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**The Strangeness of the Familiar:
Re-conceptualising Change in Organisations**

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Abstract

Introduction: This thesis proposes new ways to think about change, a much discussed yet under-defined concept within organisational studies. The vast majority of existing work focuses on processes of organisational change, i.e. the management of change, whilst a small minority considers change in organisations, offering theories of change at the individual level. This study aimed to reverse the established research order by exploring individual interpretations of experiences of change at work to enrich and inform our understandings and indicate further and alternate areas for study.

Methods: A Foucauldian theoretical lens was utilised to consider how ideas about change in the workplace have been constructed over time and why we think about change the way we do. A mixed methods approach was utilised. Bibliometric analysis and meta-narrative review were used to explore the development of the concept of change within organisational studies. A qualitative study was then conducted within the United Kingdom Ministry of Defence and National Health Service in England as organisations generally acknowledged to have undergone sustained, significant change over time. In-depth interviews ($n=40$) were conducted together with documentary analysis of materials volunteered by participants in order to investigate what individuals mean by change, how they distinguish between change and that which remains relatively constant (i.e. between change and stability), and how relationships are affected by change in organisations. These data were analysed using deductive and inductive analytical frameworks. A reflexive approach was adopted throughout data collection and analysis. How these insights might inform further research into change in organisations was then discussed in the context of related literature.

Results: Six themes emerged from the investigation, namely: i) uncertainty at work; ii) progress and change; iii) dissonance and division; iv) definitions and boundaries; v) risks and vulnerabilities; vi) the role of stability. Participants described an organisational context dominated by change, most particularly frequent, imposed changes involving re-structuring and job moves. Change was seen to have created divisions between employees and the organisation, their colleagues and their sense of self, highlighting dissonance between personal/ professional and organisational values. Change was seen to go beyond the boundaries of the organisation into social and intimate worlds beyond work. Accounts of change included vulnerabilities for the organisation (e.g. reduced performance and employee dis-identification) and for individuals (e.g. employees' well-being and the potential for discrimination). In contrast, stability was a neglected but important consideration for participants.

Conclusion: This study suggests the normalisation of change as an everyday undertaking at work, contributing to individual and organisational uncertainty and vulnerability. This indicates not only a need to more clearly define change as a subject for study, but also a lack of consideration of stability as a source of certainty and balance. The use of change as a mechanism of control has contributed to a growth of managerialism and individualism and there is a need to better understand the troublesome effects of imposed change and its associated risks within and beyond the organisation. Conversely, the dynamic effects of organic change may offer significant benefits in allowing the organisation to adapt in accord with the wider environment.

Declaration

This thesis is been conducted entirely by me and is my sole work and composition. It has not been submitted for examination for any other degree or professional qualification.

Zoe Morrison

April 2012.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my wonderful Graeme, Meaghan and Jessie. They know why.

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Abbreviations

BPR	Business Process Re-engineering
BSE	Business Source Elite
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICI	International Chemicals Incorporated
MoD	Ministry of Defence
NHS	National Health Service in England
PAM	Professional Allied to Medicine
TQM	Total Quality Management
UK	United Kingdom
UKAF	Armed Forces of the United Kingdom
USA	United States of America

Chapter One: Introduction and Overview of the Thesis

1.1. Introduction

Change has received much attention amongst management practitioners and scholars. There is a vast body of literature considering organisational change and related topics, the boundaries and definitions of which are not clear. Yet change itself is not a subject, it is an ordering concept. Concepts are ideational functions of language, the categories, relationships and theories through which we understand the world and relate to each other (Philips and Hardy, 1997). We use concepts to order subjects and objects we discuss. They do not exist independently, yet their functioning is fundamentally important to our interpretations and understandings (Blumer, 1954). This thesis problematizes the concept of change. Michel Foucault's archae- genealogical methods (Alvesson and Karreman, 2000a) are drawn on to aid understanding of the forces and events that have shaped how ideas about change in the workplace have been constructed over time. These methods draw on Foucault's work to understand the categorisation, distribution and manipulation of familiar subjects, how we seek to understand them scientifically, and how we use them to form our sense of self (Rabinow, 1984). This thesis first seeks to review existing work on change relating to managerial practice and the study of organisations, considering the development of this field of learning and reviewing related academic literature over time. The thesis then goes on to describe an empirical study, aiming to explore individual experiences of change at work to enrich and inform our understanding of change in organisations and provide fresh ways of thinking about this familiar concept. This understanding is developed through discussion of the empirical findings in the light of existing and complementary literature to allow new insights into the concept of change and indicate further and alternate areas for study.

This first, introductory, chapter presents three overviews: firstly an outline of change as a general concept in the Western world is given as an introduction to the thesis. Secondly, an analysis of published work pertaining to the concept of change in organisations is provided to scope the field of study and map developmental trends within both academic and grey/practitioner orientated literature. This work is informed by bibliometric analysis and data presented support claims for the overwhelming volume of material considering change in the workplace (e.g. Demers, 2007, Helfat, 2007). Finally, a brief synopsis of the chapters within the thesis is given to orientate the reader to the content of the work and the structure of its

presentation. An outline of the topics considered within the main body of this chapter is given in Box 1.1.

Box 1.1 Summary of chapter topics

<p>Change as a concept in the Western World:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Philosophical theories of social change;• Change as progress;• Change as a business tool. <p>Scoping the field of study: the concept of change in business today:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Overview of the method of bibliometric analysis;• Analysis one – material accessible to managers: United Kingdom (UK) and United States of America (USA) sources;• Analysis two – publication trends over time;• Analysis three – publication by author defined category and type of publication;• What do these analyses indicate? <p>Overview of the thesis.</p>
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1.2. Change as a concept in the western world

To understand what we mean by change in organisations it is possible to start with a most basic definition. Change can be used as a noun to refer to an event where a movement takes place. It is also used as a verb to denote an action involving movement. These two forms have different implications for our understanding. To explore these understandings a brief consideration of philosophical theories of social change, the association of change with progress, and factors contributing to the development of ideas about change in business, are presented in this chapter, prior to review of this concept within organisational studies literature (Chapters Two and Three).

1.2.1 Philosophical theories of social change

Change is accepted in Western cultures as inevitable (Easley and Swain, 2003) and has been a fascination for philosophers throughout civilisation. The idea of objects constantly in a state of change was expressed by the Pre-Socratic philosopher Heraclitus and explored in

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Plato's theory of reality, more commonly known as the Theory of Forms (Flew, 1989). The concept of change as inherently valuable was fundamental to the Materialist theories and ideals of the Enlightenment: the cultural and intellectual movement which gained influence between the 1680s and the 1780s (Plamentez, 1963). Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) was a key influence during the Enlightenment. His ethic rested on the profound humanitarian conviction to the nobility and virtue of the human race, which is ordained to pursue intellectual and spiritual advancement (Taylor, 1973). In criticising all forms of traditional authority these ideas looked to strip away localised customs and beliefs to establish a social order, based on reason and natural law, which would reveal a universal humanity capable of progress (Bury, 1920). The idea of change as key to fulfilling the infinite potential of mankind was critical to this progress.

The Enlightenment's focus on change was reinforced by the evolutionary theories of Charles Darwin (1809-82). His theory of natural selection and the survival of the fittest had a major impact on the common mind and significantly contributed to the reduction in influence of the once intellectually dominant Christian Church (Mautner, 2005). Darwin suggested that species evolve into other forms by means of microscopic incremental changes to suit changing environments. The conclusion of his work is that those that adapt most strongly in directions favoured by the environment will survive and propagate (Gould, 1980). In describing adaptive change as crucial to the survival of living bodies he established change as a basis for the continuance of life itself. The significance of change within the intellectual traditions of the modern age, including the ideals of the Enlightenment and the growth of the natural sciences including Darwinism, have all contributed to ideas of change today.

If we accept the view of organisations as social bodies that have been ordered in a certain way (Hassard and Pym, 1990), a brief reflection on philosophical theories of social change is relevant to a rounded consideration of change. As such, a brief discussion of relevant aspects of the works of Aristotle, Machiavelli and Marx is given here to illustrate how theories of power and control together with our need for stability and security are enduring themes in philosophical considerations of change within an ordered society. These works have been chosen to reflect extremes of the political spectrum. Moreover, the writers themselves acted as forces for change, achieving enduring clarity and relevance.

Leadership and stability

More than twenty-three hundred years ago, Plato's student Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) considered the roles of leadership and stability in change. Aristotle was a reformist, advocating a natural, non-democratic order where the best hold power and exercise it in the interests of all (Sabine, 1963). In valuing the wisdom of existing custom and customary law he emphasises the value of political stability, which will allow gradual movement to a better conformation. Moving to the right of this view, the work of Niccolò Machiavelli (1459-1517) is known for its considerations of power, leadership, constitutionalism and government by consent, and is reflective of the political bankruptcy of Renaissance Italy (Bowler, 1961). The Renaissance was a period of profound intellectual development in Europe. A controversial figure at this time, Machiavelli was not considered a scholar. His work was received with shock and novelty, and the opportunistic nature of his most infamous work '*The Prince*' is generally recognised (Germino, 1972, Donno, 1981). These are criticisms which resound with those made of non-academic management texts today. He focuses on the role of individuals in influencing change, driven by self-interest and ambition. He sees change as an inevitable, tumultuous process that is either expected and in accordance with tradition, or unexpected and transformative in nature. Perhaps unsurprisingly, his writing has frequently been used by twentieth century scholars to understand political dynamics, leadership and influencing styles in organisations (Jay, 1967, Easley and Swain, 2003, McGuire and Hutchings, 2006).

Machiavelli advocates the use of power to enable change and at the same time emphasises the role of leadership in maintaining an appropriate degree of stability and ensuring acceptance of change. For Machiavelli change must proceed at a controlled pace if we are not to descend into anarchy. Regardless of whether the change is incremental or transformative an element of underlying stability is necessary to preserve order. He also recognises individuals' fear of change in proposing that people are more likely to accept change when incentivised or directed. Use of power determines the balance between inevitable change and maintaining stability through traditional social norms and values i.e. the need to manage change whilst maintaining social order.

Revolution and stability

Moving to the left of the political spectrum, Marx asserted that revolution is precipitated when productive forces have developed to the level at which existing production relations

Chapter One: Introduction and Overview of the Thesis

can no longer contain them or serve their further growth (Scruton, 1982). Karl Marx (1818–1883) admired Darwin and worked to acquire ‘scientific’ knowledge of the societal forces for change which would provide causal explanations of history and predictions about the future (Campbell, 1981). Marx’s use of G.W. Friedrich Hegel’s (1770–1831) theory of the dialectic to account for the dynamics of history again focuses on a rational consideration of change and portrays it as the key to freedom. Marx’s theories drew on Hegel’s dialectic reasoning and classical economics in his theories of social change through dialectic materialism. The need for underlying stability in delivering change is seen in Hegel’s *‘The Philosophy of Right’* (Knox, 1942) which describes adherence to a written code of law as a necessary part of the dialectic process. Marx’s vision of revolutionary social change at no point called for a breakdown in social order, but rather looked towards the proletariat leading deconstruction and reconstruction of the social superstructures that control productive forces. The term permanent revolution was first used in Marx and Engels’ optimistic *‘Address to the Communist League’* in March 1850 (McLellan, 1977) to describe revolution that would deliver bourgeois-democratic reforms in full immediately followed by the establishment of working-class power and socialism. Although Marx and Engels did not actively pursue this idea of infinite revolution, it is central to Leon Trotsky’s (1879-1940) view of the transition to socialism as a series of dispersed but interconnected social, political and economic upheavals driven by a variety of circumstances and dynamics (Bottomore, 1991). Trotsky recognised that change is a multi-level process of social interactions.

Building on the work of Marx, Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924) drew on the Marxist call for leadership to maintain social order during revolutionary change in his insistence on the centralization of Soviet power following the October 1917 Russian Revolution as a counter to anarchy (Bottomore, 1991). Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) used ideas relating to leadership to explain why revolutions do not happen in the way Marx proposed with his theory of hegemony. This describes the maintenance of bourgeois rule (leadership and control) via a social and political superstructure which works to stabilize the ascendancy of a class at the limiting point of production compatible with its continuity (Scruton, 1983). Hegemony facilitates movement only to the extent that existing power structures may be maintained. A rate of movement that goes beyond this would result in revolution, but the dominant power works to prevent this. A rate of movement faster than revolution would lead to anarchy and the breakdown of social order.

Change, stability and power

This review of philosophical theories relating to change establishes change as an on-going outcome of social processes. Whilst change is inevitable we also need to maintain some continuity to ensure stability, preserve social order and counter anarchy. Importantly, if an element of change is inevitable, an element of stability must also be inevitable. Thus, any study of change should logically include the role of stability and continuity. These philosophical arguments also highlight the role of power within change. Both leaders and individuals have a role in influencing change. Social forces for change carry ideological assumptions about good and bad. Leaders represent the dominant forces for change and determine its direction according to their view of what is good and their definition of progress (i.e. change in their desired direction (Bury, 1920)). This implies a degree of oppression of the desires of other forces within the movement in deference to the dominant power. It may therefore be argued that an employee's empathy to the dominant depiction of progress will impact upon their on-going evaluation of that change. Thus progress forms an important concept for individuals' sense-making in relation to their experiences of change and is worthy of investigation. Furthermore, the nature of employee voice and the degree of parity between employer and employee definitions of progress are relevant to considerations of change, allowing insight into the use of power in affecting change.

1.2.2 Change as progress

The inevitability of change has been established as part of our culture, whilst the inevitability of progress is a subject for debate. The modern era's concept of change as inherently progressive can be attributed to the Materialist theories and ideals of the Enlightenment. These questioned traditional values of fixed social status, beliefs and methods of production, and replaced them with optimistic ideas of mobility and change as synonymous with progress. Bury (1920) and Plamenatz (1963, Plamenatz, Plamenatz and Wokler, 1992) provide historical analyses of interpretations of progress during the modern era. Each of these interpretations constitutes the pursuit of power in differing forms including knowledge, material gain, hegemony, and the pursuit of freedom.

Bury's (1920) work provides valuable clarity when considering the relationship between these two notions, change and progress. This work was published at a time when the world's political landscape had recently witnessed the Bolshevik Revolution, the end of the Great War and the advent of the League of Nations. He presents a historical analysis of progress

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as an idea of relative values and the optimistic name for the process of change. He defines progress as change in the desired direction: an evaluative term for change. Evaluative terms are relative: the desired direction from one perspective may be undesirable from another. Change as progress may be contested.

Kuhn's theory of scientific paradigm shift, radical and postmodern theories each challenge the modern ideal of change as inherently progressive and encourage a consideration of the relationship of the two concepts (Nisbet, 1980, Bhopal, 1999). They also introduce the role of power into considerations of progress and encourage examination of potential synergies and differences between the two concepts. Lasch (1995) argues that the sheer scale of environmental issues, economic crisis and inequalities arising from industrial progress are leading to wide scale re-evaluation of the belief in progress: its inherent value as a means to intellectual and spiritual advancement is no longer universally considered inevitable.

These considerations of progress each highlight the role of power and knowledge in change. Dominant forces for change determine its direction in accordance with their definition of progress (i.e. their desired direction) which is derived from their knowledge of possible directions. This implies a degree of oppression of the desires of other forces within the movement in deference to the dominant power. Thus an employees' relationship to the definition of progress will impact upon their perspective on any particular change. An individual's degree of alignment and association with the progress envisaged for any proposed change will impact upon their evaluation of that change, both predictive and retrospective. Thus perceptions of progress offer insight into individual evaluations of change.

1.2.3 Change as a business tool

Early management theorists each experimented with change as a management tool, seeking to apply rationality to the study of organisations in the hope of developing universal theories. Frederick Taylor's (1856–1917) seminal publications and Elton Mayo's (1880–1949) theories each utilised Cartesian methods of systematic observation and measurement (Pugh, Hickson and Pugh, 1993) to identify causal relationships between inputs and outputs. Their research focused on the potential benefits of changes for both employer and employee. They shaped ideas about managerial practice and their influence within management theory continues today (Mullins, 2006). The 1980s present a watershed in the study of

organisational change. The perceived imperative to learn from the progress of Japan, the right-wing politics of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Regan's leadership and the associated materialist culture combined into a thirst for change that would produce recovery from the oil crises and economic depression of the 1970s. Change came to be seen as essential to business performance and preserving the status quo became unacceptable (Nohria and Berkley, 1994). Two important developments took place within this environment, each benefiting from the other: the exponential growth of both the non-academic business book market and the management consultancy sector. These developments benefited from the de-nationalisation and downsizing of organisations in the 1990s and continue to influence contemporary perceptions of change as a focus of management practice.

Business books

It is important to consider how non-academic work has influenced management attitudes to change. Many popularist works have proved highly influential due to their accessible presentation of ideas, publicity campaigns, mass market distribution, and, to some extent, the personnel credibility of the authors. Huczynski (1993) sub-divides this non-academic business book market into four types of text: i) *'how-to'* books aimed at minor business executives, ii) *'what-we-can-learn-from'* business books, iii) books that explain elements of business such as finance, and iv) *'survival guides'* which help readers cope with difficult times. The target audience for these books has been particularly receptive due to practitioners seeking solutions to business realities, including foreign competition and industrial decline (Nohria and Berkley, 1994). Non-empirical works are then further simplified, de-radicalised and distilled down by practitioners into more accessible ideas that provide a mandate for management action (Morrison, 2000). The cumulative effect of mass exposure of ideas and limited circulation of their critiques has succeeded in establishing change as key to competitive advantage, inherently valuable, the answer to difficult realities of organisational life. The stimuli for change may be challenged, and the outcomes of the changes advocated critiqued, but the concept of the value of change itself is not disputed. The emphasis on change as progress has often led to it being adopted as the answer of choice to difficult questions, leaving many organisations suffering from change fatigue, burnout and cynicism (Arahamson, 2000). It may also be argued that an abundance of flawed material on change that displays little academic validity has served to dilute the academic reputation and perceived validity of the study of change whilst paradoxically promoting the focus on change as key to organisational performance.

Management consultancy

The exponential growth of the management consultancy sector has a cause and effect relationship with managers' focus on change. Scientific management led to the emergence of consulting as a recognizable business practice, and the evolution of management consultancy has since contributed to the development of management practice and ideology (Kipping, 2002). In the 1980s management focus on change as the answer of choice created a demand for knowledge as to how best to go about it. Management consultancy responded to this demand, becoming one of the fastest growing sectors in the economy. During the period 1980 to 1999, 80% of currently operating consultancies were formed and revenues grew from \$3 billion to \$60 billion (Clark and Fincham, 2002). This represents a service sector actively marketing organisational change, contributing to, elaborating on, and facilitating delivery of the very ideas which stimulated the request for consultancy (Tisdall, 1982). Supply and demand have fed each other, resulting in a burgeoning consultancy sector and a wealth of publications, each focusing on change. The scale and scope of these publications will now be considered.

1.3. Scoping the field of study: the concept of change in business today

The use of language influences our understanding and structures knowledge as it develops overtime (Berger and Luckman, 1966). The language of business today offers a variety of terms to structure our ideas about change. A brief review of organisational studies textbooks aimed at undergraduate level learning (Hughes, 2006, Senior and Fleming, 2006) illustrates this variety, including terms such as organisational change, strategic change, change management, organisational development, organisational learning and innovation. These terms may be used interchangeably and imprecisely. They are not always clearly defined and the differences between them are not explicit: for example is there a difference between what is meant by 'workplace change' and 'organisational change'? To explore the historicity of this language, bibliometric analyses have been used here to scope the field of study and map developmental trends within both academic and grey/ practitioner orientated literature over time. Three analyses are presented to consider the scale and nature of publications on change: a scoping of the material accessible to managers within British and American databases; trends in publication over time; and trends in publication by type of paper. An

overview of the methods used to provide these bibliometric analyses is given below prior to consideration of the analyses in full.

1.3.1 Overview of the method of bibliometric analysis

Bibliometric analysis is '*the collection, handling, and analysis of quantitative bibliographic data, derived from scientific publications*' (Casey and McMillan, 2008, p.126). Current uses of bibliometric analyses demonstrate an academic focus on citations and impact. They have been used to identify social networks contributing to knowledge production and the intellectual evolution of fields of study within particular journals (Small, 1980, Gmur, 2003, Nerur, Rasheed and Natarajan, 2008, Fernandez-Alles and Ramos-Rodriguez, 2009). Bibliometric analyses are also being used to influence the on-going debate about impact factors (Archambault and Lariviere, 2009). This work seeks to step back from journal analyses to consider the role of language in retrieval of publications on change in the workplace. To this end, four databases were chosen to explore the nature and number of relevant publications available to academics and practitioners alike. The study was carried out in March 2009 utilising sources in Britain and America as the two main centres for relevant publications available in English. The American Library of Congress and The British Library were accessed using Endnote. Business Source Elite (BSE) and Emerald are widely accessible search facilities aimed at the management community and were chosen for this study as non-specialist sources. Nine keywords were identified as possible terms relating to change within organisations by review of recent organisational studies textbooks aimed at undergraduate level learning (as an indicator of their level of accessibility). Single keyword searches were then carried out and the count of items retrieved recorded for analyses. Where 'organisation' was included in the keyword the search utilised the most appropriate spelling i.e. 'organisation' for British databases and 'organization' for American sources.

This bibliometric study was conducted in March 2009 following on from an initial trial study in September 2007. Review of the original results allowed refinement in search criteria coincidentally accompanied by noticeable improvements in database capabilities. The data produced in March 2009 evidenced significantly increased numbers of items retrieved. Although the data was not felt sufficiently robust to provide a comparative longitudinal study (due in part to the methodological refinements), it should be noted that the rate of availability of relevant publications is growing so quickly that it can only compound the perception of the overwhelming scale of material in this area. This growth may be due to both the volume

of new materials being produced and to the digitisation of previously difficult to attain older works.

1.3.2 Analysis one – material accessible to managers: UK and USA sources

The first analysis presents a simple count of items retrieved from the four databases in relation to the nine keywords. As Table 1.1 shows, items retrieved from the American databases (Library of Congress and BSE) number more than five times those available from the two British sources (British Library and Emerald). As material may be listed against more than one field the total does reflect double counting. That said, the volume of material is indeed overwhelming. The extent of publication implies that change is important and sufficiently complex to warrant extensive debate. Each of these keywords implies that something can and should be done: change is presented as an organisational imperative. In total, sources listed under the keyword ‘change management’ account for 42% of the items retrieved. This keyword denotes a hierarchical power construct and portrays the nebulous and relative concept of change as something that can and should be managed. It may be argued that the dominance of this term demonstrates cohesion across a body of ‘change management’ work which utilises the concept of change to soften managerialist considerations of control.

Table 1.1 Number of books and articles listed by keyword within UK and USA databases

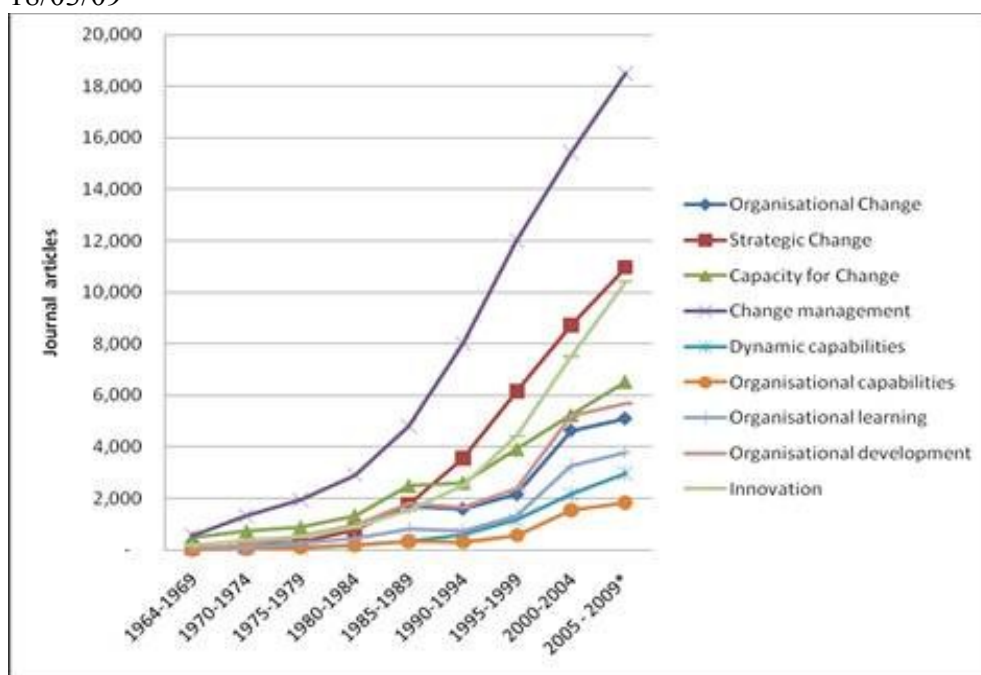
Key Word	Number of Items Retrieved				
	British Library	Library of Congress	Emerald	Business Source Elite	Total
Search Date	31/03/2009	31/03/2009	18/03/2009	18/03/2009	
Organisational Change	665	3,816	16,842	22,353	43,676
Strategic Change	682	74	32,509	143,736	177,001
Capacity for Change	67	11	25,173	151,658	176,909
Change management*	1,000	138	66,296	503,934	571,368
Dynamic capabilities	26	8	7,742	45,862	53,638
Organisational capabilities	17	11	4,890	29,293	34,211
Organisational learning	192	723	10,802	4,853	16,570
Organisational development	311	176	18,489	9,039	28,015
Innovation*	1,000	7,676	28,632	229,583	266,891
Totals	3,960	12,633	211,375	1,140,311	1,368,279

*Data retrieval from the British Library is limited by the software to a maximum of 1,000 records.

1.3.3 Analysis two – publication trends over time

It is possible to explore longitudinal trends in publications on change in the workplace referenced within the Emerald and BSE databases. Figure 1.1 charts numbers of items listed in Emerald within five year periods since the mid-1960s. It clearly illustrates the explosion of interest in change in the 1980s. It is noticeable that references listed under ‘change management’ and ‘strategic change’ follow a similar pattern of rapid growth, whereas ‘innovation’ lagged in the mid-1990s- 2000s, but is now on par with ‘strategic change’.

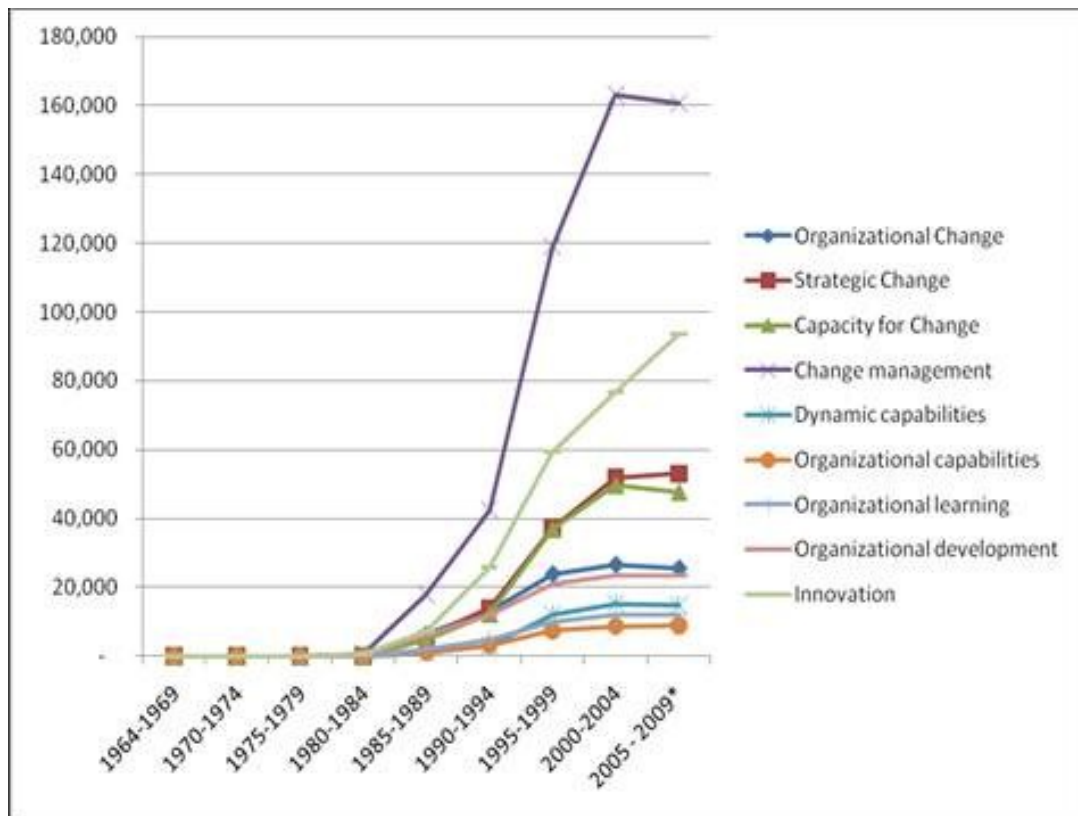
Figure 1.1 Publication trends within Emerald over time, Search Date 18/03/09



Note: Final five year period figures incomplete due to search date.

Similar analysis of material in BSE (Figure 1.2) shows the same explosion of interest in these areas from the mid-1980s. Again, the dominance of ‘change management’ is clear, following a similar trajectory to that in Europe. What is different is the amount of material concerned with ‘innovation’, which is some 50% larger than the amount of material listed against ‘strategic change’ by the early 2000s (76,793 items retrieved for ‘innovation’, 51,778 items for ‘strategic change’).

Figure 1.2 Publication Trends within BSE over Time, (Search Date 18/03/09)



Note: Final five year period figures incomplete due to search date.

The choice of keywords reflects the author’s positioning of the item and their target audience for retrieval and readership. Keywords also convey inherent models of change within organisations. The co-construction of three episteme, or discourses, of change is explored within the keywords analysed here in consideration of trends in publication over time. The first group may be interpreted as a control based discourse of change conveying a managerialist view of organisations reflected in the terms ‘change management’, ‘strategic change’ and ‘innovation’. Figures 1.1 and 1.2 demonstrate the dominance of these keywords. Separating out these three dominant keywords (Figures 1.3 and 1.4) shows commonalities between these terms in both American and British publications.

Figure 1.3 Publication trends within Emerald over time: control discourses of change

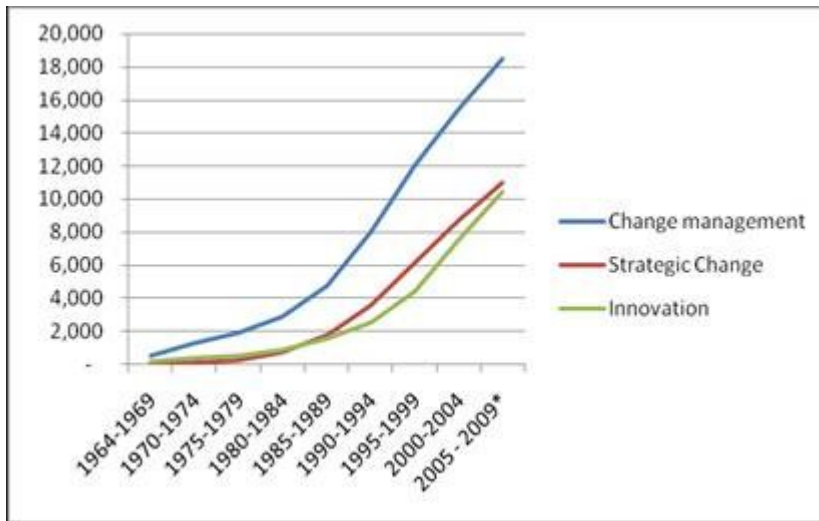
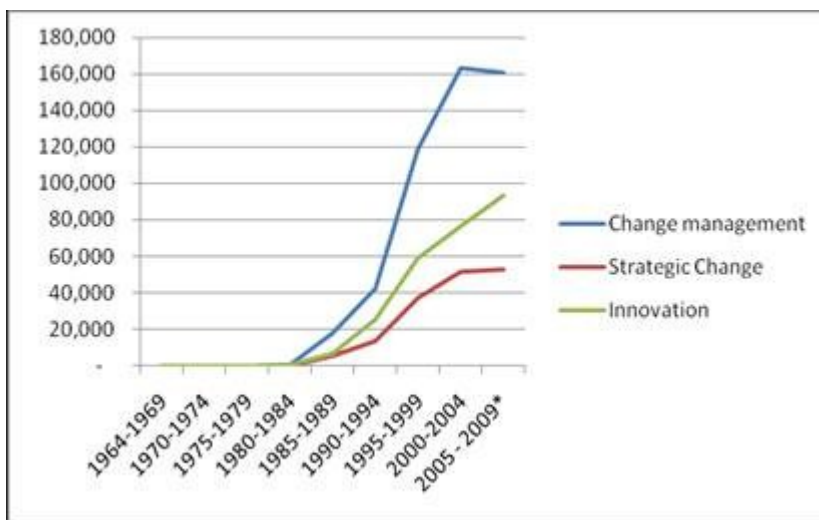


Figure 1.4 Publication trends within BSE over time: control discourses of change



The second discourse conveys a view of change based upon collaboration and a unitary view of organisations reflected in the keywords ‘organisational change’, ‘organisational learning’ and ‘organisational development’. Again, grouping demonstrates common trends in publication (Figures 1.5 and 1.6).

Figure 1.5 Publication trends within Emerald over time: collaboration discourses of change

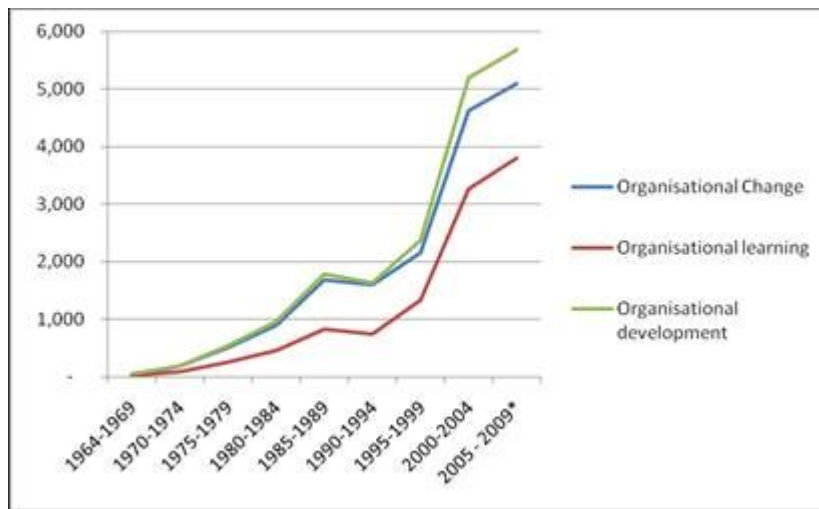
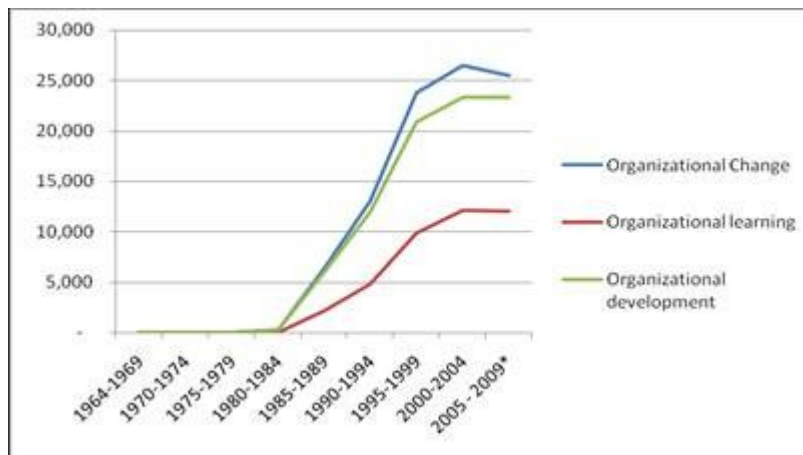


Figure 1.6 Publication trends within BSE over time: collaboration discourses of change



The third discourse offers a capacity based view of change reflected in the keywords ‘capacity for change’, ‘dynamic capabilities’ and ‘organisational capabilities’. Again, this grouping demonstrates common trends in publication (Figures 1.7 and 1.8).

Figure 1.7 Publication trends within Emerald over time: capacity discourses of change

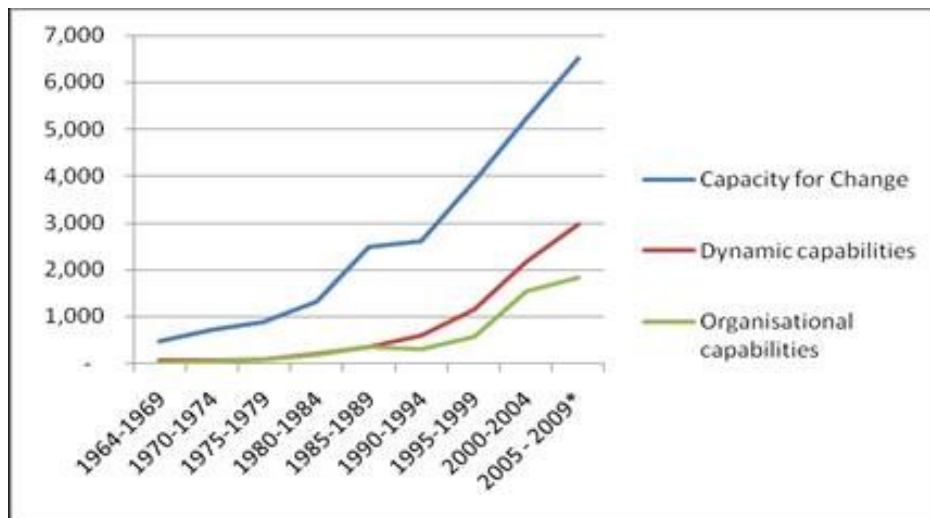
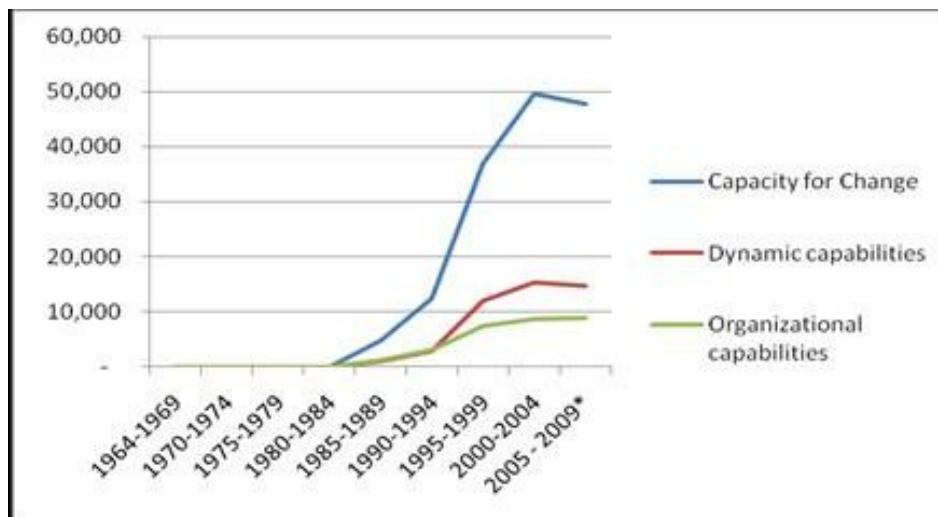


Figure 1.8 Publication trends within BSE over time: capacity discourses of change

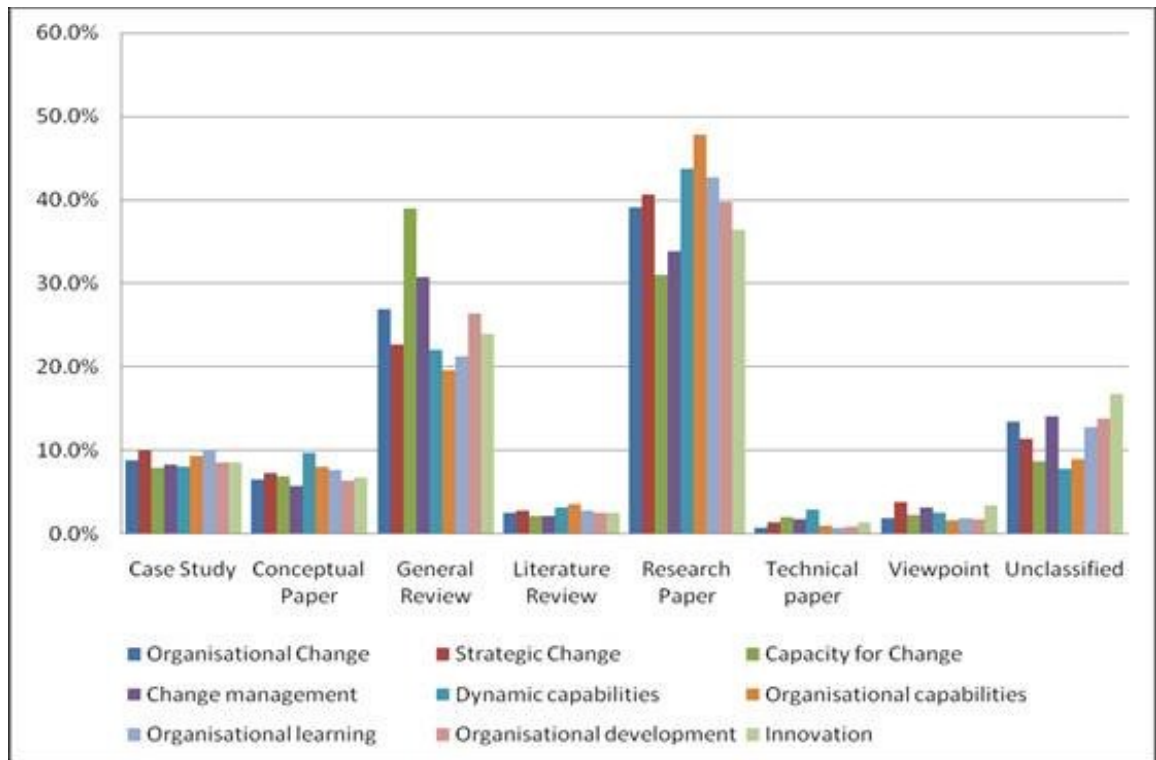


These similarities in publication trends suggest three approaches to change in the workplace: control, collaboration and capacity based discourses. The possibility of three meaningful groups counters considerations of fragmentation, as does the dominance of the control group. This dominance again indicates the use of the concept of change within organisational studies as a more acceptable simulacrum for considerations of managerial control.

1.3.4 Analysis three – publication by author defined category and type of publication

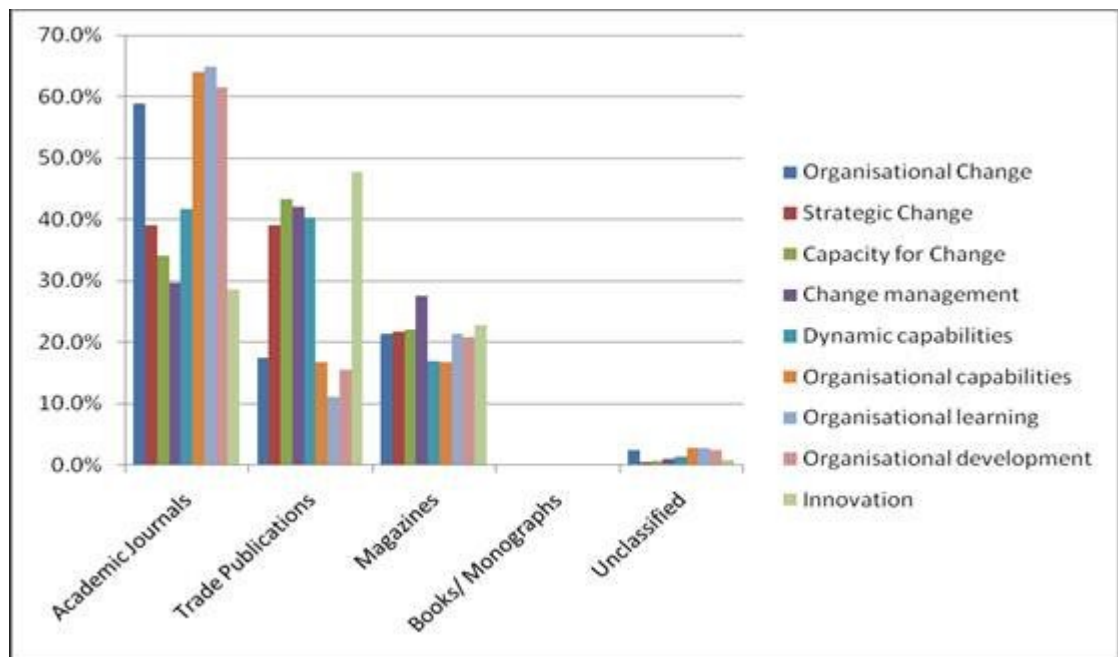
The final analyses investigate the intended audiences for publications held in Emerald and BSE for each of the keywords. Although it is not possible to classify items by identical criteria due to the search facilities offered, it is interesting to consider two methods of positioning available to authors. Within Emerald publications are classified by their authors. These categories are shown in Figure 1.9. These data indicate there is no shortage of research into change in the workplace, the quality of which is sufficient to achieve publication in academic and peer-reviewed journals. The dominance of ‘research papers’ may be due in part to academic pressures and funding structures. This category may also be used to target academic readership and citation. Similarly, the publication of general reviews may be targeted at more practitioner-orientated journals. The proliferation of ‘general reviews’ may result from the scale of material available. It may also reflect attempts to identify cohesive communities within so large a body of work.

Figure 1.9 Percentage of Emerald single keyword items by author defined category



Within BSE publications are classified by the type of publication. As Figure 1.10 shows, there are important differences in the language used depending on the medium of publication. Academic publications dominate listings for ‘organisational change’, ‘organisational capabilities’, ‘organisational learning’, and ‘organisational development’. On the other hand, ‘change management’ and ‘innovation’ are more frequently categorised within trade publications, implying that these terms are more directly aimed at practitioners.

Figure 1.10 Percentage of BSE single keyword items by type of publication



This data vividly conveys the extent of coverage of change in academic, trade and magazine publications. The frequency of publication on issues and topics relating to change in the workplace has achieved such scale that it has become, in effect, a self-fulfilling prophecy. The extent of interest implies relevance and importance. Change has become a ubiquitous topic without question.

1.3.5 What do these analyses indicate?

This series of bibliometric analyses has sought to explore the body of work available to managers and practitioners alike in Britain and America by utilising widely accessible database search facilities. The analyses presented offer an initial understanding of how the concept of change has been co-constructed over time within management and organisational

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studies. As has been claimed, the body of work in this area is indeed overwhelming (Demers, 2007). Interestingly, it does demonstrate cohesion, but not in ways that are immediately obvious. In total, sources listed under the keyword 'change management' account for 42% of the items retrieved. This keyword denotes a hierarchical power construct and portrays the nebulous and relative concept of change as something that can and should be managed. It may be argued that the dominance of this term demonstrates cohesion across a body of 'change management' work which utilises the concept of change to soften managerialist considerations of control. The cohesion is in the use of change in the workplace as a concept masking advocacy of managerial control in discourses of change. Classifying the material with regard to perspectives on the nature of control within organisations allows sub-groups of work to be traced within the development of intellectual communities utilising three discourses of change: discourses of control, collaboration and capacity. Despite differing focus and tones each of these discourses has seen significant increase in interest since the 1980s and each portrays change as an imperative.

Where the work is far less cohesive is in its accommodation of different language for different audiences. These analyses indicate differences between academic and practitioner interest. The wealth of practitioner orientated material may be a reason for frequent claims that this area of study is theoretically and empirically weak (Helfat, 2007). These claims may also be fed by the dominance of managerialist work, prescriptive recommendations and the appeal of change as a subject within the non-academic business book market. Ironically, the number of general reviews available may mask the contribution of less accessible empirical work and the accompanying theoretically informed debate. There are noticeable divisions in the use of keywords within academic and practitioner targeted publications, indicating that academic treatment of change is significantly different from that directed at practitioners. Keywords in the control grouping number more in trade journals, whilst the collaborative grouping appears more relevant to academic publication. Whilst international differences contribute to understandings of change in the workplace, managerial control forms an enduring focal point in its conceptualisation within the overwhelming volume of literature available to those working and researching in business today.

1.4. Overview of the thesis

The aim of this thesis is to propose new ways to think about the concept of change in organisations. Within the extensive body of organisational studies work focusing on change,

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the vast majority of literature focuses on processes of organisational change, i.e. the management of change. In contrast, the role of the individual has been neglected, with only a small minority of work offering theories of change at the individual level, i.e. change in organisations. This study aimed to reverse the established research model by exploring interpretations of experiences of change at work from the perspective of individual employees. In making the concept of change the subject of enquiry it seeks to allow new insights into change in organisations.

Given the overwhelming volume of material identified in the initial scoping of the field, the research strategy pursued within this thesis considers three levels of perspective to explore alternate representations of change: macro, meso and micro. The structure of the thesis is intended to guide the reader through the development and completion of the research process. There are nine chapters, with the first three chapters comprising a review of how change has been constructed as a concept in organisational studies, the fourth describing the methodology and methods for investigating individual perspectives on change, and the remaining chapters considering the findings and implications for research of the empirical investigation undertaken. The topics/ themes and sub-themes within each chapter are listed within the chapter introduction and a summary of the chapter is provided at the end. Individual chapters are described in brief here to orientate the reader with regards to the work presented.

In exploring the construction over time of the concept of change in the workplace, macro level analyses are offered in Chapter One. Informed by the bibliometric analyses of Chapter One, Chapter Two works at the meso level to review the development of managerial, processual and social/ discursive approaches to the study of organisational change (Morgan and Sturdy, 2000), considering alternate definitions and notions of organisational change.

Chapter Three works at the meso level to examine empirical studies focusing on the study of change in organisations, reviewing the nature of and relationships between ideas in published research (Hart, 1998). This literature was reviewed using Greenhalgh et al's six phase meta narrative review method (Greenhalgh et al, 2005a, 2009, Reynolds, Kizito, Ezumah et al., 2011) to consider academic, peer-reviewed articles presenting individual level studies of change within an interpretive classificatory framework comprising three meta narratives: the managerial, the psychology-orientated and the social. A summary discussion is provided at the end of Chapter Three, drawing together themes from within the extant work and

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highlighting areas for study. This discussion informs the research aim and objectives for empirical investigation, which are described in Section 3.9.

Chapter Four details the methodology utilised in this study, considering the ontological and epistemological basis for the thesis, and exploring the need for reflexivity within the research process. It then goes on to describe the strategy of inquiry, including the research context and the qualitative data generation and analysis undertaken.

Chapters Five, Six and Seven of this study consider the individual perspectives gathered, drawing together themes within the data collected, offering insights into individual experiences of change within the two research contexts studied. Chapter Five considers participant understandings of change as volunteered during in-depth interview discussion to address research question one: what do individuals mean when they talk about change? Three main themes emerged within the data and comprise the main themes of this chapter: i) particular examples of change events and associated experiences; ii) considerations of the scale and pace of change; and iii) evaluations of change. Some participants found it useful to explore particular change events. These examples were dominated by accounts of changes in individual roles and responsibilities and/or arising as a result of organisational re-structuring. Participants gave examples of their own and colleague's evaluations of change, including reference to the losses associated with change, the use of humour, resignation to change as a fact of life, and responses to change as a threat in the workplace, and whether or not change represented progress.

Chapter Six goes on to present findings in relation to research question two, how do research participants distinguish between change and that which remains relatively constant (i.e. between change and stability)? This chapter considers the demands of performance management, the depersonalisation of management communication and dominance of managerialism as factors contributing to the normalisation of change and resultant sense of uncertainty in organisations. The distinction between change and stability was investigated by asking participants for an example of something that had stayed the same in their workplace. This consideration of stability and continuity was problematic for some participants, leading to frustration and use of irony. Organisational hierarchies and power relations, professional values and commitment to public service each emerged as important themes within these data.

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The third and final set of findings is presented in Chapter Seven, which addresses research question three: how are relationships impacted upon by change in organisations? This chapter draws on the data to explore the relationships, connections, bonds and associations considered by participants when discussing change in organisations. Findings are interpreted within two emergent themes: the employee's relationship with their colleagues and with their employing organisation. The changes described presented a paradoxical picture of frequent employee job changes which adversely impacted upon working relationships together with an emphasis on team working to deliver change. Change also impacted upon individual relationships with their employer in significant ways, affecting employee belief in the organisation, compromising autonomy, stimulating negative emotions and, in some notable cases, causing employee stress and vulnerability.

Chapter Eight allows for discussion of cross-cutting themes emerging within the data in the light of the literature reviewed, informing consideration of the familiar but nebulous concept of change in the workplace. Importantly new and novel ways of thinking about change in organisations are highlighted within this discussion. The final, concluding chapter, Chapter Nine, provides an overview of the findings of the study and its contribution to academic debate regarding the conceptualisation of change in organisations. This chapter goes on to consider the strengths and limitations of the study, and addresses research question four in recommending areas for further research and empirical investigation. These chapters together form the complete research strategy in support of the thesis.

1.5. Chapter summary

This chapter has sought to provide an overview of the development of change as a concept in Western culture, considering influential factors in the development of change as a concept within our society and within ideas regarding managerial practices. The scope and scale of considerations of change in business was reviewed using a series of bibliometric analyses to interpret trends and patterns in the growth of published material on change. The structure of this thesis was then reviewed to orientate the reader to the content of the work and the order of its presentation.

Importantly, change has been accepted as inevitable in our culture, enduring as a fascination for philosophers throughout the development of Western civilisation. Whilst change is a

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relative term, there is an emphasis on its contribution to societal development. This emphasis upon change may be balanced in part by consideration as to whether or not change represents progress. This evaluative term introduces issues of power into considerations of change and requires acknowledgement that what constitutes progress from one perspective may be undesirable from another. Similarly, in business change has come to represent the imperative for managerial practice, an inevitable requirement for competitive advantage and organisational growth. The emphasis on change has been furthered by the business book market and the management consultancy sector. Each of these two phenomena have benefited from the emphasis on change, growing exponentially out of economic necessity following the financial crises of the 1970s. For management consultancy services and non-academic publications change in organisations makes good business.

The scope and scale of both academic and non-academic publications readily available on change was reviewed here using bibliometric analysis methods. Three analyses were presented: the scale and nature of publications on change, trends in publication over time and trends in publication by type of paper. In the first analysis the sheer volume of the material identified indicates the extent of interest in change as a managerial practice. The overwhelming volume of publications in itself implies that change is important and sufficiently complex to warrant extensive debate.

The influence of the business book market and management consultancy sector from the 1980s is echoed here in the explosion of publications on change around the same time. Patterns in the development of this literature were explored here by classification of the keywords into three episteme, or discourses, of change: control, collaboration and capacity. Analysis of these sets of work indicate the nature of development of these different terminologies of change by considering trends in publication over time, giving insight into the patterns of development that have shaped our thinking about change. The dominance of work considering how to control change again illustrates the role of power within change. This dominance is particularly evident within trade publications and those more directly aimed at practitioners.

These initial considerations of how the concept of change has been constructed within organisational theory and management practice suggest the disciplinary nature of change as a more acceptable simulacrum for considerations of managerial control and indicate a further need to understand more about the concept of change in business today by making change

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the subject of enquiry. How has change in organisations been scientifically studied, how does this shape current thinking, and how might we think about change differently? This understanding begins in the following chapter, Chapter Two, which considers different approaches to change within organisational studies.

Chapter Two: Approaches to Change

2.1 Introduction

This study problematises change as a subject for investigation. Change has taken on a particular form within the academic field of management and organisational studies. Yet whilst much has been written on change, it remains an under-defined concept. Change at work is now commonly referred to as organisational change. A number of other terms are also used, for example strategic change, change management, organisational development, organisational learning and innovation (as discussed in Chapter One), but the differences between terms and the underlying assumptions about change are not explicit. This chapter seeks to consider different approaches to change and the main precepts of each approach within the study of organisations.

Morgan and Sturdy’s (2000) work is relevant to considering different approaches to the study of change. They classify studies of organisational change into three different approaches: managerialist, processual, and social and discursive. These approaches map loosely to the three different ways of thinking about managerial control identified in the bibliometric analysis of publication trends over time presented in the previous chapter (Chapter One, Section 1.3), namely: control, collaboration and capacity based approaches. This is summarised in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Approaches to change

View of Change	Bibliometric Analyses: Publications on Change (Chapter One)	Landscape Review (Chapter Two)
Change as a noun: something done to employees.	Control	Managerial
Change as a verb: a process done by employees.	Collaboration	Processual
	Capacity	
Change as embedded practice, negotiated as a function of social relations		Social

Managerialist consideration of change as an event that happens in an organisation or something that is done within an organisation, either to or by the members of the organisation, can be traced through the development of the study of change on organisations. Up until the mid-1980s, organisational change was studied as a *change*: an event or episode (Pettigrew, 1985). This view sees change as functional, prescriptive and linear. Change is initiated by senior managers, negotiated, and organisational outcomes emerge. This managerialist approach views change as an exceptional effect produced by particular individuals (managers and change agents) (Tsoukas and Chia, 2002).

Developments in related fields such as strategic change, together with the rise of contextualism as a theory of method, led to new interest in the process of change, a focus on *changing* (Pettigrew, Woodman, Cameron, 2001). This was an important development. Processual, or event-based, conceptions of change offer before-during-after studies of change which is instigated and controlled by the managers within an organisation. Processual considerations of change bring in elements of context, history and process, considering change as a process, or processes, unfolding over time (Pettigrew, Woodman, Cameron, 2001). Change is a result of processes that happen to people.

These processual accounts of change have been further influenced by the linguistic turn in social sciences (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000a) and there has been a growing interest in discursive, plurivocal accounts of change as a social construct (Doolin, 2003). This social and discursive approach utilises social constructivist perspectives (Berger and Luckmann, 1966) to consider the social processes influencing change. It considers the use of knowledge, language and practice by organisational actors to make sense of and control their world. These studies go beyond considerations of change as a noun or verb and seek a more nuanced understanding of change as a concept. Concepts are shared constructs that we use to express ideas about our world (Ollman, 1976). They carry ideological assumptions including notions of good and bad. In questioning the traditional values of fixed social status, beliefs and methods of production, modern concepts of change are synonymous with progress and the attraction of the new (Kebede, 2002). In the modern era, change is considered good. Social and discursive considerations of change challenge this, discounting this automatic linkage of change to progress and encouraging a consideration of the relationship of the two concepts (Nisbet, 1980). These studies explore change as a continuing negotiation between unstable, conflicting narratives representing diverse interests and political agendas

(Buchanan and Dawson, 2007). They seek to inform understanding of issues of power, influence and knowledge within organisations as social entities. They consider how the past, present and future in an organisation are understood and how this may influence sense-making about the shape, direction and outcomes of change. Initially concerned with the role of discourse, these studies of change are increasingly engaging with practical issues to inform working practices (Oswick, Grant, Marshak and Cox, 2010).

This brief introduction has outlined three main approaches, or episteme, within the study of organisational change: managerialist, processual and social and discursive (Morgan and Sturdy, 2000). These approaches are fundamentally different in their understanding of change. Managerialist and processual approaches to change operate at organisational or departmental levels of the organisation and seek to understand organisational change. Social and discursive studies adopt multi-level approaches to change and come closer to the study of change in organisations. A broad review of these three approaches forms the basis of this chapter, outlining the development of current thinking on change within management and organisational studies. This landscape review provides the wider context for the systematic review of studies of the experiences of individuals as employees offered in Chapter Three. A summary of the three approaches to change reviewed in this chapter, and the sub-themes within them, is given in Box 2.1.

Box 2.1 Summary of approaches to change

Change as a noun: managerialist studies of change:

- The scientific management paradigm;
- The human relations paradigm.

Change as a verb: process- based studies of change:

- Further developments within the scientific management paradigm;
- Dynamic capabilities;
- Evolutionary theory;
- The punctuated equilibrium model;
- Further developments within the human relations paradigm.

Change as a concept: social and discursive studies of change:

- Philosophical theories of social change;
- Social and discourse based studies.

2.2 Change as a noun: managerialist studies of change

Managerialist perspectives consider change as an event initiated by senior managers. Change is studied as a programme, project, initiative or incident: something that happens as a result of management intentionality. These perspectives can be traced back to early twentieth century management research and fall broadly into two paradigms. The first draws on Taylor's work to develop scientific management and centres on the role of the manager in influencing and controlling patterns and laws of behaviour (Wren, 2005). This approach is referred to here as the scientific management paradigm. The second approach originates from the Hawthorne experiments at the Western Electric Company in America (1924–1932) and explores behavioural change and behavioural responses to change. This approach is referred to here as the human relations paradigm. The development of these two paradigms are considered here not as a full review of these two formative schools of thought but solely in relation to possible definitions of change.

2.2.1 The scientific management paradigm

The scientific management paradigm comprises largely positivist approaches which seek to determine the external truth that is 'out there' waiting to be discovered. It is dominated by the sceptical model of workers (Gabris, Maclin and Ihrke, 1998) and the role of the manager in influencing and controlling generalisable laws of behaviour. It focuses on the role of agency and utilises the modern assumption of a clear division between people and things (McLouglin and Badham, 2006). The search for patterns and laws that determine aspects of corporate performance have led to the adaptation of methods from the natural sciences to determine causal and functional explanations of change. This creates the illusion of objectivity based on rationality that masks partial analysis driven by biased assumptions (Ghoshal, 2005). This world view dominates current management pedagogy and research, and therefore managerial practice (Ghoshal, 2005, Shareff, 2007). Whilst it may be sensible to question the truth claims of this perspective, the extent of their influence cannot be denied.

Development of this approach

From the early 20th century change as a planned phenomenon instigated by managers to increase efficiency has provided a basis for study (Stickland, 1998). The systematic management studies of Frederick Taylor (1856-1917), popularly labelled '*scientific*

management' (Wren, 2005), pursued causal relationships between changing elements of organisational practice to achieve measurable outcomes. Managerial decision-making is the central tenant of contingency theory, an extension of systems theory, which dominated theories of organisational change up until the 1980s. In the 1960s large scale manufacturing based organisations faced rapid economic and technological changes (Burnes, 2004) and input-output models of planned, linear change with measurable outcomes. Management intentionality was felt to determine the nature of the change and the tangible benefits to be realised as a result.

The more urgent economic exigencies of the 1970s led to new approaches to change emerging in the 1980s. Much of the literature of this time moved on from ideas of reactive contingent action to purposive pre-emptive action, offering highly directive models and prescriptive change methodologies presented as both transferable and generally applicable (Johnson-Cramer, Cross and Yan, 2003). These rational-linear models of change seek one best way of implementing change across business contexts or timescales (Saka, 2003) such as business process re-engineering methodologies (Hammer, 1990, 1996, Hammer and Champy, 1993, Obolensky, 1994), the strategic choice approach (Child, 1972, 1997, Mintzberg, 1974) and configurational approaches to change (Mintzberg, 1979, Miller and Friesen, 1982, 1984, Romanelli and Tushman, 1994, Gersick, 1991). There is a marked resemblance between the early ideas of Taylor and these more recent influences such as business process re-engineering (Clark and Fincham, 2002). Managers determine the questions these models will be applied to and use scientific knowledge to inform and validate the decision-making process, allowing senior management to make strategic judgement calls that appear informed rather than intuitive (Parnell and Lester, 2003). Management strategies are then implemented utilising project structures that are theoretically underdeveloped (Partington, 1996). These models and the associated prescriptive methodologies represent the essence of the concept of change management.

Main precepts of this approach

The prescriptive models arising from the scientific management paradigm tend to downplay multi-dimensional models of change and the impact of social systems (Johnson-Cramer, Cross and Yan, 2003). This approach considers environmental and institutional effects as instigators of responsive interventions by managers to ensure organisational survival. This is based on the assumption that organisational capabilities should be matched to environmental

trends and industry structures to maximise economic performance (Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967, 1969, Bourgeois, 1985). Social dimensions of organisational behaviour are captured within the idea of resistance to change. Resistance to change was originally explored as a result of the application of systems theory to investigate organisational change (Dent and Galloway Goldberg, 1999). It was quickly adopted by others and has become an accepted truism within management studies (see Dent and Galloway Goldberg, 1999, for an interesting description of the emergence of this popular term). Resistance to change implies a manager/ staff power dichotomy: change is a worthy managerial activity and individuals are either for it or against it. Considerations of resistance to change focus on the threat or opportunity it offers the manager. Resistance represents a barrier to progress that must be overcome (Miller and Friesen 1982, 1984, Kanter, 1990). It can also be a source of managerial insight into why advocated changes may not work (Obolensky, 1994). The individual must construct and locate themselves within this manager/ staff power dichotomy.

In addition to responsive and social dimensions of change, the scientific management paradigm has addressed technological change as a relationship between technology, structure and design. Theories of technological determinism (Leavitt and Whisler, 1958, Woodward, 1965) cite technology as the determining factor of work and organisational structure. This was countered by Child's (1972) strategic choice model which returned the focus of debate to managerial decision-making and led to the political approach within the human relations paradigm (McLoughlin and Badham, 2006) and the politicisation of technological development within Braverman's (1974) labour process theory. In the 1980s increased investment in technology, the need to minimise costs and achieve flexibility, prompted interest in increasing the proportion of professional technical workers whilst at the same time maintaining centrality of managerial control and definition of performance criteria (Collins, Hage and Hull, 1988, Meyer and Goes, 1988). New technology is taken to represent a change to be managed just like any other.

The scientific management paradigm's dedication to the value of change is striking. Stability within the organisation is mostly ignored or demonised as inertia and/or resistance (Buchanan, Fitzgerald, Ketley et al., 2005). This is based on underlying values and assumptions of modernity and its association of change with progress, the value of the new and the power of science and technology (Terry and Levin, 1998). Change is seen as a management tool in the pursuit of competitive advantage, as evidenced by use of the term change management. The manager is central to the control of change, which is associated

with managerial accomplishment and career progression. Drucker's (1955) definition of management as the art of getting things done through other people celebrates this dominance as a productive art form. The privilege of management intentionality is evident in the power of the manager to determine not only what is to be changed but why particular issues justify the change effort. Dutton and Webster (1988) consider the roles of uncertainty and feasibility in managerial interest. They conclude that the more uncertain an issue is, the less attractive it is for management attention. The more feasible change appears, the more attractive that issue becomes as a focus for managerial action. Change is a valuable management tool.

This overview of the scientific management paradigm has highlighted a number of perceptions of change worthy of further investigation. These considerations operate predominantly at a formal, top-down, programme or project based level. Change can be seen as an event which may be instigated and controlled by managers. Various prescriptive methodologies have been recommended for this managerial control but no single best way has been found as yet. Change is progressive, a management tool for achieving competitive advantage. To this end, managers choose what change is to be implemented and why, and employees are required to comply. Change is a managerial accomplishment and delivers measurable benefits. These are influential ideas on change. They can be seen to endure today and are relevant to this study.

2.2.2 The human relations paradigm

This perspective explores behavioural responses to changes that happen in organisations. The Hawthorne experiments at the Western Electric Company in America between 1924 and 1932 led to the seminal concept that attention to workers and their needs increases productivity (Mullins, 2006, Gabris, Maclin and Ihrke, 1998). These experiments pursued causal relationships between changing elements of organisational practice to achieve measurable outcomes which led to the formation of the optimistic human relations school of thought and a growing interest in the benefits to an organisation of improving working conditions. This perspective considers change happening in organisations and how employees may respond and adapt.

Development of this approach

This focus on behavioural adaptation to change draws on the work of Kurt Lewin (1890–1947). His action research to develop a three phase model for the management of planned change (unfreeze-change-refreeze) vividly articulates consideration of change as an event and remains hugely influential. Subsequent emphasis on his three stage model of change detracts from the overall contribution of his work. He was a friend and colleague of Ron Lippitt (1914–1986), and shared his interest in advancing theories of leadership (Wolf, 1996). He was concerned with the participative and collaborative learning arising from group processes and the social dynamics involved in bringing about organisational change, utilising systems theory as an analytical framework for his ideas. These ideas comprise the foundations of the human relations approach to management.

Human relations analyses of individuals involved in change frequently rely on retrospective interpretive and sense-making practices. Psychological and psychoanalytic methods have been used to explore defensive and adaptive techniques to mitigate emotional responses to change (for example Diamond, 1986). Frustration with the failure of change to penetrate organisations has led to considerations of culture as embodying failure to internalise concepts of change and shaping collective resistance (for example Stuart, 1998). This emphasis on culture was influenced by Cyert and March's (1963) behavioural theory of the firm, which considers decision-making processes to be governed by procedures and decision rules which are in turn influenced by the dominant coalition or culture. March's later work (1981, cited in Argyris 1996a) centres on routines, control, loyalty and trust as the key determinants of workplace behaviour and successful change. In contrast, much of Argyris' own theory of action (1991, 1994, 1996b) decries rules and routines as contributors to defensive reasoning. Argyris (2002) later revises this view, moving closer to March's perspective in accepting that technical managerial theories (for example professional methods, regulations and codes of practice) can reduce defensive reasoning by reducing the potential for employees to feel embarrassed or threatened. This attention to the role of cultural factors on organisational change has been extremely influential.

Cultural change came sharply into managerial focus in the 1980s with the publication of Peters and Waterman's *In search of Excellence* (1982) and continues as a favoured product offering of the management consultancy industry. Harris and Ogbonna (1998) summarise the principal academic views on cultural change as a rich spectrum, including views that it a) can be managed, b) cannot be managed, and c) can be manipulated. Their work aligns with

the findings of Elsmore (2001) in typifying cultural change as a veneer masking continuing cultural practices. Armstrong (2006) argues that employees utilise culture to navigate the workplace and seek to maintain relative stability of norms, values and beliefs. The managerial focus on the potential to manipulate behaviours ignores the value of this stability and its potential contribution to employee well-being and resilience. Hannan & Freeman's (1977) structural inertia theory considers the role of inertia and recognises the vulnerability caused by change. Inertial forces include sunk costs (in equipment and personnel), political coalitions, rules and routines, legal constraints, and normalisation processes resulting from concerns of legitimacy and relationships with other organisations and institutions. These forces contribute to organisational memory and are relevant to considerations of change. However, this work has more frequently been used to explore the impact of organisational context upon change (see for example Kelly and Amburgey, 1991, Dean and Snell, 1991). If we are to understand change we must also consider that which is stable; the elements of organisational continuity that do not change.

Main precepts of this approach

Human relations approaches depict change as an event which managers bring about (using the unfreeze-change-refreeze model) and to which employees respond. This underlying premise is based on unitarist assumptions regarding social relationships. The focus here is managing behavioural adaptation to change and in some cases psychological and psychoanalytic methods have been utilised to understand these responses. Change is progressive but there is also recognition of the role of stability and continuity. Enduring organisational culture may be seen as a dominant influence on the balance between continuity and change. Elements of culture include rules, routines, procedures, behavioural norms, values, beliefs, employee loyalty and trust. Human relations holds that each of these can and should be actively managed in relation to achieving change within the organisation and they are therefore dimensions of change to be considered in this thesis.

2.3 Change as a verb: process- based studies of change

The processual approach to change considers change as a verb. It studies changing rather than change and looks at the complex dynamics of change processes including contextual considerations and political action. Processual perspectives consider change as initiated or orchestrated by managers that employees comply with. Emphasis on the study of changing

rather than change emerged in the 1980s, offering a contextual approach that seeks principles of method (Pettigrew, Woodman and Cameron, 2001). Pettigrew's (1985) seminal study of change processes in the company ICI (International Chemicals Incorporated) made a fundamental contribution to the development of this new perspective on change. This processual approach to the study of change blurs the traditions of scientific management and human relations and includes study of pace, sequencing and linearity as variables within the organisational context.

2.3.1 Further developments within the scientific management paradigm

The scientific management tradition can readily be seen within this approach in the use of systems theory and contingent approaches to establish the ideal of the adaptive organisation maintaining a steady state of incremental development. These ideas are evident within the continuous improvement doctrines of methodologies such as total quality management (TQM) and kaizen (Hughes, 2006). Managers determine the questions these models will be applied to and utilise scientific knowledge to inform and validate their decision-making process, allowing the senior management to make strategic judgement calls that appear informed rather than intuitive (Parnell and Lester, 2003). Management strategies are then implemented utilising project structures that are theoretically underdeveloped (Partington, 1996). It is these model processes of change and their associated prescriptive methodologies which represent the continuing ideal of change management: the idea that change is something you can control with the correct and universally applicable technique.

The quest for the correct and universally applicable technique, the identification of best practice for the control of change, immediately promises practitioner relevance and remains the dominant paradigm within the management discipline (Amis, Slack, Hinnings, 2004). This dominant perspective depicts organisational change as indivisible from macro-level, socio-economic change, depicting organisational change as the necessary response to social change to ensure corporate survival (Oswick, Grant, Michelson and Wailes, 2005). It lends itself readily to prescriptive guides and models, many of which lack any empirical evidence to support their development (Collins, 1998, Hughes, 2010). They lend themselves to the legitimising practices of benchmarking to identify best practice models (Clarke and Manton, 1997) together with other popular process-based change models such as business process re-engineering (BPR) and Six Sigma.

2.3.2 Dynamic capabilities

In the early twenty first century process-based change models are being developed within the concept of dynamic capabilities. Much of this work seeks to build on Barney's (1991) resource based view of the firm to explore how these resources are developed and how they interact with changing external, market factors and internal, organisational elements (Rindova and Kotha, 2001, Bowman and Ambrosini, 2003, Lopez, 2005). Process and systems based models are related to organisational learning capabilities to increase the organisation's responsiveness to subsequent requirements to change (Zollo and Winter, 2002). Dynamic capability theories converge with co-evolutionary theory in considering the relationship between the firm and industry structures (Lampel and Shamsie, 2003). The development of these resources or capabilities is aimed at strategic flexibility, the ability to respond to changing external environments to secure competitive advantage (Teece, Pisano and Sheun, 1997, Zahra and George, 2002a, Helfat, 2007, Pablo, Reay, Dewald and Casebeer, 2007). Definitions of dynamic capabilities currently lack cohesion (Zahra, Sapienza and Davidsson, 2006). However, they share a common aim of increasing the organisation's capacity to respond to managerially determined change which is increasingly experimental, opportunistic or both (Zahra and George, 2002b, Rindova and Kotha, 2001, Pablo, Reay, Dewald and Casebeer, 2007). Managerial ability to identify appropriate changes and the ability of the organisation to respond to management purpose are used to define new success criteria and performance measures. These are accessible and readily marketable ideas that depict change as something that may be managed and appeal to our desire for control.

2.3.3 Evolutionary theory

Evolutionary theory is another accessible idea that lends itself readily as a metaphor for organisational change as a response to social change and a necessity for survival. Ecology, evolutionary theory and concepts relating to natural evolution have each been applied as theoretical frameworks for understanding organisational change. Darwinist and neo-Darwinist ideas have been likened to incremental, cumulative change and the punctuated equilibrium model respectively (Gersick, 1991). Starbuck's (1965) work in this area focuses on patterns in size and structure. Change is seen as a sequence of stages, a logical and natural progression, and the metaphor of living organism is used to model generic developmental patterns from birth (entrepreneurial phase), to adolescence (specialisation) to maturity

(decentralisation). Environmental factors impact upon organisations and management action intervenes to mediate these impacts and ensure the organisation remains competitive (Hannan & Freeman, 1977). Each of these approaches draws heavily on natural science to portray organisations as living organisms that move through generic developmental phases.

The original work of sociologists Hannan and Freeman (1977) was an important departure from previous efficiency based theories in considering organisational selection and replacement as reasons for organisational change. Extended use of the evolution metaphor saw the field increasingly populated by ideas from positivist disciplines; a shift from predominantly empirical to theoretical work and the development of models combining principles of adaption and selection (Demers, 2007, Amburgey and Rao, 1996). Evolutionary and ecological theories have been used to consider environmental influences and the role of competition in influencing strategic viability, expansion and the decline of organisations (Boeker, 1991). Change is depicted as a requirement for survival and evolution.

2.3.4 The punctuated equilibrium model

The punctuated equilibrium model draws on evolutionary theory as a framework for explaining fundamental changes in organisational activities. It presents a stepping stone image of long periods of equilibrium interspersed by relatively short bursts of fundamental change (Romanelli and Tushman, 1994). These short bursts of change are similar to Kuhn's (1970) concept of paradigm shift; the intellectual revolutions in science brought about by shifts from one paradigm to another. Kuhn argues that paradigm shifts are precipitated by crises arising from anomalies that falsify key theories within the current paradigm (Williams, May and Wiggins, 1996). Each crisis instigates intellectual revolution which leads to the establishment of a new paradigm. The new paradigm is not necessarily better than previous ones, simply different and more relevant to the questions of the day (Bhopal, 1999). Like Kuhn's paradigms, each state of equilibrium is not better than the last, but simply more responsive to the requirements of the time.

The punctuated equilibrium model and its use of evolutionary theory has contributed to the conception of change as emergent and non-linear, a continuous process of inter-related experimentation and adaptation which eventually results in major re-configuration. Emergent change casts senior managers as facilitators and middle managers as diligent implementers

(Balogun, 2003). More recent use of co-evolutionary theories attempts to recognise the complex interactions between organisational influences, environmental factors and management intentionality (Volberda and Lewin, 2003, Flier, Van Den Bosch and Volberda, 2003, Meyer, Gaba and Colwell, 2005). This work offers a rational image of everyone working together to incrementally improve things over time (Bamford, 2006). It builds on the human relations perspective, emphasising the role of the change agent, the independent researcher seeking to understand and influence group behaviours, to present a benevolent alternative to the use of rapid change to overcome organisational inertia (Amis, Slack and Hinings, 2004). The role of independent expert readily lends itself to management consultancy models, the internal change agent, and the human resources business partnering model (Caldwell, 2001, Saka, 2003). We see here the evident legacy of Lewin's work.

2.3.5 Further developments within the human relations paradigm

Lewin is credited with creation of the role of change agent, the independent researcher who seeks to understand and influence group behaviours (Burnes, 2004). Lewin's ideal of a change agent as independent and expert may seem naive today. The term expert is often more accurately described as available (Saka, 2003): managers who are charged with achieving change for which they do not necessarily have the knowledge or skills. Self-selected change agents have been found to have mixed motives for volunteering which are not necessarily fully congruent with stated aims and objectives of organisation and the changes to be implemented (Doyle, 2002). These findings significantly detract from the idea of neutral change agents and call into question the feasibility of any individual involved in change acting independently to make change happen. Lewin's independent change agent is now frequently found based within human resources functions. Their independence has been questioned as the impact of their world view on the planning and implementation of change is further investigated (Francis, 2003, Balogun, 2003, Saka, 2003). Recent research has sought to examine the contribution of human resources to the development of social environments where increased trust between employees and managers facilitates flexibility (Martinez-Sánchez, Pérez-Pérez, Vela-Jiménez et al., 2008). However, these studies do not examine the personal effectiveness of change agents, rarely consider the degree to which they were able to maintain independence, and are often mitigated by the complexities of planned change. The contribution of change agents, for example within the human resource function or as external management consultants, is therefore a dimension of change that should be considered further.

This overview of processual approaches to change again predominantly considers change at an organisational or departmental level. Change is depicted as a sequence of developmental phases, some more intense than others. Change is a necessary response to social change and environmental influences. Change goes beyond progress. It is essential to corporate survival and maintaining competitive advantage. The processes of change are implemented by managers and change agents (employees including human resources specialists and externals such as management consultants). These are complex political processes of change which are influenced by internal and external contextual variables. Much of the work done in relation to this perspective on change is concerned with prescriptive methods for managing and controlling these complex processes of adaptive and incremental change. How processes of change are managed within organisations is therefore relevant to the thesis.

2.4 Change as a concept: social and discursive studies of change

Social and discursive approaches consider change as an outcome of social processes developing over time from moment to moment. Change is something that is done by employees rather than an event initiated or orchestrated by managers with which employees comply. This section reviews these alternate understandings of change in organisations.

2.4.1 Social and discourse based studies

Morgan and Sturdy's (2000) reference to social and discursive approaches encompasses the use of discursive and performative perspectives to consider the complexities of change in organisations. This third approach utilises social constructivist perspectives (Berger and Luckmann, 1966) to consider the processes influencing change as a product of discourse. It considers the use of knowledge, language and practice by organisational actors to make sense of and control their world. These studies seek to understand change as an interactional activity: change is done by people rather than to people. It is a dynamic, fluid activity rather than a discreet process (Oswick, Grant, Michelson and Wailes, 2005). Change is a multi-level activity and studies must accommodate poly-vocal narratives that allow for ambiguity and dissonance (Grant and Marshak, 2009, Buchanan and Dawson, 2007).

Discursive studies of change

Discursive studies of change form part of a wider interest in the role of discourse in organisations. Organisational discourse may be defined as *'the struggles for meaning that occur in organisations'* and is becoming increasingly influential as a focus for research (Grant and Hardy, 2004, p.5). Much of this perspective draws on the work of Michel Foucault (1926–1984) and considers discourses as ordering systems for the formulation and articulation of ideas in a particular period of time (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000b). Discourses are used to construct our understanding of concepts, objects and subjects at any moment in time (Oswick, Keenoy and Grant, 2000). They are situated within social, historical and cultural contexts and are felt to offer more nuanced understandings of oppositional and aligning perspectives (Conrad, 2004, Zorn, 2005). This is particularly interesting with regard to change as a socially constructed and relative entity (Buchanan and Dawson, 2007). Change is studied as an outcome of competing interests derived from hidden assumptions embedded in the language of everyday practice.

Consideration of the use of language during change is relevant here not only as the articulation of a desired change or changing, but also as a representation of the accomplishment of change. We use language to conceptualise and establish knowledge as shared understandings of the world around us (Fairclough, 2002, Hardy, Lawrence and Grant, 2005, Bloomfield and Hayes, 2009). Over the course of the early 21st Century this body of work has developed through consideration of a number of different aspects of organisational change using a range of discursive approaches, including the use of metaphor to facilitate change (Marshak, 1993), the role of identity in change (e.g. Beech and Johnson, 2005, Hardy, Lawrence and Grant, 2005), the influence of emotion in change processes (Carr, 1999) and the influences of sense-making and sense-giving (e.g. Dunford and Jones, 2000, Ybema, 2004, Anderson, 2005).

This range of discursive approaches has not gone un-noticed, but has been subject to critique (e.g. Reed, 1998) and omission from more mainstream publications (e.g. the 2004 Oxford University Press *'Handbook of Organisational Change and Innovation'* (Zorn, 2005)). Reed, (1998) questions the relevance of these studies for practitioners. Oswick, Keenoy, Beverungen et al. (2007) and Oswick, Grant, Marshak et al. (2010) acknowledge this and consider how these studies are coming to be more practically relevant. Indeed, these concepts are now being empirically tested. For example, Morrison, Cresswell, Marsden et al. (2011) have applied Grant and Marshak's (2009, 2011) multi-level discourse-based model of

organisational change, countering those who consider this work to be atheoretical. Importantly, social and discursive approaches are not advocating this approach as the key to the study of change. Further to focusing upon the role of discourse, socially situated narratives and the plurivocal nature of change, it maintains ontological coherence by advocating '*combined paradigm*' research (Woodman, 2008, p.36, Doolin 2003, Buchanan and Dawson, 2007). Discursive approaches see themselves as complimentary to, rather than competitive with, other perspectives on change.

Performative studies of change

The performative approach to change builds on discursive approaches in its consideration of change as an evolving social construct. It goes further to consider change as a performance, an outcome of '*the mechanisms of ordering and controlling employed by organisational participants*' (Doolin 2003, p.753). This perspective draws on critical discourse analysis techniques but acknowledges materiality. In particular it seeks to engage with the role of technology and the organisation as a continuously changing whole (McLoughlin, 1999). This echoes with the view of organisations as story telling systems performed by their members (Boje, 1991, 2003, cited in Buchanan and Dawson, 2007, p.671). Feldman (2000) looks at the use of performance in organisational routines, which change as participants learn from previous enactments. Change is grounded in, and emergent from, everyday practices, opportunities and unintended consequences (Orlikowski, 1996). Any change arises from stakeholders' relatively superficial competing and diverse interests, and is intertwined with a deeper, underlying continuity (Heracleous and Barrett, 2001).

This performative approach privileges change as the precursor to organisation rather than the product of organisation (Tsoukas and Chia, 2002). Weick depicts organisations as continuously re-created in interaction. He stresses the on-going sense-making processes that lead to continuous change (Weick, 1995). For Weick the ability to respond to the environment will be dependent on an organisation's coping, perception and exploration processes, and response capability (Murray and Donegan, 2003). Thus change is an on-going process of human interaction within the organisational frame of working routines and practices, which are in turn situated in and interacting with, the context of the wider world. Change is not simply a product of management intention, but rather something that is always on-going as an inevitable product of human action (Tsoukas and Chia, 2002). For this reason, individual human experience has significance in producing micro-level changes that

contribute to organisational processes of changing. Individual experiences of change are therefore worthy of further investigation and understanding.

2.5 Chapter summary

This chapter has considered different perspectives on the study of change together with associated considerations for research. The overview given above reviews three main approaches to the study of organisational change: managerialist, processual and social or discursive (Morgan and Sturdy, 2000). These approaches are fundamentally different in their understanding of change.

Within managerialist approaches, the scientific management paradigm looks at organisational change at a predominantly organisational or departmental level and highlights a number of perceptions of change worthy of further investigation. Change can be seen as an event which may be instigated and controlled by managers. Various prescriptive methodologies have been recommended for this managerial control but no one best way has been found. Change is progressive and one management tool in working towards competitive advantage. To this end, managers choose what change is to be implemented and why, and employees are required to comply. Change is a managerial accomplishment and delivers measurable benefits. These are influential ideas on change. They can be seen to endure today and are relevant to this study.

Human relations orientated managerialist considerations of change operate at organisational or departmental levels of the organisation. Change is depicted as an event which managers bring about (using the unfreeze-change-refreeze model) and to which employees respond. Managers may employ employee independent change agents to implement the required changes. The focus here is managing behavioural adaptation to change and in some cases psychological and psychoanalytic methods have been utilised to understand these responses. Change is progressive but there is also recognition of the role of stability and continuity. Enduring organisational culture may be seen as a dominant influence on the balance between continuity and change. Elements of culture include rules, routines, procedures, behavioural norms, values, beliefs, employee loyalty and trust. Human relations holds that each of these can and should be actively managed in relation to achieving change within the organisation and they are therefore dimensions of change to be considered in this thesis.

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Processual approaches to change again predominantly operate at organisational or departmental levels of the organisation. Change is depicted as a sequence of developmental phases, some more intense than others. Change in organisations is a necessary response to social change and environmental influences. Change goes beyond progress. It is key to corporate survival and maintaining competitive advantage. The processes of change are implemented by managers and change agents (employees including human resources specialists and externals such as management consultants). These are complex political processes of change which are influenced by internal and external contextual variables. Much of the work done in relation to this perspective on change is concerned with prescriptive methods for managing and controlling these complex processes of adaptive and incremental change. How processes of change are managed within organisations is therefore relevant to this study.

Social and discursive approaches to change establish a view of change as an on-going outcome of social processes. These approaches privilege change as an on-going process of human interaction within the organisational frame of working routines and practices, which are in turn situated in and interacting with the context of the wider world. Change is grounded in, and emergent from, everyday practices and consequences of interactions within the organisational frame situated within the context of the wider world. Change is thus influenced by all members of the organisation. For this reason, individual human experience has significance in producing micro-level changes that contribute to organisational processes of changing and is worthy of investigation

Inherent assumptions regarding the nature and use of power thread their way through all considerations of organisational change. The scientific management and human relations paradigms discussed here each define power as a function of agency to be used in pursuit of economic benefit. Those that have more will dominate those that have less. For scientific management power is a zero-sum entity that may be gained or lost; some will have more than others. In contrast, power for human relations is a cumulative entity utilised collectively for mutual benefit, which is defined as competitive advantage, increased productivity and shareholder value (Pichault, 2007). The literature usually provides empirical evidence for increased productivity resulting from staff participation (Levinson and Tyson, 1990, Ichniowski, Shaw and Prennushi, 1997). This propounds the holistic view that the whole will be greater than the sum of its parts. This is not entirely incommensurate with social and discursive approaches, the main point of differentiation being the social view of change as

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not simply a product of management intention, but rather something that is always on-going as multi-level, poly-vocal product of social interactions. A summary of the various understandings of change within managerialist, processual and social approaches to the study of change identified within this review is provided in Table 2.2.

This overview illustrates how assumptions regarding the nature and use of power have shaped approaches to the study of change. We see from this review that the majority of studies focus on collective understandings of organisational change, working at the departmental or organisational level, despite philosophical and theoretical arguments to support the contribution of all individuals to change in social entities. How individuals experience and understand change in organisations is largely neglected within this work. The vast majority considers organisational change, although there is a minority of work that considers theories of change at the level of the individual; that is to say change in organisations (Demers, 2007). How have individual experiences of change been investigated? How does this inform our conceptualisation of change and does it concur with how change is discussed and depicted in these approaches? To address these questions, a systematic review of the literature focusing on change at the individual level is presented in the following chapter, Chapter Three.

Table 2.2: Summary of this review of approaches to the study of change

Approach	Change:
Managerialist: scientific management paradigm	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Is an event: it happens to employees;• A planned phenomenon instigated by senior managers;• Has measurable benefits and outcomes;• Can be controlled by managers using prescriptive change management theories and models;• Is a managerial accomplishment;• Is progress;• Is a management tool for competitive advantage.

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<p>Managerialist: human relations paradigm</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is an event: unfreeze-change-refreeze; • Prompts employee behavioural responses that must be controlled by managers; • May be researched using psychological and psychoanalytic methods; • Can be implemented by independent change agents using prescriptive theories and models; • Is progress; • Should be considered along with stability and continuity; • May be significantly influenced by organisational culture (rules, routines, procedures, norms, values, beliefs, organisational memory, loyalty and trust).
<p>Process-based</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is a verb: change is initiated or orchestrated by managers and employees comply; • Is a sequence of developmental phases of varying intensity; • Is a necessary response to social change and environmental influences; • Is influenced by contextual variables; • Involves complex political processes; • May be controlled using prescriptive methods to implement processes of change; • Is key to corporate survival and maintaining competitive advantage; • May be delivered by change agents and business partners such as human resources specialists and management consultants.
<p>Social and discursive</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is a concept: something that is done by employees; • Is grounded in, and emergent from, everyday practices and unintended consequences, enacted within the organisational frame and situated within the wider world; • Carries ideological assumptions about good and bad which are articulated in understandings of what is progress; • Requires the use of power and control; • Is a multi-level, polyvocal process of social interactions: both leaders and individuals influence change; • Is inevitable but is accompanied by a need for stability and continuity to maintain order and counter anarchy; • May be delivered and identified through use of language, metaphor, sense-making and sense-giving.

Chapter Three: Change in Organisations

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter offered a landscape review outlining various understandings of change within managerialist, processual and social approaches to the study of change. This chapter seeks to focus on experiences of individuals as employees by systematically reviewing the minority of work that considers theories of change at this individual level, that is to say change in organisations (Demers, 2007). It aims to explore micro level, individual perspectives on change including the internalised stories and everyday language used by individuals (Grant and Marshak, 2009, 2011).

This chapter draws upon the systematic review method to consider individual level studies of change. Systematic review is appropriate for considering bodies of information where there is an acknowledged range of research on a particular and specific subject and when comprehensive knowledge of the body of evidence, including previously applied research methodologies, is required (Petticrew and Roberts, 2006). Systematic reviews have become increasingly influential in healthcare (Knipschild, 1994) and their usefulness has led to the evolution of a suite of related techniques broadly eligible as systematic reviews (e.g. meta-narrative review (Greenhalgh et al, 2005a, 2009) and meta-analysis (Moher, Liberati, Tetzlaff et al, 2009). These techniques have recently been applied within organisational studies to inform understanding and the development of evidence based knowledge (Tranfield, Denyer and Smart, 2003), for example Rashman, Withers and Hartley (2009) and Hakala (2011). Whilst a full systematic review is beyond the scope of this study, the six phase meta narrative review method (Greenhalgh et al., 2005a, 2009, Reynolds, Kizito, Ezumah et al., 2011) has been utilised here to report, classify and consider extant academic, peer-reviewed articles presenting individual level studies of change. A summary of the structure of this chapter, including the six phases of review and the sub-themes within them, is given in Box 3.1.

Box 3.1 Summary of chapter structure

Overview of the meta narrative review method.

Review phase one: planning.

Review phase two: searching.

Review phase three: mapping.

Review phase four: appraisal.

Review phase five: synthesis:

- The Managerial Meta Narrative;
- The Psychology-orientated Meta Narrative;
- The Social Meta Narrative.

Review phase six: areas for further research;

- Issues arising from the meta-narrative review;
- Drawing it all together: the development of the concept of change in the workplace.

Aim and objectives;

- Research aim;
- Research objectives.

3.2 Overview of the meta narrative review method

The methods utilised here are adapted from Greenhalgh et al.'s (2005a) outline of the meta-narrative approach to systematic review. This method enables identification of emergent meta-narratives within literature relevant to a particular subject. This allows insight into the underlying assumptions and disciplinary mechanisms at work within different research traditions. This then facilitates interpretive synthesis through iterative analyses of the alternate perspectives identified (Greenhalgh et al., 2009). The method requires six phases of

review: planning, searching, mapping, appraisal, synthesis and areas for further research. These six phases form the following six sections of this Chapter.

3.3 Review phase one: planning

The planning phase of this meta narrative review (Greenhalgh et al, 2005a, 2009) involved outlining the questions to be addressed by the review:

1. What extant literature considering theories of change at the individual level, specifically studies offering empirical findings of primary research, can be identified? (This question is addressed in the searching phase, Section 3.4).
2. Which key research approaches can be identified within the eligible studies to usefully outline the development of the study of individual experiences of change? (This question is addressed in the mapping phase, Section 3.5).
3. What key concepts, methods and theories are offered within the study of individual experiences of change in organisations and what contributions to knowledge do they offer? (This question is addressed in the appraisal and synthesis phases, Sections 3.6 and 3.7).
4. Where might further study offer valid input and evidence to inform areas of contention and debate within theory relating to individual experiences of change? (This question is addressed in the areas for further research, Section 3.8).

The review presented here seeks to address these four questions through application of the meta-narrative approach (Greenhalgh et al., 2005a, 2009, Reynolds, Kizito, Ezumah et al., 2011).

3.4 Review phase two: searching

Criteria for inclusion in the review

The second phase of the review considers what extant literature considering theories of change at the individual level, specifically studies offering empirical findings of primary research, can be identified. This phase involved two stages: firstly the location of possible sources by electronic searching of the database Business Source Premier and manual

retrieval of alternate sources from material known to the researcher; and secondly the manual filtering of papers using pre-determined inclusion and exclusion criteria.

Location of possible sources

The location of possible sources for review comprised two elements: electronic searching of the database Business Source Premier as a recognised source of academic literature and manual retrieval of alternate sources from material known to the researcher. The electronic search strategy was implemented utilising the Boolean string detailed at Appendix A. This string was devised following a number of pilot searches utilising terms listed by Platt et al. (1999) in their systematic review of literature relating to the health consequences of changing labour market conditions (Platt et al., 1999). As it was hoped to identify academic studies relating to individual experiences, the search was restricted to journal papers referring to qualitative research in the abstract. Despite this restriction, mixed methods and quantitative studies were returned in search results. A date delimiter was also applied to the search in the light of findings from the bibliometric analyses (Chapter One, Section 1.3) and landscape review (Chapter Two) indicating the exponential growth in relevant work from the mid-1980s. Regardless of the volume of material retrieved through database mining, alternate strategies are required to ensure completeness in the location of sources (Greenhalgh and Peacock, 2005b). Here the use of personal knowledge and opportunistic discovery contributed a further 57 papers for consideration. These methods resulted in a total of 396 papers for manual filtering using pre-determined inclusion and exclusion criteria.

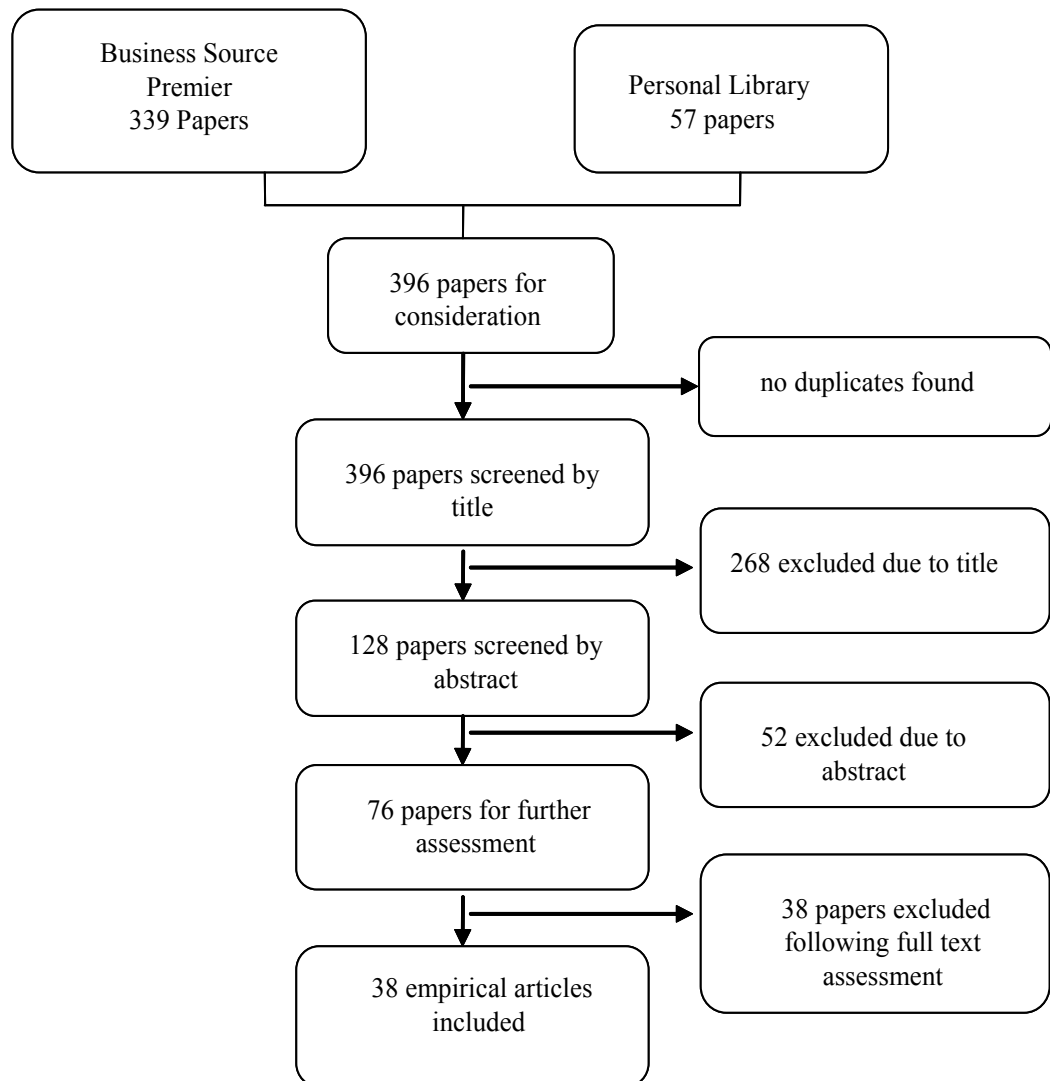
Filtering of possible sources

This phase involved the manual filtering of papers according to pre-determined inclusion criteria. These criteria refined the study within the resources available whilst still allowing thorough consideration of the research questions outlined. The inclusion criteria were that eligible papers should present theoretically informed, peer-reviewed literature considering change in organisations at employee level. Eligible papers required to present findings based upon primary or secondary data analysis of qualitative or mixed method empirical study. Thus the review was designed to consider only empirically based work rather than conceptual or theoretical developments. Two exclusion criteria were also set to ensure clarity of selection. Papers considering change in contexts other than the workplace were excluded

(for example changes in consumer behaviour). Papers not available in English were also excluded due to the resource implications of translation.

The filtering of the 396 sources located in accordance with the inclusion and exclusion criteria outlined was conducted as depicted in the PRISMA diagram at Figure 3.1 (Moher, Liberati, Tetzlaff et al, 2009). This filtering process achieved a cohort of 38 papers relevant to the research questions outlined in the planning phase. This cohort is not intended to represent a definitive or closed selection of work, but rather a representative sample sufficient for consideration of relevant literature in this area.

Figure 3.1 PRISMA Diagram of identification of sources (in accordance with Moher, Liberati, Tetzlaff et al, 2009)



3.5 Review phase three: mapping

The third, mapping phase of the review required the identification of research traditions, or meta-narratives, to usefully outline the development of the field. This was informed by the definitions of change outlined in the previous chapter. It had originally been anticipated that the managerialist, processual and social approaches to the study of change would also be reflected in this material. However, material was not directly classifiable into these three categories, but more accurately grouped into managerial, psychology-orientated and social meta-narratives to reflect the focus on change at the micro individual level. These classifications reflect the key ontological, epistemological and methodological underpinnings of the work reviewed (Greenhalgh et al., 2009). They have been used as an analytical framework for this review. How these classifications map onto the three approaches outlined in the bibliometric analyses (Chapter One) and the three approaches identified within the landscape review of literature on change (Chapter Two) is considered further in Section 3.8.2 and detailed in Table 3.2. The dissonance between the approaches to the study of change in organisations and the approaches to the study of organisational change discussed in Chapter Two is interesting. However, this dissonance should not be overstated. Each classificatory system is offered merely as a construct to facilitate consideration of a broad range of material.

3.6 Review phase four: appraisal

The fourth, appraisal stage of the review required appraisal of the key concepts, methods and theories, and contributions to knowledge, offered within the papers identified for review. To achieve this on a scientific, consistent basis a data extraction sheet was devised (as shown at Appendix B) following the preliminary reading of the papers within the filtering process. Each paper was then appraised on an individual basis by the researcher and an extraction sheet completed. It was at this stage that each paper was allocated into either the managerial, psychology-orientated or social meta-narratives. A table providing an alphabetical listing of the 38 papers considered together with the data extracted and researcher notes is provided at Appendix C. This work was then distilled into three group overview tables collating the references for each of the meta-narratives to inform the synthesis phase. These group overview tables are available at Appendix D (Managerial), Appendix E (Psychology-orientated) and Appendix F (Social).

3.7 Review phase five: synthesis

The fifth, synthesis stage of the review, takes each of the three meta-narratives in turn to inform the narrative synthesis of the work identified. This synthesis of existing work is intended to map the complexity and diversity of various understandings of change in organisations. It aims to both explore the key dimensions of the work reviewed and identify areas of difference and congruence for further consideration (Greenhalgh et al., 2005a). The method adopted here to achieve this synthesis is consistent with the two stage reporting advocated by Tranfield, Denyer and Smart (2003) in first providing a descriptive analysis of the research approach followed by a thematic analysis of the principle ideas comprising each of the meta-narratives identified within the work reviewed.

The final stage of this six stage process summarises the findings of the review and recommends areas for further work. These two final phases of the review, synthesis and recommendations, form the next two sections of this chapter and directly inform the final section, which outlines the aim and objectives of the research to be undertaken.

3.7.1 The managerial meta narrative

Descriptive analysis

Of the 38 papers reviewed, 11 were grouped into the managerial meta-narrative. A group overview of these papers is provided at Appendix D. The extracted data and notes for each paper are available in full within the table shown at Appendix C. These interpretive studies draw on understandings of change as an organisational process. Importantly, all of these papers start with the idea of change and investigate individuals in relation to a particular change. The changes studied include incremental and adaptive change (Allison and Merali, 2007), structural change impacting on roles (Broadbridge, 1999, Skinner, 2004, Nielsen Randall and Christensen, 2010), down-sizing (Roberts, 1997, De Witte, Vandoorne, Verlinden et al., 2005, Nielsen, Randall and Christensen, 2010) career journeys (Ituma and Simpson, 2006) and the introduction of new technology (Becker, 2010). Only one paper, Skordoulis and Dawson (2007), did not specify the type of change considered.

These papers map loosely onto the control discourses of change identified in Chapter One (Section 1.3.3) and the managerialist and process-based approaches to organisational change described in Chapter Two (Sections 2.2 and 2.3). They tend to articulate a distinction between managers and employees and frequently include consideration of failed change

initiatives within introductory sections. Change is presented as something that can be managed better if considerations regarding individual experiences are used to inform management practice. Qualitative research methods are mainly used to investigate these considerations, although four of the studies are survey based (Becker, 2010, Roberts, 1997, Boonstra and Bennebroek Gravenhorst, 1998, Turner Parish, Cadwallader and Busch, 2008) and one is a mixed methods study (Nielsen, Randall and Christensen, 2010). The studies are carried out in a variety of settings including Australia (Becker, 2010), Belgium (De Witte, Vandoorne, Verlinden et al., 2005), Nigeria (Ituma and Simpson, 2006), Denmark (Nielsen, Randall and Christensen, 2010) and the USA (Turner Parish, Cadwallader and Busch, 2008). Four of the studies took place in the UK (Roberts, 1997, Skinner, 2004, Skordoulis and Dawson, 2007, Allison and Merali, 2007) and two of the studies do not state the country or national context (Boonstra and Bennebroek Gravenhorst, 1998, Broadridge, 1999). Publication of these studies spans a wide variety of journals with no indication of publication bias, i.e. no concentration of work within particular publications, conference proceedings et cetera. Within this managerial meta-narrative five key themes are considered in relation to change in organisations: the impact of context, relationships, employee emotions, stress, and the professional self. These five themes are outlined below.

The impact of organisational context

The impact of organisational context is highlighted by Nielsen, Randall and Christensen, (2010). Although the focus of their study was a training programme, the advent of potential merger and downsizing for the organisation very much limited that particular targeted change intervention. Roberts (1997) utilised structuration theory to follow individual perspectives on the course of events during a period of change. This study considered an organisational context dominated by uncertainty that was only present within participants' conscious accounts of events as recession loomed, revealing emergent strains and tensions. At an unconscious level anxiety '*overwhelmed established relationships*' (p.113) when redundancies were introduced. However, the author argues that the growth period had also involved significant uncertainty and associated anxiety due to the lack of established systems and routines within a new business. This uncertainty only became an articulated issue within the context of a down-sizing process. Contextual constraints beyond particular organisations are also considered. Broadbridge (1999) seeks to explore the interaction between work and home life. This study found that two major contributors to workplace pressure are changes taking place within the industry studied (retail) and associated uncertainty. These changes

included technology, the market, organisation and the external environment. The extent of the requirement to respond to these changes led to work life frequently spilling over from work into family life and blurring the boundaries between the two. Ituma and Simpson, (2006) explored theories relating to changing career patterns in the context of a developing economy. In defining a typology of four career patterns the article notes the role of contextual constraints upon the actions of individuals, for example the influence of the economic situation and socio-cultural obligations upon individual career strategies.

Relationships

The second of the five key themes considered within this managerial meta-narrative is relationships. Turner Parish, Cadwallader and Busch, (2008) considered the employee-manager relationship whilst seeking to understand antecedents and consequences of employee commitment to change. Boonstra and Bennebroek Gravenhorst, (1998) looked at the role of power and influence and the effect of change on power constellations, presenting and exploring nine hypotheses relating influencing tactics, to the independent variables of the influencer's function in the change process and their direction of influence. They argue that individuals use different influencing tactics during constructive change processes (rational persuasion, inspirational appeals and consultation) than tactics used in relatively stable situations or more uncertain and ambiguous circumstances. Allison and Merali (2007) also argue for the complexity of relationships, including relationships between alternate changes that are going on concurrently within the organisation.

Employee emotions and stress

The third and fourth themes considered within this managerial meta-narrative are employee emotions and stress. Becker (2010) considered the emotional aspects of change in terms of feelings and expectations, noting employee uncertainty regarding the impact of change on their work and how effective they are. In considering the role of informal support, this study highlights the impact of supervisory and peer support in the experience of the individual. In its concluding argument the paper argues that many change processes do not sufficiently consider their impact at the level of individual employee and argues for the need for support and training before, during and after change. (Roberts, 1997) highlights the emotional demands of change in organisations, which may stem initially from high degrees of uncertainty rather than concepts of positive (e.g. growth) or negative (e.g. redundancies)

change. De Witte, Vandoorne, Verlinden et al., (2005) consider employees to be objectively insecure due to the circumstances of their employing organisation. They studied employees who coped with the resultant high degrees of stress by adopting psychologically protective reactions; a '*wait and see*' approach (p. 151). This research notes perceived injustice as a significant potential cause of stress for employees during change, emphasising the role of procedural and interactional justice in influencing notions of fairness. Skordoulis and Dawson, (2007) considered a lack of staff involvement in decision-making and communication which led to job dissatisfaction, employee disengagement, lack of trust, stress and disaffection. They found that employees experienced feelings of separation, foreboding and impotency with regard to the change process.

The professional self

The final of the five key themes considered within this managerial meta-narrative is the professional self. Allison and Merali (2007) considered the influence of professional learning and how professional interpretive schemes and behavioural norms adapt over time. Becker, (2010) explored the factors that might influence employee willingness and ability to unlearn, which is to say to release prior learning and assumptions regarding their professional practice in order to accommodate new information and behaviours. Although this study's main focus is not on individual experiences, it does consider changing daily routines for staff directly involved in the changes studied. Skinner (2004) considered how those involved in change engage in informal evaluation of the organisational culture and context on an on-going basis. The role of personal processes of meaning making, personal perception and subjective evaluations within change is noted as relevant to individuals' experiences of change.

The managerial meta-narrative of change in organisations portrays an oppressive process which affects individuals at an emotional level, impacting upon their sense of professional self, well-being and relationships. This process is contextually dependent not just upon factors within the organisation, but also socio-economic factors within the wider world. This is a worrying picture of individual experiences of change, made more disturbing by the notion that this process will frequently fail. This meta-narrative describes the importance and extent of influence of the experiences of individuals (micro-level activities) which may often be masked by more visible organisational (meso) and socio-economic (macro) level events.

3.7.2 The psychology-orientated meta narrative

Descriptive analysis

Of the 38 papers reviewed, 12 were grouped into the psychology-orientated meta-narrative. A group overview of these papers is provided at Appendix E. The extracted data and notes for each paper are available in full within the table shown at Appendix C. These papers seek to draw on theories and methods from psychology and organisational studies to investigate individual differences in responses and reactions to change in organisations. In general they aim to develop predictive models intended to inform the management of change. As in the managerial meta-narrative, all of these papers start with the idea of change and investigate individuals in relation to a particular change. Interestingly, in one paper (Herscovitch and Meyer, 2002) the participant is offered the chance to define the change. This allows the participants more autonomy in conceptualising change. Hind, Frost and Rowley (1996), like Skordoulis and Dawson (2007), did not specify the type of change considered. The changes studied include policy change and public sector reform (Caldwell, Herold and Fedor, 2004, Fugate, Kinicki. and Prussia, 2008), organisational crisis (Begley and Czajka, 1993), incremental and adaptive change (McHugh, 1997, Pepermans, Jegers, Moenaert et al., 1997, French, 2001, Caldwell et al., 2004), planned and transformational change (Caldwell, Herold and Fedor, 2004, Rafferty and Griffin, 2006), structural change impacting on roles (Judge, Thorensen, Pucik et al., 1999, Herscovitch and Meyer, 2002, Caldwell, Herold and Fedor, 2004, Wanberg and Banas, 2000, Herold, Fedor and Caldwell, 2007, Fugate, Kinicki. and Prussia, 2008), the introduction of new technology (McHugh. 1997, Herscovitch and Meyer, 2002, Caldwell, Herold and Fedor, 2004, Herold, Fedor and Caldwell, 2007), changes in leadership (Judge, Thorensen, Pucik et al., 1999, Herold, Fedor and Caldwell, 2007, Fugate, Kinicki. and Prussia, 2008), relocations (Herold, Fedor and Caldwell, 2007) and out-sourcing (Herold, Fedor and Caldwell, 2007).

Much like the managerial meta-narrative, these papers map loosely onto the collaboration discourses of change identified in Chapter One (Section 1.3.3) and the managerialist and process-based approaches to organisational change described in Chapter Two (Sections 2.2 and 2.3). In seeking to define variables for investigation these studies offer some interesting insights into the likely psychological impact of change upon individuals, giving insight into the nature of the experiences employees are undergoing. These papers draw on psychological theory to look at individual differences in relation to specific changes. They use complex sets of self-reported measures to build models of inter-related factors. They advocate the value of

studying individuals and seek to test models that aim to predict general patterns in employee behaviour. These predicative models are offered to inform management practice. Research methods are for the most part quantitative utilising questionnaires, although two of the studies (McHugh, 1997, Pepermans, Jegers, Moenaert et al., 1997) achieve a mixed methods approach through use of interviews and focus groups. The studies are carried out in a variety of settings and sectors including the USA (Begley and Czajka, 1993, Wanberg and Banas, 2000), Sweden (McHugh, 1997), Canada (Herscovitch and Meyer, 2002), the UK (French, 2001) and Australia (Rafferty and Griffin, 2006). Four of the studies sample from multiple organisations (Judge, Thorensen, Pucik et al., 1999, Pepermans, Jegers, Moenaert et al., 1997, Caldwell, Herold and Fedor, 2004, Herold, Fedor and Caldwell, 2007). One of the studies does not state the country or national context (Hind, Frost and Rowley, 1996). Although, publication of these studies spans a wide variety of journals there is significant indication of publication bias as seven of the twelve papers (58%) are published within the Journal of Applied Psychology. This psychology-orientated meta-narrative considers two of the five key themes considered within the managerial meta-narrative: the impact of context and employee stress. Relationships and employee emotions are not studied here. However, individual coping and the personality traits of the individual are considered together with commitment to change.

The impact of organisational context

The impact of organisational context is noted by Herold et al. (2007) who explored the role of context as an influence on responses to a specific change. This paper describes organisational life as containing multiple and overlapping changes which individuals must make sense of from their own position in the organisation. It concludes that the impact of pervasive change may in itself have a negative impact on commitment to any one particular change.

Employee stress

The second variable, stress is very much aligned to individual coping within this meta-narrative. Begley and Czajka (1993) conducted a single study, within an American psychiatric hospital, which considered a single organisational change event (the consolidation of work units and possible staff reductions) as a trigger for stress. The variables considered are indicative of the psychological factors commonly associated with

change. They include job satisfaction, intention to quit/organisational commitment, work-related depression, work-related irritation, and somatic (physical health) complaints as health indicators and features of work related stress. The paper argues for the efficacy of organisational commitment as a buffer for the employees, that is protection against the strain of a major change event. Judge, Thorensen, Pucik et al. (1999) highlight the role of change and uncertainty as a cause of stress in organisational life. Change may be associated with job loss, reduced status, conflict at work and at home, and threats to psychological well-being. As such, change is something that must be coped with by an individual experiencing the change. This coping is influenced by managerial actions and an individual's disposition or personality traits.

Hind, Frost and Rowley (1996) aimed to explore parallels between individuals' responses to stress and change within family social systems and within organisations as key features of resilience that are transferable and relevant. Resilience is defined as positive responses to stress. The paper notes the importance of the psychological contract (defined as *'the implicit exchange between the parties of factors such as social support, promotion prospects and job satisfaction in return for, perhaps, organisational commitment and organisational socialisation'*. p.20) in preserving balance within an organisation. Periods of uncertainty and change offer increased risk of the violation of both the relational and transactional dimensions of this contract. Rafferty and Griffin (2006) described work done to consider the role of psychological uncertainty as an influence on individuals, hypothesising that planned change positively influences (i.e. reduces) psychological uncertainty. This paper portrays change as a trauma involving *'shocks to the system'* (p.1156) and suggests a range of other influences during change, known as *'indicators of adjustment'* (p.1160) for example secondary appraisal, coping strategies, emotional responses and distress. This is consistent with Wanberg and Banas (2000), who found change to have provoked shock, anxiety and uncertainty, impacting upon job satisfaction, intention to quit and subsequent employee turnover.

Individual coping

Considerations of employee coping as a variable in relation to change in organisations are considered by McHugh (1997) in relation to organisational well-being. This study reported ten key concerns and causes of stress for employees during periods of change which centre on work intensification, the changing nature of work and potential financial implications.

The perceived levels of support and constraints present within the work environment were felt to be more influential on levels of work stress than the level of job related demands on an employee. It is argued that female employees were particularly affected by the adverse effects of stress arising from organisational change. Findings suggested that many employees were unable to cope with their changing work environment. This presents a risk with regard to organisational health and associated costs such as poor performance, turnover, absenteeism and declining motivation. Similarly, French (2001) draws upon the psychoanalytic theory of negative capability to consider individual ability to cope with uncertainty and tolerate ambiguity and paradox (p. 482). When an individual's negative capability is insufficient for the level of uncertainty and anxiety, they may seek explanation, react emotionally or physically. Examples of how this might work in practice include emotional outbursts, tears, ill-health, over-work and over-use of historical explanations of organisational issues. These are very distressing images of change and depict a high degree of risk to the well-being of individuals in relation to change in organisations.

Personality traits

A further variable investigated within this meta-narrative is the personality traits and characteristics of the individual. Fugate et al. (2008) utilised psychological theory to construct and test hypotheses regarding how individuals cope with organisational change. This study offers interesting insights into cognitive processes an individual might experience during a time of change, for example the role of positive and negative emotions and possible coping strategies. Caldwell et al. (2004) considered whether individual employee characteristics interact with aspects of change to affect employee perceptions of person-environment fit. Individual differences are clearly defined in this case as comprising one dispositional characteristic (motivational orientation) and one demographic characteristic (age).

Commitment to change

These dispositional characteristics are often related to an individual's commitment to change within this psychology-orientated meta-narrative. Herscovitch and Meyer (2002) present a model establishing a relationship between different forms of employee commitment to change and employees' behavioural support for change initiatives. They offer a continuum for describing employee reactions to change ranging from '*active resistance through*

compliance to championing' (p. 476). Pepermans, Jegers, Moenaert et al. (1997) reported increased employee commitment, upward communication, job security, career attention, union management dialogue and training as positive outcomes of the policy implementation. The only two negative perceived effects were increased bureaucracy and increased staff turnover. This is interesting in that it doesn't look at one change without having to consider other possible concurrent changes, that is to say it recognises that although studying one change this is not the only change taking place. This issue of concurrent changing presents an important paradox for the studies within this psychology-orientated meta-narrative, which study individual characteristics in relation to individual changes whilst acknowledging that individuals will be experiencing several, concurrent and/or asynchronous changes in organisations.

3.7.3 The social meta narrative

Descriptive analysis

Of the 38 papers reviewed, 15 were grouped into the social meta-narrative. A group overview of these papers is provided at Appendix F. The extracted data and notes for each paper are available in full within the table shown at Appendix C. They consider discursive, social and material aspects of change as an adaptive social activity of co-construction influenced by context, values and environmental factors. As in the managerial and psychology-orientated meta-narratives, all of these studies start with the idea of change and investigate individuals in relation to a particular change. The changes studied include socio-economic changes (Agapiou, 2002, Ashwin and Popova, 2006, Dunford and Jones, 2000), public sector reform (Doolin, 2003), organisational crisis (Begley and Czajka, 1993), incremental and adaptive change (Schor, Van Buskirk and McGrath, 1994, Anderson, 2005, Bryant, 2006, Chreim, 2006, Hope, 2010), structural change impacting on roles (Reay, Golden-Biddle and Germann, 2006, Landau and Drori, 2008, Hope, 2010, Sonenshein, 2010), career journeys (Kaplan, 1995, Reay, Golden-Biddle and Germann, 2006), the introduction of new technology (Doolin, 2003, Chreim, 2006, Lowe and McIntosh, 2007), and new leadership (Schor, Van Buskirk and McGrath, 1994, Doolin, 2003, Beech and Johnson, 2005).

This meta-narrative loosely maps onto the capacity discourses of change identified in Chapter One (Section 1.3.3) and the social and discursive approaches to organisational change described in Chapter Two (Section 2.4). These papers consider changing as a social

activity and change as a collectively constructed and relative concept, thereby making the case for research into what individuals perceive change to be. Research methods are for the most part qualitative utilising interviews, documentary analysis, participant observation, diaries and focus groups. One study utilises narrative analysis (Beech and Johnson, 2005). A mixed methods approach is achieved by Sonenshein (2010) through use of surveys. The studies are predominantly focused within one organisation or homogenous professional group such as nursing (Reay, Golden-Biddle and Germann, 2006) or consulting (Kaplan, 1995). They are set within a variety of countries including the USA (Schor, Van Buskirk and McGrath, 1994, Anderson, 2005, Kaplan, 1995, Sonenshein, 2010), Canada (Reay, Golden-Biddle and Germann, 2006), Australia (Bryant, 2006), New Zealand (Dunford and Jones, 2000, Doolin, 2003, Lowe and McIntosh, 2007), Israel (Landau and Drori, 2008), Norway (Hope, 2010), Russia (Ashwin and Popova, 2006) and the UK (Agapiou, 2002, Beech and Johnson, 2005). Although publication of these studies spans a wide variety of journals there is significant indication of publication bias as seven of the fifteen papers (47%) are published within the Journal of Organizational Change Management. This social meta-narrative considers different themes to those outlined in the previous two meta-narratives. The focus here is on achieving understanding and insight rather than identifying or testing generalisable concepts or models. Four themes are considered within the studies reviewed: individual responses to change over time; values, practice and the professional self; discourses and power relations; and narratives and sense-making.

Individual responses to change over time

Individual responses to change are considered by Agapiou (2002), who studied individual's negotiated responses to broader social change, in this case the ways in which people make sense of their working experience when traditional gender roles are challenged. The study observed adaptive behaviour and personalized responses as staff negotiated their position within a new working environment. Employees sought to fit in and find ways to manage change in a manner that would not interfere with their own view and position within the workplace. We see here an on-going process of negotiation as staff work to maintain their role in the new environment. This adaptive process as a response to environmental and macro level change is explored by Ashwin and Popova (2006), who considered the need to move with the times. They explored the adjustment of committed professionals (defined as those who see their work as intrinsically rewarding and a means of self-realisation) to their new environment following Russia's economic transformation. In their individual activism,

outlook and flexibility, individuals adopted survival strategies in a time of economic uncertainty and hardship. The paper describes participants who viewed their profession as the core of their identity and considers to what extent people were prepared to sacrifice their professional identity to earn money within a difficult economic climate. All participants were unwilling to compromise professional attachment and the authors particularly note the distress experienced in compromising professional values. This indicates the importance of an individuals' continuity in their sense of self during change. They also note that individuals see their fate as professionals linked to the fate of their chosen profession. The opportunity to use professional skills is very important to those experiencing uncertainty of employment due to changing labour market conditions. These studies offer important insights into the influence of socio-economic changes upon change in organisations. Organisations and the individuals working within them are situated in a wider world which influences, and is influenced by, changes in professional spaces.

Values

Professional, organisational and personal values are an enduring theme within this meta-narrative. The influence of values is explored in detail within the two feminist considerations of change in organisations reviewed here. Schor, Van Buskirk and McGrath (1994) studied the phases of development of a growing women's organisation. They present a harmonious picture of development within a value driven organisation which actively involves all members in change. Whilst the values here are described as feminist, the central consideration is the role of common purpose in change. Processes described centre on involvement and consultation together with reflective learning and professional development. This is a process of value driven consensus which again highlights the social, negotiated dimensions of change. Kaplan (1995) adopts a heuristic approach to the study of women's experiences of significant changes during their career. The findings are summarised as 'women are doing their *work* as part of their journey in the context of oppression, helped and hindered by their *relationships* to both men and women' (p.58, italics in original). This illustrates change as a composite that we experience across permeable boundaries between life during and outside work.

Practice and the professional self

Change as a journey is evident in the work of Reay, Golden-Biddle and Germann (2006), who studied embedded practice and the use of individualised actions together with small changes in established ways of working to influence change and legitimize new working practices. They considered how individuals use micro processes to achieve small wins which, over time, embed changes to established processes and practices. Their findings illustrate the value of professional experience and institutional embeddedness in cultivating and developing opportunities for change within existing systems. These are slow, incremental change processes where actors use their situated knowledge for improvement.

Discourses and power relations

The role of discourse in shaping power relations within change is explored within this meta-narrative. Chreim (2006) considers the general acceptance of technological determinism as a major influence on the acceptance of technological change as inevitable and reified: beyond question due to the absence of competing discourse. Where the change introduced was felt to be open to question, alignment of employee and management understanding was a negotiated process. Discursive relations changed over time as bank employees were gradually convinced to accept managerial understandings. Relations between managers and staff are also considered by Lowe and McIntosh (2007), who identified resistance which, although open to interpretation as general resistance to change, was more specifically resistance to the aims of the technology being implemented. This is an important distinction in that participants are not resisting change per se, but rather a particular change and associated issues arising from the change.

Narratives and sense-making

The use of narrative to make sense of change is an important theme within this meta-narrative. Dunford and Jones (2000) described how organisational members constructed their own interpretation of events (sense-making) which others sought to influence (sense-giving). The study looked at managers' roles as sense givers interpreting events and their implications during processes of economic reform and deregulation. In observing the use of narrative to address uncertainty, align individual and organisational goals and promote employee responsibility for achieving business outcomes, the authors also observed that managers were sense giving to themselves as much as they were to staff members. This is consistent with Doolin's (2003) view of the discursive, social and material dimensions of

change. Organisation is performed through multiple narratives which can reinforce or conflict and will evolve and may disappear or grow over time.

The use of voice is also considered as a way of making sense of change in organisations. Anderson (2005) studied the use of represented voice to fix organisational practices at a moment in time and then to construct images of future practices that will result from change. This allows individuals to understand the meaning of a change for them in relation to their working practices. The study illustrates how individuals construct their understanding of what is to change drawing on a co-constructed collective sense of the past, present and future. Bryant (2006) considers the use of voice to describe change over time and advocates the use of qualitative methods to encourage participant discussions of experiences of change. The constructive process between the researcher and the participant as the account of change is developed during the interview allows the emergence and exploration of unforeseen topics and individualised responses.

Beech and Johnson (2005) utilised narrative analysis to consider the use of voice during change. They studied identity shifts for three main characters during a change in the strategic leadership and direction for a small, privately owned company and aimed to explore disrupted identities. The narrative presented illustrates extreme vulnerability in the workplace, noting issues of work-related stress, emotional and emotive language including swearing. This study reveals not only the disruption of identity for three individuals over time, but how disruptive those changing identities are in the organisation. It also talks of the impact on employee behaviours of non-work based factors and how employees in this setting have made sense of change in relation to their own situation and interventions into what is going on. Landau and Drori (2008) looked at the use of sense-making as a coping strategy in response to change. It proposes a typology of sense-making strategies utilised by individuals to '*accept and comply*' (p.715) with change that was associated predominantly with organisational survival during a time of crisis. This study adds the interesting dimension of professional realities to the study of sense-making during change in considering the role of occupational community norms. It highlights the way change impacted upon the professional reality of scientists, requiring them to accommodate conflicting notions of pure science within an increasingly commercial environment, to maintain their sense of occupational membership.

Sonenshein (2010) considers supportive and subversive responses to change by considering meaning constructions during strategic change implementations. In using a narrative and sense-making lens it seeks to understand multiple perspectives on change as a temporal phenomenon. It presents a model of how individuals use narratives to understand and influence change implementation. In the model, manager narratives influence employee narratives (sense giving) but there is no provision for employees to influence managerial narratives. The model considers the role of stability and progressive narratives for both managers and employees but assumes all managers will support the change, whilst employees will champion, accept or resist the change. This model is informed by Lewin's work on change and seeks to inform managers' use of narratives to influence employees' construction of meaning in relation to change. Hope (2010) also focuses on manager's use of narrative, depicting change as a political process wherein individuals struggle to shape others' perceptions of reality (sense giving or meaning construction). The paper describes processes of both direct and indirect manipulation by middle managers seeking to influence the outcome of a change implementation, thereby evidencing sense giving as a bottom-up as well as top down and horizontal process.

3.8 Review phase six: areas for further research

This section will first consider recommendations arising from this meta-narrative review, and then draw these together with the findings of the bibliometric analysis (Chapter One) and the landscape review (Chapter Two) to consider the development of the concept of change in organisations over time and inform the aim and objectives for empirical investigation.

3.8.1 Issues arising from the meta-narrative review

The synthesis stage of the review has described each of the three meta-narratives (managerial, the psychology-orientated and the social) in turn to inform analysis of the work identified. This final phase aims to explore the key dimensions of the work reviewed and identify areas of difference and congruence to inform areas for further empirical investigation.

An important finding of this review is the lack of knowledge building in relation to individual experiences of change in organisations. There are no generally acknowledged

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seminal papers, nor key actors in the development field. Work is often presented as a sub-set or secondary output of a broader study. Thus a lack of theory specifically relating to change in organisations may be claimed. There are some important differences between these three approaches to the study of change in organisations. The managerial meta-narrative describes the importance and extent of influence of the experiences of individuals (micro level activities) which may often be masked by more visible organisational (meso) and socio-economic (macro) level events. The psychology-orientated meta-narrative advocates the value of studying individuals, offering predicative models that aim to foresee general patterns in employee behaviour to inform management practice. The social meta-narrative considers changing as a social activity and change as a collectively constructed and relative concept, thereby making the case for research into what individuals perceive change to be. A summary table of each meta-narrative's key characteristics is given in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Summary of meta-narrative key characteristics

	Managerial	Psychology-orientated	Social
Type of Change	Incremental and adaptive; Structural change impacting on roles; Down-sizing; Career journeys; New technology.	Policy change and public sector reform; Crisis; Incremental and adaptive; Planned and transformational; Structural change impacting on roles; New technology; New leadership; Relocations; Out-sourcing; Participant determined.	Socio-economic; Policy change and public sector reform; Crisis; Incremental and adaptive; Structural change impacting on roles; Career journeys; New technology; New leadership.
Method	Interviews; Focus groups; Observations; Documentary analysis; Surveys.	Survey (majority); Interviews.	Interviews; Observations; Documentary analysis; Personal diaries; Narrative analysis.
Context	Various countries and sectors (sometimes multiple organisations)	Various countries and sectors (often multiple organisations)	Various countries and sectors (often single organisation or sector/profession)
Publication	Varied	7 of 12 publications from Journal of Applied Psychology	7 of 15 publications from Journal of Organizational Change Management
Variables/ themes	Impact of context; Relationships; Employee emotions; Employee stress; Professional self.	Impact of context; Employee stress; Individual coping; Personal traits; Commitment to change.	Values, Practice and the professional self; Discourses and power relations; Narratives and sense-making.
Main features	Interpretive studies; Processual view of change; Often start with statements of change failing; Strong manager/ staff distinction ; Micro level activities are influential but are often masked by more visible meso and macro level events.	Hypothesised studies grounded in psychology; Processual view of change; Aimed at generating and testing generalisable models relating to individual behaviours during change; Each study notes potential for alternate models and the need for further work.	Interpretive studies; Change as negotiated social activity influenced by context, values and the environment beyond the organisation; Consideration of discursive, social and material dimensions of change; Importance of sense-making and sense-giving.

In addition to these differences, there are some important areas of congruence across the meta-narratives, including the focus on change, consideration of the effects of uncertainty and the importance of relationships. Although a diverse range of changes are considered, each of the papers reviewed in Chapters Two and Three shares a focus on a change or collection of changes, and consideration of individual experiences in relation to that change. In some instances the nature of the change is not given, whilst only once (Herscovitch and Meyer, 2002) are participants asked to determine the change to be considered.

Many of the studies consider the effects of the uncertainty arising from change and offer descriptions of stress, anxiety, coping and survival strategies. These effects may be compounded by individual considerations such as gender, age and personal disposition. Personal processes of meaning making, personal perception and subjective evaluations within change take place on an on-going basis and will change over time. Many of these accounts imply that change is a high risk experience for individuals given the potential impact on employee well-being. The impact of uncertainty extends to what individuals understand to be their role in the organisation, their sense-making and assumptions regarding their professional practice. This indicates a need to explore stability and continuity in organisations, and its potentially mitigating effects on the risks associated with uncertainty.

Each of the meta-narratives considers relationships as relevant to change in organisations. These might be discussed as social relationships, but relationships between alternate changes that are going on concurrently within the organisation are also important. The relationship between change and working practices has been considered with regard to the role of the professional self, professional or organisational membership, working practices and values, in influencing change in organisations. This has been found to be particularly relevant to the process of adaptive and incremental change. Further consideration of how these relationships interact for individuals is worthy of further research.

3.8.2 Drawing it all together: the development of the concept of change in the workplace

Three detailed reviews have been presented in the first chapters of this thesis to consider the development over time of the concept of change in the workplace. Chapter One considered how change has been established as inevitable within modern Western culture, drawing on

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philosophical theories relating to the role of change in achieving power and control whilst maintaining a stability and security to preserve social order. Change has also been established in the business world as a key function of management. Economic exigencies, the growth of the business book market and management consultancy services have contributed to an exponential growth since the 1980s in publications emphasising the need for change in organisations. Analyses of this overwhelming volume of work highlight the role of managerial control in current concepts of change. Three different ways of thinking about managerial control were identified, namely: control, collaboration and capacity based approaches.

The landscape review undertaken in Chapter Two again highlighted the emphasis on managerial control in considerations of change. Three different approaches to the study of change were utilised in the review, building on the work of Morgan and Sturdy (2000): managerialist, processual and social/ discursive. These approaches to change have been shaped by their underlying assumptions regarding the nature and use of power within organisations. The majority of studies focus on collective understandings of organisational change, working at the department or organisational level, despite theoretical and philosophical arguments indicating the importance of individuals to change within social entities.

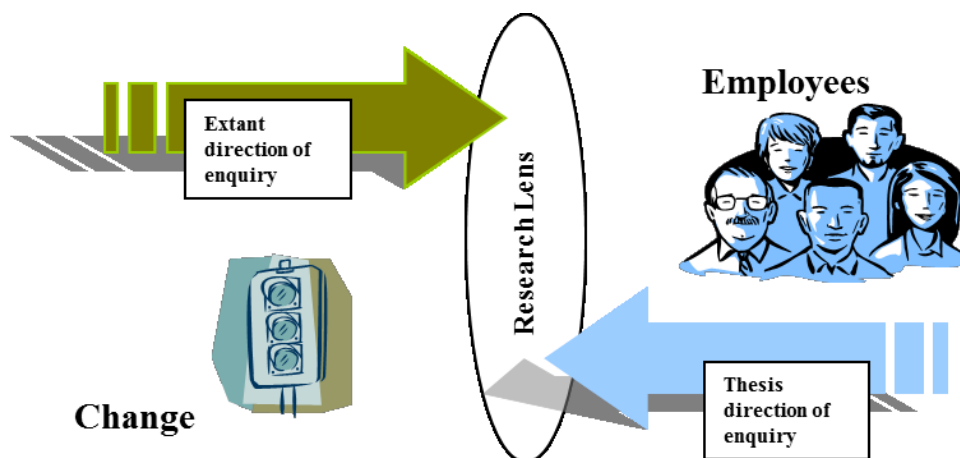
In light of these arguments, the minority of studies considering individual experiences of change have been considered in detail within this chapter. Again, three meta-narratives regarding change in organisations were identified: managerial, psychology-orientated and social meta-narratives. Each of these reviews has identified three approaches to the study of change arising from tacit assumptions regarding the nature of managerial knowledge and control. These approaches map onto the approaches already identified in Chapters One and Two (see Chapter Two, Section 2.1), suggesting three over-arching paradigms in the development of the concept of change in business today. These three paradigms are summarised in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Three paradigms of change

View of Change	Bibliometric Analyses: Publications Change (Chapter One)	Landscape Review (Chapter Two)	Meta-Narrative Review (Chapter Three)
Change as a noun: something done to employees.	Control	Managerial	Managerialist
Change as a verb: a process done by employees.	Collaboration	Processual	Psychology-orientated
	Capacity		
Change as embedded practice, negotiated as a function of social relations		Social	Social

Each of the paradigms outlined in Table 3.2 influences how change is considered in society and business today. If we accept that individuals make sense of change as one element situated within their wider experience, and then seek to influence accordingly, it is useful to investigate individuals' experiences of change in the context of those wider experiences. This indicates the potential to draw on each of these paradigms of change to develop new insights into change in organisations by starting from the perspective of the individual and asking them to describe changes they have experienced as they recall them and allowing individuals to articulate their views on change in their own words. Instead of commencing study with a focus on change as has been previously undertaken, we might think about change differently. This can be likened to looking from the other side of the research lens, as depicted in Figure 3.2. This reversal of the research approach forms the main contribution of this thesis and informs the aim and objectives for empirical study.

Figure 3.2 Contribution of the thesis



3.9 Aim and objectives

3.9.1 Research aim

This study aims to explore individual interpretations of experiences of change at work to enrich and inform our understandings of change in organisations and indicate further and alternate areas for study.

3.9.2 Research objectives

In relation to individual research participants, this study will seek to address the following questions:

1. What do individuals mean by change?
2. How do research participants distinguish between change and that which remains relatively constant (i.e. between change and stability)?
3. How are relationships impacted upon by change in organisations?
4. How might the insights gained from individual experiences inform further research seeking to understand change in organisations?

These first three chapters of the thesis have mapped the development of how we think about change in organisations, and how we study it scientifically, highlighting areas for further inquiry into change in organisations. This work has in turn informed the overall aim of the empirical study to be undertaken in support of the thesis, together with the research objectives as questions to be investigated. The methodology and methods adopted in achieving this aim are considered in the following chapter, Chapter Four.

Chapter Four: Methodology and Study Design

4.1. Introduction

This chapter forms a bridge in the thesis between the analysis of literature considering the concept of change in organisational studies offered in Chapters Two and Three and the exploration of employee experiences of change presented in Chapters Five, Six and Seven and discussed in Chapters Eight and Nine. This chapter details the methodology utilised in this study, considering the ontological and epistemological basis for the thesis. It then goes on to describe the strategies of inquiry undertaken, including the research context and the qualitative research design.

Doctoral research is a significant undertaking involving a community of disparate interests. Research is an interpretive process, guided by a set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be studied (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). These beliefs and feelings form the methodology, theoretical lens, perspective or paradigm, used by the researcher to determine the methods for engagement with the research subject (Kuhn, 1970, Johnson and Duberley, 2003). This study draws on the work of Michel Foucault to question assumptions about the study of change in organisations. Foucauldian archae-geneological methods provide an epistemological framework to consider how representations of reality are constituted, allowing us to think differently (Starkey and Hatchuel, 2002). These methods draw on Foucault's work to understand the categorisation, distribution and manipulation of familiar subjects, how we seek to understand them scientifically, and how we use them to form our sense of self (Rabinow, 1984). They allow us to explore the power dynamics inherent within individual experiences and establish the voices of the participants to illuminate understanding of the research questions. Foucault's work draws heavily on Nietzsche's exploration of the role of language in shaping our shared knowledge and understanding of truth and reality (Thompson, 1993). Nietzsche's perspectivism and human actions as expressions of the Will to Power are therefore considered here prior to consideration of Foucault's archae-geneological method, and how it has been deployed in the study of organisations. The role of the researcher within empirical study is also considered to further inform understanding of the processes of meaning making and co-construction of knowledge undertaken during the production of this thesis.

Chapter Four: Methodology and Study Design

Having established the study methodology and the voice of the researcher in the second section of this chapter, the third section moves on to describe the design of the empirical study, or strategy of enquiry, which connects the researcher to specific modes of enquiry (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). Finally, a summary of the chapter is provided in Section 4.4.

This qualitative study aimed to gather a variety of perspectives regarding individuals' experiences of change in their organisation. This approach was adopted to allow the detailed examination of the particular with emphasis on the local, taking us closer to reality than generalizations drawn from large scale statistical studies (Kilduff and Mehra, 1997). By gathering individual perspectives on change insight into the commonsense, tacit and everyday practices and motives that shape our sense-making may be gained (Johnson and Duberley, 2003). This empirical strategy was designed to address the research aim and objectives (Chapter Three, Section 3.9).

An outline of the topics considered within the main body of this Chapter is given in Box 4.1.

Box 4.1 Summary of chapter topics

Methodology:

- Overview of methodology;
- Nietzsche's perspectivism;
- Foucault's archeo-geneological methods;
- Foucault and organisational studies;
- Reflexive research.

Methods:

- Overview of methods;
- The research context;
- Sampling strategy;
- Data generation;
- Data handling, analysis and interpretation.

4.2. Methodology

4.2.1 Overview of methodology

Within social science, meta theoretical commitments are usually separated into ontological assumptions about the nature of reality, and epistemological assumptions as to how we can attempt to understand phenomena of interest (Lewis and Kelemen, 2002). Ontological questions are concerned with what may be known, that is to say the nature of reality (Flew, 1989, Hay, 2002, cited in Grix, 2004). Epistemology is the study of if, how and what we know about this reality (Flew, 1989). Knowledge and justification are two central themes within epistemology: justified beliefs and knowledge play a major role in how we order our lives and consider subjects that concern us (Audi, 1998). These meta theoretical commitments inform the construction of knowledge and may be grouped together into perspectives, or paradigms, which share ways of thinking and a unanimity of judgement (Kuhn, 1970, Burrell and Morgan, 1979). Paradigms may be likened to discursive formations (Foucault, 1972) or schools of thought (McKinley, Mone and Moon, 1999) which demonstrate theoretical coherence with a commonality of language.

The adoption of particular paradigms and associated ontological and epistemological assumptions is influenced by professional socialisation (Blaikie, 1993) and scholars are identified not only by their area of interest but also by their frame of reference. Within the social sciences a pre-occupation with research paradigms has come to polarize academic studies accompanied by debate regarding paradigm commensurability (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, Lewis and Grimes, 1999, Hassard, 1990, 1993). The intellectual development of organisational studies has been debated as a series of turns or phases of ontological development akin to intellectual fashions (Reed, 2005a, 2005b, Contu and Willmott, 2005). There have been a number of explorations of the potential advantages and challenges presented by multi-paradigm research to bridge gaps in existing theory and promote reflexivity (Lewis and Keleman, 2002). These discussions encourage people to frame their work within pre-determined categories, placing boundaries around exploration of meta-theory.

This framing of research activity is itself socially situated and arises from political processes within organisational studies (Calás and Smirich, 1999). The distinction between ontology and epistemology places social scientists outside of social reality, separating what we know and theorize about our world from our experience of it (Cunliffe, 2003). This distinction is called into question if we accept that our knowledge of the world is created by our

experience of it, and that as our experience changes so does our knowledge. Consideration of philosophical works that have influenced the researcher's meta theoretical commitments, or worldview, offers an alternate method of exploring knowledge construction and aspirations for knowledge representation. To this end the symbiotic concepts of truth and reality offered by Nietzsche and Foucault will now be discussed with reference to their influence on the research methodology adopted.

4.2.2 Nietzsche: negotiated reality

Perspectivism

The Heraclitian view of reality as multiple, heterogeneous and constantly changing or becoming (Gergen, 1994) forms the basis for Nietzsche's highly influential work. He advocates no one reality, but many, continuously changing realities experienced by us as humans living (and therefore immanent) in the world. The view of reality forms the basis of the philosophical concept of immanence. Nietzsche's interpretation of immanence means that there is no universal, absolute, transcendent truth waiting to be discovered (Nietzsche, 1878-80, translated 1996). His suggestion that nothing is absolutely true has been critiqued as a convenient facilitator for any perspective. The appropriation of Nietzsche's work by fascism, as first described by American historian Crane Brinton (Ratner-Rosenhagen, 2012), is often cited to emphasise this point, (for example Weiss, 2002). This is a convenient connection for those that criticise Nietzsche and one that is superficial and insensitive to the depth of his work (Norris, 2002, Hill, 2007). The idea that anything is acceptable as nothing is clear implies nihilism. This ignores the ethical dimension of thought, and is incorrect (see Nietzsche, 1901, Nietzsche, 1977). He sees entities such as truth and facts as beyond human comprehension, unattainable due to our human limitations. Human beings are situated in space, time and history and are therefore not capable of objective observation of a separate reality (Schrift, 1990). Each individual will experience the world from their particular perspective, which allows only a partial and fabricated relationship with reality (Granier, 1985). This is known as perspectivism.

Nietzsche's perspectivism denies the possibility of a universal truth, as the world is interpreted according to different beliefs and ideas, each of which is equally valid (Williams and May, 1996). There is no self that has a transcendent perspective; the world is knowable but has no one meaning, it has countless meanings (Strong, 1988). The activity of knowing is a formulating of the world that cannot be exhausted by any number of acts of understanding.

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The act of knowing is one of sense-making: bending what we know of the world from our perspective to our own vital interests. Thus we as the Will to Power form an interpretation of our perspective as a creative act of sense-making (Grainer, 1985, Schrift, 1990). The world does not possess any features (facts) that are prior to and independent of interpretations (Nehamas, 1985). Any human interpretation of truth is a finite, contingent and questionable act. Man is incapable of knowing the truth, for man's question about the truth is a permanent one (Rauche, 1970). Any one thing is the sum of the perspectives bearing upon it. For social scientists this is significant in denying the possibility of a complete theory or interpretation of anything. More than one interpretation of any thing is inevitable (Granier, 1985) and there is no potential for any one view that is binding on everyone (Nehamas, 1985). Thus perspectivism offers a celebration of diversity and the value of non-unity, dissonance and ambiguity.

The Will to Power

If we consider perspectivism without consideration of the Will to Power, it presents the problem of tautological relativism. If no one perspective is privileged it is impossible to judge one against the other, which takes us no further forward. Relativism is often criticised for diminishing the role of truth and undermining any need for evidence or empirical support for one's preferred view (Weiss, 2000). This ignores the moment of social relations in knowledge construction. Every perspective embodies a creative force that seeks to influence as the product of the activity of the viewer as the Will to Power. We negotiate our socially constructed definitions of reality and draw upon empirical evidence to support representation of our own viewpoints during these negotiations. No form of inquiry can be detached and value-neutral as this is unattainable. Every inquiry expresses pragmatic interests, and every representation results from and is an expression of the Will to Power.

Strong (1988) argues that perspectivism is Nietzsche's attempt to replace epistemology with an understanding of the self and of knowledge that does not posit any particular position as final. Our perspectives determine how we construct knowledge. There are three types of perspective which influence our interpretations: physiological, instinctual (not mediated) and socio-historical (mediated) (Schrift, 1990, Miller, 1998). Every interpretation of reality is shaped by social, cultural and historical factors, social stocks of knowledge that influence our perspectives of what is true (Luckmann, 2008). Our socio-historical perspective is influenced by our situation in space and time, and our individual experiences, historical

conditioning and what is considered to be socially acceptable (Schrift, 1990). Every interpretation represents a creative act of appropriation, the will to dominate reality (Granier, 1985). Our activity as the Will to Power can be conceived as the operating principle of perspectivism: we use our perspectives to formulate interpretations of reality (Strong, 1988). Our perceptions and the interpretations we draw from them constantly change over time and are the product of the moment, becoming (immanent) rather than being fixed (transcendent) in space and time.

Nietzschian perspectivism highlights the limits of human interpretation and the role of subjectivity in our knowledge of the world. The nearest we can be to understanding is to seek objectivity by cultivating broad and diverse relations with the object (Hill, 2007). Objectivity is achieved by exploring different perspectives and their interpretations: the more ways we look at the world the more we will see. This opens space for marginalized, ignored and silenced voices (Kilduff and Mehra, 1997). For social scientists this is significant in denying the privileging of meta narratives and dominant discourses. The emphasis on the value of many voices (polyphony) in pursuit of objectivity has fundamental implications for research design (Gergen and Gergen, 1991, Cunliffe, 2008b). All relevant perspectives of objects being investigated must be made meaningful (Henderson and Wilier, 1987) within the context of relevant and diverse power constructs.

4.2.3 Foucault: knowledge and power

Archae-geneological methods

Nietzsche links the task of philosophy to a radical reflection on language and a consideration of who speaks the words about whom, where and when. The ontological foundations of Foucault's work draw heavily on Nietzsche's work to explore the role of language in shaping our shared knowledge and understanding of truth and reality (Thompson, 1993). In his 1971 essay '*Nietzsche, Genealogy, History*,' (Foucault, 1984) Foucault explores genealogy as an alternative to searching for an underlying truth or continuous linkage from origin to the present which does not exist. His archae-geneological method is concerned with epistemological issues and establishing the role of systems of logic, or episteme, within discourse: the conditions that order our representations of our thoughts and determine truth claims (Sheridan, 1980, Knights, 2002). These conditions include spatial location, method, material constraints, practices, disciplinary boundaries and power relations (Colebrook, 2005). Each of the perspectives described by Nietzsche is located within a discourse, (which

may also be described as an episteme, paradigm or approach) that acts to order the point of the viewer.

Foucault challenges representations influenced by the modern Western episteme which is inherently normalising. Foucault is interested in how various forms of knowledge are ordered and normalised, the power/knowledge formations behind these ordering practices (disciplinary practices exercised by others to control individual behaviours), and how these impact on technologies of the self (disciplinary practices exercised by individuals to control their own behaviours) (Foucault, 1994, Starkey and Hatchuel, 2002). His archaeo-geneological method challenges representation and problematises the constituent subject to understand how it has been constructed over time (Foucault, 1977). It aims to understand what constitutes objective reality or truth by disturbing the process of its creation, considering dominant discourses as power mechanisms which normalize, marginalise and silence other discourses within a certain social space. These power mechanisms are inherent within not only the use of subjugation (when something is done to control the agent) but also by subjectivation (when the agent does things to control themselves) (Chan, 2000). Foucault's method seeks insight as to why we think about subjects in a certain manner, to in turn enable us to consider that subject in an alternate manner, thereby allowing new perspectives and modes of thinking.

Foucault and organisational studies

Consideration of Foucault's work and the method of enquiry it presents is not intended as an unquestioning homage or a definitive explanation. Foucault himself asserts that there should be no one reading or interpretation of his work. The influence of Foucault's work within organizational analysis has mushroomed (Carter, McKinlay and Rowlinson, 2002), itself giving rise to a new group of what Foucault terms specific intellectuals (Foucault, 1988) who exert influence and impact within their own specific area of professional expertise (Chan, 2000). It has been argued that much of this growing body of work appears subjective and superficial due to a lack of engagement with the general epistemological position (Scheurich and McKenzie, 2005). In a special issue of the journal *Organization*, Knights (2002) argues that Foucault's work has been selectively appropriated by authors wishing to apply Foucauldian theory to the study of organizations. This is described by Rowlinson and Carter (2002) as ritualistic, fashionable and superficial.

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The application of Foucault's work has nowhere been more evident than in discursive approaches to the study of change. Foucault has been named as one of the '*theoretical godfathers*' (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: p. 10) of critical discourse analysis methods, which are concerned with power as a central condition in social life. This work focuses on the analysis of discourses and their use to exert power by the regulation of ways of thinking, talking and acting (Jäger and Maier, 2009). It may be argued that, in their focus on the use of language (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000b), discursive readings of Foucault's work miss the crucial role of our sense experience in his critique of representation. Whilst language is central to his work, he also considers the role of things, as exemplified in the title of his 1969 work '*Les Mots et Les Choses*' [translated as '*Words and Thing*']. Foucault talks of thinking, language and being interacting to produce knowledge (Colebrook, 2005). In addition to thinking and discourse, the body has a presence which also acts. Bodily practices, spatial relations and fields of the visible contribute to our perspective (Colebrook, 2005). The physical body represents our experiences and also gives rise to our human desires and failings (Foucault, 1971). The genealogist is therefore interested in the interactions between power, knowledge and the body (Burrell, 1998). Knights (2002) calls for greater sensitivity to these issues of epistemology raised by Foucault and the challenge they present to established ways of thinking. This thesis attempts such sensitivity by focusing on the perspectives of individuals as represented during in-depth interviews. Findings consider not only what is said but also what is done during these moments of shared listening and understanding between the researcher and the researched.

Archae-geneological methods and change in organisations

In challenging established ways of thinking, Foucault offers method of investigation into what makes certain forms of thought possible (Macey, 2004). Archaeo-genealogy opens up space to give voice to the marginalised and silenced. All concepts, including those not discussed, are treated equally as the effects of prior organisational processes (Foucault, 1972). We need to problematise or de-structure existing distinctions to more fully understand them and confront the '*strangeness of the familiar*' to consider how they might be made differently (Cooper and Burrell, 1988, cited in McKinlay and Starkey, 1998: p.5). This approach is immediately useful to the exploration of change as an ideational concept.

Change is an under-defined ideational concept within organisational studies, as discussed in Chapter Two. Philips and Hardy (1997) faced similar challenges of definition when

considering the idea of a refugee as a product of specific determination processes. They considered three kinds of entities: objects, subjects and concepts. Objects are entities which particular disciplines or groups use to identify things (Fairclough, 1992). Subjects are relational entities which allow us to interpret, enact and negotiate the social world. Concepts are ideational functions of language, the categories, relationships and theories through which we understand the world and relate to each other (Philips and Hardy, 1997). They carry an implicit moral evaluation, an accent that is used by groups to shape ideas of what is right, based upon assumptions that are largely taken for granted. This accent is culturally and historically situated and changes over time.

Understanding of the assumptions underpinning the concept of change in organisations requires a movement of change from a concept to a subject position, to explore the ideas determining processes, practices and structures upon which current conceptions of change are based. Making the concept of change the subject of investigation opens up the potential to alter thinking about change in organisations, revealing the historicity and contingencies of Western approaches to change, how these approaches are manifested in organisations, and how they impact upon employment relations and employee well-being. The historicity of the concept of change in organisations was scoped at a macro-level in Chapter One and at a meso level within organisational studies in Chapters Two and Three. The empirical investigation undertaken to inform this thesis operates at a micro level, using qualitative research methods to explore individual perspectives on change and how these have been affected by dominant discourses to influence thinking, language and interaction. During this investigation the presence of the body of the researcher within the knowledge constructed during the research act grounds that knowledge in a time and place, a moment of becoming that is co-constructed between the knower and the known. This presence of the researcher within the research is now considered, prior to a detailed consideration of the qualitative study undertaken.

4.2.4 Reflexive research

When conducting a research project the researcher must reflect on their role and influence within the research process. The importance of reflexivity in research is generally acknowledged (Cassell and Symon, 2004) but heavily differentiated in the way it is defined and applied. This is in part determined by the research paradigm adopted, the purpose of the reflexive element of the research (Williams, May and Wiggins, 1996, Johnson and Duberley,

2003, Thomas, 2006), and professional and disciplinary norms (Holland, 1999). Reflexivity offers potential to understand the role of the researcher and to interrogate and understand the representations constructed by the very act of researching (Gergen and Gergen, 1991, Cunliffe, 2003, 2008a). This section will consider perspectives on the role of reflexivity in academic research within organisations and then move on to examine the social, material and discursive influences that have contributed to the researcher's subjective interpretations of the observations made.

Perspectives on reflexivity in research

Early uses of reflexivity in management research were influenced by both objectivist and interpretivist methodologies drawn from the natural sciences. Within objectivist research subject-object dualism positions the knower as separate from the known: the researcher is other than the researched (Johnson, 1975). Reflexivity establishes the objectivity of the researcher and thus the validity of a reality that is investigated during the research process. This reality exists independently from the researcher, the knower is outside that which is known, and the research task is to discover natural rules from an objective standpoint (Bernstein, 1983). Interpretivist methodologies position the knower within the known: the researcher is within the researched because social interaction itself contributes to on-going processes of meaning production and the co-construction of knowledge. Reflexivity is relational and emphasises the multiplicity of voices within the research process (Gergen and Gergen, 1991). In all cases, the need for open-minded work which overcomes the researcher's own prejudicial perceptions of the subject is emphasised (Hart, 1998). The researcher uses reflexivity to disclose, and consequently mitigate, the existence of any bias on their part (Linstead, 1994, Thomas, 2006). Thus reflexivity is an essential element within any research process.

The use of reflexivity in research has itself been subject to debate. Hardy, Phillips and Clegg (2001) argue that, during the 1990s, various applications of reflexivity were resulting in an emphasis on the researcher rather than the research subject. This allowed instrumental, self-indulgent, auto-biographical reflexivity and safe as opposed to bold theory construction (Weick, 1999). As a counter to this a number of classificatory models have been devised to illustrate possible forms of reflexivity (Holland, 1999, Hardy et al. 2001, Johnson and Duberley, 2003). These frameworks move reflexivity beyond reportage of researcher perspectives and experiences to approaches which help us explore acts of knowledge

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construction. Holland (1999) describes different levels and types of reflexive processes. He advocates a higher level of reflexive analysis which allows transcendence of cultural, paradigm and disciplinary boundaries which narrow our vision. Hardy et al. (2001) align themselves with Holland's (1999) highest level, offering a reflexive analysis of their refugee studies to illustrate the complex interactions and tensions between the researcher, the research community, academic and practitioner audiences, and how these impact on the production of knowledge. Johnson and Duberley (2003) present a three part classification orientated upon epistemological and ontological assumptions and align with Holland's (1999) highest level in their presentation of reflexivity as both a product and expression of the scholar's meta theoretical commitments.

These frameworks of reflexivity recognise the situated nature of knowledge production and dissemination. Each is also inherently prescriptive in advocating a particular dimension of reflexivity and its contribution to understanding the research experience and the knowledge that can be drawn from it. However, reflexivity itself is not a fixed thing, but rather something that is adapted and shaped over time by institutional working practices, academic standards and disciplinary norms (Alvesson and Sköldbberg, 2009). Alvesson and Sköldbberg (2009) offer a four level model of reflexivity as an example of a multidimensional interpretive process, but stress that this is illustrative rather than prescriptive. Their emphasis is on reflexive interpretation: the fluid movement between various levels of interpretation to achieve balance and create space to explore different directions in the research process. No one form of reflexivity is privileged as relative importance depends on the problem, purpose and process of the research. A similar fluidity can be seen in Cunliffe's (2003) consideration of the role of narrative circularity within radical reflexivity to expose the situated and temporal nature of research accounts as a process of becoming rather than discovery.

Radical reflexivity moves beyond the use of reflexivity to contextualise the role of the researcher. It actively values reflexivity as a practice which expands the potential knowledge construction enabled by the research process as a socially situated experience. This process involves challenging our own thoughts and the social systems that shape them in order to create the potential to think differently (Foucault, 1986, cited in Colebrook, 2005). Research is participatory and data is shaped by the power/ knowledge formations that structure and order individual and shared perspectives (Foucault 1971, 1994). Reflexivity is participatory, facilitating research that allows not only the researcher and participant voices, but also a consideration of the research practice as a shared space where meaning is created within

social processes between participants (Linstead and Grafton-Smith, 1990, Cunliffe, 2003). This recognises the influence of the research experience, an active physical and verbal engagement that creates a shared understanding (Foucault, 1971). Research represents knowledge constructed, represented and interpreted in the moment; the time and place of representation, a contribution to on-going exploration rather than a finite answer or conclusion. Reflexivity is thus a central component of the research process.

The researcher within the research

The role of the researcher within the research process is critical to the quality of the work undertaken. This study has aimed to benefit from a rich spectrum of voices offering their perspectives on change in organisations. It is important to remember the context in which these voices were heard: the moment of social relations between the researcher and the research participant, when shared understandings are created between actors. As an active participant in the creation of shared understandings, the researcher must reflect upon their own role and how their thoughts, feelings and motivations influenced the dataset. In this way, reflexivity contributes to transparency of data generation and active methodological awareness throughout the research process (Reynolds, Kizito, Ezumah et al., 2011). To this end, I have utilised a reflexive approach throughout data collection and analysis to consider alternate perspectives and interpretations of the empirical study as a social process. This use of reflexivity significantly influenced the data generation process, for example in the selection of research sites (see Section 4.3.2), the altered sequence of questioning during interviews (see Chapter Five, Section 5.2 and Chapter Six, Section 6.3) and in considering how I adapted my behaviour in response to unexpected behaviour during interviews (see Chapter Seven, Section 7.3.4 and 7.3.5). It also influenced the analysis and interpretation phases, and my own practice as a researcher. Thus reflexivity has contributed to not only the research process, but also to my personal and professional development. To this end, I have detailed my own experiences as a researcher as findings of this research within the following chapters of this thesis as an essential element within the research design. A more detailed consideration of this research design is provided in the next section.

4.3. Empirical study design

4.3.1 Overview of methods

This study adopted a mixed methods approach to consider understandings of change in organisations. Bibliometric analysis (Chapter One), landscape literature review (Chapter Two) and systematic meta-narrative review (Chapter Three) were used to explore the development of the concept of change and considerations of individual experiences of change within organisational studies. Empirical investigation was then undertaken to gather individual perspectives on change at work. The intention of the study was to give voice to participants, allowing them to describe changes they have experienced as they recalled them and to articulate their views on change in their own words. As quantitative methods deal with causal paths and the measurement of multiple variables (Creswell, 2003) they were not appropriate within this strategy of enquiry. Qualitative methods were therefore chosen to investigate individuals' experiences of change in the context of their wider experiences.

These qualitative methods included in-depth interviews ($n=40$) and documentary analysis (Creswell, 2007, Liamputtong, 2009) to allow individuals the autonomy to represent their experiences of change as they chose to within a confidential space and non-prescriptive structure. There is no single agreed structure for qualitative studies (Creswell, 2007). Qualitative research is not value-free enquiry seeking a single truth (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, 2000, 2005), but rather a fluid process of enquiry undertaken by a socially situated researcher. This section details the design of this process of enquiry, considering the research context, sampling strategy, data generation, analysis and interpretation.

4.3.2 The research context

This section provides the rationale behind the selection of research sites to participate in the study, the national policy context within which they were working during the period of data generation and an overview (necessarily brief to protect anonymity) of the organisations taking part in the research and how they were recruited into the study.

Selection of research sites

In deciding upon the research context the intention was to gain a spectrum of perspectives on change in organisations. This required the selection of different research sites large enough to comprise different groups of employees and prepared to accommodate minor disruption to

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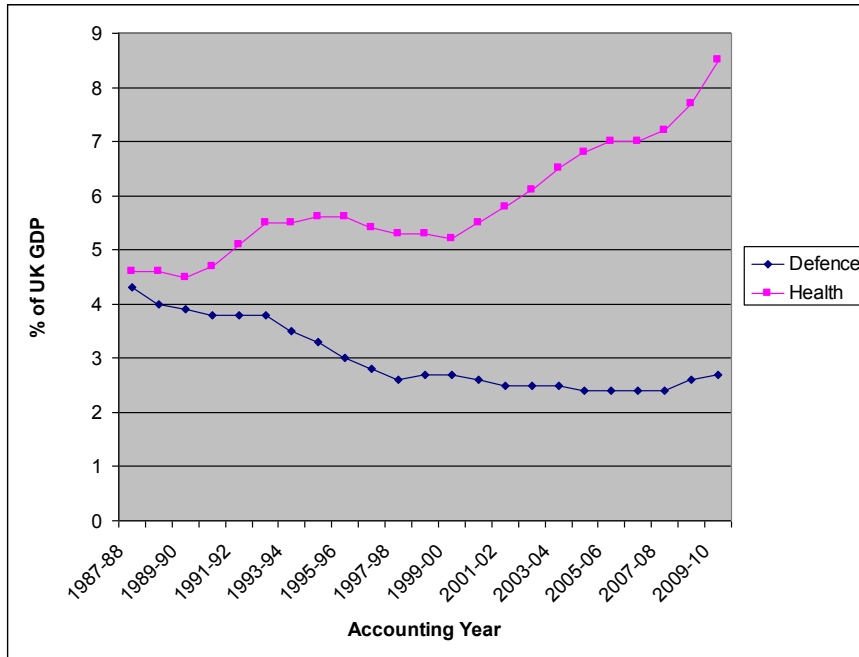
individual work patterns to allow employees time to participate. Each organisation would also require to have undergone significant periods of change over a sustained period of time to increase the likelihood of participants being able to recollect experiences of change in their organisation. It was essential that the organisations concerned agreed to academic discretion regarding participant selection and confidentiality of materials gathered. These were the essential selection criteria within the purposeful sampling strategy (Patton, 1990, Creswell, 2007) adopted for recruitment of research sites.

In addition to these essential selection criteria, an element of researcher choice was exercised in selecting organisations I had a working knowledge of as a previous employee, allowing me to utilise existing networks to recruit organisations into the study. My working knowledge of the sector was intended to contribute to building rapport, establishing credibility and empathy for participants, although requiring purposive reflexivity to limit bias (Marshall and Rossman, 1999). Whilst it was desirable that change was recognised as a meaningful concept relevant to the nature of the business undertaken, it was at the same time desirable that the organisations selected for study were likely to remain as coherent entities for the duration of the study to ensure consistency of access and participation. In accordance with these essential and desirable criteria, two organisations were chosen as research contexts: an establishment within the UK Ministry of Defence (MoD), and a healthcare provider organisation within the National Health Service in England (NHS). These research sites are referred to respectively as Defence and Hospital to protect the anonymity and confidentiality of research participants.

National policy context

In recent years both Defence and Hospital have been subject to the focus across developed economies on public sector fiscal control, privatisation and re-structuring that has led to uneven and incomplete patterns of change (Hebdon and Kirkpatrick, 2005). The extent of these changes is evident in patterns of public expenditure on defence and healthcare. Whilst NHS spending has significantly risen as a per cent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), defence spending has shown a marked reduction, as shown in Figure 4.1 (see Appendix G for the supporting dataset).

Figure 4.1 Total expenditure on health and defence services as a per cent of GDP, 1987-88 to 2009-10 (source: HM Treasury, 2011)



Defence

The defence industry is of major significance within the global economy. MoD employees comprise members of the Armed Forces of the United Kingdom (UKAF) and non-military civil servants. UKAF comprise members of the three uniformed services: Army, Royal Navy and Royal Air Force. Military service is undertaken on either a full-time (regular) basis or a part-time (reserve) basis and all contracts of employment are permanent. British military personnel are deployed in over 80 locations around the world, ranging in purpose from counter-insurgency and enforcing anti-terrorism measures, to combating the international drugs trade, to peacekeeping operations and humanitarian support (British Army, 2009). The July 2004 Defence Command Paper *‘Delivering Security in a Changing World: Future Capabilities’* (Ministry of Defence, 2004) aimed to build on the modernisation of the 1998 Strategic Defence Review and saw a new emphasis on procurement and efficiency. It led to a significant reduction in military staff together with the loss of some 10,000 civilian jobs, to achieve efficiency savings targets of 2.5% per annum, over the three years following publication of the review.

Military institutions have attracted researchers from a wide range of disciplines (for example political science, psychology, sociology, history and economics) to undertake local and international research (Higate and Cameron, 2006). However, within the management discipline there is a notable dearth of work considering change in military organisations, perhaps due in part to difficulties regarding perceived accessibility and confidentiality. In anticipation of potential difficulties the MoD were approached very early in the study following some preliminary enquiry as to appropriate contact points within the organisation. They were very receptive to the research and remained interested throughout despite a number of departmental and divisional re-organisations, resulting in a number of redundancies and retirements. Regular contact was maintained by the researcher, including provision of progress updates and clear, concise presentation of sampling decisions. The military sample included UKAF personnel and civilians working with them.

Hospital

The NHS represents a major employer in Britain, with over 300 different careers on offer (NHS Careers, 2012). NHS staff work on either a full-time or part-time basis, with either temporary or permanent contracts of employment. At the time of this empirical investigation, important national policy developments were taking place within the NHS. In June 2008 Lord Darzi announced the findings of a governmental review '*Our NHS Our Future: NHS Next Stage Review – Leading Local Change*' (Department of Health, 2008) which placed heavy emphasis on increased efficiency and safe service provision. The review called for strong leadership and talked of greater empowerment for staff accompanied by greater accountability and increased transparency (Department of Health, 2008). This review had incorporated a workforce strategy and, at the time of the study, Hospital was adhering to a no redundancy policy for all staff groups. A large healthcare provider in London was approached to provide a sample complementary to Defence and immediately became interested in the study. The Hospital sample was limited to NHS employees.

The challenges that have faced Hospital and Defence in recent times appear very different. However, they are both subject to intense governmental and media scrutiny and subject to high levels of public and policy expectation. Both Defence and Hospital were highly supportive of the study, noting the importance of the topic to their organisations, providing financial support for data collection and practical support for sample selection.

4.3.3 Sample selection

Within the two organisations chosen as research sites a maximum variation sampling strategy was adopted, with the intention of exploring diverse variations and identifying common patterns (Miles and Huberman, 1994, Creswell, 2007). Forty voluntary participants were recruited across the two research sites with the support of a nominated local contact person. These local contacts were consistent (i.e. the same people) throughout the period of data collection. They were not included in the research sample so as not to place undue demands upon their time. Participant eligibility was subject to a minimum of 18 months' continuous employment with their current employer. This was intended to avoid a recent change of employer becoming the focus of discussion. This eligibility criteria was readily fulfilled due to the size of the organisations studied and number of employees with very considerable length of service.

Participants came from a range of occupations and levels of seniority, ranging from director to administrator to professor to regimental sergeant major. In practice, the sample comprised employees from three organisations, although they were physically located within two work/research sites. Also, many participants noted that they worked for a second employer (see Detailed Summary of Research Sample at Appendix I). Participants were members of distinct occupational groupings ranging from military personnel, doctors and nurses, professions allied to medicine (PAM), scientists, managers and administrators. Manual workers were not included in the sample as they were not employed by these organisations (due to the sub-contracting of services such as facilities management and catering). Targeted recruitment enabled the achievement of maximum variation (Miles and Huberman, 1994, Creswell, 2007) not only by occupation and seniority, but also by gender and nature of hours worked (part and full-time staff, those on military contracts and semi-retired employees). An overview of the research sample is provided at Appendix H. A detailed summary of the research sample is provided at Appendix I.

4.3.4 Data generation

Data generation took place over a period of 28 weeks from May to early December 2008. Data generation was conducted ethically and consistently.

Ethics

This work was carried out with the ethical approval of the University. Additional site specific ethical permission was sought in accordance with Defence and Hospital's respective internal requirements. Participants were given a verbal overview of the project by the nominated local contact person prior to recruitment into the study. I then reviewed the aims and objectives of the study with participants to ensure their awareness of the nature of the research prior to obtaining verbal informed consent to participate (Punch, 1994, Liamputtong, 2007). Regular contact was maintained with both nominated local contacts throughout the course of the study, including the provision of both formal and informal progress updates, discussion regarding sampling and recruitment and the scheduling of interviews.

Conducting the interviews

Data generation comprised face to face, one-off in-depth interviews ($n=40$) (Dickson-Swift, James and Liamputtong, 2008), wherein participants were asked to describe changes they had experienced in their workplace together with aspects of their work that had stayed the same. The interview topic guide (see Appendix J) was structured to guide discussion and allow participants to select examples of change and describe their experiences in their own words rather than responding to extensive lists of questions. The collection of structured socio-demographic data was used as an icebreaker at the beginning of each interview, creating an opportunity to put participants at ease and build rapport between researcher and participant (Dickson-Swift, James and Liamputtong, 2008) prior to a less structured discussion designed to allow individuals to articulate their experiences as they recalled them at that time without undue direction by the researcher. Seven prompts were included for use by the researcher to shape the overall direction of discussion in relation to the research questions. This was found to be very useful during interviews due to the nebulous nature of change and the possibility for interesting but overly tangential conversations.

Participant informed consent (Punch, 1994, Liamputtong, 2009) was collected verbally and, when permission given, discussions were digitally recorded for subsequent transcription. Participants were assured that all interviews were confidential and non-attributable. Participants were offered a copy of the transcription of their interview for retrospective review. Only one participant requested a copy of their transcript. In this case a revised transcript was returned having been amended (full details of this are given in Chapter Seven,

Section 7.3.5). The revised version of the transcript was included in the dataset for analysis. Where it was requested that the discussions were not recorded, field notes were taken and written up. Researcher reflections and observations were noted immediately following each discussion in a field diary. Where participants provided documentary materials as follow-up to discussions these were included for analysis as part of the qualitative dataset and are listed at Appendix K.

Data generation took place over a period of 28 weeks from May to early December 2008. A reflexive approach was adopted throughout (see Section 4.2.4). This included the altered sequence of questioning during interviews (see Chapter Five, Sections 5.2 and 5.3) and in considering how I adapted my behaviour in response to unexpected behaviour during interviews (see Chapter Six, Section 6.3.1 and Chapter Seven, Section 7.3.5). These considerations are presented as findings as they occurred as a result of my engagement with the research process. The findings presented here are in many cases emotive and intimate. By undertaking in-depth qualitative interviews I was engaged in the emergence and exploration of unforeseen topics relating to individualised experiences of change as understood by the participant in the moment they were interviewed (Anderson, 2005, Bryant, 2006). It is accepted that participants may disclose more about their experiences than they had intended to during in-depth interviews, (Dickson-Swift, James and Liamputtong, 2008). That said, I had not anticipated the extent of emotion, anxiety and distress I encountered in participant descriptions of change and its impact upon them. Indeed, it became evident during some of the interviews that the participants themselves were often unaware of their own extent of feeling, or were embarrassed to reveal the extent of their distress (see Chapter Seven, Section 7.3.4 and 7.3.5). Certainly, the manner in which descriptions were articulated was in some cases more telling than what was said. This was captured after the interview within my field diary which, as with the documentary materials provided by participants, was included for analysis as part of the qualitative dataset.

4.3.5 Data handling, analysis and interpretation

Data handling

Throughout the research process all data has been handled with due regard to confidentiality and anonymity. Details of the data generation were recorded and monitored in a Microsoft Excel worksheet, an extract of which was taken to provide the summary of the research sample shown at Appendix I. Each participant was given a unique identifier (see Column 2

of the table at Appendix I) to allow confidential reference to data. This identifier comprised the following:

- Interview number (allocated sequentially by date and time);
- Participant occupational group (allocated to indicate main occupation);
- Participant gender;
- Participant age.

These terms were grouped together in brackets to identify participant sources, for example (Interview 1, Military, Male, 45).

An abbreviated version of this identifier was used for filenames and referencing paper based materials. Digital recordings of interviews were professionally transcribed to include expressive noises (e.g. em, er), pauses and other noises (e.g. laughing, phone ringing). I then checked the transcripts for accuracy against the audio recording, checking punctuation for accuracy of expression and ensuring the removal of any contextual references that would compromise anonymity (Morse, 1994). The data generated during interviews and site visits (i.e. digital audio recordings and transcripts, printed documents and field notes within my field diary) were stored securely: electronic data on a password protected personal computer and paper based materials in a locked cupboard. To enable the organisation and analysis of the large dataset, electronic files were collated in an NVivo9 database (initially NVivo8, prior to the availability of an upgraded version in September 2011) with robust data security measures.

Analysis

Analysis of the data began upon completion of the first site visit and was conducted iteratively using the constant comparison technique to move backwards and forwards between the data and evolving explanations for recurring and contradictory patterns and associations (Pope, Ziebland and Mays, 2000). The original framework for analysis was deductive, based upon the themes emerging from the literature reviewed in Chapter Three (see Table 3.1 for a summary of meta-narrative key characteristics). This proved an extremely useful starting point for analysis. This deductive analysis allowed a confirmatory stance to analysis (Huberman and Miles, 1994) whilst identifying disconfirming and contradictory perspectives. However, as data generation progressed I returned to review coding (Baxter and Jack, 2008) and came to adopt a more inductive approach in relation to

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some of the research questions, due principally to their exploratory and descriptive nature (Huberman and Miles, 1994). The framework used for analysis was developed iteratively by first considering the themes from Chapter Three in relation to each of the research questions, and then considering themes emerging within the data (these two sets of themes are shown at Appendix L). Thus the themes within the data were arrived at through a combination of deductive, inductive and performative analysis (Reissman, 2008) in relation to each of the research questions considered and form the themes and sub-themes for the presentation of findings.

For research question one (Chapter Five), considering individuals understandings of change, it would have been reasonable to assume participant answers to these descriptive questions readily mapped to the categories identified within Chapter Three, namely: career journeys; crisis; down-sizing; incremental and adaptive change; new leadership; new technology; out-sourcing; planned and transformational; policy change and public sector reform; relocation; socio-economic change; structural change impacting on roles; and research participant determined change. However, in considering descriptions of change in organisations presented by individuals it was difficult to neatly categorise any one example, particularly as there was often more than one change going on and participants struggled to bring to mind any examples of stability. The examples of change did not neatly fall into any one category and as a result inductive analysis was found to be more helpful in relation to these findings.

In relation to research question two, considering how research participants distinguish between change and that which remains relatively constant (i.e. between change and stability) (Chapter Six), the deductive analytical framework based upon the relevant variables and themes emerging from the literature reviewed in Chapter Three was not found to be particularly helpful, principally due to a lack of consideration of stable elements within organisations. Thus a simple thematic framework was adopted relating to change and stability.

The third research question sought to identify the impact of change in organisations upon relationships (Chapter Seven). Each of the meta-narratives within the literature (reviewed in Chapter Three) investigates the influence of relationships upon change in organisations. Existing studies are concerned with various relationships which may influence change, including social relationships and power dynamics, the relations between alternate, concurrent changes, working practices and values, the professional self, professional and

organisational membership. This literature focused on the role of social relations upon change in organisations (see Chapter Three). Conversely, this study sought to understand the reciprocal effect of change upon social relations in organisations. As this analysis involved looking at the interaction between change in organisations and relationships in a manner counter to that normally undertaken a wholly inductive approach was necessary to fully explore the data.

In conducting analysis, consideration of the written data was not sufficient to fully explore the themes emerging from the data. Performative analysis (Reissman, 2008) was also undertaken by listening to recordings and considering field notes to gain insight into the interactive production and performance of the stories gathered. This method allowed a full account of the participant's experience of describing their views and how they sought to express their perspectives on change. It also gave insight into the contextual influences upon the research interaction and allowed me to reflect upon my own influence as a social actor within the research interaction. This combination of deductive, inductive and performative analysis (Reissman, 2008) in relation to each of the research questions allowed full consideration of a rich and complex dataset.

Interpretation

The interpretation of data is informed by analysis and discovered within the act of writing up our research (Richardson, 1994). Research data and its interpretation are dependent on memory, which in turn creates meaning (Linstead, 1994). The act of writing is a creative process of enquiry which will influence representations, shaping and forming ideas and interpretations of qualitative research data (Richardson, 1994). Foucault emphasises that the formative process of writing impacts as much on the researcher as the researched, encouraging people to write to become other than they are (quoted by Miller, 1993, cited in Williams and May, 1996). This seems highly relevant to me as a doctoral researcher for whom the rigour of producing a thesis within a set academic format not only represents the formal output of technical research training, but also embodies my own intellectual journey during my course of study. The interpretations offered in this thesis are those of a student researcher and are not intended as the sole or single correct readings of the several voices heard within this study. They are, however, scientifically robust, original and presented to inform further related research.

4.4 Chapter summary

This chapter first explains the ontological and epistemological assumptions inherent within the theoretical framework of the thesis. These methodological assumptions determine in turn the design and methods of the empirical research strategy, as detailed in the second section.

The methodological basis of this research strategy draws heavily upon the ontological considerations of Nietzsche, which in turn informed the archae-geneological methods developed by Michel Foucault to understand alternate episteme. These methodological underpinnings offer the change to problematize that with which we are familiar with on a day to day basis. This familiarity itself obfuscates the ways in which we think every day and in doing so clouds our potential to think differently. Foucault's methods demand investigation into not only what is said, but that which is not said. The application of these processes of questioning the everyday allows us to make that which is familiar strange to us, and in doing so consider it anew. By returning to Nietzsche's theories of perspectivism and Will to Power this study aims to look afresh at the concept of change through a variety of perspectives to consider how this important notion may be re-conceptualised with regard to the study of organisations.

In undertaking such a study it is important to consider the role of the researcher within the research process. The importance of reflexivity in scientific research is generally accepted as an essential dimension of professional practice. This study aims to achieve an active engagement with reflexivity to allow transparency of data generation and active methodological awareness throughout the social process of research. Reflexive considerations are therefore threaded throughout all phases of qualitative investigation, including study design, data generation, analysis and interpretation. As this study has been undertaken as a doctoral thesis, this use of reflexivity has informed not only the development and conduct of the research, but also my own personal and professional development throughout my course of study.

The second section of this chapter provides an overview of the empirical study design. This was informed by the bibliometric analysis (Chapter One), literature review (Chapter Two) and meta-narrative review (Chapter Three) provided within the first half of the thesis. A qualitative research study was then designed and undertaken to gather individual perspectives on change at work. The research took part in two research sites, referred to

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throughout as Defence and Hospital to preserve anonymity and confidentiality. These organisations were chosen as being sufficiently large to comprise different groups of employees, as having undergone significant periods of change over a sustained period of time, as likely to be able to accommodate the research within their resource base, and as being familiar to the researcher as a result of previous employment.

Within these two research sites, a maximum diversity sample of participants was recruited to share their perspectives on change in organisations. Qualitative methods, including in-depth interviews ($n=40$) and documentary analysis, were utilised to allow individuals to articulate their experiences of change as they recalled them at that time. Targeted recruitment ensured participation by a wide variety of employees ranging from military personnel, doctors and nurses, PAMs, scientists, managers and administrators. Data generation took place over a period of 28 weeks from May to early December 2008. This data was then analysed and interpreted, with findings and considerations of the research being written up in accordance with the University of Edinburgh's guidelines for doctoral research, utilising a reflexive approach throughout.

These findings and considerations of the research are presented in the remaining chapters of the thesis, commencing in the next chapter (Chapter Five) which presents findings in relation to research question one, considering research participants' understandings of change in organisations.

Chapter Five: What do Individuals Mean by Change?

5.1. Introduction

This is the first of three chapters (Chapters Five, Six and Seven) presenting the findings of the empirical investigation described in the previous chapter, Chapter Four. It considers participant understandings of change as volunteered during in-depth interview discussion to address research question one: what do individuals mean when they talk about change? Participant descriptions of change did not readily map to the categories of change used in the literature and as a result inductive analysis was found to be most helpful in relation to these findings (see Chapter Four, Section 4.3.5). Three main themes emerged within the data and comprise the main themes of this chapter: i) particular examples of change events and associated experiences; ii) considerations of the scale and pace of change; and iii) evaluations of change. Many participants found it useful to explore specific examples relating to particular events. These examples were dominated by accounts of changes in individual roles and responsibilities and/or arising as a result of organisational re-structuring. Participants gave examples of their own and colleague's experiences and evaluations of change, including reference to the losses associated with change, the use of humour, resignation to change as a fact of life, and responses to change as a threat in the workplace. The relationships between change and progress was a useful reference point for participants when discussing change, allowing them to evaluate the examples discussed from their own perspective rather than in relation to any pre-defined organisational criteria of success or failure. Findings in relation to each of these themes are presented in Section 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4 of this chapter (see Box 5.1) and summarised within Section 5.5.

Box 5.1 Summary of themes and sub-themes

Change as an event:

- Change of role;
- Change of organisational structure.

The scale and pace of change:

- Incremental change;
- Transformational change.

Evaluations of change:

- Change as a loss;
- Change as a joke;
- Change as a fact of life;
- Change as a threat;
- Change as progress.

5.2 Change as an event

Individual descriptions of change were dominated by descriptions of job changes and/or organisational re-structuring. The extent of movement between roles was by far the most frequent example of change and also the most immediately impactful upon individuals at work. The restructuring of departments and divisions also featured heavily in participant discussions, with an associated sense of loss. During data collection, I reflected upon whether this focus upon changing roles and structures was a result of my questions at the beginning of every interview regarding length of service and number of roles during that service (see Chapter Four, Section 4.2.4 for further details of the contribution of reflexivity to this research process). In considering the flow of conversation during the interviews I felt that, given the detail provided and extent of elaboration on these experiences of change, this pattern of responding was not sufficiently explained by my having already raised this topic.

5.2.1 Change of role

The most frequently suggested example of change related to the career journey of the participant, either as a result of established pathways for professional development or as a consequence of managerial practice.

Planned and predictable job changes

For healthcare professionals and military staff this movement was in some instances a product of progression through the rank structure or professional career pathways (Interview 23, Military, Male, 48) and sometimes a result of active career management, either by the participant themselves or by a more senior colleague. For healthcare professionals, a high frequency of role changes was not altogether surprising given the nature of rotational training schemes, which required them to change posts frequently as part of their training.

'I'm on a rotational post, which means that every nine months I rotate into a different clinical specialty.' (Interview 38, PAM, Female, 39)

This throughput of healthcare professions was an accepted element of working in the healthcare:

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'There's such a high turnover of nursing staff and junior doctors, that you find that no sooner have you got people on board than they leave and there's a whole new bunch of people coming through.' (Interview 40, PAM, Female, 36)

However, some concern was expressed that professional career pathways themselves have changed:

'I'm the last of the dinosaurs that climbed the ladder. Different now, because I think career pathways are very different now. But I'm one of the last of the old type.' (Interview 27, Nurse, Female, 60)

This seemed to be the case as a number of those interviewed described how their clinical and professional roles were changing in ways that they had not necessarily chosen, for example in the allocation of managerial responsibilities (Interview 33, Nurse, Male, 33) or in the provision of alternate services:

'It was a huge change from clinician, from being a clinician to being a manager. Em it was literally sort of being thrown in at the deep end. The initial few months were really difficult but I'm coping a lot better now. I'm much more confident than the first two to three months, really hard.' (Interview 36, PAM, Male, 30)

'You cannot say no because the management does not expect you to say no to offering the services because you are employed by the Trust to deliver a service... you are bound to oblige.' (Interview 39, PAM, Male, 34)

The movement of military personnel was described as a process managed by an individual's 'appointer', a designated person responsible for overseeing career choices in the interests of the employee:

'Normally you are offered a selection, not a large selection, two or three jobs ... I have a good appointer and he said 'Look I've got these two or three jobs, I think this would be a very good job for promotion because it would give you a broader experience of the Navy and how it works on the personnel side.'' (Interview 9, Military, Female, 47)

For military personnel the duration of any one appointment, or tour of duty, might normally range between two and three years, although one participant felt that this was not necessarily long enough given the demands of some more senior roles:

'If you're at the front military end of the organisation, there are very good reasons why you have relatively short appointments and they make a lot of very good sense but it doesn't make so much sense when you're at the organisational business management end if you like of the business, where actually continuity and following through in your plans is probably more important, that's what the commercial world would do.' (Interview 21, Military, Male, 50)

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This contrast with commercial partners seemed ironic given the far greater frequency of change of roles for the managers interviewed who were working within this ‘*commercial world*’.

Imposed and opportunistic job changes

For the managerial participants, changing roles seemed to dominate descriptions of change. They described numerous, usually obligatory role changes that in many cases were imposed by members of the managerial elite rather than planned as a product of structured professional career pathways. The frequency of job changes was remarkable. Several of these participants consulted their own business cards during their interviews when asked for their job title and some laughed as they could not remember what their own job was called. Managerial staff gave examples of being moved into new roles or being asked to undertake new, additional responsibilities with little or no choice nor regard to recruitment policies and procedures. One manager recounted how her role had changed seven times during her six years of employment (Interview 20, Manager, Female, 36). Another described how she had moved through five different roles during seven years of service (Interview 2, Manager, Female, 35). This very high frequency of role changes was not necessarily problematic for participants, some of whom felt they were being presented with an opportunity for advancement and enhanced responsibilities.

‘We didn’t have a choice, but that was fine, so I came in, did it and did it within the timescale and everything went smoothly ...[afterwards]they called that the ‘Baby Run’ ... they said ‘Right, now we’ve got this building, we’re going to move two and a half, three thousand staff.’ They said ‘You’re going to be project managing that now.’ It was quite nice of them, [my line manager] was really complimentary.’ (Interview 26, Manager, Male, 52)

One manager described his three roles during a 19 month period of employment. He described his planned move to another organisation as he felt that he had ‘*reached a ceiling*’ (Interview 16, Manager, Male, 33) within the organisation due to a perceived lack of opportunity for further career progression. This participant was clearly ambitious and seemed to be actively managing his career as a separate objective to the goals of his current employer:

‘Actually there comes a point when the way the organisation works no longer meets what you are wanting to get personally done.’ (Interview 16, Manager, Male, 33)

This individualism was evident amongst other managerial and administrative participants, one of whom described how she had ‘*bullied*’ her boss into giving her more ‘*status*’

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(Interview 14, Manager, Female, 50), whilst another described how she had used a change project she had been responsible for ‘*to demonstrate*’ her value as an employee worthy of continued employment (Interview 14, Manager, Female, 50). Another participant felt that he had ‘*covered my own back*’ (Interview 26, Manager, Male, 52) in the way he had chosen to work when implementing change, whilst an administrator recounted how she had worked with a colleague to implement a change more senior colleagues had backed away from:

‘We did all that ourselves because none of the managers wanted to touch it, you know... we thought well no, we need a job, me and the other girl that was there was called [name] and we thought we need a job, so you know, we’re gonna make it work.’ (Interview 12, Administrator, Female, 50)

These examples illustrate how change was seen by some individuals as an opportunity either for personal advancement or to remain employed during uncertain times.

Interestingly, although the frequency of role changes seemed in some cases extreme, there was not necessarily a concomitant change in the work undertaken.

‘It’s the same job, just different titles that they put onto it each time really, you know. But the job description spec hasn’t changed from then, it’s just the um, they’ve just changed the title.’ (Interview 12, Administrator, Female, 50)

Another participant described how she had been doing the same job but had her job title changed, then changed back to the original title, without any discernible change to the job itself (Interview 17, Manager, Female, 47). These examples illustrated how structural changes manifested to individuals, for example as changes in line manager or job title, whilst not necessarily affecting the work undertaken on a daily basis. One participant with an engineering background referred to the organisational structure as a wiring diagram, a paper representation that had no impact on the outcomes of the work undertaken by those within the structure:

‘The wiring diagram changed, not hugely. Did the cultures change? [Intake of breath] I think our understanding of the issues improved because we had sat down and talked about them. I would say that the culture’s changed but only very superficially and very temporarily. The wiring diagram did change for the better but did it make a substantive difference to the output? Probably not.’ (Interview 22, Military, Male, 46)

5.2.2 Change of organisational structure

Participants described re-structuring as a cause of uncertainty and ambiguity. Reasons for re-structuring, and the implications of doing so, caused concern for a number of participants

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who felt that they didn't really know enough about what was going on (Interview 5, Administrator, Male, 26, Interview 9, Military, Female, 47, Interview 11, Administrator, Male, 32).

Although each organisation had a policy of not making compulsory redundancies, two examples of down-sizing were given, each relating opportunistic reductions in staffing to achieve budgetary cuts rather than to large-scale plans to reduce organisational capacity:

'It wasn't done with any planning, workforce planning – it was 'there's a vacancy here – let's pull it'. So some teams were really straight to the bones.' (Interview 32, PAM, Female, 50)

'Last week in the review meeting we were told that they were looking to make twenty five per cent cuts in cost. Now when pressed eh, it was admitted that twenty five per cent cuts in cost only come one way and that is head count.' (Interview 6, Manager, Female, 48)

Participants also noted how re-structuring in other areas of their own or partner organisations had made them feel worried about their own employment (Interview 6, Manager, Female, 48; Interview 4, Manager, Female, 48). These worries were not only concerned with continued employment, but also the prospect of being side-lined or forced into a post they felt to be unsuitable or unattractive. These types of change exacerbated perceptions of uncertainty and concerns regarding redundancy.

5.3 The scale and pace of change

Although participants did not use the words incremental and transformational there were clear differences relating to the scale and pace of change in the descriptions shared.

5.3.1 Incremental and adaptive change

Descriptions of incremental and adaptive changes were calm and positive as these examples illustrate:

'Yes, there are changes but they are incremental changes, so that's not too bad.' (Interview 1, Military, Male, 45)

'When we started off there was only two of us working in a little office and em gradually over the years it's built up now so there's about ... in all there's 30,25 to 30 staff members now.' (Interview 12, Administrator, Female, 50)

'I do feel the best way to make change is to evolve slowly from where you are. Radical, huge change is incredibly difficult to do. You can't easily change back from the revolutionary'

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change and like it as not it will be wrong because it will not have been properly tested. Evolution has been most successful. (Interview 29, Doctor, Male, 60)

One participant described the pragmatic, collaborative approach to change he had chosen over more dramatic options with a greater perceived risk of failure (Interview 21, Military, Male, 50). This approach to change was noted as being successful in contrasting context including elite military operations (Interview 24, Military, Male, 38) and the provision of healthcare (Interview 40, PAM, Female, 36). Participants detailed how incremental and adaptive approaches to change formed part of their everyday working life. These descriptions of achievement and learning created images of dynamic work environments where people worked together effectively and efficiently.

'My real focus is, is to ensure that what we say we are going to be doing we are doing; making sure so that the wheels, so to speak, keep turning and are well oiled, so that we have minor difficulties are eradicated quite early on without them becoming real issues. Em exercising the ability to look forward, anticipate you know choke points, slow down points; really just to make sure that we achieve what we seek to achieve day to day, week to week, month to month really.' (Interview 23, Military, Male, 48)

An unanticipated example of incremental change described by two participants was the changing profile of serving military personnel. One participant described how this had changed the appearance of the organisation:

'It just struck me last year I hadn't even ... I just hadn't registered it at all but there's now people in uniform in electric wheelchairs, with no legs, missing arms, eyes; there's people on crutches, there's people with prosthetic limbs. Now when I joined the service I remember seeing this Royal Marine Officer who had a prosthetic limb, a leg and I couldn't believe he was still in the military and he was the only one and his leg had come off in an accident and they kept him in a desk role, he was the only one. A famous chap, known throughout the military for having one leg and now we've got them all over the place, still serving without arms, legs, eyes. ...it's not just one, you see them all the time, there's lots of them. That really shocked me and I'm in the military!' (Interview 3, Military, Male, 40)

Another participant described how this changed the role of the individual within the organisation:

'I think the military owes a living to em those that have suffered under service to Her Majesty for as long as they wish but I think there's a finite amount of opportunity for them because effectively most of what we do requires able bodied, ... certainly most of the difficult stuff we do requires able bodied humans.' (Interview 24, Military, Male, 38)

These examples were particularly pertinent to me as I myself had suffered injury whilst serving within the military some twenty years previously and was discharged from service as a result. These considerations of disability as anything other than retirement from service

illustrated a profound degree of incremental change, producing tangible organisational evolution over time, indicating the adaptive potential of incremental change.

5.3.2 Transformational change

In contrast to these examples of incremental change there was only one example presented as transformational change at a conceptual level:

'So the real question now is, as opposed to ten years ago, is what is the health service really like after access has been achieved. And em.. to do that, we need to really reset the compass on organisations at corporate level and at the individual level. So that's the challenge. Em ...and to do that is very difficult. That's the change, it's transformation of a very significant nature.' (Interview 25, Doctor, Male, age not stated)

In practice, the relocation of staff to new premises seemed to have represented a process of transformational change, although it was not described in this way. Hospital staff had all moved premises in recent memory and described the change as a huge disruption affecting space to work in and social spaces where work was conducted informally.

'Moving into areas where people lost their 'nests' was a complete disaster because nobody had anywhere to work.' (Interview 29, Doctor, Male, 60)

'It's been a lot. You could say in levels of how significant is this great big change, you know, when you look at issues like lockers?... The reviews didn't really affect the staff, it was more the management tier. The real thing that knocked the staff, apart from moving lockers – the Fracture Clinic coming into the Department, and losing one gym.' (Interview 32, PAM, Female, 50)

These changes affected people at a mundane level (for example locker space). However, the impact was noted by many as the most significant change they had known in recent years. This was compounded by other concurrent changes, including changes determined as part of the relocation (for example the introduction of open plan working and hot-desking) and changes in response to the move (such as employees leaving the organisation).

'Going from single offices to when we move people like everything is open plan ... one of the most biggest changes we've had. ... Lots of people, especially doctors and consultants have had offices for like twenty, thirty years and then all of a sudden they are going into open plan and having to share a desk. A huge culture shock and a lot of people took it really badly and ... yeah, it was huge.' (Interview 26, Manager, Male, 52)

'I think probably the biggest change that I have experienced since I've been here would have been the move from the [hospital name] to this new building now....That's probably the biggest change process that I have gone through....We always knew we were going to move. But I think the actual physical doing it and the upheaval was em ... took its toll. I think unfortunately it was round about the same time that the NHS was going through huge

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traumas in terms of the amount of money that was around and there were a lot of jobs, posts being cut ... So not only were we losing people because they didn't like the move but we then weren't actually able to recruit into those posts.' (Interview 40, PAM, Female, 36)

In considering incremental change in contrast to the concept of transformational change and the trauma caused by relocating, the importance of everyday working practices came sharply into focus. Participants described change at a personal, micro level. Each of these examples of processes of change involved intimate considerations of every day practices, ranging for example from collective problem-solving to the availability of locker space. However, they differ very much in terms of tone and tenor of employee experiences. Descriptions of relocation indicate upset, distraction and disruption, due in no small part to changes in personal and social routines. Conversely, descriptions of incremental change that see working practices evolving over time seemed calm and collaborative, and welcomed by participants. These contrasting descriptions suggest the significance of choice and control for an individual's understanding of change in relation to their immediate environment.

5.4 Evaluations of change

When describing their responses to change, participants gave interesting insights into how employees evaluate and cope with change. Change was described in association with loss, and associated regret, as a source of laughter and incredulity, with a degree of fatalism as a fact of life, or as a threat.

5.4.1 Change as a loss

Many participants associated change with the loss of things that had mattered to them at a micro level, including the loss of departmental names, social spaces and places, and loss of leadership. The changing of departmental names was a source of regret and loss, and in some cases anger and frustration, for some participants.

'Well we started off as the [name1] Centre, then we were called the [name2] Centre, then we went to ... we are now the [name3] Centre. We were, I think at one point we were called the [name4] Department.... you know everything always seems to be up in the air, you never know what's going on.' (Interview 12, Administrator, Female, 50)

'I think the biggest change I can think of was when the organisation I was working for ... or rather, the organisation I thought I was working for, changed its name from [college name 1] to the [college name 2] and ... that sort of came about through rumour control, where a variety of colleagues, military and civilian, had sort of heard on the grapevine that the name was changing. our customers were like 'Well who are you?' (Interview 2, Manager, Female, 35)

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Participants were particularly affected when it was felt that important aspects of an organisation's legacy, such as official titles involving royal appointments and traditional artefacts were lost (Interview 7, Scientist, Male, 36).

Another example of loss was the loss of social spaces at work. This related not only to physical spaces, but also to informal events that provided important space to liaise with colleagues regarding work matters. One participant (Interview 5, Administrator, Male, 26) described at length how he had worked to establish '*Tasty Thursdays*', a scheduled social meeting in the coffee room to allow staff to meet, catch up and exchange ideas informally. He felt very strongly about the value of this event to his department and was anxious that it continued despite other changes. The loss of valuable informal interactions and peer support between colleagues was also felt by a senior doctor and articulated with a sense of regret:

'We all used to have lunch together but the dining halls were lost. That's where we used to deal with the difficult cases and refer to each other. The new consultants are very lonely and it breeds uncertainty. Where do they interact with their peers?' (Interview 29, Doctor, Male, 60)

This illustrated the uncertainty created by re-structuring for those in leadership roles in just the same way as for those in more junior posts:

'And the bottom line is I'm being reviewed like everybody else. So quite who is in charge one doesn't know.' (Interview 6, Manager, Female, 48)

Changes in leadership were described as examples of change with significant consequences, changing priorities, the nature of the work undertaken and the working environment (Interview 3, Military, Male, 40, Interview 31, Scientist, Female, 42). Loss or absence of leadership was also noted as a significant change, with damaging consequences:

'Yes, so we didn't have sort of an OT [occupational therapy] lead here for twelve months and a bit. Em or 13, 14 months I think and so that led to all the problems.' (Interview 36, PAM, Male, 30)

'After that management left, you know, a void was left so and it took some time for the void to be filled, such that you found that even the cohesion in the team just dissipated and you know, it wasn't a very nice thing.' (Interview 39, PAM, Male, 34)

These findings illustrate the importance to individuals of changes in roles and responsibilities, either an individual's own, those of those who manage or lead them, or indeed those of their strategic business partners. Many of these examples of change were

completely out with the control of individuals and, in many cases, not fully understood. Whilst some actively sought to benefit from these types of changes, many more described them as something observed or endured due to their perceived inability to influence. These examples undoubtedly dominated participant descriptions of their experiences of change at work. It was less evident what difference these changes had made to business processes and outcomes.

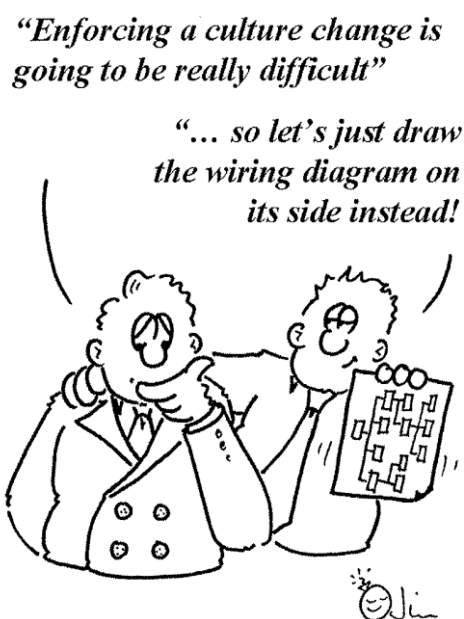
5.4.2 Change as a joke

Some participants sought to distance and disassociate themselves from change by depicting it as a joke. This included describing how they had shared laughter with colleagues and family during change (Interview 14, Manager, Female, 50) and/or laughing as they looked back on their experiences of change. One participant laughed in seeming disbelief as she described colleagues' response to a departmental re-structuring:

'Em well with anger, you know confusion, sort of ... eh and also kind of amusement to some degree as in how can something so fundamental in a profitable, ongoing concern, just be disbanded without consultation and amalgamated into a new entity. It was kind of this is an interesting way to do things! [Laughing]' (Interview 11, Administrator, Male, 32)

Another participant likened the organisational structure to a wiring diagram (see Section 5.3.1) and passed me a photocopy of a cartoon (shown at Figure 5.1) as a way of describing to me what had taken place during a recent re-structuring.

Figure 5.1 Cartoon relating to re-structuring in organisations (Source: Interview 22, Military, Male, 46)



Other participants laughed as they described changes that had been implemented in ways they and their co-workers had found laughable, for example repeated re-structuring (Interview 32, PAM, Female, 50) or the use of untrained temporary training staff during the introduction of a computer system (Interview 12, Administrator, Female, 50).

One participant (Interview 34, PAM, Female, 49) described how her job title, job description, salary and grade had stayed the same even though she had been given responsibility for overall management of a service, including budgetary responsibility for £12million. She recounted these events with a sense of irony. I was unable to hide my incredulity at her description of events and she nodded with raised eyebrows as she spoke. We both laughed together at the end of this section of the conversation as a natural response to the description of change we had shared, even though this change was clearly not funny in practice for this participant.

5.4.3 Change as a fact of life

Some participants described how they complied with change and simply got on with it.

'I said I'll do it. I'll do it yeah but that's our culture, can do.' (Interview 10, Military, Male, 50)

'My view is if that is the case and it ends up that my job is the job that gets cut, so be it and I'll you know, accept those consequences and be done with it. ... I don't see any value in fighting it both from a personal perspective of pure exhaustion, to the organisation perspective, because it simply does not serve the organisation with all that animosity and eh the disturbance.' (Interview 11, Administrator, Male, 32)

Some participants felt that this type of compliance was driven in the main by the simple need for gainful employment (Interview 8, Military, Male, 61) or for personal advancement:

'I think they are totally bound up by the project because they have to be for career reasons; or they've bought into the whole thing genuinely, in which case they are stupid, intelligent but stupid; but I think mainly it's careerism, people go with the flow.' (Interview 15, Doctor, Male, 61)

Some participants felt that they had little choice but to make a success of jobs they had been moved into despite the difficulties presented (Interview 33, Nurse, Male, 33, Interview 16, Manager, Male, 33). For these participants, change was simply a matter of getting on with what they saw as the job at hand:

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'But for the guys in the team it doesn't matter ... they crack on.' (Interview 22, Military, Male, 46)

This strategy allowed individuals to prioritise as they saw relevant to their role in the organisation, which in some instances led to work not being done (Interview 9, Military, Female, 47, Interview 29, Doctor, Male, 60) or the withdrawal of discretionary labour:

'I think it's making people think 'Right, I'll work half past eight till five, have an hour lunch. No, I'm not doing that extra and why should I you know, get here at half past seven in the morning to set a stand up and why should I stay here till six o'clock at night?'' (Interview 6, Manager, Female, 48)

Senior individuals described situations where they were able to exert their own sense of autonomy in the face of change:

'There are a few biggies, a few sort of elephants in the corner that weren't ignored but had been parked.' (Interview 22, Military, Male, 46)

'I think there's a raft of things they want me to do and I kind of prioritise my time and I prioritise what it is I can do.' (Interview 10, Military, Male, 50)

This participant also noted that this resulted in some things not being done, but felt that this was of no consequence *'Nothing we do here is to do with life and death.'* (Interview 10, Military, Male, 50).

This kind of fatalism was evident in those who appeared to have resigned themselves to change, but also chose to dis-identify themselves with particular initiatives when describing changes:

'I just roll with the punches...And, to be honest... [short pause] I lost the will to live with the whole thing. And I thought, I'm just going to stay as I am....Oh, I just sort of trundle on. It's in my nature. I don't know, I just sort of think 'oh, I'll go home and kick the cat and have a gin', or whatever.' (Interview 34, PAM, Female, 49)

'My view is if that is the case and it ends up that my job is the job that gets cut, so be it and I'll you know, accept those consequences and be done with it. Simply because there is ... I don't see any value in fighting it both from a personal perspective of pure exhaustion.' (Interview 2, Manager, Female, 35)

'I've accepted it! I can't do anything about it and I just have to work with what I've got basically.' (Interview 38, PAM, Female, 39)

Interestingly, each of these participants also described themselves as looking for alternate employment, indicating that this degree of tolerance was a temporary adaptation to their preferred way of working.

5.4.4 Change as threat

Descriptions of individual experiences of change as a threat offered interesting insights into individual coping strategies and behavioural styles. These were described by one participant as ‘fight or flight’ (Interview 2, Manager, Female, 35) responses to the threat of change.

Fight

In some cases participants did feel change to be quite literally a fight. These instances were limited to ideas of justice and survival, even including images from the Second World War.

‘There’s a lot of fighting that goes on for what people think is right, or fair.’ (Interview 14, Manager, Female, 50)

‘I think it was Winston Churchill who said ‘Grasp change by the hand before it grasps you by the throat.’ (Interview 1, Military, Male, 45)

‘Yes, it is the blitz spirit!! Yeah, a lot of that here! Yeah. [laughing] ... you know when [name] asks for the cost codes and she hasn’t got them and it’s a nightmare and we just say ‘Oh God, it’s a bloody nightmare’ and she says ‘Oh God, it’s a bloody nightmare!’ and you just have this sort of conversation then you go off and get on with it.’ (Interview 4, Manager, Female, 48)

Despite these references to struggle, this study found no examples of employee resistance to the concept of change as discussed in Section 2.2.1 of Chapter Two. However, there were some examples of the anticipation of resistance to change or open opposition to a particular change. Participants referred to *‘the forces of resistance to change’* (Interview 21, Military, Male, 50) that should be anticipated as an established entity within the organisation because *‘people don’t like change’* (Interview 3, Military, Male, 40). One administrator felt that the introduction of new techniques into the organisation had resulted in *‘a period of resistance’* (Interview 28, Administrator, Female, 35) but did not really describe what this meant in practice or what had led her to believe this. Some participants, however, described the practical manifestations of open opposition to change, including a collective walk out of a departmental meeting following the announcement of a re-structuring, and subsequent challenge to the proposals by management:

‘The groups that were being moved I think that a couple of the heads of those groups did actually em complain to the [most senior executive] and got nowhere.’ (Interview 4, Manager, Female, 48)

A second example was the collective complaint of a group of medical consultants. This resistance was potentially detrimental to the career of the participant who had chosen to lead opposition to a proposed re-structure:

'I really made it impossible for ourselves to apply for this job anyway by objecting to the whole principle and saying it was stupid; and leading our consultants in a letter to the Medical Director, [name], telling him what a crock of trouble it was going to be.' (Interview 15, Doctor, Male, 61)

Again, this senior level opposition to a proposed re-structure was unsuccessful: it seemed that resistance was indeed futile.

Flight

A flight response to the threat of change was expressed in various forms. One participant had felt less able to cope with imposed change and adopted a strategy of denial.

'Sometimes when changes are really bad they ... you kind of blank them out, you actually forget that they've happened, so ... whereas ... so there I'm thinking well nothing ever changes but actually it's just that if it's been a change and a poor process of change, you just sort of blank it out because it wasn't very nice, so you sort of don't think about it and psychologically I suppose pretend that it isn't part of your life, or subconsciously rather. You know you just ... it didn't ... well that didn't exist, that was unpleasant, so it didn't exist.' (Interview 4, Manager, Female, 48)

For some participants this involved talking *'behind the scenes'* (Interview 21, Military, Male, 50), particularly for those afraid to speak their mind (Interview 15, Doctor, Male, 61) or those who felt their change initiatives had been blocked (Interview 31, Scientist, Female, 42). Other participants described their own plans to leave the organisation, including wanting to leave but feeling unable to do so due to limited employment opportunities (Interview 40, PAM, Female, 36), actively seeking alternate employment (Interview 11, Administrator, Male, 32) or registering with head hunters (Interview 6, Manager, Female, 48). The possibility of leaving the organisation was also discussed as a collective flight reaction to change.

'I know that there are people in the other groups that were thinking of going, just leaving because they were fed up with the uncertainty and not knowing where they were going.' (Interview 5, Administrator, Male, 26)

'There were quite a few people who, in conversation, said 'Oh I know mine's on the line. Well if they offer me voluntary redundancy I'll take it' type conversations.' (Interview 2, Manager, Female, 35)

Interestingly, these examples came across as defence mechanisms rather than belligerent threat or a desire to leave. Participants seemed to feel that they need a contingency plan in case they were asked to leave; preparing for the possibility of redundancy by considering the possibility of a better option elsewhere.

5.4.5 Change and progress

Discussions with participants regarding progress (see the interview topic guide Appendix J) highlighted the alternate timescales and outcome measures that may be applied to any evaluation of change in organisations. Some participants interpreted progress as improvement in working practices whilst others saw it as a movable feast due to the imposition of short-term targets and the emphasis on financial considerations. Other participants noted what they interpreted as a failure to progress.

Improvement in working practices

Several participants conceptualised progress as improvement in working practices. For some this was a general observation about the organisation they worked for (Interview 33, Nurse, Male, 33, Interview 26, Manager, Male, 52, Interview 21, Military, Male, 50), whilst others considered it in relation to their division or department (Interview 35, Administrator, Male, 32, Interview 16, Manager, Male, 33). Alternately, for some progress was considered in regard to their own working practices, with an emphasis on incremental adaptation:

'We concentrate on refining the bits of it that need work and we don't mess with fundamentally what is being delivered.' (Interview 1, Military, Male, 45)

'I think it's progress because you know, a bit of change in terms of work and projects and that type of thing but the day-to-day activities will be very similar.' (Interview 11, Administrator, Male, 32)

One participant noted that, whilst a particular change may be considered progress as a whole, there were areas where it was *'not a good thing'* (Interview 37, PAM, Male, 30).

Progress as a movable feast

One participant noted that her evaluation of a particular change had itself changed over time and then changed again as another development was introduced. This view of things

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progressing forward then changing direction again was echoed by other participants, some of whom felt that they had delivered change, only to have to change again (Interview 17, Manager, Female, 47). One participant (Interview 20, Manager, Female, 36) gave an example where they had closed a ward to achieve financial targets, but then had to open it again to achieve waiting list targets.

'We'd kind of gone forward a bit and then realised in some ways, 'Oh maybe we've lost something' and gone back again. And not necessarily backwards in a negative way but backwards because we've realised that maybe the change that we made wasn't as ... wasn't necessarily the right one, or perhaps was a bit too hasty.' (Interview 20, Manager, Female, 36)

She described this as short termism due to externally imposed targets. This kind of short termism was also noted by another participant, who felt that his team had been making progress but were now going backwards (Interview 10, Military, Male, 50) as circumstances had changed. This description was echoed by other participants:

'You feel as though you just got something sorted and then somebody's moved the goalposts again and sometimes you are back to where you were a year ago.' (Interview 34, PAM, Female, 49)

'On the one hand it's great that you don't have to go into hospital for an operation and stay a fortnight, but on the other hand its quite challenging for patients to be dealt with very rapidly and thrown back into the community. I don't know whether that's progress or not. It undoubtedly saved money, it undoubtedly has stopped people in uniform doing jobs which they were trained to do.' (Interview 27, Nurse, Female, 60)

Failure to progress

Many participants did not think that the changes they raised for discussion represented progress (Interview 2, Manager, Female, 35, Interview 9, Military, Female, 47 Interview 13, Administrator, Female, 33). This was the case even when changes offered advantages for them as employees (Interview 5, Administrator, Male, 26). One participant noted a failure to make progress as the only constant (Interview 3, Military, Male, 40) due to the pursuit of cost reduction as the main determinant of change. In one case, the participant felt that a very significant change was not progress because she did not agree with the underlying policy (Interview 40, PAM, Female, 36).

Two participants raised the potential of change itself masking any discussions regarding progress. This was partly attributed to criticism in the media (Interview 12, Administrator, Female, 50) and the related need to *'be seen to be doing something'* (Interview 8, Military,

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Male, 61). Two other participants noted that, whilst some progress had been made, it did not go far enough due to poor implementation:

'I think there is progress but I don't think ... I think if you're going to do something like that you should take it the whole way. I think it's all very half hearted.' (Interview 4, Manager, Female, 48)

'I think if this had been done properly the first time round that would have been progress, this will be progress but much reduced progress.' (Interview 6, Manager, Female, 48)

Another participant noted the cost of progress, describing a series of structural changes that had '*gone full circle*' but resulted in '*a loss of corporate memory*' and knowledge due to staff redundancies and retirement (Interview 7, Scientist, Male, 36) in pursuit of resource savings in deference to managerially driven financial priorities.

5.5 Chapter summary

The findings presented in this chapter respond to research question one, what do individuals mean when they talk about change? They have been analysed within an inductive analytical framework comprising three emergent themes: i) particular examples of change events and associated experiences; ii) considerations of the scale and pace of change; and iii) evaluations of change. Participants found it helpful to explore particular examples of change by relating to particular events. These examples were dominated by accounts of changes in individual roles and responsibilities and/or arising as a result of organisational re-structuring. Some of the job changes took place as part of a predictable, managed professional career pathway or rotational training programme. Other changes were either imposed by the managerial elite or arose as a result of individuals using change as an opportunity for their own advancement. Re-structuring was described by participants as a source of uncertainty, ambiguity and concern. Whilst the frequency of role and/or structure changes seemed frequent, and in some cases extreme, participants did not associate this with a significant change in the work undertaken.

Descriptions of the scale and pace of change included many examples of incremental and adaptive changes relating to achievement and learning during every day working life. These descriptions were delivered in calm, collaborative tones. In contrast, transformational change was linked to the disruption and upheaval of everyday working practices caused by

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relocation. These descriptions of change indicated upset, distraction and disruption arising from changes in personal and social routines.

Participants gave examples of their own and colleague's experiences and evaluations of change. These descriptions included reference to the losses associated with change, such as the changing of departmental names and associated loss of traditions and heritage. Participants also noted the loss of social spaces, including both physical spaces and the opportunity to interact with colleagues. The loss or absence of leadership was also noted as a significant change, with damaging consequences. Some participants used humour and irony to articulate their evaluations of change, whilst others tolerated change as a fact of life about which they had limited discretion. Some participants saw change as a threat in the workplace. Findings did not indicate employee resistance to the concept of change, but did provide examples of the anticipation of resistance to change, and instances of open opposition to a particular change. Other participants described strategies of denial and contingency planning as a response to feeling threatened by change. The relationships between change and progress was a useful reference point for participants when discussing change, allowing them to evaluate the examples discussed from their own perspective rather than in relation to any pre-defined organisational criteria of success or failure. Participants interpreted progress in different ways: some as improvement in working practices, others as a movable feast due to the imposition of short-term targets and the emphasis on financial considerations. Other participants noted what they interpreted as a failure to progress. These different interpretations of progress highlighted the alternate timescales and outcome measures that may be applied to any evaluation of change in organisations.

These findings give new insights into what individual employees mean when they talk about change. How change is distinguished from things which remain relatively unchanged at work is considered in the next chapter, Chapter Six.

Chapter Six: How do Individuals Distinguish between Change and Stability?

6.1. Introduction

Chapter Five considered findings in relation to what individuals mean when they talk about change (research question one). This second chapter of findings seeks to build upon the understanding presented in Chapter Five by addressing research question two: how do research participants distinguish between change and that which remains relatively constant (i.e. between change and stability)? The relationships, connections, bonds and associations considered by participants when discussing change in organisations are considered in the next chapter (Chapter Seven) in relation to research question three: how are relationships impacted upon by change in organisations?

A simple inductive framework relating to change and stability was found to be most helpful in response to this research question (see Chapter Four, Section 4.3.5 for full details of the analytical approach). In considering individual descriptions of change, and its influence upon individuals, the extent of and emphasis upon change as a mode of practice became quickly evident: change is the everyday order of work. Here, the factors contributing to this normalisation of change are considered, including the demands of performance management, the depersonalisation of management communication and dominance of managerialism. The practical difficulties in determining what constitutes change and what does not are also considered as a component of the normalisation of change.

The distinction between change and stability was investigated by asking participants for an example of something that had stayed the same in their workplace. This simple question proved somewhat problematic for participants and in some cases caused visible discomfort. Participants were able to articulate elements of their day-to-day work that had not changed, although ironically some of these examples were the very things participants would have liked to have seen change. Irony was also present in descriptions of hierarchies where the relative distribution of power was felt to have stayed the same despite frequent changes in roles and responsibilities for those working within the hierarchy. A final theme emerging from considerations of stability and continuity was the enduring values of professional staff and the commitment of those who saw themselves as working towards altruistic objectives relating to public service.

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A summary of the themes emerging within participant considerations of the differences between change and stability in organisations is given in Box 6.1. Findings in relation to each of these themes are presented in Section 6.2 and 6.3 of this chapter and summarised within Section 6.4.

Box 6.1 Summary of themes and sub-themes

The normalisation of change:

- Performance management;
- Communication;
- Managerialism;
- Boundaries around change.

Stability:

- Stability as a problem question;
- Stability as a frustration;
- Relative stability: hierarchies and power relations;
- Values and public service.

6.2 The normalisation of change

The normalisation of change as an everyday feature of working life was evident in the examples of change given by participants. The demands of performance management, the depersonalisation of management communication and dominance of managerialism, and difficulties in placing boundaries around what did and did not constitute change each contributed to an uncertain working environment.

6.2.1 Performance management

For many of those interviewed, government imposed targets introduced as part of performance management policy had been imposed in an attempt to re-create managerial mechanisms used in commercial companies. These performance targets, and associated mechanisms such as financial controls and budgetary procedures, were felt by many to be unrepresentative of their organisational objectives and ways of operating:

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'But the sorts of structure that we're moving towards will be similar to the changes that have taken place in the commercial work, where you will have much shorter chains of command. But it isn't that easy because of the more unforgiving environment of the public sector, it depends what you mean by forgiving but because you are open to major scrutiny and because you cannot justify your performance against a profit line because you don't trade, it is ... when you come under external scrutiny you are often criticised for relatively minor mistakes and you cannot say 'But I made a profit' or anything like that.' (Interview 21, Military, Male, 50)

Targets in particular were frequently given as examples of the commoditisation of work. One participant noted that not only did performance management impact upon change in the organisation, but that the targets imposed themselves changed all the time:

'At least when I was there with the team the ... we had the same sort of goals to meet; now it's changed a lot, we have ... they have additional targets to meet and so on, so therefore it was a job that was changing all the time.' (Interview 13, Administrator, Female, 33)

This sense of commoditisation was exacerbated by depersonalised communication styles.

6.2.2 Communication

Participants described inefficient communication within the organisation dominated by email. One participant described how she felt *'constantly bombarded'* by information (Interview 38, Professional Allied to Medicine (PAM), Female, 39). Another participant talked of a lack of face-to-face meetings in an environment where communication was *'really, really bad'* (Interview 12, Administrator, Female, 50).

Another participant described just such a face to face meeting to communicate a departmental restructuring. She felt that this had been very badly handled, given the extent of change announced, to the extent that she could not accurately recall what had been said:

Participant: *'It might be that we were just all so stunned into you know, atrophy, that we just didn't hear anything else. You know, it might be that they did say 'What we are trying to achieve is ...' But you know, we'd sort of ... we were just sitting there.'*

Researcher: 'You didn't retain that?'

Participant: *'No. So it might be wrong of me to say that they didn't say anything because they might have said it and we just didn't hear it....because people are so stunned by what's said that they don't listen properly.'* (Interview 4, Manager, Female, 48)

Working within such an uncertain context, participants described their personal strategies for forecasting what was going to change in the absence of reliable communication. These strategies included for example noticing periods of increased managerial consultations with trade unions (Interview 6, Manager, Female, 48). One participant described what she felt was

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a well-known trend in redundancies, describing a particular tier of managerial appointment as those that were ‘*culled*’ during successive rounds of restructuring (Interview 34, PAM, Female, 49).

These descriptions demonstrate a managerially determined, frequently changing set of criteria for organisational performance which contributed to a context of uncertainty and commoditisation. This in turn was exacerbated by the depersonalisation of management communication, which increased levels of uncertainty. These findings illustrated the impact of change upon the organisational context rather than the importance of contextual factors upon change in organisations.

6.2.3 Managerialism

The growth of managerialism was evident within both research contexts as a source of change that seemed to polarise individuals. A number of participants sought to set themselves aside from managers and related behaviours, even when they themselves had managerial responsibilities (such as direct line management of staff). The adoption of managerial language was used to provide explanatory frameworks and ideas for change. Some participants used managerial jargon as language to describe change and a way to evidence their achievements at work.

Managerialism as a point of difference

One participant (Interview 7, Scientist, Male, 36) described what he called the ‘*seagull manager*’ who flies in, steals the good stuff and leaves a mess behind them. He described these managers as individuals who saw change as managerial achievement and a route to professional progression. He intentionally sought to set himself aside from this behaviour.

Remembering this point of differentiation, his description of this behaviour came to my mind when subsequently interviewing a manager:

‘It was more about direction of travel than how much I ended up with extra in my pocket at the end of each month. And it’s similar again with this new role now, although I’m going a band up again now, with this new role. It’s not so much about that, it’s about what I can do from there in two years’ time.’ (Interview 16, Manager, Male, 33)

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Another participant described an example of the exploitation of change as a personal opportunity by a management consultant who had been hired to review their departmental structure.

'I don't know, he's ... I just think that's a bit mean to come in and recommend sacking twenty five per cent of the work force and then applying for a job here. I kind of ... I think ethically that's not a nice thing to do. Ethically, I don't mean that, morally maybe? I don't know, ..., I just thought that's a bit dirty really.' (Interview 4, Manager, Female, 48)

Some participants noted the introduction of managerialism itself as an example of change in their organisation.

'The worst excesses of corporate America that have been introduced.... and the way management have become overwhelmingly powerful and people are afraid to say 'Boo!'' (Interview 15, Doctor, Male, 61)

'There's that need to deliver a really good service to the patient. And I think it's a real shame that... that hasn't been the focus, really. It's been just all waste of resources because of that.' (Interview 32, PAM, Female, 50)

Managerialism was often evident in an emphasis on money and the use of resources in descriptions of change:

'Somebody's always got a target and it always boils down to money at the end of the day.' (Interview 14, Manager, Female, 50)

One participant (Interview 29, Doctor, Male, 60) described money as a means of control, whilst another (Interview 7, Scientist, Male, 36) depicted financial allocations as signifiers of the *'pecking order'* in that they reflected which areas of the organisation were seen as the highest priority. This participant outlined how the commercialisation of his research work had led to different ways of working that focused on cost at the expense of quality of outcome, diluting skills and removing a layer of integrity of process (Interview 7, Scientist, Male, 36). An administrator (Interview 35, Administrator, Male, 32) described how arbitrary money saving targets (such as a blanket requirement for all departments to save a fixed percentage of their annual budget) had created a protectionist dialogue as staff tried to preserve their resources rather than consider how the quality of outcomes of the work undertaken might be maintained. Indeed, one senior manager (Interview 6, Manager, Female, 48) felt that her team was safe from redundancies simply because they did not cost very much in relation to other areas of the department. Another noted an on-going environment of work intensification arising from managerialism and the associated reductions in resources:

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'It's just something that gets bandied around about you need to find new innovative ways to work, which to me as a clinician, means you'll work harder for less money, we want more out of you. Em there's a finite amount of money, this change has to be cost neutral, you just work harder. And that's what we were getting the whole time.' (Interview 40, PAM, Female, 36)

The managerial language of change

The growth of managerialism was evident in the use of management jargon to describe examples of change. In some cases this seemed to me unnatural, for example one participant (Interview 1, Military, Male, 45) approached the interview in a similar way to a press interview and passed me a folder of supporting material the following morning. These materials (listed in full at Appendix K) included précised versions of popular, American managerialist books on the management of change (Hamel and Prahalad, 1996, Hamel, 2002, Kotter and Cohen, 2002 and Kotter 1996) he had downloaded from a website specialising in providing eight page *'executive summaries'* of business books which required monthly subscription for full access (<http://www.summaries.com/>). I had assumed that this use of managerial jargon had been partly driven by press relations work, which the participant had described to me after the interview when talking of his recent tour of duty in Basra, Iraq. However, subsequent work indicated a more widespread managerial discourse amongst uniformed personnel. Another military participant with responsibilities for a management training centre described the use of managerial discourse within the military:

'Management psyche about all dominates our life. We've imported it, culturally from the commercial and industrial world....That's been happening for decades.... One of the reasons people come here to do the strategic programmes is to get the language of management.' (Interview 10, Military, Male, 50)

This indicated a need for explanatory frameworks in a working world dominated by managerial discourse. The use of management language and jargon was evident even at the most senior levels:

'I've read almost everything on this and most of it is distant from reality....I've been through re-engineering, process re-design, EFQM, TQM... all that stuff. I've been Baldridged and all that. And I think throughout it all the one work that really impressed me was John Kotter's work on the eight obstacles that he found in change. I'm sure you're familiar with it.' (Interview 25, Doctor, Male, age not stated)

This discourse was exemplified by one manager when describing his approach to change:

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'My usual sort of ethic, if you like going into these things, is to try and put the systems and processes ... you know, identify what the constraints are in whatever it is you are trying to process, make that more efficient, work out what you need to ... where you need the control, make sure that you've got those control and feedback loops in place, imbed them and move on.' (Interview 16, Manager, Male, 33)

Interestingly, this participant did not mention patients during the entire course of the interview. Similarly, the participant described above that had experience of press relations described students attending for training as *'outputs'* (Interview 1, Military, Male, 45). This suggested that the use of management discourse was shifting participant focus away from the business of the organisation towards expected managerial behaviours such as the management of change.

Change as labour

Change had in some cases become the very work to be undertaken. Participants described how they had observed this in practice:

'I wouldn't want to over stress this element of people changing for the sake of getting a good report but it is a part of our system, particularly in the military, slightly less so in the Civil Service Em there's an actual tendency for people to want the report that gets them onto the next level and it's often the case that they will get a better recommend if they have had to change things because part of that is they are saying implicitly 'That it was badly run before and I had to change it and if it hadn't been for me it would have broken.' And there's an implicit element that my ideas are better. Now our organisation, because we tend to move people round every two to three years, tends to mean that the person with the idea for change isn't going to be there to implement it and therefore not going to be held to account as to whether or not it's successful.' (Interview 21, Military, Male, 50)

'What I love is that they'll say 'We implemented this, or we implemented that.' And I always think but does anyone ever say to them *'Did it work?'* [laughing] *It's fine to implement but did it work? Did you actually get it working before you went on to something else?'* (Interview 12, Administrator, Female, 50)

The impact upon more junior staff of frequent managerial role changes was described by those experiencing this as employees:

Participant: *'I was line managed by three different people in a space of a year.'*

Researcher: *'In one year?'*

Participant: *'Yeah. They was learning, so they learnt on me.'*

Researcher: *'How did you feel about that?'*

Participant: *'It was all right, most of them left me alone, I got on with my job and that was it. But they had to put it on their CVs that they line managed staff! And that was me!'* (Interview 17, Manager, Female, 47)

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This indicated that whilst change was actively being used by individuals to evidence ability, gain exposure as a promising employee, and to experience new aspects of work to add to an individual's portfolio of skills and employability, less notice was being paid to the potentially detrimental impact of this kind of churn within the organisation. One participant noted how the introduction of managerial discourse, targets, automation and financial incentives had failed to deliver significant change.

'They thought that economies of scale would work. They haven't. They actually thought that calling patients customers would work because then they'd have choice. But when you're a patient the last thing you are is a customer because you relinquish something of yourself. They thought that leaders needed visions and managers needed targets and that IT [information technology] would transform everything. And the incentivisation is through money, so they've increased consultant contracts significantly, and nursing contracts. They thought that would incentivise people but it hasn't.' (Interview 30, Doctor, Male, age not stated)

6.2.4 Boundaries around change

Given the frequency of change it was difficult in some instances to clarify what was an example of change and what was an example of participants undertaking their everyday work. This was particularly evident when participants described projects, often talking about a project as an end in itself, whilst at the same time locating the same project in the day-to-day execution of their role. An example of this was the development of a website, which was described as a project and also as an on-going developmental task that appeared to have no time or outcome determined end-point (Interview 11, Administrator, Male, 32). This lack of differentiation between project based change and responsive business practice indicated a blurring of boundaries between notions of change as a fixed, measurable transition from state X to state Y, and a fluid state of evolutionary development.

The blurring of boundaries around change was also evident in the use of slogans to articulate what should and should not be changed. The use of language as a means of establishing boundaries for change was particularly noticeable amongst Defence participants, both uniformed and civilian, who asked *'If it's not broken, why fix it?'* (Interview 1, Military, Male, 45, Interview 2, Manager, Female, 35). Some participants had developed their own theories as to possible answers to this question based on perceptions of the use of short-term changes as a management tool to avoid the real challenges of tackling fundamental, difficult issues, for example the use of re-structuring to resolve issues of bullying behaviour and interpersonal conflict at senior levels (Interview 20, Manager, Female, 36). The short-term nature

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of change was noted by one participant, who painted a picture of expediency and fast-paced change:

'There's a very, there's quite an aggressive mentality amongst the senior management here – it's all quite in your face, and, you know [snapping her fingers] 'just do it!' And there's no... there is very little opportunity to just draw a line in the sand and say, 'let's just stop, take stock, and make some decisions' – it's all, 'I need this yesterday, I need this yesterday.'' (Interview 34, PAM, Female, 49)

This portrait of belligerent managers demanding change in a macho environment could be seen as the imposition of change as a heroic act of brave leadership. However, another participant observed how the frequent movement of staff meant that short-termism was in his opinion a low-risk strategy for addressing immediate problems with few consequences for those implementing the changes:

'Of course we are all used you know, short termist, it doesn't really bother us because it's always going to be somebody else's problem.' (Interview 10, Military, Male, 50)

These examples illustrate the paradox of change as a function of management: it can be used at once to allow avoidance of difficult issues whilst at the same time creating the impression of decisive action and impact. The analysis presented here of participants' examples of change portray a world of short-term, frequent change that disrupted people's working lives but did not necessarily address difficult, long-term issues. Change had become so much a part of what participants considered to be everyday practice at work that participants found it difficult to articulate where change began and ended. To gather further information on the limits of change in organisations, participants were asked about things they considered to have stayed the same. These findings are considered in the following section.

6.3. Stability

As a point of differentiation from the examples of change presented, participants were asked for examples of stability in terms of things that had stayed the same. This simple question proved somewhat problematic for participants and in some cases caused visible discomfort. Participants were able to articulate elements of their day-to-day work that had not changed, although ironically some of these examples were the very things participants would have liked to have seen change. Irony was also present in descriptions of hierarchies where the relative distribution of power was felt to have stayed the same despite frequent changes in roles and responsibilities for those working within the hierarchy. A final theme emerging

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from considerations of stability and continuity was the enduring values of professional staff and the commitment of those who saw themselves as working towards altruistic objectives relating to public service.

6.3.1. Stability as a problem question

In seeking to understand stability participants were asked for an example of something that had stayed the same in their organisation. This question was not anticipated to be a difficult one and was originally positioned relatively early within the interview topic guide (see Appendix J). However, this question proved difficult for participants and in some cases adversely affected the building of researcher rapport with participants who found it disconcerting to try to think of an example. Participants would sometimes revert to describing things that had changed, seemingly to justify why they could not think of an example of something that had stayed the same. Upon reflection, and to mitigate any adverse effect upon rapport, the question was moved to later in the topic guide and asked with a physical indication to participants (the researcher sitting back a little) that it was acceptable to pause for consideration (see Chapter Four, Section 4.2.4 for further details of the contribution of reflexivity to this research process).

This revised approach was found to assist participants with this part of the interview and yielded more insightful and thoughtful examples. However, difficulties in answering persisted. Here are some examples of typical responses to the question ‘Can you give me an example of something that has stayed the same?’

‘[Pause] Not really, no.’ (Interview 13, Administrator, Female, 33)

‘Em ... yeah, very hard that one. Certainly there are changes. Em [pause] ... I can’t actually.’ (Interview 26, Manager, Male, 52)

‘So can I think of anything that’s not changing? Not really no.’ (Interview 21, Military, Male, 50)

‘[Long pause] Hmn, that’s a good question [pause].’ (Interview 32, PAM, Female, 50)

‘I don’t know, actually. Um... [pause]. It feels to me like nothing stays the same for more than about, you know, a week at a time – which is probably a bit of a gross exaggeration.’ (Interview 34, PAM, Female, 49)

‘[Pause] Actually not much to be honest.’ (Interview 39, PAM, Male, 34)

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Some participants used humour as an answer, or laughed in surprise at their own difficulty with the question:

'My shoe size.' (Interview 29, Doctor, Male, 60)

'We get paid monthly!' (Interview 17, Manager, Female, 47)

'Hah! Eh, almost not. Em.' (Interview 1, Military, Male, 45)

'[Pause] Resounding silence! Em [laughing].' (Interview 9, Military, Female, 47)

'Em the building itself [laughing] where we're working!' (Interview 5, Administrator, Male, 26)

Other participants seemed saddened by the question and two visibly sank in their chair whilst answering:

'Nothing. Nothing. [sigh]' (Interview 6, Manager, Female, 48)

'[Sigh] There is nothing I can think of, off the top of my head.' (Interview 8, Military, Male, 61)

These answers illustrate ubiquitous change to the extent that employees cannot readily bring to mind constant dimensions of their working life. This indicates the intellectual dominance of change as the constant focus of attention in the workplace, a dominance extending across all employees, regardless of their profession or seniority within the organisation.

6.3.2. Stability as a frustration

Despite these indications of ubiquitous change, examples were also given where day-to-day aspects of work remained unchanged, for example in the meeting of targets, avoiding last minute cancellations of patient surgery (Interview 20, Manager, Female, 36) and constant budgetary pressures (Interview 9, Military, Female, 47). Some participants articulated a perceived need for change regarding particularly difficult issues, and their frustration at the lack of it, such as the failure to overhaul a financial accounting system (Interview 2, Manager, Female, 35) or perceived failures in communication (Interview 15, Doctor, Male, 61). Some participants noted the need for continuity in the services they were working to provide, for example in the provision of continuity of care (Interview 40, PAM, Female, 36) or the need to maintain continuity of service within a training environment (Interview 21, Military, Male, 50). These forms of stability were felt to be both critically important and extremely difficult to maintain because of the environment of constant change. The

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frustration arising from trying to provide a service in this environment was evident for one participant, who articulated a need to pause for thought:

'We've had lots and lots of activity of people running and running and running to stand still. So the point that we've been trying to make is that you've got to stop running and you've got to start thinking ... instead of running like mad to do the same stuff, why don't you stop completely and say 'We know how that worked, what shall we do now?'' (Interview 3, Military, Male, 40)

These examples are insightful as they illustrate a clear desire for change that participants did not necessarily feel able to influence, regardless of their role in the organisation. They also illustrate the specific value of continuity in the accomplishment of the business at hand, most particularly when that business relates to effecting change over time within individuals, such as a change in a patient's health status or a student's development and learning.

6.3.3. Relative stability: hierarchies and power relations

In considering examples of change, participants described many and frequent changes of role and re-structuring of departments, particularly amongst middle management. It is therefore surprising that examples of things that stayed the same included organisational hierarchies and the relative power of certain key individuals, i.e those at the very top of the organisations (i.e. Chief Executive and Board member level) (Interview 20, Manager, Female, 36), (Interview 11, Administrator, Male, 32) or those with significant local power:

'Something that stayed the same? [Pause. He sighs] Our consultants have stayed the same, more's the pity.' (Interview 33, Nurse, Male, 33)

This indicated that power relations were perceived as remaining relatively static within the organisation in the sense that those with the greater power were able to maintain it.

6.3.4. Values and public service

In distinguishing between change and stability the role of professional values and commitment to public service (Interview 24, Military, Male, 38, Interview 10, Military, Male, 50) provided the most tangible sense of continuity. Many participants described change as an inherent feature of their professional practice and part of the routine of everyday life, the underlying values and interpretive schema of which remained constant. Interestingly, all of these participants articulated professional values and a tangible sense of professional membership. Indeed they embodied their professionals in their uniforms (for

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PAMs, military personnel and nursing participants), white coats (for scientists) and by carrying professional artefacts (pagers for doctors).

These participants often offered inspiring accounts of change they had worked to achieve. These participants described change they had been a part of as ‘*so interesting*’ (Interview 38, PAM, Female, 39), ‘*exciting*’ (Interview 29, Doctor, Male, 60), and ‘*cutting-edge*’ (Interview 31, Scientist, Female, 42). Others saw change to deliver improvement as a fulfilling and rewarding aspect of their work:

‘We set it up, implemented it and it actually worked quite well. It was good. It’s great because you actually put something in place, it works and there’s a real sense of achievement.’ (Interview 9, Military, Female, 47)

‘What are you doing today to make the life of ships better? If you’re not doing something that makes it better why do you think we should be paying you?’ (Interview 21, Military, Male, 50)

These answers were offered in honesty and included descriptions of commitment to professional goals and public service that demonstrated genuine altruism. This was particularly true in discussions with members of the elite sections of UKAF and with some healthcare professionals.

‘The organisations we represent change but the heritage and the standards and the role, you know the role we play within it, I think that’s constant and that is about pride and you know respect and I think that’s quite important.’ (Interview 23, Military, Male, 48)

‘Patients. [she laughs] Patients stay the same. And hands-on nursing says the same. The technology changes, the stuff changes, but patients and your colleagues - they don’t change. [pause] The docs don’t change... at the end of the day it’s still working in partnership with them and getting decent outcomes for patients.’ (Interview 27, Nurse, Female, 60)

‘What hasn’t changed is the way one approaches and practices medicine.’ (Interview 29, Doctor, Male, 60)

‘I think the OT in me has still stayed the same eh, really passionate about the profession.’ (Interview 36, PAM, Male, 30)

The impact of performance management upon these values, and their importance in the long term, was a source of deep concern for one senior medical consultant who passed me a journal article on the need to rediscover values in healthcare (listed at Appendix K). This participant was co-incidentally familiar with both research contexts of this study and drew comparison between the two:

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'Re-discovering lost values is a critical part of us advancing a Health Service that has really had its soul in many ways replaced by targets over a long period of time.... I work with the military. I went out to Afghanistan recently, at [name's] request to look at the leadership, communication and teamwork on the front line and it was incredible. Really remarkable, a clear vocation. Courage and passion and pity and unselfishness and tolerance and pride and professionalism.' (Interview 25, Doctor, Male, age not stated)

Many of the participants offering these descriptions of change were in a senior position and felt themselves to be implementing change intelligently and carefully (Interview 3, Military, Male, 40, Interview 21, Military, Male, 50) as a core function of their responsibilities of leadership in both their organisation and their profession.

'I have to anticipate the future and try and smooth the path so that the entry here isn't bumpy for the staff,we always want to be advance of the curve, because it's much easier if you're a front ... what do they call it? An early implementer.' (Interview 27, Nurse, Female, 60)

'I think that em in the modern army we just take it as read that things are going to change. I mean we are quite a mobile workforce in any case and that mobility lends itself to handling change quite well, I think. Um, you know, we're expected to land on our feet in a certain place, get parachuted in literally and just do a quick hand over, take over and carry on. Therefore I think that change and the management of change is not ... there's no paranoia associated with it.' (Interview 1, Military, Male, 45)

'At this current moment in time change is a significant part of what we do. There is a requirement to react, be flexible and provide agility in really not only our mental thinking, our business approach, our strategic capabilities; so that we can react to current eh requirements. So change is all around us, as opposed to a single point. So day to day we are constantly re-evaluating, looking at, making judgements on where we need to go now and into the futureWe just simply move and react to it. So that would be sort of ... that's inbuilt whether you are coming from any of the services; all of the service personnel understand that, that structure.' (Interview 23, Military, Male, 48)

The commonalities across these various perspectives on change was striking during data collection, evidencing the adaptability individuals attained from an underlying sense of belonging and achievement. One participant with experience across the two research contexts described the importance of professional values to organisational adaptability.

'The biggest challenge we have in the Health Service is to cultivate a workforce that is patient centred – truly patient centred because at the moment we respond to targets and to financial objectives..... To be patient centred we need to have an understanding of our basic values which would be things like honesty, reliability, trust, caring, kindness, good communication.... the Special Forces, their core values are so deeply ingrained with their identity and their standards, that they have increased agility for any set of circumstances that are imposed on them. And when they do that, no matter what the set of circumstances,

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they infinitely adapt....It's exactly what us doctors are meant to do. And nurses. You know, we're meant to put the patient first.' (Interview 25, Doctor, Male, age not stated)

6.4 Chapter summary

The findings presented in this chapter respond to research question two, how do research participants distinguish between change and that which remains relatively constant (i.e. between change and stability)? As this question is not directly addressed within the literature (Chapters Two and Three), a wholly inductive analytical framework was used. In considering individual descriptions of change, the extent of and emphasis upon change as a mode of practice indicated the normalisation of change as the everyday order of work. This arose in part due to the imposition of performance targets together with associated mechanisms such as financial controls and budgetary procedures. Ever-changing targets contributed to uncertainty and were felt to be used to commoditise work in ways unrelated to the purposes of the organisation. Ineffective and depersonalised management communication further contributed to a context of uncertainty and commoditisation. The introduction of managerialism, and associated use of jargon and individualistic behaviour, was strongly associated with change and a related emphasis on money and resources. The blurring of boundaries between change and everyday tasks was evident as participants found it difficult to articulate where change began and ended.

The distinction between change and stability was investigated by asking participants for an example of something that had stayed the same in their workplace. It had not been anticipated that questions regarding stability and continuity would prove difficult for participants, causing visible discomfort, frustration, parody and a sense of loss. Participants were able to articulate elements of their day-to-day work that had not changed, although ironically some of these examples were the very things participants would have liked to have seen change. The importance of continuity, particularly in regard to achieving the everyday business at hand was noted by participants, particularly where continuity had a known positive impact upon the outcomes of work, for example in providing continuity of care. Given the frequency of changes of roles and responsibilities for those interviewed, it was interesting to note perceptions of long-term organisational hierarchies, indicating that power relations persisted despite structural changes. All through these discussions of stability and continuity, the importance of professional values and an enduring commitment to public service was notable in the examples offered by many, but not all, participants.

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Chapter Five considered findings in relation to what individuals mean when they talk about change (research question one). This second chapter of findings sought to build upon this by considering how individuals distinguish between change and that which remains relatively constant (i.e. between change and stability)? The next chapter (Chapter Seven) goes on to consider research question three: how are relationships impacted upon by change in organisations?

Chapter Seven: Change and Relationships

7.1 Introduction

The findings of this study have been reviewed in relation to research question one in Chapter Five (what do individuals mean by change?) and in relation to research question two in Chapter Six (how do individuals distinguish between change and stability?). This third chapter of findings addresses research question three: how are relationships impacted upon by change in organisations? Each of the meta-narratives within the literature (reviewed in Chapter Three) investigates the influence of relationships upon change in organisations. Whilst the focus of this literature has been on the role of social relations upon change in organisations (see Chapter Three), the objective here is to better understand the reciprocal effect of change upon social relations in organisations. Given this alternate focus, an inductive analytical approach was found to be most useful in exploring the interactions between change in organisations and relationships (see Chapter Four, Section 4.3.5 for further details of the analytical approach).

Discussions with participants about their experiences of change in organisations considered the relationships, connections, bonds and associations affected by change. Findings are interpreted within two emergent themes: the employee's relationship with their colleagues and with their employing organisation. The changes described presented a paradoxical picture of frequent employee job changes which adversely impacted upon working relationships together with an emphasis on team working to deliver change. Change also impacted upon individual relationships with their employer in significant ways, affecting employee belief in the organisation, compromising autonomy, stimulating negative emotions and, in some notable cases, causing employee stress and vulnerability. Various experiences affected how participants related to change, both as individuals and socially as members of formal and informal groups. A summary of these two analytical themes, and the sub-themes within them, is given in Box 7.1. Findings in relation to each of these themes are then presented in Sections 7.2 and 7.3 of this chapter and summarised within Section 7.4.

Box 7.1 Summary of themes and sub-themes

Change and relationships with colleagues:

- The impact of employee job changes;
- Teamwork.

Change and relationships with the organisation:

- Belief in the organisation;
- Autonomy within organisations;
- Employee emotions;
- Employee stress;
- Change as a source of vulnerability.

7.2 Change and relationships with colleagues

The changes described presented a paradoxical picture of frequent employee job changes which adversely impacted upon working relationships together with an emphasis on team working to deliver change.

7.2.1 The impact of employee job changes

The extent of changes due to role changes, re-structuring and the use of rotational training posts affected the nature of relationships with colleagues and was felt to have led to considerable loss of knowledge and expertise.

Deterioration of relationships

The frequency of employees changing jobs created an image of churn amongst staff, who were constantly required to build relationships with new colleagues as others moved on.

'There are em a group of individuals here when one arrives and then gradually through a period of time that group of individuals thins out and you then become the eh continuity, if you like. And other individuals arrive to take over, and so now I've seen that through two cycles and there is now, I think, apart from my boss, there is no-one left now who I was working with two years ago.' (Interview 1, Military, Male, 45)

This participant noted how this churn significantly reduced the potential for accumulation of knowledge and expertise in relation to specialist roles, given that he himself would be unlikely to meet his successor, much less have a *'hand over'*.

One Administrator talked about the frequency of changes in her line management.

'They're maybe here for maybe about a year to eighteen ... I mean most of them stay about eighteen months.' (Interview 12, Administrator, Female, 50)

In attempting to list the managers she had had in recent times she could not remember accurately names or surnames and referred to each of them as *'that one'*. She gave two recent examples of managers who had taken up post and not introduced themselves to their staff. Whilst she felt that this was bad practice she was not surprised as she felt they would soon be leaving anyway. After the meeting I heard that the managers named were indeed intending to leave the organisation. This lack of consultation and involvement was echoed by other administrators as managers were brought in to manage change and then moved away:

'No-one asks our opinion about how this is happening because nobody's there long enough to find out, you know.' (Interview 13, Administrator, Female, 33)

'But it's the new people that come in, the new doctors, the new radiographers – they don't have a clue who I am. And it's the same relationship with me – I don't know who most of them are. As long as they check off on the payroll, I'm happy.' (Interview 35, Administrator, Male, 32)

Loss of knowledge

Another participant described how she experienced a cycle of building knowledge and expertise in a post only to be moved on, taking the knowledge with her.

'By the time you've been in something for a year or two you get very involved in it, ... it is difficult because you get very involved and you know, you do get to a stage where you've got a set of knowledge that to some extent nobody else has got and however much you write down, try and maintain a knowledge bank, some of it is up here, in your head!' (Interview 9, Military, Female, 47)

These accounts were borne out by other descriptions of an individual cycle of appointment–learning–leaving (e.g. Interview 18, Manager, Female, 28, Interview 35, Administrator, Male, 32) for employees that detracted from the building of relationships with colleagues.

Another participant noted the effect of this upon performance:

'It's very hard to act on delivering these targets if the teams are constantly turning over and reforming all the time.' (Interview 37, PAM, Male, 30)

Given the extent of change there seemed limited opportunity to pass on knowledge and expertise to successors and little incentive to build new relations with work colleagues.

7.2.2 Teamwork

Change was described by participants as contributing to what I classified as either nice or nasty relationships between colleagues in organisations.

Nice

In some instances, there were descriptions of times when the need to change had united colleagues and enhanced working relations in the face of perceived adversity and a recognition of the need to change (Interview 21, Military, Male, 50). In some instances staff had clearly rallied to the challenges presented:

'Oh God we had some arguments but it was great, we worked great as a team, it was fantastic. If I had problems she'd deal with them; and if it was people she'd deal with them and so it worked fine.' (Interview 26, Manager, Male, 52)

This rallying around a common purpose was an important factor in the building of teams who were focused on a need to make things happen regardless in response to organisational imperatives (Interview 14, Manager, Female, 50). Commonality amongst the team was also perceived as a leveller that promoted effective relations amongst colleagues:

'We've all shared our funding and we've all set KPIs [key performance indicators] together and strategy. So that's been a, you know... actually working together and being grownup and not worrying about power.' (Interview 32, PAM, Female, 50)

This sense of being *'all in it together'* (Interview 16, Manager, Male, 33) was found to be a rewarding aspect of change. In some cases individuals saw themselves as responding to changes in support of relationships with their team or service rather than for their own benefit or by preference:

'I only agreed to do it at all ... to come back and do it because my colleagues wanted me to do it.' (Interview 15, Doctor, Male, 61)

This altruistic behaviour was evident where teams felt themselves to be relatively stable, although this involved reference to surprisingly short periods of working together:

'I think we're very lucky in that the Team Leads are all static and a lot of us have been doing the job now for certainly a year, if not a bit longer for some of them and I think as a group we have a very good working relationship; we all will help each other out, we all work very flexibly. I think because we're static we have that sort of level of consistency where you know who to go to, you build a rapport with that person.' (Interview 37, PAM, Male, 30)

The competing effects of change over time on working relations was noted by one participant, who described how staff had initially been united in the face of change due to the sense that everyone was *'in the same boat'*, *'we all hate it'* (Interview 40, PAM, Female, 36). This had then been compromised by another wave of change that fragmented working relations due to anticipated budgetary cuts and job losses, reverting to a fragmented, competitive environment.

Nasty

The contribution of change to fragmented, competitive working environments was noted by many participants. Change was felt to have broken down or damaged existing relationships with colleagues. This was evident in the loss of social spaces and reduced interaction described in Chapter Six. It was also noticeable in increasing levels of tension and animosity due to the stresses caused by uncertainty of employment. One Manager remembered how she had experienced animosity from colleagues during a period of re-structuring two years previously, describing it as *'cloak and dagger stuff'* where people felt *'as if they were being hunted'* (Interview 2, Manager, Female, 35). She felt that, in the face of another re-structuring, she again found herself working in a similar environment two years later, which detracted from the relationships she had established as change affected behaviours:

'There is worry in the department over their job security, therefore it's almost like each man for themselves, desperately trying to find ways and means out by grappling at other areas.... I'm getting you know animosity from colleagues who used to be my colleagues when I used to work in a different department, who now see me as 'the other' and I get that slight friction. I think it's all people's reactions to change and you know it's like rats from a sinking ship.' (Interview 2, Manager, Female, 35)

This divisive aspect of change compromised people's ability to work together and altered their notion of who their *'team'* actually were as memberships changed as a result of re-structuring (Interview 5, Administrator, Male, 26). This in turn promoted individualism and competition which was felt to inhibit effective working:

'Plus there was this split, you know one minute your next door neighbour in terms of the next office along, was part of your team, or part of your organisation in terms of department; the next minute they were going to be treated differently, so there was a sudden sort of build up of a barrier in that sense.' (Interview 7, Scientist, Male, 36)

This division and competition arising from change in organisations was described as *'confrontational'* (Interview 40, PAM, Female, 36) and hurried. One participant (Interview 35, Administrator, Male, 32) described *'huge rows'* and a *'combative'* working environment.

One Manager described her personal strategy for trying to alleviate the potential for confrontation:

'When you have change and you just tell somebody what to do, they're not going to do it. But if you say it in a nice way and you just make sure ... you are just making sure they are all right, then they are going to be more co-operative I think.' (Interview 18, Manager, Female, 28)

Another manager described how she had tried this tactic and been *'slaughtered by everybody'* (Interview 32, PAM, Female, 50), whilst another described how his relations with colleagues he had worked with for years suffered due to his role in a particular change (Interview 26, Manager, Male, 52). One participant described how the basis for staff selection for a training programme to encourage on-going business improvement through reflective practice had come to be seen as *'elitist or secretive'* (Interview 28, Administrator, Female, 35).

7.3 Change and relationships with the organisation

Change also impacted upon individual relationships with their employer in significant ways, affecting employee belief in the organisation, compromising autonomy, stimulating negative emotions and, in some notable cases, causing employee stress and vulnerability.

7.3.1 Belief in the organisation

In some cases, change was felt to have compromised participant relationships with their employing organisations, due to issues of either credibility or trust.

Credibility

Some participants noted ways in which change had undermined the credibility of the organisational leadership, or their own ability to maintain credibility. One manager (Interview 16, Manager, Male, 33) felt that the external credibility of the organisation in relation to particular politically driven targets led to changes being prioritised that weren't addressing the operationally significant issues within the organisation. This was noted by another participant, who felt that leadership messages did not connect with staff experiences:

'There's quite a big disconnect between what you'd hear the Chief Executive and some of the Directors, some of the Medical Directors saying about where the organisation is going, what its inspirations are, where it aspires to be; and how it feels on the ground, and what the

service might be like for people working here, or sometimes for the patients. Sometimes that disconnects.' (Interview 20, Manager, Female, 36)

One administrator described her experiences of working for what she felt to be a succession of young, inexperienced managers who implemented change in isolation:

'They think they know it all and they don't actually come and speak to the staff that's worked there for ages to find out actually what goes on and they come in and they implement without realising the domino affect it will have, you know?' (Interview 12, Administrator, Female, 50)

Similarly, another administrator (Interview 40, PAM, Female, 36) described what she saw as short-sited implementation of policies by managers. This was also evident in another context:

'Of course in a hierarchical organisation like the MoD one has to be careful and not wish to be seen to be disloyal but do I personally believe that when they made that plan they were looking far enough in the future to see not only what changes had happened but what changes will happen? I don't think they did.' (Interview 21, Military, Male, 50)

A senior participant (Interview 32, PAM, Female, 50) described how a series of management reviews had confused her, with a lack of clarity of management roles amid a management structure that was *'taken away'* then *'put back again'*. She felt that this had been a *'huge'* waste of time and energy and had detracted from the credibility of her service as a distraction compromising their ability to modernise and improve.

Some changes were felt to be particularly incredible. One manager described her and her colleagues' response to news of a re-structure as *'you've got to be joking'* (Interview 2, Manager, Female, 35). One of her colleagues then described responses to this same news as *'Oh for God's sake!'* because it was so *'ridiculous'* (Interview 4, Manager, Female, 48).

Trust

Some participants felt that imposed changes had compromised trust within relationships with their employer or their colleagues. One senior manager described how she had been moved to another role without what she felt to be *'honest or truthful reasons'* (Interview 14, Manager, Female, 50). She described her biggest concern in her new role as the need to establish an effective working relationship with her new boss. She felt that the quality of this relationship would define her experience of working on a change project involving a multi-million pound budget.

Another participant (Interview 33, Nurse, Male, 33) described how, having been invited to *'act up'* in a managerial post, he had been *'dumped into'* disciplinary meetings involving staff and their trade union representatives. As he had received no training for this he had felt foolish and compromised professionally.

A senior scientist (Interview 31, Scientist, Female, 42) described how, as the result of a restructuring, she had a new line manager who had compromised her understandings from her previous line manager about her likely career direction and progression. She talked of this new boss as having been externally recruited as the *'best of a bad bunch,'* and her lack of respect and trust in him:

'Actually, the least I have to do with him the better.' (Interview 31, Scientist, Female, 42)

One participant described how change had allowed the renegotiation of relationships as a result of the use of 360 degree feedback techniques, where employees were asked to provide anonymous feedback on certain colleagues:

'There was one individual who was a pain in the arse and didn't know he was a pain in the arse; he thought he was very efficient and em eh effective but his personal style really rubbed people up the wrong way.' (Interview 22, Military, Male, 46)

Although it was felt that the individual concerned had significantly modified his behaviour as a result, there was no mention of support for him during this process, even though he had been *'genuinely shocked'* to receive this feedback and was required to continue working with the same people.

7.3.2 Autonomy within organisations

Participant descriptions revealed how levels of autonomy within the organisation varied greatly when particular changes were taking place.

Personal choice

The imposed movement of staff in to different roles was much discussed by more senior participants. One participant talked of a *'poor bastard'* colleague who had been moved into a role perceived to be so unattractive that everybody had sympathised with him:

'Unlucky. You know, that was the standing joke 'Bad luck mate.' (Interview 3, Military, Male, 40)

One manager described how processes to do with a particular re-structuring had been very different for senior managers than for other staff groups:

'There had been a huge process for every other member of staff, there'd been formal consultation papers written about you know why things were happening and what the process was; that didn't happen at all with us.' (Interview 20, Manager, Female, 36)

She described how closed door conversations had taken place to appoint people into specific roles as a *'done deal'* in a *'face fits'* environment. Ironically, those senior managers who might expect significant degrees of autonomy within their roles were given little or no choice during re-structuring.

The silent majority

Another participant working in a different context described a failure to consult employees prior to a re-structuring and the effect this had had on colleagues.

'It was a high level decision that was taken and implemented pretty swiftly. So there was a lot of resentment from the department.' (Interview 11, Administrator, Male, 32)

Again, he described this as a *'done deal'* where staff views were ignored despite tangible opposition, including a spontaneous staff walk out at the meeting to announce the changes. Another participant (Interview 2, Manager, Female, 35) described this same change as *'shotgun'*, lowering morale and diluting employee loyalty to the organisation.

One doctor described what he saw as desperate measures to restructure the organisation to maintain existing power structures:

'It was an ad hoc, clutching at straws to come up with something that fitted in with the change and the vertical management structure but didn't upset the [most senior executive]. ... I don't think this change was all about us but I think the details of the change were used to put us in our place.' (Interview 15, Doctor, Male, 61)

This view exemplified other descriptions of re-structuring being used by the most senior in the organisation to divert or dilute power relations by disturbing collective bodies of knowledge and *'re-arranging the deck-chairs'* (Interview 10, Military, Male, 50).

7.3.3 Employee emotions

Many of the descriptions of change offered indicated the extent of emotional impact upon participants. Change had aroused feelings ranging from a sense of loss, humiliation and bemusement to indignation, outrage, frustration, anger and hatred. These were very negative emotions and participants were often animated during interviews despite the professional setting.

Loss, humiliation and bemusement

Two participants described their sense of loss in relation to changes in their professional interactions due to imposed job changes:

'I've got no problems. I've really got no problems at all I'm just finding it very hard for me, personally, to have lost that contact [with patients]. It's not the staff; it's not the people I work with; it's just me, that I don't have that kind of contact.' (Interview 19, Manager, Female, 50)

'But I did like the [name of previous work location] for that one reason alone because you felt like a little family; you were just like you could see everybody you know? ...You can't do ... you know, it's kind of taken away from you.' (Interview 18, Manager, Female, 28)

Participants described their loss of confidence (Interview 2, Manager, Female, 35, Interview 12, Administrator, Female, 50) as a result of changes that left them feeling undermined (Interview 40, PAM, Female, 36) and humiliated (Interview 33, Nurse, Male, 33).

Other participants described their '*bemusement*' (Interview 11, Administrator, Male, 32) and loss of trust in organisational leadership as a result of change.

'We thought we were going through a bizarre process.' (Interview 3, Military, Male, 40)

'So I had to tell my department that. But I told them as best I know, we are safe because I have been told that by the [Head of the organisation] and two heads of department. [sigh] But I mean to the best of my knowledge we're safe, it doesn't mean we're safe does it?' (Interview 6, Manager, Female, 48)

Outrage, frustration and anger

Some participants described feelings of '*shock*' (Interview 5, Administrator, Male, 26), outrage and indignation at the way they perceived change had been implemented. These feelings were often evident in the tone and delivery style, even when the change had taken place some considerable time previously:

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'It was handled really badly you know and very publicly and em although it's deserved, he didn't deserve his job! Nobody should be treated like that, you know, whoever they are and whatever they've done.' (Interview 4, Manager, Female, 48)

'What sort of man management is that? It's really, really appalling.' (Interview 2, Manager, Female, 35)

'I mean it's just an appalling way to treat somebody.' (Interview 6, Manager, Female, 48)

In addition to feeling shock and outrage, some participants described their frustration and anger at changes imposed in their organisations. Participants were flushed and animated during these sections of the interview, often using their hands to express the extent of their sentiments.

'I can't tell you what a disaster it is. I can't tell you how much I hate it.... It's because it's just so incoherent.... And I want to say, 'just bloody leave it alone!' ...To be honest, it's such a farce.' (Interview 34, PAM, Female, 49)

'The guy, [name's] boss, [name] em who had sort of arranged this, or mismanaged or misarranged this whole process em I hated him so much because of ... for doing this that I just couldn't bear to be in any kind of reporting line to him. I just couldn't bear the fact that he at some point, was in control of my destiny and whatever happened. So the first opportunity I had I applied for this job, which actually I sort of really wanted anyway and I really liked but I probably wouldn't have applied for had all this other stuff not happened. I look back sometimes and I think God, I was so happy there, yet I let the mismanagement of this change process affect you know, the whole sort of what else I did.' (Interview 4, Manager, Female, 48)

'I can't believe [name of management consultant] recommended this. ... I don't know but I mean it's going to fail. Did we pay for this, did we pay for this? And who are guilty people ... who change managed this?' (Interview 15, Doctor, Male, 61)

'A simple idea poorly implemented equals non-sense. Decisions are made, nothing is implemented, so after a while you just say sod it. ... The curious business of management is just a waste of time. ... After a while you decide not to bother in producing ideas, you are told it's not possible. That's just frustrating isn't it?' (Interview 29, Doctor, Male, 60)

These descriptions of very powerful emotions were demanding to hear about in interview and unusual in their extent of feeling within a work setting. A contrasting set of positive emotional responses to change was not evident in any of the interviews undertaken.

7.3.4 Employee stress

The descriptions of change offered by participants were often characterised by accounts of the resultant stress and trauma. This had a significant and adverse effect upon both individual employee well-being and organisational performance. Participant behaviours during some interviews further indicated that they were greatly troubled by the events being discussed and encouraged me to reflect after the interview as to the impact this had on me as a researcher, and also what adjustments were to be made in my methods to accommodate this unexpected behaviour (see Chapter Four, Section 4.2.4 for further details of the contribution of reflexivity to this research process). Some participants were embarrassed at the extent of their own distress, particularly where events had taken place several years previously. In some cases described in this section I found myself offering tissues and pausing for the participant to collect themselves or have a drink of water. These instances were important elements of data generation and were recorded in my field diary with discretion immediately following the interview.

Impact on employee well-being

One participant described how her work situation presented challenges that she was finding very stressful:

*'It's like **everything** is changing and yeah there are times in ... I mean I had started to get in the car in the evening and think 'Thank God!' and open the window.'* (Interview 6, Manager, Female, 48)

This participant described her experiences to me as one would to a confidante and often lowered her voice to a whisper when talking. She came across as a very confident professional but also as someone struggling to make sense of what was happening on a day to day basis. I managed, with some difficulty, not to comment on what she was saying although it felt like she wanted my opinion on the events described. Another participant explained to me before the interview that he did not have much time to spare as he was very busy. As it transpired, the interview lasted much longer than we had planned and the participant explained to me that he felt he had gained from the interview simply by being able to talk about his experiences. Even though he had been involved in very many change projects, his descriptions focused on a project that he, as the Project Manager, had found very traumatic.

'I wasn't in the office Monday to Thursday and I came back after four days and there was nine hundred plus emails! I would say twenty per cent of those were either threatening

emails or 'I am not going open plan, who do you think you are?... I'm going get you reported to the GMC [General Medical Council]. I'm going to get you reported to this. I have to have an office, you're not putting me open plan. I refuse to move. I'm reporting you to everyone. I'm going to get you sacked.' This is what it was like and it just got to me. ... I just said 'I can't cope any more, you either do something to help me or I'm taking months off with stress; it's just really got me down.' I was working like a hundred and twenty hours a week and it was just really stressful...It got to the stage where I nearly took a month off, or two or three weeks off with stress. I've never in my whole working life done that.' (Interview 26, Manager, Male, 52)

During this description he became emotional and a little teary, at one point shaking whilst describing his experiences. This was also the case with another participant (Interview 4, Manager, Female, 48), who chose to give an example of change that had taken place some nine or ten years previously despite being involved in a current high profile re-structuring exercise. She became upset at the traumatic memory of the way the change had been handled, even though it had taken place so long ago and she was able to describe how and why she had been advantaged by the outcome of the change.

Researcher: *'Very traumatic?'*

Participant: *'It was, I mean it's stupid really but it was.'*

Researcher: *'It must be because it was years ago and you can see ...'*

Participant: *'And I still get so upset about it.'*

Researcher: *'Did you take it home with you at night?'*

Participant: *'Yes, I used to lie awake at night and [husband's name] used to say 'You know, [name] just leave, just hand your notice in and go.' I'd said 'I like working in the place, I just want to wait a bit longer' and something else came up. But yes I did take it home.'* (Interview 4, Manager, Female, 48)

This same participant noted how the change had affected her over time both at work and at home:

'I carried this bitterness around with me for about four years....We were assets on the ... you know, well assets on the asset register really. Just to be sort of traded.' (Interview 4, Manager, Female, 48)

She was not the only participant who described change in organisations influencing their lives beyond work over significant periods of time:

'It then also sort of has a reflection on your social, personal life as well because you think Ok, well is this site going to exist any longer after five years, you know once all the sort of research programs have gone through? And it so it starts to play in terms of your social stability, to saying well are we going to be here in this particular base or are we all going to be moved to another, a new centre which needs moving etc? So it can also have an impact on your personal life as well.' (Interview 7, Scientist, Male, 36)

'At that point my stress levels were very high, I knew I had problems That whole six months I was thinking about work even when I was at home and at weekends.' (Interview 13, Administrator, Female, 33)

This 33 year old participant was very nervous during the interview and asked me to turn the recorder off after we had been talking for just 17 minutes. As she spoke her voice became quieter and her tone reflective. She had a nervous rash spreading up her chest and neck and clearly found her description of events very distressing. After the interview she thanked me for listening and said she had found it *'really helpful to talk about it'* and that she needed to go for a walk to get some fresh air. Similarly, a 50 year old participant (Interview 14, Manager, Female, 50) was reflective during the interview and again had a nervous rash spreading across her chest as she described events and their fundamental influence upon her:

'It was stressful, it was extremely stressful and it's something ... the memory of being, even though it was a long time ago, that sort of emotional memory of being on the cusp of being chucked out, I've never forgotten it, I've never forgotten how it made me feel and it changed my ... my whole attitude towards saving money changed completely and it's never left me.' (Interview 14, Manager, Female, 50)

Another participant described how his line manager had been affected by change at work and how he had observed the influence it had on her over time, including when he himself had accompanied her to Hospital's emergency room for treatment:

'There's been a huge amount of change, obviously... I've worked with [name] for nearly 5 years – she's going off. Well, she resigned first of all because the workload is just mad and it was actually putting her health....She just resigned because it got too much. It was seriously affecting her health to a point where she was hospitalised twice.... that pressure took so much of her time, working till ten o'clock at night, things like that... Not good. Pressure, pressure, pressure, pressure.... And then she just finally sort of snapped in the end, almost.' (Interview 35, Administrator, Male, 32)

Impact on organisational performance

This and other descriptions of change at work influencing individual behaviours and wellbeing indicated the significant adverse impact of change upon organisational performance:

'So we've now had basically ... well those of us with a management role have also had six months of trying to keep people from not walking away, from not being utterly pissed off ... you won't be surprised that, not in my department, across the school, sick leave has rocketed.... I am exhausted. But a lot of it's emotional exhaustion and a lot of it also is that I've just got far too much to do.' (Interview 6, Manager, Female, 48)

'To me just means you're worried about your job and you're trying to kybosh mine.'
(Interview 2, Manager, Female, 35)

This participant noted after the interview that she had found it very draining to take time out to think about and describe the changes going on. She was also very concerned about confidentiality even though she had not said anything I perceived to be controversial.

7.3.5 Change as a source of vulnerability

Many of the participants interviewed described how change had made them feel personally vulnerable. Change as a source of vulnerability was particularly noticeable in relation to the age and gender of participants. They also behaved in ways that I had not anticipated, such as being anxious, seeking re-assurances about confidentiality and anonymity and being over-vigilant about possibly being interrupted or overheard, asking for the voice recorder to be switched off, asking for copies of interview transcripts and in one case amending and returning an alternate, edited version of the interview transcript (as noted in Chapter Four, Section 4.3.4). On receiving the edited transcript I replaced the original interview transcript with the edited version in deference to the participant's stated wish.

Age

Age was described as a vulnerability in relation to change, for example in that people are not as willing nor as able to keep moving jobs as they get older (Interview 10, Military, Male, 50). One participant noted that older pilots were less able to adapt to new helicopter technologies due to generational differences:

'Our apache attack helicopter pilots. The younger [the pilot], the better ... the quicker they learn it....Direct correlation to the proportion of their youth spent on gaming machines. They have better reactions, they have better synaptic routes inside their brains for assimilating that information; and the older helicopter pilots trying to transfer are finding it three or four times more difficult.' (Interview 24, Military, Male, 38)

Conversely, both scientists interviewed (Interview 7, Scientist, Male, 36; Interview 31, Scientist, Female, 42) described a de-skilling of scientists over time due to changing trends in professional education and the increased automation of tasks leading to an over-reliance on technology. Whilst older colleagues had the deep knowledge of basic scientific principles and techniques utilised before the introduction of technology, they both felt that younger colleagues did not have this basic knowledge, which was being lost as colleagues retired.

Early retirement was raised by a participant who described the experiences of his line manager, who was hospitalised twice due to work related stress.

'Since it all happened they've decided that she can't cope and in fact I understand now she is going to take early retirement, very early retirement because on the grounds of health, I guess the job's got to her, it's too big a job and she's not coping.' (Interview 35, Administrator, Male, 32)

This same participant described how his own job had been changed twenty-two months previously. The change had increased his responsibilities fivefold without any change to his terms and conditions of employment. At the time of the interview he was still waiting for this to be resolved in terms of re-grading and an increase in salary.

One participant (Interview 14, Manager, Female, 50) described how she had engineered a secondment for herself to ensure continuing employment at a time of uncertainty. However, whilst on secondment the department in which her substantive post was based was being reorganised, with no guarantee that she would be consulted despite her seniority and stated intention to return to the team. Her account of change depicted a hierarchy of vulnerability of employment for permanent employees, ranging from the fear of being unemployed as a result of redundancy, to the lesser but significant fear of being side-lined into an unachievable or unattractive role, or to one that she was not equipped to undertake effectively. Her descriptions of role changes provided examples of this in practice, including once having been moved into a job she felt ill-equipped to carry out, whilst another job had been accepted only as an alternative to redundancy. Interestingly, this participant now felt that she was less vulnerable to redundancy due simply to her age rendering her eligible for early retirement rather than redundancy. This gave her a form of protection due to the additional expense this would incur to the organisation in comparison to a redundancy package.

'I actually feel significantly less anxious than if I was 48.' (Interview 14, Manager, Female, 50)

The fear of being side-lined was also shared by another female participant of a similar age (Interview 19, Manager, Female, 50).

Gender

In some notable cases, the imposition of job changes was described as having failed to attend to anti-discrimination legislation and recruitment guidelines, affecting the very managers expected to implement and advise on matters relating to these mandated policies and procedures. One participant discussed how changes had taken place during her long term sick leave that had imposed a change of role upon her. This participant was nervous whilst describing these changes and anxious that she might be overheard:

'I was then told that I had to ... my job was being disbanded and I had to go up to [department name] and I must be honest, it's been a really traumatic year, I hate it. ...I mean it was really done in a strange way and when you talk to outside people they can't believe it has happened but I need to work because I need the money, so therefore you don't rock boats do you? You do as you're told and as I said the transition has been really hard, I just have not settled. Sorry I thought that was someone at the door.' (Interview 19, Manager, Female, 50)

A similar experience had also happened to a participant during her maternity leave (Interview 20, Manager, Female, 36). Another participant described how she had been posted to a significantly different role simply because of her gender:

'Then they suddenly said that we'd [women] need to go to sea, in 1990, the big revolution! [Laughing] And they sort of did it overnight, the Navy didn't decide it, the politicians did. At the time it was obviously politically expedient to make this announcement, so they said 'Right, yeah, women at sea!' and within months I was on my first ship.' (Interview 9, Military, Female, 47)

The issue of gender as a source of vulnerability was raised in other interviews less overtly:

'One of my eight is currently absent through stress and she's the one who's not bought in entirely but the reason why I don't think is anything to do with the intellectual case, it's all to do with personal issues, confidence and a bunch of other things.' (Interview 21, Military, Male, 50)

'I argued that I should be accountable to him. That was Ok um, then em, some of my colleagues had their title changed to Assistant Director, but I didn't and I got very upset about that, at the time....We talked about a few moments ago about grades and titles and recognition within the department and people having new titles and me not and not understanding it. And one can talk about that in thirty seconds but the experience doesn't take place over thirty seconds, it takes place over six or nine months and it's that slow festering burn that gnaws at you, which is probably why it's still there and it still can occasionally spark off a sense of vulnerability let's say. You know, it's happened once, so it can happen again.' (Interview 14, Manager, Female, 50)

These descriptions illustrate possible vulnerabilities associated with change as a result of age and/or gender.

7.4 Chapter summary

The findings of this study have been reviewed in relation to research question one in Chapter Five (what do individuals mean by change?), in relation to research question two in Chapter Six (how do individuals distinguish between change and stability?) and here in relation to research question three: how are relationships impacted upon by change in organisations? Findings have been considered with regard to the employee's relationship with their colleagues and with their employing organisation.

Participant descriptions indicated the effect of frequent role changes, re-structuring and the use of rotational training posts upon the nature of relationships with colleagues. Participants described an individual cycle of appointment-learning-leaving that detracted from the building of relationships with colleagues and resulted in considerable loss of specialist knowledge and expertise. This in turn detracted from organisational performance and the building of relationships within the organisation. The influence of change on team working between colleagues in organisations was present in contrasting examples of unity in the face of perceived adversity or fragmentation, confrontation and competition during periods of uncertainty. In some instances staff had found it rewarding and enjoyable to have worked supportively together for a common purpose. In others, change had contributed to fragmented, competitive working environments which significantly damaged existing relationships with colleagues. This was felt to have promoted individualism and competition which in turn was felt to inhibit effective working.

Change was also felt to have compromised participant relationships with their employing organisations, due to issues of either credibility or trust. Some participants noted ways in which change had undermined the credibility of the organisational leadership, or their own ability to maintain credibility. Some participants felt that imposed changes had compromised trust within relationships with their employer or their colleagues. The degree of trust invested in individuals by organisations was also subject to variation as those senior managers who might normally be entrusted with significant degrees of autonomy to perform their roles within the organisation were given little or no choice regarding role changes during re-structuring. Trust could also be seen to be compromised by a lack of transparency

and consultation during restructuring, lowering morale and employee loyalty to the organisation.

The strength of emotion aroused during descriptions of change was unusual in a professional setting, and dominated by a range of negative feelings, including loss, humiliation, indignation, outrage and anger. In some cases, participants were greatly troubled by their experiences of change at work, finding it at once useful, embarrassing and draining to discuss. The degree of participant stress and vulnerability described in relation to change had not been anticipated and required careful attention to participant concerns and needs during data collection. Descriptions of change offered by participants were often characterised by accounts of stress and trauma which had adversely impacted upon both individual employee well-being and organisational performance. Possible vulnerabilities associated with change relating to age and/or gender (for example in the imposition of job changes) emerged as a new and unforeseen theme within the data.

The themes emerging from this chapter build upon understandings of change in organisations (Chapter Five) and how individuals differ from change and stability (Chapter Six). All three research questions illustrate the normalisation of change and accompanying sense of uncertainty. The close association between change and managerialism, together with the exploitation of change by individuals for their own advancement, indicated how change has contributed to individualistic, commoditised and de-personalised working environments. This organisational context has led to deterioration in social relations and concomitant loss of social structures of knowledge. In contrast, the enduring nature of professional values and interpretive schema, together with a commitment to public service, have been shown to counter the exigencies of change, informing meaningful evolutionary change by incremental enhancements to work-a-day routines and practices. A discussion of these findings within the context of existing theory regarding change in organisations is undertaken in the following chapter, Chapter Eight.

Chapter Eight: Discussion**8.1 Introduction**

The first three chapters of this thesis reviewed the development over time of the concept of change in the workplace. These chapters explored change as a concept within modern Western culture, the development of change as an idea central to the conduct of management, and the role of managerial control in current concepts of change. Three different ways of thinking about change in organisations were considered (summarised in Chapter Three, Table 3.2): i) change as a noun, something done to employees; ii) change as a verb, something done by employees; and iii) change as embedded practice, negotiated as a function of social relations. These ways of thinking, or paradigms, each influence how change is considered in society and in business today. The empirical study described and presented in Chapters Four to Seven has sought to open up new ways of thinking about change by focusing on individuals' descriptions and experiences of change as they chose to represent them.

The descriptions of change and stability presented here have been gathered from the perspective of the individual employee and are framed very differently from discussions within the literature. Findings illustrate more nuanced understandings of change based upon personal experiences and reflections. They complement the empirical work studying change in organisations (Chapter Three) and other work reviewed in relation to approaches to change in organisational studies (Chapter Two). They also offer new insights and understandings, indicating potential areas for further research and consideration. Having spent time in Chapters Five, Six and Seven to consider findings in relation to each of the first three research questions, this chapter discusses six themes emerging across the data: i) uncertainty at work; ii) progress and change; iii) dissonance and division; iv) definitions and boundaries; v) risks and vulnerabilities; and vi) the role of stability. These cross-cutting themes are considered here in the context of the literature reviewed in Chapters Two and Three and related work. A summary of the themes and sub-themes considered is presented in Box 8.1. This discussion informs Chapter Nine, which addresses research question four by considering how the insights gained from individual experiences might inform further research seeking to better understand change in organisations.

Box 8.1 Summary of themes and sub-themes.**Issues of definition and boundaries:**

- Who?
- What?
- Where?
- When?

Uncertainty at work:

- Impact of uncertainty upon organisational context;
- Impact of uncertainty upon organisational performance.

Progress and change:

- Change as progress for individuals;
- Change as progress for organisations.

Dissonance and division:

- Subjectivation and certainty;
- Subjugation by individualisation;
- Subjugation by totalisation.

Risks and vulnerabilities:

- Unintended consequences;
- Unfortunate consequences.

The role of stability.

- What is not said: stability in organisations;
- The maintenance of power using the concept of change.

8.1 Issues of definition and boundaries

The findings presented here highlight the nebulous and fluid nature of considerations of change at work today. This section explores issues of definition and possible boundaries of the nebulous concept of change, exploring the fundamental questions who, what, where and when.

8.1.1 Who?

In relation to the management of change, these findings question the representation of managers and employees as two distinct groups (for example Balogun, 2003, Sonenshein, 2010, Hope, 2010). The literature frequently presents change as something that will be more effectively managed if considerations regarding individual experiences are used to inform

management practice (Roberts, 1997, Boonstra and Bennebroek Gravenhorst, 1998, Chreim 2006, Lowe and McIntosh, 2007, Turner Parish, Cadwallader and Busch, 2008, Nielsen, Randall and Christensen, 2010, Becker, 2010). This study samples a diverse range of employees, some of whom were members of a recognised professional group (e.g. military personnel, doctors and nurses) and many of whom also held managerial responsibilities. Similarities in discussions with participants working at all levels of seniority and salary challenge this pervasive distinction between managers and employees within the literature. Whilst there were distinctions between professional groupings within the sample interviewed (for example issues around professional memberships, shared values and sense of belonging) there were many commonalities across all groups in relation to their experiences of poorly communicated change, the impact of managerialism and associated introduction of performance targets and financial controls, and the use of personal coping strategies. Indeed, some participants who felt that change had been particularly badly handled were themselves in some way expected and required to be a part of that very process.

This challenge to the established management/staff dichotomy may be extended in support of work recently undertaken to challenge the concept of a neutral change agent, an objective intermediary tasked with achieving change, as evident for example in the human resources business partnering model (Caldwell, 2001, Francis, 2003, Balogun, 2003, Saka, 2003). Findings here suggest that those individuals do not experience change as a neutral phenomenon, but may be unusually vulnerable to the emotional demands and stresses of change in organisations. Conversely, findings in some instances supported Doyle's (2002) study of self-selected change agents whose mixed motives for volunteering were not necessarily fully congruent with the stated aims and objectives of their employer and the changes to be implemented. This indicates that the individual experiences of change agents and project managers require further investigation and understanding.

The findings here pose some interesting questions as to how we scope studies into change in organisations. If a significant amount of change results in re-structuring and/or job changes this alters the social entities being studied. This affects questions relating to, for example, teamwork and social dynamics during change because these entities are themselves changing in a manner at once contributing to and influenced by the change studied. A similar question relates to the boundaries of the organisation being studied. This study recruited from two organisations but in fact participants were employed by three different organisations due to partnership working arrangements. Furthermore, the sample here illustrated that many

employees work for more than one organisation. Whilst discussions related to the organisations participating in the research (which also provided the physical space for the interviews), these employees may well be experiencing change in their other place(s) of work. How do these changes intersect and interact within the experiences of the individual? What are the implications for change of portfolio careers and employee membership of multiple organisations? Finally, findings highlighted the intrusion of change into employee social and personal spaces beyond the organisation. Is a single organisation therefore an artificial boundary for individuals experiencing change at work? This is an important consideration as it extends the power and influence of change(s) in an organisation far beyond the workplace and professional life.

8.1.2 What?

Interestingly, in the face of ontological differences and the possibility of alternate definitions, change in organisations has been studied with remarkable consistency (Collins, 1998). In Chapter Three, each paper reviewed considered individual experiences of change by focusing on a change or collection of changes as the starting point for investigation. The examples of change given here by participants did not fall neatly into any one classification of change, with multiple changes and processes of change being enacted concurrently. However, the examples given by participants in this study illustrate that what may be reasonably considered a change by a researcher looking into an organisation (such as socio-economic, policy or technological changes) may not in fact be considered a change by the individuals working within the organisation. Rather, those changes may be regarded as external to the organisation, and considered more as a trigger for particular, more immediate change(s) within the organisation. Thus the inherent assumption of a shared understanding of the concept of change is flawed, indicating a need for more explicit definition of change as a subject of empirical investigation.

Incremental change as part of everyday work was the most frequent change process outlined by participants despite the extent of consideration of transformational change within the literature. The tone and tenor of the examples given here contrast with views of these change processes articulated within the literature. Prescriptive change management methods and the often associated role of project manager or change agent are based on linear notions of control and order and the use of change to overcome organisational inertia (Amis, Slack and Hinings, 2004). Examples of transformational change processes here offered a different

picture of transformational change. Findings indicated a significant degree of uncertainty and disruption for individuals, including those working as change agents within the process. In contrast, the examples given by participants depicted incremental change as a controlled process drawing on the natural evolution of working practices. These findings support the application of evolutionary theory to the study of change and co-evolutionary theories (for example Starbuck, 1965, Volberda and Lewin, 2003, Flier, Van Den Bosch and Volberda, 2003, Meyer, Gaba and Colwell, 2005). Furthermore, they support the work of Reay, Golden-Biddle and Germann (2006) by evidencing employee awareness of the use of individualised actions together with small changes in established ways of working to influence change as part of everyday working practice. The classification of change as incremental or transformational would seem less relevant to individuals than whether change is imposed or organic.

8.1.3 Where?

In seeking to define the concept of change the location of change is relevant. Change(s) happening within an organisation may be in anticipation of, or response to, change(s) beyond the boundaries of organisation; bringing change from the outside into the organisation (for examples of this type of change see Dunford and Jones, 2000, Agapiou, 2002, Landau and Drori, 2008, Fugate, Kinicki. and Prussia, 2008). Change within an organisation may also be experienced as something that is happening to other colleagues. The most poignant example of this was the descriptions offered of the changing profile of military service. The prospect of employee injury or debilitating illness was not unique to those serving in the Armed Forces, although it was arguably more likely. Such changes were undoubtedly intimate and impactful, not just on the individuals concerned but also on their colleagues and their environment, for example when adaptive equipment was required. Whilst these changes are not currently considered within the literature, they are relevant examples of individual experiences of change that may become more significant over time as a result for example of anti-discrimination legislation, changes to pensions and employment legislation, and an aging population. These changes reach into every aspect of an individual's life including the most intimate.

The degree of intimacy any one change presents to an individual again highlights the relevance of the location of change. The examples of job changes, re-structuring and relocation given here had immediate impact upon participants at certain touch points in their

employment. These changes were intimate in the sense that they affected the familiar and personal aspects of participants' everyday experiences. In the case of incremental change, the enactment of change was inherent within everyday working practices. These forms of intimate change affect levels of personal certainty and security (for example in unsolicited changes of role), what one is called (changes of job title and/or department name), where and with whom one interacts with at work (such as the loss of social spaces and lockers), and how work itself is conducted (the move to open plan offices for instance). In these examples, change can be seen to go beyond organisations into the personal space of individual employees, taking change from the inside of the organisation out into the life experiences of employees. This is consistent with Broadbridge (1999) who considered change and the relationship between work and home life, indicating the likely intrusion of the power and influence of change(s) in an organisation far beyond the workplace and professional life.

8.1.4 When?

Discussion regarding lack of definition of change as a subject of investigation within organisations, and the relevance of the location of change to that definition, prompts consideration of the boundaries of change. Where does change begin and end? This question does not lend itself to an easy answer. Findings suggest the normalisation of change as an everyday undertaking at work. The examples offered in this study imply that change in organisations occurs with such frequency and immediacy that the boundaries have blurred to the extent that change is the on-going condition of work, i.e. there is no readily discernible beginning and end to change as things are changing all the time. If this is the case, change becomes the everyday order of things. This resonates with recent sociological theory such as Zygmunt Bauman's (2000) concept of liquid modernity and Anthony Giddens's (1991) consideration of the dynamic nature of the modern, runaway world. Change has become the only certainty (Brotherton, 1999), the new routine (Sennett, 1998), and in doing so itself becomes a superfluous concept. For example, if change is an everyday part of management work, change management may have become a redundant term as all management is change management. Change management therefore becomes simply management. This blurring of boundaries raises important questions about why change continues to be studied as a phenomenon distinct from the everyday conduct and experience of work within organisations.

8.2 Uncertainty at work

The normalisation of change described here contributed to an on-going condition of uncertainty, influencing both organisational context and organisational performance.

8.2.1 Impact of uncertainty upon organisational context

The dominance of descriptions of uncertainty within findings indicates the complex relationship between contextual factors and change. Whilst contextual factors have been shown to influence change (Kelly and Amburgey, 1991, Dean and Snell, 1991, Ituma and Simpson, 2006, Nielsen, Randall and Christensen, 2010), findings here also support the influence of change on societal, personal and organisational contexts. Participant descriptions of numerous changes and the resultant uncertainty concur with Roberts' (1997) consideration of an organisational context dominated by uncertainty during both growth and decline, and the suggestion that the impact of pervasive change may in itself have a negative impact on commitment to any one particular change (Herold, Fedor and Caldwell, 2007). However, given the extent of change outlined within these findings, a hypothesis that planned change positively influences (i.e. reduces) psychological uncertainty (Rafferty and Griffin, 2006) would seem less useful in an organisational context. This indicates a need to re-visit the punctuated equilibrium model of change (Romanelli and Tushman, 1994). In contrast to sustained periods of equilibrium interrupted by planned change, findings here suggest that pervasive change has created an on-going context of uncertainty which in turn re-enforces the impression that everything is changing, which in turn promotes further uncertainty.

The influence of this context of uncertainty upon participants was significantly fashioned by their own coping strategies and sense-making mechanisms. This supports the work of Landau and Drori (2008) who propose a typology of sense-making strategies utilised by individuals to '*accept and comply*' (p.715) with change that was associated predominantly with organisational survival. Findings here indicate that employees may adopt more personalised survival strategies for themselves as individuals based upon their on-going evaluation of change (Skinner, 2004). These strategies may range from embracing the changes presented to a defensive strategy of compliance, denial and contingency to ensure their continued employment. This supports McHugh's (1997) analysis of employee concerns during change which centre on work intensification, the changing nature of work and potential financial implications. These insights into individual coping strategies are of more

concern when considered as on-going working conditions for employees repeatedly coping with change in organisations and an associated sense of existential uncertainty, presenting possible issues in relation to both individual and organisational well-being. This was particularly true for those participants who felt they had little training nor supervisory and peer support available to them (Becker, 2010), with little choice regarding imposed changes, associated loss of personal autonomy and a prolonged sense of vulnerability.

8.2.2 Impact of uncertainty upon organisational performance

Findings here suggest change as having significant adverse impact on organisational performance due to employee responses to imposed changes and uncertainty, including increased dis-identification with the organisation and reduced productivity due to informal staff discussions regarding change, for example employees spending time at work discussing the possibility of leaving the organisation. Studies of individual experiences of change have considered employee commitment to change (Herscovitch and Meyer, 2002), or employee commitment to the organisation in terms of intention to leave (Begley and Czajka, 1993, Pepermans, Jegers, Moenaert et al., 1997, Wanberg and Banas, 2000). This implies a degree of discretion on the part of employees that was often not evident in the changes described. Participants frequently perceived that they had very little choice regarding the changes presented and were contingency planning rather than actively seeking to leave. This suggests that the relationship between change, perceptions of employability and job security, and job satisfaction (e.g. Hind, Frost and Rowley, 1996) may offer insights into maintaining organisational performance in the face of change.

8.3 Progress and change

The relationship between change and progress forms a useful evaluative tool to understand the role of power and knowledge in change (see Chapter One, Section 1.2.2). Change may be seen as progressive but for whom? The difference between change as progress for an individual and for the organisation (or a significant entity within it) illustrates divergent interests at play. How individuals described examples of change presented interesting insights into the growth of both individuality and communitarianism at work.

8.3.1 Change as progress for individuals

Individuality was particularly evident in the examples given of either participants themselves or colleagues who saw change as an opportunity for their own advancement and used it as such. These examples included instances where change was considered the easy option, for example when changing departmental structures rather than dealing with interpersonal and behavioural issues. This illustrates the relative nature of change as an outcome of competing interests (Buchanan and Dawson, 2007), political motives (Allison and Merali, 2007), survival strategies (Ashwin and Popova, 2006) and covert manipulation (Hope, 2010). This indicates that individuals may pursue change for their own progression regardless, in some examples, of what it may mean for the organisation and the work at hand. Thus change has been shown here as a source of personal competitive advantage as distinct and different from organisational competitive advantage.

Furthermore, the frequency of job changes meant that many of the individuals using change to their advantage as a source of career advancement were unlikely to be there to understand the full consequences of the changes they introduced. This was to some extent more evident amongst administrative and managerial staff who, unlike many military staff and healthcare professionals interviewed, did not benefit from active career management such as an appointer or professional supervisor with responsibility for overseeing their development. Frequent changes of jobs, often imposed or offered with little choice for the staff member, portrayed employees who moved around within the organisation at someone else's behest, settling where directed for very short spaces of time before moving again. This lack of autonomy and control seemed to emphasise the competitive and uncertain nature of employment for those without any form of mentoring or consistency of line management, who noted personal objectives for their examples of change that did not necessarily correspond to organisational objectives.

8.3.2 Change as progress for organisations and/or professions

In contrast to these examples of individualism, participants who articulated enduring values as part of a professional community committed to public service seemed less affected by the competitive and uncertain nature of employment, despite sharing a lack of autonomy and control regarding their roles and responsibilities. This supports investigations into the contribution of values and identity to change in organisations (Schor, Van Buskirk and McGrath, 1994, Judge, Thorensen, Pucik et al., 1999, Wanberg and Banas, 2000, Caldwell,

Herold and Fedor, 2004, Skinner, 2004, Beech and Johnson, 2005, Ashwin and Popova, 2006, Reay, Golden-Biddle and Germann, 2006, Herold, Fedor and Caldwell, 2007, Turner Parish, Cadwallader and Busch, 2008). Many of those who offered examples of enduring values as something that endured were the same participants who appeared resilient in dealing with frequent and disruptive socio-economic, policy and technological changes. In both examples the inherent notion of a greater good in terms of the altruistic nature of the work was inherent in the delivery and tone of the conversation. These findings are consistent with suggestions that employees seek to maintain relative stability of norms, values and beliefs, as encompassed by the notion of organisational culture (Armstrong, 2006). It was fundamentally important for some participants to see themselves as belonging to a professional community, regardless of particular job titles or departmental name changes. For these individuals change was simply one of many elements of their everyday work. This contrast between individuals who view change as an externally imposed threat and those that see it as simply part of what they do indicates significant variations in understanding what change in organisations means and to what extent it offers progress for the organisation. The implications of these contrasting mind sets are relatively unexplored within organisational studies.

A related area for further exploration is the nature of the criteria used to evaluate the degree of success or failure of change and how those criteria accommodate unintended consequences of change. Descriptions of individual experiences revealed unanticipated consequences of change that were felt to have adversely impacted upon individual well-being and organisational performance, thereby compromising any notion of progress. These adverse consequences related particularly to lack of consultation, poor communication and perceived injustice (De Witte, Vandoorne, Verlinden et al., 2005, Skordoulis and Dawson, 2007). These consequences of change may not have been included in planning the changes described or in subsequent evaluation. Interestingly, evaluation processes were not described in relation to the changes discussed and many of the consequences of change may not be immediately evident, nor may employee concerns necessarily be raised and/or accepted as valid within existing evaluation processes. Indeed, given the intimate and often enduring nature of some of the influences of change, such consequences could not reasonably be expected to be evident during any near-term evaluation of change regardless of authorship or method.

8.4 Dissonance and division

In his considerations of mechanisms of discipline, Foucault considers not only those mechanisms that subject the individual to control, i.e those that achieve subjugation of an agent, but also disciplinary mechanisms which we are prepared to subject ourselves to (subjectivation) in order to gain something we prize more than that which we give up in doing so (see Chapter Four, Section 4.2.3). Findings here suggested the confidence gained by participants from their subjectivation to professional and organisational memberships delivers certainty in the face of change. However, they also indicate subjugation resulting from processes of individualisation and totalisation inherent in changes arising from the introduction of managerialism into public service.

8.4.1 Subjectivation and certainty

Personality traits and individual characteristics have often been investigated in relation to how employees cope with the uncertainty arising from organisational change (for example Diamond, 1986, Caldwell, Herold and Fedor, 2004, Fugate, Kinicki. and Prussia, 2008). Here, one of the most notable contributors to an individual's ability to cope with change is the use of professional interpretive schemes to provide certainty within a context of pervasive change. Many participants had subjected themselves to the disciplinary requirements of professional and/or organisational membership to fulfil their desire to be a part of a certain vocational group. Many participants (such as members of the military, doctors, nurses, therapists and scientists) expressed a tangible sense of vocation not only in what they said but in their embodiment of professional membership, for example in the wearing of uniforms. These participants usually described change as an inherent part of professional practice, supporting those that have considered the efficacy of changing daily routines, developing and adapting professional practices and behaviours to achieve change over time (Weick, 1995, Orlikowski, 1996, Feldman, 2000, Argyris, 2002, Skinner, 2004, Reay, Golden-Biddle and Germann, 2006, Allison and Merali, 2007, Becker, 2010). Findings here build on Ashwin and Popova's (2006) considerations of the role of professional membership during economic hardship to illustrate the importance of professional values in providing certainty during organisational uncertainty and ambiguity. Participants were reluctant to compromise professional attachment and demonstrated a tangible sense of professional belonging and achievement, which in turn provided certainty and resilience despite changing organisational demands and requirements. This illustrates the liberating effects of subjectivation to professional norms and standards which, in defining

practice and providing an underlying certainty of self, free up the professional to pursue changes to improve practice.

This process of liberation through subjectivation was less evident in relation to organisational membership. Findings here illustrate the need for the wider environment of the organisation to satisfy the employees' value systems, highlighting the potential advantages of clear, consistent articulation of organisational values to provide a sense of common purpose and consensus. These values form part of the implicit psychological contract between an employee and their employer (Armstrong, 2006). Whilst the psychological contract has been considered in relation to change in organisations (for example Hind, Frost and Rowley, 1996), this notion has been somewhat neglected in relation to change. Organisations may wish to reflect upon how their espoused values contrast with their practice, for example in setting priorities, decision-making and resource allocation. Organisational consensus may spotlight and thereby reduce individualistic behaviour and the pursuit of personal agendas in preference to the needs of the organisation. Furthermore, established consensus may in turn inform the process of communication, providing a consistent baseline in a context of uncertainty and maintaining focus on the business at hand. This consensus may also work to maintain quality outcomes and business performance whilst accommodating variations in policy, priorities and professional perspectives within the organisation.

8.4.2 Subjugation by individualisation

In his study of prisons as institutions for discipline and punishment, Foucault considers the use of individualisation as a means of knowing and thus controlling offenders (Foucault, 1984). Here we see the individualising impact of change upon employees in the deterioration of relationships, conflict amongst colleagues, the loss of social spaces and collective bodies of knowledge. Participant descriptions indicated the effect of frequent role changes, restructuring and the use of rotational training posts upon the nature of relationships with colleagues. Participants described an individual cycle of appointment-learning-leaving that detracted from the building of relationships with colleagues who were likely to leave or be moved in the short to medium term. The impact of this deterioration in social relations has not been fully considered in studies of change, nor has the cumulative effect of this process over time.

The cumulative effect of continual change over time upon social structures at work requires further investigation. Continual re-structuring and role changes for individuals impacts upon the relevance structures, and thus the value, of the social stock of knowledge by diffusing bodies of expertise and shared understanding. This in turn may detract from organisational performance and any desire to build relationships within the organisation due to their perceived lack of value. This pattern of behaviour, combined with the existential uncertainty of both specific posts and employment in general was seen in some cases to have promoted individualism and competition which in turn was felt to inhibit effective working. Change was also felt to have compromised participant relationships with their employing organisations, due to issues of either credibility or trust. The degree of trust invested in individuals by organisations was subject to variation as those senior managers who might normally be entrusted with significant degrees of autonomy to perform their roles within the organisation were given little or no choice regarding role changes during re-structuring. Trust could also be seen to be compromised by a lack of transparency and consultation during restructuring, lowering morale and employee loyalty to the organisation. These social dynamics resulting from change are divisive, raising issues of alterity amongst an outwardly homogenous organisation. If an employee does not know who to trust, everyone becomes other than them, and the individual becomes the focus. As social relations deteriorate the managerial elite will know more of the individual than those who work with them on a daily basis.

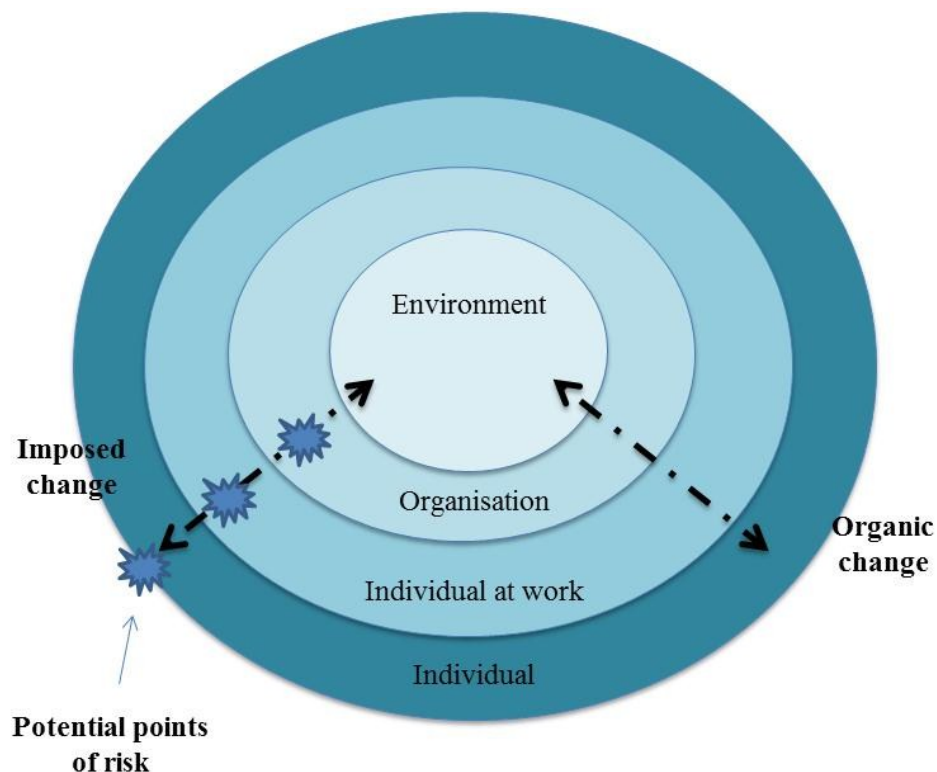
8.4.3 Subjugation by totalisation

Foucault was not only concerned with the operation by those in government of individualisation techniques, but also with their concurrent efforts to totalise populations as a second and complementary form of control (Rabinow, 1984). Foucault identified the use of statistics as '*the science of the state*' (Rabinow, 1984: p.16), the use of rational means to quantify citizens and thereby control them. This is strikingly similar to participant depictions of performance management, targets and financial considerations introduced to ensure governmental control of these large publically funded organisations. Participants considered the effects of various policy and performance criteria, and the associated managerialism and economism. The consideration of changes arising from repeated changes of policy as an exercise of governmental control is not new. What is new is the consideration of the extension of this control beyond organisations and professional life into the personal and intimate spaces of employees' lives beyond work. Whilst debate on organisational change

considers an organisation's ability to cope with change and the right of governments to intervene, there has been considerably less attention to the impact of this intervention upon individual members of those organisations.

These insights into how change works as a mechanism for control, and how it may be balanced or moderated by professional and/or organisational memberships based upon consensus and shared values, are illustrated in the diagram at Figure 8.1. By placing the environment at the centre of the diagram as one component of the individual's wider experience, it is possible to consider the ripple effect of either imposed or organic change together with the associated potential for discord and disharmony. The location of this discord is important, ranging from discord and perhaps damage at an individual and organisational level as a result of external control, to the disturbance and altering of the environment as a culmination of individual endeavour. Whilst this diagram illustrates the potential for organic change to make a creative contribution to the organisation and the wider environment, it also highlights possible points of discord that may present risks for organisations and employees.

Figure 8.1 The ripple effects of change



8.5 Risks and vulnerabilities

The findings considered here, together with the considerations of change as a mechanism of control, illustrate some important consequences of change which may present risks and vulnerabilities to both organisations and those that work within them. Some of these consequences were unfortunate and some were unanticipated.

8.5.1 Unfortunate consequences

Change as a cause of stress within organisational life has been well established in the literature (Begley and Czajka, 1993, Judge et al., 1999, French, 2001, De Witte, Vandoorne, Verlinden et al., 2005, Rafferty and Griffin, 2006), prompting emotional reactions such as shock and anxiety (Wanberg and Banas 2000), and causing health conditions such as work-related depression, work-related irritation and somatic (physical health) complaints. The findings presented here indicate the extent of negative emotional impact of change(s) upon research participants that were not countered by positive emotions. In some cases, feelings of humiliation, shock and anger had endured over significant periods of time to the detriment of the individuals affected. Participants described how change had influenced their lives beyond work, including in some instances their health and relationships, blurring the boundaries between work and family life (Broadbridge, 1999). This suggests that, particularly given the current difficult economic climate, there is a need for further research into the impact of change upon employee health and well-being. This work should seek to add to the literature considering the health consequences of changing labour market conditions (Platt et al, 1999) to facilitate in depth understandings of the long term health implications of employee uncertainty within organisations. Such work should give detailed consideration to the ethical considerations and practical arrangements for investigations of individual experiences of change. These might include, for example, increased assurance of confidentiality and anonymity, a more private interview location where participants can leave unobserved by their colleagues, an informal environment with easy chairs and natural light, and facilities for tea and coffee.

An unforeseen finding of this research was the extent of vulnerability caused by change in relation to gender and age. Findings support the argument (Kaplan, 1995, McHugh, 1997) that female employees were particularly affected by the adverse effects of stress and trauma arising from organisational change. In addition, insights into how female employees may be disadvantaged as a result of change during extended periods of absence (for example during

maternity leave) illustrate the potential for additional investigation into the interaction between change and gender (for example looking at possible failure to comply with anti-discriminatory legislation during imposed job changes and re-structuring). This may be true for those employees that work part-time, the majority of whom might reasonably be expected to be female. Findings also highlighted possible vulnerabilities due to the implications of change for older staff, for example in changing skills profiles and aptitudes, the threat and/or opportunity of early retirement, and reduced mobility between alternate work locations due for example to carer requirements. In short, findings considered here present change as a young man's game.

8.5.2 Unanticipated consequences

Descriptions of the adverse impact of change on organisational performance highlight the unanticipated and unintended consequences of change, many of which may not be immediately evident. This, within a context of uncertainty and pervasive change, detracts from the feasibility of evaluating the success or otherwise of any one change in an organisation. In contrast, the collective evaluation of a series of related changes may prove more insightful, allowing reflective consideration of how an organisation has changed over time and why it has done so. This in turn may inform organisational change and adaptation going forward, revealing strengths within the organisation that contribute to confidence and improved outcomes. It may highlight changing power dynamics and altered relationships resulting from and impacting on change in the organisation.

The certainty derived from professional values formed a sharp contrast to descriptions of individualistic responses to change that participants associated with managerialism. Participants articulated a dissonance between what they felt to be the purpose of the organisation (for example patient care, national security) and their experiences of organisational imperatives (such as an emphasis on financial control and targets). This dissonance was described by participants as detracting from the organisations' adaptability by producing protectionist behaviour and compromising quality. These intuitive observations support work highlighting the role of organisational values in protecting employees against the strain of major change events and in producing harmonious, evolutionary change as a process of value driven consensus (Weick, 1995, Begley and Czajka, 1993, Schor et al., 1994). This dissonance between managerialism and professional values may in turn reduce cohesion and promote tribalism within organisations comprised of different vocational

groupings. It may increase the various impacts of professional jurisdictions upon an organisation's capacity to adapt and change at the required pace, for example in exacerbating the boundaries between medical and managerial staff (Waring and Currie, 2009) or by facilitating the dominance of one professional grouping within organisational power relations (for example medical staff – see Doolin, 2002, 2004) possibly to the detriment of organisational cohesion and consensus.

Another unintended consequence was the opportunity cost of change as a significant distraction from the work at hand. Indeed, as described above, the lack of clear boundaries between change and everyday work meant that change itself had become the focus of attention. If change has become an end in itself, how does this detract from the conduct of everyday business? If individuals are focusing on implementing change, who is attending to the job at hand? Has focus on the process of change detracted attention from the outcomes of change and impact upon organisational performance? If things are constantly changing, including performance targets and how we define success, do we have an accurate sense of how the work is being done over-time? Do we have a sense of what the opportunity cost is of spending so much time focusing on change? What could we be achieving if we were not doing this? These questions indicate potential insights to be gained from consideration of the contribution of continuity and stability to organisational performance.

8.6 The role of stability

Foucault (1972) highlights the importance of what is not-said in understanding taken-for-granted assumptions which go beyond the surface effect of what is said to reveal the underlying power-knowledge relations. Findings here indicated the insights into change that might be gained from considering that which is not talked about i.e. that which remains relatively stable in organisations.

8.6.1 What is not said: stability in organisations

The dominance of change as the on-going condition of everyday work was indicated by the difficulties experienced by participants when trying to give examples of stability. This lack of attention to considerations of stability resonates with the scientific management paradigm's lack of consideration of the role of stability within the organisation other than as contributors to inertia and/or resistance (Buchanan, Fitzgerald, Ketley, et al, 2005). This

suggests that a significant gap in understanding may have arisen as an unintended consequence of the focus on change discussed in Chapter Two. It indicates a need for further research to better understand stability in organisations. This research might include review of Hannan and Freeman's (1977) structural inertia theory (which considers the role of inertia and recognises the vulnerability caused by change) beyond its application as a framework to explore the impact of organisational context to further exploration into the nature and value of stability. This vulnerability may be exacerbated by employee frustration, for example with failures to use change to address difficult issues, indicating a need to further explore the balance between stability and change as experienced by employees. Similarly, Romanelli and Tushman's (1994) punctuated equilibrium model may offer new understandings if used to consider relations between equilibrium (as stability) and change. Feldman and Orlikowski (2011) argue that stability and change are outcomes of the same dynamic rather than two different dynamics. These findings illustrate how the frequency and pace of change, its pervasiveness and blurred boundaries with every day work, have come to dominate considerations of this dynamic.

8.6.2 The maintenance of power using the concept of change

The dominance of the concept of change as evidenced here supports Sturdy and Grey's assertion that change as an ordering concept has moved from *good*, to *necessary*, where *everything* is change (Sturdy and Grey, 2003). Change has become the norm, attended by management discourse, achieving what Foucault (1977) refers to as disciplinary power which works to define and control acceptable behaviours and sanctions for deviance from the norm (Hopper and Macintosh, 1998). This can be seen in action here as organisational theory's primary focus on organisational structure (Feldman and Orlikowski, 2011) manifests as frequent experiences of re-structuring and job-changes for individuals. A focus on changing structures allows avoidance of more fundamental and/or complex issues such as interpersonal conflict and obsolete or unfit for purpose core business processes. This type of change has the benefit of addressing these issues without disturbing organisational hierarchies. Indeed, re-structuring was described here as a means of breaking down established social groupings (i.e. power bases) whilst maintaining the dominant positional power of the managerial elite.

This introduces a new source of power into considerations of change in organisations. Antonio Gramsci's work (1891 – 1937) considers power and the maintenance of the existing

social order. His theory of ideological hegemony argues that domination depends on the strength of a prevailing mode of thought that defines what is considered as natural and normal (Scruton, 1983) (see Chapter One, Section 1.2.1). This research indicates that change itself may have achieved ideological hegemony within organisations affecting power relations that, in some cases, may extend beyond the workplace. This hegemony facilitates the maintenance of existing power structures, as described in participant examples of hierarchies and relative power staying the same. Is change being used within organisations to preserve power relations and ensure the dominance of the managerial elite? The examples presented here illustrate that these power relations extend beyond the boundaries of organisations as intimate forms of change, such as enforced job changes, occur within an employee's personal space and impact upon their life experiences beyond work. As such, the extent and nature of the impact of change for individuals may not be immediately discernible when considered in relation only to the organisation as it transcends the boundaries between the professional and the personal. Similarly, the indirect impact of change affecting other colleagues may impact upon individuals in ways that are not immediately observable. These dimensions of change are important to understand in relation to an individual's performance at work, how they interpret, respond to and effect changes in their working practices, and the pace at which change can be achieved.

8.7 Chapter summary: main findings

This chapter has considered the main research findings within the context of the existing literature considering change in organisations. Six themes emerged across from the data: i) uncertainty at work; ii) progress and change; iii) dissonance and division; iv) definitions and boundaries; v) risks and vulnerabilities; vi) the role of stability. These themes highlight the extent and effect of the normalisation of change and its contribution to individual and organisational uncertainty and vulnerability. This suggests a need to define the scope, scale and location of change more specifically. It also indicates possible gaps in our knowledge of more stable components of working life and a failure to consider stability as a valuable source of certainty and balance. The use of change as a mechanism of control was evident here as a feature of the growth of managerialism, promoting individualism and presenting significant risks and vulnerabilities for both organisations and individuals. In contrast, findings also demonstrated the dynamic effect of organic change both arising from and driven by individual commitment and organisational consensus.

The normalisation of change and uncertainty

Findings suggest the normalisation of change as an everyday undertaking at work, rendering the difference between what constitutes change and what is part of on-going working practices difficult to distinguish. This blurring of boundaries raises questions about why change continues to be studied as a phenomenon distinct from the everyday conduct and experience of work within organisations. Furthermore, the normalisation of change created an uncertain working environment. This manifested in existential uncertainty amongst employees, leading them to develop contingency plans not only to maintain gainful employment, but also to pre-empt being moved into a less attractive post. This contributed to individualism and a competitive stance amongst some colleagues. Even those working at very senior levels described a lack of choice and transparency during processes of restructuring and imposed role changes. In some instances, the uncertain working environment arising from frequent change as the normal mode of working had led to dis-identification with the organisation and the deterioration of working relationships, resulting in the dilution and diffusion of the social stock of knowledge and expertise. Thus change was seen to be functioning as a disciplinary mechanism, perpetuating power relations by individualising employees.

The normalisation of change also masked the various interpretations and definitions of change at play, indicating a need for more explicit definition of change, particularly during empirical investigation. Issues of definition related not only to what was changing, but also to when change was taking place (not all change can be said to have a clear beginning and end) and who was involved in the change. Much of the literature considering change in organisations represents managers and employees as two distinct groups. The participant population of this study did not lend themselves to this classification neither by their own descriptions of their role(s), nor in their responses during interview. Classification of participants as either manager or staff would have been overly simplistic and would not have been a meaningful representation of the sample. Moreover, similarities observed in discussions with participants working at all levels of seniority and salary further question this working notion of a clear divide between those that are managed and those that manage. Although individuals may be employed in roles that require professional autonomy, this autonomy may well be compromised during change. In some cases staff were very aware of change that was happening to other colleagues that indirectly impacted upon their experiences of work. At the same time, employees may well have been experiencing change

in other organisations for which they worked that again may have indirectly impacted upon their experiences. This has implications for the way we think about locations of power and privilege during change. Those that are usually described as managing change (for example middle managers and change agents) may be equally embedded in, affected by and vulnerable to change at work, whilst other ostensibly unrelated employees may also be indirectly affected.

Stability in organisations

This study suggests that change has become so central to working practice that stability is rarely discussed or considered. This points to important gaps in our understanding of the role of continuity and consistency and indicates a need for new research into the nature and value of stability in organisations. This work might well be informed by structural inertia theory (Hannan and Freeman, 1977), the punctuated equilibrium model (Romanelli and Tushman, 1994) and more recent work on organisational routines (Feldman and Orlikowski, 2011). It should consider the balance between change and stability. This would assist with issues around the definition of change in that it is possible to clarify what is to change if we can specify that which is to remain the same.

Considerations of stability are also relevant to understanding the power dynamics within processes of change. This was strongly indicated by the use of change, most particularly restructuring, imposed job changes and associated loss of autonomy, to maintain existing power relations by preserving the positional power of the managerial elite. In focusing on power dynamics and social relations to achieve change we may have lost sight of the forces working to maintain power at the most senior levels.

Sources of certainty in an uncertain world

A further and important issue in relation to stability is its potential as a valuable source of certainty to counter the dominant sense of uncertainty. This was evident here in the role of enduring professional values in defining practice and providing a lasting sense of self. These shared professional interpretive frameworks worked to provide a sense of belonging and achievement in the face of changing organisational demands. In providing certainty and resilience these stable elements of working life may be fundamental in supporting adaptive change on a sustainable basis.

This sense of professional belonging was less evident in relation to organisational membership, detracting from shared purpose and consensus within the organisations studied. This, coupled with descriptions of existential uncertainty and contingency planning, indicates a need to reflect on the impact of change on the psychological contract between employees and employers. The deterioration of social relations arising from change within and with the organisation, together with associated commoditisation of labour and depersonalisation of communication, detracts from any notion of consensus and cohesion. This in turn may impact on the ability of the organisation to evolve over time within a changing environment by promoting individualism and detracting from any sense of community and common purpose.

Change as a mechanism of control

The use of change as a mechanism of control was immediately evident in imposed change. However, it was also operating in less overt ways, for example in the maintenance of organisational hierarchies, in the iterative breakdown of working relations and social knowledge structures, and by intrusion into other areas of employee life. By promoting a sense of uncertainty change diluted individual power by drawing attention back to existential concerns such as the securing of continued employment. This provoked the use of personal strategies such as humour and fatalism as a means of coping with imposed change.

The influence of change beyond the organisation and work into the personal and intimate worlds of individuals was a notable finding. This demonstrated the extension of change as a control mechanism into the employee's non-working world. This highlights the extent of influence of policy changes for those working in organisations where politically motivated decisions represent a major external driver for change. It also returns attention to work considering the adverse effects of change upon employee health and well-being in the workplace (Platt et al, 1999) and the relationship between change and employee health warrants further study in the light of these findings. This is a new interpretation of the phrase 'work-life balance', raising the question of how change at work changes things outside of work.

Change as an end in itself

The deterioration of social relations within and with the organisation arising from change was augmented by the individualism and careerism evident in some participant perspectives on change. The use of change as an opportunity for personal advancement demonstrated a divisive personal competitive stance amongst employees. The potential impact of this behaviour was more worrying due to the short-term nature of job tenure, meaning that those employees implementing change did not always remain in post to live with the consequences. Change was being used opportunistically for personal advantage in ways not necessarily aligned to organisational objectives, providing a tangible focus for intangible forms of knowledge work. This represents a considerable distraction from organisational objectives and a source of division amongst colleagues.

Although change was being used by some to evidence achievement, in some cases it was described as a superficial, short term strategy to avoid difficult decisions. The use of change to avoid difficult business issues, such as interpersonal issues and flawed core processes, provoked negative emotions and detracted from organisational credibility. Trust in leadership was undermined by significant change initiatives that did not address employee concerns regarding business issues. Employees were quick to note the weaknesses in changes proposed and were frustrated by failure to progress. This presents a challenge to the idea of resistance to change as a concept, demonstrating employee desire for progressive change.

Risks of imposed change

Reductions in trust and management credibility as a result of short termism present a potential opportunity cost to organisations. Findings demonstrated the extent of effort expended within organisations on various change initiatives. This raises the question of what other use may have been made by the time and resources consumed by the changes described? This was most notable in regard to frequent re-structuring of departments and the redeployment of staff. Our shared social structures define our reality (Berger and Luckmann, 1966), and re-structuring our working relations immediately changes our shared reality and social knowledge structures. In many descriptions of these imposed changes there was little or no evidence of evaluation of the impact of this changing organisational reality in relation to the business outcomes achieved nor consideration of what was lost in the process.

Benefits of organic change

Whilst considerations of imposed changes were not always immediately related to business outcomes, participants were well able to describe the benefits of incremental improvements to practice. These examples evidenced the potential benefits of organic change and support further work to develop possible applications of evolutionary theory to develop ecological models of change in organisations. By starting with the individual as the location for change, we can explore the mediating unity effect of organisations upon the disparate interests of member individuals and the mutually constitutive effect of the interactions between the organisation and the environment. Thus organic change may offer significant benefits, allowing the organisation to adapt to and engage with the wider environment. Starting from the perspective of the individual employee to study clearly defined elements of change and stability will allow us to better grasp how these benefits might best be realised. Recommendations as to how such study might be taken forward are addressed in the following and final chapter, Chapter Nine.

Chapter Nine: Conclusions

9.1 Introduction

This thesis has undertaken an investigation into the concept of change in organisations in order to explore why we think of change the way we do, and in so doing to consider the possibility of thinking of it differently. The first three chapters have reviewed the cultural context, scale and scope of publications relating to the concept of change in business (Chapter One), different approaches within the academic study of change (Chapter Two), and within the study of individual experiences of change (Chapter Three). Informed by this review, a qualitative study considering individual experiences of change in organisations was undertaken, reversing the research lens to look at change from the perspective of the employee. The methodology and methods for this study were described in Chapter Four. Chapters Five, Six and Seven have presented findings in relation to the first three research questions: what do individuals mean by change (Chapter Five); how do research participants distinguish between change and stability (Chapter Six) and how are relationships impacted upon by change in organisations (Chapter Seven). The previous chapter, Chapter Eight, discussed findings from this empirical investigation in the context of related organisational studies literature.

This ninth and final chapter first considers the main theoretical contribution of this thesis, together with the strengths and limitations of the research undertaken. The chapter then goes on to address the final research question, question four: how might the insights gained from individual experiences inform further research to better understand change in organisations? Areas for further investigation are considered, highlighting the new insights that may be possible from the re-conceptualisation of the familiar but under-defined concept of change in organisations. A summary of the themes and sub-themes considered is provided in Box 9.1.

Box 9.1 Summary of themes and sub-themes**Main contribution of the thesis.****Strengths and limitations of the research:**

- Strengths;
- Limitations.

Implications for future research:

- Re-conceptualising change;
- Change as progress;
- Stability;
- Change and stability;
- Time;
- Space;
- Political vulnerability;
- Organisational vulnerability;
- Employee vulnerability.

9.2 Main contribution of the thesis

This thesis makes a significant contribution to existing theory by reversing the direction of enquiry into change in organisations. Where previous studies have adopted change as the starting point for investigation, this study commenced from the perspective of the individual employee. This represents a reversal of the research lens and facilitated the representation of change as determined and described by participants. This study is therefore unique in considering the concept of change as defined by participants as the subject of investigation rather than studying a particular change or series of changes (either researcher or participant determined).

This study contributes to knowledge regarding the importance of stability in organisations. There is very little extant work in this area within organisational studies, yet it is an important demarcation point for those wishing to define change in organisations. Considerations of stability have highlighted the importance placed upon change within organisational studies and the impact of this upon managerial practice. Data generated here regarding the lack of attention to the enduring features of working life indicate the previously unrecognised contribution of stability to employee certainty and ability to instigate and cope with change.

A further contribution of this study is the impact of change as an extension of work-based control mechanisms beyond the boundaries of the organisation. The impact of change in organisations is a more complex consideration when we consider the fact that individuals may well work for more than one company at a time and that they may be employed by one organisation but work as part of another. Changes in one organisation may well bleed into an individual's other working environments and/or into their personal and internal worlds.

A fourth contribution is one of method. The movement of change from the concept to the subject position and the application of archae-geneological methods to this subject have not previously been undertaken. The thesis has drawn upon the recently developed meta-narrative method of systematic review. These innovations in method inform organisational studies research and the development of social science.

9.3 Strengths and limitations of the study

9.3.1 Strengths

A main strength of this study has been the application of Foucault's archae-geneological methods. This has proved a valuable approach to the empirical investigation of change as a concept in organisations. The questioning of everyday processes has allowed fresh consideration of a very familiar concept in new and insightful ways. The work of Michel Foucault is often used to study the role of discourse in organisations. This study does not utilise discourse analysis, but offers an alternate focus on individual perspectives to gain insight into the hidden assumptions embedded in the language of everyday practice. This approach remains true to Nietzsche's theories of perspectivism and Will to Power, and allows participant voices to be heard.

A further strength of the study has been the unusual and diverse sample, involving both military and civilian employees and encompassing a wide spectrum of ages, professions and levels of seniority. This approach allowed investigation across organisations, revealing new insights into change across a participant population that challenged the dominant dualistic assumptions about managerial/employee experiences of change. I received unusually generous access to members of the elite armed forces, senior members of scientific and healthcare teams, each of whom were under significant time pressures. That said, their input was not privileged in any way over that of more junior participants. The open manner in

which participants took part in these in-depth interviews included the honest sharing of in some cases intimate information that significantly enriched findings.

The adoption of a reflexive approach throughout forms a third, significant strength of the study. The use of reflexivity in interpretive study is essential to the conduct of credible research, contributing to transparency of data generation and active methodological awareness throughout the research process (Reynolds, Kizito, Ezumah et al., 2011). As a lone doctoral researcher, my work benefited greatly from discussion with senior academic colleagues who showed an on-going interest in my work, and most particularly my supervisor Professor Wendy Loretto. This on-going discussion and review allowed me to form a valid and credible thesis from the research undertaken.

9.3.2 Limitations

A limitation of the study was that it was conducted by a lone researcher within the constraints and conventions of doctoral study. As such, it could not benefit from input from a wider research team and can only represent the work of a researcher in training. This limitation was further exacerbated by unavoidable changes in my supervisory arrangements and host institution.

A related limitation was the inability to conduct this research on a longitudinal basis due to restrictions on the duration of the study and lack of financial resources. These restrictions prevented possible further work, for example follow-up interviewing one year or more from the original interview date. In view of these constraints, the research is offered as a considered, reflexive interpretation of systematically collected individual perspectives on change, representing one account of a study situated at a moment in time within a research process. The research process is one of becoming rather than discovery, and this thesis offers an account of the concept of change in organisations to provoke new ways of thinking and inform further research and understanding (Cunliffe, 2003).

A third limitation of the study was the consideration of only two research contexts, both of which were located in UK public sector. The research may well have benefited from researching alternate contexts, for example commercial and third sector organisations, although this breadth of enquiry was not feasible within doctoral study. The choice of research methods also presented some practical constraints. The in-depth nature of the

interviews and resultant data inhibited discussion with managerial elite of Defence and Hospital as this may have compromised anonymity. Similarly, some findings were unsuitable for presentation due to concerns regarding confidentiality.

9.4 Implications for future research

This study has allowed new insights from the re-conceptualisation of the familiar but under-defined concept of change in organisations in relation to research questions one, two and three. The final research question within this thesis (question four) asks how the insights gained from individual experiences might inform further research to better understand change in organisations. Recommendations in response to this question are provided in priority order here. Priorities for further work have been determined in relation to the potential impact of findings upon working practices with regard to the promotion of employee benefit and maximisation of organisational performance. Recommendations relate to concerns regarding employee health and well-being, the need to better understand stability and more accurately define change, the relevance of the location of change, potential risks and vulnerabilities associated with change, and some considerations in relation to method.

9.4.1 Employee health and well-being

The influence of change beyond the organisation into the personal and intimate worlds of individuals was a notable finding. This demonstrated the extension of change as a control mechanism into the employee's non-working world and indicates a need for further work considering the adverse effects of change upon employee health. This work should move beyond considerations of well-being in the workplace to look at the impact of change and uncertainty at work on life outside of work, for example upon relationships and lifestyle choices. An example of such research might be the impact of existential uncertainty arising from frequent, imposed changes upon employee choices about health related behaviours, seeking appropriate clinical care and adhering to treatment.

New findings regarding the vulnerabilities caused by change suggest a need to consider more systematically the effects of change with regard to employee gender and age, exploring possible inequalities and discriminatory practice. This represents a significant gap in current theory and is particularly relevant in relation to the ageing international population and increased retirement age in countries such as the UK and France. In some cases emotion and

distress endured many years after the change, indicating the relevance of methods for researching vulnerable populations to the study of this aspect of change in organisations, for example the use of biographical narrative.

The deterioration of social relations described here presents potential well-being issues for both employees and organisations. Further work is recommended to explore the impact upon employee wellbeing of the deterioration of social relations and loss of social interaction at work resulting from change, for example by increased feelings of isolation, exclusion and vulnerability. This will detract from social structures of knowledge and dilute expertise. Furthermore, reduced social interaction and trust may compromise an organisation's ability to fulfil its duty of care to employees and maintain employee identification and commitment.

9.4.2 Understanding stability

This study has revealed important gaps in our understanding of the more stable components of working life and the role of continuity and consistency in organisations. This indicates a need for new research into the nature and value of stability in organisations. This work will in turn inform our understanding of change. It should also consider the balance between change and stability: the intersections and interplays between stability and change, and how these impact upon individual and organisational experiences and performance at work. This would assist with issues around the definition of change in that it is possible to clarify what is to change if we can specify that which is to remain the same.

Considerations of stability are also relevant to better understanding power dynamics within processes of change. Is superficial and/or short term change being undertaken in place of addressing more complex, long term improvements? The desire for change evident in these findings suggests stability as a frustration due to a failure to change. Further understanding is needed as to how different stakeholders prioritise what is to change and the business impacts of this prioritisation.

This study has highlighted the potential value of stability as a source of certainty to counter the dominant sense of uncertainty. As the current context of uncertainty is likely to continue, further investigation into the role of membership and belonging may inform new ways of accommodating accelerated change. This work would benefit from consideration of the

reciprocal and mutually constitutive relationship between change at work and the psychological contract between employers and employees.

Work on stability in organisations should focus in the near term on the role of professional and organisational values as a further source of stability and certainty i.e. their utility in defining what constitutes acceptable practice and facilitating organic change over time within these interpretive frameworks.

9.4.3 Defining change

The normalisation of change identified in this study highlights a need for more explicit definition of change during empirical investigation. Issues of definition relate to what will change, where change will take place, when change will take place, who is involved in the change and who else might be affected. This kind of definitional work is important to the design of strategies of enquiry. Researchers should be mindful of the potential for unforeseen consequences of change and make provision for capturing data. These considerations of method suggest the value of longitudinal studies which seek to understand the consequences of change over time.

In defining change as a subject of study, a gap in current knowledge is the consideration of its incidental impact, for example the effect on employees not directly affected. Again, longitudinal study may prove useful here as the consequences of change emerge.

The need for clarity of definition in studying change raises the issue of alterity. Further work is recommended to consider why change is still considered to be different from everyday work. Is it just different because we study it as such? One area that may be better informed by such study is the theoretical debate relating to the concept of resistance to change. In what ways is this different from other theory relating to forms of resistance and misbehaviour in organisations?

9.4.4 The location of change

In defining where change takes place, more attention is required to emerging employment models, for example employees who also work for other organisations, or are seconded from other employers as a result of strategic partnerships and/or flexible resourcing models. More

research focusing on individuals in relation to changes will inform how intersecting changes interact over time and across different organisational and experiential spaces.

Defining where change takes place offers new ways of thinking about locations of power and privilege during change. Better understanding is needed as to how those usually described as managing change (for example middle managers and change agents) may be affected by and vulnerable to change at work.

9.4.5 Risks and vulnerabilities for organisations and individuals

New lines of enquiry into the exploitation of change by individuals within organisations are suggested by this thesis. Whilst there has been substantial consideration of resistance to change, opportunistic use of change for personal advancement is less understood. Moreover, the divergence between this individualism and the wider objectives and interests of the organisation presents a possible form of resistant behaviour that may be masked by enthusiasm for change. Little is known of these behaviours, indicating a need to understand this kind of opportunism, particularly amongst middle managers and change agents.

Reductions in trust and management credibility as a result of short termism present a potential opportunity cost to organisations, raising the question of what other use may have been made by the time and resources consumed by the changes described? This is particularly evident in regard to the frequent re-structuring of departments and redeployment of staff. There is the potential here to undertake longitudinal evaluation of the impact of re-structuring and re-organising in relation to the business outcomes achieved and costs incurred. This could benefit from comparison based methods currently deployed in other disciplines, for example the use of randomised controlled trials in medicine, where comparable data are used to evaluate the effects of defined interventions. This would facilitate informed decision-making regarding changes to organisational and departmental structures and their impact upon business outcomes.

In considering types of change, findings highlighted differences in the tone and tenor of descriptions of top-down, transformational and bottom-up, incremental change. These were differentiated here as imposed or organic changes. This study demonstrated the potential benefits of organic change, suggesting further work to develop possible applications of evolutionary theory to develop ecological models of change in organisations.

The use of ecological models may be further extended to consider the mutually constitutive and potentially beneficial effects of the interactions between the organisation and the environment as each change over time. Starting from the perspective of the individual employee to better understand clearly defined elements of organic change and associated stability will allow us to better grasp how these benefits might best be realised.

9.4.6 Method

This research was conducted as part of a doctoral thesis and there is significant potential for further study to build on the methods adopted here. This might include repeating this work in contrasting contexts such as commercial and third-sector organisations. There is the additional possibility of conducting similar research in other countries, repeating the study in comparable and contrasting contexts, including work with developing economies.

If further and future investigations focus on individual experiences findings suggest this may take research out of the workplace and into more personal spaces. In this case, research design should be mindful of different methods of investigation and attendant practical and ethical considerations, with particular regard to confidentiality, anonymity and sensitivity to the needs and circumstances of individual participants.

A final and important recommendation with regard to method is to underline the importance of reflexivity in any study of change. By its very nature, the investigation of change will require adaption in method over time. Findings here illustrate the uncertain and fluid nature of organisations and the individuals within them. Reflection on what this means for strategies of enquiry must take place on an on-going basis throughout empirical investigation to ensure continued relevance and validity.

9.5 Chapter summary

This ninth, concluding chapter has considered the main contribution of this thesis, together with the strengths and limitations of the research undertaken. It has also addressed the fourth and final research question: how might the insights gained from individual experiences inform further research to better understand change in organisations?

This thesis makes a significant contribution to existing theory by considering the concept of change as defined by participants as the subject of investigation rather than studying a particular change or series of change (either researcher or participant determined). It has shown the importance of stability in organisations and the previously unrecognised contribution of stability to employee certainty and ability to change. It has revealed the impact of change as an extension of work-based control mechanisms beyond the boundaries of the organisation into an individual's other working environments and/or into their personal and internal worlds. These insights have been facilitated by innovative design, including the application of archaeo-geneological methods and the meta-narrative method of systematic review.

This chapter has reviewed the strengths and limitations of the study. Notable strengths include the innovative application of archaeo-geneological methods to the empirical investigation of change as a concept in organisations, the unusual and diverse sample population and the adoption of a reflexive approach throughout. Limitations include constraints imposed by the process of doctoral study, including its conduct by a lone researcher undergoing training, limitations in time and resources, and restriction to only two research contexts.

Recommendations for further research were provided in relation to concerns regarding employee health and well-being, the need to better understand stability and more accurately define change, the relevance of the location of change, potential risks and vulnerabilities associated with change, and considerations of method. Further study of the adverse effects of change upon employee health, the effects of change with regard to employee gender and age, and the impact upon employee wellbeing of the deterioration of social relations and loss of social interaction at work resulting from change was recommended. Considerations of stability were suggested in relation to the nature and value of stability and the balance between change and stability, better understanding of the power dynamics during change and within processes of prioritisation, and the role of professional and organisational values as a source of stability and certainty in organisations. More explicit definition of change during empirical investigation was advocated, with particular regard to clarifying why change is different from other forms of work, and specifying the location of change as new models of employment emerge. Further work considering the risks for organisations highlighted the need to consider the possibility of opportunistic exploitation of change for personal advancement or short-term issue resolution. The use of ecological models to consider the

mutually constitutive and potentially beneficial effects of the interactions between the organisation and the environment was recommended. Further study to build on the methods deployed in this investigation was also proposed.

The final recommendation regarding method noted the important contribution of reflexivity to this research. This doctoral study has been a developmental journey involving professional training in technical research skills and intellectual progress as an autonomous social scientist. In the shaping of this thesis it has been useful to consider the development of my different understandings of change in organisations as they have emerged over time. This thesis is proposed as a contribution to the development of shared understandings in this area of organisational studies.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Search Strategy within Business Source Premier

Field: abstract or author defined abstract

chang* OR *structur* OR *organisa*tion* OR *location* OR technological chang*

AND

"qualitative research"

Delimiters:

- Scholarly (peer-reviewed) journals
- Published date: January 1985 – November 2010.
- Document type: Article

Search returned 339 records on 17th November, 2010.

Appendix B: Data Extraction Sheet

Data Extraction Sheet

Date Completed:

Reference

Type of Change

Variables/ concepts in relation to individual experiences of change

Method

Size

Context

Approach to change: Managerial Psychological Social

Comments

Appendix C: Data and Researcher's Notes for Empirical Papers Reviewed In Relation to Change in Organisations

Reference	Type of Change	Variables/ concepts in relation to individual experiences of change	Method	Scope	Context	Managerial, Psychological or Social
Agapiou, 2002	Socio-economic and macro level change.	Individual responses to environmental changes/ cultural shift.	Semi-structured interviews; Archival records; Respondent diaries.	3 employers; 4 works supervisors; 21 operatives and apprentices.	Construction industry, Scotland. 6 companies.	Social
<p>This paper considers individual's negotiated responses to broader social change, in this case the ways in which people make sense of their working experience when traditional gender roles are challenged. This small study used qualitative methods within a longitudinal case study context. It considers adaptive behaviour and personalized responses as staff negotiate their position within the new working environment. Employees seek to 'fit in' and to find ways to manage change in a manner that does not interfere with their own view and position within the workplace. Cultural shift in the workplace: staff have to fit in with the dominant culture, but that culture changes – staff have to negotiate their role in the new environment.</p>						
Allison and Merali, 2007	Improvement – adaptive.	Complexity of relationships; Learning Political motives; Changing interpretive schemes and behavioural norms.	Participant observation; Documentary analysis; Semi-structured interviews; Informal reviews.	29 semi-structured interviews; 27 informal review meetings.	UK based, 25 person team in global, private company	Managerial
<p>This piece of qualitative research looks at how individual behaviours affect software process improvement. Although individual experiences of change are not the focus of the study, it does offer some relevant empirical data. It considers change as an emergent process developed between people and their context. Change emerges through practice and is affected by context – actions are enabled and constrained by context e.g. new employees joining. This article considers the effect of other changes going on in the organisation that affect the change which is the focus of the study. These changes affect the actions of this team. Change, in this case a software process improvement programme, comprises planned, improvised and adaptive activities. P.678 <i>'The intended and unintended consequences of multiple agents become conditions of the new actions.'</i> This paper offers an interesting theoretical model (p.680) of change as non-linear through time, non-uniform across all actors and tasks and not always able to be pre-planned or foreseen.</p>						

Reference	Type of Change	Variables/ concepts in relation to individual experiences of change	Method	Scope	Context	Managerial, Psychological or Social
Anderson, 2005	Project based change: inventory process improvement.	Use of voice.	Participant observation at team meetings; Semi-structured interviews.	33 hours of team meetings; 5 interviews.	Global IT company, USA	Social
Looks at the use of represented voice to fix organisational practices at a moment in time and then to construct images of future practices that will result from change. This allows individuals to understand the meaning of a change for them in relation to their working practices. The patterns of use considered help to illustrate how individuals construct their understanding of what is to change drawing on a co-constructed collective sense of the past, present and future.						
Ashwin and Popova, 2006	Socio-economic and macro level change: economic transformation/ hardship.	Individual activism; Outlook, flexibility; Survival strategies; Professional attachment; professional skills.	Semi-structured interviews	Sample of 240 participants, reduced to 191 by end of study. (30 men, 30 women based within 4 cities) each interviewed 4 times over 6 month intervals (1999 – 2001).	Post Communist Russia	Social
This paper considers the need to ‘move with the times’. It explores what shapes the adjustment of committed professionals (defined as those who see their work as ‘a means of self-realisation, and find it intrinsically rewarding and compelling’) to their new environment following Russia’s economic transformation. In considering individual activism, outlook and flexibility it describes ‘survival strategies’ in a time of economic uncertainty and hardship. The paper describes participants who viewed their profession as the core of their identity and considers to what extent people were prepared to sacrifice their professional identity to earn money within a difficult economic climate. All participants were unwilling to compromise professional attachment and the authors particularly note the distress experienced in compromising professional values. This indicates the importance of an individuals’ continuity in their sense of self during change i.e. when adaptation is required. They also note that individuals see their fate as professionals linked to the fate of their chosen profession. The opportunity to use professional skills is very important to those experiencing uncertainty of employment due to changing labour market conditions.						

Reference	Type of Change	Variables/ concepts in relation to individual experiences of change	Method	Scope	Context	Managerial, Psychological or Social
Becker, 2010	Large scale change, new IT system.	Positive prior outlook; Feelings and expectations; Positive experience and informal support; Understanding the need for change; Assessment of the new way; History of organisational change; Organisational support and training.	Questionnaire: 41 statements relating to employee perceptions before, during and after the technology implementation	238 invitations, 189 responses, (response rate 80.4%).	Government owned, Australian energy industry, 5,000 employees.	Managerial
<p>This article aims to explore the factors that might influence employee willingness and ability to unlearn, which is to say to release prior learning and assumptions in order to accommodate new information and behaviours. Although its main focus is not on individual experiences, it does consider changing daily routines for staff directly involved in the changes studied, so is therefore worth considering in relation to this thesis. It considers the emotional aspects of change in terms of feelings and expectations. It notes employee uncertainty regarding the impact of change on their work and how effective they are (like the concerns of the Luddites). In considering the role of informal support, this study also highlights the impact of supervisory and peer support in the experience of the individual. This paper is interesting in exploring changing organisational beliefs, norms and values, as separate from an individual's expectations and feelings, without adequate discussion of the interplays between the two. In its concluding argument the paper argues that many change processes do not sufficiently consider their impact at the level of individual employee and argues for the need for support and training before, during and after change.</p>						

Beech and Johnson, 2005	New Chairman and CEO, board re-organisation; Strategic change.	Identity dynamics, sense-making.	Narrative analysis.	Interview notes, video, personal coaching and fieldnotes.	Scotland, private company of ~250 employees.	Social
<p>This is a very interesting paper which utilises narrative analysis to consider identity shifts for three main ‘characters’ during a change in the strategic leadership and direction for a small, privately owned company and aims to explore disrupted identities. The narrative presented illustrates extreme vulnerability in the workplace, noting issues of work-related stress, emotional and emotive language including swearing and use of phrases such as ‘intimidating’ and ‘dangerous’. What the article reveals is not only the disruption of identity for three individuals over time, but how disruptive those changing identities are in the organisation. It also talks of the impact on employee behaviours of non-work based factors and how employees in this setting have made sense of change in relation to their own situation and interventions into what is going on. It demonstrates that this type of micro-level analysis can help us gain a more full understanding of strategic change.</p>						
Begley and Czajka, 1993	Organizational crisis: major change event.	Job satisfaction; Intention to quit/ organisational commitment; Work-related depression; Work-related irritation; Somantic (physical health) complaints; (last 3 as symptoms of work related stress).	Questionnaire.	T1 102 responses (66% response rate); T2 105 responses (68% responses rate).	American psychiatric hospital.	Psychology-orientated
<p>This research seeks to explore the contribution of employee organisational commitment to their ability to deal with organisational turmoil. It is a single study based in an American psychiatric hospital. It considers a single organisational change event (the consolidation of work units and possible staff reductions) as a trigger for stress. The variables considered are indicative of the psychological factors commonly associated with change. They include job satisfaction, intention to quit/organisational commitment, work-related depression, work-related irritation, somantic (physical health) complaints, as health indicators and features of work related stress. The paper argues for the efficacy of organisational commitment as a buffer for the employees, that is protection against the strain of a major change event.</p>						

Boonstra and Bennebroek Gravenhorst, 1998	Constructive change process – incremental improvement.	9 influencing tactics; influencer’s function in the change process and their direction of influence.	Questionnaire	1,000 questionnaires, 479 returned. Response rate ranged from 45% - 61% over the 14 organisations	14 medium sized organisations (about 500 employees).	Managerial
This study looks at the use of influencing tactics during what are described as constructive; change processes. It looks at the role of power and influence and the affect of change on power constellations, presenting and exploring nine hypotheses relating influencing tactics, to the independent variables of the influencer’s function in the change process and their direction of influence. The paper argues that individuals use different influencing tactics during constructive change processes (rational persuasion, inspirational appeals and consultation) than they do in relatively stable situations or more uncertain and ambiguous circumstances.						
Broadbridge, 1999	Accelerating rates of change; Structural job changes in retailing.	Relationship between work and home life; Stress; Conflict between work and family role.	Group discussions.	44 retail managers in 8 groups.	Retail industry, 13 companies.	Managerial
This paper seeks to explore the interaction between work and home life. It found that two major contributors to workplace pressure are changes taking place within the industry studied (retail) and associated uncertainty. These changes included technology, the market, organisation and the external environment. The extent of the requirement to respond to these changes led to work life frequently ‘ <i>spilling over</i> ’ from work into family life and blurring the boundaries between the two.						

Bryant, 2006	Large scale organisational change.	Narrative sub-themes and use of voice; Participant reports of management reactions to voice.	Narrative analysis.	14 semi-structured interviews.	Regional industry, Australia.	Social
Discusses the use of qualitative research to understand employee voice as a response to organisational change. Provides comprehensive argument for the use of qualitative methods to encourage participant discussions of their experiences of change. It highlights the constructive process between the researcher and the participant as the account organisational change is developed during the interview. This allows for the emergence and exploration of unforeseen topics and individualised responses.						
Caldwell, Herold and Fedor, 2004	Process re-engineering projects; Reorganisations; Implementation of new technology; Layoffs; Acquisitions; Major change in benefits.	Organisational change Person-environment fit: 1 dispositional characteristic (motivational orientation); 1 demographic characteristic (age).	2 simultaneous, randomised on-line surveys.	1,259 surveys, 229 + 282 (responses, response rate 46%).	Multiple context; transportation, technology, consumer products, government.	Psychology-orientated
This study also considers whether individual employee characteristics interact with aspects of change to affect employee perceptions of 'person-environment fit'. The 'individual differences' are clearly defined in this case as comprising 1 dispositional characteristic (motivational orientation - mastery) and 1 demographic characteristic (age). 'Person-environment fit' is defined as the perceived compatibility 'between employees and various aspects of their workplace environment' (p. 868). Change as a variable for research is under-defined: change processes are considered along with literature relating to 'employee responses to significant workplace events'. (p.869). The authors make the case for further research into the impact of change on the everyday practices of individuals, but do not give examples of what this impact might be.						
Chreim, 2006	Technological change; Introduction of a sales culture.	Individual and organisational frames; Institutional discourses.	Semi-structured interviews; Analysis of documents.	46 interviews.	Banking, Canada.	Social
Explores use of managerial frames of interpretation and to what extent these are appropriated by individuals. The authors consider the general acceptance of technological determinism as a major influence on the acceptance of technological change as inevitable and reified: beyond question. Here there was an absence of competing discourse. Where the change introduced was felt to be open to question, alignment of employee and management understanding was a negotiated process. Discursive relations changed over time as bank employees were convinced over time to accept managerial understandings.						

De Witte et al., 2005	Re-organisation and down-sizing.	Emotional support; Skills training; Individual coaching/ guidance; Fair treatment and interactional justice.	Semi-structured interviews.	25 interviews.	Variety of settings where organisation was in process of restructuring and downsizing, Belgium.	Managerial
<p>Employees considered to be objectively insecure due to the circumstances of their employing organisation coped by adopting psychologically protective reactions; a <i>'wait and see'</i> approach (p. 151). The role of procedural justice is considered i.e. when employees think objective selection criteria have been used to determine who remains employed. Interactional justice depends on perceptions of openness and honesty in communication to minimise uncertainty. It also depends upon the extent of financial compensation offered, re-employment guidance, and the availability of training and development to allow staff to develop new competencies. This raises the question of mutuality in the sense that both employers and employees need to balance loyalty to a company with economic uncertainty and insecurity in employment. Employability becomes a shared undertaking, with organisations providing opportunities for development that the employee is responsible for engaging in.</p>						
Doolin, 2003	Public sector reform. Organisational re-structure – introduction of clinical leadership.	Discursive activities.	Interviews.	Not given.	Hospital, New Zealand.	Social
<p>Uses a research setting to illustrate the discursive, social and material dimensions of change. Organisation is performed through multiple narratives which can reinforce or conflict and will evolve and may disappear or grow over time</p>						
Dunford and Jones, 2000	Economic reform.	Strategic change narratives.	Semi-structured interviews.	45 interviews.	Variety of settings, each influenced by the reforms, New Zealand.	Social
<p>Organisational members will construct an interpretation of events for themselves (sense making) and others will seek to influence these interpretations (sense giving). Looks at managers' roles as sense givers interpreting events and their implications during process of economic reform and deregulation. In observing the use of narrative to address uncertainty, align individual and organisational goals and promote employee responsibility for achieving business outcomes, the authors also observed that managers were sense giving to themselves as much as they were to staff members.</p>						

French, 2001	Organisational growth.	Emotions aroused by change.	Consultancy.	Not given.	Charity, UK.	Psychology-orientated
<p>Considers the psychoanalytic theory of negative capability: the ability to live with uncertainty, <i>'to tolerate ambiguity and paradox'</i> (p. 482). When an individual's negative capability is insufficient for the level of uncertainty and anxiety, they may seek explanation, react emotionally or physically. Examples of how this might work in practice include emotional outbursts, tears, ill-health, over-work and over-use of historical explanations of organisational issues.</p>						
Fugate, Kinicki. and Prussia, 2008	Public sector reform; No senior manager; Re-structure; Process improvements.	Appraisal of the situation; Emotional response; Coping strategies.	Surveys followed up with company records (after 12 months).	141 surveys of 191 (74% response rate).	Public sector, USA.	Psychology-orientated
<p>This article utilises psychological theory to construct and test hypotheses regarding how individuals cope with organisational change. It offers interesting insights into cognitive processes an individual might experience during a time of change, for example the role of positive and negative emotions and possible coping strategies. However, this work is an example of the managerialist concept of change as something that managers 'do' to employees. It uses psychological research to make recommendations to managers as to how to manage change in the light of the psychological, for example the recommendation that managers implement <i>'interventions to mitigate employee withdrawal during a large scale organisational change'</i> (p.31).</p>						
Herold, Fedor and Caldwell, 2007	Work process changes; New technology implementations; Re-organisation; Strategy changes; Relocations; Outsourcing; Leadership changes; Downsizing.	Self-efficacy; Commitment to change; Context; Individual differences.	Web based surveys; sample recruited by local managers. Randomised administration of 2 surveys: one group level, one individual level.	287 surveys of 553 (51% response rate).	25 organisations, South Eastern USA (finance, manufacturing, education, consumer products, technology).	Psychology-orientated
<p>This paper aims to identify factors influencing reactions to change. It notes that research on organisational change examines the context of a specific change. This study also focuses on responses to a specific change and seeks to explore the role of context as a further influence on these factors. It describes organisational life as containing multiple and overlapping changes which individuals must make sense of from their own position in the organisation. It concludes that the impact of pervasive change may in itself have a negative impact on commitment to a particular change. The authors call for more meso and multi-level research and for the further study of individual differences in relation to organisational change.</p>						

Herscovitch and Meyer, 2002	Participant determined, including: Mergers of departments; New technology, Modifications to shift work; Hiring of healthcare aids.	Employee commitment to organisational change (affective, normative or continuance commitment).	3 phase study: survey pilot followed by 2 surveys.	Pilot study: 224 surveys (99% response rate); Survey 1: 157 surveys completed (26% response rate); Survey 2: 108 surveys completed (27% response rate); (98% of participants were female).	Large nursing association, Canada.	Psychology-orientated
<p>This study presents a model establishing a relationship between different forms of employee commitment to change and employees' behavioural support for change initiatives. It offers a continuum for describing employee reactions to change ranging from '<i>active resistance through compliance to championing</i>' (p. 476). It is interesting in that it asks participants to describe their behaviour in relation to a change affecting the nature of their work, as defined by the participant rather than in relation to a specific, pre-determined change. This allows the participants more autonomy in conceptualising change, although it remains highly prescriptive in defining possible reactions.</p>						

Hind, Frost and Rowley, 1996	Not given.	Perceived organisational capacity for change; Organisational attachment; Team cohesion; Social relationships and networks (trust); Reality sense (information exchange and understanding).	Self-report questionnaire.	339 completed surveys	Not given	Psychology-orientated
<p>This study aims to explore parallels between individuals' responses to stress and change within family social systems and within organisations. This paper claims that key features of resilience are transferable and relevant. Resilience is defined as positive responses to stress. The Timberlawn six element model of resilience is critiqued here and an alternate 5 element model is offered. This model is then used as an 'audit' (p.19) or assessment tool to predict individual adaptability to change. This is conducted with a view to measuring individual ability to change as an indicator of the organisation's ability to change. The analysis of results is described as 'intuitively set' (p.23). There are no details of response rates, optional or not, sampling etc.. The paper notes the importance of the psychological contract (defined as 'the implicit exchange between the parties of factors such as social support, promotion prospects and job satisfaction in return for, perhaps, organisational commitment and organisational socialisation'. p.20) in preserving balance within an organisation. This contract needs to be renegotiated in times of change. Periods of uncertainty and change offer increased risk of the violation of both the relational and transactional dimensions of this contract. This study recommends audit as a way to assess organisational vulnerabilities with respect to the psychological contract so that these can be addressed.</p>						
Hope, 2010	Departmental re-organisation/ new structure; New business processes; Cost reduction.	Sense giving and sense making; Overt – e.g. meaning construction processes; Covert – e.g. secrecy and manipulation.	Semi-structured interviews; Personal diaries; Documents; Informal conversations.	29 participants from 350 employees.	Insurance company, Norway.	Social
<p>This study looks at sense making and sense giving by middle managers during change implementation. An embedded, single case study, it offers first and second order analyses of a departmental re-organisation. Change is depicted as a political process wherein individuals struggle to shape others' perceptions of reality (sense giving or meaning construction). It describes processes of both direct and indirect manipulation by middle managers seeking to influence the outcome of the change, evidencing sense giving as a bottom-up as well as top down and horizontal process.</p>						

Ituma and Simpson, 2006	Changing nature of careers.	Contextual constraints –economic situation and socio-cultural obligations; Individual career strategies.	Semi-structured interviews.	30 interviews.	Nigeria, IT workers.	Managerial
This article explores theories relating to changing career patterns in the context of a developing economy. In defining a typology of 4 career patterns the role of contextual constraints upon the actions of individuals at work is noted. The article considers the contextual constraints such as the influence of the economic situation and socio-cultural obligations upon individual career strategies. It argues that research into organisational behaviour needs to consider the role of context, organisational and societal factors, that influence individual behaviour.						
Judge, Thorensen, Pucik et al., 1999	Re-organisation; Down-sizing; Changes in top management; Mergers, and acquisitions; Divestments.	Successful coping with change as indicated by: Job satisfaction; Organisational commitment; Extrinsic career outcomes (salary, ascendancy); Job performance.	Surveys and matched assessment..	720 surveys, matched with 514 assessments (71% response rate). (91% of respondents were male)	Shipping, oil, banking, manufacturing and Higher Education, North America, Europe, Asia, Australia.	Psychology-orientated
This paper highlights the role of change and uncertainty as a cause of stress in organisational life. Change may be associated with job loss, reduced status, conflict at work and at home, and threats to psychological well-being. Change is something that must be coped with by an individual. This coping is influenced by managerial actions and an individual's disposition or personality traits.						
Kaplan, 1995	Changes experienced by women in their careers	Changes; Challenges; Contributions; Lessons.	32 in-depth interviews.		Organisational development consultants, USA.	Social (feminist)
This paper considers four research questions which split out challenges, contributions and lessons as separate to women's experiences of significant changes during their career. The paper adopts a heuristic approach and summarises the findings as 'women are doing their <i>work</i> as part of their journey in the context of oppression, helped and hindered by their <i>relationships</i> to both men and women' (p.58, italics in original). The changes experienced are grouped into four categories: self, issues of oppression, relationships/support, and the work itself. This illustrates change as a composite that we experience across boundaries between life during and outside work and indicates that, for these women, these are permeable boundaries.						

Landau and Drori, 2008	Crisis; Restructuring; Adapting to new environment.	Interpretive reference points during periods of change; Culture; Sense making; Conflict and power relations.	Participant observation; Interviews(semi-structured/ open-ended); Documentary evidence.	T1 = 91 interviews; T2 = 42 interviews.	Defence research and development, Israel.	Social
This paper considers the impact of change on highly skilled knowledge workers and highlights the use of sense making as a coping strategy in response to change. It proposes a typology of sense-making strategies utilised by individuals to ' <i>accept and comply</i> ' (p.715) with change that was associated predominantly with organisational survival during a time of crisis. This study adds the interesting dimension of professional realities to the study of sense making during change in considering the role of occupational community norms. It highlights the way change impacted upon the professional reality of scientists, requiring them to accommodate conflicting notions of 'pure science' within an increasingly commercial environment, to maintain their sense of occupational membership.						
Lowe and McIntosh, 2007	New technology – knowledge management system.	Workers' accounts; Strategies of resistance; Identity construction.	Observations; Interviews; Documentary analysis.	18 interviews from 52 employees (9 interviews each from 2 sites to cover different work areas).	Forestry and wood products, New Zealand.	Social
This paper adopts a performative approach to provide a contextually rich single case study within a specific knowledge setting. This paper considers the introduction of a knowledge management system. It draws on the literature relating to knowledge management and aims to contribute to understandings of knowledge management. The paper identifies resistance which, although open to interpretation as general resistance to change, is more specifically resistance to the aims of the technology being implemented. This is an important distinction in that participants are not resisting change per se, but rather a particular change and associated issues arising from the change.						

McHugh, 1997	Continuous improvement; New technology; TQM – new quality policy.	Employee wellbeing: Matters causing employee concern; Demanding aspects of work; Employee supports; Employee constraints.	Semi-structured interviews, Questionnaires.	9 semi-structured interviews; 246 surveys (54.6% response rate).	Social insurance administrator, Sweden.	Psychology- orientated
<p>This paper looks at the interdependence of organisational and employee well-being. It reports ten key concerns and causes of stress for employees during periods of change which centre on work intensification, the changing nature of work and potential financial implications. The perceived levels of support and constraints present within the work environment were felt to be more influential on levels of work stress than the level of job related demands on an employee. It is argued that female employees were particularly affected by the adverse effects of stress arising from organisational change. Findings suggested that many employees were unable to cope with their changing work environment. This presents a risk with regard to organisational health and associated costs such as poor performance, turnover, absenteeism and declining motivation.</p>						
Nielsen, Randall and Christensen, 2010	Management training; Re-organisation and down-sizing.	Incremental changes delivered by training; Impact of organisational context.	Survey; Observations; Interviews.	Longitudinal (Average response rate 70%). 52 interviews (116 participants).	Healthcare provision, Denmark.	Managerial
<p>This study looks at the use of training to achieve behavioural change amongst managerial staff and highlights the impact of contextual factors upon a particular change initiative. Although the focus of study was a training programme, the advent of potential merger and downsizing for the organisation very much limited that particular targeted change intervention.</p>						

Pepermans, Jegers, Moenaert et al., 1997	TQM - Implementation of a quality standard – ISO 9000.	Commitment; Training; Career Attention; Work problems; Variable work schedules; Teamwork.	Focus groups; Structured interviews; Questionnaire;	10 focus groups; 59 interviews; 765 surveys of 3,213 (23.8% response rate).	European Union, public and privately owned companies (79% manufacturing, 21% services).	Psychology-orientated
<p>This research uses a questionnaire to study 15 possible objectives for organisations implementing a quality policy (ISO 9000) and 35 potential effects of doing so. It also asks about seven business trends as ‘covariates’ for this implementation. This is interesting in that it doesn’t look at one change without having to consider other possible concurrent changes i.e. it recognises that although studying one change this is not the only change taking place. The paper reports increased employee commitment, upward communication, job security, career attention, union management dialogue and training as positive outcomes of the policy implementation. The only two negative perceived effects are increased bureaucracy and increased staff turnover. The study is limited in that it is based on the perceptions of the managers implementing the policies and does not take into account the views of the employees. It is noted that employee turnover is increasing despite the claimed improvements, most particularly increased employee commitment and job security.</p>						
Rafferty and Griffin, 2006	Planned or transformational.	Frequency, impact, planning and employee appraisal of change as influencers on change perceptions and outcomes (attitude and well-being, job satisfaction and turnover intentions).	Repeated cross-sectional survey.	T1 – 207 respondents; T2 – 168 respondents; (response rates not given).	Public sector (roads), Australia.	Psychology-orientated
<p>This paper describes work done to consider the role of psychological uncertainty as an influence on individuals, hypothesising that planned change positively influences (i.e. reduces) psychological uncertainty. It suggests a range of other influences during change, known as ‘<i>indicators of adjustment</i>’ (p.1160) for example secondary appraisal, coping strategies, emotional responses and distress. It argues that change has generic characteristics that are perceived in generalisable ways by individuals, for example it portrays change as a trauma involving ‘shocks to the system’ (p.1156).</p>						

Reay, Golden-Biddle and Germann, 2006	New work role	Embedded professional practice and stability as a force for change.	Interviews; Documents; Observations.	33 interviews.	Nursing, Alberta, Canada.	Social
<p>This paper explores how professionals use individualised actions and small changes in established ways of working to influence change and legitimize new ways of working. It considers how individuals use micro processes to achieve small wins which, over time, embed changes to established processes and practices. The findings illustrate the value of professional experience and institutional embeddedness in cultivating and developing opportunities for change within existing systems. These are slow, incremental change processes where actors use their situated knowledge for improvement. This highlights the role of micro level changes that are less visible than events at the macro level and calls for further consideration of how micro level mechanisms produce macro level change.</p>						
Roberts, 1997	Growth of a company followed by rapid contraction.	Conscious and unconscious accounts of organisational processes during change.	Interviews.	30 hours of interviews.	High technology company, UK.	Managerial (psychoanalytic)
<p>This paper draws on structuration theory to follow individual perspectives on the course of events during a period of change. It considers power relations, individual and shared meanings, and legitimacy. Emergent strains and tensions were identified within participants' conscious accounts of events as recession loomed. At an unconscious level anxiety '<i>overwhelmed established relationships</i>' (p.113) when redundancies were introduced. This anxiety was consciously attributed to extreme uncertainty by participants. However, the author argues that the growth period had also involved significant uncertainty and associated anxiety due to the lack of established systems and routines within a new business. The study proposes that psychoanalytic theory offers some understanding of the emotional aspects of socially constructed relationships. This highlights the emotional demands of change in organisations, which may stem initially from high degrees of uncertainty rather than concepts of positive (e.g. growth) or negative (e.g. redundancies) change.</p>						

Schor, Van Buskirk and McGrath, 1994	Organisational growth: new structures and processes; Change in leadership.	Impact of feminist values (caring, voice and self-reflection) on women's ability to create and cope with change.	Observations; Documents; Focus groups; Interviews.	Not given.	Community Women's Education Project, Philadelphia, USA.	Social (feminist)
This paper provides a description of phases of development of a growing organisation. It presents a harmonious picture of development within a value driven organisation which actively involves all members in change. Whilst the values here are described as feminist, the central consideration is the role of common purpose in change. Processes described centre on involvement and consultation together with reflective learning and professional development. This is a process of value driven consensus which highlights the social dimensions of change.						
Skinner, 2004	Human Resource Management (HRM) initiative.	Informal and formal evaluation of change.	Focus groups and interviews; Observations; Documents.	Focus groups and interviews – 69 participants.	Public sector, UK.	Managerial
The author argues that those involved in change engage in informal evaluation of the organisational culture and context on an on-going basis. The study claims to have found evidence of avoidance of explicit evaluation of change as a negative, divisive experience which provoked defensive behaviour. The role within change processes of meaning making, personal perception and subjective evaluations is noted. A move beyond a focus on the management agenda to an acknowledgement of the needs and interests of other stakeholder groups is recommended.						
Skordoulis and Dawson, 2007	Not specified.	Staff assumptions and feelings about change.	Focus groups; In depth interviews; Observations.	Not given.	Higher Education, UK.	Managerial
This paper proposes Socratic dialogue as a method to facilitate participative decision-making by employees ' <i>on the receiving end of change</i> ' (p.991). The focus of participant interviews was experiences of change, although this was not given as the primary objective of the study. The lack of staff involvement in decision-making and communication led to job dissatisfaction, employee disengagement, lack of trust, stress and disaffection. Employee experienced feelings of separation, foreboding and impotency with regard to the change process. These feelings are cited to illustrate the need for reflective and participative approaches to change. The author argues that those involved in change engage in informal evaluation of the organisational culture and context on an on-going basis. The study claims to have found evidence of avoidance of explicit evaluation of change as a negative, divisive experience which provoked defensive behaviour. The role within change processes of meaning making, personal perception and subjective evaluations is noted. A move beyond a focus on the management agenda to an acknowledgement of the needs and interests of other stakeholder groups is recommended.						

Sonenshein, 2010	Strategic change – integrating and merging divisions.	Progressive and stability narratives; Employee meaning construction and the implementation of change.	Interviews; Documents; Observations; Archival records; Surveys.	42 interviews; 115 documents; 8 hours observations; Archival records; T1 = 159 surveys from 414 (38.4% response rate); T2 = 51 surveys from 93 (54.8% response rate).	Retail, USA.	Social
<p>This paper considers supportive and subversive responses to change by considering meaning constructions during strategic change implementations. In using a narrative and sense making lens it seeks to understand multiple perspectives on change as a temporal phenomenon. It presents a model of how individuals use narratives to understand and influence change implementation. In the model, manager narratives influence employee narratives (sense giving) but there is no provision for movement in the other direction i.e. there is no provision for employees to influence managerial narratives. The model considers the role of stability and progressive narratives for both managers and employees but assumes all managers will support the change, whilst employees will champion, accept or resist the change. This model is informed by Lewin’s work on change and seeks to inform managers’ use of narratives to influence employees’ construction of meaning in relation to change.</p>						
Turner Parish, Cadwallader and Busch, 2008	Ongoing – growth/change.	Antecedents of commitment to change; Fit with vision; Employee-manager relationship; Job motivation; Role autonomy.	Survey.	191 surveys from 593 employees (32% response rate).	Higher Education, USA.	Managerial
<p>This paper seeks to build a predictive model to evaluate employee reactions to change by integrating two models of employee commitment to change. The aim is to understand antecedents and consequences of employee commitment to change. The findings consider failed change initiatives and offer insights to help managers improve change implementation efforts. The authors also concede that there are likely to be other antecedents to commitment to change and list alternatives including role autonomy and decision-making authority.</p>						

Wanberg and Banas, 2000	Reorganisation; De-centralisation.	Employee openness to change; Individual difference variables: self-esteem, perceived control, optimism; Context specific variables: change information, participation, change-specific self-efficacy, social support, perceived impact.	Longitudinal survey (3 surveys to test a 3 phase model, T1, T2 = T1+ 2 months, T3 = T1+ 14 months).	T1 = 173 surveys (83% response rate); T2 = 133 surveys (77% response rate); T3 = 130 (98% response rate).	Public sector (housing), USA.	Psychology-orientated
This paper offers a conceptual model of the predictors and outcomes of individual openness to an organisational change, including how a low level of change acceptance was found to be related to job satisfaction and intention to quit, which in turn were related to subsequent employee turnover. The change was found to have provoked shock, anxiety and uncertainty.						

Appendix D: Group Overview of Papers Reviewed In Relation to Change in Organisations: Managerial Meta-narratives

Reference	Type of Change	Variables/ concepts in relation to individual experiences of change	Method	Context	Publication
Allison and Merali, 2007	Improvement – adaptive.	Complexity of relationships; Learning Political motives; Changing interpretive schemes and behavioural norms.	Participant observation; Documentary analysis; Semi-structured interviews; Informal reviews.	UK based, 25 person team in global, private company.	<i>Information and Software Technology</i>
Becker, 2010	Large scale change, new IT system.	Positive prior outlook; Feelings and expectations; Positive experience and informal support; Understanding the need for change; Assessment of the new way; History of org change; Organisational support and training.	Questionnaire 41 statements relating to employee perceptions before, during and after the technology implementation.	Government owned, Australian energy industry, 5,000 employees.	<i>Journal of Organisational Change Management</i>
Boonstra and Bennebroek Gravenhorst, 1998	Constructive change process – incremental improvement.	9 influencing tactics; Influencer’s function in the change process and their direction of influence.	Questionnaire.	14 medium sized organisations (about 500 employees).	<i>European Journal of Work and Organisational Psychology</i>

Reference	Type of Change	Variables/ concepts in relation to individual experiences of change	Method	Context	Publication
Broadbridge, 1999	Accelerating rates of change; Structural job changes in retailing.	Relationship between work and home life; Stress; Conflict between work and family role.	Group discussions.	Retail industry, 13 companies.	<i>International Journal of Retail and Distribution Management</i>
De Witte et al., 2005	Re-organisation and down-sizing.	Emotional support; Skills training; Individual coaching/ guidance; Fair treatment and interactional justice.	Semi-structured interviews.	Variety of settings where organisation was in process of restructuring and downsizing, Belgium.	<i>Journal of European Industrial Training</i>
Ituma and Simpson, 2006	Changing nature of careers.	Contextual constraints – influence of economic situation and socio-cultural obligations; Individual career strategies.	Semi-structured interviews.	Nigeria, IT workers.	<i>Career Development International</i>
Nielsen, Randall and Christensen, 2010	Management training; Re-organisation and down-sizing.	Incremental changes delivered by training; Impact of organisational context.	Survey; Observations; Interviews.	Healthcare provision, Denmark.	<i>Human Relations</i>
Roberts, 1997	Growth of a company followed by rapid contraction.	Conscious and unconscious accounts of organisational processes during change.	Interviews.	High technology company, UK.	<i>British Journal of Management</i>

Reference	Type of Change	Variables/ concepts in relation to individual experiences of change	Method	Context	Publication
Skinner, 2004	Human Resource Management (HRM) initiative.	Informal and formal evaluation of change.	Focus groups and interviews; Observations; Documents.	Public sector, UK.	<i>Human Resource Management Journal</i>
Skordoulis and Dawson, 2007	Not specified.	Staff assumptions and feelings about change.	Focus groups; In depth interviews; Observations.	Higher Education, UK.	<i>Management Decision</i>
Turner Parish, Cadwallader and Busch, 2008	Ongoing – growth/change.	Antecedents of commitment to change; Fit with vision; Employee-manager relationship; Job motivation; Role autonomy.	Survey.	Higher Education, USA.	<i>Journal of Organizational Change Management</i>

Appendix E: Group Overview of Papers Reviewed In Relation to Change in Organisations: Psychology- orientated Meta-narratives

Reference	Type of Change	Variables/ concepts in relation to individual experiences of change	Method	Context	Publication
Begley and Czajka, 1993	Organizational crisis: major change event.	Job satisfaction; Intention to quit/ organisational commitment; Work-related depression; Work-related irritation; Somantic (physical health) complaints; (last 3 as symptoms of work related stress).	Questionnaire.	American psychiatric hospital.	<i>Journal of Applied Psychology</i>
Caldwell, Herold and Fedor, 2004	Process re-engineering projects; Reorganisations; Implementation of new technology; Layoffs; Acquisitions; Major policy change in benefits.	Organisational change Person-environment fit Match between a person's abilities and demands of the job. Match between values of the person and organisation. Individual differences e.g. age, level of motivation.	2 simultaneous randomised On-line surveys.	Multiple context; transportation, technology, consumer products, government.	<i>Journal of Applied Psychology</i>

Reference	Type of Change	Variables/ concepts in relation to individual experiences of change	Method	Context	Publication
French, 2001	Organisational growth.	Emotions aroused by change.	Consultancy.	Charity, UK.	<i>Journal of Organizational Change Management</i>
Kinicki and Prussia, 2008	Public sector reform; No senior manager; Re-structure; Process improvements.	Appraisal of the situation; Emotional response; Coping strategies.	Surveys followed up with company records (after 12 months).	Public sector, USA.	<i>Personnel Psychology</i>
Herold, Fedor and Caldwell, 2007	Work process changes; New technology implementations; Re-organisation; Strategy changes; Relocations; Outsourcing; Leadership changes; Downsizing.	Self-efficacy; Commitment to change; Context; Individual differences.	Web based surveys; sample recruited by local managers. Randomised administration of 2 surveys: one group level, one individual level.	25 organisations, South Eastern USA (finance, manufacturing, education, consumer products, technology).	<i>Journal of Applied Psychology</i>
Herscovitch and Meyer, 2002	Participant determined, including: Mergers of departments; New technology; Modifications to shift work; Hiring of healthcare aids.	Employee commitment to organisational change (affective, normative or continuance commitment).	3 phase study: survey pilot followed by 2 surveys.	Large nursing association, Canada.	<i>Journal of Applied Psychology</i>

Hind, Frost and Rowley, 1996	Not given.	Perceived organisational capacity for change; Organisational attachment; Team cohesion; Social relationships and networks (trust); Reality sense (information exchange and understanding).	Self-report questionnaire.	Not given.	<i>Journal of Managerial Psychology</i>
Judge, Thorensen, Pucik et al., 1999	Re-organisation; Down-sizing; Changes in top management; Mergers, and acquisitions; Divestments.	Successful coping with change as indicated by: Job satisfaction; Organisational commitment; Extrinsic career outcomes (salary, ascendancy); Job performance.	Surveys and matched assessment.	Shipping, oil, banking, manufacturing and Higher Education, North America, Europe, Asia, Australia.	<i>Journal of Applied Psychology</i>
McHugh, 1997	Continuous improvement; New technology; TQM – new quality policy.	Employee wellbeing: Matters causing employee concern; Demanding aspects of work; Employee supports; Employee constraints.	Semi-structured interviews. Questionnaires.	Social insurance administrator, Sweden.	<i>Journal of Organizational Change Management</i>
Pepermans, Jegers, Moenaert et al., 1997	TQM - Implementation of a quality standard – ISO 9000.	Commitment; Training; Career Attention; Work problems; Teamwork.	Focus groups; Structured interviews; Questionnaire;	European Union, public and privately owned companies (79% manufacturing, 21% services).	<i>European Journal of Work & Organizational Psychology</i>

Rafferty and Griffin, 2006	Planned or transformational.	Frequency, impact, planning and employee appraisal of change as influencers on change perceptions and outcomes (attitude and well-being, job satisfaction and turnover intentions).	Repeated cross-sectional survey.	Public sector (roads), Australia.	<i>Journal of Applied Psychology</i>
Wanberg and Banas, 2000	Reorganisation; De-centralisation.	Employee openness to change; Individual difference variables: self-esteem, perceived control, optimism; Context specific variables: change information, participation, change-specific self-efficacy, social support, perceived impact.	Longitudinal survey (3 surveys to test a 3 phase model, T1, T2 = T1+ 2 months, T3 = T1+ 14 months).	Public sector (housing), USA.	<i>Journal of Applied Psychology</i>

Appendix F: Group Overview of Papers Reviewed In Relation to Change in Organisations: Social Meta-narratives

Reference	Type of Change	Variables/ concepts in relation to individual experiences of change	Method	Context	Publication
Agapiou, 2002	Socio-economic and macro level change.	Individual responses to environmental changes/ cultural shift.	Semi-structured interviews; Archival records; Respondent diaries.	Construction industry, Scotland. 6 companies.	<i>Construction Management & Economics</i>
Anderson, 2005	Project based change: inventory process improvement.	Use of voice.	Participant observation at team meetings; Semi-structured interviews.	Global IT company, USA.	<i>Journal of Organizational Change Management</i>
Ashwin and Popova, 2006	Socio-economic and macro level change: economic transformation/ hardship.	Individual activism; Outlook, flexibility; Survival strategies; Professional attachment; Professional skills.	Semi-structured interviews.	Post-Communist Russia.	<i>International Journal of Human Resource Management</i>
Beech and Johnson, 2005	New Chairman and CEO, board re-organisation; Strategic change.	Identity dynamics, sense-making.	Narrative analysis.	Scotland, private company of ~250 employees.	<i>Journal of Organizational Change Management</i>
Bryant, 2006	Large scale organisational change.	Narrative sub-themes Voice to alter post-change work conditions; Voice to seek information; Participant reports of management reactions to voice.	Narrative analysis.	Regional industry, Australia.	<i>Management Decision</i>

Reference	Type of Change	Variables/ concepts in relation to individual experiences of change	Method	Context	Publication
Chreim, 2006	Technological change; Introduction of a sales culture.	Individual and organisational frames; Institutional discourses.	Semi-structured interviews; Analysis of documents.	Banking, Canada.	<i>Organization Studies</i>
Doolin, 2003	Public sector reform. Organisational re-structure – introduction of clinical leadership.	Discursive activities.	Interviews.	Hospital, New Zealand.	<i>Organization</i>
Dunford and Jones, 2000	Economic reform.	Strategic change narratives.	Semi-structured interviews.	Variety of settings influenced by the reforms, New Zealand.	<i>Human Relations</i>
Hope, 2010	Departmental re-organisation/ new structure; New business processes; Cost reduction.	Sense giving and sense making; Overt – e.g. meaning construction processes; Covert – e.g. secrecy and manipulation.	Semi-structured interviews; Personal diaries; Documents; Informal conversations.	Insurance company, Norway.	<i>Journal of Change Management</i>
Kaplan, 1995	Changes experienced by women in their careers.	Changes; Challenges; Contributions; Lessons.	32 in-depth interviews.	Organisational development consultants, USA.	<i>Journal of Organizational Change Management</i>
Landau and Drori, 2008	Crisis; Restructuring; Adapting to new environment.	Interpretive reference points during periods of change; Culture; Sense making; Conflict and power relations.	Participant observation; Interviews(semi-structured/ open-ended); Documentary evidence.	Defence research and development, Israel.	<i>Journal of Organizational Change Management</i>

Reference	Type of Change	Variables/ concepts in relation to individual experiences of change	Method	Context	Publication
Lowe and McIntosh, 2007	New technology – knowledge management system.	Workers' accounts; Strategies of resistance; Identity construction.	Observations; Interviews; Documentary analysis.	Forestry and wood products, New Zealand.	<i>Journal of Organizational Change Management</i>
Reay, Golden-Biddle and Germann, 2006	New work role.	Embedded professional practice and stability as a force for change.	Interviews; Documents; Observations.	Nursing, Alberta, Canada.	<i>Academy of Management Journal</i>
Schor, Van Buskirk and McGrath, 1994	Organisational growth: new structures and processes; Change in leadership.	Impact of feminist values (caring, voice and self-reflection) on women's ability to create and cope with change.	Observations; Documents; Focus groups; Interviews.	Community Women's Education Project, Philadelphia, USA.	<i>Journal of Organizational Change Management</i>
Sonenshein, 2010	Strategic change – integrating and merging divisions.	Progressive and stability narratives; Employee meaning construction and the implementation of change.	Interviews; Documents; Observations; Archival records; Surveys.	Retail, USA.	<i>Academy of Management Journal</i>

Appendix G: Total Expenditure on Health and Defence Services as a per cent of GDP (HM Treasury, 2011)

Out turn	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94	1994-95	1995-96	1996-97	1997-98	1998-99
Defence	4.3	4	3.9	3.8	3.8	3.8	3.5	3.3	3	2.8	2.6	2.7
Health	4.6	4.6	4.5	4.7	5.1	5.5	5.5	5.6	5.6	5.4	5.3	5.3
Out turn	1999-00	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10 (estimated)	
Defence	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.6	2.7	
Health	5.2	5.5	5.8	6.1	6.5	6.8	7	7	7.2	7.7	8.5	

Appendix H: Overview of Research Sample

Occupational Groupings	Male		Female		All
	Full time	Part-time	Full time	Part-time	
Military	7	1	1		9
Administrator	3		3		6
Manager	2		7	1	10
Scientist	1		1		2
Doctor	1	2			3
Nurse	2		1		3
	3		4		7
Total	18	3	17	1	40

Age	Male	Female	Total
25-35	8	4	12
36-45	4	4	8
46-55	5	9	14
Over 55	3	1	4
Not stated	2	0	2
Total	22	18	40

Ethnicity	No. of Participants
African	2
Afro-Caribbean	1
British White	29
Euro-Asian	1
European White	2
Indian	2
Tamale	1

Length of Service with current Employer	No. of Participants
18 months – 5 years	12
5-10 years	8
10-15 years	4
15-20 years	3
20-25 years	4
> 25 years	7
Not given	2

Additional Information

Disability declared:	2 participants (5%);
Carer responsibilities declared:	14 participants (35%);
Working for a second employer:	9 participants (22.5%);
With memberships of professional bodies:	26 participants (65%).

Appendix I: Detailed Summary of Research Sample

Date of interview	Participant Identifier	Occupational Group	Employer	Second employer	No. of Roles	Length of Service	Age	Gender	Professional memberships	Notes
20/05/2008	Interview 1, Military, Male, 45	Military	Defence	Y	11 roughly	26 years	45	M	Y	9 additional documents passed to me in a folder as a follow up to the interview.
20/05/2008	Interview 2, Manager, Female, 35	Manager	University	N	5	7 years, 1 month, 1 day	35	F	Y	
20/05/2008	Interview 3, Military, Male, 40	Military	Defence	N	1 (in current location)	21 years	40	M	N	Transcript amended by participant. Amended version used in analysis.
21/05/2008	Interview 4, Manager, Female, 48	Manager	University	N	5	13 years	48	F	Y	
21/05/2008	Interview 5, Administrator, Male, 26	Administrator	University	N	2	4.5 years	26	M	N	
21/05/2008	Interview 6, Manager, Female, 48	Manager	University	Y	1	18 months	48	F	Y	

Date of interview	Participant Identifier	Occupational Group	Employer	Second employer	No. of Roles	Length of Service	Age	Gender	Professional memberships	Notes
21/05/2008	Interview 7, Scientist, Male, 36	Senior Scientist	Defence	N	Several	14 years	36	M	Y	
22/05/2008	Interview 8, Military, Male, 61	Military	Defence	N	Dozens	44 years	61	M	Y	
21/07/2008	Interview 9, Military, Female, 47	Military	Defence	N	10 or 11	23 years	47	F	N	
21/07/2008	Interview 10, Military, Male, 50	Military	Defence	N	1	18 months	50	M	N	1 document provided following interview.
22/07/2008	Interview 11, Administrator, Male, 32	Administrator	University	N	1 (2)	5.5 years	32	M	Y	
01/09/2008	Interview 12, Administrator, Female, 50	Administrator	Hospital	N	1 job, several title changes -too many to remember	10 years	50	F	N	
01/09/2008	Interview 13, Administrator, Female, 33	Administrator	Hospital	N	3	4 years	33	F	N	
01/09/2008	Interview 14, Manager, Female, 50	Manager	Hospital	N	7	27 years	50	F	N	

Date of interview	Participant Identifier	Occupational Group	Employer	Second employer	No. of Roles	Length of Service	Age	Gender	Professional memberships	Notes
02/09/2008	Interview 15, Doctor, Male, 61	Doctor	Hospital	Y	3	9 years	61	M	Y	
02/09/2008	Interview 16, Manager, Male, 33	Manager	Hospital	N	3	19 months	33	M	N	
02/09/2008	Interview 17, Manager, Female, 47	Manager	Hospital	N	4	13 years	47	F	N	
02/09/2008	Interview 18, Manager, Female, 28	Manager	Hospital	N	2	4 years	28	F	N	
02/09/2008	Interview 19, Manager, Female, 50	Manager	Hospital	N	5	13 years	50	F	N	
03/09/2008	Interview 20, Manager, Female, 36	Manager	Hospital	N	7	6 years	36	F	Y	
03/11/2008	Interview 21, Military, Male, 50	Military	Defence	N	12 plus	33 years	50	M	Y	
04/11/2008	Interview 22, Military, Male, 46	Military	Defence	N	20 plus	28 years	46	M	N	1 cartoon provided following interview.

Date of interview	Participant Identifier	Occupational Group	Employer	Second employer	No. of Roles	Length of Service	Age	Gender	Professional memberships	Notes
04/11/2008	Interview 23, Military, Male, 48	Military	Defence	N	Not number -attributed to rank	32 years	48	M	N	
04/11/2008	Interview 24, Military, Male, 38	Military	Defence	N	9	20 years	38	M	Y	
05/11/2008	Interview 25, Doctor, Male, age not stated	Doctor	Hospital	Y	Not given	Not given	Not given	M	Y	1 journal article and 3 internal items provided following interview.
06/11/2008	Interview 26, Manager, Male, 52	Manager	Hospital	N	12 or 13	19.5 years	52	M	N	
06/11/2008	Interview 27, Nurse, Female, 60	Nurse	Hospital	Y	Several	39 years	60	F	Y	
06/11/2008	Interview 28, Administrator, Female, 35	Administrator	Hospital	N	3	2 years	35	F	Y	Requested tape be turned off after 17 minutes.
06/11/2008	Interview 29, Doctor, Male, 60	Doctor	Hospital	Y	Several	24 years	60	M	Y	Fieldnotes only - requested not to be recorded.

Date of interview	Participant Identifier	Occupational Group	Employer	Second employer	No. of Roles	Length of Service	Age	Gender	Professional memberships	Notes
06/11/2008	Interview 30, Nurse, Male, age not stated	Nurse	Hospital	Y	Not given	Not given	Not given	M	Y	Fieldnotes only - environment unsuitable for recording due to confidentiality considerations .
07/11/2008	Interview 31, Scientist, Female, 42	Senior Scientist	Hospital	N	5ish	17 years	42	F	Y	
07/11/2008	Interview 32, PAM, Female, 50	PAM	Hospital	Y	4 (each one an addition to existing duties)	4 years	50	F	Y	
07/11/2008	Interview 33, Nurse, Male, 33	Nurse	Hospital	Y	3 (current is acting)	4 years	33	M	Y	
07/11/2008	Interview 34, PAM, Female, 49	PAM	Hospital	N	2	7 years, 4 months	49	F	Y	
07/11/2008	Interview 35, Administrator, Female, 32	Administrator	Hospital	N	2	5 years plus	32	M	Y	
02/12/2008	Interview 36, PAM, Male, 30	PAM	Hospital	N	4	3 years, 6 months	30	M	Y	

Date of interview	Participant Identifier	Occupational Group	Employer	Second employer	No. of Roles	Length of Service	Age	Gender	Professional memberships	Notes
02/12/2008	Interview 37, PAM, Male, 30	PAM	Hospital	N	2	2 years, 6 months	30	M	Y	
02/12/2008	Interview 38, PAM, Female, 39	PAM	Hospital	N	Professional rotation every 9 months	5 years plus	39	F	Y	
02/12/2008	Interview 39, PAM, Male, 34	PAM	Hospital	N	Rotational post	2 years	34	M	Y	
02/12/2008	Interview 40, PAM, Female, 36	PAM	Hospital	N	4	10 years	36	F	Y	

Appendix J: Interview Topic Guide

Candidate identifier:

Date and Time of Interview;

Audio Filename:

Location:

Candidate Details

Age	Job Title	Full/ Part-time
Employer 1		Length of Service and Number of Roles Held.
Employer 2		Length of Service and Number of Roles Held.
Professional memberships and affiliations		
Nationality	Ethnicity	Gender
Carer responsibilities		Disabilities

Topic guide – Example(s) of change in the workplace

1. How did you find out about it?
2. What was to change?
3. Can you think of something that stayed the same?
4. What were the consequences of the change for you?
5. How did it relate to your job role, interactions with colleagues?
6. How did you approach the change/ stability?
7. Did you see the change as progress?

Appendix K: Summary of Documentary Data

Document Details	Participant Source (Interview Number)
1. Agility Document	1
2. Flowchart for change management	1
3. Creating the Conditions for Lasting Behavioural Change Table	1
4. Editorial	1
5. Competing for the Future internet sourced article summary	1
6. Leading the Revolution internet sourced article summary	1
7. The Heart of Change internet sourced article summary	1
8. Leading Change internet sourced article summary	1
9. Organisational Culture at NATO Presentation	1
10. Definition of Balanced Scorecard Measures Table	10
11. Photocopy of a Cartoon	22
12. Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine Article	25
13. Internal Postcard 1 regarding continuous improvement training	25
14. Internal Postcard 2 regarding continuous improvement training	25
15. Poster regarding continuous improvement training	25

Appendix L: Analytical Framework

Research Question	Themes within the literature (Chapter Three)	Themes within the data (Chapters Five – Seven)
1) What do individuals mean by change?	Career journeys; Crisis; Down-sizing; Incremental and adaptive; New leadership. New technology; out-sourcing; Participant determined. Planned and transformational; Policy change and public sector reform; Relocations; Socio-economic; Structural change impacting on roles.	Change as an event: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Change of role; • Change of organisational structure. The scale and pace of change: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incremental change; • Transformational change. Evaluations of change: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Change as a loss; • Change as a joke; • Change as a fact of life; • Change as a threat; • Change as progress.
2) How do research participants distinguish between change and that which remains relatively constant (i.e. between change and stability)?	Impact of context; Personal traits; Individual coping; Practice and the professional self; Values.	The normalisation of change: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Performance management; • Communication; • Managerialism; • Boundaries around change. Stability: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stability as a problem question; • Stability as a frustration; • Relative stability: hierarchies and power relations; • Values and public service.
3) Are relationships impacted upon by change in organisations?	Commitment to change. Discourses and power relations; Narratives and sense-making. Personal traits; Individual coping; Impact of context; Practice and the professional self; Values; Employee emotions; Employee stress.	Change and relationships with colleagues: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The impact of employee job changes; • Teamwork. Change and relationships with the organisation: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Belief in the organisation; • Autonomy within organisations; • Employee emotions; • Employee stress; • Change as a source of vulnerability.