct: they did not meet the productivity requirements of the market in which they operated.

Such a line of reasoning is indeed conventional. But it is not uncontested. Recognizing the need to achieve high productivity in the above sense, some theories go on to observe that formal aspects (structure, rules, procedures etc.) do not picture actual organizational practice with accuracy. Indeed, productivity is oftentimes achieved, so it is claimed, in violation of formal rules and prescribed practices. That is, the

formal organization is supplemented with, even substituted by, informal, illicit, but apparently efficient and necessary practices.

Accepting such observations as valid, the need to achieve productivity loses much of its explanatory power in relation to the prevalence of certain organizational forms. Alternative explanatory frameworks must be devised.

Meyer & Rowan (1977) and Meyer & Scott (1983) offer one such alternative. They point out that - in addition to being evaluated (and selected in the cause of evolution) on their productivity, as measured in the market place - organizations are evaluated and supported on the basis of their legitimacy as defined by their institutional environments. "An institution is of the nature of a usage which has become axiomatic and indispensable by habituation and general acceptance" wrote Veblen (1923). Organizations inhabiting an environment of institutions must (and probably will by own fiat) accept and reflect the generally prevailing understanding of the social reality of which they are a part. Certain highly visible facets of the organizations (not least their formal structural configuration) are not left to individual design, but are simply institutionally prescribed. For example, almost all organizations have appointed a board (whether or not they want, need or use it) simply because it would be impossible to legitimate not having one: It is part of the conventional wisdom that organizations should have boards. Thus,

In modern societies, the elements of rationalized formal structure are deeply ingrained in, and reflect, widespread understandings of social reality. Many of the positions, policies, programs, and procedures of modern organizations are enforced by public opinion, by the views of important constituents, by knowledge legitimated through the educational system, by social prestige, by the laws, and by the definitions of negligence and prudence by the courts. Such elements of formal structure are manifestations of powerful institutional rules which function as highly rationalized myths that are binding on particular organizations." (Meyer & Rowan, 1977:343)

The existence of institutional environments (in terms of prevailing patterns of behavior and generally accepted understandings of social reality) limits the variety in empirical form that organizations will take - beyond, or in conflict with, that which the achievement of productivity would demand. However, what are the mechanisms through which institutional environments determine organizational forms?

Organizations inhabit an environment in the ordinary sense which consists of customers, banks, constituencies, competitors, courts, trade unions, etc. Such actors sometimes put the demands of the institutional environment to the organization in clear text, demands which may be supported by various types of sanctions. Thus, for example, plans to make a Danish shipping company collectively owned were obstructed when banks threatened to withdraw loan capital. In this way, organizations are brought into line with what is generally considered proper forms.

Institutional environments may bind organizations also in less direct ways. Imitation is probably as common a strategy to organizational design as genuine, rational decision making. (Cyert & March, 1963). Institutional environments provide the organization with a conventional alternative to be imitated, thus blocking the vision of other alternatives.

Finally, organizations may comply with institutional rules simply because they share the environment's understanding of social reality, thus adopting such rules as their own.

At this point, a short note on the terminology to be used in the present paper may be in order.

1.2: Institutions, Myths, and Legitimacy

A general usage of certain organizational forms is the first ingreience to institutions, but it is not the only one. An institutionalized usage is not left to casual interpretation. It is rationalized in terms which are themselves highly institutionalized.

Institutionalized rationalizations of prevailing organizational forms we define as myths. Myths provide institutions with "reason" and thereby render them natural, axiomatic, or merely reasonable to everyone. By the same token, myths provide organizations with reasonable explanations of their institutionalized behavior.

Organizations which comply with an institutional pattern are seen as legitimate because, thanks to the existing myths, their formal expression makes immediate sense.

The institutionalized environments of organizations consist of myths which are promulgated, protected, and applied by various actors according to interests and obligations.

1.3: Refinement of the Explanatory Framework

In this paper we will apply the above explanatory framework to an analysis of organizational forms in the Danish building industry (see section 1.5 below). In doing so we encounter a few complications which hopefully will help us refine (rather than repudiate) the Meyer & Rowan ideas.

Complication No. 1: Conflicting Myths

The idea that organizations in many ways "... reflect the myths of their institutional environments instead of the demands of their work activities" (*) (p.341) certainly has merits. Of course, no claim can be made that such myths are necessarily mutually consistent. On the contrary, "Institutional environments are often pluralistic ..., and societies promulgate sharply inconsistent myths." (p.356). By implication, organizations must be expected to reflect the inconsistent myths by incorporating "all sorts of incompatible structural elements." (p.356).

No doubt, in many cases organizations manage to add new programs, policies, etc. which are not fully consistent with

(*) Unless otherwise stated quotations are taken from Meyer & Rowan (1977).

existing ones. Meyer & Rowan describe some ways in which this may be done. However, in our case study we show that sometimes organizations cannot eat the cake and have it too. The conflicting myths about how to design the contractual structure of a construction project cannot all be accommodated in any one project: one of them must be chosen. In such cases, the explanatory framework loses some of its power, since it has nothing to say about how organizations choose among conflicting myths, and thus among alternative institutions to follow.

The idea that organizations may choose among alternative institutions by invoking certain myths at the expense of others, rather than continuously accommodating new ones, also questions the Meyer & Rowan proposition that the multiplication of rationalized institutional rules invariably produces more complex formal structures at the level of organizations. New institutionalized rules may make them change, but not necessarily grow more complex.

Complication No. 2: The Origin of Myths

Meyer & Rowan picture a situation in which certain myths already exist in the institutional environments of an organization. However, myths do not just emerge: they must somehow be invented, communicated, and (over time) added to the general "understanding of social reality". Actors must somehow be involved in all of this. Which actors are involved, and what might be their motives in promoting specific myths?

First we must recognize the fact that organizations increase their resources and survival capabilities by maximizing their legitimacy. (p.352). However, different myths distribute, via the organizational forms they prescribe, such resources and survival capabilities differently on organizational actors and departments. Institutionalized myths concerning personnel development channel resources, positions and status to personnel departments; institutionalized myths concerning information technology channel resources, positions and status to computer departments.

On this background, we might hypothesize that certain organizational actors (departments) might actively seek to promulgate myths which will subsequently "bind" their organization in a way which will serve the interests of those actors. (Elster, 1979).

In our case we do observe behavioral patterns which might be understood as attempts on promulgating specific myths by certain parts of the organization. To do such observations justice, we need to deviate from the uni-directional causality implied by Meyer & Rowan. We must entertain the idea that institutionalized myths emerge in the course of an interactive process in which the environment as well as the organization, and parts thereof, take part.

Complication No. 3: Institutional Change

When do institutions change? Meyer & Rowan make allowance for such changes, but do not explain when and why it happens. Such an issue gains saliency not least in view of the complication no. 1, i.e., when there exist alternative institutions to follow.

Institutions are supported by myths which rationalize them and provide them with logic and reason. However, institutions do not rest on reason alone. Feelings, attitudes, and values become invested in institutions and help establish them as important, good, just and/or fashionable. Organizations complying with such institutions face the same feelings, attitudes and value, which at a general level shape the environment's conception of the organizations. In an earlier paper we have coined the term "organizational aura" for such conceptions. (Christensen & Kreiner, 1984)

The aura of institutions and of organizations may not, or may only very indirectly, be changed by reason or experience. In this sense, public organizations introducing principles of service management may have a hard time overcoming the aura of public bureaucracies. Craft technologies may be competitive (in terms of price and quality) and still carry an aura of being old-fashioned and archaic. New technology (e.g. information technology) may show a rather dubious performance record and still have the aura of being progressive and future-oriented.

Myths once held to be true are not likely suddenly to be seen as not making sense. However, nor is this a necessary condition for institutional change. Such changes may have to be explained with reference to emerging auras, which do not question the myth as such, but merely its applicability and relevance.

1.4: Organizational Aura and Corporate Image

Institutional environments rest on a shared understanding of social reality. In our context, such an understanding involves certain schemes for the typification of organizations. Typification may take clues from, for example, the structural role of the organization in relation to society at large (e.g., public versus private ownership), or from the contributions of the organization to that same society (e.g., mutual benefit associations, business concerns, service organizations or commonweal organizations). Blau & Scott (1963). Typifications help attribute a fundamental character or nature to the individual organization, including its desirability. Equipped with such schemes environments will perceive, interpret and approach organizations in an institutionalized manner. As mentioned above, our concept of organizational aura refers to such general, fundamental conceptions of the organization.

The literature on corporate image deals with the shaping and communication of such conceptions. Most organizations try to establish a favorable understanding of themselves in the environment. Although partly overlapping, corporate images may be distinguished from organizational auras - a distinction which may be illustrated in the following way.

If an image can be likened to the focal subject in a picture, the aura can be likened to the background of the subject, or to the picture frame. Whatever virtues the subject expresses, when looked upon in isolation, the background and the frame may modify or negate, since a certain "meaning" (or "atmosphere") of the picture as a whole is reflected onto the subject. Goffman (1974). The subject (or image) may be changed in a carefully planned way, which may be of no avail if the frame and background are not changed in the same process.

As an illustration, consider the fate of many public utilities companies. For years they have been running in the red which helped reinforce the image of public organizations as inefficient. When some of these companies began to signal profits, this was not simply understood as a sign of increased efficiency, but also as a shrewd, unfair taxation of the customers.

If organizations carefully plan and manipulate the signals they emit to the surroundings, they might also be expected to care about the frames within which such signals are received and interpreted. They may do so by trying to change the category of organizations with which they are presently being identified, the aim being to capitalize on a more favorable aura of a different kind of organization. However, the technology for doing so remains at present fairly uncertain.

1.5: The Case of Organizing Construction Projects

The empirical evidence on which this paper rests is taken from the building industry.

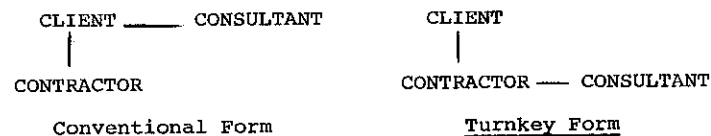
Construction projects are typically carried out in smaller ad hoc organizations. Being an ad hoc organization means that:

- o it is created with a specific project in mind and ceases to exist when this project has been completed;
- o it is assembled from several, independent and permanent firms, each of which works only parttime on any one project.

For those reasons, the selection of participants to, and the structuring of, project organizations in construction is an issue for each and every client (owner) to resolve. At the level of the industry, such decisions are made numerous times over the year.

The client's choice of organizational structure for the construction project is made between a few conventional alternatives. We will simplify our discussion by considering only two such alternatives: the "conventional form" and the "turnkey form". These alternatives are illustrated in figure 1.

Figure 1: Alternative Forms of Organization



The two forms may be defined in the following way:

"The conventional form of project achievement exists where an owner retains a consulting engineer to prepare plans and specifications for a project, to represent the owner's interests in taking bids or in negotiating and selecting contractors to carry out the construction and to inspect and supervise construction of the project, acting as the owner's representative." (FIDIC, 1975:11)

"The Turnkey method of project achievement involves a contract with a single company for the design and construction of a complete project ready for operation with some responsibility for subsequent efficient operation." (FIDIC, 1975:21)

The difference between the two forms is obvious. In the conventional form, the consultants (architects and consulting engineers) act as the client's professional adviser and as his representative vis-a-vis the contractors. In the turnkey form, the consultants act as subcontractors to the turnkey company (the contractor).

Until recently, the conventional form has been chosen almost without exception by any kind of client. This rigid pattern, together with its fairly uncontested rationalization to be described in the following chapter, has made the conventional form take on an institutional character.

However, recently the turnkey form has gained some foothold in certain segments of the market. Also this form has well-developed rationalizations - rationalizations which do not confine its applicability to the present segments of the market. We observe that the turnkey form presently is travelling into segments of the market which has previously been institutionally bound to the conventional form.

The paper analyzes this apparent institutional disarray.

1.5: Overview

In chapter 2 we will give an account of the ways in which the conventional form and the turnkey form are differently being rationalized. We will give a short account of the historical circumstances which allowed the turnkey form to develop as a viable alternative to the institutionally prescribed conventional form. Furthermore, we will sketch the dynamics of the present situation in which the two alternative forms compete for dominance and institutionalization.

In chapter 3 we will analyze the ways in which the consultants and the contractors have attempted to influence the course of events. Generally speaking, consultants are better off under the conventional form, while contractors are better off under the turnkey form. We will see both parties promulgating the myths which rationalize their respectively preferred alternative.

In chapter 4 we will add the concept of organizational aura to an analysis of how the current institutional turmoil might come to rest. We claim that the conventional form is carrying an aura of being archaic, while the turnkey form is carrying an aura of being modern. These auras do not reflect the internal technical and boundary spanning interdependencies, nor the institutional myths about such interdependencies. Rather they reflect much more general social phenomena in the society at large. Our analysis suggests that these auras will determine the direction in which institutional patterns will change in the Danish building industry.

task which must be clearly defined and unambiguously priced prior to its execution can be accommodated within ordinary market-based relationships of economic exchange. In short, the conventional form of organizing construction projects as pictured above ensures that the client gets exactly what he needs, at an optimal (i.e., lowest possible) price.

2.2: The Rationale of the Turnkey Form

The client in a turnkey project is a layman (in the sense described in section 2.1). He is no less dependent upon the competent services of others in fulfilling his building needs. However, in addition he is operating under tight economic conditions. It may be of only theoretical interest for him to know what it would cost to get a building ideally tailored to his needs. A more pertinent question is, "What can I get for the money I have?"

The total task to be accomplished during the project can be subdivided into two subsequent tasks. First the overall scope of the project must be established - this having a functional as well as a financial aspect. We will refer to this as the contracting task, since the task is completed when a legally binding and enforceable contract is signed between the client and the turnkey company. Next, the design and plans must be spelled out and implemented - within the functional and economic parameters agreed to in the prior phase. This task we will refer to as the implementation task.

The signing of the turnkey contract must necessarily be done on the basis of a limited degree of project definition. In functional terms, many (or most) design decisions are not made until later. However, the ambiguity will not exceed the point where the client cannot determine whether the building will have acceptable functional qualities in view of his needs. With many design decisions pending, an exact calculation of construction costs is not possible. Nevertheless, the contract fixes the costs to the client. In contrast, the costs to the turnkey company will only subsequently be determined. In other words, the financial risk at the point of contracting is carried solely by the contractor.

To facilitate contracting under such conditions, contractors have established themselves not only as profit-seeking, but also as risk-taking operators.

What is true for the financial risk is also true for the uncertainty related to completion time. If it is not clear what should be done, and how this should be done, an exact time frame cannot be estimated for the project. However, the contractor guarantees the client a certain duration. The risk involved in doing this is again carried solely by the contractor.

The need for professional competence in performing the design task is no less than under the conventional form. To the extent that consultants represent such competence, their assistance is called for. However, the need for a special professional ethic is vastly reduced. The design task is to a large extent made operational, relying no longer on the vague conception of the client's needs, but on the parameters spelled

out in the turnkey contract. It is still complex, creative and open-ended, but to a much lesser degree than previously. Furthermore, the consultants' services are no longer rendered by the lay client, but by an equally professional contractor who will not hesitate to assess the quality of the work he receives. Thus, the design services involved in a turnkey project may be contracted under close to ordinary market conditions.

The lay client with limited financial resources, risk-taking contractors and professional design sub-contractors collaborate in achieving the goals of the project. The tasks are determined in a stepwise process, where first, during the contracting phase, the financial scope of the project is fixed for the client on the basis of a limited degree of project definition. It is the responsibility of the contractor to cope with all uncertainties related to the implementation of the project from that point onwards - including the design task. The client is insulated from all consequences of such uncertainties through the signed turnkey contract.

2.3: The Historical Background for the Turnkey Form

The turnkey form first gained foothold in standardized housing, commercial and industrial building projects during the heydays of the sixties. These projects were characterized by fairly simple, standardized and clearcut demands on the building design, reducing the design task to one of modifying existing proposals. The turnkey form resembles closely the way in which most other mass produced goods are being exchanged in the market place. However, certain historical events made the turnkey form travel into less "trivial" segments of the construction market.

The economic recession which hit the Western economies in the beginning of the seventies sent demand for construction into a slump. This caused a partial reconstitution of the group of clients and a change in their priorities.

The recession made money more tight amongst clients. This increased their sensitivity towards the financial risks involved in construction projects. At the same time, the numerous examples of budget overruns for which the clients had had no recourse against the contractors, raised the awareness of such financial risks. It only appears natural if the institutional environments (lawmakers and, we may speculate, shareholders and boards of directors) would demand with increasing vigor that clients protect themselves against such risks. While not the only option, the turnkey form of project organization did offer such protection, since the contractor carries all financial risks associated with the project. The client would have to pay the premium of contracting on a limited degree of project definition, which might lead to less than optimally designed buildings, and which, in turn, might somewhat impair the efficiency of the work activities. However, apparently the existing myth about such a causality proved less powerful than the "hard" financial demands on the client - at least to deem from the upswing in the use of the turnkey form.

At the same time, a new important type of clients emerged in the market. Insurance companies, pension funds, and other large financial institutions increased their investments in buildings. Such clients obviously operate in an institutional environment of their own, in which return on investment and financial risks carry more weight than do functional aspects of buildings which they will not even inhabit themselves. The turnkey form aided investment decisions on such criteria.

Among the reasons for the emergence of the above type of clients was the fact that public investment in buildings was severely hit by the fiscal squeeze caused by the general economic recession. Rather than building themselves, public institutions increasingly rented office space. In this way, projects were taken out of an institutional environment which almost by law requires the use of the conventional form of project achievement, and placed in another environment which, with equal strength, demands the use of the turnkey form.

2.4: The Dynamics of the Present Situation

Not long ago the rationale of the conventional form of project achievement was institutionalized to the extent that clients chose this form on a routine basis. It certainly was the form which engineering students and others were taught to be the "natural" form. It had even found its way into the Danish laws, being the prescribed form for all projects in which public funds were involved. Thus, in many quarters it was not, and still is not, at all controversial when FIDIC (Federation Internationale des Ingenieurs Conseils) observes that:

In general, (the conventional form of project achievement) has become the usual method because it has proven to be the most satisfactory for the majority of projects from those of moderate size to large complex projects. It is generally the method encouraged by legal and financing agencies. (FIDIC, 1975:13)

The prevalence of a certain organizational form, like the conventional one, is an indication of the degree to which it has become institutionalized - and also a further reinforcement of this status. The typical, lay and one-time-only client would seem to have no experiential reason to deviate from the norm or to experiment with alternative forms: Copying what other clients choose would in that case be the only reasonable thing to do. Clients may of course solicit advice from more experienced participants. Amongst these, the advice of the consultants carries strong *prima facie* validity, based as it is on their celebrated professional (read: unbiased) interpretation of experience. As will appear from the above quotation, consultants happen to recommend the conventional form. The advice of profit maximizing contractors must naturally appear more dubious in the eyes of a lay client.

To a large extent, the conventional form, once institutionalized, become insulated from disturbing empirical evidence. This is true, partly because such evidence is not easily communicated between isolated, one-time-only clients; and partly because project "disasters" may not be held against the form as such, but rather against particular circumstances such as the consultants, the contractors or the "weather", as the case may be.

Nevertheless, the conventional form as an uncontested institution no longer exist, as we described above. The turnkey form established itself in certain, at the moment admittedly smaller, segments of the market. We described why these segments might have clients existing in a institutional environment of their own which might respond more readily to the rationalization of the turnkey form.

Our story would end here, were we to assume that each project belongs to a particular, well-confined segment of the total market in which one particular organizational form is institutionally prescribed. But the picture has not yet been frozen, for the simple reason that the classification of clients and projects is clearly ambiguous. The demarcation between the two alternative forms continues to drift. The most radical (and controversial) indication of this is the fact that the stronghold of the conventional form, i.e., the public sector, has been seen tacitly to experiment with the turnkey form.

Thus, we find the Danish building industry in a state of institutional disarray. There co-exist two alternative, rationalized frameworks for organizing construction projects - with no clearly defined zones of applicability. For any type of client, there seems to exist a real choice, the outcome of which may be sufficiently legitimated by invoking the appropriate one of the above rationalizations. In making this choice, the clients cannot rely on experiential (or scientific) data on the relative efficiency of the two forms - for the same reasons, as we argued above, that the institutional form becomes insulated from empirical evidence.

A number of radical changes are taking place in the building industry. Not least the introduction of computer-aided design may change the fundamental conditions for construction work. We will return to this issue in chapter 4.

At present, however, we see one factor in particular making the institutional state of affairs unstable - in the sense of breaking down the institutional order of previous times. It is a serious challenge to any institution if people supposedly bound by it perceive alternatives. Contractors are in a position to impress the alternative on clients in extremely clear text. For example, the contractors do not wait passively on financial institutions to develop investment projects which they may help realize. They create such projects, by taking options on attractive building sites, by preparing sketch designs for the prospective buildings, by negotiating lease contracts with prospective occupants, and finally by presenting the package deal - including the turnkey form, of course - as an investment opportunity to one or more financial institutions. When more ordinary clients are involved, contractors seem to respond to

even the rumors of a plan to build by offering the potential client to submit a concrete proposal including a fixed price. To be sure, the professional status of consultants prohibits them from matching such offers.

An abstract, institutionally prescribe form of project organization is to a certain extent competing with a concrete proposal for the contents of the project, given a turnkey form of project organization. Then, it may come as no big surprise that clients increasingly perceive, consider and actually choose the turnkey alternative.

It is obvious that much is at stake for the professional consultants. In the conventional form, the consultants are selected on a non-competitive basis, are not subjected to output control by the client, and have the power over the contractors from being intimately involved in selecting and controlling them. In the turnkey form, the situation is almost reversed. The contractor hires the consultants and has the expertise and also the power to subject them to competition and output control. The present institutional turmoil has not improved the business conditions for the consultants. Not surprisingly, they have in several ways tried to change the course of events by impressing their virtues on actual and potential clients and the public at large.

In the chapter to follow, we will describe the ways in which consultants and contractors attempted to shape their public image. This may easily be interpreted in the perspective of the battle for dominance between the two forms of project organization.

In a subsequent chapter, we will return to the premises on which the clients are making choices between the conventional form and the turnkey form.

3. THE PROMULGATION OF MYTHS

The institutional disarray described in the previous chapter has prompted consultants and contractors to act in various ways. In this chapter we will illustrate the way in which these interested parties have communicated about themselves and about the two alternative organizational forms. We interpret the communication in the light of their interest in defining the "identity" of the projects, thus categorizing them to suit the institutional environment of their desire.

Projects are not organizations in any conventional sense. However, we draw a rough parallel to such organizations. We will conceive of consultants and contractors as being responsible for some part of the total task, much like different departments in an on-going organization. And we see them as competing for legitimate shares of the organizational resources, in terms of not only financial resources but also status, recognition and importance.

The conflicting interests of consultants and contractors have not led to manifest conflicts. The "war" is being fought in a roundabout way, the arguments being addressed only indirectly to the actual structural changes taking place. One good reason for such conflict behavior is the fact that in the present mixed

picture of organizational forms both parties could easily come to rely on the other for involvement in future projects.

3.1: The Consultants' Communication

The ethical code for professional consultants prevents them from individually promoting an image of themselves. Advertisement of their virtues might challenge their professional status by showing a too business-like interest in becoming a participant in the projects. However, as a profession they have collectively been an active party in the current debate over proper organizational forms in the construction industry.

One major effort on the consultants' part has been the attempt to define the zones of applicability for the two forms. The associations of architects and consulting engineers have both published pamphlets in which they claim "objectively" to evaluate the pros et cons of the alternatives. In so doing, they capitalize on their professional trustworthiness. Thus, for example, FIDIC states in the pamphlet quoted above:

"The turnkey method of project achievement is best suited to projects which are :

1. Small or simple projects where scope definition problems are minimal and scope is standardized, ...
2. Projects where the need for a cost ceiling outweighs all other factors and the owner is satisfied with the limited degree of project definition that will exist at the time the cost ceiling is established. ..." (FIDIC, 1975:24 - italics added)

If one compares the wording of the above conclusion with the one used for the conventional form (as quoted in section 2.4) the message is clear: the turnkey form has a very narrow zone of applicability.

In the same pamphlets the consultants also elaborate a new alternative, i.e., "project management". The claim is here that if consultants were given full authority over the execution of the implementation task they would be able to estimate and control (yet still not guarantee, of course) the total costs of the project to the client.

Along a different track, the consultants have tried to reinforce their professional image. The Danish Society of Consulting Engineers visualized the integrity and professional competence of their members by stiffening the admission requirements for new members in 1979. In this way they underscore their claim to a special relationship with the client, from which point the rationale of the conventional form unravels.

3.2: The Contractors' Communication

The contractors are not bound by ethical codes and have openly praised their individual virtues in the various trade papers. The general image which is being communicated is the one of the risk-taker who represents clear-cut economic deals for the client. The following examples of contractors' ads will illustrate the point:

"All inclusive! ... Accepting responsibility for even the smallest of details is what we do best. ..."

"... we have learnt to combine theory and practice toward the common goal: All done - on time, at the price agreed upon, and with sound financing." (translated)

"XX has through the years accumulated diversified experience and know-how which enable us to offer to take you safely through all the phases of a building project. In confidence that we take care of all problems along the way and that we deliver the product agreed upon in the quality, at the time, and at the price agreed upon." (translated)

"The framework holds when (XX) builds." (translated)

The image of the risk-taker is obviously extremely sensitive to questions of the financial soundness of the contractors. It is understandable that they have made efforts to convince prospective clients of not only their willingness, but also their ability to carry the risks associated with major construction projects. This takes place on the background of some glaring business failures among major contractors in a not too distant past which may have earned contractors in general a reputation of being somewhat unreliable partners in economic transactions - a reputation which may further be grounded in their role as the antihero in the professional consultants' story. However, impressive corporate headquarters and increased bureaucratization (with high managerial visibility) have brought the contractors in closer compliance with the institutionalized picture of modern, "sound", and on-going business concerns.

3.3: Clients' Reading of Promulgated Myths

We have seen how the consultants and the contractors have communicated to prospective clients in terms which make sense in relation to the respective organizational form which they promote. The contents of the communication would make it easier for clients to justify the choice of organizational form they actually make. However, it does not aid the clients in making such choices. It is still a matter of evaluating the consultants' claim of the efficiency of the conventional form within a certain market segment against the contractors' concrete proposal for some project on that same market segment. We may speculate that this dilemma will arise in still new segments (e.g., road building) awaiting only the contractors' decision to approach such clients with detailed proposals.

In appreciating institutional change we need to consider the premises on which clients actually choose between the conventional and the turnkey form. We will turn to this issue in the next chapter.

4: THE AURA OF ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS

The institutionalized myths bind organizations to adopt specific forms by rendering these rational (and all other forms non-rational). We have seen how interested parties may help promulgate specific myths which will subsequently bind the organizations in a favorable way to these parties. We have also seen how institutional disarray may exist, in the sense that conflicting institutions may "bind" organizations in ways which cannot all be accommodated merely through de-coupling or similar strategies. In case of institutional disarray, a choice between alternative institutional bonds (and thus between alternative institutional myths) must be made.

It would be tempting to assume that such choices would be made on the basis of the actually experienced efficiency of the alternatives. This would undermine the explanatory power of the institutional framework, rendering myths relevant only after the choice as simple rationalizations. However, at least in the case of construction projects the clients' ability to assess the relative efficiency of the alternatives remains unrealistic.

Further speculations on the premises on which choice between institutions is made may revitalize the perspective of the environment binding the organizations. The myths considered thus far all deal with the efficiency of organizational forms. However, myths may possibly capture other aspects of organizational life than efficiency. In section 1.3 we argued that feelings, attitudes and values may become invested in institutions. Such aspects do not necessarily address the issue of efficiency, but do categorize institutional forms into desired versus undesired alternatives. In this chapter we will apply such ideas to the case of the clients' choice between the conventional and the turnkey form.

We do admit openly that we are now becoming highly speculative. We do not have specific data which might support our contentions. The merits of the following discussion should therefore not be assessed on scientific criteria of truth (we know we would fail), but on our intentions to reveal another type of institutional bonds on organizations.

We speculate that tentatively an aura is developing around the two alternative organizational forms in the building industry which will differentiate them in terms of their desirability in the eyes of clients in general.

An aura cannot be derived from any single (structural or behavioral) feature of the organization, being the sum total of communicated image, sedimented experiences in the past, and general "prejudice". (Christensen & Kreiner, 1984). Nor can its effects be confined to certain aspects of that organization. As said earlier, it functions much like the background and the picture frame which reflect a certain "meaning" onto the focal subject and a certain "atmosphere" to the pictured situation.

What might the respective auras be for the conventional and the turnkey form?

We believe that the conventional form is increasingly being seen as old-fashioned. With few exceptions to be mentioned later, traditions are not in vogue presently, and being the traditional form is not necessarily an advantage in times where

most other things change rapidly. Although no case is made for a close causal link, such an aura may reflect the anxiety experienced by clients during the prolonged design phase during which the they have no indication of the fate of the project. The process may easily appear excessively long-winded, circumstantial and un-analyzable.

In contrast, the turnkey form may increasingly be carrying an aura of being modern, even progressive. This simple, tangible, no-beating-about-the-bush alternative seems to capture the general spirit of the present time.

Clients operating in the context of the conventional form may incur the aura of that form. Clients operating in the context of the turnkey form may capitalize on the aura of that form. It appears, then, that clients may strategically choose the organizational form which will reflect a favorable aura onto themselves. For example, public organizations may actively seek to change their general aura of rigid bureaucracy by placing themselves in the modern, progressive aura of turnkey projects.

If our contention is correct that the organizational forms are developing different auras which do not directly address the issue of efficiency (real or mythical), but rather the issue of modernity, the consultants' communicative efforts as described in chapter 3 will not prove particularly successful in preventing the turnkey form from travelling into yet new market segments. At best they may succeed in establishing an image of the conventional form as an efficient, yet archaic alternative.

Our analysis leads us to predict that institutional changes are taking place - in the sense that the turnkey form will become institutionalized in still new segments of the market. The various formal and legal obstacles to such changes are already being circumvented - as the public organizations' informal experiments with the turnkey form illustrates. Such obstacles will eventually wither.

The ultimate indication of such an institutional change would be if the consultants were to give up their professional status, and thus their claim on a special relationship with the clients. Their status as professionals prevented them from taking an economic interest in, and a financial risk in relation to, the actual construction. An escape from the limiting role as professionals would allow them to compete with contractors on equal terms. Taking their competence and experience in consideration, there would be little reason to doubt that they could survive, even thrive, under such conditions. To let go of their professional status may - under the given circumstances - appear quite tempting to many consultants.

However, nothing in the present situation indicates that consultants should be contemplating such a strategy. Quite contrary, they collectively tightened and added to the bonds that tied them to the "mast" of professionalism, as we described earlier. The institutional change will not proceed uncontested.

Certainly the institutional change we have described will stop short of the situation where there will be no market for the traditional professional consultant (and for the conventional form of project organization). Even their aura of representing an archaic form may, in a small but lucrative

segment of the market, be taken as an indicator of quality. Technological "Veblen-effects" are known from many other archaic crafts (a fact which qualifies our earlier contention that traditions are not in vogue).

If our analysis is correct we will see the conventional form confined to a continuously shrinking, but not completely disappearing, segment of the total market. The consultants would have radically to change the aura of the conventional form if they were to turn the boat around. Perhaps the introduction of new design technology is meant to cause such a change. As a closing remark, let us briefly consider the introduction of CAD in the building sector in this light.

Information technology is of course in general a hot issue, and its application to building design (CAD) is of no less currency. Everyone expects it to revolutionize building design, visions being widely circulated. Actual investment is lacking behind the rhetoric, but is sharply going up. Consulting engineers are playing a very visible role in this. They conduct seminars and study tours on the subject and publish investment guides for their members. Also in terms of actual investment they have a leading role.

A major argument for investments in CAD is the claim that in the future clients will demand the use of such technology in their projects. It is entirely possible that they will, being bound to do so by the institutional myths about CAD which the consulting engineers are presently promulgating.

However, will such myths also bind the clients to choose the conventional form of project organization? It might be argued that the new design technology can also be used by contractors (who are also beginning to acquire the technology themselves), and can equally well be used under a conventional and a turnkey form.

If organizations can capitalize on the general aura of the context in which they operate, and with which they have become identified, they may also hope to be able to capitalize on the aura of a technology which they introduce and try to become identified with. The information technology carries a strong aura of being modern, progressive and future-oriented. By actively seeking to become identified with such a positive-laden technology the consultants may hope to overcome the archaic aura of the conventional form with which they are presently being identified. This may explain why consultants take such an active and visible part in the introduction of a new technology which narrowly defined may have quite unpredictable consequences on their productivity. Whether they will succeed is of course a different matter.

5: CONCLUSIONS

In this paper we have employed the explanatory framework of institutional environments in our attempt to analyze and understand organizational changes in the Danish building industry. This framework was inspired by Meyer & Rowan (1977).

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While the idea that organizational form may be determined by powerful institutional rules which reflect widespread understandings of social reality is intriguing, our application of such an idea to a concrete case also revealed that the causal link between institutional rule and empirical form may indeed be complex. The most simple conception of such a link, namely that pre-existing institutional rules bind organizations to comply with the institutional pattern, misses many important nuances.

In the course of our discussion we have added the following nuances to the explanatory framework:

1. We have described and discussed the existence of internally conflicting myths (institutional rules) which cannot all be accommodated in the same organization. This prompted us to see binding institutional rules as partially chosen by the organization - and myths as consciously invoked to justify the choice being made. With respect to the choice of institutional rules and myths, we highlighted the importance of the auras which different empirical forms may carry - auras which cannot be understood along the lines on which the various forms are being rationalized. The aura of being modern, future-oriented, or the aura of being archaic, do not reflect issues of efficiency (whether real or mythical), but more general social phenomena in the society at large.
2. The view that institutional rules and myths bind organizations in a mono-causal manner was challenged by our observations of interested parties actively promulgating specific rules and myths. If interested parties may strategically shape the general understanding of social reality on which institutions rest, potentially institutions may be changed by such parties.
3. The process of institutional change we described as a gradual process during which the zone of applicability of some dominant myth continues to spread into new segments of the total market (or social reality). Myths apply to certain categories of social reality, and such categories may be restructured and redefined. Thus, empirical patterns may change even if institutional myths persist unchanged.

The above observations add much complexity (and a few paradoxes) to Meyer & Rowan's original framework. If they are taken to be valid, each application of the framework to concrete empirical reality requires detailed study of the co-existence of conflicting myths and their zones of applicability, the origin of such myths and various interested parties' role in promulgating them, and finally the social forces which facilitate institutional change.

However, such requirements do not make the institutional environment less salient as an explanatory variable in relation to empirical forms of organizations. It may indeed prove critical to the understanding of even internal organizational processes. For example, in competing for organizational resources departments may amplify their claims by invoking institutionalized myths which will bind the organization to a certain course.

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FOREWORD

We have completed elsewhere a detailed study of language systems being used in today's factory (1). That study led us to a report of a situation wherein language, in the industrial workplace, appears to be a phenomenon around which revolves a very clear confrontation; a reflection of very deep confrontations undoubtedly linked to the nature and structural base of factory's social systems. (2)

This appeared not only as a speech cleavage (clearly corresponding to the ruler/ruled cleavage) but furthermore, showed clear demarcations between other different types of speech which can be present at the factory: upper hierarchy, middle and lower hierarchy, union, senior and younger employees...

All of this appears in a quasi identical manner for two very separate and very different situations - on almost all points of view - such as a Canadian brewery and an equivalent plant in Algeria (3). Of course, given the fundamental link between all speech activity and symbolic activities (language being in itself symbols and symbolic expression system), one may ask what type of representations, and symbolic images may be outlined behind those different types of speech. It was thus possible, thanks to the indirect terms of factory language, to record no less than four systems of symbolic representations, not only different, but even opposed and conflicting. In other words, there would be four representational worlds in each of the factories under observation (4): those of management, of middle or subordinate management, of unions and finally, of employees.

We must therefore take into account that it is very difficult to maintain the prejudice of a «factory-image» which would revert to something homogeneous or monolithic. When looking at the external image (that of the public), it seems very clear, in our research, that under internal scrutiny that image is far from being the same and far from being a common and harmonious vision.

How can we expect business to be the site of synergy and cooperation we would wish it to be, when not knowing the extent of the crucial role of all this symbolic activity, which brings coexistence, in a form of forced juxtaposition of conviction/vision systems which do not blend into each other? (5) This, in addition, is independant of whether the organisation is or is not under a capitalist industrial regime.

How can we not interrogate, right to its foundations, our tenacious behaviorist and functionalist tradition of work behavior analysis, denying almost all determinism from a representational or symbolic order?

MANAGEMENT IMAGE

What is striking in both breweries is the very backward content of management's self-images, that of their company, and workplace relations... A very primitive Taylorism, a naive paternalism as well as a quasi-deliberate blacking-out of reality dominates management (6) in this regard.

This is the way in which managements of these factories see themselves as instruments at the service of an immanent abstraction; «high-management» or «the board», which has no other finality than productivity at all costs: «We are judged on production rate and statistics» is forcefully invoked. At the same time, they admit that they have never received any philosophy or policy directives, but they «know» that production is first and foremost. «Even the legal texts and regulations are forwarded without comment, «we make all interpretation and adaptations ourselves», confided the factory manager in Algiers.

To all appearances these «field managers» are left to themselves as to which «management system» to use... Here's what they have to say: «We receive directives which we then distribute to the staff responsible for their application»; «foremost achieve plans and previsions, the rest is covered by the collective agreement or «their» delegates»... All of this is directly expressed by speeches and behavior

which make management a type of upper level «production-pusher», wherein all that is not «profitable» has no right of appeal. Each manager interviewed and met, wielded his production results or statistic reports to show the importance of the responsibilities placed upon him. This is the institutionalised worship of numbers and accounting jargon (8), and everything in the factory must comply with them. From there, the plants manager's philosophy of administration asserts itself: numbers, discipline, efficiency, costs... all the rest is but accessorial or time wasting.

In their image-making, the factory is in fact «a machine which must run» and that machine is peopled by interchangeable pieces and organs whose function is to tamely move without friction nor fickleness. Management's role is to see that it happens.

The picture may be completed with management's conception of the foreman and the workman. The first must be a «cop» (9), a «strong overseer» who «respects directives and previsions», who «keeps a hand on his men», «who sets the example of punctuality and discipline»... As to the second, for him to be «good», he must be «docile, disciplined, obedient, silent»... in short, omni-consenting and submissive! But most workmen (if not all) are, according to directors, «children, jerks, uneducated, ignorant, fickle, lazy, unambitious, amorphous», who must be «under constant surveillance» if one wants to «get the maximum» from them (10). Both factories have, over the years, kept a class of temporary workmen (who are tailored, used and fired at will) which make up the selection pool for the «ideal employee» (10). one manager told us of «using» the worker before giving him «permanence», though as he lamented «once they are permanent» they become «impossible».

Foreman-policeman and spineless-worker, that is in essence what management thinks in fact, in today's factory.

This, however, does not take place without a certain blacking-out of reality or without certain flagrant incoherencies. It is quickly apparent that the «upper echelon» does not see - nor does it

want to - things as they are. Thus, be it in Montreal or in Algiers, managements stated that their factory was «a united family» (not withstanding «a few black sheep») and that the foremen are «shaped» and influenced in the sense of cooperation, of healthy «camaraderie» and workmen support... «we seek and encourage foremen who bring about adhesion through comprehension and persuasion, rather than those who demand much without explanation... because «today's worker must understand, not merely obey blindly»... When shown the real image of their intermediary hierarchy (10) leaders answered in a shocked and suprised doubting manner: «but this takes time, we cannot control everything, there are always those who exaggerate»...

However, what goes on in the assembly line or workshop does not worry them very much. Throughout our stay, we never saw any senior leader in the production department! They, nevertheless, know what's going on! How? Through their own fantasies, through the fact that they hear only what they want to hear, and the fact that they lead their collaborators into saying what they feel they should say. In «Managers can drive their subordinates mad» (Harvard Business Review, spring 1979) M. Ketz De Vries shows very well how these mechanisms work in business real-life... This is «serial occultation» indeed, each gives his superior the picture he has painstakingly fabricated to fit him... one administrative manager told in my own presence to his general manager that «there exists a general positive harmony», that «all» try to form a united family, that «his» open door policy gave excellent results on «troop morale»... In fact, the opposite was true (10).

As to observed incoherencies, they arise first of all from the contradictory elements conveyed by management's attitudes. While spouting convictions such as «make up a family», «common interest», «mix with employees», «establish a permanent dialogue» and other incantatory

chants to support good-(false)-conscience, leaders simultaneously use speeches and attitudes derived from pure narrow Taylorism.

There is also a general «open-door policy» which all strongly avow, but no one practices. One needs only listen to worker remarks on that subject. From our observation, it takes many days, and one must cross many obstacles before facing a manager. For the mere journeyman, this is exceptional, if not impossible!

There is also a curious co-existence of Taylorism/old and candid Human Relation philosophy: trying (in words not in fact) (10) to ally a frantic spirit of discipline with a simplistic paternalism which consists of, among other things, addressing employees a letter (form letter) for every five years of service, visits to the shop during holidays (once a year) to shake hands, and having projects such as «team contests», a «house paper», and «information meetings»...

We get the impression that these managers have just discovered prehistoric Human Relations! The heights of the ridiculous was reached by the «technical director» who, while enumerating his good intentions, showed us (as proof of his caring) part of an industrial psychology seminar organized by a consulting office entitled: «How to improve production»!

How does one synthesize such image-building? What type of global or unitary vision do these people, (whose representation system is highly contaminated by occultation and denial of reality), convey? It can only be a fanciful image whose dominant thought remains the XIXth century factory. This spirit is directing business' day to day reality. And this is where we are, notwithstanding the administrative theories of the last half-century (11).

FOREMEN IMAGE

We noted a behavioral system and attitude which shows that the great majority of foremen observed and talked with, are above all,

production whipping-boys, guards-overseers, and persecutors. This is obviously not detached from the manner in which they view the plant, their role, and other protagonists...

Business, for them, is a «production-machine» whose chief attribute is that it must never slow down, or at any costs, stop (the ideal being an uninterrupted acceleration). The worship of numbers and graphs is at its apogee (even the low hierarchy's language is profoundly marked with this worship) (1). «The company wants results», «what counts is the achievement of production plans», «what we have to do is to meet forecasts». This is what the foremen consciously repeat... they spend the day reading and re-reading, filling and re-filling all types of dials, files, formulas, and graphs...(10).

Management is, in their eyes, (according to the way they talk about it) a temple where «learned-men» and «high-technicians» work - whom they sometimes have the honor to meet. Who «know what they're doing» and who «know what must be done». They «study» and «analyse» very complex things, from which come the «production plans».

Their own role, in their eyes, is quite simple and quite clear: insure, at first, the production flow, using the principle that the ends justify the means: what «management wants» are employees who «give the maximum» and «that's why we're here...». All of this leads to a deplorable working atmosphere which is dotted with all types of harassment (10). No official «philosophy» is given them (outside of production plans, nothing else is discussed with management) but «they know» (instinct?) «what they want» and «what must be done»...

The company doesn't want «nice guys» or «softies» as foremen; it wants - and encourages - those who «can control» employees. In the foreman's image, «induced» in some manner by management, the employee who «produces» is the one who must never escape the «chief's» weight, fear, or terror (10).

There is even a «double-bind» phenomenon (using G. Bateson's meaning of the term) (12), in that management allows certain «cooperation-collaboration with employee» speech, shown on certain occasions (union elections, marketing a new beer, staff seminar... (13)); speech which is totally contradicted by concrete actions through which the low hierarchy feels rewarded or recognized. «You can say what you want» said a foreman especially hated by employees (10) «but I know management is on my side». This is proven by signals such as «being listened to» in meetings, «having the ear» of superiors, being «supported» in conflicts... This double-talk is even used by foremen: «Human Relations... sure they're good and we want everything to run smoothly; with «mature» employees there's no problem, but with most, it's very hard».

This brings us to the foreman's idea of employees which could be summarized by «we've got to be on them or they slack off». To foremen (with few exceptions) (10) «employees» are a type of genetically insubordinate mass, averse to work, ignorant and totally unworthy of confidence. It is literally, the «enemy» one must continually fight for «his own good». «How can we obtain the maximum any other way»? «As soon as our backs are turned, they try to get away with something», «an employee is made to produce, not to side-up»... readily said the foremen, while explaining «you don't know them», «they» have «no ambition», no «taste for a challenge»...

What's more, foremen said, is that «they» see any form of friendship or solicitation as a sign of «weakness»! we must especially «keep our distance», not «familiarize with them», and not «hang around with them»... or «they» jump on your head and «you lose control»!

This is a denigration vocabulary, accompanied by actions clearly showing that the employee is regarded as an immature, irresponsible and perverse being.

All this takes place as if the lower hierarchy, which spends most of its time «watching» and harassing (of which employees unanimously say: «They're here to create tension»), needed such a conception of the worker, or its role would not exist. The job is to make a productive and disciplined army out of this rowdy crowd: that is the «challenge».

Nothing, in either brewery, seems to lead towards eliminating or tempering this vision, except of course, words, slogans, and tenets of circumstance.

UNION IMAGE

Let us state that we have had no official or sustained contact with authorized union representatives. Our statements are based on our own experience as seasonal-employee, on a few meetings with the personnel delegate, and especially on hear-say and viewpoints from employees.

We are in the presence of two specific cases: a «shop» union in Montreal and a government-allied union in Algeria. This is to be taken into consideration.

In Montreal, the production department's representative was a close relative of a high management official. His discourse, as well as that of the employees, in his regard, shows a union which, outside of the collective agreement, shares a good part of the boss's image: «Good company», «advantageous benefits» «employees not knowing their best interests», «not always disciplined»... Briefly, the image is that of the established well-being of maximisation (the bigger the pie, the more there is for everyone) and of all actions of the hierarchy. The plant remains a production machine which «legitimately» sets up discipline, submission, profitability...

The delegate was «shocked» that «they» refuse to shake managers hands (who greet assembly line workmen on holiday eves), or

that «they» refuse management gifts (a case of beer at year's end holidays). This was «proof of immaturity» and «capricious mentality»... While management is made up of «good people», who show «good will» and who «work hard»... He finds no anomaly in the fact that foremen «time» employees or count the number of times they use the restroom (10).

In the Algerian brewery, it is a totally different situation. There is an amalgam of a union/one-party/power type. At the onset, all access to union positions (through election) equals moving to the side of power (and therefore to the employer, the State). What is dominant here, is the strict-exact reproduction of management's speeches and attitudes (in and out of the plant), often to increase zeal, (sometimes in opposing «state directives» to «practices» of plant managers - which usually is a settling of accounts and clan struggles).

The union sees its role as unconditional support, in the work-place, of the power's decisions and positions. This is tangibly translated by an unceasing «work morale» through which is shown a business image as «production machine», along with a strong dose of demagogy (following the «plant is ours», «win the production battle», «the first beneficiary is the worker» style...). In reality, the worker is denigrated just as much as by managers, and is perceived as a being whose education must continually be insured under the pretext of «revolutionary vigilance» or «socialist emulation»...

As to management, also made up of «workers», it «cannot be a class-enemy», it can but apply, (more or less) the «orientations of revolutionary power»...

We see here a more monolithic (more demagogic) vision of the factory; any deviation (and recrimination) is nothing but «sabotage» or «counter-revolution». The worker is the constant object of sermons and ideological bludgeoning to warn him against all «enemies of the revolution» and aslo against himself... We see here something derived from double-occultation: self conviction through infinitely repeated

inanities, and the belief that workers will adhere and be content to feed their «enthusiasm» with repeated slogans.

The least we can say is that we see here a particularly mystifying representation which is the result of deliberate acts of occultation of reality; an occultation in which the «union» actively participates (14).

WORKERS IMAGE

It is really something to hear, time and again, that one is «nothing», «cattle», «vegetable», «a machine»... Forcibly, through this self-vision of employees, there is an «equivalent» or «complementary» vision of their surroundings. In the employee's mind (10), management is but a far-away entity peopled by omnipotent, arrogant unknowns who are interested in but one thing: production and profit rates. «They only show up when there's trouble», «we never see them», «there's a God in heaven, and they are the gods on earth»...

One idea which was clearly expressed is that, for the worker, business is a place of personal degradation to which management actively contributes, notably through the actions of the middle and lower hierarchy: «even animals don't treat other animals in that manner»... workers were used to say.

Foremen occupy, obviously, the primary position in the degrading process. They are unanimously identified as «guard-dogs» (in Montreal, the word «dog» designates almost every foreman), incompetents («if at least they knew the job, they don't even know it and they harass you»), cruel, aggressive men (just «looking for reasons to harp»); and obsessively and perversively preoccupied with numbers.

Anything used to «disgust workers» is good. Workers have «no respite» and are but the permanent «beasts of burden» of the lower hierarchy. This is how the ordinary worker sees his relationship to the hierarchy and how he sees himself as well as the plant... A haughty and

pitiless world, for whom everything is justified by goods and money. We must however say that in the workers case, contrary to managers and their agents, image and reality are much closer to each other. (10).

The union (in Montreal as well as in Algeria) remains a sort of «parallel hierarchy» just as inaccessible and as uncaring about the workers lot. «They're all the same», «they all agree against us», we can't even talk to them»... Let us note, however, that in Montreal it is a «caste» union; that of «permanent» employees, as opposed to the horde of «temporary» employees who «pay» but «do not have the right to attend meetings»...

In Algeria, the delegates have but one worry: themselves. The union is a stepping stone to higher office, to get closer to power and solicit positions; it is seen as total symbiosis with managers. Even if amongst the youngest (in majority, temporary workers waiting for the Eldorado of permanence) and amongst the oldest (close to retirement) we can find a «softening» of the global image (which we have explained elsewhere (10)), the global representation of business is that of a world of adversity, hostility, narcissistic downfall of the ego, moral degradation, vulgar materialist and greedy behaviors as well as great hypocrisy which fools no one... All of this is seen as basically a waste coalition whose existence implies being against the worker: managers, foremen, delegates... «it's all the same»...

CONCLUSION

Although a great part of industry is tending more and more towards robotics and automation, a great proportion of employees will still be subjected to «traditional» factory conditions. As long as many developing countries do not accede to technological refinements and as long as many sectors are still «profitable» without robotisation, we believe that a large majority of humanity engaged in industrial work will continue to live in this unchanging and universal type of situation. We stress the fact that both breweries are almost totally «automated», in the sense that workmen actually only have a

«surveillance» function: oversee the smooth operation of bottles automatic flow from washing machine to the putting into cases...

What can be said about business' «internal image» if not that it is the XIXth century factory as far as the managers are concerned? It is, alas, through its «acting out» a typically very narrow taylorist plant (at best)!

There are, in fact, in our breweries, four representation systems, four visions, four «worlds» which coexist in a more or less conflicting manner, but where there seems to be an «objective alliance» of three of these «against» the fourth; management, lower hierarchy and «unions» opposed to workers.

The latter seem to have a vision which is closest to what actually takes place (10) (their situation does not imply any necessity of occultation or of false conscience?). They see themselves as «objects» of an enormous manipulation whose principal goal is to have them share - as consenting victims - a vision of themselves and of things almost in total contradiction to what they experience (notably - but not exclusively - in an outrageously worker propagandist system as in Algeria).

We therefore see a conflicting internal image based on a system of adversities in relation to the rank employee: management is the indirect and far-away adversary «who pulls all the strings», lower hierarchy is the direct and non-ambiguous adversary, union is the «circumstantial» adversary which «joins the strongest»...

How then can we imagine any «unitary image» which would make business a social and harmonious entity? Where we could find a «convergence of organisational and individual objectives?» Is the «sharing» of a «common» image really possible? What meaning should we give to the numerous brewery employees remarks (especially Montreal) which categorically oppose an official external image to the internal

one: «The prestige of this beer exists only outside, not inside», «everything must be said, people should know what really goes on here», «people don't know, from outside everything looks fine»...?

Can a generalized and institutionalized «collusion»(16) and «mutual self-fooling» system be used as a mould for this unifying vision?

Even the product (beer) cannot bring about a convergence of ideas: to managements' «first quality» and «prestige brand» is radically opposed factory employees' «that garbage», «that f..... beer», «that slop»...

How can we correctly describe and understand these phenomena? The image and representation system is above all a matter of «producing symbols»; is this a «behaviorist» matter? Behaviorist vision and «methodology» continue to imperialate our own «image» of business and already imperialate a good deal of our fragile «organisational-culture» young paradigm through the forwarding of narrow themes such as «improving corporate values», «management of symbols», or «culture building»...

We join A. Chanlat (18) and J. Girin (19), to name but those, in calling for a new paradigm to study management and business. A paradigm in which a great weight would be given to such proceedings as «subjective» clinical approach and phenomenology.

NOTES

- 1) Aktouf, O. «Paroles et rapports de travail I. Les systèmes de langage à l'usine» et «Parole et rapports de travail III, essais théoriques à propos des systèmes de langages à l'usine», to be published in Critique, 1985. Articles following research as participant observer on work relations and representation systems within two breweries in Canada and Algeria (1982-1983).
- 2) «Parole et rapports de travail III...», op. cit.
- 3) Both breweries were submitted to an «ethnological» field observation of about six months. Results and interpretations are contained in our thesis (H.E.C. Montreal, 1983).
- 4) We were «participant observer» as a temporary worker in the bottling department. We were able to share the global situation of the employee at work.
- 5) Where the concept of «culture» and «symbols-systems» in a utilitarian and obstinate context do not change the basis of classic managerial thought.
- 6) C.f. for details, Aktouf, O. «Rapport de séjours d'observations participantes» or our thesis, (H.E.C. Montreal, 1983) or book to be published, Le travail contre l'homme SNED/ED of organisation 1985.
- 7) C.f. Aktouf, O. «Parole et rapports de travail I», op. cit. or «une autre conceptualisation des comportements au travail» Interventions Economiques, no. 12-13 Spring 84, p. 261-280.
- 8) C.F. Aktouf, O. «Parole et rapports de travail I», op. cit.
- 9) Authentic term used by a manager.
- 10) For details and accuracy: our thesis op. cit.: «Rapports de séjour» op, cit. or book to be published op. cit.
- 11) R. Linhart (L'établi). S. Terkel (Working), S. Weil (La condition ouvrière) have confirmed that «XIXth century ideas» are prevalent in the factory.
- 12) La nouvelle communication, Seuil (points) 1981. chap. 2 notably where the double bind notion is exposed as a schismogenic process.
- 13) Fraternizing, unifying and human-relation speech given to the author by different managements...
- 14) C.f. Aktouf, O. «Parole et rapports de travail I», op. cit. and «Parole et rapports de travail II. Rôles et fonctions des actes de langage à l'usine» to be published 1985.

- 15) C.f. Aktouf, O. «Rapports de séjours» op. cit. and «Paroles et rapports de travail III», op. cit. as well as «Paroles et rapports de travail IV. Essai théorique à propos de la place et la fonction de la parole en milieu de travail», to be published 1985.
- 16) The term «collusion» is borrowed from R.Laing (Self and others, 1969) where he elaborates on the construction, maintenance and relationship of «false-selves».
- 17) Expression borrowed from A. Chanlat (Gestion et culture d'entreprise), Québec Amérique 1984, p. 193.
- 18) Chanlat, A. used a «multicomplementary» paradigm op. cit. chap. 10.
- 19) Girin, J., «Quel paradigme pour la recherche en gestion?» Economies et Sociétés, no. 2, 1981, pp. 1872-1889.

Anthropologists look at a culture's symbols for unique characteristics or important defining features of that culture. The items they consider include myth, ritual, and material artifacts. Meaning is communicated through these physical items, acts, and stories. Celebrations are symbolic expressions of features of a culture. This is likely to be as true for business organizations as it is for nations or other cultural groups.

This article focusses attention on anniversary celebrations. The various symbols such as the telling of company stories, ritual or traditional acts, and the production of physical mementos of the event all come together in such celebrations.

These parallel familiar cultural anniversary celebrations which present messages to members of the broader culture. The fourth of July, with flags, parades and fireworks intends to remind us of the values of the U.S., celebrating the signing of our Declaration of Independence—a specific event among many that country could commemorate. December 25 is celebrated as the birthday of a child who is the symbol of a dominant religion in western culture. Many different days could have been selected however both of these complex celebrations also happen to parallel midwinter and midsummer celebrations that go back before modern culture, and hence have deep symbolic roots. It is possible, as seen in examples that follow, that some anniversaries are celebrated at a time when the leadership feels a celebration is needed.

Examples from Modern Corporations

To seek readily identifiable parallel celebrations within our specific work organizations, forty major corporations were surveyed which recently had an anniversary of their founding. The uniqueness of devices selected by

- 15) C.f. Aktouf, O. «Rapports de séjours» op. cit. and «Paroles et rapports de travail III», op. cit. as well as «Paroles et rapports de travail IV. Essai théorique à propos de la place et la fonction de la parole en milieu de travail», to be published 1985.
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these companies presents their distinctive self image. To some extent common features can be seen. Communication to groups outside the company is important in many of these celebrations and will be noted. In general the emphasis will be on what the company said to and about itself.

In the summer of 1978 Eastern Airlines had a 1928 Pitcairn Mailwing removed from a museum in Virginia and taken to New Brunswick, N.J. From there it flew a duplicate of the original Eastern flight, carrying mail to Miami, with celebrations at many stops along the way. The Company had many celebration parties, and a series of articles in the company newspaper gave the perspectives of the company's history as seen by pilots, management, stewardesses, and mechanics. At the end of the year each employee was given a medallion with the following note (portions extracted):

"Whether you are a veteran Eastern employee (or) a relative newcomer...I would like to join with you in celebrating Eastern's 50th Anniversary Year...

"I consider it a privilege, as I am sure you do, to be part of the continuing saga of this great airline.

"The real history of the company has been written by the people of Eastern...

"However the story of Eastern is also inextricably interwoven with the aircraft that have carried the colors. So as a physical symbol of our roots, we have had this medallion cast. It contains metal from all but two of the planes Eastern has flown, from the Pitcairn Mailwing at the beginning to the Whisperliners of today. And, if you will allow a personal note, from the Apollo 8 spacecraft as well.

"I hope you will receive this commemorative medallion with the full sense of pride I feel in presenting it.

(signed) Frank Borman

During the same year Kraft celebrated its 75th anniversary. A medallion the size of a silver dollar was given to each employee and was inscribed

"Family Reunion, Glenview, Ill., July 26, 1978" around the Kraft logo on one side with the Kraft crest on the other. This was accompanied by a jade disc of similar size and a note saying:

"This year 1978 marks a milestone in Kraft's history---our 7th year in business.

"The medallion commemorating this historic event will be a constant reminder to you of this significant occasion. "The jade piece, a stone which has become most synonymous with Kraft has, since ancient times, been viewed as a mark of honor and good fortune. As you carry this jade piece, may good fortune equal your dreams, and health and happiness be with you always".

Jade was a hobby of J.L. Kraft. The Kraft Merit Award for employees consists of a jade ring. The program for the Family Reunion meeting of the Kraft Sales Force had a photo of J.L. Kraft on the cover with the following caption:

"Our founder, the man who started it all 75 years ago, our President for 40 years, our inspiration for many more. J.L. Kraft, a man of great courage, wisdom, and honesty...a man of strong faith and love for his God...and his fellow man." (nothing omitted)

Remarkably Kraft had celebrated the 50th Anniversary of National Dairy Products Corp. (the former name of the company) in 1973 and barely mentioned the origin of its subsidiary, Kraft, which was only one of many firms purchased by National Dairy. Some others date back to 1804. Yet according to current company history, in 1903 J.L. Kraft, with \$65, rented a horse named Paddy and a wagon and bought cheese wholesale to sell to Chicago retail grocers.

Gambles, a leading midwestern retailer, celebrated its 100th anniversary when it was actually 35, "because neither that present management nor the employees would be around to celebrate the actual 100th anniversary in the

year 2025." 1925 was not the origin of the company but was the date of the opening of the first retail store. Other types of stores preceded this, and incorporation took place three years later.

The Transamerica Pyramid is a unique, spire-shaped building on the San Francisco skyline. In a small park adjacent to that building the company sponsored a series of free concerts in the summer of 1978 as part of its 50th anniversary celebration. Transamerica also gave all employees lapel pins in the shape of a special logo used by the company during its anniversary year. Employees and selected customers received a 100 page book which was entitled The Transamerica Story: 50 Years of Service and Looking Forward. The intended message to employees, stated by the company in response to the survey on which this paper is based, was to increase "...recognition of the breadth of Transamerica; shift loyalty from subsidiary only to Transamerica plus subsidiary". A specific message or intent to influence and communicate can be seen.

Features to Note

Transamerica celebrates its incorporation, Eastern celebrates its first flight, Kraft celebrates the origin of the company name, the United States celebrates the termination of its bond with England, Christianity celebrates the birth of its founder, and Gambles celebrates because the founder and current employees won't be around later. Thus one piece of information which is communicated by these celebrations is just what is selected as important or noteworthy. In each case we can look more closely at the selected event to grasp central values or relationships of the organization. We can also see that the choice to celebrate, and the timing of the event, are influenced by other factors than historical data. These choices themselves communicate values to us.

The elements of the celebration itself give further information. In no company included in this study were employees given time off except to attend a company function, such as a picnic, a meeting, or a showing of a movie of the company history. Gambles had a parade and banquet at the town where the first store opened, and a ribbon cutting ceremony at the corporate headquarters, attended by employees, to open the corporate museum. Ford had a group of old car buffs assemble one of the original 1903 Fords, which then led a parade of 75 Fords (the 75th anniversary in 1978). The 1903 model was driven by a grandson of the founder. On the same day the 40th Ford-built satellite was launched from Cape Canaveral. Standard Oil of California was 100 in 1979. Part of its celebration was a reception for employees at a special museum exhibit sponsored by the company. The exhibit then toured the nation. H.F. Ahmanson, a major financial institution, acknowledged its 50th anniversary with a single line in the very formal annual report. The company message of who we are, who we want to tell, and how much to tell is clearly different if the company assembles a car to be driven by the founder's grandson, opens a major museum exhibit, or puts a single note in the annual report.

Another special symbolic element that may be included is the physical memento provided. Kraft and Eastern medallions have already been cited. General Electric (100 in 1978) had a Centennial Sculpture created by Steuben Glass "...an interpretation in crystal that depicts General Electric as a worldwide, multifaceted enterprise. One hundred trophy-size replicas of the sculpture were prepared and apportioned to GE components as awards to be presented to deserving employees. Nominations for these awards were made by employees in each component..." (emphasis added).

Ford had a scale model of the 1903 Model A created in sterling silver and gold, with working brakes and steering and many other moveable parts. Diamonds were set in the headlamps (as this was the diamond jubilee). 1708 of these units were created, equalling the number of cars built in that model year. Each was available for sale at \$5,000.

Household Finance Corp. (100 in 1978) was one of the few financial institutions with a major celebration. They gave a mantel clock engraved with the 100th anniversary logo to all employees "...with five years service with the company". Again, the item included, and what is done with it, tell us something about what is important to the firm. It can be assumed that similar messages are intended for the employees.

As a step toward looking at the intentional message of such celebrations we should also note who were the participants or beneficiaries of the events. Some firms used the event as obvious promotion to customers. This was certainly true of Ford, and of a large part of Kraft and Gambles celebrations. Kerr-McGee (50th in 1979) created a special logo that was obviously for external consumption as it appeared primarily on corporate stationery and as a decal to be affixed to workers' hard hats.

Other firms included special audiences, such as local residents (Transamerica's free concerts) or governmental leaders. Ford's celebrations included the Mayors of Dearborn and Detroit, and the governor of Michigan. Obviously the Federal government was involved to schedule a satellite launch on the anniversary day. Eastern's flight to Miami was met by the Mayor. Woolworth (100 in 1979) is proud of the fact that President Woodrow Wilson pressed a button in the White House to light the lights in the new Woolworth Building in New York in 1913. W.R. Grace (125 in 1979) and Kerr-McGee (50 in

1979) both include the political success of their founders as important parts of corporate history. Grace was mayor of New York and Kerr a US senator.

Other firms gave awards to special groups. GE provided a plethora of items to dealers to be given to special customers - items from paperweights and playing cards to wall plaques. The catalog of these items states:

"Centennial Program Activity over the past few weeks has produced a demand for a selection of distinctive GE100 commemorative devices that can be used to recognize employee contributions and achievements internally, and serve as valued mementos for VIP customers, civic and governmental leaders and other external influentials. In response to this demand, here is a selection of awards we hope will meet your employee motivation and VIP customer needs..."

The use of celebrations in order to communicate the company connections to various elements of the environment should be noted. By including such audiences the celebration communicates structural relationships to employees as well as to the external groups. Inclusion of a mayor or governor seems to show the importance or influence of the firm. Inclusion of the local neighborhood seems to convey a concern for the local social environment, and a connection to the local culture.

We may also look at how employees are included as another form of communication of the company's values and organization. Note that GE gave the employees the job of nominating the award winners rather than selection by management. Ford created a 60 person celebration task force four years in advance of the celebration. The task force represented all components of the company. This selection process was used "so no one would feel left out", according to company literature. Other organizations tended to assign the responsibility to one office. In most cases the office responsible was not determined by the survey conducted for this paper, however of 31 responding companies no response came from the personnel department. Corporate Relations

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or Corporate Communications offices were the most common respondents when one could be identified.

Message as Intended and as Received

The ultimate usefulness of this data to the study of organizational behavior depends on the ability to interpret, or to accurately represent the intended meaning as well as the actual meaning of the celebration and other organizational symbols. As with other communication there can be two interpretations of the message - first the intended meaning of the sender and second the message as received. In the survey on which this article is based respondents were asked to define the most important message which the company hoped the celebration would communicate to employees. Few firms answered this question, although they would answer all other questions. It is possible that the respondent may not know the answer. That is, the companies may not have the necessary translation themselves of the symbol into discursive language. It is also possible that the companies didn't intend this to be for communication; they were not aware the celebration would have an impact or they were unconcerned as to what impact it would have. Finally, firms may have been reluctant to admit the celebration had an intent to influence. For some firms that did answer this question responses are listed below. Asterisked items were not a survey response. They were taken from corporate literature sent with the response.

- Household Finance - "to develop pride for the company"
- Financial Federation - "none"
- Western Financial - "nothing"
- Transamerica - "Recognition of breadth of Transamerica.
Shift in loyalty from subsidiary to
Transamerican plus subsidiary"

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McDonald's - "Renew and reenforce corporate involvement and enthusiasm"
Kraft - "To maintain and improve morale (especially important due to recent reorganizations and relocation of Chicago employees)"
*Woolworth - "...give heart to those who strive for fulfillment by following the old fashioned virtues of hard work, perserverance and integrity as did Frank Woolworth so many years ago."
*General Electric - "...to remind General Electric people of the proud heritage that underlies their work today"
Ford - "Strengthen pride, loyalty, and job satisfaction"
Words used in the responses above include loyalty, involvement, enthusiasm, morale, give heart, proud heritage, and pride. These imply a desired response, or a desired change in the receiver.
The message as received was not measured in this survey as employees were not interviewed. For one other company an effort was made to study the message as received by the employees and its impact on them. This second study was designed but was never conducted. Still, there is some insight to be gained from the reason for rejection. A heavy equipment dealer planned an anniversary Christmas Party for all employees. A lavish party and gifts which reflected characteristics of the company and of specific recipients was planned. This was the first such party for the company. The researcher participated in the celebration design and asked to survey employees before and after the event. After some consideration the owner refused, fearing the employees would note that he intended to communicate something and it would lose its impact. Managers should be appropriately aware that effectiveness of symbols can be reduced if they are forced, artificial or seen purely as a manipulation.

Interpretation of Meaning

Interpretation of intended meaning and comprehension of the message as received by its audiences are questions which anthropologists and psychologists have tried to answer. Levi-Strauss (1955) used structural analysis of the symbol to find understanding in its elements and their relationships. Jung (1958) discussed the function of ritual as producing the religious experience which was then explained by myth. He felt both acts and words are symbols when they contain connotations beyond conventional or obvious meaning. "As the mind explores the symbol it is led to ideas that lie beyond the grasp of reason" (1968, p.4). The difficulty companies had in describing their intended communication may reflect this answer beyond the grasp of reason. For Jung, interpretation of a symbol can not be imposed on a person or system by a set of rules or definitions but must be sought in collaboration with the user. This study, as it did not reach that collaboration, is insufficient for detailed interpretation.

Langer (1953) writes of symbolism as a broad domain with at least two categories or types. Discursive symbolism uses linear description to point out a subject or to talk about attributes of the subject. Presentational symbolism on the other hand is more holistic, presenting an experience in total. It is expressive as it draws from the participant more than is present in the words or actions or material items per se. Discursive symbolism may be evidenced in music as seen on a page while presentational symbolism is the music as experienced. Celebrations are studied here as presentational symbols. Efforts to interpret or translate these are efforts to use appropriate discursive language to capture the meaning. Again, this study tells of the presentational symbol, but cannot apply discursive language

accurately. The only possible interpretation has come through comparisons of examples.

Ortner (1973) proposed two approaches to interpretation. First, one can analyze the organization, its climate and values and then look for figures or acts that seem to formulate or summarize these values. Second one can observe an object that seems to be the center of cultural interest and analyze it for its meaning to the observer or the user. The first approach required detailed and lengthy involvement at the organization and produces a single case study. The second approach is the basis for this study, where a type of object is considered, but in a variety of settings, to look for similarities among organizations and unique features characteristic of the specific company.

Sperber (1975) differentiates between tacit knowledge which is not made explicit and implicit knowledge which can be made explicit. Tacit knowledge cannot be transmitted by rote, it must be internally reconstructed by the person. Thus we can agree that we know intuitively the impact of a ceremony but can't define exactly how we know, and can't fully describe what we know. Note again the lack of responses when companies were asked what their celebrations meant. Symbolism is thus a separate mechanism, not wholly translatable to discursive language. Sperber seeks symbols while in the field by noting the lack of rationality. The fact they are present without rationality implies they communicate by other means. For him the fundamental question is how do symbols mean, not what do they mean, as "what" requires a translation which must be incomplete. Turner (1975) counsels the observer to understand ritual by coactivity with the enactors, sharing daily life and subsequently sharing the celebration so one knows people as individuals as well as role players. Interpretation and translation must be born from this

base. While he sees such interpretation as possible, thus not differentiating languages as completely as Sperber, his basic method implies the importance of tacit knowledge and the use of intuition for comprehension of the symbol.

In sum, characteristics of celebrations may be defined in a study of this type. Common features may be identified and elements that define some of the uniqueness of each separate organization may be identified. Actual interpretation of the meaning of each specific celebration to its participants relies on more intensive company-specific research designs.

Consistency of Meaning

Finally the consistency of the non-verbal elements with the verbal ones should be noted, and the consistency with the corporate image. Note that Eastern had employees write their versions of the company history; that Borman's message said "the real history of the company has been written by the people of Eastern", and that the medallion was composed of metal from all the planes. A common "melting pot" image is consistently followed. HFC limited its mantel clock to employees with five years of service. It held dinner dances for employee and spouse. The mantel clock is the only type of time piece that goes home - to the employee's other family. The history makes repeated reference to the HFC Family. Pictures of history in the book provided were framed by doors, and the statement included that "...You'll notice, too, that the doors you travel through belong to a home. That's as it should be because Household Finance Corporation is a large and proud family of people dedicated to progress". (emphasis added) As with discursive language, the consistency of presentational symbols and of their explanation should increase the likelihood of the desired message being communicated. Lack of care in celebration design could lead to undesirable inconsistencies.

Conclusion

Company anniversary celebrations are one complex example of a form of communication used by companies to describe themselves and to influence members and outsiders. Other ceremonies or acts serve as well. Observers could consider annual awards banquets, office Christmas parties or picnics, the ceremonies that a manager or personnel office conducts at times of hiring, promotion, or separation, or even coffee breaks. A manager once mentioned to the researcher that the ritual of coffee breaks was becoming confused in her company as people were unsure as to whether women should sit with women, including secretaries, or all managers should sit together.

People in companies, like people in broader cultures, vary as to what they value or what they wish to say about themselves. Some companies appear to choose to use ceremony or celebration on a very limited scale, relying on discursive language alone. Some may appear to make gross manipulative use of symbols in a way that is repulsive to an outside observer. The choices seen in the examples used here point to important differences in organizations - in their concept of what is important to their identity. The art of the celebration can communicate clear images, can provide majesty and excitement, and can create a thread tying all employees together over the full life of the organization. Artless design can also turn routine into tasteless spectacle, repulsive to intended audiences or unintended recipients. The power of this communication, especially when combined with appropriate discursive messages, is evident.

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Organizational Cartoons: Popular Organization Theories

"A picture is worth a thousand words" (Anon)

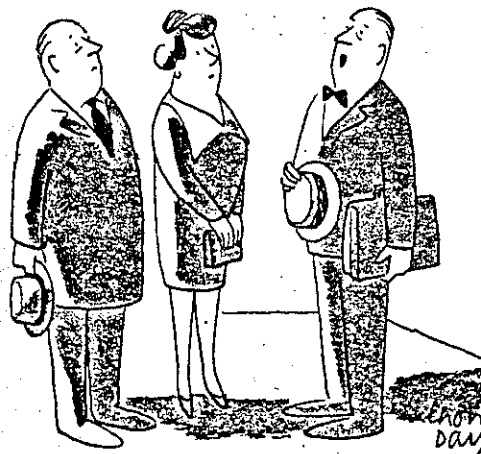
One of the most powerful medium for communicating and sharing inaffable organizational realities is illustrations. We use illustrations like figures, charts, graphs, tables, drawings and pictures to communicate meanings in summary form. Meanings are more sharply conveyed in cartoons or comic illustrations. These cartoons have the capacity of flashing images of reality that do not easily lend themselves to verbal descriptions. Cartoons question basic assumptions/values and expose hidden aspects of the subject matter. They provide a radical reframing of issues creating a different comprehension of the subject. They are illuminating and funny, hence messages contained in them are easily retained by viewers (Berger, 1972; Dorfman and Mattelart, 1975).

The general public does not systematically study or read about organizational life, they merely suffer it. Their knowledge of organizations is shaped by first hand experiences and by the images of organizations portrayed in popular media. Organizational cartoons that appear in newspapers and magazines are viewed by wide audiences. They help in shaping, distorting, enhancing and changing peoples understanding of organizations. This understanding represents people's "theories" about

organizations. Cartoons thus shape peoples perceptions about organizations. They are one vehicle by which understanding of organizations enters popular culture. Cartoons represent a critical view of organizations and are worthy of research attention by organizational scholars.

Educators have paid considerable attention to cartoons as a medium of instruction. Their use in classroom instruction, as a motivational device, in making reading material more interesting, in sprucing up oral presentations, have been experimented with, criticised and lauded. The Education Index contains more than 500 entries in the categories "comics" and "caricatures and cartoons". The value of cartoons as a research and educational tool in organizational studies has not been explored (Kunzle, 1973; Weick, 1979).

We believe that cartoons are a useful vehicle for understanding organizations because they present a view that is different from that held by managers and organization theorists. One way of exploring these differences systematically is by juxtaposing traditional organizational theories with cartoons addressing the same issue. This presentation consists of 18 plates that juxtapose theoretical insights with cartoons. If it tempers your beliefs in some of the serious theories about organizations, you may use your insights to modify organization theories. If it leaves you uninspired we encourage you to read more cartoons.



"Yes, the walls are paper-thin. But you'll find your neighbor possesses a rapierlike wit, full of amusing double-entendres and profusely studded with literary allusions."

MARKETING IS A SOCIAL PROCESS BY WHICH INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS OBTAIN WHAT THEY NEED AND WANT THROUGH CREATING AND EXCHANGING PRODUCTS AND VALUE WITH OTHERS. MARKETING MANAGEMENT IS THE ANALYSIS, PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION OF PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO CREATE AND MAINTAIN BENEFICIAL EXCHANGES WITH TARGET MARKETS FOR THE PURPOSE OF ACHIEVING ORGANIZATIONAL OBJECTIVES (KOTLER, 1984).





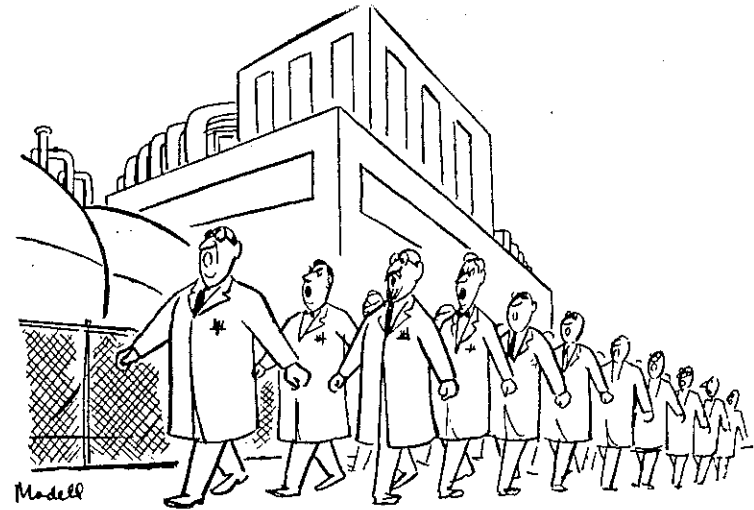
"Do I really want all this power? I think I do."



"Then it's moved and seconded that the compulsory retirement age be advanced to ninety-five".

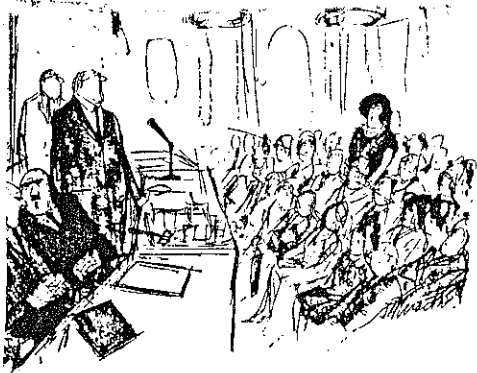
ORGANIZATIONAL POWER: POWER IS THE CAPACITY OF INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS

TO EFFECT ORGANIZATIONAL OUTCOMES. POWER IS SHARED BY INTERNAL INFLUENCERS LIKE THE CEO, LINE MANAGERS, ANALYSTS AND STAFF EMPLOYEES, AND BY EXTERNAL INFLUENCERS LIKE CUSTOMERS, STOCKHOLDERS, SUPPLIERS, AND BUSINESS ASSOCIATES, UNIONS, ETC. IT IS A STRUCTURAL PHENOMENON CREATED BY DIVISION OF LABOR, AND DEPARTMENTATION. THE GENERAL BASES OF POWER INCLUDE RESOURCES, SKILLS, KNOWLEDGE, LEGAL PREROGATIVES, AND ACCESS TO OTHERS WHO HAVE POWER (MINTZBERG, 1983; PFEFFER, 1981).



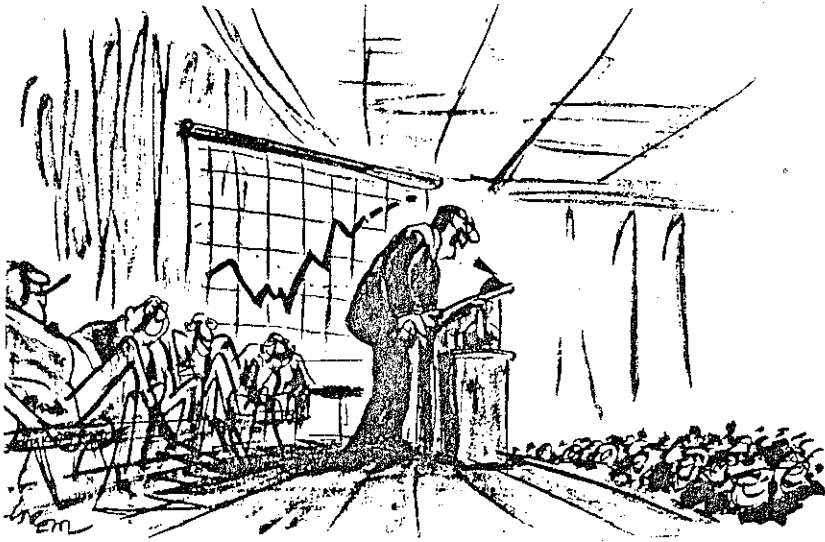
"From the cyclotron of Berkeley to the labs of M.I.T., We're the lads that you can trust to keep our country strong and free."

ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE: CONSISTS OF NETWORK OF MEANINGS CONTAINED IN SHARED IDEOLOGIES, NORMS, AND VALUES. IT ACTS AS A CEMENTING FORCE BINDING ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBER IN A COHESIVE UNIT (PETTIGREW, 1979; SMIRCICH, 1984). COMPANIES WITH STRONG, INNOVATIVE CONSUMER ORIENTED CULTURES SHOW EXCELLENT PERFORMANCE (PETERS AND WATERMAN, 1983; DEAL AND KENNEDY, 1982).



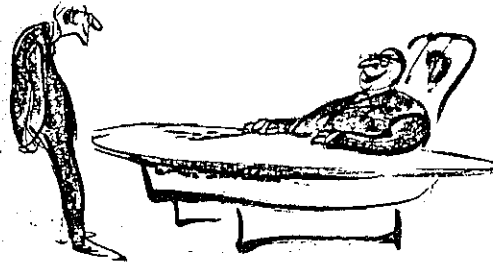
"This is the part
of Capitalism I hate".

PRIVATE CORPORATIONS PROVIDE PRODUCTS AND SERVICES TO CONSUMERS, JOBS TO WORKERS, AND PROFITS TO SHAREHOLDERS. MANAGERS ACT AS TRUSTEES OF STOCKHOLDERS AND MANAGE ORGANIZATIONAL ASSETS TO MAXIMIZE THEIR WEALTH.



And though in 1969, as in previous years, your company had to contend with spiralling labor costs, exorbitant interest rates, and unconscionable government interference, management was able once more, through a combination of deceptive marketing practices, false advertising, and price fixing, to show a profit which, in all modesty, can only be called excessive."

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"As you know, Rogers, when retirement day rolls around here, we don't waste time with a lot of mawkish sentimentality".

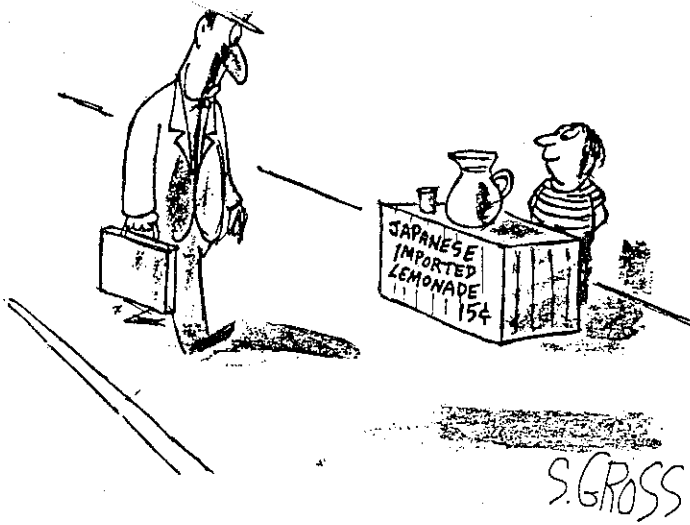


PEOPLE ARE OUR MOST IMPORTANT RESOURCE. HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT REQUIRES TAKING GOOD CARE OF EMPLOYEES BY PROVIDING FAIR AND ADEQUATE COMPENSATION, HEALTHY WORKING CONDITIONS, OPPORTUNITIES FOR PERSONAL GROWTH AND GENEROUS BENEFITS.

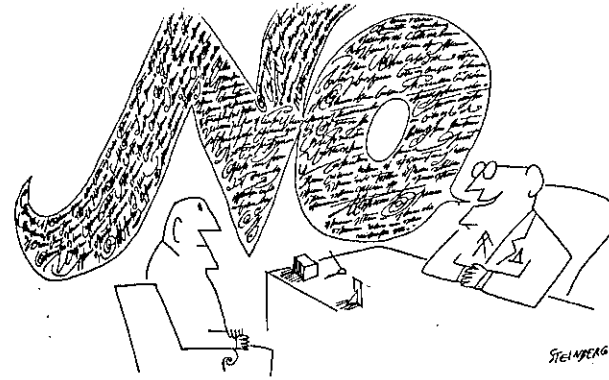


"Damn it, Stevens, this is business. I need you to fly out to Tulsa, and if there's someone you're trying to forget in Tulsa I'm sorry."

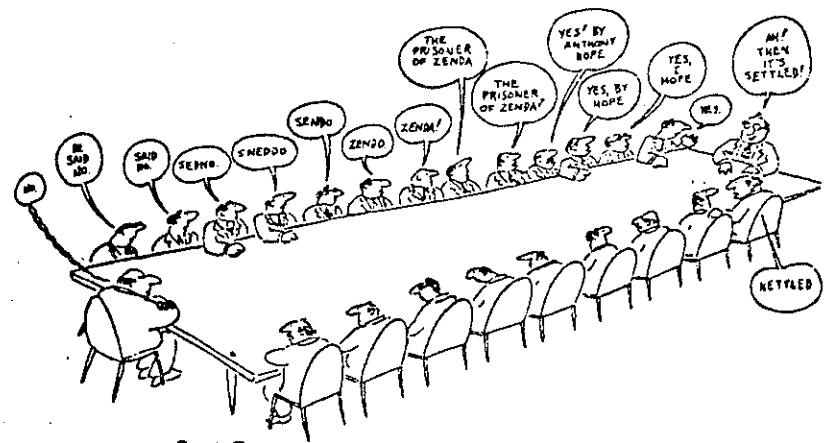
C. Parsons



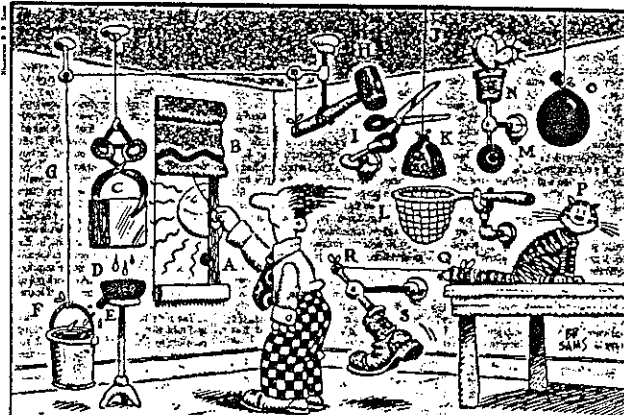
ENTREPRENEURSHIP IS THE RECOMBINATION OF EXISTING RESOURCES TO CREATE NEW WEALTH. IT INVOLVES TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATIONS AND STRATEGIC DECISIONS THAT ALLOW FIRMS TO COPE WITH MARKET UNCERTAINTIES AND FINANCIAL RISKS. ENTREPRENEURS BEAR RISKS, CONTROL BUSINESS DECISIONS, AND ACT AS INTEGRATORS OF THE ENTERPRISE. THEY ARE HIGHLY INDEPENDENT INDIVIDUALS MOTIVATED BY A NEED FOR ACHIEVEMENT.



MANAGERIAL COMMUNICATION THROUGH DIRECT, PERSONAL, FACE-TO-FACE MEETINGS ENSURES ACCURATE AND TIMELY INFORMATION FOR DECISION MAKING.



SOURCE: Drawing by Ziegler. © 1982, The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

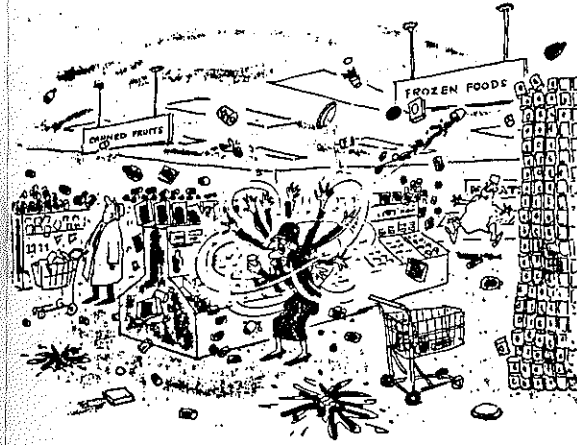


MOTIVATION DEVICE

IN NEED OF MOTIVATION, ZENO GOES TO WINDOW (A), RAISING BLIND (B), ALLOWING SUN TO MELT BLOCK OF ICE (C). WATER DRIPS INTO PAN (D) AND THROUGH TUBE (E) INTO BUCKET (F). WEIGHT OF BUCKET PULLS CORD (G), DRIVING HAMMER (H) INTO SCISSORS (I) AND CUTTING STRING (J) CAUSING WEIGHT (K) TO DROP INTO NET (L). HANDLE OF NET SWINGS UP INTO BULLSEYE (M) MAKING CACTUS (N) FALL ON AND BURST WATER-FILLED BALLOON (O). WATER DOUSES CAT (P) WHO LEAPS FORWARD, PULLING ON STRING (Q) ATTACHED TO LEVER (R), CAUSING BOOT (S) TO SWING UP AND SUDDENLY MOTIVATE ZENO.

SKY April 1965 113

MOTIVATION THEORY: PEOPLE HAVE BASIC NEEDS THAT COMBINE WITH BIOLOGICAL CULTURAL AND SITUATIONAL FACTORS TO DETERMINE BEHAVIOR. THESE NEEDS MAY BE PHYSIOLOGICAL, PSYCHOLOGICAL, OR EMOTIONAL AND ARE ARRANGED IN A HEIRARCHY. WORK AND ITS CONSEQUENCES (MONEY, POWER, STATUS, CAREER) MOTIVATE PEOPLE BY FULFILLING THEIR NEEDS.

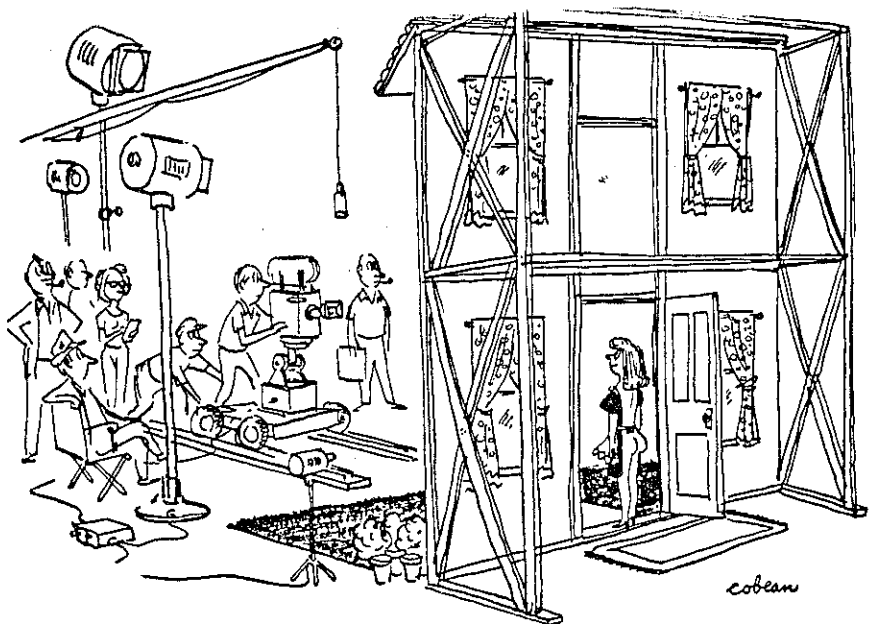


PRODUCT INNOVATION: PRODUCT INNOVATION IS A KEY ELEMENT OF COMPETITIVE STRATEGY. NEW PRODUCT DEVELOPMENT THROUGH INVESTMENTS IN R&D AND MARKET RESEARCH ALLOWS FIRMS TO PROVIDE CUSTOMERS WITH NEW INNOVATIVE PRODUCTS. PRODUCT INNOVATION INVOLVES IDENTIFYING CONSUMER NEEDS, DEVELOPMENT AND TESTING OF PRODUCTS TO FULFILL THOSE NEEDS, AND THE MANUFACTURE AND COMMERCIALIZATION OF VIABLE PRODUCTS.

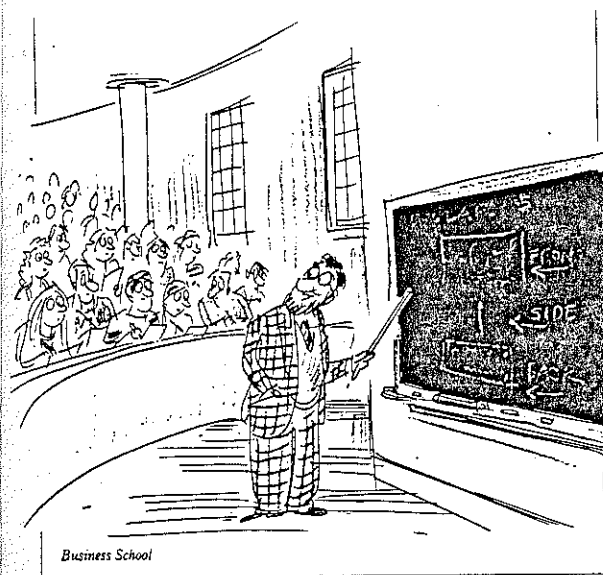


Chon Day

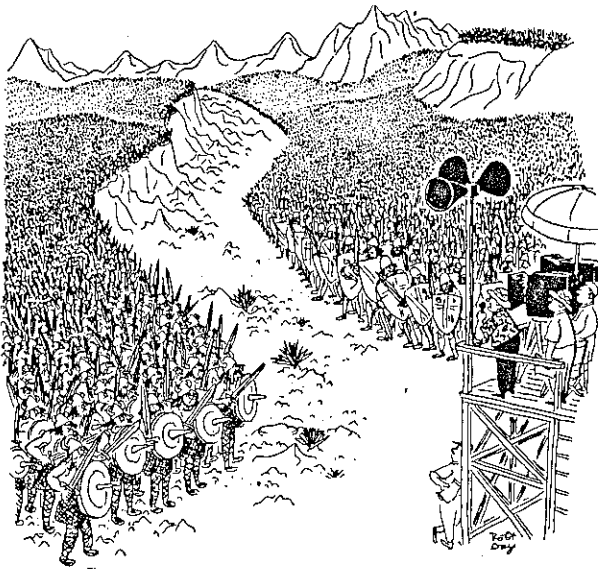
"Do you have a doll that does nothing?"



ORGANIZATIONAL FACADES: MANAGERS CREATE FACADES THAT MISLEAD EXTERNAL STAKEHOLDERS, SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS, OBSERVERS AND EVEN ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERS. MEDIA IN WHICH FACADES ARE CREATED INCLUDE, WORK PROCEDURES, POLICIES, MISSION STATEMENTS, PUBLIC RELATION PRONOUNCEMENTS, AND SYMBOLIC ACTS (NYSTROM AND STARBUCK, 1984).



MANAGEMENT EDUCATION: THE PURPOSE OF EDUCATION IN BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION IS TO PROVIDE A BROAD EDUCATION PREPARING THE STUDENT FOR IMAGINATIVE AND RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP AND LEADERSHIP ROLES IN BUSINESS AND SOCIETY - DOMESTIC AND WORLDWIDE. THE CURRICULUM SHOULD BE RESPONSIVE TO SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS AND REFLECT THE APPLICATION OF EVOLVING KNOWLEDGE IN ECONOMICS AND THE BEHAVIORAL AND QUANTITATIVE SCIENCES (AACSB, 1984).



"I've been asked to remind you -- please don't bend, fold, or mutilate your I.B.M. cards".

A BUREAUCRATIC ORGANIZATION IS BASED ON DIVISION OF LABOR BY SPECIALIZED TASKS. SPECIALIZED TASK GROUPS ARE COORDINATED TO ACCOMPLISH ORGANIZATIONAL GOALS. TO FACILITATE EFFICIENCY, WORK RULES, OPERATING RESPONSIBILITIES, COMMUNICATION CHANNELS, OPERATING PROCEDURES, AND HIERACHY OF AUTHORITY ARE STANDARDIZED.



"And this is my secretary - Miss Foster".

78M-dell

MANAGERS DO NOT OWN ORGANIZATIONAL ASSETS. THEY ARE HIRED AGENTS WHO MERELY MANAGE ASSETS ON BEHALF OF OWNERS.



"This is my executive suite and this is my executive vice-president, Ralph Anderson, and my executive secretary, Adele Eades, and my executive desk and my executive carpet and my executive wastebasket and my executive ashtray and my executive pen set and my..."

Discussion

Based on this juxtapositioning of theories and popular images of organizations, several observations can be made about the nature of organizational theories and ways of improving our understanding of organizations.

1. Organizational theories are generally rational, technical, normative, functional and efficiency oriented. Popular images show that organizations possess irrational, sensuous, contradictory and dysfunctional aspects. These present an opportunity for research.
2. Organization theories describe organizational processes in objective, neutral, and disinfected terminology. They take an uncritical nonpartisan stance toward them. Popular images are direct, bold and critical in exposing the interest bound nature of organizational processes. This presents opportunity for organizational change.
3. Organization theories often obscure their own assumptions and thereby mystify the working of organizations. Popular images surface hidden assumptions, ridicule their distorted nature and explain organizational phenomenon in different ways. This presents an opportunity for understanding.
4. Despite their metaphorical character, theories are too literal, and bounded by the limits of language (words). Popular images evoke aesthetic and even mythical understanding of organizations. This presents a methodological opportunity.

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Object of Research

For some years the city of Landskrona has been promoted as "a model city of possibilities". This official image has been pronounced by politicians, people from the business community and people involved in different community council groups. The promoters have been travelling all over Sweden and Europe and the official image of Landskrona as a model city is well established in the mind of the Swedish people.

Contradictory to this we experienced that the official image of Landskrona had not reached the mind of the public at large in Landskrona. People in Landskrona seemed to view the official image of the city with scepticism. There seemed to be a gap between the official image of Landskrona and the one held by the inhabitants of Landskrona. This made us curious: what is the local image held by the public at large? Does it differ from the official image and if so, what does this difference mean for the development of Landskrona as a city?

An important part of the Landskrona model is a special kind of development firm, Landskrona Finans, which has been given a large sum of money from the Swedish government in order to create a new business structure. The idea of the firm originated from a development group (the ÖV-group) within the largest industry in the city, Öresundsvarvet, in connection with this industry's close-down. Landskrona Finans was developed with heavy involvement by the local business community, especially a bank (SE-banken) and its chief executive officer. Landskrona Finans was promoted as a local organization for social-economic problem solving, in this case the close-down of Öresundsvarvet. As such it became an important part of Landskrona's official image and thereby of interest for our research. What kind of a role does Landskrona Finans play in the local image of the public at large? Does its role differ from other organizations that are created to solve social-economic problems? To get a comparison we decided to investigate the view the public at large has of the old Consumer Co-operative Society in the city, which is also an economic-social problem solving organization originating from the local level.

The questions of research are as follows:

- a) What does the local image held by the public at large look like?
- b) Does this image differ from the official image of Landskrona and if so, how does this influence the actions of the public in Landskrona?
- c) What part has local problem solving organizations in the local image?
- d) And as an overall summary; What does local image mean?

To grasp the local image means to search for a special kind of knowledge - knowledge about people conceptions of the world rather than knowledge about the state of the world. After Marton (1981, 1984) we call this knowledge from a secondorder perspective. Marton (1981, p 173) defines first and second order perspective as:

"In the first and far most commonly adopted perspective we orient ourselves towards the world and make statement about it. In the second-order perspective we orient ourselves towards people's ideas about the world (or their experience of it) and we make statements about people's ideas about the world (or about their experiences of it)".¹⁾

Marton (1984 p 287) are studying "conceptions" which means phenomena that is viewed as something. The "as" is developed through individual cognitive schemas. The content of conceptions according to Marton and Wenestam reminds us about Boulding's concept image (Boulding 1957). He defines image as our "subjective knowledge" built up "as a result of all part experience of the possessor of the image" and emphasizes that "for any individual or organization, there are no such things as "facts". There are only messages filtered through a changeable value system (Boulding 1957 p 6, 14). What we are looking for in this paper is the local image i.e. the conception of Landskrona as it appears in the mind of the public at large in Landskrona. Contrary to much of the research done in the phenomenography's tradition (developed mainly by Marton) we are not at this stage of the project primarily concerned with **how** people arrive at their conceptions but the conception **as such**. This means that we primarily look for what people's "picture" of Landskrona consists of, the surface of the image, rather than the cognitive maps that generate it. We are also concerned about the way people express their conception of Landskrona and who by and why different conceptions are held.

To catch the local image

How then can we catch the local image? Apparently we can either ask individuals and groups about their image, or ask people who are supposed to know, i.e. the creators of public opinion about the local image. Or we can try to get a sense of the local context by for example, participant observation; living in the city, getting to know its people, the streets and the market square and out of this derive what we experience as the local image. The choice of method is closely connected not only to what result we aggregate but also to our view of the concept "local image", what it consists of, who holds it and how to define it.

1) But notice: "The discerning of these two alternative perspectives has nothing to do with the metaphysical distinction between the real and the apparent or with arguments for or against as to whether it is a reality as such that is accessible to us... Our distinction is - we believe - pragmatic and very simple". (Marton, 1981, p 178).

Starting our research about the experienced differences between the official image of Landskrona and the local image held by the public at large, we had no clear idea of the definition of local image or how to catch. That is why we decided to start with this pilot study to clarify the concept of local image and develop methods to catch it. In doing this we tried to use all those sources of information mentioned above. A questionnaire was formulated to catch the public at large's conceptions. We interviewed "experts" and we tried to get to know the city and interact with its inhabitants as much as possible. This last method was supported by that one of us had been working with research in Landskrona for several years and already had a good picture of the city.

To catch the local image in a questionnaire is difficult. People's conceptions cannot be put in handy black boxes. We therefore decided to use open-ended questions that aimed to catch the local image from different angles. The same thought steered the formulation of questions about the old (one Consumer Co-operative) and the new (Landskrona Finans) social-economic problem solving organizations. The reasons for using questionnaires was that we wanted to test if it was possible to use a more structured way to try and catch the conceptions held by people, and that we were interested in getting as many different peoples' opinions as possible within a limited span of time and resources.

To test if a questionnaire was applicable to our research we distributed the questionnaire in different ways. We started with taking the questionnaire out in the streets of Landskrona. We visited cafés, libraries, shops and other places where people meet. Our experience from this is that people are both interested and well aware of their conceptions, but that they needed an active involvement from the interviewer, in order to get over the resistance of formulating thoughts into words. The answering of these questionnaires thereby was more an interview situation than a pure questionnaire-answering. We found that the questionnaire condensed the thought of people pretty well, even if we did not get any extensive cognitive maps of their thinking. This was on the other hand, not the aim of the pilot-study.

We also sent questionnaires to some industries who we had spoken to beforehand, but where we had not been in personal contact with the respondents. This was not the way to do it. Out of these industries we got answers from one, the others thought it was "to difficult", "took too much time" etc. We also sent the questionnaire to a form in high school. The youth answered the questionnaire during a lecture in social science.

The expert interviews were done with people supposed to influence the public opinion, for example news-paper people, politicians and people involved in social-economic problem solving organizations.

Out of this we tried to summarize our pilot study, our experiences and thoughts about it. The result of this work is presently in your hand.

THE CITY AND ITS PROBLEM-SOLVING ORGANIZATIONS

Landskrona and Landskrona Finans

Landskrona was founded in 1413 by king Erik XIII of Sweden. Landskrona has a population of around 36 000 and is situated on the south-west coast of Sweden; 40 km north of Malmö and 20 km south of Helsingborg.

One important purpose of the founding of Landskrona "the crown of the country", was that the Swedish royal power wanted to create a counter-balance to the strong power the Hanseatic League, had over the shipping trade at that time. By this strategic placing of a new harbour could salesmen from England and Holland easier trade with Sweden. In order to just give a glimpse of the history¹⁾ of Landskrona, we here jump from 1413 to around 1900 when the industrialization started. At this time Landskrona had about 14 400 inhabitants (4 100 in 1850) and seventy factories e.g. sugar-refinery, a steam-mill, chemical industries. The town was also, to a large extent characterized by shipping trade and fishing. Two things that had and still have a great importance in Landskrona are the growth and close-downs of industries. The industries have so to say giving the town its ethos during this century. Landskrona has also gone from a situation with several factories to a situation with fewer and bigger factories and working places. Therefore the city has become more and more dependent on a few larger organizations.

Landskrona has recently gone through a time of crisis. During the late sixties its largest employer of women, the textile industry, had to close down and a large mechanical industry had to dismiss a large part of its employees during the seventies. In 1978 Swedyard, the state-owned industrial and shipyard group, submitted a structural plan for the Swedish shipbuilding industry which was authorized by the Swedish Parliament in spring 1981. This structural plan meant among other things that the shipbuilding company Öresundsvarvet, the biggest industrial employer in the municipality of Landskrona (2 500 employees), was to be closed down. The termination of the shipyard was to be completed by June 30, 1983 and Landskrona faced a severe unemployment situation. Behind this relatively long close-down period was a decision that the orders on hand of Öresundsvarvet were to be completed. This to enable measurements to be carried out i.e. a new business structure, the start of a re-education programme, and different job-finding efforts.

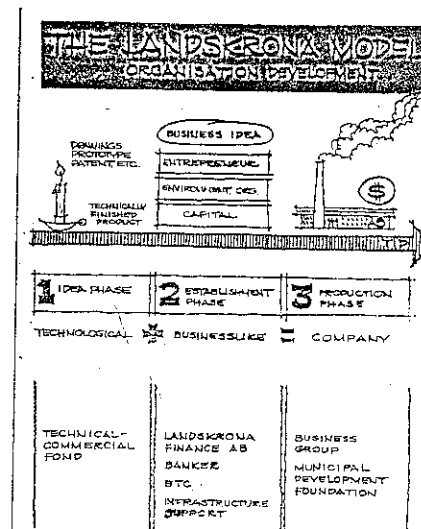
1) The history of Landskrona is further elaborated in Skånsk kulturbygd, 1983.

The basic idea was to create a local finance company Landskrona Finans who would initially be financed with 100 million SEK¹⁾ from the state. This idea was developed together with ideas to ease the effects of the close-down by a special committee, the ÖV-group. This group was formed during the summer of 1980 and consisted of the unions, and the management of ÖV together with representatives from the community council as well as the local industry. Their work led in 1981 to the creation of Landskrona Finans as a development organization with the aim of supervising and financing new enterprises. Landskrona Finans is owned by both private and public interests: in total there are 19 interested parties involved.

Out of the work that had been carried out parallel to the closing of the shipyard grew the so-called **model of Landskrona**. The purpose was to create an expansion of the existing enterprises as well as the establishment of new ones. The work was carried out in close co-operation with the union of ÖV, management at ÖV, the community council, the local industry and banks. The Model of Landskrona consists of three parts.

- A new system/structure for regional business development.
- The goal; 1 200 new jobs within the private sector (this figure is very difficult to measure).
- An intended better infrastructure for the business and the community consisting of the foundation for development the community with the local business network group, Landskrona Finans, Technical-commercial foundation, new ferryline to Denmark etc.

Figure 1
The Landskrona
Model



© Landskrona
Utvecklingsstiftelse

1) This money came originally from a project to start alternative production at ÖV.

If this is successful the long run is still an open question. As creators of the public opinion say:

"Not until the 21st century will it be known whether or not Landskrona has succeeded. But the ground must be prepared now".

The Consumer Co-operative Society - Solidar

The consumer co-operative movement has a long history in Landskrona. It is a part of the peoples movement tradition of the city. During the 50s and the 60s the meetings of the Consumer Co-operative Society "Ringens" was a subject for the front page of the local newspaper and there were a lot of discussions and public attending the meetings. In the beginning of the 70s the society wanted to build a new department store. In order to enable this, the society merged with the regional Consumer Co-operative Society "Solidar" in 1974. Today there are three stores owned by Solidar in Landskrona. At Solidar's annual regional meeting in Landskrona (April 85) only older people attended and most of these were females. None of the members asked any questions of the board but we all got a coupon for 2 kilos of detergent to collect the next time we go to our store!

IMAGES OF LANDSKRONA

The Official Image

How do we catch the official image of a town or a community? This was one of the questions that we asked ourselves when this pilot-study was carried out. We think that the official image (see definition p 19) is articulated by different creators of the public opinion in newspapers and TV, during public meetings etc.

In trying to sort out what official image Landskrona has we started to ask people outside of Landskrona of their image of Landskrona. The official image of Landskrona that we come up with consists of **two main dimensions**:

- A. Landskrona as a town with **different characteristics**; the town were Öresundsvarvet was situated, a big harbour, a summertown, ferries to Denmark, the Citadell. These ingredients we could name "facts" and they are spread by personal visits, leaflets, radio and TV, news-papers etc.
- B. The city that had a **huge crisis** with the close-down of Öresundsvarvet and succeeded to turn this crisis into a new future.

The second dimension of the official image of Landskrona has many roots: the close-down of Öresundsvarvet and the creation of Landskrona Finans, with the CEO of SE-banken as a key person in the transformation. A recent image is also that some of the businesses under the Landskrona Finans' umbrella have been forced to close down. Those who have a deeper knowledge of Landskrona also know about the so called the Landskrona Model (see page 7). This Landskrona Model has since around 1983 been promoted and spread outside Landskrona through various media and seminars. This picture of Landskrona also contains the story of that things started to happen in Landskrona when the famous CEO of a business bank became the chairman of Landskrona Finans. And today, when reading the annual report from the local development group - Utvecklingsstiftelsen - the following is printed on the front page:

"When I think about Business I naturally think of Landskrona."

April 1985

From this we can read, when we take a closer look at the part which deals with business and business - development, a continuing effort to make Landskrona a city with low unemployment rate and with a growing and stable business structure. This is the official image projected.

The historical local image of Landskrona held by its inhabitants

The local image of Landskrona is closely connected to its history and its cultural and social structure. In summary, the person who lived in Landskrona was pleased by and proud of the city, and the way she/he was taken care of. The city seemed to be dominated by three different kinds of organizations. First, the big industrial companies that has dominated the business community. These industries led the industrial development, gave employment, a place to live and, to a certain degree education to the people working in Landskrona. During a period of time large industries sometimes connected the contract for renting an apartment/house with the contract of employment and had an unofficial agreement with each other not to employ someone already employed by another industry.

Second, the Social Democratic Party that has ruled the municipality since the 20s. The Social Democratic Party has always had a positive attitude to the large industries as well as to the union. The trade school for example, was a joint project by the industry sector and the municipality. By an extensive programme for building apartments, the Social Democratic Party, tried to decrease the dependency of the employees to a single industrial employer.

Third, people movements as the union, the consumer Co-operative movement, and different sport societies. Some of these activities are today institutionalized and more or less run by the municipal council.

The different kind of organizations mentioned above were dominated by action-oriented people who really tried hard to take care of the public at large. Within these parts of the community, models of solutions were created as problems appeared.

After the second world-war Landskrona experienced a new period of industrial development. Through the ferry line to Copenhagen and the stream of Danes that visited the movie theaters of Landskrona, the inhabitants of Landskrona felt quite "international". Also, Landskrona was one of the first cities in Sweden that imported craftsmen to satisfy the need of the industries for experienced employees. When the inhabitants of Landskrona travelled outside their city they were perceived as boastful and self-confident. It is obvious that they were proud of their city and the people responsible for the municipal government seldom heard any complaints about the way things were run. The inhabitants are also reluctant to move out of their city.

During the 60s the city continued to develop its cultural and industrial sides. The inhabitants were satisfied with their city. When the awareness of the environmental issues started to appear at the end of the decade this did not shake the local image.

The later part of the 70s were years of crisis for Landskrona. The environmental problems became more and more obvious, all large industries had problems and a lot of them closed down or dismissed a large part of their work-force. This ought to have changed the local image of the public at large, but was this the case?

Let us hear what two influential people in Landskrona believe:

"Both yes and no. Old inhabitants of Landskrona are probably happy with their municipality. But in a situation where people have relatives or acquaintance without jobs, or know that young people do not have jobs, then they do not experience the municipality as positive as before when, for example, everybody was driving to their works in the morning. But on the average, most people do not blame the municipality, but they do put forward claims that we should help to create something else... (a new job)".

(Hugo Bengtsson ex member of the municipal government, and the Swedish government, ex-unionleader and presently member of the county council).

"No, I don't think I can register that. Instead new energy emerged when the crisis was a fact. When the shipyard closed down and disappeared we created Landskrona Finans and the Group for local business. They started to have business exhibitions and they gave priority to contributions towards safe employment. All this had the effect that not much of the crisis was noticed in the city. Not until the last year of the crisis, the crisis started to affect, then I believe, people kept the conception that things were not as bad as they were told to be. But after that the latest years (1983, 1984), people have opened their eyes and discovered that we lost so and so many jobs etc. I think this partly awakening creates a disappointment. It is so easy to throw out 'Damn municipal government that is unable to handle its tasks!! It became sort of an intolerance. A failure in Landskrona is probably worse than a failure somewhere else. That is my opinion...'

(Birger Lindgren, head editor of the local newspaper Landskronaposten).

With these pictures of the historical local image of Landskrona held by public at large, as a background, we now examine the result of our questionnaire.

THE ANALYSIS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRES

Landskrona as a city

In order to catch the local image we posed four questions:

1. Describe Landskrona with four key-concepts.
2. If Landskrona appeared on the front page of the largest Swedish newspaper tomorrow, what would the headline be?
3. How does Landskrona differ from other Swedish cities?
4. What do you think of the future of Landskrona?

The picture the answers of these questions gave, was far from unambiguous. There were many diverse opinions and from the beginning it was difficult to find any pattern in the material.

Looking at the kind of answers received, we can distinguish between answers primarily emphasizing facts about Landskrona and answers primarily emphasizing properties of Landskrona as a city. The "facts" are either about problems that hit the city or about the "structure location of the city i.e. size, houses, geographic location, inhabitants and industrial structures. The "properties" are either emotionally loaded expressions such as boring/good or statements about the "state" of the city such as developing/stabilizing/dying. As a third kind of expressions of property we find statements of "facts" with a strong emotional connotation¹⁾.

To give an account of the content of the answers, unemployment and environmental issues are the dominant problems. Landskrona has severe problems with air pollution and during the time we did our investigation a "scandal" at the council of health and environmental issues were hot news in the city.

The air pollution problem dominates the answers from both youth and adults of all three questions about Landskrona today. This is especially striking at "the headline" question. Adults put a larger emphasis on the unemployment issue, especially in describing the city with four key-concepts. Here they also made comments about the "state" of the city, mostly in a positive way. Comments

1) To illustrate the difference between fact and properties we can use Marton's earlier mentioned distinction as a metaphor and compare the "facts" with knowledge of the first order perspective and the "properties" with knowledge of the second order perspective.

about the state of the city are less usual among the youth and when they appear they are more negatively loaded than similar comments among adults. When it comes to "structural" facts about Landskrona, people are very aware of Landskrona's geographical location and its natural harbour. Most, but not all, comments in this area are positive. The youth especially are very conscious of Landskrona as a leisure city and tourist place. The questionnaires from the youths are dominated by comments in this area. For the young students the leisure city seems to be closely connected to the property: Boring. This is the property that is most frequently used by young students to describe the city¹⁾. The structural properties are for all respondents often connected to expressions with strong (often positive) emotional connotations such as a "summer-city".

Comments about the industrial structure of the city are often "pure facts" with a vaguely negative connotation, articulated by the adults. Mainly, these comments are answers to the "How does Landskrona differ ..." question.

White-collar workers tend to talk about "the industry" while workers talk about "the employment situation". A few comments about the politics of the city are made by white-collar workers under the question "How does Landskrona differ....?". Under the same question the age-structure and the immigration-situation get some comments by workers and youth. Pure expressions of properties such as boring/good are most common under the key-concept question. Among adults positive and negative expressions are just a common (7 expressions against 6). Negative expressions (Boring 18, good/nice 9) dominate among the youth. At the question "How does Landskrona differ....?" workers use properties expressions, while white-collar workers use "facts". The expression of properties are often of a negative character.

Whether the future of Landskrona is good or bad depends. With a couple of votes in favour it seems to be pretty good, but this is an even match.

1) C.f. result by Taylor and Townsend (1976) who discovered that youth in their investigated area (North West of England) attributed feeling of attachment of an area to good times among their friend (p 139).

As the attentive reader has noticed above, the questionnaire gives many different and often contradictory pictures of Landskrona.¹⁾ Our search for THE LOCAL IMAGE of Landskrona was obviously fruitless. What remain is to find out if there is any pattern among the diverse images that emerged out of our questionnaires.

The social economic problem solving organizations

What can we learn then from the part of the questionnaire dealing with the two social-economic problem solving organizations i.e. the Consumer Co-operative Society and Landskrona Finans?

The questions concerning the social-economic problem solving organizations are very much the same as those concerning Landskrona as a city. Instead of asking about the future of the organizations, we asked about "what will be the effects for Landskrona if the Consumer Cooperative and Landskrona Finans respectively was to be closed down." Also, a question of "who do you think has the power over the Consumer Co-operative Society and Landskrona Finans respectively?" was added to this part of the questionnaire.

The answers received, concerning this part of the questionnaire, were of the same kind as the ones about Landskrona as a city, but did to a larger extent emphasize properties of the organizations.

At a general level Landskrona Finans is described as "the Helper". Phrases as "helps to" or "supports others to" are usual in descriptions of this organization. The Consumer Co-operative Society is describe as a store, a consumer owned but just a store. Landskrona Finans appears as an action orientated organization while the Consumer Co-op appears as a passive one. Presently the Consumer Co-op tries to get rid of this image by profiling itself as "the shop of alternatives and possibilities". Looking at the themes used to describe the Consumer Co-operative and Landskrona Finans there is an obvious difference in the way the

1) Our result can be compared with an investigation conducted by the Department of Geography in Lund (1985). They have investigated the opinion of Landskrona from people that work in Landskrona but live in other municipalities. As the most dominant disadvantage with Landskrona they mentioned the environmental issues, the lack of nature (compared with our results) and that the city is boring. Contrary to this they mention as the advantage with the city its nice nature and good shops. In some ways the same contradictionaires views as we found.

organizations are comprehended. Landskrona Finans is described in words of its function and the Consumer Co-operative by how its output is valued. This means that the key words about Landskrona Finans most often include lines like "developing new business", while the key words for the Consumer Co-op are evaluations of its prices, personnel or business appearance. The key words about for the Consumer Co-op are often value-loaded, while Landskrona Finans key-words are more descriptive.

Also statements of the structure of the organizations are usual. People mention the way Landskrona Finans was founded and financed at the beginning, or its present location and management. The ownership structure of the Consumer Co-op also gets some comments. Especially among the youth the comments have a negative loaded connotation. One impression of the Consumer Co-operative is the ex-ideological company who betrayed its ideals. Among our answers we find only one person with a positive attitude towards the Consumer Co-operative as a public movement and a social problem solver. This person is an elderly man.

The view of the Consumer Co-operative as an ex-movement recurred when we asked the question: "Who rules the organization"? We noticed that most people think that the second-level co-operative organization K.F.¹⁾ has the power over the local societies' operations. The board of Consumer Co-operative are most often mentioned after K.F. Very few believe that they can influence the operations of the Consumer co-operative.

Neither is Landskrona Finans viewed as locally ruled. The power over this company is assigned to one man; the chief executive officer (CEO) of the bank that played a large role in establishing the company. Beside him, the bank itself, and the local business community are viewed as influencing the operations of Landskrona Finans. You might trace a conception of some local influence among adult responders. They consider the municipal government as influential as the local business community, but of course both these local groups are less influential than the CEO of the bank.

Close downs are in general looked upon very negatively by the inhabitants of Landskrona. This can be traced in the answers to the question of how Landskrona would be affected if the Consumer Co-operative or Landskrona Finans were

1) K.F. is the central and the whole-saler organization for the Swedish Consumer Co-operative Movement. It is owned by the local Consumer Co-operative Societies.

to close down. Still, half of the adults did not think it would matter if the Consumer Co-operative closed down and a couple of the respondents thought that the effects would be positive. Most of the remaining of the respondents were worried about an increase in unemployment and higher prices. Two young students noted that the retired people would be sad if the co-operative was closed down.

In contradiction to the divided opinions about the effects of a close down of the Consumer Co-operative most responders were worried about a close down of Landskrona Finans. Three different themes dominated the answers: first, there would be a decrease in the establishment of new firms; second, the businesses established with the help of Landskrona Finans would not survive without further support; and thirdly, a close down of Landskrona Finans would be a "catastrophe" for Landskrona.

The result of the part of the questionnaire dealing with social problem solving organizations gives some ideas about their roles in the local image of the public at large. It seems like the Consumer Co-operative Movement has no place in the local image of the public at large. It is viewed as a retail chain among other retail chains. It is striking that more than 33 % of our responders have not answered the questions about the Consumer Co-operative. Among the youth this is even more obvious. 44 % of the youth have not answered this part of the questionnaire. The youth that have answered are more negative or unconcerned about the Consumer Co-operative than people above 50 years of age.

In contradiction to the Consumer Co-operative, Landskrona Finans is viewed as a problem solving organization i.e. a business that supports and creates companies. Of our responders 30 % have answered the questions about Landskrona Finans. Among the responders few hold a negative view (13 %) of the company. The impression that the questionnaires give is that there is little active involvement from the public at large in Landskrona Finans. To use a metaphor, one can say that the public at large stands aside and watch the problem solving someone is doing for them, inside a body called Landskrona Finans.

Main results of the questionnaire

The analysis of the result of the questionnaire gave no single "local image" among the inhabitants in Landskrona¹⁾. Instead it seemed to be several

1) The difficulties in finding one local image, one local culture and so on when speaking with individuals in communities, have been experienced by other researchers we have been discussing this question with.

competing categories of local images. This observation is supported by earlier to Marton (1981) two different kind of results emerge out of an analysis of conceptions: first categories of description and second the distribution of research about individual's conceptions (see Marton-Wenestam 1984). According subjects over the categories. Both these results are of interest in our search for Landskrona's local image. With the aim of our study in mind, not only how many that hold a special category of image, but also who, why and in which way they hold their image is of interest. The categories as such are interesting, as one aim of the study is to compare the official image of Landskrona with the local image hold by the public at large. Another interesting aspect is the connection between local image, official image and local mobilization and action.

The content of the categories

To see if Marton's idea is applicable to our questionnaires we analysed each questionnaire again with the emphasis upon the impression of the questionnaire as a whole. Out of this emerged two dimensions that covered the images of Landskrona, namely good/bad and active/passive¹⁾. The two dimensions seemed

Categories of local images and distribution of individuals over the categories

Local images	Examples of contents	Percentage of total respondents	Percentage of young students	Percentage of adults
Bad/passive city	A boring and uninteresting city with nothing to do and where nothing happens	11%	59%	18%
Bad/active city	An unfriendly city in development	9%	--	21%
Good/passive city	A beautiful, sleepy city	13%	10%	18%
Good/active city	A pleasant city, full of life, fun and activities	17%	7%	50%
Either or/passive city		2%	--	4%
Both and/passive city		6%	10%	--
Both and/active city		6%	7%	1%
Good/both and city		4%	3%	4%
Good/either or city		2%	1%	--
		100%	99%	99%

Table 1 Categories of local images and the distribution of individuals over the categories

1) This way of working is inspired by Glasser and Strauss ideas about grounded theory, but also by "phenomenography" a method for catching individuals conceptions developed by Marton (1981). Our analysis can be viewed as a simplified version of Marton's method.

to cover the contradictions we earlier noticed in some of the questionnaires. The image of the city could be a good/active city (as the official image) a good/passive city, a bad/active city or a bad/passive city. To make the picture complete we have to admit that there are a few questionnaires that do not belong to any of the categories mentioned above. These we treated separately as either/or or both/and questionnaires.

Looking at the content of the categories, the good/bad dimension covers structural and emotional properties of the city. The city can be viewed as a city of unemployment, a good city, a boring city, a summer city etc. And as such, the city can contain more or less energy. The description can consist of a more less active city, irrespective of if it is good or bad city. This give rise to the second dimension the active-passive city.

Who holds the different images?

The passive character of Landskrona seemed to be the first in people's minds (61 % of our responders) and the city seems more bad than good (52 %). Including both dimensions the predominant image of Landskrona is Landskrona as a bad/passive city. Around 40 % of the responders of our questionnaires held that image. The second most usual image is the good/active city which is held by 17 % of the responders.

This result indicates that there is a dominant image of Landskrona, the passive/bad one. If we look at young students under 25 this seems to be true. Of the young students (who are 55% of our responders), 59% think of their city as a bad/passive one. This can be compared with the rest of the responders where 18 % view Landskrona as a bad/passive city. Among the responders above 25 years of age, it is difficult to find one dominant view of Landskrona. For 21% of these, Landskrona is a bad/active city, for 18% a good/passive city and for 30 % a good/active city (percentage counted on the group above 25 years of age). The differences are small, especially if you keep in mind that the number of adult responders is small. Everyone above 65 sees the city as an active and mostly good city, the ones between 25-50 tend to view the city as a passive one.

The conclusions above must be looked upon with caution. The aim of this pilot study is rather to generate ideas than to test hypotheses about the investigated area. The ideas generated out of our inquiry are that there is a "youth image" of a passive/bad city and that several different images are held by adults without any predominating one.

CONCLUSIONS

What is it all about - one images or several

A starting point for this project is an experienced discrepancy between the official image and the local image held by the public at large in Landskrona. All through this paper the distinction between the official image and the local image has been kept. Now is the time to define the concepts and to discuss their meaning and function. The reason for presenting the definitions now rather than earlier is that they emerged out as a result of the research.

The **official image** is defined as: "the conceptions about a geographic area i.e. a community, distributed by creators of public opinions, and held by people living outside that geographic area at a certain period of time".

The **local image** is defined as: "the subjective conceptions of a geographic area i.e. a community, held by its inhabitants at a certain period of time".

When starting this project our belief was that there existed one dominating official image and one local image that was held by a dominating coalition of inhabitants of Landskrona. Our investigation proved us to be wrong. The conclusion to be drawn is that there exists a **dominating official image** held by people outside of Landskrona¹⁾. At the local level this official image is met by several subjective local images, which can be added into four distinctive categories of images, but hardly be merged into one dominating local image. These findings made us consider the question of how local images emerge and why different categories of local images are found.

Following Boulding (1957) the image is said to be built up as a result of all past experiences of its possessor²⁾. Images are changing with messages received by the possessor of an image from the outer world. The meaning of a message is, according to Boulding, the change which it produced in the image.

Viewing the images as dependent on its possessor's past experience and changing in the interaction of past experience and received messages, help us to understand the phenomena of several local images existing simultaneously and in addition to this the exists an official image. Messages about Landskrona received by people outside of the city are often distributed through leading actors in Landskrona actively involved in creating public opinions are those heard by massmedia. This means that "facts" about and "occurrences" in Landskrona meet the world

1) The official image of Landskrona is described at p. 9.

2) This view is consistent with e.g. Marton (1981) and Wenestam (in Marton and Wenestam (eds.) 1984) descriptions of how meaning are created.

around through mediators with, in the case of Landskrona, quite similar pictures and intentions. A pretty unambiguous message is thereby sent out. Assuming that most people not directly involved in what happens in Landskrona, build their past and present image of Landskrona upon these kind of messages, one official image of Landskrona appears.

In the official image of Landskrona appears a city of possibilities and actions. In the case of Landskrona the official image has been used as a model for other communities with high unemployment and many industrial close downs¹⁾. A positive official image as the one distributed through the Landskrona Model, can be used as an argument in trying to get resources allocated from the state. Also, a good reputation of Landskrona reflects upon those who mediate the reputation, i.e. the leading actors in Landskrona. If the official image of Landskrona has carried any of the two last mentioned roles we do not know, but the advantages of having a positive official image of your city is obvious.

The unambiguous messages sent out of Landskrona can be contrasted toward the way the same "facts" are received by the inhabitants living in Landskrona. By them the facts and occurrences are experienced "directly". The interpretation of the messages is born out of the past and current manifold experience of everyday life. The possessors of the local images have already diversified past experiences and values of Landskrona and by these messages get different meanings for their individual images. The existence of various categories of local images can thereby be better understood.

In our presentation we have aggregated the local images of the public at large into four main categories of images. Following our earlier discussion (see 17) this is one result emerging out of research about conceptions. The second expected result "distribution of the conceptions among the population" showed that, with the exception of young students and the retired people, the responders were distributed evenly over different categories without any clear pattern behind.

1) See for instance the recent development in the city of Uddevalla, Sweden, where the big shipyard is to be closed down. The reaction here from the public at large was very mild compared to the reactions at the closing of Öresundsvarvet in Landskrona. The Landskrona model was here used to legitimate the states and the community actions.

Young students usually held an image of Landskrona as a bad/passive city while retired citizens held a good/active image of their city. It is interesting to note that the same groups can be distinguished in answering the questions about the Consumer Co-op. Here the retired people are mostly positive while the students pronounced a disappointment with the Co-operative as a movement. In discussing Landskrona Finans the young students view the company as being more important for Landskrona than other groups of responders. This might be put in relation to the youth and the retired citizens' different place in the cycle of life and experience during their lifetime. While Landskrona was a growing city characterized by municipal initiatives in different areas when the retired people were in their active working life, the youth has grown up in the shadow of the crisis. This supports the theory that image emerges out of experiences.

It also gives rise to a hypothesis that each generation is devoted to one organization for social problem solving, that emerges out of the current social need at the time of their active life, i.e. each generation has its own organization for social problems solving emerging out of the social condition when the solution is needed.

Marton (1981) views categories of conception as existing independently of a subject. He says:

"This means that the same categories of description appears in different situations... even if the individuals 'move' from one category to another on different occasions. Individual stability across contents and situations is neither denied nor assumed by us. In our view, it should be a target of empirical investigation rather than being taken for granted...." (1981, p 194-195)

Marton (1981, 1984) refers his categories to a collective mind where they raise out of shifts in "the scientific development". As we do not ask people about their causal maps behind conception we either aim or can draw this kind of conclusion. In an assembling of articles about research of conceptions of different concept (Marton and Wenestam 1982) other level of conception's categories more similar to ours are shown.

The categories defined in this pilotstudy are based on a distinction between good/bad, passive/active. Our hypothesis is that these are important aspects of the local image which exist independently of subjects which recur in local images of other cities as well. We do believe that local images develop over time and that different individuals may jump between different categories, as it is an inert process due to socialization (Berger, Luckmann 1967).

Convergence: Yesterday and today

Why did the official image of Landskrona appear? And what part has Landskrona Finans in it? Did it happen by mere chance or has it grown bit by bit? In order to find an answer to this question we started to look for important and active elements in the historical development of Landskrona. We very soon came up with four possible explanations: people movements, stable political structure over time, relatively big companies and important key-persons seemed more than anything else to play an important role in Landskrona. If we link these factors to what had happened recently in Landskrona, they seemed to play a very active part in the process of transformation.

Historically we have a lot of people movements: rooted in different interest groups among the public at large. The city also had a lot of large organizations on the private side. We are today convinced that this is one factor that explains the key role of the Landskrona Finans during the close-down of the Öresundsvarvet. Even if the Landskrona Finans was a new invention, it is linked with history.

Landskrona is also a city that has had, and still has, a lot of personalities over the years: both in public and private services. A lot of important issues have been manifested in and through these people. These personalities have always been closely connected to and worked through special organizations. It is hard to distinguish between the organization and the person in the minds of the public at large.

Here we think that the choice of the CEO at the SE-banken as chairman of the Landskrona Finans, had an instrumental as well as a symbolic value. An instrumental choice because the CEO had a great competence in banking and business in addition to a wide network of important contacts that perhaps could be of great help in establishing new industries. The symbolic value of electing the CEO as chairman can be backed up by our previous statement concerning the importance of key persons in Landskrona (i.e. the patriarchal structure). The CEO of SE-banken suits especially well in this context as he has as trade mark: business and progress. This symbolic value is also implied in the way in which this finance/development company was established. The union leader at the ÖV, he too a charismatic person, phoned CEO of SE-banken, Hans Cavalli-Björkman and asked him to be chairman of the Landskrona Finans. Rumour told us that this was done without the "approval" of the central-unions in Stockholm.

It is to be noted that it was people inside large organizations that took the initiative and asked in the name of their organization. The legitimation of individual initiatives could also be channelled through the collective action that represented by the Landskrona Finans. As Landskrona had a weak tradition in supporting individuals and entrepreneurs, the Landskrona Finans plays an important role for social legitimation emerging from initiatives of large organizations. Having a patriarchal structure, the Landskrona Finans followed the legitimate way of implementing action in Landskrona. By this it can act as a transformer from an earlier mode for organizational problem solving to a new mode for individual initiatives and ideas.

The relevance of the local image(s)

"Perception, however, can become knowledge only if it is related in some way to the object which it determines. Now here again I may suppose, either that the conceptions through which I effect that determination conform to the objects, or that the objects, in other words the experience in which alone the objects are known, conform to conceptions..."
(Immanuel Kant 1724-1804)

Does it really matter if different categories of local images, to some extent, differ from the official image? The answer to this must be based on considerations of the link between images and action and the connection between the individuals and their community. We do not intend too deeply into these matters - it is beyond our present competence - but this pilot study has generated some new ideas. As they will be a base for further research we want to expose them to discussion.

Action is based upon our images of the world. A perceived discrepancy between the individual local image and the official image can cause various effects: One is that the discrepancy is taken into account when the local image develops i.e. the messages reaching the outer world do also reach the inhabitants. Also, the local images effect the official image. In different situations carriers of local images pronounce their images to the distributor of the official image. In this way the official image and the local images mutually effect each other, and the development of one is partly dependent on the development of the other.

How the perceived discrepancy in local images affects action is, of course, very difficult to determine. Our hypothesis in the case of Landskrona is that it has

had a negative effect on individual initiatives when the local image varies substantially from the official one. The reasons for this hypothesis are two. **First**, a discrepancy between the way you view your local situation and the way it is described to you by mass media etc can lead to a feeling of insecurity and confusion. To hear that the city is "a city of possibilities" on your way from the unemployment office might raise other feelings than a desire to take actions at the same time as it might create expectations for the future. This may also lead to a disappearing confidence in the distributors of the official image. **Second**, a model as the Landskrona Model might give a very high valuation of the actors behind it. People with low self-confidence who compare themselves with the leading actors can hesitate to act unsure of the own contribution is good enough. We also find it dangerous to attribute a lot of the development activities to a few specific persons' competence and skill instead of building it more into the infrastructure of the city. Here there is also a great potential to use the public at large own possibility to make contributions.

Talking about Landskrona we are assuming an intension from the leading actors to mobilize the citizens in order to develop the city out of the crisis. We have to keep in mind that a community is not a formal organization but a geographic area where people live different lives in organizations of different kind maybe unified by a common local culture (see Gustafsson, Johansson 1984). If it is accordance with the official image to fulfil its aspirations, the existence of various local images are not problematic¹⁾.

If a broader mobilization is desired, an understanding of different local images and the official image is needed to make action possible. Not until we know what conceptions there are and test them against other perspectives and realities, we are able to evaluate what is feasible to do and how to do it.

1) One hypothesis is that the local image has not an (or less then we assume) impact upon individual and collective action. The reason for this would be that the individual attachment to the place where he/she lives is less important than e.g. his/her attachment to the working-place. A dear thought in Sweden is the idea of local sentiments. As the mobility of working people increase and people concentrates upon careers and new form of relationships instead of the traditional ones emerge, the idea of feeling attached to places might have to be re-considered.

As said earlier in this chapter, we think that the discrepancy between the official and some of the local images of Landskrona has had a negative and a stand-still effect on the development of the city. As we understand there has been, and to some extent, still exists a "new fire" in Landskrona, even if the official ambition of this "fire" doesn't fit with the existing one. The outcome generated from various coalitions in Landskrona had a great impact for "putting the wagon on the right track". But what happens now? Will the new-born child "The Landskrona Model" get the right amount of energy and give rise to new ideas, i.e. is the structure that has been built enough to take care of the future? Our hypothesis here is to be considered as suggestion to

Strategies for Community Development (Referring to the Landskrona case)

First, we think that this, in the Swedish context, very untraditional way of solving the crisis of Landskrona (but linked with the history of Landskrona) has a great potential to open up for new ways to solve community problems.

A thing that struck us is that the crisis in itself was very important: the different coalitions had a "natural" and visible opposite party. Now that the acute crisis more or less solved, much of the energy that existed during the crisis seems to be gone. Here we will suggest **some alternative ways of action**.

The uniqueness and strength of Landskrona are co-operation and the fruit of that co-operation; the new ideas and projects. Here we see an institutionalization of these and also that this institutionalization is connected to different persons and their skill. We think that this is very dangerous in the long run. The suggestion here is to use the uniqueness of Landskrona when it comes to co-operation and new ideas and to build from that into the future.

What we suggest here is a creation of a **community open house**: A meeting-place for various new and old coalitions, but also for the public at large when a problem emerges, for example the acute pollution problem in Landskrona today. It could also be a recurrent meeting (see the parallel to town meeting in the middle ages) the purpose of which is to articulate both positive and negative matters in the community. When a problem is articulated, for example - how to keep up this "new fire" in Landskrona and how to make it last or how to take care of the pollution problem actively, a meeting is announced. Here the different stake-holders

can express their views of the problem and, at the same time form an understanding of perhaps the different views that is held by the others: How is the problem defined? What do we agree on and where do we differ? What directions can be taken from here?

The mere fact of bringing these stake-holders of the city together, demonstrates a great strength: of generating, building, caring and maintaining a commitment to the community rooted in the expression of problems and possibilities in everyday life. Here the comparison of the local image to the official one can be one important source in contrasting the different conceptions of the reality and out of that find new constellations and creative ways of defining and solving the local problems.

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